The Long Shadow:

The Intergenerational Experience of Policing for Black British Communities

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my extraordinary brother and best friend,

Lumi.

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Thank you to my family. Thank you for your endless love and support. Thank you for believing in me and encouraging me to keep going.

I am also hugely thankful for the support of my friends and am especially grateful you allowed me to talk about this incessantly for the last three years.

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Finally, I would like to acknowledge the Black people of Britain. The time is now.

ABSTRACT

The policing experiences of Black Britons embody the complicated experience of being Black in Britain in modern history. Young Black people today disproportionately experience stop and search, but this is not a new phenomenon. The enduring legacy of policing of racially minoritised communities is representative of the place of Black Britons in British society more broadly. Almost 50 years on from ‘Policing the Crisis’ (Hall et al., 1978), the policing of experiences of Black Britons demonstrates how little has changed. This research argues that the policing of Black Britons can only be understood by contextualising within historical and contemporary racialising and criminalising processes affecting the lives of groups depicted as ‘other’.

The present study uses 58 semi-structured and unstructured qualitative interviews to explore how Black communities perceive, experience, and respond to policing. Grounding analysis in critical realist critical race theory, it is argued that race remains the crucial mechanism producing the policing experiences of generations of Black British people. The data provides insight into how experiences of policing are transmitted intergenerationally through cultural narratives, conduct norms, and adaptive mechanisms. Taking an intersectional approach to policing, the ways in which race, gender, age, class, and immigration histories mediate policing experiences are also explored.

This research also considers the opportunities for social progress embodied in a community of Black Britons seeking to overcome racialised policing through assertions of agency, organisation, and resilience. With a focus on young people, families, and communities in a London suburb, the issues explored here provide insight into the experiences of racialised policing across Britain, and the implications this has for the status, identity and belonging of Black British communities in the future.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The fractious relationship between Black communities and the police embodies the complicated experience of Black people in modern British history. The enduring legacy of poor policing practices within Black communities has significant implications for the present and future relationship between the police and Black Britons and is representative of the place of Black Britons in Britain more broadly. That young Black people experience disproportionate policing is not in question, with recent research indicating Black males are six times more likely to be stopped and searched than their white counterparts (Shiner et al., 2018). My research focus is not exploring the reasons for racial disproportionalities in policing, or even whether British policing is racist. Instead, I am interested in how Black communities perceive, experience, and respond to policing, and how they share experiences of policing with one another across the generations.

The Black Lives Matter protests seen throughout the UK during 2020 may have originated in the US, but the strong reaction revealed the extent of harm wrought by decades of fear, mistrust, and anger from communities that have felt targeted, harassed, and victimised by the police for generations. While my research is London-focused, the issues explored here provide insight into the wider impact of racialised policing globally, raising questions about how policing contributes to the maintenance of white structural domination through policing of the racialised 'other'. Policing, shaped by British imperial lineages, emerges as a crucial mechanism in the ongoing racialisation and criminalisation of Black people as a risky population in need of control by the state.

In this chapter, I present an overview of the 'police problem' as it is currently experienced by Black British communities. I explore the concept of intergenerationality, which will be the framework of this thesis, introducing the concept of cultural narratives that are produced and reproduced through a shared Black consciousness. The intersectional approach of this research will also be introduced, as I consider how gender, age, class, and immigration histories present lenses through which the policing of Black people may be analysed. I propose my research questions and the theoretical framework for my data analysis. Finally, I outline structure of the thesis and how I intend to explore the research in the remaining chapters.

First, a note on terminology used in this thesis.

‘Brambleton’ / ‘Bordertown’

Fieldwork was conducted in a North-London suburb that is referred to as ‘Brambleton’ to preserve the anonymity of research participants. A neighbourhood in Brambleton that has historically been heavily policed is named here as ‘Bordertown’.

‘Race’

Theories of race have evolved from early formulations in the Enlightenment period to distinguish the advancement and ‘reason’ of modern Europe from non-European peoples, considered inherently inferior, less rational and with less evolutionary potential. Later years saw criminological theories such as from Cesare Lombroso’s (1876) work on the ‘born criminal’ which located propensity to criminality within phenotypical characteristics. Ideas of racial superiority and inferiority provided the justification for the transatlantic slave trade and British imperialism through the dehumanisation of dark-skinned people for economic expansion (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). The concept of ‘lesser breeds’ also provided a framework for beliefs about Irish, Polish, and other historically poor whites who were seen as evidence of racial degeneration (Pearson, 1983).

Critical theories define race as a social construct, replacing the scientific and physiognomic definitions of ‘race’ that have historically dominated criminology (Bhui, 2009). From a biological perspective, race relies on phenotypical or biological differences as signifiers of other cultural, physiological, and psychological differences (Kleg, 1993). As a concept, ‘race’ allows groups to become socially constructed as ‘races’ based on shared biological or cultural traits that embody that racial group (Solomos & Back, 1996). In practice, race operates as a ‘structuring logic’ producing systemic conditions that position non-white people at the bottom of social hierarchies (Phillips, 2020). This legitimises inferior and / or unequal treatment of groups considered lower in the social order.

This research takes a critical race theory (CRT) approach to define race as a social construct but one that has real effects on lived experience. Race is therefore a valuable concept for analysing the policing experiences of Black people. The racialisation and criminalisation of Black people provide the justification for the police, as representatives of the British state, to identify individuals and groups considered likely to be involved in criminal activity. Smith (1989:13) argues the effect of race is to “signal[s] that Black people are the object of concern.” Race effectively provides a shorthand for identifying suspect communities and legitimates the use of aggressive forms of policing.

‘Racism’ / ‘Racialisation’ / ‘Racialised Policing’

Racism is “a dialectical relationship between racial ideologies and discourses – based on assumptions of immutable inferiority and superiority- and access to power, control, rights, resources, and opportunities that are unevenly distributed in ways which materially and symbolically subordinate minority ethnic groups” (Phillips, 2020:2). Definitions of racism may fail to grasp the operation of race in modernity through a binary of ‘racist’ or ‘non-racist’ (Rattansi, 2005), or by overlooking complex and intersectional nature of lived experience.

Racialisation describes the “multi-layered dynamics which cumulatively produce adverse economic and socio-political outcomes for minority ethnic groups, through micro-level interactions, meso-level institutional processes, and macro-level structural forces, also importantly incorporating the distinct but overlapping nature of class stratification” (Phillips, 2020:2). Racialisation is used in this research to explain how Blackness has become synonymous with criminality, dangerousness, and propensity to violence in Britain. It is this process of racialisation that results in racialised policing to respond to this constructed threat.

It is the central argument of this thesis that race is a crucial mechanism in the policing of Black Britons, producing a form of policing for many Black Britons defined as ‘racialised policing.’ This describes how Black people experience police surveillance, regulation, and control, through the disproportionate use of discretionary police powers such as stop and search, stop and account, arrest, and the use of force. Not only do Black people disproportionately experience stop and search but are arrested, receive out of court disposals, and charge (Eastwood et al., 2013; Shiner et al., 2018). Black people also disproportionately receive Crown Court referrals, custodial remand, custodial sentencing, and prison discipline adjudications (Ministry of Justice, 2016).

While British policing has been found to be institutionally racist (Macpherson, 1999), proving that racism is the reason that Black people disproportionately experience policing is beyond the scope of this research. Rather, the policing of Black Britons arises within a historical framework of ‘over-policing and…under-protection” (ibid:29) that continue to this day. As will be shown, Black communities emerge as collateral damage of racialised and criminalised processes in Britain, positioned as ‘suspect communities’ to be regulated and controlled.

‘Black Britons’ / ‘Black British Communities’

People of African and / or Caribbean descent, born, living, or having previously lived in Britain. This includes people of mixed-race parentage, with at least one parent of African and / or Caribbean descent.

Given this research focuses on identity and Black consciousness within critical race theory, ‘Black Britons’ also includes people who self-identify as such.

1.1 Policing Black Communities

The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) was created to respond to increasing social order issues arising from the industrial and urban revolution and to prevent crime and disorder through empowering a non-military body (Reith, 1956). The so-called ‘Peelian principles’ guided the British Policing Model, establishing principles of crime prevention and enshrining the concept of policing consent, or that the police are the public and public are the police (Reiner, 2010). As will be argued in this research, policing plays an important role in reinforcing racialised hierarchies in the British state. The institution of the police is itself racialised by white power structures that empower the police as an agent and enforcer of law and order (Phillips, 2020). Emsley (2008) argues that MPS was created to control the working class and other groups considered ‘police property’ (Loftus 2009a), long the focus of social control (Storch and Engels, 1975). As Klinger (1997:291) posits, the role of the police, rather than protection of marginalised people, is to protect ‘conventional citizenry’.

There are significant and longstanding racial disparities in policing. According to Home Office data (2022), there were 697,405 stops and searches in England and Wales between 2020 and 2021, or 12.4 per 1000 people (down from 24.8 stops and searches per 1000 people in March 2010). Between 2021 and 2022, ethnic minorities were stopped almost 7 times more than white people under ‘Section 60’ police powers. Stop and search is most disproportionately experienced by Black people, who were stopped and searched almost 14 times more than white people in this period (StopWatch UK, 2022). Black people were stopped and searched 52.6 per 1000 people, compared to 7.5 per 1000 white people. While stop and search is often touted as a solution to violent crime, only 1% of those searches led to offensive weapons being recovered and 4% of these searches ended in arrest (ibid).

Disproportionality in stop and search is calculated by comparing between population and the number of people from each racial or ethnic category being stopped and searched. Black Caribbean, Black 'other', and Asian 'other' ethnic groups experienced the most stop and search of ethnic groups overall. This was despite Black people representing just 3% of the overall population in Britain and 13% of the population of London (Home Office, 2022). Racial disproportionalities are greatest in London, where the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) carries out almost half of all total stops and searches in England and Wales. While London has the highest stop and search rates across all ethnicities, the MPS carries out a disproportionate number of stops and searches on Black and Asian people relative to the ethnic profile of the population, even accounting for differentiations in crime (Eastwood et al., 2013; Shiner et al., 2018).

In response to increasingly vocal critiques about how Black communities were being policed in the 1970s and 1980s, the Police and Criminal Evidence (PACE) Act 1984 was implemented to provide a legal framework for 'suspicion-based' stop and search, investigation, search, detention, and arrest. Home Office guidance on PACE establishes a standardised test of 'reasonable grounds for suspicion' in stops and searches. Many stops and searches are so-called 'Section 60' searches, which allow the police to:

> "search people in a defined area during a specific time period when they believe, with good reason, that: serious violence may take place and it is necessary to use this power to prevent such violence; or that a person is carrying a dangerous object or offensive weapon; or that an incident involving serious violence has taken place and a dangerous instrument or offensive weapon used in the incident is being carried in the locality" (Section 60, Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994).

As with other forms of police-initiated contact, the data shows that 'Section 60 searches' are disproportionately carried out on Black people (Shiner et al., 2018). The police authorisation to stop and search people has also historically been disproportionately used against immigrant communities (Bowling & Phillips, 2002).

In 2014, in response to continued criticisms about the disproportionate used of stop and search on Black people, the Home Office and College of Policing launched the Best Use of Stop and Search Scheme (BUSSS). Its aims were "achieving greater transparency, community involvement in the use of stop and search powers and to support a more intelligence-led approach, leading to better outcomes" (ibid:2). Following BUSSS, 'Section

60’ searches had to be authorised by a senior officer, or assistant chief constable, commander of the MPS, or commander of the City of London Police, or higher. It also provided that authorising officers must reasonably believe that serious violence ‘will’, rather than ‘may’, occur in order for stop and search to be authorised. BUSSS provided best practice guidelines relating to data recording and publishing, the introduction of lay observation policies, and community complaints triggers. Officers were required to record encounters to assess the ‘reasonable suspicion’ test and the outcome of stops and searches. All 43 police forces in England and Wales signed up to the scheme, although thirteen forces were later suspended for failure to adhere to requirements (Dodd, 2016).

However, in March 2019, consecutive Conservative Home Secretaries rolled back BUSSS in the 7 police forces that accounted for over 60% of knife crime offences. This was extended to all 43 police forces in England and Wales, effectively returning ‘Section 60’ guidance to its pre-BUSSS form (StopWatch UK, 2022). In July 2021, the ‘Beating Crime Plan’ permanently relaxed ‘Section 60’ restrictions, and increased police powers to tackle rising serious violence (ref). This was despite a super-complaint from Criminal Justice Alliance that ‘Section 60’ was not an effective response to violence and a recommendation that it be repealed (ref). StopWatch UK and Liberty launched a legal challenge against the Beating Crime Plan, which was upheld. The Home Secretary recently announced that BUSSS restrictions will be lifted permanently (StopWatch UK, 2022). Under current rules, a Section 60 authorisation may be given if it is deemed that threat of violence ‘may’ take place by an officer of at least inspector rank. An initial Section 60 authorisation can remain for up to 24 hours but may be extended by an officer of at least superintendent rank.

The changes in police policy over the years embody the ongoing contention of stop and search as an investigative tool, not least in terms of how it disproportionately harms Black communities. The return to pre-BUSSS provisions lays the groundwork for continued racialised policing for communities who will continue to experience disproportionate stop and search. While often seen as the most effective police response solution to knife crime, gangs, and drugs, the evidence suggests that stop and search has a negligible effect on crime rates (Deuchar 2019; Harcourt & Ludwig, 2016). Relatively few stops ‘result’, for example yielding weapons or drugs, or end in arrest, indicating that the benefits of stop and search may be minimal (Deuchar, 2019). Instead, experiences of policing over time erode the relationship between the police and Black communities, eradicating trust in the police, and

drawing large numbers of Black people into the criminal justice system. For many Black people, despite various attempts at police reform, frequent policing remains a reality of life.

Research also suggests, however, that a disproportionate amount of violent crime in London involves Black people as both perpetrators and victims (Home Office, 2022). This demonstrates the complexities of the policing of Black communities, highlighting that, while Black people are disproportionately policed, this is not necessarily due to their race. As the Ministry of Justice (2017a:11) finds, "identification of differences should not be equated with discrimination" as "there are many reasons why apparent disparities may exist which would require further investigation".

I argue in this thesis that racial disproportionalities in policing, and particularly in stop and search, emerge from racialised and criminalised constructions of Black criminality that remain central to British policing. Black people remain more likely to be stopped and searched than white ethnic groups, even accounting for differential offending (Eastwood et al, 2013; Shiner et al., 2018). Despite high-profile inquiries into policing of Black communities, including the Scarman Inquiry (1981) and the Macpherson Inquiry (1999), and an overall reduction in stop and search in recent years, racial disproportionalities in stop and search have in fact increased (Shiner et al., 2018, The Lammy Review, 2017; Race Disparity Audit, 2019).

Rather than tackling crime and improving engagement with Black communities, changing police policies over the years have represented renewed sites of conflict. Changes to operational policing in recent years have been described as a transition from 'law and order' to 'public order' policing through the expansion of police powers to tackle crime and reduce violence (Bowling & Phillips, 2002: viii). The National Crime Agency (2016) finds that children in inner-city areas are groomed and exploited by drug gangs to courier drugs and money across the country. While child exploitation in the drug trade is a real problem, the police and policy response reinforce depictions of violent Black male youth, pathologised as sources of danger, moral decline of the Black family, county lines drug gangs and nihilistic youth culture or 'Black on Black crime' (Bhattacharya et al., 2021).

Feeley & Simon (1992) argue that it was the contentious relationship between the police and Black communities that heralded the move towards actuarial strategies focusing on the identification, recording, management, and control of communities considered problematic and pathological. Youth violence, gangs, and drug crime represent new 'moral panics' (Cohen, 1972) that equate Blackness with criminality and dangerousness. The 'Black

mugger' has given way to that of the Black gangster and drug dealer in the public and police imagination (Williams & Clarke, 2016). Spicer (2021) argues that the 'moral panic' about 'county lines' merely represents a modern euphemism for longstanding constructions of Black criminality, employing more racially conscious language whilst legitimising similarly aggressive police responses. These same processes are evident in the widening of other communities considered 'suspect' in contemporary Britain, most notably the Muslim male (Pantaiz & Pemberton, 2009).

Individual policing encounters often have long-term ramifications for racialised people. The effect of racially disproportionate policing on Black communities continues beyond an individual police interaction:

> "Nothing has been more damaging to the relationship between the police and the Black community than the ill-judged use of stop and search powers. For young Black men in particular, the humiliating experience of being repeatedly stopped and searched is a fact of life, in some parts of London at least. It is hardly surprising that those on the receiving end of this treatment should develop hostile attitudes towards the police. The right to walk the streets is a fundamental one, and one that is quite rightly jealously guarded" (Bernie Grant, MP for Haringey, NACRO 1997:3).

Racialised policing has seen generations of Black Britons being drawn into the criminal justice system (Williams, 2015), and justify the use of social control policing methods to tackle the threat posed by the 'Black folk devil'. Stop and search is often first stage of a process of social exclusion for racialised and criminalised communities:

> "Criminalisation is the fulcrum of racialised social exclusion; it is where the metaphor of social exclusion is transformed into an explicit, formal social practice and into the personal experience of being literally excluded from society through imprisonment and all that flows from that" (Bowling & Phillips, 2002:247)

'Knife crime' is not itself a criminal offence, but rather an amalgamation of multiple existing offences including carrying a bladed article, robbery, grievous bodily harm, and murder. The grouping of various offences allows 'knife crime' to be characterised as a unique and frightening phenomenon, justifying increasingly "tough on crime" responses to lawlessness and urban decline in inner-city areas populated by ethnic minorities and immigrants.

The hostile relationship between the police and Black communities over the years continues to entrench already existing marginalisation and oppression in various ways. I argue that the purported function of order maintenance policing provides the justification for social control, labelling, and stigmatisation of groups racialised as Black (Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1967). Shiner et al. (2018:50) argue that "[stop and search] has less to do with the immediacies of crime control and more to do with containing and disciplining categories of people who are considered a threat to a particular vision of social order". Through these evolving forms of criminalisation, the policing of Black communities remains heavily racialised, representing "criminalising intents of a dangerous criminalisation of the Other, which legitimises intrusive racist policing and surveillance, and justifies the imposition of deliberate harms upon racialised communities" (Williams & Clarke, 2018:1).

This thesis locates policing within the wider historical, structural, and cultural context of Britain's relationship with ethnic minority and immigrant population, and deep-seated fears surrounding the changing face of 'Britishness'. Recent data indicates that Britain has ceased to be a Christian country for the first time (Office of National Statistics, 2022). Recent events such as the 'Windrush scandal' are part of an ongoing legacy of racialised othering of 'coloured migrants'. As with forms of policing, exclusionary logics within Britain's recent immigration policy are designed to emphasise the conditional belonging of British ethnic minority communities. The UK leaving the European Union, the Conservative government's response to small-boats crossings of migrants, the current Rwanda deportation policy of political asylum seekers, among other examples, are emblematic of how colonial logics of identity, status, and belonging remain central to conceptions of Britishness. This has significant consequences for the policing for the next generation of Black Britons and beyond.

1.2 Intergenerational Experiences of Policing and Cultural Narratives

The present study explores how information, perceptions, and feelings about policing are experienced collectively within communities. The transmission of cultural narratives presents an important area for analysis of the intergenerational lived experience of policing with significant implication for the future relationship between the police and communities. These narratives, framed within a legacy of ideological white domination, are internalised by Black Britons. Narratives influence responsive behaviours to the police through the

development cultural conduct norms and adaptive mechanisms to withstand decades of racialised policing.

The intergenerational experience of racialised policing will provide insight into the effects of decades of mutual hostility, and how mistrust has led to the development of narratives, behaviours, and responses within Black communities to withstand racialised policing. Historical negative experiences of policing provide the framework for the development of socio-cultural and political narratives within Black communities about their place within British society. The data suggests finds a generational shift in perceptions of the police, with young people displaying greater levels of mistrust of police than their parents (Brunson and Weitzer, 2011).

The policing of Black Britons reflects the functioning of policing to control minoritised groups considered risky to maintain structural and cultural domination:

> “[Policing’s] origins are in the control and oppression of the Other for the purpose of maintaining White power. Therefore, the development and formation of state policing in England cannot be understood without reference to the impact of colonial histories on the policing systems in the ‘mother countries’—their ‘imperial linkage’” (Cole, 1999:153).

Imperial histories of colonisation and social control of the ‘other’ frame the intergenerational policing of Black Britons within questions of identity, status, and belonging, embodying how “people are trapped in history and history is trapped inside them” (Baldwin, 1958: 1998, 119). Colonial logics, not relics of the past but active and ongoing, frame the policing experiences of Black people across the globe. Race, as a generative mechanism in the policing of Black people, is conditioned by structures and cultures that pre-date individual experiences (Parmar et al., 2022). As Stuart Hall (1992) argues, empire and identity are interwoven in notions of white belongingness in Britain. My research considers the intergenerational experience of policing as a demonstration of how colonialism continues to reverberate through the racialisation and criminalisation of the other and the continual denial of belonging in the British state.

The experiences of Black victims of crime also emerges from this contentious history. Alongside other forms of policing, the experiences of Black victims of crime are also often racialised. Racialised frameworks utilised by the police devalue some individuals as ‘undeserving victims’, resulting in reduced attention, response, and sympathy. As the ‘racialised victimological other’, Black people are forced to view themselves through the

‘white gaze’, reproducing power relations and leaving victims feeling targeted by the ‘whiteness’ of policing institution (Fanon, 1986:109-117). Widespread imagery surrounding Black criminality denies Black people the status of innocence, particularly in ‘racially othered’ spaces (Long, 2018).

Experiences of policing have created a negative perception of the police within Black communities, which have created shared understandings, and a critical consciousness about the police. As Cashmore and McLaughlin (1991:124) argue, “the collective experience of racial discrimination appears to have produced both a collective consciousness and a political ideology to match, which is over and above the particular experiences of prejudice and discrimination suffered by individuals within the group”. This Black critical consciousness is shared with other members of the community, regardless of personal experiences of police interactions. These conceptualisations create expectations of the police, which affect police interactions across generations.

For many Black Britons, “reality so far has not yet caught up with the rhetoric of community policing’ (Zhao and Thurman 1997:117). The development and transmission cultural narratives surrounding the contentious relationship with the police are vital to how Black Britons interpret and respond to policing. Young Black people have considerably more negative attitudes towards the police than their white counterparts (Rosenbaum et al., 2005). This research explores how experiences of racialised policing across generations entrench the negative perceptions that many Black Britons hold towards the police, which shape how they conceptualise and respond to them, even when they have not directly experienced. In essence, narratives may be more impactful than actual experiences in how Black communities view and respond to the police.

1.3 Intersectionality

This research takes an intersectional view of the policing experiences of Black communities, grounded in the notion that experiences are shaped by multiple social positions at once (Bauer et al, 2021). Intersectional theory emerged from Black feminist legal scholarship that sought to foreground the experiences of Black women. Legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) argues that the social position of individuals exists within a hierarchy of social relations that shape human experience. The intersections of lived

experiences may include race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, gender identity and others (Bowleg, 2012).

Intersectional epistemologies differ from standpoint epistemologies, which emerged from feminist scholarship to explore the authority of individual knowledge, perspectives, and experiences within social, cultural, and political frameworks (Harding & Norberg, 2005). Whilst they may provide insight into the perspectives of people with marginalised identities, some standpoint theories have been criticised for being essentialist, overemphasising subjectivity, and overlooking the complexities of experiences of different groups (West & Turner, 2004). They have also been criticised by intersectional theorists for emphasising gender to the preclusion of other intersections, effectively prioritising the experiences of white women over that of ethnic minority women (Crenshaw, 1989).

My intersectional analysis of the intergenerational experience of policing emphasises the significance of multiple identities, a focus on oppression and marginalisation, and examination of social and structural contexts (Bowleg, 2012). I explore how identity and positionality affect experiences and perceptions of policing and the development and transmission of cultural narratives about the police. The role of race, gender, age, class, and immigration histories in experiences of policing over time provide valuable insight into how structural inequalities operate, both historically and in contemporary Britain.

Crucially, while social positions may be experienced at an individual level, they are shaped by structural and cultural systems of oppression. As a theoretical framework, the intersectional approach taken here allows for mediation between multiple identities, critique of social categorisation and structures, and social progress. This means that intersecting identities must be considered as the sum of their parts, providing insight into the heterogeneity of effect (Bauer et al., 2021). Critical analysis of lived experience is possible by considering how social positions relate to each other and exploring how systems of oppression operate in the lives of individuals and groups.

1.4 Research Questions

My overarching research question is, "*What is the intergenerational experience of policing within Black communities?*" In my exploration of this broad question, I address several sub-questions:

i. *How do Black communities experience policing across generations?*
ii. *How do parents and children from Black communities understand and interpret the gendered experiences of policing?*
iii. *How is class understood and interpreted in the policing of Black Britons?*
iv. *Do immigration histories change the way parents and children from Black communities understand and interpret their experiences of policing?*

The exploration of these research questions will provide original insight into the intergenerational lived experience of policing of Black people in Britain, which remains an unexplored area with implications for both policing and criminological research. It will provide insight into the structural and cultural position occupied by Black Britons and how this produces disproportionate policing. I foreground intersectional experiences of policing throughout, moving beyond the usual focus of young, Black men that dominates policing literature. Historical, structural, and contextual conditions are of key importance, as the realities of research participants exist within this context. The critical analysis of the role of gender, class, and immigration presents complex, holistic, and in-depth analyses of the intersectional experience of policing of Black Britons.

I use a critical realist framework, which conceives of three domains of reality: empirical (experiential or perceived) reality; actual reality (events); and real causal (structural level processes) that produce actual events and social norms/laws (Bhaskar, 1978). Critical realism provides a framework for analysing the generative mechanisms underpinning the disproportionate policing of Black Britons. My approach acknowledges the importance of perceptions and their relationship with the social and cultural conditions. These influence police perspectives and behavioural responses to Black communities.

My research uses also critical race theory, which describes the permanence of race, or racial realism. It is argued that race has produced and continues to reproduce the policing experiences of Black communities: "white-Black race relations are systemic, and reproduced culturally, institutionally, and socially from generation to generation. This systemic racism

confers a permanent minority status to Blacks that is ignored in contemporary treatments of race”. Analysis of the relationship between law and ideologies of domination within CRT highlights the constantly negotiated and re-negotiated relationship between dominant and non-dominant groups through the prism of policing as an arm of the nation state. The introduction of CRT into my research will allow me to explore the policing experiences of the racialised Black other within a wider context of white imperialist history and cultural hegemony. I deploy a form of disciplined eclecticism in my research, synthesising critical realism and critical race theory to explore intergenerational lived experience rooted in epistemological relativism and realist ontology.

The racialisation and criminalisation of ‘othered’ communities are generative mechanisms within a structure and culture of historical racialised policing, and which cause events to occur at the empirical level through policing interactions. Behaviours, actions, and discourses developed within families, peer groups and communities to withstand the effect of racialised over-policing over decades represent opportunities for social reproduction. The reproduction or transformation of social structures relies in part on human agency, which is shaped by structures without being determined by them (Bhaskar, 1978). Empirical narratives will provide insight into how understandings of the police emerged from policing experiences over time.

Taking the view that the racialised policing of Black communities is the result of racialising and criminalising processes, I argue that they may be overcome through forms of individual and collective resistance practiced by Black Britons. Social structures, whilst the product of individual humans, have their own causal powers that are irreducible to the powers of these individuals. Through the concept of emergence, or the causal powers of a specific entity, collective and individual actions taken by Black people present possibilities for social change, or morphogenesis. The actions of Black Britons create a path for gradual transformation of structure and culture through acts of questioning, challenging, and resisting racialised policing.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

This chapter has laid the foundation of the research to follow, introducing key concepts and issues that will be explored throughout. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities over the years, tracing the post-war experiences of Caribbean immigrants, through the increasing hostility of native white populations and depiction of Black immigrants as the 'alien wedge' (Gilroy, 1987). The way Black communities have experienced policing over the years will be discussed, including in the contemporary context. It is argued that the 'non-belonging' of Black communities in Britain became affixed in criminality, creating a race-crime nexus (Long, 2018) that provides the justification for aggressive forms of policing.

Chapter 3 considers the literature on how Black communities have responded to longstanding racialised othering. The focus here is the development and transmission of intergenerational cultural narratives to interpret and explain the policing of Black communities, to themselves, and to others. This chapter finds experience of direct and vicarious policing, including police responses to victimisation, have contributed to entrenched negative attitudes towards the police that are transmitted across generations through negative discourses about the police. The resulting advice, subcultural norms, and adaptive mechanisms have been created to manage experiences of racialised policing within communities.

Chapter 4 defines the critical realist critical race theory approach of this research. Black Britons are social actors acting within a set of pre-defined structures beyond their control, the historical legacy of racialised policing and criminalisation of Black immigrant communities in Britain. The reproduction of structure and culture, in particular the legacy of racialised policing in 1970s and 1980s Britain, is itself set against the backdrop of Britain's relationship with immigrants and groups racialised as 'other' in a post-colonial context (Gilroy, 1987). As my research will demonstrate, policing may be considered a microcosm of relations between Black people and their structural environment, stratified by race, gender, class and immigration histories.

Chapter 5 explains the methods that will be used to answer the research questions, the methodological design, sampling plan and ethical considerations. It explores reflexivity and my researcher positionality as a Black British female researcher, and the advantages and disadvantages this has on my research. My emphasis on Black feminist methodologies

provides opportunities for critical analysis of the intersectional experiences of social phenomena. Theories of intersectionality emphasise how structural inequalities prevent social change occurring for marginalised groups within a matrix of domination (Hill-Collins, 2000). The analytical theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis will also be outlined.

The next two chapters will analyse how policing is experienced intergenerationally. Chapter 6 explores how the racialisation and criminalisation of Black Britons has been experienced historically and is experienced today. This chapter discusses continued disproportionate policing of Black communities, embodying the morphostatic, or the reproduction of existing structures, experience of racialised policing for many Black Britons (Archer, 1999). The data provides insight into how changes in policing strategy have, or have not, affected the lived experiences of participants, and the narratives used to explain policing to themselves and young people.

Similarly, Chapter 7 considers how policing is experienced by Black victims of crime, whose specific experiences have been historically overlooked in criminological research. This chapter analyses how race may produce inadequate victim experiences through the symbiotic and often volatile relationship between police and Black Britons. Taking an intersectional approach to how different Black people experience victimisation, this chapter considers how cultural narratives have emerged from the longstanding under-protection of Black victims. It explores deeply entrenched negative attitudes towards the police, and the implications this has for the cooperation between the police and Black communities now and in the future.

Chapters 8, 9, and 10 explore the effects of racialised policing and the intergenerational transmission of cultural narratives in response to decades of racialised policing. Chapter 8 conceptualises the intergenerational experience of policing, considering how community narratives are developed and used by participants to interpret direct and vicarious policing experiences. This lays the groundwork for how Black parents prepare, guide, and protect children from racialised policing. This chapter explores how negative views held by different generations of Black Britons, and with different immigration experiences, may be transmitted, becoming deeply embedded cultural understandings that are carried throughout lives and transmitted across generations.

Chapter 9 explores how Black Britons remain within racialising and criminalising frameworks that produce racialised policing and reproduce it across generations. Using a

series of tropes, this chapter analyses the how the cultural narratives employed by Black people may be more important than actual experiences, particularly when aligning with pre-existing conceptual frameworks that are mistrustful of the police or Britain itself. These findings demonstrate that the enduring legacy of racialised policing is morphostasis of Black Britons, who remain disproportionately subject to racialising and criminalising processes.

Finally, Chapter 10 presents an argument for how community narratives and adaptive behaviours developed in response to historical and contemporary racialised policing are opportunities for Black Britons to create and transmit cultural capital across generations. I argue here that the racialising and criminalising structures and cultures reproducing racialised policing are changing, through evolving modes of resistance, global activism, increasing cultural capital, and collective Black identities. These changing conditions lay the groundwork for potential social progress for future generations of Black Britons and the eradication of racialised policing through collective action.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the core tenets and foundational concepts that are used in this thesis. Processes of racialisation and criminalisation of communities depicted as ‘other’ rely on racialised ideas of superiority, creating the conditions for the policing of Black communities in post-war Britain. This has resulted in longstanding mutual distrust between the police and many Black Britons, raising the question of how the police can improve its relationship with communities given this deeply embedded hostility.

Both the current policing landscape, and historical experience of policing, present important areas for this research. This chapter has also set out the research questions that will be investigated, explored, and critically analysed in the remainder of this thesis. The structure of the thesis was summarised, conveying the focus of each chapter to follow. Recognising the value of analysing policing from a Black perspective, my research seeks insight into how policing is experienced at the intersections. While there is no homogenous Black experience of policing, this thesis explores the shared legacy of racialised policing, and how this may continue cast its long shadow on future for generations of Black Britons.

Chapter 2

Racialisation, Criminalisation, and Policing of Black Communities

This chapter explores how racialisation, criminalisation and policing of groups defined as 'other' in hegemonic structure and culture created the conditions for the over-policing of Black British communities. Tracing the immigration histories of Caribbean immigrants into Britain during the post-war period, the policing of Black Britons embodies the non-belonging of ethnic minorities in Britain. Through racialised constructions of Black criminality, Black Britons, and particularly young Black males, have been depicted as pathological, dysfunctional and in need of social control by the British state (Gilroy, 1987). Historically, this has justified expanded police powers, surveillance, and monitoring to tackle the perceived threat of the racialised and criminalised 'other'.

This review draws on criminological, cultural, statistical, and ethnographic research, to analyse the cultural, socio-historical frameworks underpinning British racialised policing. The selected literature is by no means exhaustive but aims to provide an overview of the issues that have produced racialised policing of Black immigrant communities in the post-war period and how this operates to this day.

The first section considers the experiences by Caribbean immigrants as they arrived in Britain. As will be discussed here, social, cultural, and political marginalisation of 'coloured immigrants' conveyed cultural anxieties about the changing modern Britain. Mass immigration from former British colonies laid the groundwork for the historical and contemporary policing of Black communities as a racialised and criminalised 'other'.

The second section considers how racialisation and criminalisation created the conditions for the policing of Black Britons in the latter half of the 20th century. Cultural anxieties about the changing face of British demography and economic crisis in the 1970s laid the groundwork for the development of a race-crime nexus (Long, 2018). Constructions of Black criminality emerged amidst a hegemonic crisis, creating a 'moral panic' of 'the Black mugger' and the 'Black folk devil' in the public imagination (Hall et al, 1978). The result was increasingly aggressive forms of policing through 'a racist appeal to the British nation [which was] integral to maintaining popular support for the government in crisis conditions' (Gilroy 1982: 47). The role of racialised and class inequalities in discretionary policing is emphasised, including protests and riots in Black communities in response to racialised

policing. Subsequent attempts at police reform, notably the Scarman (1981) and Macpherson Inquiries (1999) will be discussed.

The third section explores the role of racial discrimination of police discretion and decision-making. My research focuses on the lived experiences of Black communities, therefore I do not intend to discuss 'cop culture' (Waddington, 1999; Reiner, 2010; Cockroft, 2012) in depth. Definitive proof that police is racist is not the purpose of this thesis, and this section does not attempt to make such an argument. Instead, I consider how discrimination, stereotypes and racialised constructions about Black criminality create experiences of policing, and participants' narratives about the policing of Black people in Britain. I will examine the relationship between police discretion and racialised constructions of Black criminality, and how these have historically resulted in the heavy policing of Black people and neighbourhoods. Counterarguments will also be considered, which present alternative explanations for why Black communities are more heavily policed than others.

Finally, this chapter considers contemporary experiences of policing for Black communities, detailing how racialised policing disproportionalities currently impact Black communities. This literature argues that new forms of racialisation and criminalisation, methods of policing, and punishment, continue to frame Black people as criminal and in need of control by the state. The research illustrates how individual policing encounters often have long-term ramifications for racialised people, positions the policing of Black communities in an intergenerational framework of ongoing conflict, mistrust, and fear.

2.1 Historical Racialisation and Criminalisation of Immigrant Communities

The HMT 'Empire Windrush' arrived at the Port of Tilbury on 21st June 1948, carrying four hundred and ninety-three Caribbean migrants, subsequently known as 'Windrush Migrants' (Phillips and Phillips, 1998). The British Nationality Act 1948 enabled free movement of people from former British colonies, conferring legal rights on immigrants to settle in Britain (Bowling & Phillips, 2002), The legislation arose as part of the British post-war reconstruction effort, which sought to encourage immigration from countries previously under British Imperial rule, including Jamaica, Barbados, and Nigeria. Many citizens from Caribbean, African, and South Asian nations considered themselves British subjects and Britain the 'mother country' (ibid). Fryer (1984) notes that migrants arriving at Tilbury

Docks were greeted with 'Welcome Home!' on the front page of the Evening Standard newspaper.

Initial assumptions were that 'Windrush Migrants' would return to the Caribbean after assisting in post-war rebuilding efforts, with improved resources, education and opportunities (Sutherland, 2006). However, as it became clear that many intended to settle in Britain, fears arose among native white Britons about the effect of 'coloured immigration' on the racial character and national identity of Britain (Solomos, 2003). Conflicts between immigrant communities and white British populations reflected fears among white Britons about the new face of British citizenship (Cashmore & McLaughlin, 1991). This provided the foundation for many of the processes of racialisation and criminalisation that would characterise the Black British experience throughout modern history.

This period of history has been described as the first time Britain risked ceasing to be a 'white man's country' (Miles and Phizaklea, 1984), heralding a transition from the politics of 'race' as 'Empire' to the politics of 'race' as 'Nation' (Hesse, 2000). Increasing concerns about the dangers of 'coloured migration' to 'the character and appearance of British people' (Solomos, 1993) resulted in the 1958 riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill, which saw attacks from native white Britons against Black immigrants (Solomos, 1988; Long, 2018). Such riots came to be seen as the inevitable result of 'white angst' about increasing Black immigration and fears of security in white neighbourhoods and homes (Perry, 2015). Fryer (1984) notes that the police were 'already hostile to Black people...had offered no effective opposition to either the fascists or their teenage dupes' (ibid: 380).

In response to the backlash among white Britons, legislation that restricted the rights of immigrants was enacted. White people from former British colonies, such as Canada and Australia, benefited from partial status, while immigrants from the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia were restricted (Gentleman, 2022). Under the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, a voucher system permitted a limited number of Commonwealth migrants to enter the UK, effectively restricting free movement from the British empire (Olusoga, 2016). Soon after, the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act divided immigrants into 'belonging' and 'non-belonging' categories based on parental or grandparental connections to the UK, which has been described as a euphemism for 'white' (Gentleman, 2022). Even immigrants with British passports were categorised as 'non-belonging' and many were rendered stateless (ibid).

The 1971 Immigration Act constrained Commonwealth migrants from Britain, and later the 1981 British Nationality Act stripped some immigrants of right of abode and removed citizenship for non-white persons born on British soil (Solomos, 1993). Immigration controls were applied to 'partials', or individuals without a UK citizen parent or grandparent (ibid). These 'race relations' laws safeguarded the appearance of anti-discrimination, while entrenching racist policies in immigration legislation (Bowling & Phillips, 2002).

Gordon (1984) argues such immigration laws embodied the shift from external border controls to 'internal controls' or 'pass laws' for immigrants of African, Caribbean, and Asian communities in Britain. Frequent passport-raids in ethnic minority communities further eroded trust, with the police documented asking for identification from 'foreign-looking people' during routine traffic stops and even witnesses of crime (Bowling and Phillips, 2002). Simultaneously, the National Front raised its profile using an openly racist platform, campaigning for repatriation of all non-white immigrants and harsher measures for 'Black crime' (ibid). Margaret Thatcher expressed similar open concern about the threat of immigration to white British people and advocated for a 'law and order' approach to rising crime levels in Black neighbourhoods (Solomos, 1993).

Refugees and skilled workers from African countries (Adeniyi, 2006) and South Asia (Ballard, 2002) increasingly arrived and settled in Britain. Many ethnic minority immigrants arrived in Britain from countries previously under British Imperial rule. Sanghera (2021) argues meant that immigrants were considered inferior by white Britons from historical colonial and white supremacist ideologies. For Holdaway (1996), countries in the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia were in a relationship of colonial dominance with Britain through deeply-ingrained conceptualisations of British imperialist power. Their 'conquering', he argues, had created a framework of racialised subordination of indigenous populations that soon began to play out in Britain. This heralded "not just a process of entry into neutral territory, but of people into a complex web of ideas about colonial status' (ibid:18).

There were increasing calls for controls to Black immigration and repatriation to countries of origin (Sutherland, 2006) predicated on the notion that immigrants could not and should not assimilate into British society: "Blacks came to be defined as a separate group, as alien, or inevitably culturally different and as a threat to the rights, status and rewards of citizens of an otherwise culturally and politically homogenous society" (Williams, 1986:137). A letter from 11 Labour Party members to then Prime Minister Clement Atlee warned "an

influx of colonial people domiciled here is likely to impair the harmony, strength and cohesion of our public life and cause discord and unhappiness among all concerned" (Paul, 1997:126).

Media narratives at the time voiced 'white angst' surrounding the invading presence of Black migrants and the threat posed by large scale Black settlement in Britain (Perry, 2015:113). A Conservative campaign slogan stating, "if you want a nigger for a neighbour, vote Labour" has been described as 'a manifestation of popular feeling' (Solomos, 1993:120). Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech, a direct response to the 1968 Race Relations Act, described the end of immigration as the only solution to a gathering threat:

> "Here is the means of showing that the immigrant communities can organize to consolidate their members, to agitate and campaign against their fellow citizens, and to overawe and dominate the rest with the legal weapons which the ignorant and the ill-informed have provided. As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood" (Powell, 1968 cited in Hiro, 1992: 247).

The speech had a significant impact on the politics, media discourse, and race relations in British society (Hillman, 2008; Bowling and Phillips, 2002), embodying the concept of Black people as in inherent opposition to Britishness. Gilroy (1987:85) argues that the speech represented a new form of racism depicting Black communities as the 'alien wedge', incapable of assimilation into British culture. This laid the groundwork for the policing of Black communities as a constructed threat in need of social control.

2.2 Historical Policing of Black Communities

i. Depictions of Black Criminality and Social Disorder

Associations between immigrants, crime and disorder already existed in Britain prior to the post-war arrival of immigrants (Cashmore and McLaughlin, 1991). These reflected imperialist ideologies depicting white Europeans as racially superior to ethnic minorities (Olusoga, 2016), but they provided the framework for racialisation and criminalisation of the growing immigrant population in Britain. In the 1950s and 1960s, Caribbean migrants came

to be known for ‘primitiveness, savagery, violence, sexuality, general lack of control, sloth irresponsibility’ (ibid:501). However, this was not restricted to Black immigrants, and ethnic groups such as Jews and the Irish were depicted as dysfunctional and criminal due to pathologised racial characteristics (Bowling & Phillips, 2002).

Black people being singled out by the police can be traced back to reports of ‘nigger hunting’ in the 1960s (Hunte, 1966). The Vagrancy Act 1824 authorised the police to arrest individuals suspected of loitering with the intent to commit an arrestable offence. These powers, commonly referred to as ‘sus’ laws, were disproportionately used against young Black men in the 1970s and 1980s (Long, 2018). This era was characterised by particularly hostile relation between the police and Black communities, with many Black neighbourhoods experiencing frequent policing and racist violence (Bowling & Phillips, 2002).

The policing of Black communities in Britain became a site of conflict for nationalist anxieties. Policing by consent is a central component of British policing but presents the inherent conflicts between the notion of consent and the use of legitimate force (Bittner, 1974). Policing by force arises from the failure of society to reach consensus on norms, values, and appropriate behaviours (Reiner, 2010). The effective exercise of police powers should entail minimal use of force, but ‘the benign bobby…still brings to the situation a uniform, a truncheon, and a battery of resource charges…which can be employed when appeasement fails and fists start flying’ (Punch 1979:116, quoted in Reiner, 2010).

Changing public mood reflected increasingly strong anti-immigrant sentiment from the post-war period “when Caribbean migration was at first strongly encouraged and then increasingly harshly constrained” (Wardle & Obermuller, 2019). Having been encouraged during the post-war rebuilding efforts, immigration became violently disrupted’ by state mechanisms to create an inhospitable environment for many immigrants (Olusoga, 2016:82). Bhattacharya et al., (2021:50) argue there was a ‘colonial lineage’ to the treatment of immigrants in Britain who were:

> “[T]olerated by the state if they organised people into productive work relations and respectable family structure. Indirect rule and multiculturalism both rely on respecting cultural leaders and customary law so long as this does not challenge the ultimate authority of the British government”.

This conveys how the British state tolerates immigration under certain conditions and asserts the unbelonging of immigrant communities under other conditions. As Windrush migrants

settled and others continued to arrive, the expectation to assimilate, and subsequent labelling as 'deviant' for the failure to do so, led to hegemonic racialisation and criminalisation of ethnic groups, particularly as many migrants were young men (Gilroy, 1987).

The late 1960s and 1970s saw increased public disorder, strikes and protests about economic recession, unemployment, and inequalities in Britain (Long, 2018). Responsibility for crime in areas with large immigrant populations living in poor housing was ascribed to the immigrant communities inhabiting them:

> "It is very apparent that the housing market operates in such a way that immigrants, and particularly coloured immigrants, live in certain typical conditions and areas, one of whose features is high rates of crime and disorder, both in terms of occurrence of crime events and in terms of residence of criminals and delinquents" (Lambert, 1970:122).

White hegemonic power determines the conditions under which marginalised groups are tolerated (Long, 2018). The status of Caribbean communities settling in Britain was 'violently disrupted' by state mechanisms creating an inhospitable environment (Wardle & Obermuller, 2019:82). The Immigration Act 1971 authorised police powers to detain and question people suspected of entering the country illegally or overstaying. In practice this meant a transition from border controls to 'internal controls' and 'pass laws', creating a 'witch hunt' for immigrant communities (Gordon, 1984). Kyriakides and Virdee (2003) highlight the racism of Britain's immigration policy, which used immigration restrictions to perpetuate a racist climate respectably and relatively unnoticed. Despite their legal status as citizens, many Black immigrants were excluded from housing and forced to find employment in low-paying jobs in metropolitan areas of British cities, thereby 'maintaining a hierarchy of market' (Miles, 1984:127). This resulted in downward mobility for immigrants who held highly skilled employment in countries of origin (Sanghera, 2021). The resulting overcrowding, poverty and crime in these areas created an association between immigration and urban decay (Lambert, 1970). This confirmed colonial stereotypes about the character and quality of ethnic minority communities (Holdaway, 1996).

In the seminal 'Policing the Crisis', Hall et al., (1978) used Gramsci's cultural hegemony (1971), or the maintenance of status quo and state power through ideology and economic coercion to explain how immigrant communities became increasingly criminalised.

Nationalist fears about lost British imperial greatness are central constructions of British identity, threats to which must be strongly controlled to maintain cultural hegemony. In the 1970s, high levels of unemployment and economic recession created the need for a scapegoat to divert public attention from the political sphere, and mediate social disorder between Black communities and the state:

> "As race relations have worsened in the country generally, as Black militancy and politicisation have grown, and as the number of Black youths unable to find employment has multiplied (according to recent estimates at June 1974, 21 per cent of British Black youths between 15 and 19 were unemployed), so the police in the Black communities have come, progressively, to perceive the Black population as a potential threat to 'law and order', potentially hostile, potential troublemakers, potential 'disturbers of the peace', and potential criminals." Hall et al. (1978:45)

Black youth unemployment became increasingly linked with disorder and 'street crime', and the concept of 'Black crime' came to the forefront of the political law and order agenda (Solomos & Back, 1996). A Daily Mirror article in 1972 entitled 'Judge Cracks Down on Muggers in City of Fear' described how "[m]ugging is becoming more prevalent certainly in London. We are told that in America people are afraid to walk the streets late at night because of mugging" (Hall et al., 1978:75). This was typical of news stories during the 1970s that described mugging as a new and frightening phenomenon. The Sun newspaper printed an article entitled 'Taming the Muggers':

> "What are the British people most concerned about today? Wages? Prices? Immigration? Pornography? People are talking about all of these things. But the Sun believes there is another issue which has everyone deeply worried and angry: VIOLENCE IN OUR STREETS…Nothing could be more utterly against our way of life, based on a common-sense regard for law and order…If punitive jail sentences help to stop the violence – and nothing else can be done – they will not only prove to be the only way. They will, regrettably, be the RIGHT way. *And the judges will have the backing of the public*" (The Sun, 13 October 1972, cited in Hall et al., 1978).

Media reports embodied the prevailing mood in British at the time and stoked fears of mugging and violent crime during the 1970s, resulting in a 'moral panic', or smokescreen, about Black crime, and the construction of Black youth in a criminal threat framework (Hall

et al., 1978). The mythic status of Black criminality was used to justify aggressive policing responses in Black neighbourhoods (Gilroy, 1987), entrenching a race-crime nexus which positioned Black people as members of suspect communities (Long, 2018). The concept of 'Black crime' took 'its own kind of stranglehold on the public and official imagination' (Hall et al. 1978:5-6), with young Black men depicted as 'folk devils' representing an inherently criminal underclass (ibid):

Mugging, a term imported from the US, as a new strain of crime came with a pre-established racialised definition and 'Black crime' became 'virtually synonymous' (Hall et al., 1978:217). Whilst mugging comprised a small percentage of crime, its racialising and criminalising constructions provoked strong reactions from the media, public and the police engendering public support for increasingly strict policing strategies (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). 'Mugging' represented the "articulator of the crisis, its ideological conductor" (Hall et al. 1978: vii-viii), and a mechanism for justifying a 'law and order' response to the crisis. The race-crime nexus (Long, 2018) provides legitimacy and reinforces the authority of the state, leaving Black communities as the collateral damage of hegemonic political and social needs.

The targeting of inner-city neighbourhoods with large Black populations was indicative of the focus on public order policing in the 1970s and 1980s in areas considered 'high crime', such as Tottenham, Brixton, Peckham and Southhall (Elliott-Cooper, 2021). This racialised political and cultural landscape also prevented effective scrutiny of policing practices that disproportionately impacted Black communities (Cashmore & McLaughlin, 1991). Conflicts between the police and ethnic minority youths frequently arose due to 'over-policing' in majority ethnic neighbourhoods (Gordon, 1983). Gilroy (1987:96) argues that the "emphasis on Black crime became a useful means to bolster the standing of the police during economic crisis in the 1970s, enhancing support for the organisation at a difficult moment and winning popular consent which could no longer be taken for granted".

In the 1970s, the policing of Black communities was exacerbated by a lack of police protection of Black victims of violent crime, especially racist violence from groups such as the National Front (Elliot-Cooper, 2021). Criticism grew surrounding the policing of Black political, social, and cultural events. and police failure to protect Black neighbourhoods from racist violence (McLaughlin, 1991; Bowling and Phillips, 2002). This was not a new phenomenon at this point, with Hunte criticising the police response during the 1958 Notting Hill 'race riots' as reflective of police practices that disregarded racist violence against Black people:

> "The inadequacy of police protection for 'coloureds' in Notting Hill during the disturbances could have been deliberate (in part intended to develop the atmosphere in which government limitation of immigration could be achieved) but it could not have been because the Metropolitan Police were incapable of providing anything better" (Hunte, 1966:64).

At the same time, categorisation of 'symbolic locations', or areas with large African and Caribbean populations as 'high crime areas' contributed to the feeling of victimisation and harassment in Black communities (Keith, 1993). Police tactics such as mass stop and search operations, raids using semi-military equipment, riot squads, and specialist units were used in predominantly Black neighbourhoods (Institute of Race Relations, 1987). Many Black men described experiences of police harassment, brutality, and widespread racist language (Institute of Race Relations, 1987).

The hostile policing of Black neighbourhoods was compounded by racially exclusionary housing and employment practices of 1970s Britain which caused Black immigrants to settle in inner city areas of London with poor housing, amenities, and social support. Holdaway (1996) argues this amounted to patterns of institutional social exclusion against Black immigrant communities. Such racist practices linked with operational policing, as Black and Asian families during the 1970s and 1980s were allocated flats in poorer parts of the neighbourhood and with fewer local amenities (Mason, 1996). Immigrant communities were then 'aggressively policed' by specialist police squads and using saturation tactics that targeted certain areas (Cashmore and McLaughlin 1991:27).

Black communities increasingly began to respond to the institutionalised inequalities and racialised policing they were experiencing with protests and riots. In 1971, the frequent police raids at Brixton's Mangrove restaurant, a Black cultural hub, led to a strong community response. Protests against police brutality led to clashes with the police, with nine protesters eventually facing trial for assault and incitement to riot (Angelo, 2009). The acquittal of the 'Mangrove Nine' was a watershed moment in Black resistance against policing and wide reporting of the trial suggested progress in British race relations (Elliott-Cooper, 2021). However, ongoing hostilities from heavy policing of Black neighbourhoods, estates, and cultural hubs saw continued protests from a community that felt targeted and harassed by police power (ibid). Long (2018:16) argues that, while protests and riots had occurred throughout British history, the creation of the race-crime nexus led to the

characterisation of riots of the 1980s as 'race riots', reifying perceptions that Black Britishness was "fundamentally opposed to the values of Britishness', or Gilroy's (1987) 'alien wedge'.

In 1980, numerous police raids of Black and White Café in St Paul's Bristol, which was mainly frequented by Black customers, culminated in the 'St Paul's riot'. This was the first of many incidents of unrest across Britain, which resulted in greater police powers to tackle the perceived escalating threat, including riot gear, CS gas, plastic bullets, water cannons, surveillance systems and guns (Elliott-Cooper, 2021). In 1981, a police raid on 11 houses culminated in violence in Brixton (Solomos and Rackett, 1991). This led to intensified use of police riot control tactics, including high-speed driving of police vehicles and use of CS gas, and injuries were inflicted on both the police and civilians (Reiner, 2010).

The concept of the crime-ridden inner city' became part of urban discourse in post-war Britain as a site for race to become socially and spatially meaningful (Rhodes & Brown, 2019). Riots against state racism were depicted as either a 'lust for blood', an 'orgy of thieving' and, and by Conservative minister Douglas Hurd (cited in Solomos, 1988:206) as a 'cry for loot and not a cry for help'), affixing blame for disorder on Black communities. Then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher questioned how, if parents could not control the actions of their children, what could the government do to prevent them from engaging in 'hooliganism' and 'a spree of naked greed' (The Times 10 July 1981). Unrest in Black neighbourhoods galvanised political responses, with Conservative politicians calling for tougher tactics against protesters and rioters, including the use of special police equipment and expanded police powers (Reiner, 2010).

In the 1985 Tottenham Riots, then Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Sir Kenneth Newman authorised the use of plastic bullets and CS spray to subdue protesters, representing the first use of paramilitary policing against communities on the British mainland (Elliott-Cooper, 2021). Broadwater Farm Estate was subsequently occupied by the police for months, with searches, house raids, phones cut off and monitoring of movement commonplace throughout (ibid). The expansion of police powers to respond to Black protests against the police would prove to be a common occurrence in modern British policing history. This conveyed how neighbourhoods that Black communities lived in were territorialised, pathologised, and racialised, subject to state regulation (Rhodes & Brown, 2019).

ii. Attempts at Reform

In the early 1980, increasingly frequent social unrest occurring in Black neighbourhoods led the government to reconsider its approach to maintaining public order. Public responses also became stronger, as white Britons witnessed televised footage of aggressive tactics being used to quell Black protests (Elliott-Cooper, 2021). This led to the implementation of new strategies focused on enhancing mutual aid arrangements, transport and communication, provisions, protective equipment, riot-training, and community relations (Cashmore and McLaughlin, 1991:28). The Scarman Inquiry (1981) following the Brixton riots attributed the disorder to the anger of young Black people facing unemployment, disenfranchisement, and racial injustice. It concluded that, regardless of blame, the riots were the result of police action, highlighting the loss of trust in the police among ethnic minority communities of Brixton:

> "]T]he hostility of young Black people, who felt they were being hunted irrespective of their innocence or guilt. And their hostility infected older members of the community who, hearing the stories of many innocent young people who had been stopped and searched, began themselves to lose confidence in, and respect for, the police. However well-intentioned, these operations precipitated a crisis of confidence between the police and certain community leaders" (Scarman, 1981:134).

This quote acknowledged the intergenerational experience police targeting in Black communities and how this reduced trust and confidence in the police. Scarman found that policing practices discriminated against Black people. Following the Inquiry, 'sus laws' were scrapped, and recommendations included increased police recruitment from ethnic minority communities, improving community relations, and strengthening police accountability. However, Scarman stopped short of finding British society to be institutionally racist, instead ascribing blame to a few 'bad apples' in the police:

> 'It was alleged...that Britain is an institutionally racist society. If, by that, it is meant that it is a society that knowingly, as a matter of policy, discriminates against Black people, I reject the allegation. If, however, the suggestion being made is that practices may be adopted by public bodies as well as by private individuals which are unwittingly discriminatory against Black people, then this is an allegation which

deserves serious consideration, and where proved, swift remedy' (Scarman, 1981:2.22:11).

The inquiry was "greeted with a wave of adulation" (Kettle & Hodges, 1982:208) by many, but was criticised in some Black communities for failing to identify institutional racism in policing (Keith, 1993:77), or considering them 'unwitting' (Bowling and Phillips, 2002). Scarman was also criticised for failing to contextualise policing within wider socio-economic and politico-legal framework that were discriminatory against Black people (ibid). Gilroy (1987:104) saw Scarman as echoing pathologies of Black familial dysfunction, rather than ensuring police accountability. However, a backlash also took place within the police, many of whom felt targeted (Sim, 1982). Some right-wing media and right-wing politicians sought to launch a counter-offensive to criticisms of the police's handling of the 'riots' (ibid). Solomos (1993) describes this as a strategic effort to create a law-and-order crisis to undermine Scarman's criticisms of the police and 'sus' powers.

Despite the perception that the 'police problem' had now been solved by the Scarman Inquiry, Black communities continued to experience disproportionate policing and poor treatment as victims of crime into the 1990s (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). A decade after Scarman, the murder of Stephen Lawrence, and the subsequent police and judicial failings in prosecution, became a turning point in discussions about the policing of Black communities. On 22 April 1993, eighteen-year-old Stephen Lawrence, and his friend Duwayne Brooks were attacked while waiting at a bust stop in Eltham, South London by a group of white youths. One of the perpetrators shouted 'what, what nigger?' before stabbing Lawrence to death. While the inquest jury returned a unanimous verdict of unlawful killing in a racist attack, the police investigation failed to bring the killers to justice. Lawrence's murder functioned as a lighting-rod and reignited long held criticisms of racist policing strategies. More than any other specific incident, it came to symbolise the devastating impact of racial discrimination and violence on communities, bolstered by Lawrence's 'unblemished character', the clear racist motive and favourable media coverage (ibid:15).

Widespread criticism of the police response to the teenager's murder culminated in calls for police reform. The Macpherson Report (1999) found the Metropolitan Police Service was institutionally racist towards Black people. Institutional racism was defined as:

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

Macpherson went further than Scarman, criticising the failure to attribute policing failures to institutional racism (Souhami, 2007:69). The inquiry particularly criticised poor direction within the police service, unsympathetic treatment of Lawrence, his parents and Duwayne Brooks, the denial of racist motives by at least five officers and racist stereotyping of Brooks, who was treated as a suspect rather than a victim. It described low levels of trust and confidence in the police, due to a failure to respond appropriately to racist violence, and wider concerns about disproportionality in stop search, deaths in custody, and a lack of police accountability, describing the Black community as 'over-policed… and under-protected' (ibid: 29).

The report made 70 recommendations, 56 of which were implemented (Home Office 1999d). A ministerial priority was established for all police services 'to increase trust and confidence amongst minority ethnic communities' (ibid:375). Recommendation 61 required police officers to keep records of all stops and searches and the reason, the outcome and self-defined ethnicity of the subject, in addition to improving trust in the police, demonstrating fairness in all aspects of policing, and improving police accountability. This was piloted in four police areas but stop and search remained under-recorded and frequently selective (Long, 2018). The implementation of recommendations for more robust scrutiny of police actions, and Macpherson's new definition of institutional racism led to backlash amongst rank-and-file police officers (Foster et al., 2005). Some officers felt the police force was being targeted and saw recommendations as infringing of police powers (Long, 2018).

The 'post-Macpherson' period has been criticised for heralding a transition from the language of racism and anti-racism towards the language of diversity, representing a 'subtle renegotiation' of the concept of policing by consent (Rowe, 2004:145). Rather than ensuring fair policing and accountability, the concept of race was eradicated from policing institutions, effectively rendering racism invisible (Goldberg, 2014). Lea (2000) criticises Macpherson's connection of police behaviour to individual racism, rather than institutional practice, which he contends failed to grasp the true nature of racism as an institutional phenomenon. The

emphasis on the 'unwitting' nature of racism makes it harder to ascribe responsibility: "If all are guilty, then none are guilty" (Anthias, 1999:27).

Others argue that the pivot towards an 'equality and diversity' agenda enabled so-called 'colourblind' racism (Long, 2018:53). Despite being an oft-cited solution, research does not uphold unconscious bias training as an effective measure in reducing racial disparities in policing (Fridell & Brown, 2015). Foster et al. (2005) argue that 'institutional racism' has a vague and shifting definition, used to mean unwitting racism, conscious racism, and systemic discrimination. Garner (2010) criticised the definition of racism as prescriptive, rather than analytical, therefore failing to analyse the processes or actions through which institutional racism operates. Many of the changes had 'symbolic value', with some officers considering them an imposition and describing themselves as unlikely to alter their behaviour (Bland et al., 2000).

Recent research into the impact of the Macpherson Report finds that institutional racism is still present in British society, highlighting the disproportionate experience of stop and search in Black communities and the continued underrepresentation of different ethnic minority groups in MPS (Rollock, 2009; Shiner et al., 2018; Lammy Review, 2017). While some research finds improved engagement with ethnic minority communities, recording of hate crime and an overall reduction in the use of racist language, levels of trust and confidence in the police remain consistently low in Black communities (Foster et al., 2005:36).

2.3 Police Culture and Decision-Making

Racial discrimination in stop and search has been explored in much policing literature (Young, 1994; Fitzgerald, 1999; Miller et al., 2000; Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Quinton, 2015; Bradford & Loader, 2016; Eastwood et al., 2013; Shiner et al., 2018; Loftus, 2009a). This research highlights the role of structural racism in discretionary policing, resulting in discretionary police functions such as stop and search being used disproportionately against ethnic minority communities.

Policing cultures are developed through occupationally-situated responses to the unique role held by police officers (Cockroft, 2013). 'Cop culture' (Reiner, 2010), or professional orientations during police work, is distinct from 'canteen culture', or the values and beliefs of off-duty police officers (Hoyle, 1998). Culture is a complex set of values, beliefs, norms, and

practices, and is shaped, but not determined by the structural pressures of actors' environments, or 'situs' (Reiner, 2010). The 'police personality' has been characterised by "machismo, bravery, authoritarianism, cynicism and aggression" (Twersky-Glasner, 2005: 56). Explorations of police culture note that expressly racist language has been largely eliminated from police vocabulary, but that policing continues to disproportionately affect ethnic minority communities (Shiner et al., 2018). The literature finds, however, that rather than being monolithic, police cultures develop in response to situations, which in turn creates situations that others act within (Reiner, 2010).

Home Office guidance on PACE establishes a standardised test of 'reasonable grounds for suspicion' in stops and searches, relying on officer discretion on the basis that, in operational policing, the police may be forced to make decision in the moment and based on limited information. This police discretion is generally considered a necessary aspect of operational policing and is often the basis for decisions on whether to investigate an incident or 'turn a blind eye' (Long, 2018), and the use of discretionary police powers, in particular the role of 'hunches', have been explored in policing culture research (Reiner, 2010). The police interpretation of signals places individuals into social categories that often align with concepts of respectability and order (ibid). Individuals that are 'known' to the police, or 'regulars', are often seen as inherently suspicious and increase the likelihood of police-initiated contact even with little justification or evidence (Quinton, 2011).

Other research explores how police discretion may rely on generalisations about certain sections of society, drawing on pre-existing constructions about criminality and propensity to violence. This may result categorisations of individuals as either 'respectable' (Reiner, 1992:117), "police property" (Choongh, 1998), or what van Maanen (1978) refers to as "the asshole". These categories of groups considered troublesome and disrespectful towards the police embody are subject to state control, becoming subject to summary justice and violence. Holdaway (1996) argued that the occupational need to draw speedy distinctions between people leads to the police targeting Black and minority ethnic communities who are already considered criminal. Positionality in racialised and classed structures and cultures contribute to Black communities becoming 'the asshole', justifying strong police responses.

Observational studies of police work have examined ethnic disparities in the exercise of discretionary powers. Relying on imagery of the 'criminal Black man' (Russell-Brown, 1998), police officers may draw on stereotypes attributing deviant characteristics to Black

people they encounter in public (Gilroy, 1987; Hall et al., 1978). The police may make generalisations about the 'type' of person they are faced with differentiated by race, class, and gender (Holdaway, 1996). Negative stereotypes, discrimination, and racial profiling within policing culture contribute to the disproportionate policing of Black communities (Bradford, 2017; Quinton, 2011; Shiner & Delsol, 2015). Choong (1998) argues that the police rely on the identification of 'police property' to remind categories of society that they are under constant suspicion and surveillance through exercising social control functions and summary justice.

Similarly, Hamilton and Trolier (1986:133), explore the role of stereotyping as a "cognitive structure that contains the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about human groups", which may be employed by police officers. Police working knowledge may involve officers identifying certain individuals as 'villains', which may be linked to ethnicity (FitzGerald & Sibbitt, 1997:59). Longstanding police suspicion of Black males may result in them receiving less benefit of the doubt, and mutual suspicion often exacerbates the harmful consequences of police-initiated contact (ibid). The employment of racialised constructions of criminality have been identified in other 'suspect communities', in the context of targeting of Muslim populations (Pantazis & Pemberton, 2019).

Examinations of policing culture provide other explanations for racialised stop and search disproportionalities. Quinton's (2011) ethnographic research provides a conceptual framework for the development of police suspicion and the decision-making process in initiating encounters as a communicative process involving police officers identifying, interpreting, and labelling sources of information in their social environment. Race and ethnicity were found to play an important role in the decision to initiate contact, but Quinton argues it cannot be proven unequivocally discrimination plays the principal role in most police-initiated contact. Rather, officers use 'tacit knowledge', or knowledge gained from experience, to interpret new situations and decide actions, basing suspicions on signals they come across in the moment, and that stereotypes about dress, demeanour, and other characteristics, which may involve the operationalisation of racialised constructions of Black people.

Police officers may not have especially prejudiced or authoritarian personalities, but rather share norms and values with the lower middle and working-class social groups officers are drawn from (Waddington, 1999). Additionally, rank-and-file officers may view the area

they patrol as their geographical territory, belonging to them, and thereby mandating their protection (Holdaway, 1996). This neutralises the moral dilemma of using coercive force against individuals potentially posing a threat to these areas (Waddington, 1999). Officers may consider themselves the ‘thin blue line’ (Quinton, 2011) in policing high crime areas, taking steps to tackle perceived threats to public order with the tools available to them. Crucially, this provides the police with esteem through their role as protectors of this separate class (Waddington, 1999).

Theories about the role of discrimination in operational policing provide a useful framework for considering the relationship between the police and Black communities. Interactional discrimination describes how different qualities of interaction produce different results, as a negative interaction between the police and the public may exacerbate negative outcomes (Reiner, 2010). This is significant, as negative attitudes towards the police by some Black Britons may contribute to contentious police interactions and ultimately higher rates of arrest (Brown & Ellis, 1994). This may be compounded by the fact that Black people benefit less from police discretion, increasing the likelihood of interactions becoming confrontational (Fitzgerald and Sibbitt, 1997).

Statistical discrimination results from the production of crime statistics indicating and overrepresentation of certain groups in criminality, thereby directing police attention to these groups and reinforcing the overrepresentation (Reiner, 2010). These forms of discrimination have been linked to the disproportionate policing of Black communities in various ways. Stereotyping about categories of society are functional in reducing ‘cognitive uncertainties’ about who to initiate police encounters with (Glassner, 1980). The role of heightened suspicions among police officers of Black people has been linked to the creation of fixed categories based on stereotyping about Black males, street crime and drugs, due to forms of statistical discrimination (Quinton, 2015).

While ethnic minorities experience disproportionate policing, recent research suggest this is not necessarily due to police discrimination against ethnic minorities. Socio-demographic factors may explain stop and search disproportionalities. Jefferson (1993) argues that conflict between the police and ethnic minority youth was really a struggle between the police and the ‘underclass’ which resulted in the overcriminalisation of Black males who become the criminalised other. This might suggest that the policing of Black

communities relates more to class than race, with poverty and exclusion in post-industrial Britain disproportionately impacting Black people in inner-city areas.

In response to criticisms of racially discriminatory policing of Black communities, Waddington (2004) argues that stop and search disproportionalities are the result of increased presence of certain categories of people on the street at the relevant time, which he terms ‘availability’. On this view, high levels of unemployment and night employment increase the likelihood of encountering the police for Black males. Bowling and Phillips (2007) critique this, positing that the concept of availability is itself intrinsically linked with structural, economic, and social inequalities that disproportionately affect Black and minority ethnic groups. Availability, rather than providing an alternative explanation to structural racism, in fact evidences it.

Similarly, the policing of Black communities may be compounded by ‘geographic profiling’, as stop and search rates are generally higher in areas with high levels of socio-economic inequality where larger numbers of minority ethnic groups live (Miller, 2000). A high degree of individual profiling and potential biases about incongruence in certain areas or being ‘out of place’ can be the cause police suspicion and may be linked to ethnicity (Quinton et al., 2000). Socio-economic and structural inequalities, whilst not necessarily indicative of police racism against Black people, may contribute towards the disproportionate policing of Black communities. More recently, police over-patrolling of areas with high ethnic minority populations has been found to contribute to racialised policing disproportionalities. Vomfell (2020) finds that Asian over-representation is due to police over-patrolling, while for Black people it is a combination of over-patrolling and officer bias. However, this does not indicate that police discrimination is the cause of disproportionality.

Recent research, however, shows that stop and search is still frequently used in boroughs with higher Black populations (Shiner at al., 2018). White and Asian people tend to experience higher rates of stop and search in deprived areas, but relatively low rates in affluent areas, while Black people experience similar rates of stop and search across areas of varying socio-economic status, suggesting that Black people’s experience of stop and search is not directly linked to deprivation (ibid). This indicates that proactive policing is mediated by high socio-economic status for white and Asian people, but not for Black people (ibid).

The conflicting findings in this literature reinforce that the unequivocal explanation of police racism for disproportionality would be an over-simplification of complex issues.

Rather than discrimination from individual officers, racial disproportionalities have been found to result from systemic and institutional issues in wider society: "[p]olice practice does not occur in a vacuum and will be shaped by wider structural inequalities" (Quinton, 2015:16). The various forms of discrimination and marginalisation experienced by ethnic minority communities in Britain lay the groundwork for higher police contact. More importantly, racialised disproportionalities are instructive of the experience of policing, regardless of the reasons for the police contact, and "is a necessary first step towards uncovering discrimination" (Quinton, 2011:1). Disproportionalities remain an important issue as large numbers of Black people continue to experience unnecessary police contact. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, such experiences have ramifications for the relationship between the police and Black communities, eroding the trust and confidence in the legitimacy of the police (Jackson et al., 2012), while continuing to draw Black people into the criminal justice system (May et al., 2010).

2.4 Contemporary Policing of Black Communities

i. New Forms of Criminalisation and Punishment

The policing of Black communities throughout the 21st century represents the continuation of historical processes of racialisation and criminalisation. Since the 1960s, 'crime prevention' has shifted from preventative to pre-emptive through strategic changes in operational policing (Reiner, 2010). The targeting of inner-city neighbourhoods with large Black populations was indicative of the public order policing during the 1970s and 1980s, focused in areas considered 'high crime', such as Brixton, Hackney, Southall, and Tottenham. Associations between young Black men, drugs and gangs segued into a moral panic of 'yardies', or young Caribbean men involved in drug crime in the UK in the 1980s and 1990s. (Gabriel, 1998). Then, a shift towards community policing sought to restore the damaged relationship between the police and Black communities as "a strategy to re-establish the authority and legitimacy of the police through neighbourhood watch and other community crime prevention schemes, reinforced consent within the community and restore social order in inner cities" (Bowling & Phillips, 2002).

Political pressure to tackle 'Black on Black' crime and improve police-community relations led to police policies (Long, 2018). The production of statistics to support the disproportionate number of young Black men as offenders of violent crime, giving credence to the 'Black on Black crime' stereotype (Young et al. 2020; MOPAC, 2018). The politicised construction of 'Black crime', offered by political leaders such as Prime Ministers Tony Blair and David Cameron, has frequently led to demands for the Black community to address endemic violence (Young et al., 2020). The result is young Black people being labelled as criminals, regardless of their involvement in criminality (Bullock & Tilley, 2002).

Operation Trident began in 1998 and sought to tackle the gun violence that was disproportionately affecting Black communities by increasing community cooperation and reporting and improving community confidence that was at an all-time-low following the murder of Stephen Lawrence (Redgrave, 2021). Murji (2009) argues that depictions of 'yardies', or Jamaican gangsters, created in the 1980s reinforced the link between otherness and crime in Black communities and justified special police operations. Operation Trident, and others like it, represented a law-and-order response to social issues experienced by Black British communities. While such measures were welcomed by some in Black communities for tackling gun violence, others criticised them for drawing more Black men into the criminal justice system rather than tackling the underlying issues causing Black men to be overrepresented in serious violence (Redgrave, 2021).

Recent years have seen a transition towards monitoring, surveillance, and management of information, whose pre-emptive methodology sees any citizen as a potential suspect. New system objectives in the 'new penology' increased focus on control of internal system processes, replaced rehabilitation and crime control, and enabled the individualization with aggregation of offenders into groups (Feeley & Simon, 1992). (ibid). The adoption of actuarial language and statistical calculations of populations facilitates the identifying and management of groups enabled the use of techniques of surveillance, confinement and control of populations deemed risky (Gordon, 1991). This change in policing culture has been exacerbated by reductions in funding and an increase in violent crime (ONS, 2019), necessitating the implementation of cost-effective policing methods.

Debates about policing, drugs, gangs, and violent crime often overlap with the criminalisation of Black youth culture. 'Adultification' describes the denial of notions of innocence and vulnerability towards certain children (Davis & Marsh, 2022). Black children occupy a liminal space of denied childhood status and innocence, but with the culpability of

adults, subject to violence in educational settings and the criminal justice system (Gilmore et al., 2021). Bernstein (2011) argues that the rendering of childhood as a period of innocence applies only to white children. This increases the risk of Black children being subjected to similar police violence to Black adults, such as in the recent case of Child Q, a 15-year-old girl who was strip searched at school. An inquiry found that adultification was one of the causes of her experience (Davis & Marsh, 2022). Black children experience adultification more frequently than others, often being considered older, stronger, and more sexually aware than children from other ethnic backgrounds (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2022).

In recent years, serious youth violence and the criminal exploitation of children via ‘county lines’ have all become strategic government priorities. The National Crime Agency (2016) finds that children in inner-city areas are groomed and exploited by drug gangs to courier drugs and money across the country. The Violence Suppression Unit and the Violent Crime Taskforce in 2018 committed £15 million to tackling gangs and serious violence in inner-city neighbourhoods of London and other metropolitan cities in Britain with high rates of such crime (Mayor of London, 2018). The criminalisation of Black youth culture has also arisen in the context of drill music in London. Several high-profile drill musicians have been criminally charged, including AM and Skengdo, who received nine month suspended sentence for breaching a gang injunction by performing at a concern in London (Keith 2019). Ilan (2020:3) argues fears of violence at drill concerts rely on the “assumption that these (predominantly Black) music genres ‘glorify’, procure, precipitate, or otherwise commend violent and/or criminal behaviour”. The ban on drill music videos, imposition of Criminal Behaviour Orders and gang injunctions against drill musicians demonstrates another form of criminalisation of and discrimination against people seen as undesirable and undeserving of state protection (Fatsis, 2019).

These changes in policing strategies reinforce ever-evolving guilt-producing associations of people racialised and criminalised as Black. In recent years, the concept of ‘gang membership’ has been socially constructed to define deviant groups of majority Black and Asian people (Alexander, 2000). ‘Gang’ represents an umbrella term for street crime, producing and reproducing ‘guilt-producing associations’ (Williams and Clarke, 2016:1) of racialised subjects to be policed through surveillance and social control. Drawing on Hall et al.’s research from 1978, Williams and Clarke (2018) argue that the identification of individuals as gang members is the current iteration of ‘the Black folk-devil’. As an ideological conception, the ‘gang’ is critical to the development of guilt-producing

associations that facilitate the arrest, charging, and prosecution of countless numbers of ethnic minority people.

In their analysis of the ethnic profile of the ‘Gang Matrix’ in London, Manchester, and Nottingham, Williams and Clarke (2016:4) find that ethnic minorities are disproportionately affixed with the ‘gang’ label. The authors find that 72% of people on the London Gangs Matrix are Black, despite only 27% of serious youth violence being committed by Black people in London: “it is difficult not to conclude that young Black and minority ethnic people end up on gang databases as a result of racialised policing practices, not because of the objective risk they pose”. The collapsing of individuals into racialised criminal categories dissolves any distinction between victim and perpetrator (Alexander, 2000). This justifies the erasure of individual, cultural and community specificities, in favour of a racialised framework of labelling and punishment: “the ‘Gang’ exists more as an idea than a reality - a mode of interpretation rather than an object, more fiction than fact. It becomes self-generating, self-fulfilling and axiomatic, impossible to disprove and imbued with the residual power of common-sense ‘Truth’” (ibid: xiii).

These newer forms of criminalisation continue to have significant effects on the freedom, wellbeing, and rights of many Black Britons. The StopWatch UK (2018) report on gang matrices analyses the harmful consequences of being labelled “gang nominal”, defining hat enhanced police powers to respond to gang crime as an “Achilles heel” which authorises measures targeting families, schools, and employment opportunities. As with historical modes of policing, Black and minority ethnic communities are disproportionately affected. The practice of institutions sharing intelligence to target individuals more effectively has been described as “liv[ing] in a police state, where police surveillance and intelligence gathering function of the multi-agency gang management units conspires to curtail opportunities for young Black and Asian people under the guise of safeguarding and risk-management” (ibid:31).

Drug policing continues to be a significant driver of stop and search disproportionalities in the criminal justice system. Black people are disproportionately stopped, searched, and arrested for drug offences compared to white people, despite lower levels of drug use by some metrics (Shiner at al., 2018). There is some evidence that this overrepresentation may be due greater numbers of Black people living in socially deprived and high crime areas (UK Drug Policy Commission, 2010). However, in addition to being stopped and searched more frequently, Black people are also subject to harsher sanctions for

drug possession offences (Eastwood at al., 2013; Shiner et al., 2018). This is exacerbated by differential outcomes, as Black suspects are arrested following stop and search at a higher rate than white suspects and receive fewer out of court disposals (Home Office, 2021). Black people are also more likely to be sentenced to prison for drug offences than people from white ethnic groups, and higher proportions of ethnic minority people in prison are serving sentences for drug offences (ibid). The entrenched nature of these racial disproportionalities has been described as "locked-in inequality" (Gillborn, 2008:64).

Racial inequalities affecting Black people in the criminal justice have arisen in use of force and brutality against Black people, which has been linked to the demonisation and criminalisation of Black males (Smiley & Fakunle, 2016). The police are five times more likely to use force against Black people than white people (Home Office, 2021). As of March 2021, tasers were used 6.3 times more on Black people than white people by police forces in England and Wales (Home Office Equality Impact Assessment, 2022). Black people are twice as likely to die in police custody than white people (BBC News, 3 June 2020). INQUEST finds that, since 1990, 16% of deaths in police custody following police contact since 1990 are people with Black, Asian and Minoritised Ethnicities (BAME). Black people, despite making up 3.1% of the population (Office for National Statistics, 2022), constitute 27% of all custodial restraint related deaths (Independent Advisory Panel on Deaths in Custody). Institutional racism has been provided as a contributory factor in these disproportionalities (INQUEST, 2022).

The overrepresentation of Black males in joint enterprise convictions has also been said to illustrate the collectivisation of guilt (Crewe et al., 2014). Research suggests that over 11 times as many Black and Black British prisoners are serving a prison sentence under joint enterprise relative to the general Black population (Crewe et al., 2014). Hulley and Young (2017) highlight the disproportionate effect of joint enterprise on young Black and mixed-race men being drawn into the criminal justice system regardless of individual guilt. This unfairly criminalises groups of Black people, particularly young Black males using long-existing signifiers of gang association to establish common purpose (Williams & Clarke, 2016). Deborah Coles, the Director of INQUEST said, "the disproportionality in the use of force against Black people adds to the irrefutable evidence of structural racism embedded in policing practices".

Race is an important aspect of biopower, using logics of population 'cleansing'; racism is thus "the precondition for exercising the right to kill" (David & Foucault, 2003:

256). Flacks (2018:2) finds that the authorisation of police powers, rather than representing necessary crime prevention tactics, represents 'necropolitics', whereby investments in imprisonment, social exclusion and segregation are levelled as solutions to the insecurities of the advanced liberal order. This draws on the Foucauldian idea of biopower, which is said to organise populations to improve the life of individuals considered worthy. These new sites of conflict between the police and Black communities, drawn from longstanding processes of racialisation and criminalisation of the 'other', lay the groundwork for my research.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored how constructions of criminality of Black British people have contributed to racialised policing over time. Mass immigration into Britain in the post-war period laid the groundwork for both historical and contemporary policing experiences of Black communities. Arriving from former British colonies, many immigrants expected to be greeted with open arms by the 'mother country' and instead experienced widespread marginalisation, disenfranchisement, and social inequalities. Racist conceptualisations of 'Britishness' have historically positioned many immigrant groups as racialised 'others'. Political exigencies and institutional racism laid the foundation for racially disproportionate policing of populations deemed problematic, in accordance with hegemonic ideals of Britishness and belonging. The construction of tropes such as the 'Black folk devil' provided the justification for increasingly oppressive forms of policing to contain this new threat to public order and the British way of life. Through articulation of hegemonic crisis (ibid), Black youths were positioned as a distinct subsection of society with different value-systems and norms (ibid).

The policing experiences of Black communities in the post-Windrush period illustrate the effect of the racialisation and criminalisation of these groups. In response to periods of heavy policing, protests and riots seeking accountability from the police spread across Britain in the 1980s. The government response through both the Scarman and Macpherson Inquiries appeared to some to have solved the 'police problem', but many Black Britons continued to experience racial disproportionalities in policing. As the final section of this chapter discussed, research suggests that race and ethnic background are key drivers in the decision

to stop and search individuals, “provid[ing] significant evidence for continued stereotyping by police and, perhaps, institutional racism” (Bradford & Loader, 2016).

The next chapter will explore the lived experience of racialised policing for Black Britons. In particular, I will consider the intergenerational experiences of policing on young people and how responses to policing are transmitted across generations through cultural narratives and the development of cultural responses, which will be key themes throughout the research. As will be argued, individual policing encounters often have long-term ramifications for racialised people, existing within a historical lineage of social control. It raises the question of how to improve police-community relations given these deep and longstanding ideological oppositions.

Chapter 3

Intergenerational Cultural Narratives in Black Communities

Drawing on the discussions in the previous chapter, this chapter explores how Black British communities respond to policing via the development of cultural narrative which are transmitted intergenerationally. This will provide insight into how structural and cultural processes producing racialised policing affect the relationship between Black communities and the police in the long-term. The intergenerational experience policing of policing embodies the effect of decades of racialisation and criminalisation for Black Britons but has been little explored in the research. It has therefore been little explored what continued hostility might mean for the future relationship between the police and Black Britons. My research addresses these research deficits, critically analysing how policing has been experienced across generations of Black Britons. As with the previous chapter, the literature presented here is not exhaustive but provides an overview of the foundational concepts used in my research.

The first section explores research on the lived experience of policing for Black British communities. Police-initiated contact, such as stop and search, is experienced both directly and vicariously by Black Britons as members of 'suspect communities'. These experiences contribute to narratives about police mistreatment and police racism within Black communities. This section introduces an important focus of my research, which is the relationship between negative policing experiences and trust and confidence in the police. Disproportionate policing has a significant effect on trust and confidence in the police over time (Quinton, 2011). Frequent and ongoing exposure to stop and search has a detrimental effect on how Black people perceive the police (Skogan, 2006).

The second section explores experiences of Black victims of crime, and the effect of inadequate police responses following victimisation. The police have been criticised for failing to meet the needs of ethnic minority victims (Home Office, 2003). Black and minority ethnic people are more likely to be victims of crime, due in part to having comparatively younger age profiles and living in inner-city areas with higher risk of crime, however there is relatively little research on their experiences (Yarrow, 2005). In addition to eroding trust and confidence in the police, poor police responses also contribute to the harms of victimisation, resulting in 'secondary victimisation' for certain victims of crime. While many victims

describe feeling let down by the police, the research conveys that, for Black victims, inadequate police responses reinforce perceptions of police racism and targeting.

Section 3.3 considers the effect of racialisation, criminalisation, and policing on perceptions of belonging and identity for Black Britons. Racialised constructions of Black immigrants as 'the enemy within' operate to exclude ethnic minority communities legally and symbolically from Britishness and all that follows from it (Gilroy, 1987). The research finds that many Black Britons' identities are constructed by race and the white gaze with consequences for how they perceive the police and their place in Britain (Yancy, 2008).

The final section considers responses to racialised policing developed by Black communities, focusing on the production and reproduction of cultural narratives about the police. The negative police experiences of family members, peers, and other members of the community over generations of Black Britons is experienced both directly and vicariously, creating narratives and cultural framing of the police that are used to interpret policing experiences. This section introduces the creation of cultural narratives, storytelling, and advice, as part of the 'arsenal of strategies' to live with and manage the reality of racialised policing. Compliance, avoidance, and resistance are identified as categories of responses from Black British communities, representing attempts by community elders to 'armour' children against discrimination and racially motived police encounters (Brunson & Weitzer, 2016), and to "develop a protective shield as a buffer against unsavory elements of the outside world" (Bell & Nkomo 1998:286).

3.1 Police-Initiated Contact

Racial disproportionalities in police-initiated contact position many Black Britons as members of 'suspect communities' in need of social control. The contentious relationship between the police and Black communities has led to diminished trust and confidence in the police among many Black Britons. Black and mixed-race 16 to 24-year-olds have significantly lower levels of trust in the police than other demographics (Pennant, 2005). Young Black people often feel they are treated suspects or perpetrators by the police during stops and searches (Stavisky, 2017). Many Black adolescents believe their policing experiences to be racially motivated, drawing on perceptions of institutional racism in policing (Sharp & Artherton, 2007). This emerges from the legacy of Black communities'

policing experiences, internalised by many Black Britons as emblematic of their status as ‘perpetual suspects’ (Long, 2018).

The role of the police is predicated on respect for the “needs of the community, that they treat people fairly and with dignity, that they give them information, and that they allow members of the community a voice to highlight local problems” (Jackson & Bradford, 2010:15). A legitimate authority is distinguished by effective functioning, lawfulness, distributive fairness, and procedural fairness, resulting in deterioration of law and order if the public perceive that the police are failing to exercise their powers in a legitimate way (Deuchar, 2019; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Perceptions of mistreatment from the police reduce trust and confidence in the police, but also procedural legitimacy more broadly (Bradford & Jackson, 2014).

Heavy policing of a community reinforces perceptions of perceived surveillance and targeting (Bratton & Knobler, 1998). Where the only interactions with the police arise in cases of stop and search, individuals are less likely to have positive policing experiences, which increases hostility against the police (Williams, 2018). Low trust in the police is related to lower conviction rates and ineffectiveness of police investigations into serious violent offences (Deuchar et al., 2019). Ethnic minority communities may have more to gain from supporting the police and maintaining police presence in neighbourhoods than other groups, due to living in higher crime areas; however, frequent incidences of disrespect, humiliation, and physical violence experienced in these communities from the police have resulted in low levels of trust and cooperation (Tyler, 2005). This reinforces more of the negative consequences of racialised policing for Black communities.

Trust and confidence in police legitimacy has been linked with deference to police authority and compliance with the law (Clayman & Skinns, 2012; Jackson et al., 2013a, Wolfe et al., 2016). Policing that is perceived as unlawful or unfair has reduces perceptions of police legitimacy (Tyler 2006a; 2014). The disproportionate policing of Black people conveys messages about the value held by different societal groups, which itself suggests that the rules may not apply to them (Quinton, 2011). This has ramifications for cooperation and reporting with the police but also suggests that disproportionate policing may itself criminogenic when groups become less inclined to obey rules (Tyler, 2006; Jackson et al., 2012). Individuals assess the fairness of the criminal justice system in relation to process, rather than outcome (Thibaut & Walker, 1975). This is associated with willingness to

cooperate with authorities (Sunshine & Taylor, 2003), and the internalisation of law-and-order norms (Fagan & Tyler, 2005).

Research exploring experiences of police-initiated contact finds that many young Black people feel fear, anger, and humiliation following stop and search (Keeling, 2017). The invasiveness of stop and search, and its often-public nature, contribute to feelings of targeting and harassment (Eastwood et al., 2013; Shiner et al., 2018). Young Black males in particular report feeling stereotyped due to their clothing and demeanour, which may be associated with criminality or a 'gang' appearance (Keeling, 2017). A lack of clear communication regarding the reason for a stop and search is also linked with reduced trust and confidence in the police, and reinforces perceptions of racialised targeting (Bland et al., 2000). Negative police contact reinforces existing negative perceptions of the police within individuals and groups that already feel targeted by the police (Bradford et al., 2009a; Jackson and Bradford, 2010; Skogan, 2006).

Alongside direct experiences, perceptions of the police are experienced vicariously in Black communities (Brunson, 2007). Despite being disproportionately subject to stop and search, many young Black people have few or no police experiences (Shiner et al., 2018). Perspectives of the police are influenced by vicarious experiences, or information gathered from other sources, including community or peer experiences, media, and social media (Rosenbaum et al., 2005). Vicarious experiences reaffirm narratives about policing, reinforcing negative perspectives of the police as an organisation that targets certain populations (Barrett et al., 2014). This is particularly important for children and adolescents, as early policing experiences create a framework to interpret future experiences (Jackson et al., 2009).

As with direct experiences, the quality of police contact influences vicarious perspectives. However, negative policing perspectives are more likely to be transmitted and experienced vicariously than positive experiences (Rosenbaum et al., 2015). Positive interactions, such as where the police assisted the individual, have little positive impact on perceptions of the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Bradford et al., 2009a; Skogan, 2006), suggesting that negative perspectives may be more vicariously impactful than positive ones. Moreover, descriptions of police interactions through word-of-mouth increases resentment within Black communities (Brunson, 2007). This demonstrates the importance of perceptions of unfairness

and discrimination in vicarious transmission, particularly when they affirm pre-existing beliefs about racism (Williams, 2018).

Enhancing community engagement can improve trust and confidence in the police (Myhill, 2004). Community perceptions of the police may also be improved through 'image work' in media and public relations that communicate effective and fair policing (Bradford & Jackson, 2010). However, for racialised communities, the 'emotional baggage of previous encounters' (Barrett et al. 2014:201) may be more influential than specific police interactions. This highlights the importance of trust and confidence in how Black communities conceive of, and respond to, the police.

3.2 Victim Experiences

The Code of Practice for Victims of Crime, or 'Victims' Charter 2013, establishes the responsibilities of statutory agencies, including the police when dealing with victims of crime. Among other provisions, victims have the right to be kept informed of case progress, the right to hear about the processing, arrest, charge, bail and sentencing of suspects, and a right of referral to victim support. Victim attitudes towards the police are influenced by the quality of contact (Dowler & Sparks, 2008), and factors such as quick response time (Priest & Carter, 1999) and respectful treatment by the police (Tewksbury & West, 2001) may improve attitudes. Reduced confidence in the criminal justice system hinders victims from reporting crimes, detrimentally impacting subsequent experiences with the police and criminal justice agencies (Yarrow, 2005).

Victimological research considers the classification of individuals into categories of 'deservingness', as defined by dominant sectors of society (Charman, 2020). The 'ideal victim' is "a person or a category of individuals who–when hit by crime–most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim" (Christie, 1986:18). Designation of 'ideal victim' status may involve the age, gender, the crime suffered and perceived levels of vulnerability of the potential victim, but also economic and structural factors (Charman, 2020) that align with status, respectability, and legitimacy.

'Ideal victim' status cannot be gained autonomously but is assigned through external processes. Rock (2002:17) describes 'becoming' a victim as "an emergent process of signification" resulting from individual perception, media, public response, and criminal

justice institutions but, in practice, victim identity is prescribed and controlled by the police. Usually the 'first responder' following a crime, the police play a vital role in conferring legal victim status to individuals. The police decides whether the crime reported is a 'real crime' involving a 'real victim', and allocation of police resources, time, and sympathy (Warner, 1997). Police decision-making in practice often considers the perceived innocence (van Wijk, 2013; Christie, 1986) and worthiness of the victim, relying on various socio-economic, demographic, and structural factors (Loftus, 2009a). This may also include the ethnicity, gender, lifestyle, perceptions of invulnerability and employment status of potential victims (Charman, 2020).

The 'racialised victimological other' is often forced to view themselves through the 'white gaze', reproducing power relations and leaving victims targeted by the 'whiteness' of policing institutions (Rattansi, 2005; Fanon, 1986:109-117). Christie (1986) finds that victims must be 'powerful' enough to convince others of their victim status. The 'ideal victim' is female, weak, engaged in respectable activity, not in the 'wrong' place, and the offender should be physically dominant and unknown to them (van Wijk, 2013; Christie, 1986). Conversely, the conceptualisation of the 'big Black man' as the ideal offender positions ethnic minority victims in opposition to ideal victim status, particularly for criminally active victims. This reinforces Loftus' analysis of contempt for the poor as an integral feature of police culture, namely diminished recognition as having 'lives worth living' (2009a:170).

Police failure to adequately deal with racial violence, racist stereotyping, downplaying of racist motives and vulnerability of police custody suites are all highlighted as factors undermining trust and confidence in the police's ability to handle racist violence (Bowling, 1999; Bowling and Phillips, 2002; Britton, 2000; Reiner, 2000; Sharp and Atherton, 2007). Ethnic minority victims are also more likely to suffer adverse effects of crime, in particular emotional responses to racist incidents, be seriously affected by the crime, experience intimidation and report high levels of unmet support (Maguire and Kynch, 2000; Yarrow, 2005; Victims Commissioners Report, 2021). Marginalisation and stigmatisation results in a lower ranking in the 'hierarchy of being' (Sibley, 1995:14), compounding the harms of victimisation for Black victims of crime.

Perceptions of police treatment following experiences of victimisation is associated with perceptions of police racism. Black victims are less likely to report crimes due to poor confidence and fear of inadequate protection from perpetrators (Yarrow, 2005). Many young Black people who report crimes to the police are left dissatisfied with follow-up from the police, including provision of information, which victims interpret as evidence of

discrimination (ibid). Perceptions of poor treatment from the police leads to feelings of confusion and fear, negatively impacting quality of life and recovery from victimisation (Elliott et al., 2014; Barkworth & Murphy, 2016).

Little of the research into the impact of victimisation focuses on Black women. The policing of women in general is underexplored, but the research that exists finds that the police often re-victimise female victims of crime, particularly in the context of intimate partner violence (Larsen & Guggisberg, 2009). This may be due to police failure to recognise the gendered nature of such violence and high rates of intimate partner violence in the homes of police officers themselves (ibid). The decision to report sexual violence is often based on whether female victims consider themselves 'believable' e.g., when the perpetrator is a stranger, or when the crime involves the use of a weapon (Fisher et al., 2003)

For Black female victims however, the situation may be even more complicated. Black women disproportionately experience violence, including intimate partner violence, rape, and murder (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2022). This is exacerbated by police responses that may be discriminatory or lead to secondary victimisation. Critical, race and feminist socio-legal scholarship argues that liberal democratic legal systems rely on elite, middle-class, masculine standards of need, which are falsely presented as neutral (Adelman et al., 2003). The harmful effects of policing become a specific form of oppression facing ethnic minority women (Websdale, 2001). Thee victimisation of Black women is justified and normalised through gendered social control, and 'us' and 'them' depictions of womanhood:

> 'Gender and ethnic/race biases tend to guide and determine routine operations of social control institutions with the blessing of both majority and minority communities. For minority women, the gains accomplished through the "politics of recognition" are easily lost through the "politics of exclusion," as cultural sensitivity practices toward violence against women become a form of police neglect, at best, or oppression, at worst' (Adelman et al., 2003:125).

Responses to intra-group violence against ethnic minority women is mediated by stereotyping of ethnic minority communities as primitive and violent, justifying differential treatment by the police and criminal justice agencies (Adelman et al. 2003). Black women report not being taken seriously as victims of crime due to their race and their gender, particularly following experiences of sexual crimes (Neville & Hamer, 2001). The Black female stereotype is partly constructed as sexually deviant (Collins, 2000), in contrast the

‘idealised victim’ (Christie, 1986), with the result that Black women are taken less seriously and receive an inferior police response as victims of sexual assault. As a result, many Black female victims of crime do not view the police as a protective and legitimate institution, which contributes to the development of negative perceptions of the police.

As with police-initiated contact, inadequate responses to victimisation contribute to cultural narratives about how the police treat Black people. The killings of sisters Nicole Smallman and Bibaa Henry (Dodd, 2021) embodied the inferior treatment experienced by Black victims of crime. MPS was criticised or its initial dismissal of the Smallman family, and family members described having to conduct searches for the sisters themselves before finding their bodies in London Park (Ambrose, 2021). The Independent Office for Police Conduct (2021) found that MPS had failed its missing persons policies and provided ‘unacceptable’ service to the family but stopped short of finding bias had played a role in the investigation.

Recent high-profile cases of inadequate police responses to victimisation reinforce existing beliefs among participants that the criminal justice system fails Black victims of crime. Shukri Abdi, a 12-year-old Somali refugee, was found drowned in River Irwell on 27 June 2019 (The Guardian, 5 January 2021). While her family were adamant that she had been murdered, the police report found no crime had taken place (ibid). The lack of attention her death received in mainstream discourse, and the perceived failure of the police to conduct an in-depth investigation has been described as reinforcing perceptions of racism: “As a Black Muslim girl and a refugee, it is clear that Shukri was rendered particularly vulnerable by her positionality at the intersection of race, gender, migration status and religion” (Joseph-Salisbury et al., 2021).

3.3 Perceptions of Identity and Belonging in Britain

Contrary to the anxieties emerging in the post-war period about the effect of Black immigration on the national character of Britain, Black people have been in Britain for approximately two thousand years (Fryer, 1984). Research finds that the existence of Black British communities was largely erased from British history until the mid-20th Century, when discourses about Windrush migrants were first utilised to reflect fears of Black immigration (Olusoga, 2016). Dominant hegemonic discourses about Britain being synonymous with whiteness necessarily precludes the possibility of Black Britishness (Gilroy, 1987). This

embodies how racial constructions have historically been used to deny immigrant communities belonging, status, and identity in Britain.

As discussed in the previous chapter, depictions of Black criminality during the mid-20th Century reflected cultural anxieties amongst white Brits about the 'cultural pathology' of 'alien character' distinct from traditional British culture (Gilroy, 1987). While this othering already existed, it was exacerbated by migration from the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia. Notions of nationality, citizenship, belonging, and homogeneity are inextricably linked, and the dilution of 'national stock' is considered a threat to the British way of life (Gilroy, 1987). The re-formulation of British citizenship as immigrants from the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia settled in Britain created an internal homogeneity of ethnic groups that were considered 'other' and therefore unable to assimilate (Alexander, 2000).

Britain's colonial enterprise initially encouraged people in colonised territories in the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia to see themselves as British subjects of the 'mother country' (Sanghera, 2021). In practice, for early Caribbean migrants, identity depended on Britishness, specifically a form of British-Caribbeanness "located within an exterior, political community and best maintained at the periphery of the empire, not the core" (Paul, 1997:114). The conditional belonging of Black immigrants was reflected in the treatment of Windrush migrants in the 1950s and 1960s, "when Caribbean migration was at first strongly encouraged and then increasingly harshly constrained" (Wardle & Obermuller, 2019:81). Migrants were assigned outsider status, relegating them undeserving of the rights and privileges of Britishness (Sutherland, 2006). This contrasted to the treatment of other European immigrant groups who had already assimilated into British society by passing the 'unwritten test of racial acceptability' (Olusoga, 2016:29).

Colonial histories of subjugation of other provide the framework for the contemporary policing of communities racialised as Black (Parmer et al., 2022). Phillips argues that race is a "conditioning logic" (2020:3) that integrates history, structure, and emotion into institutional and interactional processes that racialise groups. The systemic nature of colonial ideas is deeply embedded in societal process and frame the lived experience of different groups (Parmer et al., 2022). The racialisation and criminalisation of immigrant communities allow state apparatus to convey messages about belonging, identity, and status in Britain in accordance with longstanding imperialist practices. As Wolfe argues, 'race is colonialism speaking' (2016:83).

Racialising and criminalising processes experienced by Black British communities in an intergenerational legacy of othering For Black Britons as a historically over-policed community, intergenerational policing experiences provides significant messages about social inclusion and exclusion, with consequences for individual and group identity and belonginess in Britain.. Police responses to crime provides the mechanism for the state to exercise the cultural logics of who is need of social control, ordering, and punishment (Garland, 1990). Historically, policing has operated through 'the centrality of colonial conquest and imperial legitimation to institutional development in Victorian England' (Brogden, 1987:5). British colonial models of policing secured law and order by establishing paramilitary constabulary forces in colonies to quell 'uprisings' from 'primitive' local populations (Emsley, 2014). While policing cultures varied across colonial territories, policing in 'colonies of rule' tended to use force, surveillance, and intelligence-gathering to control indigenous communities. As agents of the state, the colonial police were tasked with social control of 'suspect communities', whilst representing a civilian face (ibid). These forms of policing embodied the political aims of controlling quelling public disorder, rather than crime control (Bell, 2013).

Ethnographic research on West Indian communities in Britain in the 1970s finds that the denial of Britishness through marginalisation and structural racism was experienced and then internalised this time (Pryce, 1979). During this period, the terms 'immigrant' and 'coloured' were used interchangeably to conceal the racial hostility beneath explicitly racial terms due to fears about the effect of overt racism on Britain's reputation in the rest of the Commonwealth. Bell (2010) describes marginalisation as the result of the presence of Black people within the 'host' country.

As the police are a highly visible representation of the state, experiences of negative policing may encourage alienation from the wider socio-political community (Bradford, 2012). The institution of the police is expressive of law, order, and the 'spirit' of the nation-state (Reiner, 2010), acting as a buffer between respectable and disrespectable British classes (Bradford, 2012). The way the police interacts with communities communicates 'meaning about the nature of order, authority, morality [and] subjectivity' (Loader & Mulcahy 2003:39). Policing research explores its capacity to 'evoke, affirm, reinforce, or (even) undermine social relations', and affirm or deny claims of recognition and identity in political communities (ibid). Holdaway (1996) describes policing as extending beyond individuals to represent the state itself, and the use of force by the state against citizens.

Policing plays an important role in communicating belonginess to communities with marginalised identities (Bradford & Jackson, 2014). Holdaway (1983) argues that the function of policing extends beyond individuals to represent the state itself, including the use of force. The creation of the 'other' provides the ideological basis for public order state policing, rather than the concept of 'policing by consent', enshrining racist practices in policing through imperialism, status and belonging (Long, 2018). As social identity provides a 'social-psychological bridge' between perceptions of procedural justice, legitimacy, and fairness inferior treatment from the police communicates information about the treatment groups can expect from the state (Bradford & Jackson, 2014).

Immigration is linked to favourable perceptions of British institutions, while second and subsequent-generation immigrants' perceptions are more closely aligned with white British-born populations (Bradford et al., 2017). Immigrants who arrived in the UK during the 1970s and 1980s, a period characterised by particularly hostile policing of Black communities, tend to hold negative views of the police (ibid). For immigrants, 'signifiers' of non-Britishness such as accent and dress reify their 'othered' status, communicating un-belonging to the police and state powers (Loader & Mulcahy, 2003). Accent and perceived lack of fluency in English has been linked to negative stereotyping, communicating a lack of respectability (Hussain & Bagguley, 2005). Groups that consider themselves discriminated against display lower levels of confidence in public institutions (Röder & Mühlau, 2011; Piatkowska, 2015). As societal worth is often measured by treatment from authority figures and the criminal justice system (Tyler, 2006), discrimination may signal to immigrants an overall lack of respect from society (Röder & Mühlau, 2011).

Having little experience with the British police is linked with favourable perceptions (Bradford et al., 2017; Wu et al., 2013). Studies indicate second-generation immigrants have less trust in the police than first-generation immigrants (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Röder & Mühlau, 2011). Second-generation immigrants also display lower levels of trust in the police than both British-born white people (Heath et al., 2013). Immigrants living in neighbourhoods with higher immigrant populations display higher levels of trust in the police (Bradford, et al., 2017). This suggests that initially optimistic views of the new country may account for high levels of trust in the police (Han et al., 2019). Additionally, newly arrived immigrants who have experienced police brutality in their home countries may have an affixed notion of the police as the 'enemy', which cultural framing impacts attitudes towards the police (Stavisky, 2017).

While the ‘Windrush generation’ appeared to represent a new form of Britishness, the ‘hostile environment’ emerging in 2012 from then-Home Secretary Theresa May’s immigration policy was considered an explicit rejection of Black Britishness. Bhattacharyya et al. (2021) note that backlash against the policy relied on depictions of the Windrush generation as ‘good immigrants’ who were elderly, hard-working, and respectful of British norms, and therefore undeserving of harsh or punitive state treatment. The policy represented:

> “an extension of the history of colonial relations between Britain and the Caribbean, which began with Britain’s part in instigating the slave plantation labour system in the region, continued with its deployment of West Indians as an exploitable labour force in regional projects…and now includes the current treatment of British Caribbean citizens as expendable in a statistically driven immigration control initiative” (Wardle & Obermuller, 2019:87).

Gusterson (2017) finds a connection between the rise of nationalist populism and reconfigurations of power, hierarchy, and capital away from white neoliberal ideologies. British immigration policies since leaving the European Union display the relationship between race, capitalism, and state power (Danewid, 2022). ‘Brexit’ scaremongering about ‘hordes’ of immigrants ‘swarming’ Europe was another in a long line of heavily racialised discourses depicting immigration as a crisis threatening to British homogeneity, resulting in a moral panic against illegal immigration (ibid). Building on Stuart Hall et al.’s theories of hegemonic crisis (1978), increasingly restrictive and punitive immigration policies, heightened surveillance, and increasing numbers of deportations are designed to protect the white British racial order through policing ongoing racial crises the “migrant crisis”. This has been described as “ultimately the result of one racialized world order collapsing, and another struggling to be born” (Danewid, 2022:21).

The intergenerational policing of Black British communities is positioned within these wider contexts of racial hegemony, cultural anxieties, and changing demographics. Recent census data finds that Britain is no longer a Christian country (Office of National Statistics, 2022), demonstrating the multicultural nature of modern Britain. An increasing number of Black people who were born and raised in Britain and self-define as ‘Black Britons’ or ‘Black-British’ (Owusu-Kwarteng, 2017). At the same time, the Black British population holds fewer ties to the countries of origin and are less tolerant of racialised mistreatment than previous generations of first-generation immigrants (Olusoga, 2016). This is not an entirely

new phenomenon, and Pryce describes how that discrimination against status of Black adolescents in 1970s Bristol weakens their identification with 'white society' (1979:138), causing them to reject Britishness in favour of a conscious Black identity. As will be seen in later chapters, the changing face of Black Britishness will have ramifications for the concepts of belonging and identity, and the relationship with the police and the wider British state.

3.4 Community Responses to Policing

i. Narratives about the Police

The historical and contemporary experiences of racialisation and criminalisation provide the framework for cultural narratives about the police within Black communities. Experiences of racialised policing across generations contributes to negative perceptions of the police, which may become shared understandings or critical consciousness. This influences community perceptions, regardless of personal experiences of police interactions (Rosenbaum et al, 2005). Negative policing experiences have been linked with the intergenerational transmission of negative beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions regarding the police (Sindall et al., 2016). Cultural framing, or beliefs and pre-dispositions deriving from historically negative experiences, results in reinforced cumulative experiences of discrimination within the collective memory and collective identity of a community (Staviksy, 2017).

Parents play an important role in the transmission of personal beliefs and endorsement to children (Tam & Chan, 2015). Stavisky (2017) argues that ethnic minority communities interpret information about the police in accordance with existing beliefs, prior experience, stereotyping and confirmation bias, contributing to symbolic repertoires and shared understandings based on group identity and common experience. Many Black parents, in response to lifelong experiences of racialisation, seek to prepare their children for lives enduring racial biases, prejudice, and discrimination through forms of racial and ethnic socialisation to provide "practices to help their children navigate racist and biased experiences" (Cintron et al., 2019:380).

Studies of adolescent attitudes towards the police find that adolescents have more negative opinions of the police than other age groups (Hurst et al., 2005). Significantly, this is also the time that the likelihood of police encounters increases, in addition to higher

involvement in criminal or delinquent activity and increased stop and search (McAra and McVie, 2005). Greater maturation results in diminished parental influence, increasing the incidence of police contact (Sindall et al., 2016). Older teenagers have more negative perspectives of the police, likely in part because they have had more police encounters by this age and make greater use of public space (Piquero et al., 2005).

Parental advice about the police has been explored in the context of ‘the Talk’, which has been traced by historians back to 1863 following the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation (Burnett, 2012). Most research on ‘the Talk’ is US-focused, and there is currently little research exploring its conceptual schemas, form, content, and context of ‘the Talk’ in Britain. Black parents are considerably more likely to have ‘the Talk’ with their children than white parents, fearful of the effect of policing on Black children and to provide guidance to their children based on socio-political and cultural beliefs within their own lived experience (Unnever and Gabbidon, 2011). In doing so, Black parents “play a critical role in helping their children learn and navigate discrimination as well as develop ‘positive racial identities’ despite such experiences” (Cintron et al., 2019:380).

The content of ‘the Talk’ varies, ranging from more passive or compliant responses in police interactions, to encouraging children to take necessary action to ensure survival. This suggests that different versions of ‘The Talk’ may be given to different generations, in response to evolving fears and perceptions of threat from the police and wider societal influences. This also indicates the perceived necessity of constant and ongoing vigilance against the threat of racialised policing. The information given during ‘the Talk’ tends to include showing respect, adopting submissive postures, expressing calmness, and avoiding sudden movements whilst dealing with the police (Cintron et al., 2019).

‘The Talk’ represents an important way of negotiating tensions between Black people and a society perceived as hostile to Blackness (Gonzalez, 2019). Crucially, ‘the Talk’ is not given to reduce perceptions of criminality, but rather represents an intentional survival strategy (Hughes, 2014). It represents the determination of Black parents and community elders to transmit cultural behaviours to the next generation (Cintron et al., 2019). ‘The Talk’ represents part of a survival toolkit, informed by widespread perceptions of inherent powerlessness within Black communities from the police as a representative of the state, and fears of not being able to protect younger generations. This allows Black parents to discuss how to navigate police interactions to minimise potential harm (Whitaker & Snell, 2016).

The giving of 'the Talk' is only one of the methods through which Black parents seek to protect and prepare children for experiences of racialised policing. Historical experiences of racialised policing may be transmitted by various mechanisms, sharing perspectives, values, and norms to form an instructive framework to avoid, prepare for, and manage racialised policing experiences (Hughes et al., 2006). Intergenerational transmission of narratives about the police have also been explored in the context of racial or ethnic socialisation, or mechanisms through which parents transmit perspectives, values, information and norms about race and ethnicity to children (Hughes et al., 2006). Attitudes towards the police provide a framework for selecting, recalling, and interpreting information that is consistent with pre-existing negative attitudes towards the police, which may become entrenched across generations due to ongoing perceptions and expectations of certain ethnic minority groups (Rosenbaum et al., 2005).

The development of 'Black critical consciousness' has been explored in the context of responses to experiences of racism:

> "[it is] when a person becomes aware of and thoughtfully problematizes their lived experience and sociopolitical environments (e.g., exposure to racism) and then engages in actions (e.g., engages in Black racial justice activism) in response to their critical reflection" (Mosley et. al, 2020:2)

Intergenerational racial socialisation is not limited to information about the police, but to experiences of racialisation more broadly. Cultural repertoires draw individual meaning from collective experiences of injustice (Phillips, 2020). This supports research finding that parents who have experienced discrimination are more likely to anticipate their children will experience it and endeavour to provide tools to cope with it (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004). In settings where race or ethnicity are considered salient issues, or where there is a perceived risk of discrimination, Black parents often provide guidance to their children as a form of protection and preparation (Hughes et al., 2006). Black parents are also more likely to teach their children about societal status, transmitting information from their own socio-cultural interpretations of lived experience as Black people, and perceptions of the unequal status of Black people in white hegemonic society (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011). This is based on widespread beliefs that Black and other minority ethnic people are more likely to suffer adverse consequences following police contact (Zhao & Lai, 2010).

ii. Adaptive Mechanisms and Subcultural Conduct Norms

The literature explores how Black communities have adapted to historical experiences of racialised policing. Compliance is the most common response to police-initiated contact when the individual deems the encounter legitimate and a consequence of their actions (Long, 2018). Black parents, acknowledging the risks of involuntary police-contact, adopt damage-limitation methods to equip their children for police interactions, including changes to style of dress or demeanour, and avoiding looking or acting like 'thugs' (Brunson and Weitzer, 2011:451). In the context of intergenerational compliance conduct norms, Black children are encouraged to avoid situations in which they may interact with the police, such as congregating in large groups, and avoiding situations that could result in serious injury or death (ibid).

Conduct norms are thought to reduce the probability of negative interactions with the police and avoid involuntary police-contact (Brunson and Weitzer, 2011), imparting protective skills and strategies from parent to child. While compliance is linked with the perceived validity of the police action, it occurs even when police behaviour is deemed invalid. Compliance is not necessarily linked to strong belief in policing and procedural justice, but rather a lack of trust in the police, and the need to maintain a sense of fear in police interactions (ibid). In contrast, younger parents are more likely to take an instrumental view to compliance, emphasising deference to the police was in their children's best interests (ibid).

Another common response is avoidance of the police. Mistrust of the police may prevent groups from seeking police assistance, contributing to feelings of isolation and dehumanisation (Grills et al., 2016). This dovetails with research on victim responses, with the data suggesting that some ethnic minority groups resort to self-protective measures against threat amidst perceived failures of the police to provide protection (Yarrow, 2005). Many young Black people prefer to take their own measures than engage the police, particularly regarding racist victimisation (Bowling, 1999; Sharp & Artherton, 2007). Actions taken may include protecting oneself against crime, such as installing security equipment, avoiding going out alone, carrying weapons or seeking retaliation against perpetrators (Yarrow, 2005), avoiding geographical areas and people, and 'staying out of the way' of the police (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

Police failure to respond effectively to problems leads to mistrust, and a subculture wherein police cooperation is actively discouraged and stigmatised as ‘snitching’ (Rosenfeld et al., 2003). The ‘code of the street’ is rooted in negative experiences of the police among ethnic minorities in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, representing a coping mechanism for a group denied legitimacy from the police (Anderson, 1999; Carr et al., 2007). This erodes much potential cooperation between the police and racialised communities, with many ethnic minority youths enmeshed in subcultures that are negatively predisposed towards the police and unwilling to engage them in neighbourhood crime control (Anderson, 1999).

Brunson and Weitzer (2011) expand on Anderson’s findings, arguing that a competing framework exists alongside the ‘code’ to ‘armour’ adolescents in police interactions. The authors examine how Black parents and elders counsel youth to successfully negotiate police encounters, using Swidler’s (1986:273) depiction of a ‘cultural toolkit’, which includes “symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems.” These toolkits can be drawn on by adolescents as techniques for managing contentious situations (ibid). Brunson and Weitzer (2011) argue that the toolkit represents a cultural adaptation to longstanding volatile relations between the police and ethnic minorities, reinforced by the policing experiences of elders. This research overlaps with the literature on ‘the Talk’, considering the development of advice and guidance developed by specific communities in response to a set of specific social and cultural conditions.

The third main area of responses to policing in literature is resistance. The previous chapter discussed some of the historical protests, disorder, and riots that took place between Black communities and the police. Mirroring groups formed during the civil rights period in the US, Black British communities have historically mounted organised responses to racialised inequalities. Many of these groups adopted a pan-African or Rastafarian global movements and identities for the new generation of Black British people (Elliott-Cooper, 2021). Membership of these groups allowed Black communities to withstand the endemic racism in Britain between 1960s and 1990 and resist oppression from ‘Babylon’, or western cultural and political domination (Murrell et al., 1998).

British ethnographies exploring subcultural norms finds that racialised communities create separate adaptive mechanism in response to experiences of racialisation and criminalisation (Pryce, 1979; Alexander, 2000). This allows communities to withstand the realities of racialised othering through the development of narratives, conduct norms and community behaviours. ‘Street-identified youth’ (Pryce, 1979) enact their own forms of

resistance of unfair treatment by police officers, such as spitting on officers of behaving in a disrespectful manner (Rios, 2011:116). Some young people consider being physically assaulted or arrested for their actions as worth it, as these actions are deemed expressions of resistance and 'infrapolitics' of everyday enactments of resistance (Payne et al., 2017).

Political groups such as the British Black Panthers, Black Power Movement, and the Universal Coloured People Association, some of which are of US-origin, focused on resistance against oppression, organising community action against racism and police violence across the globe (Angelo, 2009; Long, 2018). Crucially, forms of resistance fostered a sense of shared cultural pride and identity for Black Britons as a cultural community (Elliott-Cooper, 2021).

As discussed in the previous chapter, Black communities have historically mounted campaigns against police brutality (Elliott-Cooper, 2021). The 2011 riots, ignited by the death of Mark Duggan, are the most recent example of wide scale civil conflict with the police, resulting in unrest among minority ethnic groups in Britain. Then Prime Minister David Cameron located the blame for the riots among gangs and inner-city youth:

> "At the heart of all the violence sits the issue of the street gangs. Territorial, hierarchical and incredibly violent, they are mostly composed of young boys, mainly from dysfunctional homes. They earn money through crime, particularly drugs, and are bound together by an imposed loyalty to an authoritarian gang leader. They have blighted life on their estates with gang-on-gang murders and unprovoked attacks on innocent bystanders" (Prime Minister David Cameron, 2011).

Mainstream discourse portrayed these incidents as 'riots', and the actions of a small, alienated minority subject to either criminalisation or extreme political ideas. Whilst some of the political sphere blamed the unrest on gang violence, rampant consumerism, and the desire to 'loot', Lewis et al. (2011) describe the events as a form of protest, and a rejected the notion of Black criminality and lawlessness as the cause. Empirical research showed considerable mistrust of the police among Black respondents, who gave accounts of police brutality against Black people in interviews (ibid). Anger at Duggan's death was identified as an important motivation for the civil unrest, particularly in London (Morrell et al., 2011). In other parts of Britain, broader anger at the police consistently arose as core motivations for protests and riots for many Black people (ibid).

Protests and riots have been described as indicative of the broader state re-engineering from the 'neoliberal blueprint of austerity (especially social welfare reduction'), and the 'urban marginality' of British society (Slater, 2015:3). Klein (2012:127) agrees, arguing that 'unrest is an opportunity for reviewing the relationship between the state and wider society'. This was exacerbated by the killing of Mark Duggan, austerity measures, cuts to public services and unemployment, overrepresentation of young Black men in custodial deaths and other inequalities (Slater, 2015). Newburn et al. (2015) framed the looting as an act of political violence by marginalised communities against dominant societal powers represented by the police, exacerbated by the highly visible and widely reported nature of the disorder, making the 2011 riots a departure from riots of the past:

> 'Rioting, pretty much by its nature, is varied in character and generally encompasses both a wide range of activities and a similarly complex range of attitudes and motivations. The 2011 riots were no exception, with very significant levels of violence, of attacks on and destruction of property, and with motivating energy that was drawn from a whole range of grievances including, initially, the shooting of Mark Duggan, but which also encompassed a more generalized anger towards the police and anger towards and resentment of other elites viewed as engaging in morally questionable behaviour while supporting or implementing social policies responsible for growing social inequality' (Newburn et al., 2011:1001)

More recent protests in response to policing, including the death Rashan Charles in 2017, and the Black Lives Matter protests of 2020 continue to demonstrate how Black communities respond to police violence against Black people. Racialised policing is experienced collectively in Black communities. Shared experiences of injustice can lead to a heightened experience and performance of a shared identity within a community as self-defence, or intergenerational resilience against institutional inequalities (Jackson et al., 2018). Intergenerational experiences of policing provide "longitudinal perspective to the immediacy of social adversity" important to the development of resilience to stressors, as the shared legacy of storytelling, cultural narrative and oral history helps mitigate the impact of environmental stressors such as racism' (Jackson, 2018:3). This suggests the benefits of intergenerational mechanisms within Black communities for the next generation of Black Britons.

3.5 Conclusion

Much of the research on policing in Black communities empirically explores the lived experience of policing. However, concepts of citizenship, nationhood, belonging, and policing have not been explored in the context of how Black Britons interpret policing over periods of time. As will be argued throughout this thesis, race is a crucial factor in the policing experiences of many Black Britons. Historically racialised and criminalised communities, that are treated unfairly by the police, or perceive their treatment to be unfair, have a diminished perception of identity in relation to the police and the state, detrimentally impacting procedural legitimacy (Bradford & Jackson, 2014).

Qualitative research on attitudes towards the police in Black communities tends to focus on adults or youths, rather than consider cultural transmission of narratives. Cross-sectional research approaches to the policing of a particular group do not provide insight into intergenerationality, and overlook the effect of parental experiences, attitudes, and advice on younger generations of Black Britons. Furthermore, much existing research centres on policing of Black males, overlooking the intersectional experience of Black people of different ages, genders, class statuses and immigration histories. Much of this research is descriptive, and does not engage with how structure, culture, institutional racism, identity, and belonging produce and reproduce the policing of Black Britons.

This chapter traces the development of cultural and community responses to racialised policing, which form part of the 'cultural toolkit' used by Black Britons to withstand policing. Little of the research on the intergenerational transmission of cultural advice and guidance from experiences of racialised policing has been explored in the British context. The way that Black British parents and community elders formulate and engage in 'the Talk' provides insight into the intergenerational lived experience of Black Britons, who live in their own specific cultural, political, and social legacies of policing. Aside from 'the Talk', there is little scholarship about how Black communities transmit intergenerational cultural narratives about the police, particularly in a British context. The relationship between structure and culture in Britain, intergenerational experiences of policing for Black communities, and the reproduction of cultural narratives has also not been explored fully in the literature. My research seeks to fill this gap by exploring how Black Britons interpret and explain policing to themselves and others.

It is the central tenet of this thesis that the policing of Black communities must be located within a historical context of racialised policing and inadequate victim responses

across generations, to explore the intergenerational implications of policing. Deficits in the research have resulted in an oversimplification and generalisation of lived experience (Kautt, 2011; Bowling & Phillips, 2003) and the structural conditions reproducing racialised policing across generations. My research fills this gap by positioning the intergenerational policing of Black communities in a specific legacy of historical and structural racialisation, criminalisation, and othering, which have led to the creation of cultural narratives about the police that are transmitted across generations.

Chapter 4
Theorising Intergenerational Racialised Policing

This chapter sets out my theoretical framework of critical realism and critical race theory and the development of a synthesised critical realist critical race theory approach to data analysis. Through qualitative interviews, I explore the production and reproduction of social, political, and cultural frameworks and structures producing and reproducing racialised policing across generations.

The first section explains my critical realist framework for the exploration of how pre-defined structural and cultural factors, such as race, class, gender, and immigration histories, affect the social world. I draw on the scholarship of critical realists Roy Bhaskar (1978), and Margaret Archer (2000), particularly the possibilities for social change through morphogenesis. I argue that perceptions, narratives, and cultural behaviours of Black communities developed to withstand racialised policing are informative of social structures, without being fully constitutive of them. Here, I rely on the critical realist distinction between the transitive, or the changing knowledge of things, and the intransitive, or mind-independence from the things we attempt to know.

Section 4.2 explores critical race theory (CRT), which foregrounds the role of race in social relations. A constructionist approach, CRT positions Black Britons as social actors acting within a set of pre-defined structures beyond their control. The white patriarchal hegemonic social structures internalised and integrated into racialising and criminalising narratives about communities defined as 'other' are integral to analysis of the policing experiences of Black Britons. The theoretical frameworks used here rely on the assumption that the institution of the police, individuals, and communities have internalised these processes. As my research will convey, the actions of individual officers are a microcosm of relations between Black people and their structural environment, stratified by race, gender, class and immigration histories.

Realism and constructionism are two broad perspectives for analysing data and have been generally considered oppositional in their approaches to epistemology and ontology (Gergen, 1998). The final section of this chapter explains how I synthesise these theoretical frameworks into a disciplined eclecticism, adopting a critical realist critical race theory that centres lived experiences. I argue that this approach presents a valuable framework for

analysing intergenerational lived experience, cultural narratives, and social progress for Black Britons over time.

4.1 Critical Realism

Critical realism theorists posit that we can only understand, and change, the social world through identification of the structures, or generative mechanisms, underpinning it (Bhaskar, 1989). The value of critical realism is in the expression of:

> "the idea that our categories, frameworks of thinking, modes of analysis, ways of seeing things, habits of thought, dispositions of every kind, motivating concerns, interests, values and so forth, are affected by our life paths and socio-cultural situations and thereby make a difference in how we can and do 'see' or know or approach things, and indeed they bear on which we seek to know" (Lawson, 2003b:162).

Within this theory, there are three distinct domains of reality: the empirical, or perceived reality; the 'actual', or actually experienced events; and real causal processes which, though unobservable, produce real events (Bhaskar, 1978). Critical realism presents a valuable theoretical framework for analysis of the intergenerational experience of racialised policing, particularly the emphasis on how social, cultural, and political positionality affects how individuals experience the world. The ways in which policing practices can create objects to be studied, such as racialisation and criminalisation, and how these objects can produce (and reproduce) racialised disproportionalities in policing, are important in critical realist analysis.

The three domains of reality within critical realism allows us to conceptualise the generative mechanisms producing events. The tendency of other theoretical approaches to overlook this distinction "render(s) problematic the idea of a rational choice between 'incommensurable' theories and to encourage (super-idealist) skepticism about the existence of a theory-independent world" (Bhaskar 1998a: x–xi). Within critical realist frameworks, generative mechanisms, or causal processes, are accessed by theorising on how and why events occur. Accounts of policing experiences from participants provide the 'empirical' data to be studied. In the domain of the 'actual', race and racism are generative mechanisms, which are activated in the domain of the 'real', producing racially disproportionate policing across periods of time.

The critical realist research approach acknowledges the effects of racialised policing but conceptualises these as complex phenomena within racialised constructions of crime in a specific historical context. Whilst generative mechanisms in the 'real' are unobservable, their effects are observable in the accounts offered by participants about their policing experiences. Critical realism therefore enables analysis of how generative mechanisms may emerge in certain conditions, and the historical racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities create the conditions in the social world that affect the lives of Black Britons.

Archer's Morphostasis and Morphogenesis

Archer's (2010) 'modes of reflexivity', which builds on Bhaskar's (1978) earlier theories, allows us to move beyond a binary approach to structure or agency towards explanations for social change. She argues that social agents are formed within a set of social structures which change over time, due to the activities and choices of social agents representing historical and socially situated individuals. The concepts of morphostasis and morphogenesis Archer (2000) proposes describe processes of change, or stasis, for social agents and social structures within a morphogenetic cycle. This is based on analytical dualism, or the idea "that structure necessarily predates the actions which transform it, and that structural elaboration necessarily post-dates those actions' (Archer 1995:90).

The morphogenetic cycle describes the journey between structural conditioning, social interaction, and structural elaboration to explain the formation and transformation of social structures and agents. Structural conditioning is the existing structure, which exists in this state due to previous interactions between different social agents. Social interaction occurs between social agents within this pre-defined structure. The result is either morphostasis, or the reproduction of existing structures, or morphogenesis, which is transformation within structural elaboration.

The concept of emergence explains the ontological realist claim that social structures, whilst being the product of individuals, have their own causal powers that are irreducible to the power of individuals (Elder-Vass, 2007). Social structures have social effects because they have emergent properties. Drawing on the reflections of Bhasker and Archer, I will analyse how historical policing experiences of participants have endured across generations. Longstanding hostility between the police and racialised communities provides the cultural background, and the narratives, perceptions, and behaviours of the police within Black communities are effectively shaped by historical legacies. The endurance of this dynamic,

and the power differences between the police and Black communities, creates the conditions for racialised policing to endure across generations.

However, Archer (2000) also describes possibilities for social change, or morphogenesis. This occurs when social groups transition from 'primary agents', or people whose lack of agency results in morphostasis, to 'corporate agents', or people with the necessary agency, structural and cultural power to bring about morphogenesis. Corporate agents may move existing structures forward, through the recognition of shared interests, and collectively acting on them. Black Britons are members of communities operating within pre-defined structural conditions but crucially represent a group with a shared interest in eradicating racialised policing. The ontological reality of the generative structures that produce racialised policing are linked to the development of narratives and counter-narratives about them. Black Britons have a vested interest in transformation through overcoming racialised policing in the future.

The shared interest in overcoming racialised policing provides the collective corporate agency for morphogenesis but as will be discussed in later chapters, there may also be opportunities for social change through the agency of individuals. I analyse the intergenerational experience of policing of Black communities with a backwards view of historical processes but also an optimistic view to the future to consider how cycles of racialisation and criminalisation may be broken through the transition of Black Britons from primary agency into corporate agency.

4.2 Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory is grounded in the 'the uncompromising insistence that 'race' should occupy the central position in any legal, educational, or social policy analysis' (Darder & Torres, 2004:98). CRT is a theory drawn from US legal studies, most notably the work of American scholars Derrick Bell (1992), Kimberley Crenshaw (1989), Marie Matsuda (1987; 1989), and Richard Delgado (1994; 1996). My research draws on existing CRT scholarship and applies it to the political, social, and cultural contexts of post-colonial Britain. In doing so, I hope to provide a framework for analysis of the intergenerational policing experiences of Black British communities.

CRT is broadly premised on certain tenets. Firstly, racism is ordinary and not aberrational. Derek Bell (1992) argues that racism is embedded in ordinary life that cannot be

reduced to individual prejudices. This ‘racial realism’ systematically analyses law, economics, politics, and rights, to critically analyse racial progress in real terms, and the functioning of interest convergence to explain racial progress to date (Curry, 2018). The acknowledgement that racism is ordinary allows for theorising of empirical data through a prism of race:

> “[The] initial formulation of CRT was racial realist, meaning it focused on the empirical and historically defined differences in economic status and political power, and made its concern the social stratifications which had emerged throughout America as the foundation of its analysis into not only the law but the routine function of white supremacist ideology more generally” (Curry, 2018:349).

Historically focused on race relations in the US, CRT seeks to move beyond an empirical understanding of racism as interpersonal phenomena and towards analysis of how systems of power reinforce racial oppression:

> “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 irrelevance as racial patterns adapt in ways that maintain white dominance” (Bell, 1992:373).

Bell argues that a shift towards what he describes as ‘idealism’ by well-meaning liberals restricts the recognition of the role of racism in society, and that so-called ‘racial realism’ requires a “relevant historical and political analysis to ground their interpretation of racist events” (Curry, 2018:351). As a theoretical framework that foregrounds race and racism, CRT is a valuable tool for exploring the intergenerational experience of racialised policing in Britain.

The second core tenet of CRT is ‘interest convergence’, which describes how racial progress is only achievable when in the interests of dominant white hegemonic powers (Bell, 1992). Privilege is inherently racialised, with the hegemony of the white establishment serving both a psychic and material purpose of maintaining the status quo in its favour (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The principle of interest convergence argues that racial progress is therefore only possible following a ‘contradiction-closing case’ wherein the

interests of white supremacy converge with that of oppressed groups, resulting in changes to law and policy that benefit the latter.

An example of superficial progress following interest convergence is the aftermath of the 1993 racist murder of Stephen Lawrence, discussed in Chapter 2. The strong reaction from communities across racial groups demonstrated how collective action can represent ‘corporate agency’ at certain points in time. The backlash against the police led to widespread reform of police policy and practice. Despite the discourse however, the racially disproportionate policing of Black communities endures to this day. This illuminates how social progress through corporate agency can be temporarily achieved and subsequently eroded or return to the status quo.

Such progress may be undermined by law and policy that renews the status quo, in this case the continued racialised policing of Black Britons. On one view, reforms implemented in the wake of Macpherson were limited as they ultimately failed to serve the interests of white hegemony, namely the continued racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities to within political and structural interest. This will be an important aspect of data analysis, allowing for exploration of Archer’s critical realist concepts of morphostasis and morphogenesis, using CRT principles of the permanence of race.

The third tenet of CRT is the social construction of race. As an interpretive theory, CRT acknowledges that race is a social construct, but one with real effects on how communities experience the world. However, CRT moves beyond social construction theories to posit that ‘race’ is exercised for social, political, or economic aims (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). This approach prioritises the importance of ‘race’ as a ‘fundamental principle of social organisation and identity formation’ (Omi and Winant, 1993:5). This allows for the incorporation of foundational concepts of white hegemonic power and the racialisation and criminalisation of othered communities. CRT will also enable exploration of how these concepts interact with policy and practice of the police, providing insight into how Black Britons are positioned within contemporary Britain.

The fourth tenet of CRT is prioritising storytelling and counter-storytelling from racially minoritised groups. The telling of life stories allows analysis of racialising processes when emerging from the broader frame of experience (Phillips, 2020). CRT seeks to challenge dominant racialised ideologies that explain the lived experience of racialised groups and commits itself to social justice by centring experiences within research (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT holds our conception of reality has been socially constructed by the dominant

group and criticises the concept of value-neutral epistemology (ibid). CRT's epistemological position highlights Black people as knowledge-holders and legitimate sources of knowledge (ibid). This presents opportunities for worldviews from traditionally marginalised groups to become part of the criminological canon.

Some forms of CRT have been criticised for positioning Black people as passive victims of structural racism lacking the agency to effect social change for themselves (Williams, 1997), To overcome this, I utilise the theoretical concept of feminist agency which advocates resistance against oppressions through relationality, as agents come to know themselves as others come to know them (Arendt, 1958). The conceptualisation of agency as the capacity for meaningful action considers how structural inequalities affect individuals and groups without seeing them as insurmountable obstacles. It allows marginalised people to demonstrate agency as 'a mode of reflection…a way of taking responsibility for one's location in the world, a location that is not only or fully knowable by the subject" (Madhok et al., 2013:4).

4.3 Grounding Constructionism in Realism: Critical Realist and Critical Race Theory

Social constructionist theories consider the social world, to the extent it can be known, as socially manufactured through human discourses and actions. Society is viewed as the product of human engagement, resulting in externalisation, objectification, and eventually internalisation of interactions (Berger and Luckman, 1984). The social world is culturally and historically specific, so the ways that individuals interpret the world is contingent on time and setting (Garfinkel, 1984). Knowledge is relative and subjective to narratives about the world, so views of the world are shaped by responses to it (Houston, 2001).

In contrast, within realism, a reality exists that is independent of our thoughts and beliefs at the levels of the empirical, actual, and real (Bhaskar, 1978). The domain of the 'real' distinguishes Bhaskar's theoretical approach from others: though unobservable to the human eye, generative mechanisms operate in the real that generate events that may be observable in the domains of the empirical and the actual: '[t]he domain of the real is distinct from and greater than the domain of the empirical' (Bhaskar, 1998: xii).

I argue in this thesis that the way individuals interpret experiences of policing is located within perceptions of structural and cultural conditions existing beyond the empirical

and in Bhaskar's (1978) domains of the actual and real. A critical realist critical race theoretical framework can offer nuanced understandings of empirical data whilst analysing how they emerge across the other two domains. Archer's (2010) development of critical realism allows for constructionist and realist perspectives to be synthesised as it considers reflexivity and human agency within structures and cultures that facilitate or constrain human action.

My critical realist critical race theory approach acknowledges that access to reality is rooted in interpretive practice, but that certain societal processes are unknowable in the domain of the real. As Archer (1995) argues, agency and structure are intertwined. Epistemological relativism allows for reflection on categorisations in the social world without considering them universal or separate from context or individual cognisance (Dreyfus, 2017). The synthesis of critical realism and critical race theory acknowledges that categories or modes of thinking are affected by life paths and socio-cultural context that mediates how individuals respond, relying on a contextual and theory-dependent approach to knowledge production (Al-Amoudi & Wilmott, 2011).

The critical realist distinction between ontological realism and epistemological relativism avoids the dichotomy between the subjective and the objective by distinguishing between what is real and what we know (Al-Amoudi & Wilmott, 2011). Critical realism represents a 'discourse', or 'a structured system of differential positions that has a 'material character' and confers meaning to its elements' (ibid:30). However, discourse should not be conflated with idealism:

> "It is not only a matter of every knowledge being potentially 'wrong' but also, and most crucially, a matter of knowledge being historically transient (a product of our position, perspective, histories), and of acquiring its meaningfulness and value relative to the time, place, and position of the knower" (Al-Amoudi & Wilmott, 2011:30).

The epistemological focus of my research is the structural and cultural contexts within which research participants operate, and how they have understood concepts themselves. This is complemented by Elder-Vass' (2002) theories of the reality of social construction, which posit that the racialisation and criminalisation producing policing experiences are no mere standpoints, but real things that affect lives. Elder-Vass' approach is distinct from 'pure

constructionism', which does not consider there to be a reality distinct from human construction (Houston, 2001).

This 'socially constructionist realism' draws on Bhaskar's (1998 [1979]) critical realist approach to social constructionism, which describes the concept dependence of social structure. Elder-Vass (2002:8) argues this creates "substantive realist ontology of the phenomena that underpin processes of social construction, which enables us to pinpoint more precisely what is viable in constructionism and what is not". This avoids the epistemological fallacy, or the reduction of what we know to what we think exists, which might consider race purely through the prism of participants' standpoints, providing insight into how individuals use categories of meaning to interpret their own policing. The acknowledgement of how social structures hold causal power provide a theoretical basis for the 'real' of race in the policing experiences of participants, rooted in epistemological relativism.

My research takes this middle-ground of knowledge production, asserting that knowledge production is historically transient and subject to change. Research participants' descriptions of their lived experiences are specific to their identities, backgrounds and the time and place they find themselves in. The meanings that they derive regarding their exposure to and interaction with the police, and the consequences for themselves and others are relative to time, place, and their positions as knowers (Al-Amoudi & Wilmott, 2011). The reliance on ontological realism asserts that reality is at least partly independent of our awareness or knowledge of it. The value of this is in grounding contextually-situated meanings in reality:

> "Combining epistemological relativism with ontological realism requires CR to affirm its self-understanding as a discourse, including its logics of reference. This self-understanding supposes a recognition of the social production of references employed to express referents that may or may not be socially produced and that may or may not be of a conceptual nature" (ibid:29).

Critical realism suggests that understandings can affect reality but there must be a conceptual separation between reality itself and human ideas of it. My epistemologically relative and ontologically realist approach allows me to consider the actual phenomena of racialised policing and the real-world conditions underpinning the policing of Black communities, focusing on racism, but also considering the effect of age, gender, class, immigration, and laws and policy reproducing racialised policing across generations.

4.4 Conclusion

A critical realist critical race theory approach will allow me to analyse how white supremacy and racialised ideologies entrench racial inequalities to create and maintain hierarchies of power between the institution of the police and Black communities through racialised policing. This enables analysis of the positionality of research participants as historically and contextually situated actors within longstanding racialisation and criminalisation. The synthesis of constructionist and realist theories will enable data to be analysed from a social constructionist perspective, without denying the materiality of reality and social structures.

My approach lays the groundwork for analysis of underlying generative structures in the production and reproduction of racialised policing. This distinguishes my approach from that of explicitly constructionist forms of CRT which focus mainly on race as a social construct. Exploring the lived experience of Black communities allows for both comprehension and transformation of underlying social orders through praxis (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). This ontologically realist and epistemologically relative approach provides a framework for critical analysis of the intergenerational policing of Black British communities.

Chapter 5

Methodology

The aim of this research is to contribute to understandings of social reality by seeking insights into the perspectives of Black British communities as a historically racialised and criminalised social group. Empirical data need not provide objective statements of truth but illuminate the lived experiences of individuals as historically and contextually situated social agents. This will allow for theorising about the generative mechanisms producing and reproducing racialised policing across generations. I explore the following through the main research question: "*What is the intergenerational experience of policing within Black communities*?":

1. *How do Black parents, children, and communities come to understand their experiences of policing?*
2. *What is the intergenerational experience of policing for Black British communities?*
3. *How do race, gender, age, class, and immigration histories affect experiences of policing for Black British communities?*

Through a critical realist critical race theoretical framework, I analyse the value of existing theories of racialisation and criminalisation in explaining the policing experiences of Black Britons. These theories may be supported or rejected through the analysis of empirical data gathered from fieldwork.

The first section of this chapter sets out my method of qualitative interviews. While both quantitative and qualitative research methods may provide insight into policing experiences, interviewing allows for exploration of issues from the perspective of participants, and narratives within the theoretical perspectives of critical realist and critical race theory. Through semi-structured and unstructured interviews, I consider the production and reproduction of social, cultural, and political structures producing and reproducing racialised policing over time. Qualitative interviewing is a useful tool for analysing policing experiences, and the cultural narratives and community norms developed from the legacy of longstanding racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities.

The second section of this chapter explains the case for research, sampling, and the selection of Brambleton as the geographical focus. As a borough with both areas of heavy

policing and relatively affluent areas, Brambleton, and Bordertown in particular, present valuable opportunities for analysis of how policing is experienced among different Black communities. This supports my research aim to approach lived experience through an intersectional prism and consider how policing is mediated by structural and cultural positionality.

The third section investigates researcher positionality, and the benefits and disadvantages this presented for research. Qualitative research, while seeking to explore the lived experience and inner worlds of participants, remains mindful of the role played by the researcher on their research, recognising that "there is a relational tie between the development of knowledge and the development of the object of knowledge" (Bhaskar, 1998:48). Reflexivity, within Archer's (2007) critical realism, is premised on the notion of the social construction of reality and that of knowledge being both context-dependent and historically-situated (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003).

The fourth section describes some of the ethical considerations that arose during the research process. This section explains the issues of confidentiality, safeguarding of participants, and conducting fieldwork with young participants, and how I overcame potential ethical problems during data collection. My ethics application was approved in 2020, confirming the successful navigation of these issues.

Section 5.5 explains my methodology for data collection of qualitative semi-structured and unstructured interviews and outlines my analytical framework. This section also explains how the adaptive method was used for data analysis and how this complemented my theoretical framework.

The concluding section of this chapter presents the critical discourse analytical theoretical framework used in the research. As Stuart Hall (1992:291) argued: "all social practices contain meaning and meaning shapes and influences what we do – all the practices that we possess have a discursive aspect to them". Critical discourse analysis highlights how power relationships in society are expressed through discourse. The creation of narratives about the police by Black Britons have central focus in my research and present vital insight into intergenerational lived experience.

5.1 Qualitative Interviews

During thirteen months of fieldwork, I conducted fifty-eight semi-structured and unstructured qualitative interviews to understand the lived experience of Black young people, their parents and guardians, and community workers (see Appendix 1). This intergenerational focus allowed me to consider the long-term experience of racialised policing from the standpoint of different participants.

As my fieldwork took place at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, most of the interviews took place remotely, rather than community centres as originally intended. I was initially concerned about the challenges this might present, fearful of the impact restrictions might have on my ability to recruit participants and establish a rapport during interviews. I was also concerned about additional issues with privacy and confidentiality in the storage of participant data. Thankfully, remote interviews presented several opportunities. Firstly, remote meetings were already a part of the everyday lives of most participants. Many had smartphones and were frequent users of social media. This presented remote interviews as a natural and flexible alternative method of data collection, with minimal impact on participants. I conducted online interviews using the video or audio call function on WhatsApp, a secure and encrypted social media platform used without the time restrictions imposed on Zoom and is widely used by my research cohort. Once logistical issues were dealt with and conversations initiated, remote interviews took much the same structure as in-person interviews.

Most interviews were semi-structured, using pre-prepared interview guides for each research cohort to explore lived experience from different participant positionalities. Each interview guide contained topics or prompts of issues or concepts I intended to explore, including direct and vicarious experiences of policing, narratives about the police and the various effects of policing on participants. Children were asked to consider information received from parents and community elders, while parents or guardians were asked to reflect on how, why, and in what context, they transmitted information about policing to young people. Community workers, many of whom worked alongside local families, were asked both about personal experiences and the experiences of the communities they worked alongside. Unstructured interviews were also conducted in unplanned interactions taking place on the street and constituted more free-flowing interview types but were also based on interview guides.

Initial questions focused on demographics (age, perceived class status, immigration histories), education and employment, and childhood perceptions of policing. Pre-identified themes about experiences of policing were then explored, including early policing experiences, later experiences of stop and search, knowledge of the experiences of family members and peers, victim experiences, the perceived role of race in policing in Britain and the identity of Black people in Britain.

I reflected on my interview technique throughout the data collection process. Early interviews, on listening to recordings and reading transcripts, provided insight into how to conduct more effective questioning, including asking for clarification, without prompting or leading participants. The use of interview guides for each category of participant ensured that interviews explored key themes, whilst remaining flexible. Interview guides were helpful in initiating and structuring interviews, but I remained guided by participants, and what they chose to share with me, throughout. I found that a key benefit of semi-structured and unstructured qualitative interviews was responsiveness to participants as conversations unfolded, providing in-depth insight into perceptions, and lived experience in a manner that felt natural, and which hopefully yielded richer results.

I also conducted several focus groups. One was at a local school with Year 8 students. I found it difficult to keep students engaged, perhaps because this was conducted remotely. I also conducted two informal focus groups in person with groups of young men. The benefit of focus groups was to observe how participants interacted with the statements of others. This provided insight into how narratives are used in group settings, which is an important aspect of my research. I was unfortunately unable to conduct any more focus groups, due to logistical issues arising from COVID-19 restrictions.

5.2 Sampling of Participants and Research Area

Unlike other areas of London with high racial disproportionalities in policing, Brambleton remains relatively unexplored in academic research, not least because it contains relatively smaller populations of Black people than other London areas of historical focus. As the borough with the third highest rate of crime in London (Metropolitan Police data, 2021), Brambleton presents important insights into how policing is experienced differently by different communities. As of 2021, the overall crime rate was 106 crimes per 1000 people,

which is 18% higher than the London average. Brambleton is below average in 5 of 18 indicators of poverty (Trust for London, 2021). Two-thirds of residents live in poverty, which is higher than the London average of 28%. The borough has one of the highest proportions of working-aged unemployment in London. Research finds a relationship between so-called 'bad neighbourhoods' and perceptions of threat in the police imagination (Terrill & Reisig, 2003). Over-representation in high crime inner-city areas with limited public resources represent the social determinants for heavy police presence.

The high crime rate in Bordertown has historically been linked with heavy policing. Recent figures indicate racially disproportionate exercise of stop and search of young people (as of June 2019, Black people were 4 times more likely to be stop and searched in Brambleton than their white counterparts). While Bordertown has been the focus of policing and racialised media discourses over the years, I sought to contextualise policing in Bordertown with that in the rest of the borough. Brambleton contains relatively wealthy areas with majority white populations, alongside relatively deprived areas with higher Black populations. These areas have historically had Black populations and has been marked by social deprivation over the decades, but more recently has been undergoing a process of gentrification with significant impacts on the lived experience of the demographic. This presented dynamics to be explored throughout the research.

As a Brambleton resident, I am both familiar with the area and have ongoing access to it, which was helpful during initial introductions and recruiting participants. Interview participants were also mostly Brambleton residents, although some had moved to Brambleton in adulthood and others now lived elsewhere in London. Participants were selected to represent a range of backgrounds, with a mix of ages, genders, socio-economic statuses, and immigration histories. In total, I interviewed twenty-five children and young adult participants, twenty-one parents and guardians of children and young people, and twelve community youth workers.

Interviews were conducted with participants recruited from community organisations mainly providing support to Black communities in Brambleton. I interviewed members of a Brambleton volunteer-led police monitoring group that works closely with the community and the police to ensure to reduce racial disproportionality in stop and search and provide support and advice to young people. I also interviewed members of a group focused on providing support to parents and guardians with children at risk of or affected by knife-crime.

As gatekeepers of community organisations, community workers at these organisations provided access to participants, effectively 'vouching' for me as a researcher and helping trust to be built (Emmel et al., 2007). This was particularly important for participants from socially marginalised communities and 'hard to reach' young people who might not otherwise have agreed to participate in research about policing experiences.

Whilst not all participants had direct policing experiences, their accounts allowed me to analyse cultural framing and cultural transmission of ideas about the police, enabling exploration of shared understandings across Brambleton's Black communities. Interviews with older participants provide insight into how policing had changed over the years, from their perspective, and how this influenced conversations with children. I was able to explore the relationship between age, periods of history, and experiences of policing. Younger participants, many of whom were currently experiencing stop and search, shed light on the contemporary relationship between the police and some young Black Britons, as well as how community elders had discussed policing with them. Community workers were asked to explore the issues they saw communities as facing historically and currently surrounding crime and criminalisation, and what they felt could be done to improve the relationship between the police and Black communities.

5.3 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is an important aspect of my research, and my understandings were part of the interpretive process as I attempted to bridge the gap between shared histories and cultural meanings. Rather than aiming for an inauthentic objectivity in my research, I embraced reflexive positionality, acknowledging that social research is always positioned within a stance (Creswell, 2007). My research design was largely influenced by my own identity as a Black female researcher, which influenced my choice of research, the questions I asked, and how I asked them. The 'knowledge' that I brought with me into the research was reflexively situated in my own political, social, and cultural experiences.

My reflexive research approach acknowledges that my research topic, questions, and interviewing style both revealed and contributed to the narratives that participants used to describe their policing experiences. To ensure my research remained rigorous, it was necessary to ensure that personal judgements did not cloud the research process. However, I

remained mindful of how my research questions might be leading participants to create conceptual frameworks about intergenerational narratives. Therefore, the narratives that participants used are not treated as indicative of intransitive cultural structures uncovered during interviews but rather as indicative of how participants themselves interpreted policing experiences.

Black feminist theorists foreground intersectional experience within sociological research, exploring epistemologies of lived experience to contribute to our understanding of knowledge. These methodologies provide avenues for reflexive social research to lead "with the experiences of groups that occupy multiple social locations and finds approaches and ideas that focus on the complexity rather than the singularity of human experience" (Dill & Zambrana, 2009:2). Black feminist epistemology utilises dialogue, acknowledging that the author is central to the information that they gather: "the story is told and preserved in narrative form and not torn apart by analysis" (Hill-Collins, 2000: 258). Black feminist scholar Gail Lewis (2017) describes the decolonising effect of providing platforms for marginalised groups, and how this contributes to knowledge by exploring counter-histories and different modes of being. Through reflexive application of Black feminist methodologies, I sought knowledge production by prioritising communication and empathy. I engaged my participants in interviews, and particularly younger ones, sympathetically, providing a safe environment to discuss experiences of racism and police violence.

As qualitative research grounds thinking in an observable social world and presents a situated world view of symbols, language and meanings, the researcher is required to involve themselves to a certain extent in order to gain understanding of social processes beneath the surface (ibid). Parmar et al. (2021) argue that criminology has historically platformed 'white epistemologies', which have obscured the lived experience of marginalised communities and research centering the lived experience of race. The authors highlight the role of research interviews in making evident the 'not seen' by Black researchers and how this contributes to knowledge about underrepresented minority groups. In particular, the power of reflexive pedagogy with life histories and wider political structures is emphasised. Black feminist research methodologies, and the importance of intersectional perspectives, provide avenues for reflexive social research to lead "with the experiences of groups that occupy multiple social locations and finds approaches and ideas that focus on the complexity rather than the singularity of human experience" (Dill & Zambrana, 2009:2).

Theories of intersectionality emphasise how structural inequalities prevent social change occurring for marginalised groups within a matrix of domination (Hill-Collins, 2000). Initially formulated to explore the policing experiences of young Black males, my research focus evolved to focus on how different Black Britons experience policing, mediated by race, but also age, gender, class, and immigration histories. Of my participants, thirty-seven were Black men and boys and twenty-one Black women and girls. Despite this, some participant demographics were easier to recruit than others. More Black men agreed to be interviewed than Black women, particularly those from older age brackets. Early in fieldwork, I noted a difficulty in recruiting female participants. I believe this was due to the socially constructed gendered nature of the lived experience of policing, and a certain reluctance on the part of older women to participate in interviews. This raised interesting questions about how the policing issue is conceptualised and experienced by different Black Britons, which became a major theme during data analysis.

My 'insider' status as a Black British woman provided significant opportunities for in-depth insight into my participants thoughts and perceptions, particularly those they may have shared less freely with an 'outsider' researcher. D'Silva et al. (2016) discuss how researcher identity contributes to group identity between researchers and participants. Black researchers, as members of Black communities, may identify with similar heritages and act as 'insiders' and cultural brokers with access to participants (ibid), whilst also reflexively positioned as outsiders from different identities and life experiences. Researchers, mindful of the hierarchy of credibility (Becker, 1967) that prioritises academic perspectives over marginalised perspectives, should aim to reproduce participants' perspectives rather than attempting to define their reality for them, and reflect on their positionality as an essential part of their research, presenting findings on which their interpretations are based, which allows for them to be challenged. Many of my participants made statements predicated on a shared understanding, often stating "you know what I mean". That my participants do not need to explain the background or context to their statements has been hugely beneficial in both rapport-building and facilitating rich, detailed discussions about their lived experience, although this also ran the risk of detail being lost due to assumed shared knowledge. It was therefore necessary for me to ensure that the cultural knowledge I shared with participants did not hinder data collection, by asking for clarifications and follow-up questions.

'Insider research' may enable a greater understanding of social life from the perspective of participants and achieve more trustworthy data gathering (Ganga & Scott,

2006). Shared membership of a racial or ethnic group may create opportunities for researchers to access to gatekeepers, gain trust and build rapport, creating a framework for collaborative work. It may also bypass issues such as being 'vouched for' by existing group members (Quraishi & Philburn, 2015). Engaging in dialogue, enabled by a relationship of trust between researcher and participants, can be essential to more nuanced understandings of the consequences of racialised policing, particularly issues that are invisible to members of the group due to routinisation (ibid). My Nigerian heritage, background and culture were highly beneficial in interviews with some participants. For example, in interviews with Nigerian parents, I adopted an 'African-centric' approach that prioritises respect for elders (Woods et al., 2004) when introducing myself to participants. My own lived experience created a rapport with participants through the recognition of effective forms of establishing trust and communication.

My relationship with my participants was predicated on trust in shared belief systems, and on their trust in my intention to create change in the lived experience of racialised policing. While I believe that shared racial identity helped me access and recruit participants, I was aware that my identification with my research participants only takes me so far, as being from the same racial or ethnic group does not mean that my participants accept, trust, or even like me. Despite this, I believe that my identity as a Black female researcher allowed me to gain insights into participants' lived experiences that other researchers may not have.

Throughout the data collection process, I remained mindful of my insider status and collective consciousness with my participants, but also acutely aware of class, gender and immigration histories that position me 'outside' research into racialised policing. My personal characteristics and the way I presented myself to participants influenced how they related and responded to me. While I divulged little personal information to my participants, I was aware of presenting information both consciously through my status as a researcher and unconsciously through the way I spoke, what I said, and how I carried myself. Several participants vocalised perceptions of my accent and professional status as indicative of the 'type' of person I am. Several participants expressed their (correct) assumption that I have never been stopped and searched, which they saw as due to my gender, class, and professional status.

My age also affected positionality, as I am perhaps too young to represent a maternal figure to some younger participants, while also being too old to represent a peer. To some

young participants, I simultaneously represented a person 'worthy' of respect by virtue of my academic status, while also representing a part of the 'establishment' with little insight into how things 'really are'. During a focus group at a North London school, a 15-year-old participant told me he "*isn't bothered*" by the police. I later learned from his teacher that he went through a period of being stopped and searched at least once a week, and it had a considerable impact on his mood and performance in school. I had the sense that some young participants considered me unable to relate to their experiences and were unwilling to share them.

One of the ways I managed outsider positionality was by conducting research in my own borough, which enabled shared world-building and local knowledge. For example, references to the space outside the local Brambleton cinema as a high crime area have allowed a shared display of local knowledge and an opportunity to lighten the mood by referring to an 'infamous' crime hotspot. My belief that Brambleton has been overlooked in criminological research, and interest on the impact of gentrification in the Bordertown area have influenced my decision to conduct research there, alongside my belief that the local Black population of these areas have been historically overpoliced and unprotected. In this way, my researcher positionality has helped me to overcome some of the issues arising from my outsider status.

More broadly, despite my lack of personal insight into the intergenerational experience and resulting legacy of racialised policing in the UK, I believe that I have a shared interest with my participants in the intergenerational experience of racialised policing of Black people, and a shared desire to provide a platform for Black people and communities to describe their experiences. These shared interests may be considered a form of Black cultural capital that positions me in a shared world with my participants and complements critical realist critical race theory aims of social progress.

My initial research focus was the policing experiences of young Black men but, over time, this has expanded to consider the gendered experience of policing, class-based differences and adaptive strategies, morphogenesis, and social reproduction of Black cultural capital. From an increasing interest in the post-colonial Black experience, I have become more focused on considering policing as an extension of the processes of othering and marginalisation of Black people across generations, which has in turn influenced the way I relate to my participants. While my participants display an awareness of the differences

between us, we are also mutually mindful of the shared experience of Blackness, with many referring to 'we' and 'our' experiences of racialised marginalisation in Britain. The ease with which my participants have made these statements, positioning me as an insider, reinforces my belief that concern over racialised policing is an issue crosses boundaries and unites different Black communities regardless of gender and socio-economic differences. My identity is an asset to knowledge production, allowing me to become a more engaging researcher. As my research progresses, I am increasingly seeing my positionality as a space for constant negotiation and renegotiation within a broad framework of shared Black consciousness and opposition to racialised policing which transcends different lived experiences.

5.4 Ethics

Ethical qualitative research is concerned with codes and principles of moral behaviour as essential parts of research. I was mindful of ethical considerations throughout the research process, including participant selection, sampling, consent, data collection and analysis. The British Society of Criminology Statement of Ethics (2015:1) is a "a frame of reference to encourage and support reflective and responsible ethical practice in criminological research and, in keeping with the aims of the Society, challenge questionable practice, publishing or otherwise to promote principles, values and standards to ensure that ethical standards in criminological research are maintained". This is an aspirational rather than prescriptive code, requiring researchers to promote the advancement and dissemination of knowledge, and promote free and independent inquiry into criminological matters (2015:3). An ethical researcher also ensures that "potential physical, psychological, discomfort or stress to individuals participating in research is minimised by participation in the research" (ibid:5).

i. <u>Confidentiality</u>

In qualitative research, the risk of identification of participants is higher than with quantitative research, even where identities have been anonymised (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007). Research in a community group may lead to geographical areas or even participant identities being identified, potentially exposing participants to harm or legal action if they are discussing criminal activity (ibid). Members of the community group may also be able to

identify each other which can also be problematic when criminal activity is being discussed. Researchers should consider the limits of their own research and make clear to participants their position on receiving information about criminal activity.

The data from interviews, namely audio recordings, transcripts, and participant details, were stored accordance with GDPR provisions. Personally identifiable information was anonymised, and personal data was not stored for longer than necessary to transcribe interviews. I collected the minimum amount of personal information from participants necessary to conduct the research. Anecdotes or scenarios containing geographically identifiable information were limited, and where necessary contextual factors were altered. The geographical location of the research has been anonymised in this thesis.

Each category of participant had a different information sheet explaining interview information specifically pertaining to them. The information sheets explained safeguarding procedures and my disclosure obligations. I aligned safeguarding with the existing policies of the youth and community groups I am conducting the research within, taking note of their disclosure policies, to whom and in which circumstances information is disclosed, particularly regarding future disclosure.

ii. Power Dynamics and Safeguarding

Liebling (2001) considers researcher empathy and fostering of close relationships with participants, highlighting the tension between objectivity and participation within research, particularly in the boundaries between researcher and participant. She discusses the distinction between value neutrality and value relevance, arguing that the suspension of value judgement allows exploration of what ‘is’ rather than what ‘should be’ as aspects of the research. Black feminist qualitative research methods advocate for collaborative approaches (Hill-Collins, 2000); however, the researcher has ultimate control over the analysis and dissemination of data and the research process (Chase, 1996). I decided not to pay participants, concerned this might lead to ethical issues and potentially lead to biased data.

In a conversation with an established anti-police campaigner in Bordertown, in which I was told I was one of many academics seeking to conduct ‘urban safari’ in Bordertown with little material benefit for the community, my initial frustration (and defensiveness) gave way to understanding and an acknowledgement of my own relative privilege as an early career

academic. This was an important realisation for me, and dictated much of subsequent research plan, methods, and application of theory. In my interviews, I am both gathering data from participants and encouraging them to consider and challenge their own experiences consciously as members of heavily policed communities. This research seeks to provide understanding with a conscious sense of personal responsibility of the access and privileges I have that my participants may not.

iii. Young Participants

The Gillick (1985) competency test provides that from the age of 16 a person is deemed an autonomous adult capable of making decisions regarding their medical care. The general rule is young people under 16 are not capable of giving medical consent, requiring parental or guardian consent. However, in some instances a person under 16 may be deemed mature enough to make competent medical decisions about themselves. A Gillick competent child has the capacity to give consent to medical procedures with the decision based on factors such as whether the young person can understand potential consequences, their rights and the risks and benefits of the research (Hunter and Pierscionek, 2007). While a medical professional may have the ability to decide regarding the competence of a young person, a researcher's academic expertise may not equip them for a decision on competency. In addition, there is a risk of research aims distorting the researcher's ability to make an unbiased opinion on capacity, or to minimise the harmful consequences in their analysis.

Hunter and Pierscionek (2007) argue against the Gillick ruling, countering that Gillick competency does not apply to young people in the context of research, as the primary aim of research is to answer specific questions and any benefit to participants is incidental rather than the primary aim. The exception applies only where the research is likely to result in significant benefits for participants while exposing them to minimal risk, or where the research is likely to result in wider societal benefit and pose minimal risk but where parental consent has been withheld (ibid).

Given the potential risks to young participants, I prioritised the 'do no harm' principle of ethical research. As children are often more vulnerable than adults, interviews with young participants raised specific ethical issues. At the start of the interview process, I obtained a disclosure and barring service (DBS) check that authorised me to work with children. The intergenerational focus provided opportunities for parental consent to be sought where

necessary. I was mindful that participants had agreed to discuss potentially painful or traumatic topics with me without asking for anything in return. I sought to create an environment wherein participants felt comfortable to share information with me of their own volition.

Participants were reassured that their participation was entirely voluntary, that they could end interviews at any time without providing reason, and that their data would be destroyed if requested. Participants were also be encouraged to ask questions at any point during interviews. An information sheet provided before interviews explained the nature and purpose of the research. I also ensured consent forms were signed prior to interviews. I reminded participants and participants that their participation was entirely voluntary, that they could withdraw at any time without providing a reason, and that their data would be destroyed if requested.

5.5 Data Collection and Analysis

Interviews were digitally recorded using an iPhone 11 and computer voice recorder software. I also had a notepad handy to make contemporaneous notes, keep track of questions and remind myself of key areas to focus on subsequently. The interviews were kept to a maximum of 40-60 minutes, and around 20-30 minutes for younger participants. I transcribed the interviews on the same day as the interview using transcription software called Otterai. Transcripts were imported into Nvivo for coding. I initially developed a series of initial codes of broad topics that data could be grouped within. Using Nvivo, I reviewed transcripts line by line and developed further codes throughout data analysis.

As the results drawn from such data are emergent rather than fixed, an ongoing interpretive process was necessary. I used an adaptive coding framework, through which I examined data and considered possible explanations, before creating hypotheses for each possible explanation, and re-examining data to find the most plausible. In-keeping with my critical realist critical race theory framework, epistemological relativity located the subjective realities of participants within broader structural and historical contexts. Layder (1998) argues that the adaptive method is useful for analysing how social relations, positions, and practices are reproduced over periods of time. The policing experiences of participants were a microcosm of social relations between the police and marginalised groups, conditioned by the modes in which policing is socially organised, power dynamics and long-standing

racialisation and criminalisation of Black people. Data analysis allowed for theories explaining accounts to emerge.

Critical realism seeks out tendencies, or ‘demi-regularities’ (Lawson, 2003b), identified through the coding process. Layder (1988) advocates for using flexible versions of inductive and deductive reasoning in data analysis, to adapt to unfolding circumstances as they emerge from data with potential theoretical explanations. Over the course of data collection, my interests evolved. This approach enabled ongoing analysis of how larger structural phenomena shaped the data, providing insight into theoretical questions and power relations in the social world. Through data analysis, I sought to explore social worlds through the perspectives of social actors. Explanations for events derived from theories about structures, cultures ideas, socio-political domination, and oppression, and racialised ideologies (Layder, 1998). These social phenomena are the generative mechanisms creating the conditions for the racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities and which I sought to investigate during interviews and data analysis.

5.6 Analytical Theoretical Framework: Critical Realism and Critical Discourse Analysis

Within critical realism, knowledge is both a ‘discursive’ product of society (the ‘transitive dimension’), reflecting the ‘true nature’ of reality (the ‘intransitive dimension’) (Bhaskar, 1975; Newman, 2020). Some of these ‘real’ generative mechanisms are intransitive, existing independently of our knowledge of them. Critical realism is therefore a useful tool for explaining social events through analysis of generative mechanisms and their effects through three layers of reality. The challenge in my theoretical framework were to find middle-ground between my broad critical realist approach to my research topic with the constructionist analytical approaches of critical race theory.

Unlike more constructionist CRT approaches, my theoretical approach uses ‘depth ontology’ to analyse empirical data by comparing participants’ perceptions of reality to empirical indicators within the ’actual’ domain of reality. Depth ontology acknowledges the difference between socially constructed knowledge of reality in the transitive empirical domain of reality, actual events in the domain of the ‘actual’, and real generative mechanisms in the domain of the ‘real’. Participant discursive narratives about their policing experiences are analysed from the ‘real’ role that racialised criminalisation plays in their lives.

Retroduction allows us to analyse the contextual conditions for causal mechanisms to take effect, moving between empirical levels, the 'actual' and the 'real' (Fletcher, 2017). This "a distinctive form of inference...which posits that events are explained through identifying and hypothesising causal powers and mechanisms that can produce them" (Hu, 2018:118). Data analysis of participants' interpretations allowed me to support or reject existing theories, to 'provide fuller or more adequate interpretations' of reality (Parr, 2015:10).

The gathering of data in qualitative interviews, fieldnotes and reflexive diary, allow for identification of demi-regularities (Lawson, 2003b), or tendencies, for analysis in accordance with the tenets of critical realism. The initial theories, pre-suppositions, and pre-understandings of the policing experiences of Black communities formed initial hypotheses that were the starting point for empirical research.

Within critical realist epistemology, suppositions might be supported, amended, or modified in favour of other theoretical frameworks to explain the policing of Black British communities. I was mindful that discourses surrounding the intergenerational policing experiences of Black communities may be competing or even directly contradictory. These accounts and explanations offered by participants were therefore potentially fallible, in accordance with critical realist epistemology and ontology that the 'real' world is theory-laden, but not theory-determined (ibid), or ontological realism.

Bhaskar (1978:6) contends that we must 'avoid any commitment to the content of specific theories and recognise the conditional nature of all its results' to take an epistemologically relative approach. Initial theories were explored, elaborated, and contradicted through data analysis to create a more informed account of reality (Fletcher, 2017). This was done through judgemental rationality, which makes it possible to choose between potentially conflicting narratives providing accounts of the social world. Judgemental rationality enables a choice to be made on less adequate and more adequate accounts of policing, analysing participants' narratives about the police and what this means for communities.

I use critical realist critical discourse analysis to consider how language constructs social realities. While realist and constructionist approaches have been considered incompatible in social research, Elder-Vass' (2012) combination of forms of realism and social constructionism was integral to my discourse analysis. Elder-Vass (2002) argues that some parts of reality are already constituted before human ideas engage with them. These

discourses are a product of normative institutions, without being "determinations which ... transcribe themselves by force" (ibid:155), as their effect is mediated by individual action and human agency (Archer, 2000). Language, culture, and behaviours are influenced by the social world, without being limited by the constructionist assertion that language is entirely a product of the social world or independent of the social world that it describes (Elder-Vass, 2012). This approach enabled examination of how discourse contributes to the construction of social reality for research participants.

The racialised and criminalised constructions of Black Britons in modern Britain provide the foundation for critical analysis of the role of race in producing policing disproportionalities. Structural and cultural conditions over time exist beyond individuals but operate to facilitate or constrain their lives. Similarly, the police of today are a product of structures and cultures over time that exist beyond individual police officers. Using my interview transcripts as texts for analysis, I analyse how narratives about the police reflect, produce, reproduce, and resist the structures and cultures underpinning racialised policing. I considered the socio-political implications of discourse and hierarchies of power between Black communities and the police, and Black communities and the British state more broadly. The racialisation of Black people, through political and media discourse about Black criminality, and the internalisation of 'perpetual suspects' status shine light on the generative mechanisms of racialised policing.

Reiner's (2010) interactional discrimination theories highlight the relationship between discourse and the power to reproduce power relations that accompanies the police officer's powers of arrest and detainment. In practice, police officers have 'control' of the conversation during a stop and search from the authority they hold as state legal enforcement. Drawing on existing intra-community discourses about historical and current experiences of policing, CDA will allow me to explore the availability and uses of localised discourses within certain discursive constructions. The use of negative language when describing the police and police interactions create discursive frameworks through which to understand the policing. The discourses of my participants both on an individual level, and their participation in collective or community discourses about racialised policing in the form of cultural narratives, warnings, and conduct norms passed intergenerationally will provide insight into how discourse describes, produces, and reproduces understandings about policing within Black communities.

Discourse operates through the thoughts and expressions of the participants, but this is due to the causal power of wider social structures (Elder-Vass, 2012). In describing how feelings of being targeted and victimised by the police has not changed since the 1970s, my participants draw on a historical legacy of racialised relations between the police and Black communities. This will allow for exploration of my participants' narratives about policing deriving from direct and vicarious experiences of policing, whilst positioning my participants in a historical and structural context that they make sense of through discourse.

CDA is complemented by Archer's (2000) theories of morphostasis and morphogenesis, Discourse analysis of the intra-community adaptive mechanisms and conduct norms described by my participants such as 'the Talk' will provide important insights into the 'real' according to my participants. The existing theories on the criminalisation and policing of Black people providing the contextual framework for my research will enable deeper analysis into 'choice' of Black parents to give the 'the Talk' to engage with causal mechanisms that create the context for 'the Talk' to be deemed necessary.

Alongside intergenerational advice and information, the discourses that participants express indirectly are also of key significance. The cultural structures that Black communities have formed to withstand racialised policing may be formed of discourses from origins unknown to my participants. This will allow me to explore the transmission of information on the police through mechanisms other than direct discourses, including those relating to British imperialism, institutional racism, racial socialisation, and vicarious transmission of cultural knowledge. These discourses describe and reproduce cultural structures that are compatible with Archer's theories of social reproduction. Given the focus on intergenerational lived experience, such discourse will illuminate how information about the police and policing passes through generations.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the epistemologies and ontologies within a critical realist critical race theory approach to qualitative research. Using qualitative interviews that facilitated counter-storytelling and platforming of racially minoritised groups, my research sought to provide insight into the lived experience of participants as historically and contextually situated members of society. Reflexive interviewing provided opportunities for social research that relied on shared experiences and knowledge, whilst remaining cognisant

of researcher positionality. Rather than seeking to enforce a separateness from my participants that would feel inauthentic, my scholarship emphasises connectedness and the opportunities this presents for a critical race theory analysis of policing experiences. I frequently experienced feelings of anger, sadness, and hope alongside participants within a context of shared Blackness. I valued the ability to enable participants tell their own stories, which were stories of great epistemological value that have historically been overlooked.

My research explores lived experience and therefore relies on theoretical approaches that prioritise subjective realities and storytelling. Despite this, mindful of the importance of the 'real' in analysing racial inequalities, a more complex approach is warranted. I explored CRT's identification of race as the guiding force behind law and policy and the commitment to counter-narratives. This combined approach of critical realist critical race theory and critical realist critical discourse analysis will allow me to explore the experiences of my participants and epistemologically acknowledge them as knowledge-holders, while rooted in a realist ontology that considers reality – at the level of real generative mechanisms - as ontologically independent of human minds. This enabled critical analysis of the structures, history and sociocultural context that have created participants' narratives about the police.

Chapter 6

Policing Suspect Communities

This chapter analyses how participants' policing experiences have created intergenerational cultural narratives about the police.. I argue here that, decades after 'Policing the Crisis' (Hall et al., 1978), racialised constructions of Black criminality continue to produce the disproportionate policing of Black communities. The critical realist critical race theory lens of this research provides insight into the empirical experiences of participants, but also allows for theorising about how structural and cultural contexts reproduce racialised policing over time for communities continually racialised as 'other'. Decades of negative policing experiences have created the conceptual frameworks that Black Britons use to interpret other experiences, ingraining shared understandings of police treatment towards Black people. Participants' narratives represent discursive frameworks through which policing is understood at individual, community, and intergenerational levels.

The first section takes a historical view of racialised policing, exploring the policing experiences of older participants in the 1970s and 1980s. Racialised depictions of Black criminality in the media and public discourse provided the justification for frequent and often aggressive policing of Black communities and neighbourhoods (Hall et al., 1978). During this era of particularly hostile policing, Black communities experienced frequent 'sus' stops, police violence, little protection from racist violence. The policing experiences of the 1970s and 1980s signified the structural and cultural conditions of the time, which saw Black Britons positioned, labelled, and treated as perpetual suspects (Long, 2018). This highlights the CRT concept of the 'real' effect of race, and how racialisation of Black communities as criminal and in need of social control has historically produces policing experiences.

The second section analyses the policing experiences of participants over the past few decades. The Macpherson Report (1999) was touted as a turning point in police-community relations through the identification of institutional racism against ethnic minorities. However, my data shows few differences in how Black communities experience policing in the post-Macpherson context, an example of the 'interest convergence' described by CRT scholars. Despite ongoing efforts to improve the relationship between the police and Black communities, many young Black people experience frequent and often aggressive forms of

policing. New forms of racialisation and criminalisation have replaced historical constructions of the Black mugger (Hall et al., 1978). Knife crime, serious violence and drug offences serve as the backdrop for the contemporary policing of Black communities and justify disproportionate policing of Black communities. Varying modes of policing over time that have consistently affected Black Britons embodies the morphostatic experience of racialised and criminalised Black communities (Archer, 2000) and the lack of social progress these communities have been allowed to experience over decades.

The third section analyses how narratives from direct and vicarious experiences of policing over the years are transmitted intergenerationally, as a result of ongoing experiences of racialisation and criminalisation. The embedded nature of racial meanings, internalised by Black Britons, is framed within a legacy of ideological white domination (Phillips, 2020). The narratives created by participants were the product of structures and cultures that both facilitate and restrict Black responses to policing. The policing experiences described by participants demonstrates how policing is shaped by structural and cultural conditions that Black Britons live within, embodying the permanence of race as an organising logic (Phillips, 2020). Negative policing experiences over time represent important sources of information that contribute towards intergenerational cultural narratives, warnings, and norms. Narratives about the police produce and reproduce negative perspectives about the police across generations of Black communities. I argue that these narratives contribute towards hostility towards the police that is often mutually-reinforcing and reinforcing of what morphostasis. The data demonstrated how race and racism are 'real' processes within the lived experiences of Black people that are "systemic, and reproduced culturally, institutionally, and socially from generation to generation" (Curry, 2018:40), or 'racial realism' (Bell, 1992). Despite efforts from the police, and the MPS in particular, to provide a fairer and more equitable police service working alongside communities to respond to crime and social issues, the data conveys that the policing of Black Britons embodies morphostasis, or the reproduction of existing structures and cultures over time (Archer, 2000). The systemic racism that produces racialised policing permanently affixes Black people with lesser status, largely ignored in contemporary colour-blind discourses of race: "White supremacy is the unnamed political system that has made the modern world what it is today, with whiteness positioned as the norm and non-whiteness positioned as 'Other' to maintain 'white privilege" (Mills 1997:1). The data shows how racial narratives about Black criminality endure from white patriarchal hegemony that has an interest in reproducing racialised inequalities to maintain the status quo through exercises of state power by the police.

6.1 Historically Suspect Communities

The Bordertown area of Brambleton has a storied history of conflict between the police and Black communities. As **Ruff Diamond** (62, Black British Male) put it, "*Bordertown always seemed to be at the forefront of these battles*". The area has a historically high crime rate and has experienced heavy policing over the years. Several participants had grown up on an estate that was identified a 'high risk' area for crime, drugs, and gang activity in the 1980s. The policing of the Bordertown was seen by many participants to be the result of racialised constructions of criminality due to its majority Afro-Caribbean population. Frequent and often hostile policing of areas with large Black populations embodied the real effect of racialisation and criminalisation on the lives of Black communities in these areas. They saw the strong police response to be "*the same thing they always do in any Black area"* (**Bev**, 65, Black British Female). Bev's statement conveyed the internalised perception among older participants that they, their communities, and their neighbourhoods, were inherently suspicious to the police due to their race.

Most participants identified police racism as generative mechanisms of actual events. **Stephen** (42, Black British Male) described the experience of being a 'perpetual suspect': "*Everyone of colour is being painted with the same brush that they're already labelled as criminals before they've even had a chance to explain themselves".* This conveyed the CRT concept of racial realism, and how race becomes 'real' in policing when criminality is affixed to a certain population (Bell, 1992). In Stephen's view, the police response conveyed racialised othering that positioned participants as members of a suspect community, membership of which legitimised frequent and often aggressive modes of policing. The police, as agents of the state, regulate and control the movement and behaviour of Black and brown people in a structure and culture that prioritises and favours whiteness over non-whiteness (Long, 2018).

Older participants' policing experiences took place amidst economic recession, high unemployment, and strain between Black communities and the British state during the 1970s and 1980s. They described frequent policing experiences throughout their youth and early adulthoods, which reflected their structural position of Black Britons within the 'urban wasteland' in the 1970s and 1980s (Bridges, 1983). The relationship between racialised hierarchies, place, structure, and agency was embodied through policing, which played a vital role in creating 'two societies, one Black, one white, separate and unequal" (Institute of Race Relations, 1987: vii). Every older male participant described experiencing some form of

police violence in their youth, either through ‘sus’ stops, arrest, or detention. Moses and his brothers had been repeatedly stopped under ‘sus’ laws as young men:

> *“About when I was 17, 18 getting stopped and, you know, someone’s getting put in the car, there would be groups of us getting thrown into what was called the ‘meat wagon’ at the time, and anything could happen to you once you were in it”.*
> **Moses**, **63, Black British Male**

‘Sus’ laws were used disproportionately against ethnic minority communities, particularly young Black males (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). **Richard** (63, Irish-Nigerian Male) recalled constant worry of police interactions “*you could be stopped five times a day back then*”. Fear of ‘sus laws’ was so widespread that Richard joked about “*looking for the police when I went out, just to get it over with”.* Richard’s quote displays how some older participants perceived racialised policing to be an inevitable aspect of life in Britain at the time. Similarly, **Holly** (64, Black British Male) described it as “*every time you left the house*”.

Asked why policing was so commonplace during the 1970s and 1980s, participants often replied “*you know how it was back then*”. Here, they referred to shared narratives about the racism in society at the time, which they felt did not need to be explained to a Black British researcher, particularly one researching the policing of Black people. The expectation of shared cultural understandings highlighted my researcher positionality, which many participants felt enabled the use of discourses and conceptual schemas to describe the policing of Black communities. The use of shared cultural narratives and modes of Black consciousness allowed participants to locate the policing of Black communities within a wider framework of racist treatment of Black people in Britain more broadly that was perceived and presented as a given. This also embodied racial realism and bow race was deeply embedded in the ordinary lives of both participants, and myself, as a member of a Black community (Bell, 1992~. These statements conveyed an internalised perception that the police were one of the ways in which the British state demonstrated that Black people did not belong: “*it was the police, but it was also the schools, and the hospitals, and a lot of other things*” (Moses). Participants were mindful of the role of the police in socially controlling communities that did not fit into hegemonic ideals: “*we were the enemies back then, without doubt*” (Holly). The accounts demonstrated the actual events empirically experienced by

participants from the real of historical racialisation and criminalisation, which positioned participants as members of a suspect community.

Analysis of data demonstrated significance of race in the production of these policing experiences. The lived experiences described in interviews reinforced research finding that racialised attitudes within policing during the 1970s and 1980s were a reflection of prevailing racist attitudes in wider society (Bowling et al., 2010). Police racism was often widespread in the pre-Macpherson period, and, and 'racial prejudice and racialist talk [were] pervasive…expected, accepted and even fashionable' (Smith & Gray, 1985:388–9). Participants described violent police interactions, beatings, arrests, and racist slurs as "*just how it was back then*" (Moses). The police were seen as simply representative of pervasive racist attitudes at the time: "*it could be just as easily the police as a skinhead who called you a nigger*" (**Telv**, 66, Black British Male).

Some described fears of evidence fabrication during 'sus' stops, particularly the planting of drugs: "*you were always just terrified they would jack you and plant something on you, and what could you say?"* (Telv). Similarly, participants described being stopped while driving, due to police suspicion of "*any Black man in a half decent car. They think we can't have anything nice."* (Holly). Holly's view demonstrated the perception of unjust treatment during this period, and the lack of accountability that Black people expected from the police.

Participants also recalled racialised mistreatment in police stations. **Tommy** (69, Black British Male) was arrested several times as a teenager. At the police station, he remembered being ignored, "*pushed and shoved*", insulted and being kept in handcuffs. Several older male participants had been similarly assaulted by police officers either during arrest or in detention. This was indicative of the unjust treatment and lack of accountability that characterised the policing of Black people in the 1970s and 1980s, prior to the implementation of PACE 1984. The Act established that juveniles in detention could be help for up to 24 hours on police authority alone and a maximum of 36 hours with local magistrate authority. However, Holly remembered being kept "*incommunicado*" without being able to contact his mother "*for hours and hours and hours and hours*", even after the implementation of PACE. This conveyed how efforts to enhance the rights of people under arrest were not always adhered to, and the particular risks this posed to heavily criminalised Black communities.

Alongside policing of individuals, participants described policing of events and locations considered 'symbolically Black' (Institute of Race Relations, 1987:2). The 1970s and 1980s saw the policing of Black social events, clubs, housing estates and meeting places, such as mass stop and search operations, raids, and armed police squads (ibid). Disproportionate policing in symbolically Black neighbourhoods, restrictions on movement and associations, and arbitrary arrest were described by participants as commonplace during this period. Richard felt "*they were just constantly shutting down everyone's parties, busting down doors, arresting people, everything you could imagine*". Moses remembered "*they had these units they used to send out, these vehicles and these special officers. They would use them to try to take back control".* So-called 'swamp', tactics to manage threats to the public order, including raids and armed response units were increasingly used in ethnic minority communities, notably in response to the Southall Protests in 1971 and Operation Swamp in Brixton which took place in Brixton 1981. These forms of policing reflected Bell's racial realism and the role played by policing in entrenching racialised inequalities in legal, political, and socio-economic frameworks.

Alongside their own experiences, participants also drew on knowledge of the experiences of other Black Britons. Vicarious experiences of policing contributed to negative perceptions of the police within Black British communities, confirming existing ideas about how the police mistreated Black people. Participants interpreted policing of their own neighbourhoods within a wider framework of police responses to 'Black crime'. Increased surveillance and intelligence gathering of 'symbolic locations' (Institute of Race Relations, 1987:2) in Tottenham, Notting Hill and Brixton mirrored similar tactics elsewhere, such as Toxteth in Liverpool, Handsworth in Birmingham, and St Paul's in Bristol. Participants referred to notable instances such as raids on the Mangrove restaurant in Notting Hill, military-style raids on the Black & White café in St Paul's and drug raids at Operation Condor, a Brixton club.

Decades of heavy policing, 'sus', responses to riots, and other examples represented endemic racism in policing and Britain to most older participants. Experiences of racialisation and criminalisation over time created deeply embedded ideas about British racism that informed narratives about the police. This illustrates direct and vicarious experiences described in interviews illustrated how knowledge about incidents of police violence against Black people are transmitted throughout different communities, creating frameworks for interpretation of other incidents and experiences. As will be seen in later

chapters, narratives were created from empirical experiences, and these were often more impactful in interpreting police actions than other, potentially conflicting, information.

6.2 Policing the New Crises

Over the last twenty years, serious youth violence and the criminal exploitation of children via 'county lines' have all become strategic police priorities (Bhattacharya et al., 2021). The mapping of 'gang territories' and remains disproportionately focused on places with majority Black populations (Williams, 2015), reminiscent of the targeted policing of 'symbolic locations' (Institute of Race Relations, 1987:2). The creation of multi-agency programs, whilst intervening to divert youth from being drawn into crime and violence, arises in the context of longstanding racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities. The data suggested that, in practice, policing operations to tackle youth violence are often seen as inextricable from the historical aggressive policing tactics used in Black communities. These newer forms of policing embody the morphostatic experience of racialised policing for Black communities, and CRT's permanence of race in structure and culture.

Ben (65, British-Ghanaian Male) characterised many of the efforts to reform policing and improve police-community relations as exacerbating the racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities: "*it feels like every new scheme or programme they come out with only adds to the problem. The numbers of Black men in prison never seem to go down*". Ben's quote demonstrated the perception among some participants that police efforts to work alongside Black communities to tackle crime and violence could actually draw more young Black men into the criminal justice system. The policing experiences of participants entrenched narratives that Black communities remained heavily and aggressively policed but framed by a more insidious political mandate that concealed the operation of race. As Richard said, "*at least back then the racism was loud and proud…now it's hidden so it's harder to see it*".

As discussed in Chapter 2, newer forms of policing stratify individuals by dangerousness, using techniques to identify, classify and sort communities to achieve specific police and policy targets (de Maillard & Savage, 2018). The data conveyed that, while discourses surrounding policing had changed, this was not borne out in participants' experiences. Rather, they stressed that with a few exceptions, policing had remained fairly constant over the years. This demonstrated both the permanence of race in producing the life conditions of

racialised and marginalised groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). It also highlighted the concept of ‘interest convergence’ within CRT, or superficial changes or ‘temporary peaks of progress’ (Bell, 1992) in the racialised status quo, that return to well-established patterns of white hegemony. The narratives used by participants to describe policing suggested widespread perceptions that changes in operational policing had little practical benefit in Black communities. Despite efforts from the police to strategically improving its relationship with Black communities, participants across age brackets displayed low levels of trust towards the police. This illustrated how the structures and cultures reproducing racialised policing remain in morphostasis for many Black Britons.

The language used by participants to describe contemporary policing was strikingly similar to that used by older participants to describe experiences in the 1970s and 1980s. Rather than ‘sus’, ‘Section 60’ stops and searches and car stops dominated, and were experienced as an ordinary part of life by many male participants: it was “*the usual stuff”* (**Dean,** 32, Black British Male), *“part and parcel”* (**Marcus,** 38, Black British Male) and *“just how it is”* **(Zav,** 17, Black British Male). Stop and search was often first experienced around age 14, but some participants were first stop and searched as young as 9 years old. They described being stopped and searched regularly, in some cases multiple times a day. Most that had been given a reason had been stopped for suspected drug offences.

Zav described being frequently stopped and search: “*they always think I’m selling drugs and that. And I’m just like; ‘no fellas, I wasn’t yesterday and I’m still not today!’”* Some young participants, like **Chris** (17, British-Caribbean Male), had been stopped and searched for suspected weapons offences (“*they said they were looking for a knife*”), but the majority of stops and searches were for drugs. These empirical accounts contradicted the rationale for the Beating Crime Plan, which advocated for increased stop and search as a means of tackling knife crime and serious violence. The similarity of participants’ experiences of policing across periods of time conveyed the perpetual significance of race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), resulting in the morphostasis of Black communities as racialised and criminalised groups (Archer, 2000). Participants’ accounts demonstrated the effect of racialisation and criminalisation is, and has been, social control through racially disproportionate policing.

Young participants stressed frequent experiences of disrespectful treatment from the police. Communication about the reason for a stop and search an important factor in

improving trust and confidence in the police (Bland et al., 2000). Being stopped and searched without being given cause was considered "*unprofessional*" and left participants with the impression that the police considered themselves "*above the rules*" (Abdullahi). It also contributed to a perception that the police were "*harassing*" them instead of "*tackling real crimes"* **(Lalo,** 13, British-Ghanian Male). These negative experiences left young people feeling targeted, harassed, and discriminated against.

In a focus group of Year 8 students aged 13 and 14, **Abdullahi** (14, British-Somali Male) disclosed he had recently been stopped and searched every day for two months for suspected drugs and weapons offences. None had resulted in drugs or offensive weapons being found. Similarly, **Akhtar** (14, British-Somali Male), **Kyra** (13, Black British Female) and **Dalia** (14, Black British Female) had also been recently stopped and searched for suspected drug possession and described hostile treatment from the police and being made to feel like suspects: "*it's always like you've done something wrong*" (Dalia). Kyra described not wanting to leave the house because of her fear of being stopped by the police.

Chris felt he was "*targeted*" by when socialising with other young Black males, especially those that were known to the police: "*once they know you, they never forget you".* This reinforced how one of the functions of racialised policing is the reduction of categories of people to 'police property'. Behaviour such as "*lounging around*" or "*loitering*" create police suspicion, particularly if late at night or in high-crime areas, drawing on depictions of unemployment, poverty, and suspected criminality of racialised groups. A group of Black adolescents in public seemed to create suspicion on the part of the police simply by their presence. This led to assumed membership of criminal gangs, even for participants that denied they were involved in criminality. Policing research finds that being recognised 'or known' by the police has been found to influence officer decision-making more than other factors (Quinton, 2011). 'Regulars', or individuals considered habitual criminals, are most likely to arouse suspicion (ibid). **Arsene** (16, Sierra-Leonian Male) described being "*always in their eyeline*" or watched by the police when on the street. He and his friends had recently been stopped and searched twice in one week and Arsene felt the police had spoken to them *"rudely*".

Similarly, police familiarity with fathers, older brothers and peers involved in criminal activity or 'regulars' were a common pretext for police interactions. Zav's father is a known drug-dealer in and had been incarcerated for much of his life. Zav described being *"constantly"* stopped and searched from the age of 13 onwards:

> *"So, obviously, growing up, the police have always been around me. So, it's a thing where like, because of my dad, they always kept a little eye on me just because of my dad and who he was. Yeah, so obviously, I can't really blame them. But at the same time, it does annoy me a bit, because you can't really judge someone because of someone else."*

Zav's experience highlights how negative stereotypes and risk assessments of ethnic minority groups results in profiling and pre-emptive criminalisation (Fitzgibbon, 2007). For Zav, his father's criminality effectively condemned him to similar policing to his father. This conveyed how forms of surveillance and monitoring practiced by MPS treat certain Black people as suspects, regardless of involvement in criminality. Race, whilst a social construct, has real effects (Elder-Vass, 2002) and operates in a manner that affects the lives of many Black Britons. The 'everyday' nature of policing described by young participants demonstrated endemic and long-lasting nature of racialised policing in the lived experience of some Black Britons. The designation of 'suspect' status reproduced similar experiences for participants with policing experiences that were decades apart. This conveyed how 'the new penology' continues to reproduce the racialising and criminalising functions of policing through different methods, leaving many Black communities in morphostasis due to the perpetual significance of race as an organising logic in structure and culture (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

6.3 Gendered Experiences

i. Policing Black Males

The policing experiences of male participants in this study spoke to depictions of the Black male body as a 'site of danger' (Yancy, 2008) through racialised and criminalised conceptualisations of pathological violence, disorder, and criminality. Physical attributes ascribed to Black men represent characteristics of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) which influence dominant forms of policing against subordinated Black masculinity within white hegemonic frameworks of idealised white masculinity. Male

participants frequently drew on racialised constructions of the 'big Black man' as explanations for policing experiences:

> *"Another one of my guys, he's been profiled a lot. Cos he's like 6'4, 6'5 and his experiences…it's unbelievable. It reminds me that song: "I wish I was a little bit taller". Sometimes I wish I were taller. But then I know that would make my life harder because we all know the darker you are, you're most threatening most of the time."*
>
> **Eddie, 26, Black British Male**

Eddie's comments conveyed the internalisation of stereotypes and tropes of Black male bodies among male participants. Being the embodiment of this constructed threat was a commonly used narratives to explain policing experiences. Male participants displayed double consciousness (du Bois, 1903) by imagining how they were viewed by wider white society and re-interpreting external perspectives. Popular constructions that Black men are excessively strong, aggressive, and unruly causes police officers to anticipate a violent reaction in police encounters (Bowling, 2018). At 6'6, **Kay** (25, Black British Male) considered his height and his dark-skinned complexion as the reason for many of his policing experiences:

> *"Obviously with an interaction with the police, being as tall and being as dark skinned as I am, like, you've got to be passive...so like protecting yourself but as passively as possible, because any kind of any kind of movement that could be perceived as aggressive by you, you will be like struck down on massively."*

Kay's quote conveyed how some Black males consciously attempted to minimise stereotypes of criminal Black masculinity. The internalisation of fears of the 'Big Black man' reflected how subordinated masculinity produces responses from Black men to appear non-threatening to the police and reduce potential harms resulting from police interactions.

Kay described "*thinking twice*" about wearing tracksuits at night, instead opting to wear "*more traditional clothes*" to avoid police scrutiny. This conveyed how signifiers of Black masculinity, such as dark skin, braids or afros, clothing, and accessories such as jewellery and gold teeth, reinforce racially constructed Black masculinities. Narratives employed by male participants demonstrated how racialised ideologies leave Black men

‘unmercifully imprisoned’ by concepts of inferior Black masculinity (Fanon, 1968:85), and the internalisation of the ‘white gaze’ (Yancy, 2008) that sees the Black as pathologically violent and dangerous. Kay’s experiences reflected theories exploring the perceptions of the Black male body ‘as the embodiment of bestial, violent, penis-as-weapon, masculine assertion’ (hooks, 2004:79), and therefore a threat to public safety.

Young male participants contrasted initially positive or neutral perceptions of the police in childhood eroding due to negative police interactions. The data demonstrated that early experiences of policing were often a turning point for male adolescents, representing their first moment of awareness of differential treatment from white peers. They expressed frustration and anger towards the police but were reluctant to discuss experiences in detail. This may have been partly due to their desire to project “tough masculinity” to a female researcher, but many also seemed to have normalised their experiences as a result. In contrast, many gave detailed responses when asked for their opinion of the police, who they considered “*corrupt*” (Zav), ‘*useless’* (Chris), and “*racist*” (Abdullahi). The willingness of young people to discuss their anger towards the police, but not the experience of policing itself, left me with the impression that young people were enduring ‘adult’ problems at times without the tools to understand, describe or deal with them.

Whilst on a charity bike-ride, Stephen’s 13-year-old son Zane was chased and tackled by plain-clothed police officers. Zane was fearful when he saw adult men chasing him and running away from them. Believing him to be fleeing, the officers tackled Zane, forcibly restraining him in bushes and pressing his face into the ground. When he resisted, the officers tasered him. His father Stephen attempted to intervene and was himself handcuffed with his face pressed into the ground. Eventually, officers realised they had the wrong person. They left the scene without explanation, other than Zane matched the description of an ‘IC-3’ suspect. It seemed that Zane’s fearful reactions were considered suspicious by police officers who had already pre-determined him guilty. The experience left Zane traumatised and afraid of the police.

For the children in this study, racialisation, criminalisation and adultification contributed to real experiences of policing. This denied the core tenets of childhood innocence and put them at risk of experiences such as Zane’s. Age continually emerged as a mediating factor in policing, aligning with constructions of dangerous Black masculinity. Older males who had spent much of their lives in the neighbourhood described frequent police interactions in adolescence, diminishing over time before stopping entirely. Moses felt that, at the age of 63, interactions with the police were “*all in the past*”.

Racialised and gendered imagery of the ‘scary Black man’, the ’thug’ and the ‘brute’, as the justification for racialisation and criminalisation (Smiley & Fakunle, 2016), is inherently associated with youth, risk, and threat. Home Office data (2021) finds that 70% of stops and searches in the year ending March 2021 were of males aged between 15 and 34. Criminalised constructions of Black males seemed to be linked with age, with the data suggesting that police interactions reduce as Black males age. This embodies criminalised constructions of the ‘Big Black male’ and how it is often associated with youth, danger, and crime. As a result, older Black males may be considered less threatening to public order and become subject to fewer social control mechanisms than others.

ii. Policing Black Females

The over-policed Black male has historically dominated criminological research, with the experiences of Black females effectively rendered invisible (Evans-Winters, 2005). CRT and Black feminist scholarship positions policing in the realm of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy (hooks, 2004:79), which interests are served by white policing institutions (Long, 2018). Policing is inextricably situatedness in relation to white maleness, leaving Black women and girls’ experiences ignored in much scholarship. James (1996:26) argues that white bodies are less subject to policing than others because they are more closely aligned with dominant ideals, reinforcing how different bodies are required to behave under state or police gaze:

> *“Greater obedience is demanded from those whose physical difference marks them as aberrational, offensive, or threatening. appear more docile than others because of their conformity in appearance to idealized models of class, color, and sex; their bodies are allowed greater leeway to be self-policed or policed without physical force.”*

The policing of Black women and girls has increasingly come into focus in recent years, particularly in the context of female gang membership and drug couriering. Evidence suggests that they are increasingly occupying similar roles to men in some gangs (NCA 2020). As of July 2020, it was estimated that 0.2% of the Metropolitan Police Gangs Matrix was young women, while the Children’s Commissioner (2021) found that 2,290 girls were

gang associated. The National Crime Agency (Annual Report, 2019) estimated that 9% of those involved in county lines drug dealing were girls, although this likely to be an underrepresented both female offenders and victims of criminal exploitation. Increased referrals of girls to the Rescue and Response County Lines Project indicated the greater focus on female adolescents in drug activity, rather than increased activity (ibid).

Research exploring Black women's experiences in the criminal justice system finds they are routinely regarded as troublemakers, heavily supervised and given harsher punishments than white women (Bhui, 2009). In policing interactions, officers may draw on pathologised stereotypes about Black women being angry, aggressive, and unruly (Erfani-Ghettani, 2015). These racialised and gendered constructions locate Black women in contrast to hegemonic constructions of white femininity and reflect how the police may consider white women to be innately less aggressive and therefore less of an 'intractable problem', more likely to express remorse or regret for arrest and more sensitive to social stigma of arrest (ibid:139).

Female participants' policing experiences reveal the impact of these gendered and racialised depictions of Black femininities. In many ways, their policing mirrored that of male counterparts, with around half of the female participants who had experienced stop and search describing aggressive treatment, hostility and targeting from the police as the norm. Interestingly, the image of the aggressive Black female was reflected by some of the male participants, who half-jokingly expressed fear of conflicts with Black female adolescents: "*you don't want to get into it with the girls, they're more vicious than the boys these days"* (Moses). This demonstrated internalised ideas for older participants who saw Black girls as particularly violent and dangerous in current society.

Dalia (14, Black British Female) described being "*shoved and manhandled, even though I'm a girl. And you just think, would you be treating me like this if I was white*?". This conveyed Dalia's internalised gendered and racialised interpretations about how the police treat Black women and girls. While Black men are pathologised as dangerous, hyper-masculine and hyper-sexualised, racialised tropes about the 'angry Black woman', 'mammy', and 'jezebel' affix many Black women with subordinate femininity (Hill-Collins, 2000), leaving them vulnerable to police mistreatment and violence. Dalia's perceptions of how Black females are treated provided the conceptual framework for her policing experiences, confirming pre-existing expectations of how the police treat Black women and girls.

As with Black male adolescents, being in the company of Black boys increased the likelihood of young female participants being stopped and search. While females account for

a relatively small proportion of the Gangs Matrix, the majority are Black (Mayor of London: London Assembly Session 20 December 2018). This reinforced how informal peer groups risk being labelled gang-members regardless of involvement in criminal activity (Bullock and Tilley, 2002). Research finds that the 'gang' concept provides an ideological mechanism for criminalisation of Black communities (Williams & Clarke, 2018), with 'gang' imagery playing a vital role in associating individuals with alien culture, pathological dysfunction, and propensity to violence (Alexander, 2000). For girls, associating with male peer groups resulted in similar processes of racialisation and criminalisation as Black boys.

Monee (15, Black British Female) had been stopped and searched multiple times in her life, which she perceived as being due to her peer circle of mainly Black males: "*I always hang out with the boys in my class. I'm like more of a boy's girl, so I don't hang out with the girls most of the time. And yeah, [the police] are always troubling us cos some of the boys are selling drugs*". For girls, self-presentation as 'one of the boys' was linked with the increased stop and search experienced by Black boys. Here, Monee was presumed to be a criminal for associating with young Black males that were known to the police. This was compounded by gendered expectations of idealised femininity. Monee felt that, as she did not ascribe to aesthetic norms of femininity (Miller, 2016) through her style of dress, e.g., "*wearing tracksuits*", she experienced similar treatment to her male peers. This mirrors research in educational settings finding that Black girls are more likely to be disciplined for failure to meet cis-gendered expectations of femininity (Wun, 2018).

The experiences of female participants indicated how gendered, classed, and racialised associations with Black male deviancy may override constructions of femininity (Britton, 2000). Working-class females experienced stop and search more frequently than their middle-class counterparts. When stopped by the police, rather than attempting to negotiate with them, they tended to "*just put up with them*" (Kyra). Fearful that interactions could escalate negatively, Kyra sought to avoid the police entirely. Such avoidance tactics were described frequently by working-class female participants, conveying their perceived powerlessness in police interactions (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

In contrast, middle-class female participants, for whom the hegemonic ideals of 'feminine behaviour' and accompanying expectations of innocence are more accessible through class status, did not experience policing in the same way as their working-class female counterparts. Working-class Black women are often considered the 'least desirable form of femininity' (Hill-Collins, 2004:199), denied the benefits of police discretion that may be enjoyed by other women and girls. The data suggested that the relative situatedness of

middle-class women to white male maleness through their greater cultural capital (see Chapter 10) enabled them to mediate the gendered and racialised expectations of other Black women that resulted in more frequent and more aggressive policing.

Middle-class female participants expressed negative views of the police, despite having far fewer experiences of policing than others. This mirrored findings that Black girls hold the second most negative views of the police, after Black boys (Hurst et al., 2005). **Cece**, a 35-year-old middle-class female participant living in an affluent part of the neighbourhood, described two experiences of stop and search that occurred in a deprived Brambleton neighbourhood: *"I was basically able to talk my way out of it. Once they heard the way I speak I guess they decided I wasn't one of 'those' Black people".* Cece's status as a middle-class Black woman, shielded her from policing to the extent that she would be "*shocked*" to be stop and searched again. This aligned with research distinguishing between 'decent Black people' and 'street people' in the public and police imagination (Pryce, 1979; Anderson, 1999). Similarly, **Viola** (29, British-Ghanaian Female) described smiling and adopting a "*submissive*" demeanour to communicate innocence to the police. She had done so because she "*knew they would be more likely to treat me nicely if I did*", drawing on internalised perceptions of how the police respond to ideals of femininity.

The data conveyed how middle-class women and girls were able to negotiate femininity in police interactions in accordance with racialised gender norms. Gender and class provided mechanisms for managing police encounters through displays of cultural capital. As will be discussed in Chapter 10, this is one of the ways in which Black people may be able to protect themselves against racialised policing.

6.4 Black Cultural Narratives

The data demonstrated that the intergenerational experience of racialised policing is largely experienced collectively throughout Black communities. Whilst not purporting to explain reality definitively, critical realism can be useful in gaining knowledge 'in terms of theories, which can be more or less truthlike' (Danermark et al., 2002:10). The narratives that participants used demonstrated the lineage between historical and contemporary policing, and how the policing of Black Britons remains in morphostasis in many ways. Recalling accounts of police harassment, brutality, evidence-tampering, and intimidation in the past, participants across age brackets experienced the policing of Black communities as both in constant flux

and essentially unchanged across generations. This positioned contemporary policing experiences within an active and ongoing legacy of mistreatment of the racialised other.

For many participants, the common thread between modes of policing over the years was racism against Black people, embodying the significance and permanence of race on real lives as defined within CRT analytical approaches Policing experiences that were potentially attributable to multiple causes, such as quelling public disorder or tackling street crime, were attributed to racism against Black communities. The data highlighted that police actions could not be separated from the structural and cultural contexts they arose within. Drawing on the legacy of racialisation and criminalisation experienced by Black British communities over the years, policing experiences were framed in expectations of police racism that were deeply embedded within cultural narratives. The result was that racism was a stronger and more convincing explanation than any other for participants who had experienced structural racism across life courses.

Some older participants, however, held relatively positive perspectives of the police today, feeling that policing had improved: "*Back then you were quite, almost, thankful to get away with just being 'a little bit mistreated'. Not having a conviction or something…which is terrible in itself. But it's less like that now"* (Ben). Ben felt that young people's policing experiences are "*much less overtly racist*", due to greater police accountability and public scrutiny. Older participants did not consider the policing of young people in a vacuum, but as an extension of their own experiences. Some drew positive comparisons between historical and contemporary policing, identifying areas that they felt displayed reductions in racialised policing for younger generations. The hostile policing of the 1970s and 1980s almost contrarily produced relatively positive perceptions of contemporary policing as simply "not as bad".

For other older participants, knowledge of young people's policing experiences were painful reminders of their own and confirmation that little change had taken place despite decades of activism, protests, and police reform. They expressed disappointment, anger, and worry about the policing that children and grandchildren currently experience and might continue to experience: "*back then it was like, OK, it's like this now, but in the future, it'll be better. Now, obviously, it didn't turn out like that*" (Telv). Older participants were influenced by the policing experiences of children and grandchildren, illustrating the impact of intergenerational community narratives both from parent to child, but also from child to parent. **Tayo** (64, Nigerian Male) expressed *"when I hear about what kids are dealing with,*

I'm angrier at the police now than when I was younger". Tayo's reaction represented the disappointed expectations of some older participants, who held hopes that the racialised policing they experienced would not affect subsequent generations and that the structural and cultural conditions producing racialised policing would be overcome. This again demonstrated the permanence of race as an internalised concept for many participants that explained their experiences and those of others in Black communities.

Their own experiences, alongside their knowledge of the racially disproportionate policing of young Black people today, conveyed to older participants the scale of a problem existing across entire life spans and for multiple generations. Moses felt that the relationship between the police and Black communities was currently "*worse than ever- the level of animosity is much worse than it was for us".* He described a relationship of mutual antagonism based on hostile policing and hyper-reactive responses from young Black people due to mutual pre-conceptions of mistrust, generation from direct and vicarious experiences of racism. Similarly, Ruff Diamond, a community leader in Bordertown and Moses' colleague in several community and anti-violence projects, felt that trust and confidence in the police among young people is currently at an all-time low: "*the divisions are just too big at this point. I don't think there's any way back*". Here, they drew on their own negative police interactions in youth and early adulthood and reflected on how similar the experiences of the youths they work with are currently as reinforcing the lack of progress made, or morphostasis, regarding the 'police problem' over the years due to the permanence of race as a core concept in structure and culture.

Some older female participants held relatively positive views of the police in the past, recalling community policing and 'local bobbies' years ago that they had friendly relationships, or even that they remembered their mothers describing. These police officers represented a "friendly face" to mothers, for whom the burden of protecting their children from crime often fell on: "*Back then, you knew the police…they would stop by your garden for a cup of tea, they know your name and your families' names. Nowadays, it's just war all the time*" (Bev). These older women framed contemporary policing issues around the transition from community policing towards modes of surveillance and monitoring, which they felt had eradicated familiarity, trust, and cooperation: "*it wasn't as out of control back then. It was bad, but it wasn't out of control. OK, the police might trouble you, but you didn't see this same lack of respect that you see with young people today*" (**Finola**, 69, Black British Female). The absence of trusted police officers meant that female participants were afraid to

approach the police if male relatives were in trouble or needed police assistance (see next chapter). This indicated the vicarious impact of racialised policing of Black men and how this influenced the behaviour of women in the community.

For older women, the benefits of friendly relationship with the police were established in early age and carried forward throughout their lives. Now, as mothers and grandmothers, stories about the experiences of male family members contributed to perceptions that policing, rather than being inherently flawed, had simply deteriorated in quality and service. They were distinct in their belief that more policing, albeit in a different form, was the solution to the 'policing problem'. Asked how to improve the relationship between the police and Black youth, Bev answered: "*it's about working together and taking that community approach, together".* Narratives that policing was better historically were belied by the empirical evidence, both in this study and elsewhere, that policing was historically more racist than it is now.

Older participants framed contemporary policing within current societal conditions, and how increasing levels of crime in the neighbourhood exacerbated police responses. Narratives about the exploitation of young people have been described as employing 'pusher myths' (Coomber, 2006) of the predatory Black drug dealer in the community. Some of these narratives had been internalised by participants, who expressed fears of vulnerable youths being exploited by others in the community. Some older women saw more community policing as a solution to violent crime in the neighbourhood:

> "*Young people today are under pressure from all directions. In school, on the street, at home, everywhere. And it's easy for drug dealers to groom them and take advantage of a young boy who maybe doesn't have any strong male role models.*" Finola

Finola felt that the hostile relationship between the police and Black adolescents contributed to Black children becoming criminalised by predatory drug dealers in the community. This reflected the view among many older participants that deteriorating social conditions in the borough contributed to increased crime and policing. Austerity measures resulted in extensive reductions in state spending on community and youth services alongside domestic violence, mental health, and disability public services (Bhattacharyya et al., 2021). They saw the police as responding to a reality of crime and violence whilst acknowledging the role of race in the policing of their community. Consequently, they saw increased community outreach, social programs, and interventions as crucial to reducing the harms of both criminal gangs and the

police to young Black people: "*[young people] are under assault from all angles. It's our job as community elders to protect them"*. Finola advocated for "*more police on the street, like there used to be*", as a solution to some of the problems facing the neighbourhood. This mirrored government policy to tackle crime in inner-city areas such as Brambleton by increasing police presence.

Community workers also highlighted the effect of reduced public spending, and the closure of community centres, and increased crime in the area:

> *"The government's cut youth service an incredible amount, like 200%, or something like that in the last few years. If that's the case, kids have less opportunity to interact with police in a positive way. And it obviously impacts the young kids. Because if you look at like a graph, the lesson has been the fewer the services, the higher the knife crime. So obviously, like, what would they say? Correlation is causation?"*
> **Jamal, 35, Black British Male**

Jamal observed that the police interacted with communities less frequently and less effectively than in his adolescence and was more "*aggressive and wanting to crack down on things*". Like other community worker participants, Jamal felt that Black communities contributed to their own policing experiences through involvement in criminality and displaying hostility towards the police. He conveyed similarly critical views of young people as older participants but gave nuanced narratives and structural conditions exacerbating the 'police problem' that existed beyond the police. Unlike older women, he did not believe policing was better historically, but identified areas that had worsened in his lifetime.

Older participants saw the current issues as arising from fewer higher youth crime and fewer police on the street. While they saw policing as often racist, they also felt that the police were less likely to "*trouble you if you aren't doing anything wrong*" (**Lanre,** 64, Nigerian Male). This demonstrated a conceptual framework in which law-abiding and respectable behaviour protected young people against both crime and police hostility. It also conveyed fears about children being drawn into crime or being harmed by criminal gangs. In contrast to older participants, young people saw increased policing as simply exacerbating the problem by drawing more young people into the criminal justice system. They were critical of the suggestion to increase police presence in the neighbourhood, seeing increased stop and search, arrest, and conviction as the inevitable result: "*We need to make changes in the*

community, but I always come back to this question- how does it help to arrest more kids?" (Jamal).

Shared experiences over time allow cultural narratives to perpetuate across generations, with the experiences of each subsequent generation providing additional testimony. The accounts of participants were striking, as while there was variation in explanations for structural and cultural conditions, this did not preclude the widespread cultural embeddedness of concepts of race and racism from the British state used by participants to interpret policing. For participants, policing experiences over time were emblematic of how the racism experienced by many Black people was evolving over time, but racism remained a permanent phenomenon. Young participants displayed greater levels of resentment, anger, and hostility towards the police than their parents and grandparents. This was interesting as, unlike the older cohort, few younger participants gave accounts of overt racist language or violence in their policing experiences.

Research finds that Black adolescents' attitudes towards the police become increasingly negative with age due to increased contact with the police (Williams, 2018). Young people have little direct knowledge of or experience with the police but may have already received information from family and peer discussions and media. These conclusions were often drawn by comparing their own experiences to those of white peers, family members and mainstream discourse about how different communities experience policing. Stephen described hearing "*stories all the time, all my life, from friends and family*", including multiple incidents of adolescents being stopped and searched and a recent incident of a boy being chased over a wall by the police and becoming paralysed. Through knowledge of historical racialised policing, many young participants felt there had been little improvement in how the police treat Black communities.

The legacy of racialised policing was keenly felt in the present-day policing of younger participants through a shared consciousness experienced across entire communities. For younger participants, while they lacked the direct comparative framework of participants who had experienced the policing of the 1970s and 1980s, awareness of the of the 'policing issue' as historical and ongoing significantly contributed to negative perceptions of the police:

> *"My whole life, there's been a fear. Not only that a police officer will use the tools at their disposal to harass or intimidate me or my family or my friends or anyone that looks*

> *like me, but also, that if they do, all the all the evidence we have shows that that they will not be held accountable in any way."*
>
> **Sara, 28, American-British Female**

Even more than their parents, young participants gathered information vicariously, such as peers and social media about the subjugation of Black people across the globe. Sara's mother was a Black Panther in the US, and her perceptions of the British policing were exacerbated by her knowledge about endemic and ongoing racism against Black people. Information gathered from direct and vicarious experiences reinforced their beliefs about police hostility towards Black communities everywhere. Increased and growing awareness of the policing of Black communities in the US and elsewhere contributed to cultural narratives about policing:

> *"You get that information from the community, the family, when we're recounting kind of experiences of police, your family experiences, and your friends. When you see police acting a certain way on the streets towards certain types of people. That anecdotal experience, then the first-hand experience. Plus, you keep up to date with high-profile police cases, especially in the UK and US, where a lot of Black men are mistreated by the police, a lot of Black men have been seriously harmed by the place. These are the things that you always keep in mind, and kind of add to your experience, and they'll colour your interactions with the police."* Kay.

This illustrated how vicarious experiences may augment direct experiences, particularly when reinforcing existing negative perspectives. Young participants were strongly influenced by information about the transatlantic policing of Black people and made frequent comparisons in interviews. Some asserted that the only different between the US and British police is the former carrying guns: "*If they carried [guns] here, these man [we] would be gone!"* (Abdullahi). While there are differences, historical and contemporary between policing in the UK and the US, the interpolation of transatlantic experiences allowed participants to interpret and explain their policing experiences as yet another example of the global subjugation of Black people.

Knowledge of high-profile police killings of Black people in the US, most notably the killing of George Floyd in 2020, resulted in participants effectively importing perceptions of police racism and fears of police violence into a British policing context.

During the first COVID-19 lockdown, many participants viewed and circulated videos of policing of Black people, such as the tasering of Desmond Ziggy Mombeyarara, the 62-year-old father of London rapper Wretch-32, and Millard Scott. These incidents, strengthened by their visual impact, cemented perceptions of the endemic nature of police violence against Black people. They also recalled the killing of Mark Duggan by the Metropolitan Police's gang unit 'The Trident Gang Crime Command'. This became emblematic of institutional and endemic police violence by the Metropolitan Police against Black communities, within the historical legacy of state-sanctioned violence against Black communities. Media reports of examples of police violence and brutality against Black people entrenched perceptions of the lack of the due process for Black people, further eroding trust and confidence in the police among many participants.

The conflicting narratives used by participants conveyed how perceptions of the police varied by gender, age, and class in Black communities. Some older participants utilised narratives about the 'good old days' to make sense of negative perceptions of contemporary policing, while others used them to explain their fears about issues facing Black youths in the community today. Narratives were often a way of explaining how the 'police problem' has only worsened with time. The data demonstrated that narratives about the police may be more impactful than actual experiences, especially when confirming pre-existing ideas. This illustrates the significance of the intergenerational experience of racialised policing, and how it provides conceptual schemas for interpretations of the police that are often more powerful than other ideas.

6.5 Conclusion

The policing experiences described in this chapter built on pre-existing understandings of the relationship between the state, as represented by the police, and Black communities. Continued disproportionate policing of Black communities embodies the morphostatic experience of many Black Britons, still the subject of racialising and criminalising policing in contemporary Britain. The experiences of participants reflected the socio-historical positioning of communities racialised as 'other'. For them, policing was an ordinary aspect of life, and males in particular, felt under almost constant assault from the police. This demonstrated the permanence of race and the morphostasis Black communities find themselves as time passes, with racialisation, criminalisation, and policing enduring as ordinary processes for many Black Britons, despite changes in operational policing and

increased scrutiny of police activity. These accounts illustrated that the policing of Black communities throughout Britain represented the collateral damage of maintenance of the hegemonic white status quo through the social control of groups and communities depicted as dangerous and criminal.

Black people continue to experience racialised policing over generations. The evolution of the 'Black folk devil' over time, from the Black mugger to the Black gangster, to contemporary moral panics about drugs, county lines, and gangs. The reproduction of racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), constrains social progress and keeps many Black people at the morphostatic level of primary agency (Archer, 2000). However, the interviews reinforce that there is no homogenous experience of Blackness or racialised policing. Rather, factors such as ethnicity, age, class. and gender organise Black people within frameworks of power, leaving generations of Black people both overpoliced and under-protected (Macpherson, 1999).

Experiences of policing, mediated by the frequency, quality, and context that they arise within, contribute to shared viewpoints transmitted through Black communities, then reinforced by other direct experiences. This chapter finds that, far from being eradicated, racialised policing has merely evolved, placing many Black people in perpetual suspicion as inherently suspect communities. Direct policing experiences are integral to the formulation of negative perceptions of the police. These contribute towards cultural narratives which become entrenched over time into widespread perceptions and are transmitted intergenerationally.

These findings highlight the effect of intergenerational and cultural narratives about the police on social progress, or morphogenesis. The narratives that parents choose to transmit to children, drawn from historical and contemporary racialisation and criminalisation, have significant implications for the social reproduction of ideas about policing. When agents 'adopt' behaviours, due to the causal powers of the agent themselves or from the causal power of social entities, roles may become causally powerful (Archer, 1995). As will be discussed in later chapters, negative attitudes participants displayed towards the police from their policing interactions has considerable implications for the ongoing relationship between the police and Black communities.

Chapter 7

Policing the Victimised 'Other': Experiences of Black Victims of Crime

While little of the research explores experiences of victimisation in Black communities, Black people are at greater risk of victimisation than other groups (Yarrow, 2005; Race Disparity Audit, 2018). The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (1999:29) found Black communities were 'under-protected', receiving inadequate police responses that at times constituted 'secondary victimisation'. Research finds that many Black victims experience inferior police treatment (Institute of Race Relations, 1987; Yarrow, 2005; Victims Commissioners Report, 2021). Black victims report receiving inadequate support and follow-up from the police (Yarrow, 2005; The Lammy Review, 2017). Poor police responses to Black victims have consequences for crime detection and police investigations, as the failure of the police to meet standards expected by victims of crime is also linked to reduced levels of trust, cooperation, and reporting (Yarrow, 2005).

This chapter will examine the role that race plays in creating and recreating structure and culture (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), resulting in a form of morphostasis for Black victims of crime over generations (Archer, 2000). The data showed that Black victims of frequently receive inferior treatment due to racialisation and criminalisation that positions Black victims as unworthy of police protection. As with policing experiences discussed in the previous chapter, through CRT, race emerges as a generative mechanism producing negative responses from the police to Black victims. I argue that the way the police treat Black victims embodies structural and cultural contexts that deny victim status based on racialised conceptions of Black criminality and dangerousness. Negative expectations of the police have real effects on participants' behaviours, entrenching the permanent or morphostatic experience of racialised policing and contributing to intergenerational cultural narratives about the police. As **Helen** (52, Black British Female) said "*the police never do anything, that's nothing new*".

The first section analyses how constructions of the 'ideal' or 'deserving' victim (Christie, 1986) exclude Black people from true victim status. Racialised frameworks utilised by the police devalue some individuals as 'undeserving victims', resulting in reduced attention, response, and sympathy. The police response to participants' victimisation was often experienced as inferior, suspicious, and hostile treatment. Their accounts conveyed that

little had changed since Macpherson (1999) found that Black victims of crime often experience criminalisation and are treated as perpetrators by the police.

The second section analyses the experiences of Black victims of crime in the context of the broader relationship between minoritised communities and the state. Research in the 1980s and 1990s found that Black communities experienced disproportionate levels of victimisation due to institutional racism within British society (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). The victim experiences of participants are located within the legacy of under-protection of 'the other'. The experiences of Black victims of crime demonstrated Bell's (1992) racial realism, with race the ongoing organising logic producing real experiences across generations of Black Britons. Perceptions of the police were drawn from both direct and vicarious experiences of policing, entrenching pre-existing negative perceptions and expectations of mistreatment by the police.

For Black victims of crime, a sense of 'otherness' is reinforced by inferior treatment from the police, resulting in low levels of trust and confidence (Bradford & Jackson, 2012). Section 7.3 analyses how racialised experiences produce actual events through reducing trust and confidence in the police. Recent data on court processing links the ethnicity of defendants with inferior treatment in the criminal justice system (The Lammy Review, 2017). Procedural justice research finds that victim attitudes towards the police are influenced by the quality of contact (Dowler & Sparks, 2008). Perceptions of fair treatment are linked to enhanced legitimacy and positive attitudes towards the police (Tyler, 2003b). The data showed how negative victim experiences reduces trust and confidence in the police, particularly when negative experiences are from perceived racialised injustice. Low levels of trust in the police, resulting from historically racialised treatment, contributes to narratives about the police as racist that are transmitted intergenerationally. This provides insight into how race becomes real in the as it produces negative experiences for Black victims (Bell, 1992) in the inferior responses to victimisation from the police.

The final section analyses the effect the lack of trust and confidence in the police has on responsive behaviours in Black communities in relation to cooperation and reporting. Structural and cultural conditions influenced how participants positioned themselves and their actions, and many described not wanting to report crimes as they feared negative consequences. This showed how processes of racialisation and criminalisation have real effects on the lives of Black Britons, curtailing their ability to exercise free will and enjoy protection from the police that other members of society are able to (Curry, 2008).Through

the theoretical lens of CRT, victim experiences of Black people are another example of the significance and permanence of race in ordinary life (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). As will be seen, this leads to the creation of distinct cultural norms that seek to manage victimisation without the help of the police.

7.1 'Ideal' Victims

My data provided insight into how experiences of policing following victimisation significantly influence perspectives of the police for victims of crime and how this is exacerbated for Black victims of crime. CRT argues that Black people receive inferior treatment from legal systems due to systemic inequalities that position Black people as less worthy (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Participants who had experienced victimisation described being disregarded, disbelieved, and treated like suspects by the police which many believed was due to their race. This embodied the theoretical lens of CRT that emphasises the significance of race and the effect it has on lived experience. **D'Angelo** (32, Black British Male) called the police on behalf of his parents following a burglary. When they arrived, they "*interrogated [him] and made [him] feel like [he] had done it*". He recalled feeling like the police were suspicious of him, which made him feel "*re-victimised*". For male victims of crime, prevailing conceptualisations of the dangerous 'Big Black man' as the 'ideal' offender positions Black male victims in opposition to 'ideal victim' status, denying them the assumption of innocence held by other victims. Christie (1986) describes this as the creation of a 'suitable enemy', or a non-white offender that may be used as a symbol and target for social anxieties. This mirrors 'the alien wedge' Gilroy (1987) describes as becoming fixed in Blackness.

The way participants conceptualised their experiences of victimisation embodied du Bois' (1903) theory of the 'double consciousness, which holds that the marginalised status held by Black people results in multiple and often conflicting social identities. As the 'racialised victimological other', Black people are forced to view themselves through the 'white gaze', reproducing power relations and leaving victims feeling targeted by the 'whiteness' of policing institution (Fanon, 1986:109-117). Widespread imagery surrounding Black criminality denied many participants the status of innocence, particularly in 'racially othered' spaces (Long, 2018). These perceptions led many to anticipate that fair and equal treatment was unavailable to them due to structural racism, as argued by Curry (2008)

The racialisation and criminalisation experienced by Black people blurs the boundary between victim and offender (Long, 2018). Traits held by a victim, if deemed undeserving enough, may override victim status. Questions regarding lifestyle, actions, or whereabouts at the time of the crime showed participants that the police regarded them as suspects or complicit in their victimisation. Holly described the police response after a robbery: "*they wanted to know where I was, who I was with, why was I out so late, blah blah blah. And I'm sitting there thinking, what the fuck does any of that matter".*

Participants who were both involved in criminality and victims of crime on different occasions, were unable to avail themselves of 'ideal victim' status due to perception by the police of their untrustworthiness and complicity. The dichotomy of victim and offender status sees many Black victims of crime positioned as undeserving of victim status on the assumption that they cannot be both (Long, 2018). This demonstrated the role of officer decision-making regarding reports of victimisation and how the police 'assignment' of victim status relies on officer discretion. Holly saw police questions as evidence of suspicion of him, which led to him not following up his report. This demonstrated the real effect of race on experiences, as the historical experiences of policing of Black people contributed to narratives participants used to make sense of how the police treated them and determine which information they were willing to communicate during police investigations. Negative policing experiences produced further negative experiences and further diminished trust and confidence in the police.

Race was also an important factor for participants who had been victimised by white perpetrators. Here, they drew on perceptions of their own proximity to innocence or the 'normative imagery' of victim (Walkate, 2007) to conclude that the police would not take their word over that of a white person. Chris described a fight that had been instigated by a white classmate on the street. The police broke up the fight, but Chris felt they had "*manhandled*" him, holding his arms behind his back, and ordering him not to move, while his classmate, in his opinion, had been "*babied".* In his opinion, this was because the police had made racialised assumptions about his being a violent Black adolescent. The white perpetrator was felt to have received the benefit of the doubt or been treated with more sympathy than the Black victim. The police took no further action, but Chris felt that the other boy should have been taken the brunt of the aggressive police response: "*and you just know if it was the other way round, it would've been a very different story*".

Cece was assaulted by an outpatient whilst working at a mental health care facility:

> *"He was playing a song that has the 'N word' in it. I asked him to stop playing the song, and he wouldn't, so I went to put the song off, and he grabbed my arm and wouldn't let go, and like squeezed really hard. There was a bruise. So, the centre called the police. And then the police came round to my flat to interview me. It was strange because it was a small flat and they weren't big guys, but it felt like they were taking up a lot of space. And they were kind of just like, "well, there's not really much we can do. Because, you know, you can't arrest someone for saying the 'N word'". And I was like, "but he also attacked me as well". And then they're like, "well, we'll try to find him, but we can't promise anything". They were very dismissive".*

Cece felt that, as the perpetrator was white, the police displayed more care towards him, prioritising his mental health issues over her victimisation. Experiences like Cece's in which the police response fell short of the expected standard reinforced pre-existing perceptions of police racism. Cece described a feeling of 'otherness' that resulted from experiencing hostility from the police at a time of needing protection. This conveyed to her that, as a Black woman, she was unworthy of protection in the police's eyes, an 'undeserving victim'. These experiences embodied the CRT theoretical lens of this research and the inferior treatment experienced due to racialised inequalities in British structure and culture (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

7.2 Historically Under-Protected Communities

The historical context of Bordertown as a symbolically Black neighbourhood influenced how participants interpreted crime and policing. Crime in Brambleton grew by 1.4% per year between 2011 and 2020 (Home Office data, 2021). The chance of being involved in violent crime in Brambleton grew by 2.94% each year until 2021 (ibid). Participants noted a recent increase in gang-activity over the last ten years, which had made certain neighbourhoods "*no-go areas*" (Moses) and "*the kind of areas where only badness is happening, and you don't want to get caught up in it*" (Ruff Diamond). Brambleton was felt to have a relatively high police presence ("*they're around but you don't see them every day or anything*" (**Alicia**, 18, Black British Female), while Bordertown had a much higher police presence ("*you see them everywhere you look*" (Zav).

For many participants, experiences of crime were emblematic of the reduced status of Black neighbourhoods. 'Stigmatised locations', such as Bordertown, carry a 'taint of place' (Wacquant, 2008:238). Inhabitants may be seen as 'urban outcasts', and subject to racialised neglect and stigmatisation (ibid:238). Victims living in socially deprived areas are positioned 'at the bottom of the hierarchy of relevance' (Long, 2018:122), which influences police responses due to structural racism (Curry, 2008). This conveys how discretionary policing may be linked to perceptions of 'the ideal victim' (Christie, 1986). Lesser victim status was a common narrative participants used to explain the inadequate police response they and other victims in the community had received. This was felt to have resulted in a hierarchy of victimisation, with the protection of other communities felt to be prioritised and receive more police resources. Fear of crime was linked to perceptions that the police did not view Bordertown, or the people living in it, as worthy of protection.

Participants living in Bordertown had experienced more crime than others, but older participants overall were more afraid of being victimised than younger. This was interesting, as the data shows that risk of crime decreases with age (Home Office, 2022). However, people who live near crime hotspots are often more fearful of crime (Stavisky, 2017). Older participants who had lived in Brambleton for a while highlighted the effect of changes in policing strategy on levels of crime. Many described how austerity measures had further restricted effective policing: "*it's actually not even their fault half the time, they just don't have the resources after all these cuts*" (Telv). Richard described London as "*no longer policed as effectively as it was*" due to cuts to police budgets. Participants held the police mostly responsible for the increase in crime, but also contextualised it as something happening across the country due to economic and political crises in Britain.

Community worker participants linked the closure of community services for Black youths with increased crime: "*there are only 2 community centres left in Bordertown, you know. Only 2. What are the kids meant to do in the evenings or on the weekend*?" (Moses). This quote demonstrated the perception among many participants that crime was increasing due to fewer social services available for youths in the neighbourhood. Austerity measures influenced participants' narratives about victimisation, with many seeing the increase in crime as indicative of structural and cultural inequalities in some neighbourhoods. Higher rates of crime, fewer police on the street, and the closure of community centres, strengthened perceptions of Bordertown as a "*forgotten neighbourhood*" (Telv).

The ways participants explained how the police treated them as victims demonstrated the reality of race as a generative mechanism in producing experiences over time (Archer,

2000). While austerity affected many parts of the country, high levels of crime and a police response that was perceived to be inadequate were viewed as more evidence of how the police treat Black people as second-class citizens:

> *"They don't take us seriously, not like if it was a white kid. For sure. They treat 'their crimes' and 'our crimes' differently. What they could fine you for, they would just give them a slap on the wrist. Whereas you, as a foreigner, you'd go the whole hog and be brought in front of a magistrate for some silly thing."* (Richard)

The distinction that Richard makes between '*their crimes'* and '*our crimes'* conveys an internalised perception that the police do not identify with and care less about Black victims.

This perceived lesser identity was even greater for immigrant participants, for whom signifiers of 'foreignness' racialise policing experiences, communicating 'unbelonging' and positionality to state power (Loader & Mulcahy, 2003; Curry, 2008). Viola described the neighbourhood she lived in as a teenager as largely populated by Black African immigrants. The police maintained a "*constant presence*" in Brambleton, but this was experienced as criminalisation by participants, rather than protective. Witnessing a break-in next door, Viola called the police:

> *"We called them, and they didn't show up. At that time, we felt they probably didn't take us seriously. Or they didn't perceive any kind of threat that meant that they needed to be there. I do remember thinking that. 'Wow, like we called you and you didn't come, like what are we meant to do if something was to happen now... I remember listening out for the police siren. I didn't hear anything. To this day, I remember that".*

In Viola's view, it was because the crime occurred in a neighbourhood with a large immigrant population that the police failed to turn up. This demonstrated the structural inequalities explored within CRT scholarship (Bell, 1992; Curry, 2008; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Victim expectations may conflict with the prioritisation of crimes within operational policing (Reiner, 2010, Loftus, 2009a, Holdaway, 1983). This is exacerbated by resource constraints, causing the police to categorise individuals and neighbourhoods as 'undeserving', to justify taking no further action (Christie, 1986). Viola contrasted this experience with the more affluent neighbourhood in which she currently lives with the expectation: *"I'm sure they would turn up now".* This reflected research finding that victims living in deprived areas

may be considered less deserving than those in affluent areas (Loftus, 2009a). Race played an important role in the formation of narratives about the police. Viola's expectation that the police gave her inferior treatment due to being an immigrant was drawn from pre-existing narratives of police racism, that she used to interpret experiences.

This was mirrored by other participants who had been victimised. Richard feared being treated as a suspect if he reported a crime: "*you could be in big trouble, and you'd probably be safer not calling them if it happens in Peckham or anywhere. They'd deal with you, man!"*. Here, Richard referred to another 'symbolically Black' area of London as emblematic of the fears many Black people had of involving the police following experiences of crime. His perceptions of the police led him to imagine that people living in Black areas could not rely on police protection and, in fact, reporting crimes would present a danger to them. As a result, he would not report a crime unless it was sufficiently serious. This conveyed how narratives may be more important than real experiences in interpreting the police, and how perceptions of police racism had a real effect on behaviour.

Bev remembered an incident in the 1980s when someone had shouted racist abuse at her friend. When she reported it to the police: "*they were questioning her, and they didn't show her any sympathy at all. This is a woman who just had people screaming all types of craziness at her*". Such experiences led to 'secondary victimisation', which was also experienced vicariously. Despite the incident taking place decades ago, Bev recalled it and used the knowledge to interpret how the police treat Black victims of crime today. She also recalled the murders of Stephen Lawrence and Damilola Taylor as evidence of the inadequate police response to Black victims of crime. Her conflation of the two was striking, as Stephen Lawrence was killed in a racist attack, while Damilola Taylor's killers were Black. Despite this, Bev used both murders as evidence of police inadequacy in responding to racist violence. This demonstrated the effect of narrative on how information about the police was interpreted by participants, and reinforced existing negative perceptions. These narratives embed negative attitudes about police racism and reinforce the lack of trust and confidence many Black Britons have in the police and reduce willingness to report and cooperate.

Bev was not the only participant to mention Stephen Lawrence, and the data illustrated the significant impact the murder had on many Black Britons. The increased scrutiny of the police response to Black victims of crime in the post-Macpherson had initially resulted in optimism: "*you kind of thought things were about to improve for while*" (**Cara**, 55, Black British Female). Others described heightened fears about racist violence: "*I was like, is that going to happen to me? Or someone in my family?"* (Cece). Rock (2004:410)

argues that the Lawrence Inquiry had a ‘galvanic impact’ on discourses surrounding the treatment of victims by the police and the criminal justice system, temporarily interrupting the ‘white perspective’ of victimology (Walkate, 2007). As Cathcart (1999) argued, the murder had a “terrible purity” to it, due to Lawrence’s respectable background, the clear racist motive behind it, failings in the police investigation and favourable media coverage across the country. These factors overrode issues of race and appealed to British society in a way other racist and violent incidents had not as Lawrence represented an ‘ideal victim’.

Discourses about improved policing post-Macpherson were not borne out in participants’ accounts. Some had experienced racist victimisation and violence but described their unwillingness to report as they expected the police would do little about it. **Mel** (34, Caribbean Female) was called a “fucking coon” at a nightclub but had decided not to report the incident to the police (“*I didn't even think about calling them for a second”*) as she felt that there was little point. She described previously witnessing a similar incident that happened to an Asian friend in the same area which the police responded “*dismissively*” to. This incident indicated to her that the police would not take the experiences of ethnic minority victims of crime seriously, echoed by CRT scholars as due to racialised structural and cultural inequalities and inferior treatment of Black people under the law (Curry, 2008). These accounts embodied the lack of social progress described by CRT and how discourses around improving police-community relations often result in little tangible benefit or change for racialised groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Ijon (31, Sri Lankan Male) had been called a “nigger” and chased by members of the public while at work. He called the police, who advised him to stay out of the area. Reflecting on the treatment he received from the police, he said he had not felt mistreated at the time but, years later, reassessed the police response:

> *“At that time, I thought, ‘okay’. But later when I thought about it when I was a bit older, and the shock had worn off, yeah, I don't think this should happen. People should be able to go wherever they want to. But I also feel like it’s not the fault of these two policemen”.*

Ijon was critical of the police placing responsibility on him to avoid further racist attacks. His reassessment of his experiences arose from exposure to narratives about the inferior service given to ethnic minority victims. As a Sri Lankan immigrant, he had been unaware of the experiences of other ethnic minority victims. After researching ethnic minority experiences of victimisation, he began to see the police response to him as racialised. This indicated the

effect of narratives on how participants conceptualised the police, and the significant influence of negative collective experiences on individual perceptions, which then contribute to intergenerational narratives about the police: "*I would definitely warn my future kids that they might get attacked, have racist attacks and the police might not be able or not want to help them*" (Ijon). As will be discussed in the next chapter, this represented a version of 'the Talk' that ethnic minority elders give to children to protect, prepare, and guide them through negative police interactions that felt to be inevitable.

7.3 Trust and Confidence in the Police

Just under half of victims would not report a crime to the police again due to negative experiences (Victims Commissioners Report, 2021). Only 33% of ethnic minority victims overall describing feeling that the police had treated them fairly and with respect, compared to 44% of white people (ibid). This data shows that experiences of the police following victimisation are mostly poor. However, for Black victims, there are often additional factors that exacerbate this. Many Black victims report perceptions of police racism and treatment, resulting in additional emotional consequences to the crime, and feeling 'doubly victimised' by the police (Yarrow, 2005).

Research suggests that the police treatment of Black victims of crime in the 1970s was more overtly racialised (Institute of Race Relations, 1987). Older participants recounted experiences of the police "playing down" incidents, failing to follow up on reports, and blaming victims for their own victimisation. This forced many victims to defend themselves against police accusations, rather than receiving the police protection they sought. Bev told me about how her house had been burgled in 1988 and how the police failed to provide her with updates on the investigation: "*it was very upsetting, and I felt extremely let down by them. They promised me they would give me ongoing updates and I just never heard from them*".

The long-term impact of this negative experience was clear, and it lingered in Bev's memory. This showed how negative experiences in the past influence the development of narratives about the police which endure and may be shared with other members of the community. While many victims may feel they experience inadequate responses from the police, Bev's interpretation of the police response to her alongside pre-existing negative

perceptions of the police from historical knowledge led her to interpret the police's actions in accordance with beliefs about police racism. This demonstrated how poor police responses to victimisation contribute to narratives about how the police mistreat Black victims within a historical legacy of under-protection.

Participants described having high expectations of the police in childhood due to positive media depictions of the police, eroded from negative direct and vicarious experiences when reporting crimes to the police: "*they were always the ones you looked up to or wanted to be like when you were young. They were the ones you're gonna call when something bad happens*" (Abdi). Some participants described positive initial interactions but poor follow-up, provision of information and investigation of the crime, resulting in low levels of satisfaction in the police.

Porsha's (28, British-Ghanaian Female) bag had been stolen and she reported it to the police: "*they were alright at first but then when I tried to follow up with them, I just got run the run-around*". Keeping victims informed about case progression is critical to victim satisfaction and victims interpreted the lack of information they received as evidence that the police had done nothing. Participants who had reported crimes were overall dissatisfied with the service they received from the police. While Porsha interpreted saw this as partly due operational policing issues, she felt the inadequate follow-up was due to her race. This conveyed how narratives about police racism essentially fill the gaps for Black Britons when they receive inferior police treatment.

Female participants who, as victims, found themselves at the intersection of racism, social exclusion, and gender inequality. While many women describe inadequate police responses following victimisation (Victims Commissioner, 2021), the historical experiences of Black victims of crime and perceptions of the police as racist exacerbate negative experiences for Black women and girls. Even those who had not been disappointed by police responses expressed fears about how the police might treat them were they to be victimised:

> *"I worry that if I was actually in a situation, and I was trying to explain a need, and I can't explain myself to a police officer, I would worry that maybe I wouldn't feel that safe. Like, I feel like they wouldn't listen to me properly. Because of what's happened to my parents and all the videos I've watched of them stopping and searching people when they haven't done anything, and they need help or they're trying to explain and just 'cos of*

what they looked like, the police were not believing them. Obviously because... you know, stereotypes about Black people and…what's the opposite of 'victimising'? I feel like the police might not really believe me if I was to say something or if I needed help. They would immediately think that maybe I did something wrong if it was a case of my word against someone else."

Sade, 28, British-Nigerian Female

Sade's account represented epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007) or epistemic violence (Dotson, 2011), whereby statements by member of groups are systematically ignored or discredited due to negative associations of those groups. The internalised perception that the police would not believe them affected participants' responses following victimisation. Sade felt interactions with the police would result in testimonial smothering (ibid), which describes how members of oppressed groups are silenced resulting in change in behaviour. These processes led participants like Sade to avoid reporting crimes to the police unless it was unavoidable (see below).

Jen (28, Black British Female) described calling the police when "*facing issues from the neighbours*" who were known to the police. Despite being helped by the police on this occasion, Jen interpreted the police being "*on our side*" due to the police's negative perceptions of her neighbours, rather than treating her status as a victim. While she personally had no negative interactions with the police following a crime, she held negative expectations of the police from direct and vicarious experiences of policing that she found illustrative of how the police made treated communities differently. This reinforced research finding that negative information about the police may be more memorable than neutral or positive information, particularly when it reinforces pre-existing knowledge or attitudes (Sharp & Atherton, 2007).

Young people had reported crimes to the police were overall unsatisfied with the response they received, describing being disbelieved and being made to feel like suspects: "*they don't believe you, they just ask you questions to catch you out*" (Arsene). Similarly, D'Angelo expressed his feeling that reporting a crime to the police was pointless:

"The last the last few times I've called the police, they haven't told me the outcome. So once my neighbour, he had an episode, I don't think he took his tablets, and he smashed my window. The police come. They turned up quick, 'cause he was smashing windows in

the block. We never knew the outcome, you know, they send you a letter saying 'we deal with x amount of crimes a year and we'll try to resolve them' but we never had an outcome. And then the other day someone went along near where I park my car, smashed a couple of cars up, and they said, 'you know we're here to support you should you need us'. And they came but not because I called them, a neighbour called them and told me that the police were looking at my car because it got smashed. The guy came up and took a statement, but I haven't heard nothing from him since".

This quote showed D'Angelo's perception that the police were more responsive to his white neighbour than to him. It also shows the effect of the police not providing follow-up information, which conveyed that they were not fit for purpose.

Vicarious experiences with victimisation through family and friends were important sources of mistrust of the police. impacted views of the police. These experiences contributed to perceptions that the police had mistreated Black people for decades. Tayo recalled:

> *"When I came to this country in 1981, was an incident in South London, some Black people were having a party. And some white people end up going there and committed an arson offence. I think about 10 of those people were killed. That's what started the Brixton riots. And the police tell you they're working behind the scenes, but they knew who committed the offence. It was their privilege to do things and get away with it. Because the victims are Black, they didn't do anything about it. That was happening in the 80s."*

This conflation between the New Cross fire and the Brixton riots, which both took place in 1981, provided insight into how Tayo and other participants interpreted information about the police. The New Cross fire, which led to the deaths of 13 Black people, was considered emblematic of the historical structural racism experience by Black Britons. While the New Cross fire may not be an example of police ineffectiveness, for Tayo, the two events were connected by the reality of racism against Black people in the domain of real (Bhaskar, 1978), which led him to ascribe blame to the police for failure to respond to the incident.

As with other experiences of policing, vicarious experiences with victimisation through family and friends also negatively impact views of the police (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Wu et al., 2009). Knowledge of the experiences of parents and community elders shaped perceptions of the police held by young people, reinforcing intergenerational cultural

narratives about the trustworthiness of the police in situations of threat. Young participants were even more critical of the police response than elders, with most expressing they would only call the police in extreme circumstances. This demonstrated the effect of the legacy of perceived poor police treatment of Black people, experienced vicariously by young participants and entrenching cultural narratives about police racism. It also represented Reiner's (2010) concept of transmitted discrimination, wherein low expectations and negative opinions of the police were transmitted through communities.

Zav's negative direct and vicarious experiences of policing indicated to him that the police were "*against*" Black people and not be relied upon:

> *"It makes you start to hate the police. From what I've seen from the police, I wouldn't even want to talk to them if someone jacked [robbed] me. Obviously, I've seen what they do. The fact that they do that type of stuff makes you think, 'you know what, fuck you, you ain't gonna help me, obviously'. Sorry for my language".*

Vicarious experiences of mishandling of cases involving Black victims were raised by participants to explain their lack of trust in how the police might treat them as victims of crime. Several participants recounted the death of 12-year-old Shukri Abdi in Manchester as indicative of the inferior treatment that Black victims of crime receive from both the police and in media discourse. Some participants felt that Shukri's death was suspicious as her friends had reportedly encouraged her to swim despite knowing that she could not. Bev felt that the police had failed to properly investigate due to her race and religion: "*we know she was being bullied. How can a little Black girl drown on a school trip, and they don't even look into it properly? There are too many question marks*" (Bev). While the coroner concluded the cause of death was accidental drowning, the legacy of racialised policing and the perceptions of police racism led participants to filter information through this lens.

Participants located incidents such as these within a conceptual schema of racialised inequalities, classism, and violence against Black people, allowing them to explain inadequate police responses as being due to racism. The Grenfell Tower fire in 2017 conveyed to participants that "*not much has changed since the 1950s*" (Finola). As with Tayo's comments about the New Cross fire, Finola raised the Grenfell fire in the context of Black victimisation and the lack of progress in racial equality over the decades described by CRT scholars (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Incidents such as this conveyed the structural inequalities facing Black British communities, of which poor victim responses were only one

aspect. The historical legacy of over-policing and under-protection had eroded their faith in state institutions, causing participants to interpret their identity, citizenship, and status in Britain: "*it does make you feel like we're still unwanted after all this time*" (Holly). The notion of belonginess that Holly alludes to conveyed how perceptions of inadequate police responses are linked to due to the status of 'other', and the morphostatic experience of Black British communities that continue to experience racialised treatment from the police (Archer, 2000).

Not all participants displayed negative attitudes towards the police. This often aligned with pre-existing positive perspectives of the police and, importantly, arose in the absence of negative victim experiences. Some participants anticipated receiving adequate police responses to hypothetical future victimisation. Lanre described the police arriving following a medical emergency. He felt the police had treated him courteously and favourably contrasted this with negative experiences in his native Nigeria. Lanre was optimistic about the police response he might receive in future. **Felix** (36, Nigerian Male) had reported a car robbery to the police. He received little follow-up but felt he had been treated courteously. His explanation for the police response "*the police have a hard job and are doing their best most of the time*".

Lanre and Felix, both immigrants, were more inclined to give the police the 'benefit of the doubt' due to the relatively positive perceptions they hold towards the police. This reinforced findings that first-generation immigrants hold more positive views of the police than second and third-generation immigrants drawn from positive expectations of British institutions in relation to those in countries of origin (Bradford et al., 2016). Positive conceptual schemas about the police led Felix to a different conclusion about the police response to him, even if it had been racist. This confirmed how the generative mechanism of race is more real for participants who already see the police as racist. Again, narratives relied on by participants were more powerful than the actual circumstances, emblematic of how race and racialisation can produce real events.

The positive narratives used by some immigrant participants contrasted with those of British-born participants and immigrants who had lived in Britain for a while, like Ijon, Richard, and Tayo. Their initial trust in procedural justice had eroded over time due to negative direct and vicarious experiences of the police following direct and vicarious policing and victimisation experiences. When Viola's phone had been stolen recently, she recalled previous negative victim experiences and vicarious experiences of Black people more broadly as the basis for her lack of confidence in the police. This illustrated the impact of

inadequate responses from the police on trust, confidence, and reliance on the police. When her passport was stolen and the police "*did absolutely nothing*", this confirmed to her that she could not rely on the police in future. Viola was struck by the "*total lack of care*" of the police officer and how this confirmed her expectations that the police would treat her poorly in comparison to white victims of crime:

> *"It's sad, because if anything happens…it makes me hesitate to call them when things happen. And people bring it to social media, and it's usually the people that managed to do something and the police clearly haven't done anything. That makes me think wow, like, again, you guys are not really here for us. It sounds like a really obvious comparison to make, but all the young Black kids that are going missing, that may not make the media. I feel like the police are not doing all they can to find missing young Black kids like they do Madeleine McCann."*

This demonstrated how the relationship between race and police response to victims may become increasingly dominant in how participants conceptualise the police as they spend more time in Britain and are exposed to more information about how the police treat Black victims of crime. High-profile crimes, such as the disappearance of Madeleine McCann, a white 3-year-old girl, become embedded in public consciousness as a way for individuals to measure their own experiences as they perceive them. This influences how Black people perceive police responses to them, and in doing so influences the decision to engage with police investigations. This in turn reproduces social conditions in which the police maintain negative perceptions of Black communities as uncooperative and reinforces non-ideal victim status, embodying the morphostasis experienced by Black communities over time (Archer, 2000)

7.4 Cooperation and Reporting

The perception of being excluded from access to justice mechanisms in the criminal justice system often results in self-exclusion through a lack of reporting and cooperation (Yarrow, 2005: Long, 2018). Low expectations of what the police could or would achieve, either due to lack of evidence or a general fear about the police failing to take the crime seriously (ibid). Black people also experience lower levels of victim support and are less likely to have satisfactory experiences with victim support services (ibid). The result is that Black victims are less likely to report crimes than other ethnic minority groups (Salisbury and

Upson, 2004) due to reduced trust and confidence in the police from experiences of racialised treatment (Yarrow, 2005).

Around half of my participants saw reporting to the police as pointless, particularly those with strong perceptions of police racism: "*they won't do shit anyway*" (Chris). This revealed the correlation between status and access to justice for participant fearful of secondary victimisation from the police discrimination. Abdi had been mugged on several occasions, but the police had been "*unhelpful*". He reported the muggings the first few times, but "*just didn't bother"* on subsequent occasions. While he felt there was little the police could do, these experiences discouraged him from contacting the police in other situations. This represented internalised expectations about how the police might respond to 'rubbish crimes', or crimes deemed lower in the hierarchy of importance (Grimshaw & Jefferson, 1987).

Middle-class participants were considerably more likely to call the police than working-class participants. This perhaps indicates some level of police fetishism (Reiner, 2010) or an expectation that the police would treat them with respect and sympathy due to their class status. Lanre's son **Lekan** (36, Irish-Nigerian Male), who identified as middle-class, expressed wariness about calling the police but would if he felt the situation warranted it: "*I don't believe that the police are inherently evil. So, if there's a crime, and it's serious, I don't see any reason why I would not call the police. It's their job to solve these things".* The decision to call the police revealed the importance of trust in the efficiency of the criminal justice system and core assumptions about access to justice. Lekan was able to rely on a trust in procedural justice that was available to middle-class participants, despite the negative accounts they provided. This indicated that expectations of justice and fair treatment are mediated by status and positionality within the hierarchy of being, that affect perceptions and behaviour in response to narratives about the police and status in society.

In contrast, few working-class participants called the police when victimised. This demonstrated varying levels of trust and confidence in the police, faith in procedural justice and access to justice for participants in different structural and cultural positions. Some said they would not report crimes to the police unless they deemed the crime sufficiently serious, reflecting their hesitation to help the police by providing them with information. As crime detection relies on active cooperation from the community, the unwillingness of some

members of the community to report crimes to the police has consequences for effective policing (Sharp & Atherton, 2007).

Efforts to improve police-community engagement seemed to have had little effect on young participants. Zav stressed there was "*no fucking way*" he would ever call the police if he experienced a crime. His father's frequent policing experiences had been transmitted to Zav as a 'code' non-cooperation, similar to Anderson's (1999) findings on the 'code of the street'. Zav's refusal to cooperate was partly due to his adherence to the 'no snitching' rule (see Chapter 10) but also because he suspected that the police would not trust reports from him or any members of his family. Moreover, his father's criminal record denied him access to legitimate state protection. This again showed how being one of the 'usual suspects' has consequences that may be long-lasting. The resulting lack of trust in the police led Zav to manage the fear of crime on his own, such as by avoiding certain neighbourhoods and not going out a night.

Race and gender distinguish the experiences of Black female victims from other categories of victim. Black female victims of crime may suffer both gender-based violence from male partners and race-based violence from white hegemonic criminal justice agencies towards both her and her partner. Several female participants had been victimised by Black males, both strangers and in the home. Some had experienced intimate partner violence but had not reported these crimes to the police. Asked why, one responded *"there didn't seem to be any point".* They described their fears of being re-victimised by the police, being ignored, dismissed, or not taken seriously due to their race and gender: "*they don't have the same sympathy for us as they do for white women*" (**Buki,** 28, British-Nigerian Female).

Rice (1990) argues that Black females develop specific subcultural values of perseverance, independence, and resilience in response to racialised and gendered inequalities, which can entrench the idea that Black female victims do not require the same protection as other female victims. Sara had experienced domestic violence and mental health crises involving close family members as a child. She described these incidents as "*traumatic*", and rather than the police making her feel safe, she felt they had "exacerbated" the trauma of the situations: "*in that type of situation, the trauma of being even in the vicinity, and especially with a close family member at 11…even now, you're an adult, just the idea that you're calling the police, because you want them to help you, and yet to be left with this feeling of additional trauma is really horrible to think about".* Sara stressed that another party had called the police in both instances, and that she would not have done so. This was a

response to her earlier traumatic experiences, which created an expectation calling the police merely contributes to problems. This showed how negative victim experiences left lasting impressions in participants, particularly if occurring in childhood. For Black female victims of crime, racialisation and criminalisation of Black people contributed to their victimisation through reducing their access to justice.

Sara's experiences were indicative of the intersectional experience of Black female victims of crime. Female participants expressed fears of racist treatment by the police of Black male perpetrators, leading them to seek to manage victimisation themselves. As Sade put it, "*you just have to know where to go and where not to go*". Having experienced secondary trauma from the police, Sara described her fears that any Black male perpetrator would be mistreated by the police in similar circumstances. Through the prism of CRT, data analysis found that structural racism compounded the victimisation for Black female victims. This also conveyed the real effect of race on the lives of Black people and how race produces real events, as described by the critical realist critical race theory approach of this research. Due to her perceptions of police racism, Sara would not call the police in situations involving Black men, even if she were to be victimised again:

> *"In my head are the numbers of people who have been killed by the police during a mental health crisis, or during kind of a domestic disturbance, or a kind of incident of interpersonal violence. Even if there's nobody [else to help] I think I calling the police is not something that is going to help me or help the person. I would rely on personal networks".*

Sara's comment showed how Black female victims may deprioritise their own victimisation in pursuit of justice for Black males. This was a common response from female victims, who downplayed their status in white patriarchal hegemony due to deeply embedded fears about police racism and violence against Black men. Their reluctance to cooperate was the result of both mistrust of the police and perceptions that Black men are at higher risk of police racism than Black women. Sara was fearful of potential police violence against the perpetrator and the negative consequences of drawing a Black man into the criminal justice system, recalling incidents where Black males had been killed by the police with other narratives discussed in the next chapter, this displayed the how Black women may subsume their needs due to internalised perceptions of policing as a male issue. Such narratives that were often more powerful than individual experiences.

The under-reporting by Black female victims of crimes committed by Black men reinforces their positionality in the 'matrix of domination' (Hill-Collins, 2000). Sara's comments also displayed how perceptions of the police as illegitimate and untrustworthy come to define expectations of the police, resulting in victims developing strategies to manage their victimisation (Sharp and Atherton, 2007; Yarrow, 2005). Female victims may be forced to make a cost-benefit assessment about whether their victimisation was important enough to justify contacting the police. Gendered and racialised processes excluded some female participants from access to justice through self-exclusion: "The fear of being victim of crime is less than the fear of the threat posed by the police response" (Long, 2018:136). Intersecting oppressions may leave Black female victims of crime with little recourse to protection from the police and forced to manage victimisation alone.

Participants were similarly mindful of involving the police in crimes with ethnic minority perpetrators outside of the intimate violence context. **Ahmed** (30, British-Indian Male) expressed concern that involving the police would "*become an unnecessarily bad situation and would be a bureaucratic process*" that an ethnic minority perpetrator would have to endure. He felt the harm caused by the police to the perpetrator would be disproportionate, therefore he would only contact the police in "*severe and ongoing circumstances*" that he was unable to manage himself without family assistance.

Similarly, **Aartie** (27, British-Indian Female) stressed she would not call the police on any person of colour but would call the police on a white person as "*they would get the benefit of the doubt anyway*". She felt there was "*no way*" the police would take her side if she experienced victimisation: *"I mean, I know I'm supposed to be like, 'there are good ones out there'. And I'm like, 'nah'*". In her work in forensic psychology, she had vicarious experiences of the police "*aggravating the situation and making people having breakdowns feel worse and then get sectioned and it just escalates. And it's a whole mess*". Aartie was mindful of the potentially harmful consequences of reporting crimes the police with perpetrators from an ethnic minority background. This concern for perpetrators clearly demonstrated the importance of race to the narratives used by participants and how this affected behaviour, even when not in the interests of the victim. Richard agreed, saying "*you wouldn't just go around calling the police on your neighbour".*

These quotes embody the worry many participants had about the potential consequences of drawing other members of Black communities into the criminal justice

system. Participants' responses displayed their fears about the consequences of participating in the criminalisation of Black people, which was another example of how structural and cultural conditions produced responses to policing (Curry, 2008; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The historical legacy of direct and vicarious experiences of victimisation resulted in participants self-excluding from the law-and-order function of policing, demonstrating the significance of race in reproducing narratives about the police.

7.5 Conclusion

Participants' experiences of victimisation illustrated how, as Black victims of crime, they are denied victim status due to their relative proximity to 'ideal victim' status. This aligns with Goffman's (1963) theories of stigmatisation defining "discrediting characteristics' such as the body, the character, race, nation, and religion. The 'ideal victim' must hold enough power to convince the police of their victim status (Christie, 1986), relying on perceptions of trustworthiness, vulnerability, empathy, and innocence. Black victims of crime exist outside of the normative imagery of 'ideal victim', imbuing them with incomplete victim status (ibid). The power held by the police within occupational police culture to categorise, classify and compare 'real victims' to others is inherently based on conceptualisations of the deserving and the undeserving (ibid).

The data indicated that the victim experiences of many Black people are positioned within a hierarchy of victimisation which places marginalised individuals at the bottom (Charman, 2020). Processes of marginalisation and stigmatisation experienced by participants reduce rankings in the 'hierarchy of being'" (Sibley, 1995:14), resulting in deprioritisation of the needs of victims considered less worthy. Structural and cultural conditions influence how individuals position themselves and influence their actions. This suggests that access to the protective function of policing is only as strong as the relationship a community has with the police. The racialisation and criminalisation experienced by Black communities embodies the morphostatic experience of Black Britons as primary agents (Archer, 2000) unable to enjoy fair treatment under the law (Curry, 2008).

The data also confirmed that negative policing experiences contribute to expectations deriving from direct and vicarious experiences of victimisation to create narratives of mistrust in Black communities. This affects the decision to involve the police following victimisation, leaving many Black victims of crime without recourse to legal justice mechanisms.

Commonly held beliefs that the police do not take Black victims of crime seriously therefore has long-lasting consequences for policing through the self-exclusion of many Black people from criminal justice mechanisms in attempt of self-preservation. Through the prism of racial realism, "white-Black race relations are systemic, and reproduced culturally, institutionally, and socially from generation to generation. This systemic racism confers a permanent minority status to Blacks that is ignored in contemporary treatments of race" (Curry, 2008:40). The data indicated how deeply entrenched negative attitudes towards the police are, and how they reinforce the hostile relationship between the police and Black communities.

Chapter 8

Intergenerational Narratives

This chapter shows how narratives about the police are conceived and transmitted across generations of Black communities. It is the first of three chapters that analyses the various responses developed, maintained, and practiced by Black Britons as a result of racialised policing. Through a framework of critical realist critical race theory, it is argued that racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities over time produces the policing experiences of participants, representing historically and contextually-situated individuals in a white hegemonic structure and culture that positions Black people as 'other', leading to the creation of negative cultural narratives about the police that are transmitted across generations (Archer, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Narratives about the police have developed from shared knowledge about the policing of Black communities, drawing both from the legacy of historical policing and current events (Anderson, 1990; Cintron, 2019). The narratives these create are transmitted intergenerationally (parent to child), and cross-generationally (e.g., peers, siblings) to allow Black Britons to explain how 'race' operates in the context of policing as a generative mechanism producing real events (Archer, 2000).

Cultural narratives passed down from parent to child provide a framework for Black children to interpret policing experiences, often providing the initial schema for conceptualisations about the policing of Black communities before exposure to the police begins. Research has consistently shown that Black and other minority ethnic groups, and young Black people in particular, have less trust and confidence in the police than white communities and perceive the police to treat Black people less fairly than other groups (Hurst et al., 2000; YouGuv, 2021). Around half of the participants had experiences of stop and search, and another quarter had experiences as victims of crime. The remainder had no policing experiences but held strong and often negative views of the police, nevertheless. This illustrates the importance of culturally translated ideas, and how these may be more influential than actual experiences.

My data shows that cultural narratives about the police have causal powers by creating and entrenching negative perspectives of the police across communities and generations. Applying Archer's critical realist theories of reflexivity, participants represented historically situated individuals, for whom the legacy of racialised policing shaped how they viewed the social world and, in turn, their behaviour. Perceptions and narratives are socially

reproduced through the intergenerational transmission of attitudes, norms, and behaviours that centre race and racism in lived experience. These become culturally embedded narratives which are used to interpret police interactions. The policing experiences of young people are therefore inextricably linked with histories of racialised othering emerging from colonial ideological frameworks, as argued by CRT scholars (Curry, 2008). This embodies Archer's (2000) morphogenetic cycle, as Black people attempt to overcome racialised policing by exercising agency and changing behaviour to achieve structural and cultural change.

The first section analyses direct forms of intergenerational transmission of information about the police, explored in the context of 'the Talk'. My data suggests that 'the Talk' significantly affects youth perceptions of the police. The direct transmission of information provided a mechanism for Black parents to prepare children for experiences of racialised policing, often based on their own experiences. This forms part of the toolkit employed by elders in Black communities, drawing on internalised ideas of how the police mistreat Black people. The data showed that 'the Talk' does not present in the same way across Black communities, and factors such as age, class, gender, and immigration histories affect how 'the Talk' is conceptualised and used. However, 'the Talk' remains an important framing concept for young people as they begin to conceptualise a lifetime of racialised experiences. As will be seen, there may be negative consequences to this intergenerational framing for some young people.

Some participants had not received 'the Talk', referring to 'just knowing' that the police presented a threat to Black people. The second section analyses implicit forms of intergenerational transmission of information about the police, finding that many participants had internalised wider structural discourses about the policing of Black communities. Such implicit forms of intergenerational transmission include forms of tacit knowledge and racial or ethnic socialisation borne from the permanence of racialised relations in British structure and culture (Curry, 2008; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). These conversations related to both policing and experiences with British institutions more broadly and sought to prepare children for racialised experiences. As with explicit forms of advice, these narratives may both protect against and contribute towards racialised lived experiences for young people, reinforcing the morphostatic experience of Black Britons and racialised policing (Archer, 2000).

The final section analyses how immigration histories influence conceptualisations about the police, and how informal social control mechanisms are used by Black parents to reduce the risks of racialised policing. Some of my participants were not born in Britain, while others came from families that had been living in Britain for generations. Differences emerged in how they conceptualised policing, providing insight into how immigration influences attitudes towards the police. My data found generational conflicts within communities, with second-generation immigrants holding considerably more negative perceptions of the police, and British institutions, than their parents. This has implications for how perceptions of the police are intergenerationally transmitted in future.

8.1 Direct Intergenerational Transmission

i. <u>'The Talk'</u>

Direct conversations between Black parents and children about how to interact with the police have been broadly referred to as 'the Talk' in the US (Cintron, 2019). Ongoing scrutiny of policing both in Britain and elsewhere has resulted in the development of cultural practices, such as 'the Talk', as a way for Black parents to protect, guide, and prepare children for racialised experiences. This demonstrated consciously deliberated agential action by Black parents, many of whom had experienced racialisation, criminalisation, and policing throughout their lives. In doing so, they displayed their intention to overcome the structures and cultures that maintain the disproportionate policing of Black people through collective forms of social agency (Archer, 2000). This represented part of the morphogenetic cycle of structural elaboration for participants seeking corporate agency by ending racialised policing for future generations of Black people. 'The Talk' operates as an intergenerational mechanism of cultural capital, emblematic of the cultural capital that Black parent share with their children.

The perceived necessity of 'the Talk' derived from their own policing experiences and growing up at a time before a finding of institutional racism in British policing from the Macpherson Report (1999). Holly said "*You're always hearing about the police doing all craziness to the Black youth. So, as a parent, you just know how much you have to protect the youth, from early*". Holly's statement was indicative of the widely-held perception among parents that the police target Black people, drawn from cultural narratives about the place of Black people in Britain. This demonstrates the real effect of race on the lived experience of

participants within a historical and contemporary context of racialised relations with the state (Curry, 2008).

‘The Talk’ is distinguished from other parent-child conversations through the conscious intention of protection from and preparation for potentially harmful police interactions. Its use conveys the historical situatedness of elders in Black British communities who, in drawing on their own racialising policing experiences and attempting to protect children from similar experiences, shape conceptualisations of policing for children through the development of cultural narratives: “*That’s something that everyone owes their child. Our job as parents is to make sure the next generation can handle themselves*” (Dean). The content of ‘the Talk’ centred around conduct norms during police interactions, including remaining calm, speaking slowly, and not making sudden movements. Marcus saw ‘the Talk’ as a necessary response to racialised policing experiences that were considered unavoidable due to the direct experiences of parents: “*I don’t want [my son] to go through what I went through*”.

The data suggested that responsibility for ‘the Talk’ is not limited to parents. It was also given by older siblings, extended family members, or other members of the community. Older siblings, cousins and other extended family members also give ‘the Talk’, particularly in circumstances where parents have not. Community workers often described their work as ‘*filling the gap’* for young people who did not receive such advice from their parents. Elliot-Cooper (2020:37) describes how Black families, extending notions of familial and parental responsibility’ as a ‘vehicle for radical change’, rather than mimicking the white hegemonic nuclear family ideal. These communal networks reflect the community parenting of many immigrant parents and provide important protective functions for managing racialised policing (see Chapter 10).

Younger participants described implementing advice during police interactions: “*I always just took my dad’s advice because he’s been through it himself and he has more life experience*” (**Rafe**, 22, Black British Male). Young people like Rafe saw ‘the Talk’ as helpful, representing one of various sources of information they used to manage police interactions, including peer advice and social media. Rafe’s quote indicates an important benefit of historical racialised policing can represent cultural capital for Black parents through the intergenerational transmission of advice. In doing so, however, these narratives instilled negative perceptions of the police in children that became internalised and practiced

during interactions with the police. That 'the Talk' often took place at a young age demonstrated the fears held by many Black parents that the racialisation experienced by their children would result in them experiencing adult situations before they were emotionally or mentally capable of dealing with them.

Perceptions of the police displayed distinct generational differences. While older participants conceived 'the Talk' as an issue of survival, younger participants framed it as an issue of integrity, indicative of status and 'standing ground'. This meant advice deemed valuable now related to recording stops and searches of others, intervening during police stops, and ensuring young people knew their rights. The idea of 'standing ground' was drawn from narratives about the historical hostile policing of Black communities at a time in which Black people were denied basic rights. Participants expressed that increased knowledge of their rights was now a necessity and displayed perceptions of increased Black cultural capital: "*the younger generation wouldn't tolerate what we tolerated*" (Tayo). In Dean's view, the version of 'the Talk' given by Caribbean parents of previous generations, based on their past experiences of policing, was not relevant to modern policing. Now, police racism had "*become more insidious*", and responses to policing must evolve accordingly:

> *"[My father] talks about police as 'us versus them'. Nobody was cool with the police back then. Nobody wanted to be friends. The police came around to do their job, and because someone's a Black man, he could get arrested for looking at a policeman sideways. You could be hit over the head with the baton and thrown in the back of the police van. The whole thing from my dad and his generation was just a failure to deal with police."*

Dean argued that the police racism of his father's generation was so overt that police interactions could not be managed, but simply endured. He saw this as influencing the version of 'the Talk' his father had given him: *"Don't make eye contact and stuff like that – realistically, in the short term, it might have been helpful back then, but long term, going forward, it wasn't".* Instead, he advocated for knowledge of rights, recording stops and searches, and finding out officer information to make complaints about baseless stops. This demonstrated how younger generations sought to achieve social progress through stronger assertions of status and identity during police interactions and, in doing so, sought to achieve social progress, or morphogenesis (Archer, 2000). These examples represented resistance

against racialised policing and signified that younger generations are unwillingness to tolerate racialised mistreatment.

The changing norms of 'the Talk' across generations of participants reinforced how the necessity of advice constantly evolving, mirroring the relationship between the police and Black communities, which itself was constantly evolving. Older participants experienced policing during the 1970s and 1980s, a particularly hostile period of policing for Black Britons and many had experienced police violence, targeting and racial abuse. However, young participants expressed greater criticism of the police and a stronger determination to eradicate racialised policing. While young people did not have as many overtly racist experiences to draw on, they had longstanding narratives about the historical policing of Black communities through which to interpret their experiences. A fifth-generation 'Windrush migrant', Dean compared the contemporary lived experience of Black communities to previous generations:

> *"There's a generation now that are actively seeking information. They are now giving young people information that our parents were unable to give to us. Generationally, there's an argument [that] a lot of information that Caribbean children didn't have, or weren't given, was because they didn't have it to give. They didn't know, so you can't teach it you can't teach your children something that you've never learned yourself".*

Dean saw the fact that 'the Talk' is increasingly used as a form of cultural capital reflected the greater agency held by young Black Britons than previous generations. As a police officer, **Fola** (52, Nigerian Male) thought it vital that young people understood their rights during stop and search, and that increased transparency and police accountability would improve police interactions with young Black people:

> *"You have the right to ask questions. Knowing what I know now, I would say to an officer 'what are the grounds for the stop? What are you looking for? Can I take your name and your collar number please?'. You can ask all those questions. You have every right to seek redress. Now, every officer is issued with the body cam, body-worn video. You can ask whether the body-worn video is switched on, record things. And you have the right even to request the footage of, of the recording of your interaction with the police".*

While ‘the Talk’ demonstrated an agential response for Black parents, the data also suggested it could also increase contention in police interactions by embedding fear, anger, and mistrust in the conceptualisations of the police developed by younger generations. Describing ‘the Talk’, **Mase** (29, Black British Male) said “*it’s good to know it, but like…it does make you not trust the police from early”*. Some younger participants described feeling fearful of the police in their childhood due to ‘the Talk’ before ever encountering them. Arsene first had ‘the Talk’ when he was around nine or ten: “*I was always just afraid of running into them, to be honest. Like I just wanted to avoid them cos I didn’t know if they would arrest me or fuck with me or what*”.

This demonstrated how cultural narratives designed to prepare and protect can affect the ‘real’ of racism (Bell, 1992) by entrenching perceptions of the police as racist, effectively producing race in police interactions. For some young people, who had internalised negative perceptions of the police through ‘the Talk’ and other sources, long-held mistrust of the police resulted in hostile interactions. This contributed to the morphostatic experience of racialised policing through increasing the risk of interactional discrimination (Reiner, 2010). Chris saw ‘the Talk’ as reliant on a misconception that “*the police act like decent people, instead of the dickheads they usually act like”.* When stopped and searched, Chris displayed hostility towards the police that derived from mistrust. Chris had been arrested twice, which he saw as “*just cos I didn’t bow down to [the police]”.* This demonstrated Reiner’s (2010) interactional discrimination in practice. Receiving ‘the Talk’ at a young age led Chris to anticipate racist treatment from the police, conveying how parents, in seeking to protect, guide, and prepare children for racist experiences, contributed to framing and instilling anti-police worldviews in younger generations which may later result in hostile police interactions.

ii. <u>Intersectional Experiences of ‘The Talk’</u>

Around two-thirds of young participants had received ‘the Talk’, which was fewer than expected. Some parents felt that there was little need to have ‘the Talk’, either because their children already knew how to manage the police, or because their children were unlikely to need it. The data suggested that the absence of the ‘the Talk’ could have a negative effect on how young people experienced policing, leaving some without the knowledge transmitted by other parents. For some young people, however, ‘the Talk’ was not necessary as this

information was gathered from other sources, such as peer advice and social media which supplemented advice and guidance on managing police interactions.

Community workers raised concerns about the lack of parental guidance on how to manage police interactions. Holly said he knew "*from the questions I'm getting from the children, they're not having this conversation with their parents".* He gave various explanations for this, ranging from absent parents to parents lacking the information on managing police interactions themselves. This highlighted the function of 'the Talk' as a form of cultural capital that allowed parents to transmit intergenerational guidance to children but one that was only practiced by some Black people. The data suggested that the absence of such guidance could contribute towards negative police interactions and leave young people ill-equipped to manage them, unless they sought out the information elsewhere.

Many parents began having specific discussions about the police with their children once they reached adolescence. Abdi described having 'the Talk' with his father when he turned 12: "*he was just always like, don't give them any reason to arrest you or hurt you or anything. And like, be respectful towards them so they don't have any excuses*". 'The Talk' was generally prioritised by parents of male children, which was likely due to internalised perceptions of the racialisation and criminalisation of Black men, which had resulted in heightened fears of the dangers posed by the police to Black males. As discussed in previous chapters, much research on race and policing focuses on the experiences of young Black men and boys (Dow, 2016; Rios, 2011). This was partly because young Black men are subject to higher levels of disproportionate stop and search than other groups (Shiner et al., 2018) and greater knowledge about high-profile incidents of the racialised policing of Black males.

Police violence against Black women and girls receives considerably less attention, a fact which in part led to the campaign '#Say Her Name' in the US in response to the silence around the death of Sandra Bland, a Black woman who died in police custody (Reed, 2020). While there have been community responses in recent years to the police killings of Black women like Breonna Taylor in the US, there have been few British equivalents. Some exceptions were the deaths of Cynthia Jarrett and Cherry Groce, which some participants referred to in interviews. Research shows that vicarious perspectives have a particular impact on Black females, who hold the most negative perspectives of the police of women across ethnic groups 'on behalf' of heavily policed males in their community (Hurst et al., 2000).

The result is community narratives that conceptualise policing as a male issue, with the policing of Black women almost a non-issue for many participants.

Black girls were considerably less likely to receive 'the Talk', instead describing conversations about the threat posed by the police to Black boys. Most interviews with women and girls focused on the threat the police posed to Black male adolescents. Cara, whose brothers had been stopped and searched numerous times in adolescence, described being excluded from discussions about the police growing up: *"They were playing the tough Black guy and wouldn't talk to their little sister about it"*. She felt that the lack of discussions about race in her own family was due to the lack of open discussion from either parent when she was growing up: "*no one spoke to my dad about anything. Caribbean parents don't really talk about stuff that's personal. My dad was very secretive. And maybe we didn't talk about anything".* The lack of preparation from her parents left Cara feeling ill-equipped to provide guidance to her own children, and she had not had 'the Talk' with either of them. This reinforced how lived experience and pre-understandings mediate the perceived value of 'the Talk', and how this may compound the harms of racialised policing for Black women and girls.

While being less likely to receive 'the Talk', the data showed that responsibility for teaching children how to manage police encounters tends to fall on Black women. As 'the Talk' is often considered a way of avoiding violence, it aligns with racialised masculinity frameworks positioning Black boys as the 'ideal criminal' or 'threat'. Gonzalez (2019) considers how Black mothers navigate gendered racial vulnerability in giving 'the Talk', a conversation that usually happens from mother to son, arguing that Black boys are conceptualised as 'primary' targets of policing, and girls as 'collateral' targets. This conveyed how perceptions of the police produce real effects that may be both racialised and gendered, with Black females taking on the role of protector of Black masculinity.

As already noted, despite being largely responsible for giving 'the Talk', Black women were more difficult to recruit for this research. For their part, young male participants did not seem to regard their mothers as authorities on 'the police problem', instead relying on guidance from older male relatives, peers, and community workers. Many of them assumed that their fathers, uncles, older brothers, and male cousins had valuable information to transmit about the police. These were interesting findings and indicated a level of epistemic injustice in the role that Black women are allowed to play in discourses surrounding policing, drawn from internalised conceptualisations about who is affected by racism and policing.

Some young female participants were critical of their parents for failing to have 'the Talk' with them. While fewer had been stopped and searched overall, those that had felt unprepared for early policing interactions. They relied on their own knowledge of how manage the police, drawn from the vicarious experiences of male peers and family members. This conveyed how Black girls, in the absence of direct advice, use shared cultural narratives translated from Black males. Some politically active female participants were mindful of this and were involved in community work. Even they, however, had internalised understandings of racialised policing as a problem affecting Black males. Whilst acknowledging the value of 'the Talk', they still held gendered expectations about when and to whom giving 'the Talk' was necessary:

> *"Funnily enough, I would speak more to a son about it, just because I think, and that might be very wrong of me... But I do think females get a bit of an easier ride when it comes to these things. Subconsciously, on the police's part."* Viola

In the absence of direct experiences of racialised policing, the experiences of male peers and family members became the basis for their perspectives of the police. Negative views of the police were effectively 'on behalf' of Black males, particularly for middle-class female participants with few or no policing experiences of their own to draw on.

In contrast, Black female participants with negative experiences of direct policing felt the need to have 'the Talk' with girls. **Fumi** (14, British-Nigerian Female) had been stopped and searched several times in the past few months and expressed considerable hostility and mistrust towards the police. She had not had 'the Talk' with her parents ("*no, no one sat me down about it*"). She described her intention to have 'the Talk' with her younger sister: "*I feel like I'll probably talk to my sister about it, 'cause she's gonna run into them soon, the way they are*". Fumi's direct experience overcame gendered conceptualisations about policing that may be held by other Black Britons. This led her to recognise blind spots in discourses surrounding policing and fill the gap for her younger sister. This reinforced the effect of negative experiences of policing on intergenerational and cross-generational transmission of cultural narratives about the police and the effect this can have on responses to policing for Black Britons.

While she had not experienced stop and search, Cece described a '*harrowing*' encounter with the police following an attack in a pub. She felt that the police were hostile

towards her, and she left the encounter feeling '*doubly-victimised'* as a Black female victim. She expressed an intention to have 'the Talk' with her children, regardless of gender, to ensure that her children were aware of the treatment they could expect as victims of crime:

> *"I think I will teach them about what their rights are. Because I think that's another thing that we don't do well. I was thinking about my experience when the police came down to interview me about the attack and I had no idea what my rights are and what a crime was or what wasn't a crime. So, if I had kids, I would definitely do that, boy or girl. I would."*

Like many participants, Cece described direct negative incidents of policing as reinforcing her pre-existing beliefs about racism and policing. This contributed to a lack of trust and confidence in the police and influenced how she approached police encounters and the cultural narratives she intended to share with her future children.

This absence of 'the Talk' also arose for some male participants who experienced policing at a young age. Abdullahi had not received 'the Talk' from his parents and when pressed admitted he "*had no clue*" how to manage these police interactions. Due to his religious and cultural background, Abdullahi was also hesitant to raise the issue with his parents for fear of getting in trouble. He explained that his parents, immigrants from Somalia, "*didn't know what was going on"* between the police and Black communities, so felt little need to prepare Abdullahi for policing experiences.

Many immigrant participants had not had 'the Talk' with their children, considering them unlikely to encounter the police and therefore unlikely to need it. This has consequences for second-generation immigrants, who may experience stop and search without preparation. Young second-generation immigrants like Abdullahi had to manage police interactions using other information sources, such as from peers and social media. Most second and third-generation immigrant participants were adamant that they would have 'the Talk' with their children, despite not receiving it themselves. Indeed, the fact that they did not receive 'the Talk' seemed to make them more mindful of the need to provide it to their children.

Another factor mediating the decision to have 'the Talk' was class. Generally, working-class participants living in more heavily policed neighbourhoods tended to have 'the Talk' earlier, representing heightened fears from perceptions and experienced of lower

societal status. Fola disagreed that race was the generative mechanism in policing experiences: *"I think everyone should have ['the Talk'] whether you're Black, white, or Asian, whatever the case may be. I certainly have it with my children. It's always about just being courteous. Comply first, and if you're not happy, complain later".* Fola's view of 'the Talk' was influenced by his knowledge of operational policing, but also his class status. Generally, parent participants who self-defined as middle class had greater expectations of fair treatment from the police. Class-status influenced conceptualisations of the police, influencing how parents chose to discuss the police with their children.

Middle-class participants were less likely to see 'the Talk' as necessary for very young children. **Martin** (41, Black British Male), a Brambleton counsellor, had intended to have 'the Talk' when his sons became teenagers, as he saw policing becoming an issue for Black boys on reaching physical maturity. However, his 11-year-old son had recently been stopped and searched by the police in an affluent neighbourhood of the borough: "*I couldn't wrap my head around it. The police are stopping kids younger and younger. There's a lot of talk about things improving but the reality of it is very different. And, obviously, we know that wouldn't have happened to a white 11-year-old in Brambleton*". While he acknowledged racially disproportionate policing as a significant issue in the community, Martin had not expected his son to be stopped and searched due to his age and class-status. Internalised perceptions about the 'type' of person to be policed arose frequently among middle-class participants, demonstrating how race and class influenced intergenerational cultural narratives. Martin's story was an example where policing experiences began before parents felt the need to have 'the Talk', representing a retroactive response to explain experiences to children and prepare them for future experiences.

'The Talk' illustrated the real effects of race emphasised in CRT (Bell, 1992), beyond the domains of the actual and the empirical (Bhaskar, 1978). The actions taken by participants were restricted by the structural and cultural context they found themselves in, reinforcing how the policing of many Black Britons remains in morphostasis (Archer, 2000). Participants' actions also contributed to these processes by entrenching these ideas across generations. However, the conceptualisations participants used to make sense of policing experiences provide insight into Black British lived experience and identities within the structure and culture contemporary Britain. The data suggested that 'the Talk' remains a concept that some Black parents consider valuable guidance to transmit to children. As will be discussed in the next section, for some participants, the intergenerational transmission of

narratives about the police took a more implicit form but was no less influential on how participants conceived their relationship with the police.

8.2 Implicit Intergenerational Transmission: 'Just Knowing'

Throughout the research process, the intergenerational transmission of information, advice and guidance emerged as a vital tool in preparing children for racialised experiences. However, 'the Talk' was only one mechanism for doing so. Young participants had been exposed to ongoing criticism of institutional racism in the police their whole lives. For older participants, who could recall the pre-Macpherson landscape, the issue of police racism had been frequently discussed with little tangible benefit for Black communities, an example of CRT's concept of interest convergence (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Participants' accounts demonstrated discursive institutionalism, whereby communities build perceptions of the world as knowledge, rather than being limited to experience (Schmidt, 2008). Narratives about the police may be more important, or valuable, for Black Britons than direct experiences and were framed within wider perceptions of the status and place of Black people in Britain.

Many participants held knowledge and perceptions about racism in the police and elsewhere, but often could not explain where they received it, instead referring to 'just knowing': *"it just seems like it's inherent knowledge at this point"* (Cece). Archer (2007:4). describes reflexivity as "the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa". Reflexivity allows the adoption of stances or viewpoints towards society, mediating between structure and agency. For participants, knowledge about how the police treat Black people is not inherent or ingrained, but the result of socialisation through structural racialisation and criminalisation of Black people over time.

Participants described having ongoing discussions in their families throughout their lives about race, racism, and the status of Black people in society. For parents like Richard, the expectation to have the 'the Talk' was frustrating and unnecessary as, for many Black children, knowledge about what to expect from the police and in the wider world was already "*totally ingrained*". This suggested that discussions about racism enable the production and reproduction of shared narratives about racialised policing that affect behaviour, even in the

absence of ‘the Talk’. However, as with ‘the Talk’, these narratives emphasised the importance of race, and contributed towards negative perceptions of the police that could exacerbate conflict in police interactions. Sade recounted conversations with her mother about the racism she was likely to experience in life:

> “*She always told us to make sure we do something that like, people can't really like discriminate against us for. It’s kind of an everyday thing. Because, even though you ignore it as much as you can, you experience forms of aggression every day. I've also seen that in action, that you do have to work a lot harder. Even if you are the best, even if you are doing more than everyone else, you still won't get the same treatment [as white people]. And I think it's just something that I've just learned to accept. I'm not doing anything for anyone apart from myself”.*

The information participants used to interpret the police came from multiple sources, including implicit knowledge about the place of Black people in society. This supported the findings in ‘Reading the Riots’ (Lewis et al., 2011) that Black people draw on knowledge of high-profile incidents of police violence against other Black people to inform their opinion of the police and the place of Black people in British society:

> *“My mum’s very aware of that sort of thing. She's a head teacher at a majority Black school in [redacted], so she's like a leader in the community and is very kind of aware of that sort of thing happening. So, from early, she kind of instilled into us being aware of your race, and how that kind of affects you in a country where you're minorities such as Britain. She made us very aware of that and how to kind of deal with police from an early age.”* Kay

This emphasised the importance of racial and ethnic socialisation in preparing younger generations for racialised experiences. Most younger participants recalled similar conversations with their parents growing up, normalising expectations of racism. Parents tried to prepare children for racialised experiences by equipping them with tools to reduce harmful consequences, such as working hard, prioritising respectful behaviour, and staying out of trouble. These forms of advice contributed to morphostasis by internalising and transmitting the idea that the police would mistreat young people without positive defensive actions being taken.

Having had similar conversation with my parents growing up, I understood the effect

of narratives about the racism I would experience throughout my life. This advice prepares children for racist experiences but, as with forms of direct advice such as ‘the Talk’, also entrenches racialised narratives from a young age, contributing towards the production of race for young people. Whilst I certainly did not enjoy such conversations with my parents, I recognised then and now the value in them, as they provided explanatory frameworks for racist interactions at school that might otherwise have baffled me. I wondered what the effect might be on children had such conversations not taken place. **Lucas,** a 36-year-old mixed race British male, felt that he had not been adequately prepared for racialised experiences by his white mother as a child:

> *“My son’s only five, so that education hasn't properly started yet. But I believe as kids, they become properly socially aware around 11. The preparation stage for my daughter, who's nine, starts now. A lot of people say you shouldn't tell your kids about these things. I believe pre-emptive work is key. I wasn't prepared for it. And suddenly, one day someone called me a half-breed at school. I went home and was like ‘what's a half-breed’. Didn't know. Kids were like ‘your mum's a nigger lover’. I went to a working-class school, and I was probably one of five or 10 non-white people in my year. And we was best friends all the way through, everything was great. And then as soon as we got to 17, that's when I first started hearing racist names. And then suddenly, you become aware of the racialised society that we live in. And everybody's divided, everybody's divided by skin colour”.*

Lucas felt that his mother lacked knowledge to impart about racialised experiences, which meant she was unable to prepare him for the racism he would experience in life. He stressed he did not blame his mother but said he would ensure that his children would not have the same problem. He intended to have these conversations while his children were young, as it would prepare them for experiences of racism from an early age. Implicit knowledge was simultaneously an agential response against racialisation and criminalisation and contributed to morphostasis through instilling conceptual frameworks about police racism in children.

Marcus explained his intention to discuss racialised policing with the two-year-old daughter he has with his white girlfriend. As his daughter is ‘white-passing’, Marcus felt it important to inform her about his personal experiences of policing and negative experiences of policing overall within Black communities, even if she would not experience them herself.

While he was mindful that his daughter was less likely to be impacted by policing than he due to her skin colour, gender, and the middle-class borough she lives in, he considered it incumbent upon him to educate her. Marcus' intention to educate his daughter about not merely how to handle police encounters, but how Black people must handle them, shows the ability of parents to influence the perspectives of a child racialised as white about the policing of people racialised as Black. This also suggests that a potential side-effect of mixed-ethnicity families may be the ability to share cultural capital within familial structures and potentially affect social progress (Archer, 2000).

Information about the police came not merely from conversations in the family, but also from exposure to news and information about the policing experiences of Black Britons. Older participants witnessed or heard about police raids and riots at Broadwater Farm and vicariously experienced the contemporary policing of Black youths via children and other adolescents in the community. Younger participants drew on their knowledge of historical racialised policing, their experiences of stop and search, and recent events they were aware of through social media, such as the police killings of Dalian Atkinson, Mark Duggan, and Rashan Charles, and others in the US such as Eric Garner, Oscar Grant, and Philando Castille. Participants expressed empathy for Black victims of police violence in a manner that suggested some level of shared consciousness (Britton, 2000a). This had prepared participants for policing experiences, even in the absence of 'the Talk':

> *"We never sat down and discussed the police. But there were instances…my dad was a good driver, but he liked to speed a little bit. And the police would stop him. And they wouldn't always treat him well. That's when that's when conversation about the police could happen. But it wasn't like intentional conversations or anything."* Viola

Viola had not received 'the Talk', but her father's youthful experiences of policing provided a framework for perceptions of racist policing, later transmitted to Viola in the form of warnings about the threat posed by the police to Black people. Cara, who had lived in London before settling in Bristol, also had not had 'the Talk' with her children. Cara and her family live in the St Paul's area of Bristol, with its own storied history of the policing of Caribbean people (Pryce, 1979), and she described feeling more comfortable living in this neighbourhood than some of the more ethnically white neighbourhoods, despite the higher levels of crime. Cara described the policing of Black people as "*rife*" in St Paul's, but due to her children being "*white-passing*", she felt there was little need to have 'the Talk' with them.

This suggested a consciousness in the decision to have inter-family discussions about the police based on perceived necessity, indicating that perceptions of racialised policing influence the decision to have 'the Talk'.

In contrast, Cara's 25-year-old-daughter, also a mother, was vocal about the policing of Black communities with her 5-year-old daughter, something that Cara expressed concern about:

> *"My daughter really feels quite angry towards [the police]. I'm kind of worried about the way that she talks because she's a mother of a little girl. I don't think that she should talk so aggressively in front of her. I think you don't want to be doing that, her daughter's only 5. I think you have to be careful how you speak. But I guess she's got very angry, especially recently, you know about the [Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill, 2021] and riots in Bristol, and there was the violence in the police and stuff. And she was very angry about that."*

These conflicting approaches to 'the policing problem' across different generations within one family was striking. Cara's concerns that her granddaughter was too young to have such discussions were in stark contrast with her daughter's efforts to prepare her child for potential experiences later in life. Cara's daughter felt it necessary to provide her daughter, who is Black, with a toolkit for managing police interactions. Cara was unsure if she would initiate 'the Talk' with her granddaughter when she was older and would instead wait to be approached: "*Am I avoiding something by doing that? I think it's a good thing to think about. I think the question is important. So, it's given me something to think about".* The interview caused Cara to reflect on what she later described as '*passivity*' in her response to racialised policing, feeling that she had not prioritised preparing her children and grandchildren for negative experiences of policing. This lack of discussion about policing of Black communities was described in stronger terms elsewhere. Cece described never having discussions about racism at home, despite close relatives having experienced frequent stop and search:

> *"[My mother] is very much that generation that thinks we're post-racism. And I think I was taught as a kid to just keep your head down, and then nothing bad would happen. And so, if I tried to talk to her about racism, her reaction is 'Well, what did*

you do to provoke that reaction? Again, it kind of sounds like the conversation shut down. It doesn't feel like you can talk about it".

In Cece' opinion, "avoidance" of the topic of racism left her ill-equipped to manage racialised interactions as an adult and had she intentionally set out to educate herself through reading and political activism. She felt that she lacked a support system to discuss her own policing experiences, so intended to provide her children with support and guidance, including preparing them for potential policing experiences. As will be discussed in Chapter 10, this represented an important mechanism for participants to work towards morphogenesis and corporate agency (Archer, 2000).

The data demonstrated that implicit forms of information, advice, and guidance often centre around the place of Black communities in Britain. Tacit knowledge held by Black people has been explored in the context of racial or ethnic socialisation, which plays an integral role in preparation for racialised life experiences from an early age. As with 'the Talk', the transmission of information and guidance from elder to younger generation allows parents to provide protection to children, whilst asserting autonomy and agency within Black communities. However, these forms of information tended to transmit implicitly through racialised discourses and experiences, particularly those of parents. The internalisation of tacit knowledge about racialised policing by young people conveys how structural and cultural norms about racism treatment of Black people are experienced in everyday lives (Bell, 1992; Curry, 1998; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The creation of narratives about race and policing allowed participants to activate causal structures and contribute to social agency (Archer, 2000) by intergenerationally transmitting knowledge about race and racism which influenced how young people responded to the police. This was another example of how intergenerational cultural narratives contributed towards morphostasis by entrenching negative attitudes, and responses, to the police (ibid).

8.3 Generational Conflicts in Immigrant Communities

For first-generation immigrant participants who moved to Britain as adults, identification with British norms and values were linked with positive perceptions of the police. Positive perceptions of the police were based less on lived experience and more on positive conceptual schemas about the institution of the police itself. This has been explored in the context of "police fetishism" or "the ideological assumption that the police are a functional

prerequisite of social order so that without a police force chaos would ensue" (Reiner 2010:3). Older and first-generation immigrant participants displayed positive narratives about the police which occasionally conflicted with their children and grandchildren, who were more openly critical of the police.

Most immigrant participants of African descent had moved to Britain the 1990s as adults. In contrast, all but three participants of Caribbean descent had lived in Britain for generations. This was significant, as first-generation immigrants arriving as adults tend to hold more positive views towards the police than those arriving as children (Bradford, et al., 2017). Differences therefore emerged between how African and most Caribbean participants interpreted the police and parental transmission of information. Immigrants also generally have more favourable views of the police than white British-born people (ibid). One explanation for this is experiences of the police in countries of origin, which many immigrant participants characterised as corrupt, violent, and dangerous:

> *"[The police in Jamaica] don't stop and search. they just shoot. It's rough, it's rough in the Caribbean. And they'll actually kill you for no reason. If you cuss around them, or while they're trying to detain you, or anything, they'll just shoot you."* (Chris)

Chris' conceptualisations of the Jamaican police influenced how he interpreted the British police, conveying how reflexivity emerges from historical context and cultural framing. In making the comparison with the British police, he indicated his internalised perception that the Jamaican police are more violent and less accountable. Unlike other Caribbean participants, Chris had first-hand experience of policing in another country. First-generation immigrant participants often drew on negative experiences of policing in countries of origin in reaching relatively positive conclusions about British policing. This, alongside positive assumptions about British institutions, resulted in relatively positive attitudes towards the police. Direct experiences of policing, or vicarious experiences of their children, did little to diminish this trust.

Lanre considered institutional racism to be a widespread issue in Britain and the police, but expressed empathy for the British police, who he felt "*have an exceedingly difficult job*". Lanre translated his perceptions of British policing to his experiences in Nigeria, considered "*exceptionally corrupt and ineffective*". His knowledge of another police force that he perceived to be worse than the British police reinforced these favourable perceptions.

Similarly, Felix described violent interactions with the Nigerian police: "*I intervened when they were harassing someone else, and I got hit on the head with a baton for my efforts*". While he had been stopped and searched several times since living in Britain, he had not felt mistreated or overt racism. It was this comparison that distinguished immigrant participants from others. While he felt that discretionary policing is often discriminatory against Black people, Felix felt that overall "*the police try their best and do a good job for the most part*" as he knew "*how bad the police can be*".

In contrast, Lanre's son Lekan, who had moved to Britain as a child, was sceptical about his father's views: "*Here's a man who I've watched having to pay bribes to the police when we're driving around in Nigeria. So, his expectations must be pretty low*". In Lekan's view, his father and other immigrant parents were "*wrong*" to compare police forces in different countries, as it dismissed issues with British policing:

> *"If the bar is torture, being framed for crimes, being shot, and murdered…then yes, the UK police are better than that. I mean, the bar is pretty low. No, you can't compare it to Hell and say 'it's not as bad as Hell' [laughs]. Like, no, that's not good enough. So, he's wrong, if he's satisfied with that.*"

This exchange revealed generational differences for immigrant families deriving from the narrative frameworks available to participants from different immigration histories. Having grown up in Britain, Lekan had few experiences of policing in other countries, which meant that he viewed British policing in isolation. Expectations and experiences of immigration contribute to conceptualisations about the police and suggests that as immigrants settle in Britain, initially favourable perceptions of the police will be eroded by negative lived experiences.

The data also indicated general differences regarding cultural norms of obedience, deference, and dutifulness in Caribbean and African immigrant communities that contributed towards conceptualisations of the police. Immigrant parents described practicing informal cultural control mechanisms to produce law-abiding behaviour in children, which could conflict with British cultural norms of adolescence. Migrant parents will frequently sustain strong emotional, religious, financial, and practical ties to their home country, which attachment is rarely transmitted to children who have been raised in the new country (Attias-Donfut & Cook, 2016). The familial control exercised by community networks is an

important element of managing police interactions and ensuring respect and deference to authority from Black children.

Research exploring respect towards authorities has found that Black families put an extremely high value on respecting and learning from elders within kinship networks (Willis & Britain, 1983). Parental-adolescent conflict is often characterised by parents in terms of parental respect, obedience, and cultural traditions. In contrast, adolescents may view such conflicts as arenas of personal decision-making (Smetana, Crean, & Daddis, 2002). **Julie** (58, Black British Female). described communal networks of familial policing within her community: "*if I did something wrong, my mum would already have heard about it by the time I got home*". This reflected the experiences of first-generation participants who described similar networks in their countries of origin, used to ensure obedience and law-abiding behaviour in children. Mel described "*the fear of aunties and uncles'* reporting behaviour to parents as an essential mechanism of keeping children out of trouble in Trinidad.

The data provided insight into how different generations perceived their relationship with the police and their identities as Black Britons. Immigrant participants acknowledged racism in British institutions, but their perceptions of the police were meditated by a perceived unbelonging from Britain as immigrants (Gilroy, 1987). This meant that they were willing to tolerate some degree of racialised mistreatment 'in exchange' for being able to live in Britain, which influenced the information transmitted to their children. Lanre described having open discussions about institutional racism with his children but felt little need to have 'the Talk'. This reflected Lanre's belief that his children could rely on the same procedural justice that any British person could:

> *"I just assume that the police would be fair to them, and since I was coming from Nigeria, nobody told me about police here. And my personal experiences with the police have been few and far between. And they've not been negative. So, I only just read about these issues of the police, that young people are having with the police. And I perceive it more as being limited to certain areas of London rather than a general thing".*

Crucially, the perception that children would be dealt with fairly by the police relied on class-based expectations and a perception of distinct categories of people that are or 'should be'

subjected to stop and search. Many West African immigrant parents conveyed their expectations that policing is an issue affecting young, working-class Caribbean males living in metropolitan areas of London, and was unlikely to present a problem for their children:

> *"I've told them that they should adhere to the rules and regulations of this country. There are certain things that you cannot do. You cannot argue with [the police]. Just talk to them, don't be aggressive. If you're aggressive to them, they will be aggressive to you. But some Black people have bad attitudes - as soon as they're stopped, they think it's racism. This attitude that 'cos I'm Black, I'm driving a good car, so I'm stopped?'…. yes, they'll stop you to check your details and verify the license, but then you're free to go. But if you think it's because you're Black, it's not a conducive situation. That is the problem with Black people in this country. As soon as they're stopped, they start thinking 'it's because I'm Black."* Tayo

Tayo's views reflected both his trust in procedural justice, and his frustration at how younger generations respond to being stop and searched. First-generation immigrant parents like Tayo felt that subsequent generations blamed racism for their problems and scapegoated the police. This demonstrated how some older participants did not attribute the disproportionate policing of Black communities to structural racism, but individual interactions with the police by young people that were too quick to anger.

This was also indicative of a perception that their children may experience groundless stops, but they have already the tools to manage them as they manage other racialised experiences. This demonstrated an internalised expectation of racism that was almost taken for granted by some participants, and a perception that the onus was on Black people to negotiate with the police during interactions. In my view, this illustrated a mentality among sone older participants that social progress was only possible by displaying respectable and law-abiding conduct that presented a shield against criminalisation (see Chapter 9). Tayo's statement embodied generational conflicts in levels of trust in the police and how police interactions are best approached.

The data demonstrated how the structural conditions producing policing vary in different contexts and histories. In African and Caribbean countries with majority Black populations, policing embodies structural hierarchies of status and class. Crucially, many participants of African descent identified as middle-class, which mediated how they experienced policing in countries of origin. For them, wealth provided a mechanism to

manage police interactions as they felt able to challenge police authority and had greater access to police complaint procedures than working-class immigrant participants. Richard explained that working-class Nigerians and those living in deprived areas were more likely to experience police violence and arrest, while middle and upper-class Nigerians tended to be asked for bribes. This contributed to perceptions of British policing as mediated by class. Cultural capital is aligned with experiences of policing through relative positionality in class-based societal structures.

This highlighted generational differences both in behaviour and expectations of treatment towards the police. For first-generation immigrants, trust in procedural legitimacy aligns with allegiance to state authority through group identification (Bradford, 2014), and perceived solidarity with the police. Younger participants were critical of their parents' accepting attitude towards police racism, as they saw it:

> *"My parents still have the same trust in authority they had when they got here. You've got to remember, they came from a different world, kind of time travelled. They come from a country, where if the police stopped you, it's for a bribe. Anything better than that is pretty good going. They came here with a specific purpose. So, they look at the kids complaining about this stuff and are like, 'what are they complaining about? If you don't do anything wrong, you keep your head down, it's all sort of fine'. Because they were getting a good bargain."*
>
> **Maahir, 36, British-Bengali Male**

The idea of 'acceptance of mistreatment' as part of a 'bargain' was striking and arose frequently in the descriptions of second-generation participants of their parents' attitudes towards the police and Britain as a whole. In contrast, second-generation immigrants hold similar cultural and educational experiences to British-born people (Attias-Donfut and Cook, 2016), resulting in more closely aligned interpretive frameworks towards British-born people than their parents (Maxwell, 2010). These participants were more influenced by the norms of their 'host' country than their 'native' country due to spatial and cultural proximity and relatively limited experience of their parents' countries of origin and institutions (Röder & Mühlau, 2011).

The result was generational differences in how immigrant families conceive of the police, with second-generation immigrants displaying considerably more critical perceptions of the police than their parents: "*we're not willing to take some of the things our parents were*

willing to take" (Sade). As will be discussed in later chapters, perceptions of the police among young people are a strong indicator of the increasingly contentious direction of the relationship between the police and Black communities. However, it also embodies an agential response from young people seeking to morphogenesis through increased expectations of fair treatment, from both the police and wider British society (Archer, 2000).

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed how conceptualisations of the police are developed and transmitted intergenerationally. The data conveyed how race operates in the domain of 'the real', with Black Britons changing their behaviour in response to experiences of racialisation and criminalisation. The development of these narratives allows participants to interpret their policing experiences and those of other Black people, as historically and contextually situated individuals. This conveyed how race produces experiences and perceptions that provide conceptual frameworks used by Black communities. It is an aspect of vicarious information transmission throughout communities, with collective perceptions within the community effectively replacing direct experiences.

The varying ways Black parents to prepare for and protect children from racialised experiences demonstrated that policing is not conceptualised by Black communities as a monolith. 'The Talk' represents a conscious decision on the part of Black parents and community elders to implement shared knowledge about the policing of Black Britons to improve the policing interactions of children. The perceived value of 'the Talk' was however mediated by gender, class, and immigration histories. Many participants described 'just knowing' that they would experience racialised policing at a young age, without any specific conversations with their parents. This emerged as internalised knowledge about racism experienced by Black Britons, drawn from familial discussions, media, and wider knowledge. This represented another form of protection and preparation for young people as they navigated racialised experiences.

Perceptions of the police are also shaped by broader discussions about racism in Britain. These findings suggest that perceptions of the police are less influenced by direct experiences, than by cultural narratives. 'The Talk' and other forms of advice, guidance, and knowledge transmitted from parent to child demonstrated the power of race as a generative mechanism in producing and reproducing racialised policing, by entrenching negative

expectations of the police. Negative views are effectively 'inherited' by young people, and in turn may be transmitted to future generations of Black Britons.

The data suggested that highly negative cultural narratives about the police among young participants were at least partly responsible for producing negative policing experiences. I argue, however, the need or perceived need for the 'the Talk' and more implicit discourses reflects an unfortunate reality of life for many young Black people who might experience frequent stop and search and can benefit from knowledge of how to manage police encounters. These parents were making the difficult and often painful choice to tell their children they would likely experience racialised policing and racism, even at a young age, because the alternative was a more frightening prospect. These narratives therefore emerged as important acknowledgements of the role of race in the experiences of Black people, as described by CRT. Intergenerational narratives represent an important form of protection, but also rely on, and perpetuate, the significance of race to policing.

Chapter 9

Black in Britain: Morphostasis and Legacies of Over-Policing

The final two chapters draws on Margaret Archer's (2000) theory of the morphogenetic cycle to explore how race produces and reproduces the policing experiences of Black Britons. Race is a generative mechanism in the domain of the 'real' within a structure and culture of historical racialisation and criminalisation of groups seen as 'other'. Cultural narratives about policing are created and used of within Black communities to interpret policing experiences, drawn from direct and vicarious perceptions, expectations, and experiences of policing. As discussed in previous chapters, these narratives, emerging from longstanding experiences of racialised policing, may be more impactful than actual experiences in embedding perceptions of the police. This provides insight into how the empirical and the actual, which can be seen and observed, may more powerfully influence narratives than the unobservable 'real' (Bhaskar, 1978).

In this chapter, the ways in which cultural narratives about the police reflect and contribute towards morphostasis, or a lack of social progress, will be explored. The first section presents the analytical theoretical framework of Margaret Archer's social reproduction theories. Archer's (2000) concept of morphostasis provides an explanation for why structure and culture does not change. My critical realist critical race theoretical lens explores how racialisation and criminalisation reproduce themselves in a white hegemonic framework of racialised othering of groups depicted as risky and in need of social control. Racialised structure and culture produces the racialised policing experiences of participants, who respond through the development of cultural narratives about police racism. Through narratives that were frequently competing, participants sought to explain their perceptions of policing, both in response to interview questions, and to themselves. Their discourses provided insight into the empirical, actual, and 'real' of culturally transmitted information, perceptions, and narratives about the policing of Black communities (Bhaskar, 1978). This provides the framework for reproduction of structural and cultural conditions, or morphostasis, constraining social progress by reinforcing existing structural and cultural conditions (Archer, 2000) of structural racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Curry, 2008) in Britain.

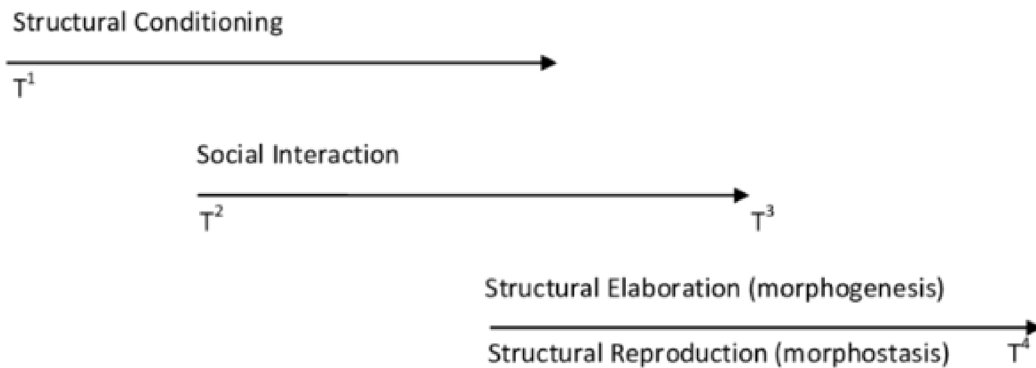
The second section analyses cultural narratives about policing to interpret and describe direct and vicarious policing experiences. The tropes presented here represent narratives that were widely used by participants: (i) '*Us and Them'*, or a lack of trust and confidence in the police; (ii) police-community relations as a mutually reinforcing '*Symbiotic Relationship'*; (iii) '*Whose Problem?*', or which Black Britons policing was perceived to affect the most; (iv) reflections on '*Institutional Racism'* in the police and British society; and (v) '*Things are Worse than Ever'*, or perception that racialised policing has become a bigger issue over time.

This chapter makes the argument that the intergenerational transmission of shared narratives may, directly or indirectly, reproduce some of the racialising structures and cultures through an entrenched hostility that places communities in opposition to the police. Whilst not all participants had direct experiences of policing, both direct and vicarious experiences create a collective experience or collective consciousness that Black Britons use to interpret policing experiences. These narratives, developed in response to long-term racialised policing, may inadvertently contribute to morphostasis, or the reproduction of existing structure and culture, by embedding negative attitudes about the police (Archer, 2000). However, these narratives also represent agential responses to decades of racialisation and criminalisation. Narrative tropes allowed participants to engage in shared narratives as part of a shared identity of Black Britons, with a vested interest in eradicating racialised policing. In doing so, they inhabit cultural identity of Black Britishness with a shared interest in reducing racialised over-policing. As will be discussed in this chapter and the next, this presents opportunities within the morphogenetic cycle as participants seek social progress.

9.1 Morphostasis and Morphogenesis

Archer's (2000) morphogenetic model describes processes of social change for agents and social structures. The concept of analytical dualism relies on the separability between structure and individual agency (ibid). As a concept, it allows for theoretical analysis of the interplay between structure and agency over periods of time, on the basis that structure pre-dates actions which transform it, and that structural elaboration follows actions (Archer, 1996). Structure, or the relationship between institutions, creates conditions for people without being determinative of social interactions. New social properties emerge from existing properties over time, with these properties having relative autonomy from one another and having independent causal influences.

Archer's morphogenetic cycle (2000) describes the process of transformation for structure and culture. The morphogenetic model construct provides a framework for analysis of the interaction between structure, or social and cultural life, and agency, or human action, and to analyse how race operates as a generative mechanism for the policing experiences of Black people (Archer, 1995:157):



Whilst Archer did not apply this specifically to racialisation of Black communities, it is a useful framework to understand and explain the effect of racialised policing on Black communities over time and how social change becomes possible under certain circumstances (see Chapter 10). The first stage in Archer's cycle is structural and cultural conditioning (T1), in which individuals acts appear. Legacies of racialisation and criminalisation producing the racialised policing of groups depicted as 'other' in Britain. Where social interactions result in the reproduction of existing structural and cultural conditions, morphostasis occurs: a lack of social progress has seen many Black Britons remain in the first stage of the morphogenetic cycle, experiencing policing as frequent and hostile across generations.

The second stage of the cycle social interaction, as individuals with shared interests and group identities attempt to achieve social change through the articulation of shared interests. Over time, this may lead to structural elaboration and modification, the change in relations between parts, or morphogenesis, or the eradication of racialised policing. Morphogenesis occurs when social groups transition from 'primary agents', or people whose lack of agency results in morphostasis, to 'corporate agents', or people with the necessary agency, structural and cultural power to bring about morphogenesis. Corporate agents may move existing structures forward, through the recognition of shared interests, and collectively acting on them.

Participants, as representatives of a racialised and criminalised community, seek social progress by overcoming racialised through a vested interest in transformation through overcoming racialised policing in the future. However, as discussed in previous chapters, Black people continue to experience racialised policing over generations. The evolution of the 'Black folk devil' over time, from the Black mugger to the Black gangster, to contemporary moral panics about drugs, county lines, and gangs. The reproduction of racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities constrains social progress and keeps many Black people at the level of primary agency, enduring racialised policing across generations. This embodies the central argument of my critical realist critical race theoretical approach, explaining and how the racialisation and criminalisation produces racialised policing over generations.

While social change may be suppressed for a period, it may eventually occur once of benefit to or in the interests of controlling social institutions (Archer, 2000). The morphogenetic model suggests that only through structural elaboration can Black Britons overcome the enduring racialisation and criminalisation reproducing racialised policing across generations. Archer's concept echoes with Bell's (1980) concept of interest convergence within CRT, that Black people may achieve racial progress only when their interests converge through the organised, collective articulation of shared interests (see Chapter 10). In this way, Black Britons may achieve social progress and become corporate agents that no longer endure racialised policing.

Participants' experiences of racialised policing over time have created various narratives that are widely-used to interpret and explain policing experiences. The intergenerational focus of this research allows for the observation of changes to cultures and structures across time resulting from the ideas, narratives, and choices of participants as historically-situated individuals. My critical realist critical race theory approach allows for exploration of competing narratives without having to reconcile the conflicting epistemological assumptions offered by participants. While the 'real' may not be observable, its effects were observable in empirical accounts of direct and vicarious policing experiences (Bhaskar, 1978). Participants' perceptions of their own realities emerged from pre-defined structural factors that they resided within, constrained, and facilitated by race, class, gender, age, immigration histories and the legacy of racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities. The narrative tropes discussed in the next section provide the language for conceptualising, and withstanding, racialisation, and criminalisation.

Archer (2010) stresses the importance of reflexivity or the exercise of mental ability by considering oneself in relation to social contexts. Within CRT, white patriarchal, colonialist power structures shape structural and cultural existences for racially minoritised groups, and Black Britons in particular. Through identification with a community having a shared interest in reducing over-policing of Black communities, participants sought corporate agency. Direct and vicarious policing experiences within communities located the policing of Black Britons within a specific historical legacy that drew on the experiences of previous generations of racialised, criminalised, and othered Black Britons:

> "Critical realists acknowledge the activity-dependence of pre-existing social structures… but they are the product of actions undertaken in the past, possibly by actors who have since perished, not in the present" (Lewis, 2000: 251).

Race emerged as the crucial generative mechanism in their explanations for policing experiences, drawing on a lineage of racialised inequalities experienced by Black British communities over time to explain the current landscape of policing and the experiences of Black communities in Britain more broadly. Inhabiting community and shared world of 'Black Britishness' allowed participants to make sense of the police and their relationship with the police through the development of cultural narratives. As will be seen, however, these narratives represented both agential responses and reinforced the fractious relationship between the police and Black communities. Narratives therefore operated to work towards social progress and entrench mutual hostility with the police at the same time.

9.2 Cultural Narratives

i. "Us and Them"

The critical realist concept of depth ontology enabled analysis of how the empirical produces negative responses to policing. Narratives about the identity, status, and belongingness of Black communities in Britain frequently arose in interviews as conceptual schemas to interpret direct and vicarious policing experiences within. Through recalling, interpreting, and explaining policing experiences, participants inhabited a shared identity as 'Black Britons', which allowed them to explain how race produces policing of Black

communities. However, the structural and cultural conditions they operated within affected the cultural repertoires available to them as they embodied different positionalities of Black Britishness.

Through the concept of "us and them", participants conveyed self-perceptions as members of a racialised, criminalised, and othered community. Racialised policing provided a conceptual framework to explain their experiences but was simply one form of the racialisation and criminalisation they experienced in their lives. Despite differences in gender, age, class, and immigration histories, the concept of 'us' allowed participants to experience a shared reality or imagined community that allowed them to interpret and explain the policing of Black Britons as racialised.

'Us' included me in several ways. Questions about intergenerational experiences of policing and my interview style likely co-produced interviews to at least some extent. Whilst I sought to maintain objectivity, participants' knowledge of my research focus inevitably influenced their responses. The concept of 'us' allowed participants to place me alongside them in an imagined community of Black Britons experiencing racialised othering from the police and in wider British society. This allowed participants to use short-hand narratives without detailed explanation. Allusions, metaphors, and jokes were used frequently by participants, on the assumption that I would understand them. On multiple occasions, I had to ask participants to elaborate after they replied, "*you know what I mean*" or "*you know how they are*".

Interacting from a positionality as a Black British researcher develop shared discursiveness in interviews, based on mutually understood conceptual frameworks and experiential histories. Some participants distanced their experiences from mine, on the assumption that I was not the 'type' of Black person to be stopped and searched (see below and next chapter). However, my identity seemed to encourage participants to feel we had a shared framework for understanding the policing of Black communities.

Inevitably, 'us' was linked to 'they / them', which referred both to the police and white British hegemonic structures and cultures that policing was felt to represent. Participants described a contentious dynamic with the police, frequently using terms like "*they*", "*them*" and "*those people",* without specifying who they were referring to. Tayo stated "*if they don't like a particular group, like how they don't like Blacks, we only have so much power to fight it*". Without specifying 'the police', Tayo positioned the police within a conceptual 'they' that asserts social control over Black people. This interpretation allowed

participants to interpret their policing experiences in accordance with pre-existing cultural schemas from perceptions of state racism and oppression of Black people.

The 'us and them' framework illustrated internalised perceptions of marginalisation and oppression, and how these restrict Black Britons within primary agency, or individuals who can "neither express interests nor organize for their strategic pursuit" (Archer, 2017: 25). Archer describes the 'relative passivity' of primary agents in relation to corporate agents, that restricts them from achieving social change. Primary agents may not be inherently passive but 'denied an effective say, using the use of non-decision-making keeps their concerns off the agenda' (Archer, 2000: 265). Enduring experiences of racialised policing entrenched narratives about Black Britons being in inherent opposition to the whiteness embodied by the British state (Curry, 2008).

Perceptions of belongingness in Britain, derived from shared community narratives and from racialised treatment from British institutions, mediated experiences of policing across research cohorts. For older participants and first-generation immigrants, the perception of being relatively 'new arrivals' without historical ties to Britain mediated expectations of treatment from the British state. Many did not consider themselves British, and saw racialised policing as a tolerable but unwanted part of the 'bargain': "*What do you expect? You're in their country"* (Tayo). This demonstrated the perception of conditional belonging among some immigrant participants, and internalised expectations that immigrant status was distinct from that of native white Britons. Tayo's use of "*their*" conveyed his perceived distance from Britishness and his expectation that being treated with less respect was an inevitable by-product of outsider status. Differences emerged in how participants from Caribbean and African backgrounds used "us and them". Drawing on cultural narratives about the historical treatment of Black immigrants allowed Tommy to characterise his personal experiences of marginalisation within a legacy of mistreatment of Caribbean communities from 'Windrush migrants' to today:

> *"We came here, did all the crap jobs they didn't want to do, sweeping roads and cleaning toilets and all. And they still treated us like crap. The only home I know is here. I've always worked, I've got no criminal record, we're church-people. Why should they tell me I'm not British?*" Tommy

Through the concept of 'them', Caribbean participants conceptualised their policing experiences as indicative of their status in Britain, or the treatment that they were entitled to

receive from state institutions from their place in British society. Tayo felt that the over-policing of Black communities across decades showed "*no matter what you do, you're still a Black man*", demonstrating internalised perceptions of the racialised inequalities that Black people experience.

These narratives also conveyed the relationship between self-identity and treatment from the police. Caribbean participants, many of whom were multi-generational in Britain, saw themselves as British in a way that some participants from African countries, some of whom were first generation immigrants, did not. Having the conceptual framework of suggested that perceptions of identity and ensuing expectations of treatment from the state affected perceptions of the police. The treatment of Windrush migrants provided evidence of the othering of Black communities across generations:

> *"When the Windrush generation moved here, the UK population weren't told why all these people were coming here, all they saw was all these Black and brown faces suddenly appearing within their communities and in large part within poorer communities, poor white communities, in the Metropole. So, there was this antagonism, because there wasn't an understanding of why these people were here in the first place."* Mel

The long history of racialised policing of Caribbean communities in Bordertown contributed to these narratives. Tommy recalled immigration police frequently stopping elderly family members and requiring them to prove their immigration status: "*you couldn't leave the house without the police stopping you and asking you to explain yourself*". Narratives employed by Caribbean participants drew directly from cultural lineages of heavy policing of neighbourhoods, and wider reflections of the place of British-Caribbean communities. The historical experiences of Caribbean communities were inextricable from contemporary narratives. At one point, the 'Windrush generation' may have represented a new form of Britishness for participants of Caribbean descent. However, in 2012, the 'hostile environment' in then-Home Secretary Theresa May's immigration policy was seen as an explicit rejection to some participants:

> *"They always think we have another country to go back to. 'This is their country, and they can do whatever they want'. But people were invited to this country. During Windrush, they couldn't rent a place. They'd rather rent the place to a dog than a human being in those days. They were asked to come here and do a job. That's why*

you see them in the NHS or driving a bus or working on the underground because they needed all those key workers. And of course, they had families." Tayo

This statement reflected how the historical legacy of the 'hostile environment' towards Caribbean immigrants also provided the framework for non-Caribbean participants like Tayo's narratives about how Black people have historically been treated in Britain. The Windrush scandal was interpreted as a contemporary example of the ongoing experience of racialised othering and indications of unbelonging to Black immigrants of all nationalities. The experiences of Windrush migrants provided the template for Black immigrants who had arrived in Britain later for how they could expect to be treated as a community by the British state:

> *"The way most Windrush people were treated, some that have lived in this country for over 50 years…they are now deporting them back to West Indies. How do you want those people to feel? That's why you have Black people thinking there's no sense of belonging in this country. Some are moving out."* Tayo

Participants from African backgrounds vicariously experienced the treatment of Caribbean migrants as indicative of the treatment of Black communities, identifying commonalities in the experiences of Caribbean and African immigrants over the years. This conveyed how race can produce real effects in the lives of people that are reproduced through and across generations (Bell, 1992), whether directly or vicariously experienced. Telv asserted "*you see the evidence of it in Britain's society and actually throughout the world. People with dark skin are always second-class citizens*".

In describing negative policing experiences of community elders, participants located themselves within an ongoing relationship of hostility and racialised mistreatment. Experiences of other Black people and information from media, social media, and other sources, were perceived evidence of ongoing structural racism against Black people, entrenching perceptions of non-belonging in British white hegemonic institutions. This reinforces the significance of narratives in how policing experiences are interpreted, and how the empirical may be more influential than actual events. Narratives of 'us and them' allowed participants to explain the policing experiences of Black people to themselves as inherently racialised and othering. This was also a coping mechanism for participants enduring over-

policing and presented an agential response to feelings of racism and marginalisation through collective identification within a community and history of Black Britishness.

ii. Symbiotic Relationship

The data illustrated a relational and often combative dynamic between the police and Black communities. The concept of emergence underpins the ontological claim that social structures, whilst being the product of individuals, have their own causal properties that are irreducible to the powers of those individuals (Elder-Vass, 2007). Through a highly symbolic and almost ritualised relationship, police and Black Britons represent social agents engaged in processes of action and reaction over periods of time. The dynamic between the police and Black Britons therefore provides valuable insight into how race reproduces over generations.

Participants' experiences conveyed circularities in social progress for Black Britons as a political community. Racialised policing was the result of the structural positioning of participants as racialised and criminalised outsiders (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Simultaneously, experiences of over-policing reinforced diminished social status from the perspectives of participants themselves, who drew on narratives of social control and state authority in narratives about the police. Moses felt that the police seek to antagonise Black people due to their fears losing control of power dynamics: "*they know they're in that position of power and they want to get the upper hand 'cos they've got that fear of Black people"*. Historical experiences, alongside knowledge of the racially disproportionate policing of young Black people today, conveyed to older participants that over-policing of Black communities is an entrenched problem enduring across life spans.

Several young male participants felt that the police try to assert authority as a symbolic reminder of their relative powerlessness: "*they want us to know they have the upper hand"* (Arsene). Arsene's quote embodied the perception among some young people that they were in a combative relationship between the police in. Negotiations of authority and respect frequently arise in police interactions with Black men in 'contests of face' over who controls the streets at the moment of the interaction (Peterson, 2008). Dean felt that the police stopped and searched him "*simply 'cos they knew they could*". In his opinion, officers had enjoyed questioning him in public, aware of the potential stigma for Black people for being seen talking to the police or 'snitching': "*they try to ostracise you from the people you call friends"*. He felt that the police sought to embarrass Black teenagers:

> *"So, section 60 or whatever. It's like, 'we're gonna stop you and line you up against the wall and can ask you to if you've got anything and make you empty your fucking pockets shamelessly in front of everybody', and it's just embarrassing. They talk down to you when they speak to you, like 'oh it's you guys again', you know, they learned your name. and they'll call you by name as well, because they think it's funny when they stop you and they search you in the street and everyone sees."* (Dean)

Moses agreed describing the situation as "*both sides are at war and won't back down*" due to the deeply-entrenched nature of hostility between the police and young Black Britons. The hostility of this dynamic was identified by participants as contributing to negative police interactions, and some young males had been arrested for public order offences following a stop and search. Eddie and his brother Rafe had been stopped and searched and had both been arrested. In Eddie's view, they had been arrested simply because "*we didn't just let them talk shit to us".* The arrest provided the brothers with 'evidence' that the police target and mistreat Black people, which itself reinforced the hostility of the dynamic.

Similarly, Chris stated "*what do they expect? They can't just fuck us about and think we'll just lie down. Obviously, we're gonna give it back to them*". Resentment towards the police was a common response to perceptions of targeting and harassment. This led to anger from participants who feel powerless in the face of police authority, particularly those who had experienced stop and search frequently. These accounts from young male participants demonstrated how interactional discrimination (Reiner, 2010) can exacerbate negative outcomes of policing experiences. Entrenched mistrust and anger towards the police made mutual hostility almost a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Many older participants were critical of both the police and members of their own community for causing heavy policing. Ruff Diamond criticised young people, arguing that "*some of them are too responsive and too quick to fire back at*" the police. In his community work, he had observed police interactions "*escalate needlessly*" due to young people's perceptions of persecution. However, he also felt that the police often exacerbated hostilities "*because they don't want to lose face*". Ruff Diamond drew a link between the police response to Black protests in the 1980s and the 2011 Tottenham riots as showing "*how they use the same tactics*" to quell protests across generations. This embodied the symbiotic relationship of action and reaction for two groups that operate relationally. Ruff Diamond's

observation of the similarities between incidents decades apart conveyed the lineage of historical over-policing in how participants interpreted contemporary policing.

Drug crime and knife crime were identified as the current causes of crime and violence in the borough, which participants saw as severe. Bev described "*the youth today*" as "*a new breed*", while Moses stated:

> "*there's something about the kids today, they're different. They're vicious. Some of them have gone down that road of mixing with the wrong people, they're protecting themselves with hidden knives or some sort of weapon. And that might not only be knives, could be a cosh. That phase between 13 to 15, 16…the quickest thing for him to get as a weapon is a knife".*

Comparisons between the policing of Black communities then and now allowed older participants to contextualise policing as a symbiotic relationship with Black youth culture, perceived to be worse than ever. These discourses reflected perceptions among older participants that young people are more criminal and violent than previous generations, despite levels of violence currently being lower than in the mid-1990s (ONS Data, Crime Survey, England and Wales, 2021). However, it also acknowledged internalised knowledge about how drugs, violence, and gangs provide the justification for heavy policing of high crime neighbourhoods like Bordertown. This narrative allowed older participants to express frustration at how the next generation is contributing to the reproduction of racialised policing by through criminality and hostility towards the police.

In contrast, most young participants saw themselves as responding to the reality of racialised policing, rather than creating the conditions for it themselves. Many younger participants felt that the lack of trust towards the police within Black communities was so deeply entrenched that "*there's no way for things to get better*" (Eddie). Sade related this to the relative lack of agency held by Black communities within white hegemonic structure and culture: "*we aren't the ones that have the power to stop it, it has to come from them".* This conveyed a belief that the police, as political agents with power to control the actions of other agents, are ultimately responsible for constraining potential corporate agency for Black British communities (Archer, 2000). Consequently, responsibility for improving the relationship with Black communities was felt to lie with the police alone.

The data showed that racialised policing and participants' perceptions of the police as a racist institution create the cultural and social context that sustains hostile relations between

the police and Black communities. The relationship between the police and participants represented a "figuration which binds together two or more states [or elements within states] to each other in such a way that each of them constitutes, actually or potentially, a danger for the others, and that none of them is capable of removing or controlling that danger" (Elias, 2007:148). This traps both the police and participants in a 'double-bind' (ibid), each representing political actors within a pre-defined set of historical and social circumstances of racialisation and criminalisation. In effect, the contentious relationship between the police and Black communities traps, and will continue to trap, both parties in morphostasis, until social progress can be achieved (Archer, 2000) (see next chapter).

iii. Whose Problem?

Female participants occupied an interesting position in the research, as many had never been stopped and searched, but still had strong and overwhelmingly negative perceptions of the police. In identifying race as a causal mechanism in the over-policing of Black communities, female participants mostly drew on narratives about the policing experiences of Black males in meaning-making. This conveyed the conceptualisation of policing as a male problem, echoing narratives from male participants and the epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007) discussed in previous chapters.

As participants used narratives to interpret experiences, the dearth of conceptualisation of female policing experiences influenced how women and girls interpreted policing, including their own experiences. Young female participants, in describing the police, adopted some of the cultural narratives used by male participants who had experienced frequent policing. This gave them language to describe their feelings, interpreted through the experiences of Black males. It also provided a framework for Black females as a political group to engage in discourses about the police and conceptualise their goals of reducing racialised policing of Black communities, or agents acting to improve the lives of Black communities.

These conceptual differences distinguished older female participants from younger, as the latter was more influenced by vicarious experiences of peers, but also media and social media which strengthened vicarious experiences. Younger female participants developed negative perceptions of the police from adolescence that they carried throughout their lives. Knowledge of the discrimination faced by Black British communities entrenched pre-existing beliefs about racism and discriminatory treatment. For some female participants however, the

vicarious experience of policing was not limited to male experiences. The death of Sandra Bland, an African-American woman who died in police custody, was discussed by several female participants but, strikingly, by none of the males. This was indicative of the way that Black women's experiences of police violence are given less attention in discourses about racialised policing within Black communities, conveying how epistemic injustice frames conceptual schemas about the 'policing problem'.

Some female participants were unaware that Black females are disproportionately policed compared to white women, but all were aware of the disproportionalities experienced by Black males. The lack of cultural narratives exploring the police of Black women and girls gave female participants little room to explore their feelings around policing. Viola had been pulled over while driving several times but saw racialised over-policing as "*generally a male issue".* Similarly, Alicia expressed her ultimate wish that "*the police stop targeting Black boys*". Their policing experiences were often disregarded or an afterthought, even among those women and girls who had negative experiences.

Older female participants described their fears about their sons and other Black male adolescents being stopped and searched or assaulted by the police, but not their daughters. Cara said she had "*always been worried about the what the police might do*" to her son. Fears about the policing of children were a framework for mothers to interpret their own feelings towards the police, but crucially this relied on vicarious experiences rather than their own. In this way, older female participants internalised narratives about policing of Black males and sought to reduce the harms of policing on their behalf. This allowed mothers and community elders to exercise agency and seek to manage the harms of racialised policing. However, cultural narratives also contributed to the reproduction of notions of Black males as a police target.

Middle-class female participants were also less likely than working-class female participants to see themselves as police targets of the police. For some, this conveyed an experiential remove from other Black Britons. They expressed complex feelings about the policing of Black communities, conveying both frustration at the experiences of people conceived as inhabiting a separate identity to them, and relief this was not also their experience. Female participants who had never experienced policing discussed their perceptions of the policing of other Black people on the basis that "*it could easily be me*" (Porsha). Porsha perceived that, but for her class and gender, she too would experience the same policing as other Black Britons. This quote embodied the perception that race is a generative mechanism in the policing experiences of Black communities that is precluded by

gender, class, and other characteristics. Essentially, racialised policing was the norm, and the fact they did not experience it was the exception to the rule.

Older African participants effectively distanced themselves from issues surrounding race and policing by characterising racialised policing as a problem experienced by British Caribbean communities. **Phillip** (57, Sierra-Leonian Male) stated: "*it's not so much we Africans, it's more something that targets Caribbean communities*". Similarly, Richard described his youthful policing experiences as the result of the police '*wrongly*' failing to differentiate between immigrant Nigerian students and British-born Caribbeans: "*they couldn't tell the difference between us".* Their perceptions mirrored depictions of Black Caribbean families in hegemonic discourse as pathological and dysfunctional by the British state (Gilroy, 1987). Narratives about law-abiding conduct and respectability represented a shield against racism for these parents, who saw racialised policing as the inevitable result of their absence.

At times, the discussions reflected tensions between African and Caribbean communities. Older African immigrant participants drawing distinctions between British Africans and British Caribbeans, based on perceptions of educational achievement, law-abiding behaviours, and lack of cultural roots (Owusu-Kwarteng, 2017). This reflected Anderson's (1999) distinction between 'decent' and 'street families' and how this created distinct identities for marginalised groups. This distancing narrative allowed older immigrant participants from African countries to assert a distinct identity from historically policed Black Britons. Whilst troubled by it, some first-generation African immigrant participants saw racialised policing as an issue not facing them or their families and held less overtly negative perceptions of the police as a result. They felt more impacted by issues in policing in countries of origin than in Britain, particularly as many had migrated to Britain as adults. They were also less aware of policing of young Black Britons due to less use of internet social networks where young people share information about policing. These dynamics illustrated the significance of identification with a social group in mediating experiences of policing and how these vary across generations.

Other narratives demonstrated perceptions the perceived relationship between structural hierarchies and 'who gets stopped and searched'. D'Angelo described having the Talk with his younger brother:

> *"I just say, do as you're requested because there's always in the back of my head, Bisi, that I could be stopped and searched no matter who I am. I always tell him, if*

police approach you, just give them your name and give them your address, if they've got reason to stop you. Let them do the checks, because you're clean. And don't be rude and don't try and shrug your shoulders or say anything rude. The one thing you don't want to do is you don't want to make the wrong move, if they've got a taser, they might just taser you".

D'Angelo's advice touched on knowledge of rights, trust in procedural justice, deference to authority, and respectability. It demonstrated an internalised acknowledgement of the police as an embodiment of hegemonic structural power (Curry, 2008; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Male participants felt that the police would "*violate us*" (Dean) unless steps were taken to defend against them. D'Angelo's statement that he could be "*stopped and searched, no matter who I am*" illustrated a perception that certain Black people are more subject to policing than others. The theme of the 'type' of Black person to be stopped and searched would arise throughout the research and demonstrated internalised perceptions of the police as threatening to Black people with lower structural and socioeconomic status. Conflicting narratives about police-community dynamics conveyed how racialised discourses can be internalised and reproduced, even by the communities that they describe, contributing to morphostasis through creating divisions that impede interest convergence (see next chapter).

iv. Institutional Racism

The historical legacy of over-policing, under-protection and racialised othering experienced by participants provide the framework for both their policing experiences, and those of other Black communities across Britain. The term 'institutional racism' was used frequently by participants and often unprompted, indicating its conceptual significance. Telv said the concept was "*a real game changer in how we discussed things*" (Telv). On a personal level, participants were greatly affected by Lawrence's murder. Even for participants who did not ascribe their policing experiences to racism, institutional racism provided a helpful narrative to explain the intergenerational policing of Black communities and to discuss the place of Black people in British society. This demonstrated the significance and permanence of race as described by CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) and the real effect it has on the lives of Black communities (Bell, 1992).

More than any other specific incident, Lawrence's murder conveyed to participants that they could not rely on the police to protect them should the worst occur. Those who were

adults at the time remembered "*terror that it might happen to my son too"* (Ben). Several participants that were children at the time recalled it as the first time they remember feeling afraid to walk in the streets as Black people: "*I remember thinking, is that gonna happen to me too?"* (Buki). This demonstrated the effect of vicarious experiences within communities, who do not expect the police to present a protective force, assist them in the aftermath of crime or exercise procedural justice. For young participants, the vicarious experience of it created fears and a lack of trust in the police carried throughout their lives:

> *"As Black children, we are told that police are here to keep us safe, and yet, that's not our experience. Black children grow up and become Black adults who are reckoning with the fact that sometimes, when violence happens, there will be no healing possible, no accountability, no recognition. And there's not really anything that can be done about that."* Sara

This lack of trust and confidence in the police was the enduring legacy of Lawrence's murder, and participants displayed strong recollections that indicated its significance for Black Britons. CRT acknowledges the existence and permanence of racism in systems, culture, and institutions (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Narratives about institutional racism in the police pre-dated the Macpherson Report (1999) for many older participants, drawn from decades of racialised policing of Black communities. Commenting on whether policing remains institutionally racist, Ruff Diamond stated "*it's just always one step forward, two steps back*". Locating policing experiences within the framework of institutional racism was helpful for participants, especially those with violent, traumatic, and frequent policing experiences. It presented a symbolic conceptual schema for describing various forms of structural inequalities experienced by Black people.

Some participants felt strongly that policing remains institutionally racist. Eddie argued "*racial profiling is the system. The way it works. How else are you gonna differentiate between a perpetrator and a victim in any situation as a police officer? It's Black skin that differentiates you"*. This reflected the view of many younger participants, most of whom felt that their policing experiences were due to institutionally racist practices within policing. Asked whether police racism was individual or institutional, Lekan responded:

> "*Clearly both. Institutional racism in that they don't bother to tackle it because it doesn't affect them and individual racism because they're literally racist. There's*

> *hundreds and thousands of recordings of police officers saying racist things, doing racist things, writing people off, beating up children. It's obvious. You'd have to go out of your way to not see it*".

Describing recordings of stops and searches circulated online, Lekan's exaggeration of '*hundreds and thousands of recordings'* conveyed his perception that there was ample evidence that the police is institutionally racist towards Black people. This demonstrated again how perceptions may be more powerful than reality for participants operating within conceptual schemas containing negative ideas about the police, whilst also strengthening identification with Black Britishness in an ongoing struggle to overcome racialised policing.

Older participants described historical experiences of discrimination against a backdrop of Thatcherism, nationalism, 'Powellism', and fascist groups such as the National Front and the British Movement. Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech was described as "*9/11 for Black people*" (Martin). Tommy recalled attacks from the skinhead groups, smashed windows, racist graffiti stating, "niggers go home". He drew a distinction between these overt forms of racism and "insidious" forms of racism that emerged structurally in institutions such as the police. Participants characterised over-policing as a form of contemporary racism that has been "*permanently baked in*" (Alicia) to British society. Her father Richard, describing the murder of George Floyd, positioned institutional racism practiced by the British state alongside legacies of subjugation and dehumanisation of Black people, as he saw it, across generations: "*We've had many years [of it]. I mean, look at the horrible things that we've seen, you know, what was the difference between what was happening then and what's happening now?"* D'Angelo felt that racist policing reflected pervasive anti-Blackness within British society:

> *"They're at home and they'll sit with their families, and they'll be like 'Black this, Black that', whatever. and then when they get to the station, they just get a badge, and they get a shirt- they're still the same person. It doesn't matter what code of conduct what training they've been through, and they are still that same person".*

D'Angelo's view embodied his perception that racism was "*human nature*" and police officers, unlike other members of society, simply had legal authority act on their racisms. He conceptualised much of the racism experienced by ethnic minorities in Britain as "*covert racism*", which made it harder to navigate than "*if it was on the surface*". These narratives located police racism within wider societal racisms, with policing seen as the interlocutor of

racist ideas prevalent throughout the British state: *"[the police] are just doing what they're* ***supposed*** *to do. It's literally what they're for*" (D'Angelo). For participants, overcoming racialised policing was merely one aspect of ongoing sites of racial conflict between Black communities and hegemonic structural racism.

Similarly, Jamal characterised his policing experiences as simply one example of racialisation that he had experienced throughout his life. He recalled not being allowed into clubs with his white friends, and older white people crossing the road when they encountered him at night. Framing policing experiences in this way allowed Jamal to make sense of and provide meaning to interactions that might otherwise have been confusing or inexplicable, or explained with reference to other factors such as class or gender. Lucas also emphasised his perceptions of widespread racism in British society:

> *"The majority of people in this country are racist, because that's how the system is built. Racism was one of the founding logics of which our society was built on. And the legacy of that it can still be seen today. Politicians speak in that coded language, people know the dog whistle, they know the code, they know that they are being spoken to directly. That sort of rhetoric is directed at a certain group of people*".

The belief that British racism is deeply embedded but hidden created the framework for Lucas and other participants who held this belief to understand and explain their policing experiences: *"The UK sees itself as being this place of tolerance and acceptance. But then when you start digging beneath the surface, there are a whole lot of, oh my gosh, all sorts of racist and sexist scenarios"* (Julie). The transition towards a right-wing political and economic landscape was considered a reflection of anti-immigrant and racist sentiment among white British populations. 'Brexit' represented a clear indication to many participants that they did not entirely belong in Britain.

> "*If you take the temperature of the of the nation, they're all obsessed with immigration and illegal immigrants, and government constantly saying, 'we've delivered the will of the people'. Priti Patel constantly gets analytics from Twitter and takes samples of the majority. And they use that to make political decisions. It is just a band aid to keep everybody happy.*" Lucas

> *"We've got a Home Secretary [Priti Patel] that we before said, you know, Black Lives Matters was dreadful, you know, footballers taking the knee was dreadful. They're not reforming. they want to give the police more power. Stop protests, give them more powers."* Martin

These narratives embodied the significance of race as greater than a social construct and with tangible effects on the lives of participants and Black communities, perhaps more strongly influencing narratives about the police in Black communities than actual experiences.

However, not all participants believed that institutional racism existed. Some identified 'bad apples' in the police as the cause of disproportionate policing of Black people: "*I do believe it's not all of them. Some of them, and I know some of them, are highly dedicated and treat people fairly. We hear more about bad police officers, naturally"* (Ben). This viewpoint reflected the findings of the Scarman Report (1981), attributing issues to the actions of individual officers. Maahir felt that over-policing was the result of the professional culture of policing attracting "*alphas and others of that authoritarian type*". He saw instances of police violence against ethnic minorities as due to "*some officers being on a power trip and [who] like having power and authority over people, which a uniform gives them".* The dangers of policing alongside expansive state powers may result in "*them becoming defensive*" leading to "*overzealous targeting of people. Just because if you're wearing a uniform, you can stop and search anyone, at any time, for any reason".*

Fola, a high-ranking police officer, felt that the reason for racial disproportionalities in policing was partly '*racist elements within policing that targeted Black people",* but that this was "*only part of the picture*". He argued that crime, and social deprivation in urban areas with more diverse populations tend to be more heavily policed:

> *"You would expect that to be the case because you allocate police resources to where there's the greatest need. And no one would have an argument with that. My thing is, we need to be asking 'is more policing the solution in those cases?' And I tend to believe that more policing is not the solution to more crime in all cases."*

In his opinion, targeting resources to high crime neighbourhoods was "*good policing practice"* but he also felt there are better ways of tackling crime without over-policing Black communities, including community engagement and providing social support to young people at risk of crime. He stressed that "*racist elements*" were present in most British

institutions, not just the police. This characterised institutional racism as a British problem, rather than just a policing problem, the solution to which lay beyond policing and in significant structural change.

Julie, also a police officer, was more critical, drawing on her own experiences of racism within the police to frame the policing of others. Her insight into operational policing, alongside lived experience as a Black woman, gave her a unique insight into institutional racism in MPS, including being passed over for promotions in favour of white colleagues and instances of racist treatment colleagues. Julie emphasised the link between race and Black experiences more strongly than Fola. She felt institutional racism is still widespread throughout British policing, despite "*lip-service*" from high-ranking police officers. Julie suggested that institutional racism in the police is representative of institutional racism in Britain but that this did not preclude the responsibility she felt the police owed to communities.

Some participants believed that, rather than institutional or individual racism, institutional problems within policing itself were the reason for racialised disproportionalities:

> "*There might be the problem of the structure itself. They put pressure on [the police]. Sometimes they give tickets that are not supposed to give. They have to say okay, well, this year, this is how many arrests, how many stop and search I've had. Not because the crime rate is increased in certain area, because they believe they have to meet those numbers. The structure started that kind of style, it's difficult to stop. The police are victims of the same system.*" Felix

Felix's comments reflected a widespread narrative that the system of policing was broken. Through this concept, participants explored ideas about institutional problems beyond individual police officers and even the police itself. Racialised policing disproportionalities were explained by incompetent government, bureaucracy, and austerity measures. Maahir felt that "*there are quite a lot of people there who are genuinely trying to contribute something back to the community and, and the good people trying to do a job. That's hard.*".

Through these narratives, participants went further than condemning the police, towards considering how structural inequalities create the conditions for racialised policing. On this view, the police respond to structural conditions beyond their control, resulting in the over-policing of Black communities. Engaging in these discourses allowed participants to move

beyond explanations of individual biases to identifying racism as the key generative mechanism in the policing of Black communities, existing beyond the reach of police power and located in wider racialising structures and cultures in the hegemonic British state.

v. "Things are Worse than Ever"

Participants expressed frustration about the slow rate of progress since the 1980s, whilst acknowledging that there had been some movement. Narratives comparing policing between then and now embodied how morphogenesis proceeds in fits and starts, and often incrementally. Some older participants expressed optimism about progress in the past few decades. Reflecting on historical police harassment, brutality, evidence-tampering, and intimidation in the past, participants across age brackets considered the policing of Black communities to be vastly improved: "*Back then you were quite, almost, thankful to get away with just being 'a little bit mistreated'. Not having a conviction or something…which is terrible in itself"* (Ben). This conveyed Ben's awareness of changes in the policing of Black communities, and he used comparative frameworks to explain the changing structural and cultural position of Black Britons. Julie felt there was more transparency and accountability in policing than previously: "*being held to account for our actions and what we do, which hasn't always been the case, through the years. And people have been like, the Lawrences, for instance, fighting. So, I think that has got better".*

Others were less optimistic: "*they're just more covert about it. And the thing is when you look beyond all the talk, what's actually improved*?" (D'Angelo). Older participants expressed frustration about how little things had changed: "*it gets frustrating because it never really seems to get anywhere. But you just have to, you know, keep pushing"* (Tommy). Holly said "*the immigration stuff isn't as frequent, true, though it still happens. But the policing stuff…has it actually improved that much? I don't know*". They were criticised discourses surrounding race and policing as having little tangible benefit on the lives of Black Britons. The increased focus on diversity in the post-Macpherson period was felt to represent symbolic change (Ahmed, 2012), effectively rendering racism invisible in policing discourses, whilst racialised policing of Black communities endured. This was an example of the interest convergence described within CRT and how superficial changes in structure and culture are eroded by subsequent events, returning to the racialised status quo (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

A lifetime of direct and vicarious racialised policing had thwarted the hopes of social progress of many older participants. Drawing on knowledge of the policing experiences of children and grandchildren, they expressed frustration that young people were having similar experiences to them and feared that this would continue to affect future generations indefinitely: "*we go round and round and never really seem to get past asking whether the police have a race problem*" (Telv). Holly asserted "*all Cressida Dick can do is say it doesn't exist and repeat over and over again. And it's like, how many years are we gonna have the same debates?"*

Participants criticised solutions to contemporary crime issues, such as drug and knife crime, as reinforcing the over-policing of Black communities. Martin said, "*more stop and search only leads to more Black kids being pulled into the criminal justice system".* Participants described changes in police policy, such as increased stop and search, special measures in response to knife crime and the Beating Crime Plan 2021: "*it's always just, more police on the street, more police on the street. Where is the effort to actually tackle root causes*?" (Dean). Similarly, Cara stated "*the only solution they ever come up with is 'more police, more police'. When has more police ever helped?"* These narratives conveyed the perception among some participants that changes in policing practices, rather than achieving social progress, reproduce existing racialised inequalities and the over-policing of Black communities.

Reflecting on his own adolescent policing experiences and those of the young people he mentors, Moses felt that the relationship between the police and Black communities was currently '*worse than ever'.* Similarly, Ruff Diamond, a community leader in Bordertown and Moses' colleague in several community and anti-violence projects, felt that trust and confidence in the police among young people is currently at an "*all-time low*". Older participants vicariously experienced policing through storytelling from the young people in their families or in community work, which both allowed them to re-contextualise their historical policing experiences and suggest that little progress had been achieved. They identified the repetition of similar discourses across generations as indicative of the lack of progress in reducing racialised over-policing. This resulted in empirical community narratives that 'things are worse than ever' that did not necessarily reflect, for example, fluctuations in the use of stop and search or increased police accountability from prosecutions of police officers. However, using narratives that "nothing had changed" or "things are worse than ever" allowed them to locate contemporary policing within a historical legacy of over-policing and under-protection of Black communities.

For older participants, narratives about the police being “worse than over” often overlapped with narratives about Black youths. Key worker participants reflected on rising youth violence, county lines and gang activity, which they linked austerity measures and from the Conservative government in the last decade and costs of living crises more recently. Here, participants positioned neighbourhood safety, crime policing alongside diminished structural conditions for community members.

Several older participants wanted to see an increase in stop and search as it was deemed the most effective method of tackling knife crime. This mirrored police practices that are increasingly focusing on targeting serious violence, such as the Beating Crime Plan 2021, using data that finds that serious violence disproportionately involves young Black people, particularly in London. This was an example of community narratives and operational policing overlapping. For older participants however, their concern remained young people in their community, and they did not express admiration for the police for responding to the problem, but rather criticised them for not doing enough.

The data suggested that even where there had been changes in policing, such as in the post-Macpherson era, or following BUSSS, this had been overshadowed by persisting cultural narratives in Black communities. That perceptions and narratives used by Black Britons to explain policing remained similar across periods of time. Given the unknowable nature of the ‘real’, it may be less causally powerful in creating narratives than empirical evidence. Participants, particularly younger ones, interpreted policing experiences as inherently racialised. In the absence of direct racist language, it was difficult to know the underlying mechanism producing experiences. In effect, narratives about police racism filled the gap for many young participants and provided a framework for understanding policing experiences.

Many participants described feeling hopeful at points in time about changes to the over-policing and under-protection of Black people, from increased discourse around it. Moses stated, “*I think we all hoped things would get better after Stephen Lawrence, but they didn’t really*”. Martin stated “*nothing actually changed, so it just feels like lost hope. You feel naïve for believing it*”. Asked whether he felt policing had changed in his lifetime, Richard drew comparisons between how commonplace ‘sus’ stops were for he and his friends and stops and searches now. He recalled feeling unwilling to leave the house for fear of being “*bothered*” by the police, saying “*hopefully young boys don’t feel like that anymore*”. He explained that, at the time, he felt this was unavoidable aspect of living in Britain as an immigrant. Now, he

re-evaluated these historical experiences from the framework of contemporary Black Britishness: "*I actually feel angrier now than I did back then, which is interesting*".

Narratives of this kind were indicative of changing worldviews of participants who had been dealing with and interpreting the policing of Black communities for decades. Now, they were able to re-interpret historical events through conceptual frameworks that developed in ensuing years that were more powerful than the experience itself. For many of them, the structural and cultural inequalities producing racialised policing were so deeply entrenched, it was difficult to see how change could be possible. While older participants held a certain tolerance for racialised mistreatment, the belief that racialised policing was "*a small price to pay*" (Tayo) in exchange for the right to live in Britain relied on the hope that future generations would not have the same racialised experiences. To some, this indicated that "*maybe the struggle wasn't worth it after all"* (Holly).

Considering changes in policing over time, some participants drew on conceptual frameworks of positive forms of policing in the past, and how contemporary issues were the result of a reduction in community policing. The '*friendly local bobby'* emerged as a useful concept for these participants to explain how policing had deteriorated over the years. Bev described her mother's friendly relationship with a police officer that was well known and well-liked in the neighbourhood. Bev had no direct interactions with the police during this time and consequently drew on narratives transmitted intergenerationally that endured to this day. This was an example of how intergenerational transmission of views of the police may be more influential than other sources of knowledge.

The 'friendly local bobby' narrative showed gendered differences in perceptions of the police for female participants who had no direct experiences of policing. In contrast, male participants of a similar age were more likely to have experienced policing in their youth, creating negative perceptions of the police that they carried with them through life. This highlighted the importance of early perceptions of the police, conveying how perceptions, once created, are not easily changed:

> *"You always hear [older people] say how you'd see the police walking the streets, as they say 'walking the beat'- you never see that anymore. People want that. You'd walk down the street and see them walking. I either see them in cars, or on their horse. And who are they catching on a horse?"* D'Angelo

These comments drew on historical narratives about forms of policing that had not been directly experienced by these younger participants. Conceptually, they conveyed a perception among participants that modern forms of policing are not fit for purpose. D'Angelo wanted to see a return to:

> *"Old school policing, just with a modern-day approach. That is, an inclusive approach. Not that not that racist approach that he probably used to have when he used to just probably go into white businesses like butchers and stuff, they should go into the ethnic minority owned shops like the Caribbean food shops and the Turkish shops, make sure they are right as well. That's what they should be striving for.*

D'Angelo envisioned new forms of policing that would protect racialised and othered groups. Here, he also drew on narratives about the 'good old days' but applied them to contemporary social issues to convey what he considered ideal policing.

In contrast, Jamal disagreed with narratives that policing had deteriorated over the years: "*You always hear old people say,' local police blah blah blah, in my day, how they used to clip the kids around the ear' and all that. I don't know if that ever existed. As long as I've been around, it's not been like that and there hasn't been any trust".* Lucas also disagreed with narratives the effect of reduced community policing: "*they've always been bad. My personal opinion is now that it hasn't changed in in decades, really hasn't".* He felt that discourses surrounding policing denied the reality that "*they've always just wanted to brutalise us".* Eddie expressed the feeling of many participants who had directly and vicariously experienced incidents of police violence over the years, stating "*it just showed us not a fucking thing had changed".* This demonstrated the lack of optimism among many younger participants that the policing of Black people would change in their lifetime and that morphostasis would endure until real structural and cultural change replaced the racialising and criminalising frameworks producing racialised policing across generations (Archer, 2000)..

9.3 Conclusion

The data demonstrated that the empirical is extremely powerful in creating interpretations of policing. Conflicting narratives both constrained and empowered participants within the morphogenetic cycle, reproducing racialised hierarchies and articulating responses to the

practical effects of discursive hierarchies. As participants could not know whether their policing interactions were racialised or not, narratives provided conceptual schemas for understanding and interpreting experiences. Drawing on longstanding narratives about police racism provided validation for participants by positioning their own experiences within an intergenerational legacy of racialisation and criminalisation.

Participants used various narratives to tell their own story in a manner that suited their viewpoints, needs, and interests. Through these narratives, participants interpreted direct and vicarious policing experiences in conflicting ways whilst positioning themselves as Black Britons within a shared lived experience. Competing narratives indicated how multiple interpretations exist within the same set of structural conditions. The ontological reality of policing, drawn from both direct and vicarious experiences, provided empirical data on the policing experiences of Black communities without representing the 'actual' or 'real' (Bhaskar, 1978).

The data shone light on long-held negative perceptions of the police among different sectors of Black experience. Participants did not consider policing in a vacuum, but as shared experiences of Black Britishness and a microcosm of their relationship with the British state. Participants, stratified by age, gender, class and immigration histories, provided ontologically nuanced accounts of over-policing that reflected their differing standpoints as political actors. While some participants expressed hesitation about taking part in the research due to having no direct experiences to draw on, the vicarious experience of policing of Black communities with shared cultural consciousness effectively replaced direct experiences. Somewhat counter-intuitively, these participants held similarly negative opinions of the police as those who had experienced frequent policing. As perceptions of the police are created from shared cultural narratives, this confirms that both direct and vicarious experiences may have similar effects on forming conceptualisations of the police. This has consequences for the future relationship between the police and Black communities, as it suggests that improvements to individual policing interactions will not be enough to substantially change negative narratives. The entrenched hostility of police-community relations raises questions about how the police can increase trust, confidence, and cooperation when the two sides remain so ideologically opposed.

Chapter 10
Policing of Black Britons: Morphogenesis

This chapter analyses how responses to policing developed by Black Britons represent opportunities for social progress through morphogenesis, the transformation of structure and culture through the action of social agents (Archer, 2000). As discussed in the previous chapter, many Black Britons remain at the level of primary agency, or people who share the same experiences because of their position within structure and culture. As a result, there is social morphostasis whereby racialisation and criminalisation of ethnic minority communities continues to 'impinge' upon them (Archer, 2009: 260). Continued racialised policing would mean Black Britons remaining suspect communities subject to disproportionate policing (Chapter 6) and continuing to experience inferior police responses to victimisation (Chapter 7). It would also mean the continued production of narratives that position Black communities in inherent opposition to the police and developing responsive behaviours to manage the threat of police encounters (Chapters 8 and 9).

In achieving morphogenesis, or structural change, the power that Black Britons hold would transition from primary agency to corporate agency. The morphogenetic cycle describes the transition from structural conditioning to social interaction, and eventually structural elaboration, or social progress (Archer, 2000). Corporate agents are collections of individuals with the necessary resources to achieve structural and cultural change by organising and articulating shared interests (ibid). For Black Britons, the transition to corporate agency may be possible through access to resources, forms of resistance, activism, cultural capital, and reflexive embodiments of identity.

In this chapter, I argue that communities of Black Britons with disparate yet collective histories, narratives, and experiences, seek to end experiences of racialised policing through individual and collective action. Groups attain corporate agency via articulation, developing an understanding alongside others who can take action to achieve social progress. Over time, the racialising and criminalising structures and cultures reproducing racialised policing are changing, but these changes are not experienced by all Black people and changes are often non-linear, liminal, and incremental. Black Britons are varyingly primary and corporate agents, and these dynamic cultural conditions lay the groundwork for a structural progress that remains in flux.

The first section of this chapter analyses how Black Britons reflexively make sense of their policing experiences and seek corporate agency through different forms of agency. Individual and collective resistance to policing represents an important agential response for participants to recognise their own interests and participate in collective corporate agency. Participants drew on direct and vicarious experiences of racialised policing, interpreting more recent experiences within a conceptual framework of Black resistance to racism and discrimination. I argue that both individual and collective agency may contribute towards social change through organisation of shared interests.

The second section analyses how global activism transforms individual agency into collective through participation in online organised resistance. It considers the possibilities for interest convergence, a CRT concept which holds that Black people achieve racial progress only when their interests converge with those of white people (Bell, 1980). However, this section questions whether Black Britons must wait for white interests to change, or whether communities may create the conditions for interest convergence themselves.

The third section analyses how cultural capital is used by some Black Britons to manage police interactions. The data showed that class-based adaptive strategies are developed to negotiate with the police and reduce the harms of racialisation and criminalisation, allowing some Black Britons to achieve a social progress that is denied to others. This reinforces how structural positioning affects policing experiences, and how corporate agency is not experienced equally by all Black Britons. The possibilities this presents for Black communities to collectively overcome racialised policing will be explored.

Finally, the role of identity and community will be analysed. I argue that the collective identification of participants as a group of Black Britons presents opportunities for morphogenesis. Through the identification with a group with a vested interests in overcoming racialised policing, Black Britons are organising, collectivising, and articulating their resistance to racialising and criminalising processes they have endured for generations. As will be discussed throughout this chapter, social progress is proceeding in fits and starts. However, I argue that the different forms of agency, resistance, and capital held by this generation of young Black Britons strengthens collective identity, with implications for the future of policing.

10.1 Becoming Corporate Agents

i. Individual Agency

According to Archer (2000), primary agents individuals that are unable to articulate and organise to achieve shared interests. They may engage in uncoordinated or strategic actions, but these result in morphostasis of existing structure and culture (Larkins, 2019). Archer provides the examples of immigrants and unemployed youth as primary agents who lack the necessary resources to reach corporate agency. I argue here that, in aggregate, individual actions are capable of changing structure and culture. The combined actions of individuals, operating in their capacity as primary agents, may be considered individual agency through resisting the reproduction of cultural structures that reproduce racialised policing. The 'collective' possibilities of individual agency therefore represent a way for Black Britons to achieve social progress.

Archer (2009) describes human powers personal emergent properties (PEPs), on which structural (SEPs) and cultural (CEPs) emergent properties impact. The emergence of these properties results in the elaboration of agents, senses of self and personal identity. Participants' responses to policing represented assertions of CEPs. While their responses did not necessarily achieve structural change, they demonstrated the possibilities for cultural change through assertions of cultural agency. Resistance was practiced through the refusal to tolerate racialised policing and the development of adaptive behaviours and cultural norms such as 'the Talk' and through tacit knowledge and racial socialisation, which could be practiced in both individual and collective ways. Moving beyond the definition of collective organised action within Archer's morphogenetic theories, participants advocated for Black consciousness and agency without participation in organised groups dedicated to social change by exercising individual agential responses.

Direct and vicarious experiences of racialised policing over generations caused some participants to deprioritise attempts to change structure, and instead focus on developing community resilience and individual responsibility. Whilst acknowledging racialised inequalities, many older participants felt that progress required addressing social and cultural problems within Black communities. Older participants held nuanced views about responsibility for the 'police problem', identifying the involvement of "*too many young people in badness*" (Ruff Diamond) as contributory factors to disproportionate policing. The

data suggested these older participants had internalised some of the cultural framing about Black criminality that has historically dominated police discourses. It led them to identify community problems, and therefore community solutions, to policing problems. Crucially, the solutions to these problems were perceived to be the responsibility of the community itself, as the lack of progress in the 'police problem' showed them that "*no one is going to fix it for us, it has to be us*" (Telv).

These responses embodied internalised perceptions that such responses will remain necessary until the racialising and criminalising processes producing policing are overcome. In these actions, participants did not directly seek structural change but cultural changes that would reduce the harm of racialised policing in the meantime. Alongside other forms of resistance, these responses represent one aspect of the broad efforts Black Britons engage in to achieve social progress.

The notion of 'self-protection' arose frequently with older participants having 'the Talk' with young people and stepping in during police interactions. It relied on the 'us and them' narrative discussed in the previous chapter, as many older participants saw resistance to racialised policing as incumbent upon them to protect younger generations. These narratives reflected the perception that Black Britons need to provide support to each other as a community as they could not rely on individuals or groups outside the community to assist in achieving social progress.

Key worker participants like Ruff Diamond described intervening in stops and searches on the behalf of adolescents: "*even if they don't want me to. I'm gonna make it my business to make sure that that stop and search goes off without a hitch. When the police see a community elder, they're not gonna mess them around as much as if it was just some young boys*". Ruff Diamond attempted to subvert the active, negative engagement of the state with young Black males by disrupting policing interactions and providing support and advice to young boys. It was an example of a community-led response to policing that focused on empowering young people through the support of elders.

Older participants sought to manage racialised policing through community projects and providing guidance to young people through 'the Talk' and advocating for anti-violence. With time, they had transitioned from radical forms of resistance, such as protests and riots, towards community-based support, advice and guidance aimed at protecting young people and future generations from similar experiences to theirs. Responses to policing such as 'the Talk' represented individual expressions of corporate

agency, or what may be termed informal corporate agency (Karlsson, 2020), which lacks officially stated aims but enables agents to coordinate actions, in this case through the intergenerational transmission of protective community narratives.

Cultural tools such as 'the Talk', tacit knowledge, and racial socialisation represented individual responses to decades of racialised policing by parents, community elders, older siblings, and peers. Individual action presented opportunities for progress on an individual that could operate, through the collective action of individual agents. These forms of activism that took place on the street, implementing cultural knowledge drawn from real world experiences to protect young people from negative escalations of policing and work towards police accountability.

Holly and Telv both participated in policing protests in their youth and had attended a protest in 2011 following Mark Duggan's death "*before it turned into a riot*" (Holly). Tayo argued that the nation-wide violence that erupted "*takes away from our cause, which is a valid one. People look on TV and all they see is looting and destruction. How are we going to win any arguments that way?"* This was indicative of the views of older participants who wanted social change through actions from legitimate and respectable representatives. They saw the riots within the Black communities *"losing the moral high ground"* (Telv). This reflected a 'pull ourselves up by our bootstraps' mentality held by many older and immigrant participants, that identified social change as the responsibility of everyone within their community: "*we need to be the ones building our own empires. We're far too quick to blame all our issues on racism, but change can only come from us ourselves, and us building our own foundations*" (Lanre).

In contrast, younger participants felt strongly that the responsibility for the 'police problem' lay with the police. Asked what young people could do to improve their experiences of policing, Sade responded "*nothing. I don't think they should have to do anything. It's the police that has the power and I think the responsibility should lie with them".* They saw value in overt and even extreme forms of resistance, as rightful expressions of anger against structural racism and police violence. Drawing on knowledge of historical resistance against racialised policing, radical actions like rioting were considered legitimate and natural responses to decades of racialised injustice.

Young participants, implicitly rejecting notions of respectability espoused by some of their parents, expressed radical ideas about how to deal with 'the police problem': "*we've always been told to 'wait, things will get better'. We're tired of waiting"* (Abdi). Perceptions that previous anti-racist efforts were ineffective led to individual forms of resistance. Some

younger participants advocated for acts of civil disobedience and damage to property, such as the removal of the statue of Edward Colston, a British slaver, in Bristol: "*no one should have to walk around and see statues of people who literally owned their ancestors while they're going about their business. I literally wish I had been [in Bristol], I would've been yanking it down too*" (Marcus). Through acts of individual resistance, young people saw themselves as responding to decades of mistreatment from the police: "*we have no choice but to protect ourselves*" (Eddie).

Forms of individual resistance, or PEPs, conveyed the little faith many participants, particularly younger ones, who held that systemic inequalities would be eradicated through organisation and participation in the system. As Marcus put it, "*they're not gonna give anything to us and we as Black people just need to learn to take it for ourselves"*. For these young participants, resistance involved displays of disrespect towards the police, conceptualised through with pre-existing narratives of police racism. These PEPs were one way in which young people responded to policing that did not necessarily attempt to become SEPs or CEPS. Hostile responses to the police could further entrench the problem but allowed young people to feel like they were exercising agency against injustice: "*you just always have to give it back to them"* (Chris). This echoed research finding that individuals that consider themselves highly oppressed import status imbalances to interactions with authority figures to symbolise their resistance against perceived injustice (Brunson & Weitzer, 2016).

Individual resistance from young people focused on assertions of personal autonomy and refusal to accept police racism. This bestowed participants with a sense of agency, allowing them to see themselves as 'individual, rational decision-makers who weigh up the costs and benefits of their actions' (Clayman & Skinns, 2011:462). In rejecting white hegemony, embodied by the police, participants exercised anger at the racialisation and criminalisation experienced by Black communities. While the consequences of such resistance could potentially increase stop and search, arrest, and other negative police interactions, were potentially enabled participants with little social and cultural capital to feel like agents of their own destiny.

While presenting a form of resistance from participants' perspectives, this also demonstrated the feedback loop Reiner (2010) warns of. The data demonstrated the potential for resistance could entrench negative perceptions of Black people and 'interactional discrimination' against young Black men. Hostile reactions to the police contributed to police perceptions that Black communities are less cooperative, more resistant, and therefore more

deserving of aggressive policing. This was an example of how resistance against the police can be potentially self-defeating.

Despite this, even the display of antagonism helped these participants to feel they were exercising agency by "*not letting man take you fi eediat (for an idiot)*" (Dean). This reflects the liminality of social progress for Black Britons, whose increased cultural capital may co-exist with increased criminalisation. The desire of many young people to affect systemic change meant many were willing to bear the burden of hostile police encounters in the short-term in hopes that the situation will improve in future. Their responses to policing therefore became part of an ongoing legacy of racialised policing and the current iteration of police-community interactions.

Similar conceptual schemas were used by participants regarding cooperation and reporting with the police. Many young male participants adhered to the 'no snitching' rule, with many stating "*we don't talk to the police*" (Zav). The decision to share information with the police is often perceived to violate conduct norms in peer groups, communities, or groups with shared identity but ultimately derives from low trust and confidence in procedural justice or low expectations of fair treatment (Clayman & Skinns, 2012). Arsene was fearful of potential negative consequences of 'snitching', particularly if the crime was committed by a person known to him: "*you wouldn't want that to blow back on you*". For participants who were involved in criminality, 'snitching' represented a deeply ingrained conduct norm deriving from the reputational risk of talking to the police:

> *"I wouldn't go to the police because it's a simple fact that I don't want to be classed as that way. then people that is like I hear he goes to the police law. Like, how can I go to them? If I feel like a), you ain't gonna help me and b), it's going to destroy my name, like, come on now. Yeah, it shouldn't be like that. It shouldn't be like that. But it is like that. So, there's nothing I can do about it."* Zav

The 'wall of silence' from Black adolescents towards the police has been linked to fears of legal risks and criminalisation, alongside mistrust of the police and 'no-snitching culture' (Hulley & Young, 2021). Some young people who report to the police fear not being believed or themselves criminalised, while others do report but their accounts are discredited by the police (ibid). The 'no snitching' rule represented a form of self-exclusion from the potential benefits of policing for communities, whose deep mistrust of the police led them to essentially opt-out of policing entirely. Zav continued "*So what's gonna happen, like, nothing's gonna change, it's like a circle. It's a circle now. There's nothing else really,*

because the end of the day, from what I've seen from the police, I would even want to talk to them". It also demonstrated an area of interest divergence within Black communities, with the refusal of many young people to cooperate with the police a source of frustration among some older participants, who thought solutions lay in closer police-community alignment. Whilst potentially self-defeating, for young participants, opting out of policing represented a form of agency rooted in anger at the police that had become a deeply embedded cultural norm. As Eddie put it, "*Black people don't talk to police*". This embodied cultural narratives of 'us and them' discussed in the previous chapter and internalised conduct norms about how Black people were expected to act.

In addition, the decision not to cooperate with the police also resulted from negative policing interactions for older participants. Following his son's violent experience with the police, Stephen said *"I'm definitely a lot more cautious around, you know, advising the youth now about the way that they should be trusting the police. It's more about giving them tools to empower themselves to be able to deal with the police and turn the negatives*". This quote highlights the thwarted hopes among some participants that social progress could be achieved by working within the criminal justice system. It conveys the effect of negative experiences on the intergenerational transmission of community perceptions and norms regarding the police.

These generational differences shone light on how different generations conceive of social progress. Possibly, they simply demonstrated how age affects behaviour; indeed, older participants who were critical of young people took part in protests and riots themselves in their youth. However, older participants were also able to reflect on how the relationship between the police and Black communities had changed over the years. The police response to the Tottenham riots, including harsh punishments, use of intelligence and deterrent sentences, reminded Helen of the militarised response to protests in the 1980s: "*that was actually very interesting, and I think it showed that the police hasn't really changed its methods in all this time*".

Individual resistance emerged as a crucial mechanism for participants to respond to racialised policing. Through these responses, participants were not necessarily trying to change racialising and criminalising structures, but demonstrated their frustration, fear, and anger at continued experiences of racialised policing across generations. This represented efforts to achieve cultural, rather than structural, change. Unlike participants who aimed to achieve social change from 'within' by collaborating with the police and other institutions,

these participants relied on their families, communities, and emotions to create sites of resistance against racialised policing beyond 'the system'. The refusal to collaborate with hegemonic power by structures saw participants essentially 'opting out' of racialising and criminalising processes, by producing and reproducing their own narratives, norms, and beliefs. The data suggested that, while emergence contributes towards the collective transformation of entities, it does not necessarily progress in a linear manner, due to divergent interests within communities.

ii. Collective Agency

For Archer (2000), organisation, or collective action, is one of the ways that morphogenesis may be achieved. Corporate agents may "include self-conscious vested interest groups, promote interest groups, social movements, and defensive associations' (Archer, 1995: 265). The structure and culture that participants live within, namely historical legacies and contemporary experiences of policing, marginalisation and racialised exclusion, are beyond their will or control. However, the existence or formation of collective actions, behaviours, and responses may be able achieve as a group what perhaps could not be achieved alone. Collective resistance may present more linear ways of achieving social progress within Archer's morphogenetic cycle than the individual resistance discussed in the previous section.

Corporate agents are distinguished from primary agents through their ability to articulate collective goals. As a historically heavily policed area, Bordertown has a legacy of community-led organised resistance to racialised policing: "[*Bordertown] has often been at the forefront of these types of conversations*" (Martin). The police targeting Black youth and community projects in Bordertown was seen by some participants as a deliberate attempt to suppress the autonomy, agency, and resilience of Black communities: "*it's a way of shutting us down, do you get me? Back then, and even now, they didn't want us to have things of our own or stand on our own feet*" (Holly). Grassroots protest, community groups and responses to policing of Black communities represented enduring forms of resistance to racialised policing over generations.

Collective resistance allowed participants to pursue social change through collective behaviours and shared goals of overcoming racialised policing. Through social interaction, primary agents can reshape society, resulting in structural elaboration, or the achievement of

shared goals. The roles of agents are situational to that of others, and social progress may be achieved as part of a concerted effort to articulate collective aims (Elder-Vass, 2007). Some older participants had taken an active political role in the 1970s and 1980s, campaigning and protesting racially disproportionate policing in Bordertown and Britain more broadly. Organised groups provided mechanisms for more politically active participants to work towards social goals such as reducing stop and search monitoring, drug decriminalisation and prison reform.

Holly attended protests at Broadwater Farm Estate in the 1980s: "*it was important for us to show up because [the police] were acting with absolute impunity then*". Organisations in Bordertown formed part of growing Black social and political movements aimed at reducing arrests and raids of families in the community. Through organised and collective action, older participants displayed their hopes that future generations did not have the same racialised experiences they did: *"what we want to do is to ensure that what we dealt with is not what our children deal with"* (Richard).

Drawing on the cultural concept of 'Babylon', or "Western political and economic domination and cultural imperialism" (Murrell et al., 1998:1), some older men had participated in Black power movements in the 1970s and 1980s that advocated shared Black consciousness. Groups campaigning against policing, immigration raids, and racialised legislation provided mechanisms for participants to respond to perceived state racism. They described a feeling of duty to respond to racialising and criminalising actions from the police, immigration police and legal system. Ruff Diamond argued that "*they've always treated us like second class citizens, so we've always had to defend ourselves, basically*". Telv was a member of the British Black Panthers, which he described as "*essentially the same as the one in America*", providing social, health, educational and legal support to Black communities.

Holly described his interest in Rastafarianism, a popular subculture among Caribbean youth in 1970s Britain encouraging identification with Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, and pride in African roots. Philip explored Pan-Africanism and was heavily involved in protests against apartheid in South Africa. Moses was involved with the British Black Panthers, after becoming interested in how the American Black Panthers were presenting a semi-militarised opposition to state racism. The political activism of older participants seemed to belie the notion held by some younger participants that previous generations were more accepting of racist policing and demonstrated strong intentions to achieve social progress.

Groups that participants currently worked with had largely similar aims. Moses and Ruff Diamond co-chair a stop and search monitoring group in the borough and sister-groups

aimed at reducing youth violence. These organisations focus on empowering individuals, including advice on legal rights during stops and searches, and providing legal support. That participants perceived these groups to be necessary was demonstrated by the consistent organisation of Bordertown communities to provide support to young people and present resistance against policing. For older male participants, the ability to provide support to young males that many did not receive themselves, presented opportunities for social progress within the community itself. Giving advice to young people represented an agential response for these participants as political actors seeking to overcome racialised policing.

Many older participants saw resistance as involving collaboration with institutions. Through his role as a local councillor, Martin advocated for increased community support and campaigns to change drug laws:

> *"they've done a great deal of decriminalisation in Portugal and outcomes have really improved there. Because look, drug policy and drugs legislation is racist in terms of how it's implemented. Kids in Bordertown will get stopped for cannabis, but kids on the side of the borough where I live, you know, they're not going to get stopped. So, there's this whole apartheid round drugs".*

Unlike others who took a more anti-establishment stance, Martin's approach was to work within institutions to decriminalise drugs to remove a key criminalising mechanism. This reflected the view of older participants that lasting social change necessitated changing structures: "*the thing is, and I always say this to young people, we need to be in the room, or we'll never make any progress. We need to work with these people*" (Tayo). Many older and immigrant participants felt that progress can only be achieved by "*playing the game and playing it better than them*" (Ruff Diamond), by collaboration with the institutions through which racialised inequalities operate, including the police.

Ruff Diamond worked closely with police partners in his community organisation, networking with high-ranking police officials and media appearances. Participants like Ruff Diamond relied on the perception that social change may not be achievable without changing the structures and cultures producing racialised policing. However, this also perhaps conveyed a perception among older participants that racial progress necessitated giving agency to white institutions and allies (see below).

Historically, Black women have played pivotal roles in social movements that have often been overlooked (Elliot-Cooper, 2021). Women drew on a legacy of female-led

grassroots resistance projects aimed at reducing the harm of racialised policing of Black male adolescents in Britain. Campaigns led by Doreen Lawrence following the murder of her son Stephen provided a role model for mothers in Bordertown to exercise forms of agency to achieve social progress: "*Doreen still inspires us, everything she went through and everything she's still doing. Tireless work*" (Finola). Older female participants worked in community organisations in Brambleton that aim to reduce serious violence by and against young people. The organisation provides practical support and advice to families. These women volunteered, campaigned, and organised events for Black adolescents in the borough, fearful of more young people being drawn into crime and the criminal justice system: "*it's important to keep the young people busy and occupied so they don't get led astray by all the gangs and crime in the area*" (Bev).

Women resisted policing on behalf of members of the community, mostly male, deemed more vulnerable to police violence. Helen argued that women were less likely to experience racialised policing, therefore it "*made sense for mothers to take the lead*". This positioned female participants as 'responsible' for males in the community. The internalisation of male-centric narratives reinforced the positionality of Black females as 'secondary victims' of policing. Women often bore the emotional fallout of racialised policing, and for many, the only support they received was from other female members of the community. As Helen put it, "*we're the ones that always have to pick up the pieces".* Taking on these protective roles both represented Black female agency and epistemic injustice in prioritising state-racism experienced by Black males.

Black women displayed a willingness to take on emotional labour that was little acknowledged by many male participants, particularly younger males. The resistance practiced by many older female participants was often from a position of maternal love and care. Using the wider definition of 'family', organised community work allowed Black women to resist the racialised policing of their communities, based on ties of collective struggle and kinship. Community organised resistance allowed female participants to feel they were "*placing a protective shield*" (Helen) around the next generation. These groups allowed women to extend the concept of 'mothering' to entire communities. This continued in the tradition of the Black family as a site of resistance against structural racism (Elliott-Cooper, 2021).

For younger participants, the collective memory of racialised policing laid the groundwork for newer forms of resistance. Sade had become increasingly interested in political activism due to her perceptions of British racism. She described frequent discussions

with her father Tayo growing up as the reason for her initial interest in Black social issues. Now an adult, she dedicated time to social justice issues: "*I like to be very active like, in like social justice and stuff, if that doesn't sound cheesy".* Other younger participants echoed the influence of the previous generation's community work: ""*it really laid the groundwork for all the thing I'm trying to do now*" (Kwakz).

Kwakz saw the community organisation he ran as "*furthering that legacy*" of organised community work in the 1980s and 1990s. Several younger participants had sought work in charities, NGOS and social justice organisations. As councillors, D'Angelo and Martin were able to actively work towards racial justice: "*it's really important for us to be in the room and to have that accessibility*" (D'Angelo). Martin asserted "*our parents couldn't achieve these kinds of roles, so we have opportunities that the previous generations could never have dreamed of".* For Martin, his elected positions indicated racial progress in Britain, but he remained mindful that *"there's a lot more to be done still".*

The intergenerational focus of the research enabled analysis of how resistance had changed over the years, in response to movements in the structure and culture. Community-led organisations were at the forefront of responses to policing during the 1970s and 1980s (Elliott-Cooper, 2021), and provided vehicles for Black communities to protests against racialised policing through collective action. Brambleton is a diverse area with a mix of Caribbean, African, Turkish and South American inhabitants. Whilst Bordertown itself is traditionally a Caribbean immigrant neighbourhood, increasing multiculturalism and gentrification presented new opportunities for community activism with greater forms of representation.

Holly compared participation in protest movements in the past to today: "*back then, it was mainly Black communities, Black mothers etc. But when Mark Duggan happened, you saw everyone, Black, white, Turks, everyone, taking part. Because everyone was angry".* This embodies a cultural transition towards conceptualising racialised policing as an issue affecting all societies, rather than simply 'a Black problem'. As with new forms of global activism discussed in the next section, this represents important opportunities for overcoming racialised policing.

10.2 Global Activism

As fieldwork was being conducted, the murder of George Floyd by police officer Derek Chauvin in May 2020 was leading to a global reckoning with racism. While BLM already existed prior to Floyd's murder its reach and engagement was greatly accelerated by the widespread media coverage. Wide discussions in the media about the racism experienced by Black people, embodied by the slogan 'Black Lives Matter', suggested that significant structural and cultural changes would occur. Following Floyd's murder, companies, brands, workplaces, and online spaces were expressing public support to anti-racism. Almost every participant referred to the murder and the global BLM protests that followed. The increased focus on racism and policing in public discourse, and the critique from participants, embodies the cyclical process of morphogenesis, drawing from reactions from other social groups.

Within CRT, racism is permanent and enduring, and some critical race theorists argue that change is only possible when in the interests of white hegemonic elites, or interest convergence (Bell, 1980). This concept holds that Black people achieve racial progress only when their interests converge with those of white people. Bell's signature example is Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (347 U.S. 483 (1954)), a landmark US Supreme Court decision which established racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. The ruling was heralded as a significant civil rights victory, but Bell argues that it also enhanced the interests of the white ruling class by signalling a commitment to civil rights for the US government. In later years, Brown v. Board of Education was undermined by rulings that effectively re-sanctioned segregation. This demonstrates what Bell (1992:222) describes as "temporary 'peaks of progress,' short-lived victories that slide into irrelevance as racial patterns adapt in ways that maintain white dominance."

The abolition of slavery has also been described as an example of interest convergence. Williams (1944) contends abolition only became possible once in the capitalist interest of white European slave-owners. Once the criticism of slavery made it untenable, abolition represented a calculated decision to end a racist practice for fear of its negative consequences, rather than moral awakening. It also contributed to cultural narratives of the morality of the British Empire, which are also valuable to white hegemony. Olusoga (2016) echoes this, suggesting that the end of slavery and transition into industrial capitalism, rather than representing a moral choice, represented the economic interests of white elites. He describes how market interests, and not a reckoning with British imperial heritage, resulted in

improvements to the lives of Black people. The abolition of slavery embodies the concept interest convergence, demonstrating how racial progress became possible when a form of racism was no longer beneficial to white hegemony.

However, my data suggested that interest convergence within Black communities themselves, through a framework of grassroots projects and global activism, may lead to social progress through the articulation of a shared interest in anti-racism. In many ways, I was extremely lucky to conduct qualitative research into lived experiences of racism and policing during this period. The intense focus on the policing of Black people across the globe re-focused scrutiny on the role, purpose, and function of the police in contemporary British society. The multicultural British Black Lives Matter movement of 2020 featured demonstrations and widespread solidarity across social media. The Covid-19 pandemic, and the murder of Sarah Everard by policeman Wayne Couzens, in the same period as protests against historical and cultural British artefacts, led to examinations of the role of the police and racism in Britain that were distinct from previous moments in history.

The global BLM movement, community narratives about the police, and the advocacy of white allies all present possibilities for morphogenesis. The increasing prominence of groups such as Black Lives Matter UK and Stopwatch UK, dedicated to eradicating racialised policing, conveyed attempts for Black Britons to move beyond primary agency by collectivising, accessing materials, organising, and mounting challenges to racialised hegemonic systems. The multicultural nature of the BLM Movement embodies the potential for corporate agency to be achieved through the unification, politicisation, and organisation of a group strong enough to challenge the status quo.

In general, online activism was practiced more by younger participants, who were more radical than their older counterparts in how they conceived of and responded to policing. More political young people drew both on knowledge of contemporary policing and the historical forms of resistance practiced by their parents and grandparents, accessed through community narratives, parental discussions, and information online. They were more exposed to and participated more in social media activism than older participants, gathering information from vicarious sources, such as peers and social media about policing. Social media such as Twitter, Snapchat, and the WhatsApp voice notes feature provided opportunities for young people to widely share information about policing experiences. Stephen linked increased awareness of the harmful effects of policing to greater participation in online communities: "*recently, we're hearing a lot more about the negative aspects [of*

policing] and less of what the police are actually doing for people in terms of helping people. That's making people angrier".

Participants described videos of stops and searches of young Black men "*going viral*" (Arsene) and being shared widely through social media within communities, but also white peers and allies in online networks which provided immediate access to information about the policing experiences of Black Britons, that could be experienced vicariously by greater numbers of people. Similarly, the stop and search of Ricardo dos Santos and Bianca Williams by armed police whilst allegedly using a mobile phone whilst driving, which was widely reported and discussed online, was significant for younger participants: "*if it can happen to them, why wouldn't it happen to us too?"* (D'Angelo). For athletes, like dos Santos and Williams, musicians and other Black Britons considered wealthy, successful, and powerful to have the same experiences as they strengthened the belief that protest was necessary. Sharing information facilitated the movement towards corporate agency by providing young people with platforms to share information and perspectives with each other and allies using similar networks. The increased cultural exchange made possible through social media provides opportunities for structural change through social interaction.

Young participants also drew on cultural lineages of protest movements outside of Britain. Previous generations' anti-racism movements in South Africa and resistance against apartheid allowed young people to articulate resistance against violence from the British police. D'Angelo recalled his parents' reading of Steve Biko's Black consciousness work, which "*sparked an interest from early*" in Black resistance movements. Similarly, Sara's mother was a member of the Black Panthers in 1970s Harlem. Knowledge of their parents' membership of anti-racist movement formed the groundwork for political young people to conceptualise contemporary anti-racism struggles in a British context.

Awareness of global issues reinforced perceptions participants that Black people are subjugated: "*everywhere, it's like people with darker skin are treated the worst. And everyone can see that now*." (Buki). Participants participated in protest movements online on behalf of Black people in other parts of the world. Through mass protests and Twitter campaigns using the hashtag 'EndSARS', young Nigerians and allies sought to achieve social change by harnessing the solidarity of the Nigerian diaspora and others globally. Crucially, these movements used social media to disseminate information and raise awareness among allies across the globe. This displayed the possibilities for social change presented by global online activism, whose reach distinguished it from forms of activism that were available to previous generations. Participation in globalised discourses allowed participants to make

meaning of policing experiences by positioning them framework of transatlantic racialised and criminalised Blackness.

The policing experiences of African Americans provided the conceptual prototype for participants as Black Britons. However, recent events have encouraged many young Black Britons to assert agency as members of a community with its own historical legacy of marginalisation. Knowledge about police killings of Black men, and the knowledge that generations of African Americans remain trapped within the criminal justice system, provided a template for understanding how the white hegemonic state subjugates Black people through policing:

> *"You keep up to date with high-profile police cases, especially in the UK and US, where a lot of Black men are mistreated by the police, a lot of Black men have been seriously harmed by the police. These are the things that you always keep in mind, and kind of add to your experience, and they'll colour your interactions with the police."* Kay

Older participants generally felt that the US police are "*on another planet in terms of violence*" (Tayo). Whilst critical of the British police, they generally felt that "*things could be worse. I don't have to worry about my son being shot, for example"* (Bev). In contrast, due to greater participation in online global activism, young participants like Chris argued there was little material difference between the US and British police: "*they do the same thing here, it's just that they have guns there so you're more likely to end up dead*". Their knowledge allowed them to conceptualise racialised policing as a global phenomenon. While some compared Britain positively, others felt that the only difference was discourse. Sara was critical of what she considered misconceptions about how policing in Britain differed from the US:

> *"Sometimes there's this idea that people in the UK, who are concerned about policing or concerned about racial justice, have learned it all from a bit of America, or have kind of got these ideas from a different generation. It's really important to reject that and also respect the opinions and ideas and feelings and experiences of young people today, and kind of obfuscate that or pretend that that it's not theirs, I think. You know,*

> *it's another, it's another part of his gaslighting, right, that somehow, we're inherently mistrustful, or, as a community, culturally, were mistrustful."*

Sara's point highlighted how discourse about race and policing is often dominated by American contexts. Her quote conveys the focus of many young people on the Black British experience, which was informed by but did not reflect US experiences. Sara saw the British conceptualisation of policing as dismissive of the 'real' of racism, arguing that these narratives sought to conceal the reality of racism in the police and Britain more broadly. Sade felt similarly:

> *"The problem is, when the truth about racism in England and stuff started getting exposed, it kind of went against what people wanted to believe, because a lot of people like to sit back, they like to pride themselves on their character. And they like to say, 'Yeah, I'm a nice person'. But once people started understanding racism, and how maybe some of the things that they've been doing have actually been racist, it goes against what they always thought about themselves."*

Conflicting narratives again confirmed varying perspectives across research cohorts, which perhaps is demonstrated in the incremental and non-linear of nature of social progress. However, morphogenesis is an ongoing process, necessitating continuous challenges against existing structures and cultures. The defunding the police movement, which gained prominence during the BLM protests in 2020, demonstrates how global narratives may influence and continue to influence policy and practice of the British police and other institutions: "*it's the first time I'm hearing conversations like this in the UK. I think it shows the conversation is evolving a little bit" (Mel).* The contemporary landscape of organised anti-racism creates the possibility for interest convergence, as more powerful social groups begin to recognise their interests in addressing racial inequalities.

Contemporary resistance of racialisation and criminalisation of Black people is distinct from previous movements towards racial progress by its online, widespread, collective structure, which enables activists and allies across the globe to participate. Even participants who were less politically engaged also contributed to this effort through discourses and narratives transmitted intergenerationally, presenting opportunities for interest convergence. For politically active participants, activism was drawn from the collective

memory of longstanding racialisation and criminalisation of Black people, providing the groundwork for collective responses.

10.3 Black Cultural Capital

Cultural capital has been described as "widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviours, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion" (Lamont and Lareau, 1988:222). Black British communities have created their own identity, norms, values, and behaviours and produced Black cultural consciousness through shared experiences. For participants, collective knowledge about the racialisation and criminalisation endured by Black Britons led to the development of strategies to navigate or reduce the harm of police interactions through various exercises of cultural capital. These forms of Black cultural capital provided opportunities for some, but not all, participants to achieve morphogenesis through the enactment of agency that was often class-based.

While much of the research into transmission of class capital in the context of Black communities has been negative and focused on SES inequalities in education, Wallace (2018) repositions the transmission of Black cultural capital positively, highlighting the development of Black cultural consciousness in response to the historically contentious relationship between the police and Black communities. Class status, social position and cultural capital may be used as a negotiating tool for re-asserting respectability and affirming legitimacy within marginalised groups (Long, 2018:169), and may help Black people either avoid or redress negative police interactions by conveying middle-class capital and accompanying expectations of correct treatment and police accountability.

Black cultural capital emerged as an intergenerational and inter-community mechanism for transmitting conceptualisations and adaptive mechanisms about the police. This represented a crucial aspect of the transition from primary agency to corporate agency from shared cultural lineages. Fola stressed the importance of knowledge of historical legacy of policing on contemporary conceptualisations within Black communities:

> *"A lot of the concerns that people have about policing today, they have even if they themselves have not witnessed it. You know, this is not something that happened, 100 years ago, 200 years ago. The Brixton riots happened just in the '70s. Some of those*

people [involved], they are around my age now and they've got kids that to go to school. It's still fresh in peoples' minds, and then you have new things like George Floyd that adds to it. So, it's not unreasonable for people to still talk about their experience as a child and then pass that on to their kids.".

Fola's quote conveys how forms of Black cultural capital emerge from specific historical and social contexts. It also embodies the value of cultural capital in intergenerational responses to policing through the collective assertion of agency against racialisation and criminalisation.

The data displayed that different levels of cultural capital are held by different Black British communities. Access to resources affects conditioning and social embeddedness which, in turn, affects agential capability (Golob & Makarovic, 2019). The result may be a temporary form of morphogenesis that moves towards social progress without achieving it definitively or permanently for all. This liminality was demonstrated by how different participants responded to policing through narratives and actions. Some made use of class-based adaptive strategies that challenged experiences of racialisation and criminalisation while, for others, racialised policing is more likely to endure. These varying experiences demonstrated how community interests may converge and diverge over time, splitting attempts towards achieving corporate agency.

The data suggested that access to cultural capital is related to structural and cultural positionality in white hegemonic society. Some participants had access to capital that others did not through their class, wealth, and social status. Structural and cultural contexts affect reflexivity through access to resources (structural) and prevalence of belief (cultural) agents live within. The socioeconomic status of some participants allowed them to negotiate with the police in ways that protected them from the harms of racialised policing. Their class effectively allowed them to achieve corporate agency through the embodiment of cultural capital, which distinguished some Black Britons from others in their efforts to overcome racialised policing.

Despite its significance, few participants referred openly to their perceived class status, with many preferring to refer to their professions. Middle-class participants relied on implicit declarations of class as denoted by profession, wealth, and social status. Participants who had acquired class-based cultural capital through employment, education, and wealth accumulation experienced and were able to manage policing in ways others could not. Class-based strategies allowed middle-class participants with greater cultural capital to respond to

racialised policing, and in doing so, make steps towards reaching corporate agency. However, methods used by middle-class participants to navigate the police protected other middle-class Black people. These divergences illustrated how social progress may move between primary and corporate agency, without finding a secure position.

The relationship between class and respectability has been explored in ethnographic research on Black communities. For example, the police may view middle-class Black people as being from decent, law-abiding families and therefore worthy of respectful treatment (Pryce, 1979), and not 'street people' (Anderson, 1999). The data reinforced how differential experiences of social control compounds marginalisation and stigmatisation for groups with a lower ranking in 'the hierarchy of being'. Participants themselves displayed class-based assumptions of the 'types' of people that do or 'should' experience heavy policing. Most expected young, Black males from working-class backgrounds, living in metropolitan areas of London to experience frequent policing. This conveyed how racialised narratives from 'outside' influence inter- community perceptions and experiences and how this can create a distancing effect from issues experienced by other Black Britons.

Middle-class participants ultimately displayed some level of trust in the police that many working-class participants did not. Lekan, who self-identified as middle class, felt that the police were "*usually racist*" but when asked if he would call the police if he had a problem, responded "*of course, their job is to solve crime. If I have a problem, it's supposed to be their job to solve it. I have no qualms asking the police to do their jobs*". Lekan displayed deeply ingrained trust and confidence in the concept of procedural justice, that somewhat belied the negative narratives he offered in interviews. His views mirrored the responses of other middle-class participants for whom, beneath widespread perceptions of institutional racism in policing, were expectations of fair treatment derived from their societal status.

Cece, a middle-class participant living in an affluent part of the neighbourhood, described two experiences of stop and search that she felt occurred due to her presence in deprived neighbourhoods: *"I was basically able to talk my way out of it. Once they heard the way I speak I guess they decided I wasn't one of 'those' Black people".* Here, Cece drew on notions of respectability relating to who becomes 'police property'. For middle-class female participants, hegemonic ideals of 'feminine behaviour' and accompanying expectations of innocence (Hill-Collins, 2004) were more accessible than for other Black Britons. Cece saw herself, and perceived others seeing her, as conceptually distinct from a subsection of

criminalised and racialised Black Britons. This meant that she was able to draw on conduct norms aligned with law-abiding respectability to navigate policing experiences. Gender and class emerge as important factors for Black women to negotiate policing encounters. Viola similarly described being stopped while driving ("*I did deserve it, to be fair*"), and deliberately smiling and adopting a "*submissive*" demeanour to communicate innocence to the police. Viola noted she deserved to be stopped but was able to utilise and express norms of white femininity in police interactions to disrupt common racialised narratives of Black criminality.

It should be noted that these participants did not express happiness that they, unlike other Black Britons, were able to shield themselves against racialised policing. Rather, they displayed an understanding of how class compounds race for Black British communities, and an awareness that racialised policing was therefore experienced differently by them. Belief that the police would protect them because of their societal status effectively overrode some middle-class participants' experiences of racism as a generative mechanism in policing.

Working-class participants displayed little faith that structural and cultural systems would work in their favour when interacting with the police. In contrast to Cece and Viola, Kyra made no attempt to negotiate during police encounters, instead "*just put[ting] up with them*". This reflected how working-class Black women are often considered the 'least desirable form of femininity' (Hill-Collins, 2004:199), leaving these participants with little recourse to police discretion by appealing to femininity norms. Fearful that interactions would escalate negatively, Kyra sought to avoid the police entirely, demonstrating her perception of the little capital she held in managing the police.

For young male participants, the ability to negotiate police interactions was perhaps the most crucial. Kay felt the police had expectations of young Black males based on stereotypical markers of 'Blackness' and described taking steps to "*minimise*" perceptions of 'the type' of Black person he was ("*that's what you have to operate with in mind*"). Clothing such as sportswear, hooded sweatshirts, tracksuits, and trainers, items associated both with youth culture and racialised as Black, act as a 'proxy for social signals' (Quinton, 2011:3) of criminality, or '*the wrong kind'* (Ruff Diamond) of wealth. Alicia suggested expensive clothing presented a "*red flag in an area where you're not supposed to have them*". 'Street appearance' was felt to arouse suspicion in the police, who provided the explanation of criminality for behaviour considered otherwise inexplicable:

> *"You're wearing like gritty, Air Jordan trainers, therefore, you must be a drug dealer. Getting stopped for walking in a certain way, talking a certain way, dressing a certain way. And at the end of the day, it's youth culture, isn't it? And it's always been the same. There's always been some kind of dress code, some dress sense, some mannerisms that the youth adopted, and they get penalised for it, because there's a lack of empathy on the upper end."* Stephen

Many participants saw wearing expensive clothing as indicative of criminality from the perspective of the police. This was another example of participants internalising racialised assumptions of 'decent' or 'street' Black people and demonstrated efforts to overcome racialisation through intentional behavioural changes. The racialisation of appearance was a particular source of irritation for younger participants, many of whom considered their appearance as important aspects of self-expression. However, they acknowledged the relationship between clothing and police suspicion and chose to implement this knowledge, or deliberately ignore it as a form of protest.

Marcus described being occasionally stopped and searched despite, as he described it, "*levelling up*" from his working-class origins. He had experienced frequent stop and search in his youth and grew up in a high-crime neighbourhood. Marcus had expected to be stopped and searched less as he saw policing as an issue disproportionately facing working-class Black people. A 'professional demeanour' denoted by dress, hair style etc may provide enough 'respectability' to gain police trust and override the race-crime nexus. However, as Rollock (2014:4) argues, racism may override the impact of class or professional status: "skin colour acts as a form of embodied capital that disrupts and lessens the worth of the cultural capital held by Black middle classes". The fact Marcus was still being stopped and searched, notably only when wearing sportswear, reinforced his perception that the police routinely stereotype different categories of Black people as 'police property'.

Other middle-class participants interpreted their professional status, and visual indicators thereof, as protecting them from police interactions. Lekan stated "*[stop and search] used to happen, but now I'm older, I work in the city, and I wear a suit every day*". This reinforced perceptions that markers of respectability and legitimacy influence the decision who to stop and search. Middle-class participants embodied the 'law-abiding citizen', whose status was violated by being stopped and searched and being treated with hostility by the police. This again confirmed that Black communities do not experience policing as a monolith and that social progress occurs in a non-linear manner.

D'Angelo, a local councillor, also described how clothing and appearance mediates police encounters: "*when I'm in a tracksuit, going to the gym, that's when I start getting wary looks from white people again. They don't look at me when I'm wearing a suit*". Dean made similar comments: *"I don't dress as the police would say as a 'stereotypical Black person'. I wear a tracksuit when I'm going to the gym or I'm in shirt and trousers when I'm going to work".* They perceived that, while the police might make racialised assumptions about dark skin and criminality, displays of wealth and respectability created visual signifiers of class and professional status. This presented a shield against criminalisation for men who may have been otherwise racialised and othered.

Outward symbols of 'professional respectability' were also consciously deliberated and presented by some self-identified working-class participants. Mifta, a youth worker, describes encouraging the young ex-offenders he mentors and employs to display the organisation's badge to avoid stop and search. As with white femininity norms, the respectability indicated by professional employment aligns with white patriarchal structure and legitimacy. This represented a way for working-class participants to experience the cultural capital enjoyed by other Black Britons. Crucially, while this could prevent police interactions occurring, they these participants were less able to negotiate with the police once having been stopped and searched, due to other signifiers of class such as language and accent. This reinforces how structural and cultural positionality provide the framework for policing experiences that may override displays of cultural capital.

Class also emerged in the perceived availability of mechanisms of police accountability, itself indicative of cultural capital. More experiences of racist policing resulted in working-class participants having less faith in police accountability. Marcus had been assaulted by police officers during a stop and search as a teenager and had a scar on his forehead from the incident. He expressed anger towards the police and recalled a strong belief at the time that a complaint would be "*pointless*". Participation in formal complaints procedures relied on a trust and confidence in procedural justice that was lacking for many working-class participants. Eddie described the concept of complaints: *"I don't even know why anyone would bother [making a complaint]. First of all, who has the fucking time? Secondly, it's just gonna sit on someone's desk and then you'll get a letter like 5 years later brushing it under the carpet".*

The low levels of trust in police accountability held by working-class participants were linked to lower levels of cultural capital and diminished social and cultural status as social actors. The lack of trust in procedural justice was linked with a lack of belief that the 'system' would work in their favour. This indicated how perceptions of cultural capital had been internalised by participants and affected their decision-making regarding responses to policing. Working-class participants displayed greater levels of hopelessness when describing the policing of Black communities and less optimism that social progress could be achieved.

Middle-class participants were considerably more optimistic about bringing complaints about police accountability. When Stephen's 13-year-old son Zane had been tackled and tasered by the police after being mistaken for a suspect in a robbery, he made a formal complaint to the Independent Office of Police Conduct (IOPC). Stephen described the complaint process as requiring:

> *'a lot of stamina. You need to be an administrator, fill out all the forms, read all the jargon, read between the lines, be persistent, consistently responding to emails about requests, little bits of information here and there. And just keep it going. And a lot of people give up at the first hurdle, it's like, 'do I really have to relive that trauma?'"*

Middle-class participants like Stephen were more willing to engage with police complaints procedures, due to greater time, resources, and opportunity. Most importantly, they had greater trust and confidence in police accountability functioning in a manner beneficial for them and believed the process would be ultimately helpful. In making the complaint, Stephen hoped to "*get some positive results and solutions really, for the community and a bit of change in the approach to the way that the youth particularly are treated, and also obviously the Black and brown community".* Similarly, Cece described 'intervening' for young Black men she saw being stopped and searched. Black middle-class participants expressed active engagement with Black consciousness from a position of relative privilege that I found easily identifiable, which crucially was not about survival but about a feeling of identification and empathy with working-class Black people who were considered more likely to encounter racialised policing.

The relative privilege held by middle-class participants reinforced the need for conscious efforts to assist or advocate on the behalf of members of Black communities holding less cultural capital. Lucas no longer experienced stop and search, which he interpreted as due his professional status. However, he felt social progress would only be achieved when all Black people were free of racialised policing: "*the bigger goal for me is*

bringing everyone else through as well". This conveyed the perception among middle-class participants that they could use their cultural capital for the benefit of others in Black British communities. Alongside his work in community youth projects, Stephen participated in projects for unconscious bias training in the police, reducing violent crime and a local football team. Community work allowed Stephen to use his cultural capital on the behalf of other Black Britons for whom procedural justice was less available. This conveyed how the cultural capital of some participants could be harnessed for the potential benefit of others, suggesting a way for corporate agency to be achieved through collective action. As more Black people attain corporate agency, there may be more opportunities to advocate on behalf of primary agents.

The data suggested the liminality of social progress for participants and the ongoing attempts to achieve corporate agency. Cultural capital emerged as a function of Black Britons to manage racialised policing and seek to eradicate experiences of racialised policing. However, the relative availability of cultural capital, often revolving around class, embodied a potential barrier to morphogenesis through interest divergence. The actions of participants presented both acquiescence and challenge to white hegemonic ideas of Black people in the racial hierarchy. This demonstrated the awareness among participants about how forms of capital could be displayed by appearance, representing the double-consciousness held by many Black Britons. Conscious adaptations of appearance presented opportunities for participants to display capital and, in doing so, reduce experiences of racialised policing.

The data demonstrated that class is a key component of achieving corporate agency for Black people. Forms of Black cultural capital allowed middle-class participants to seek achieve morphogenesis through assertions of their own agency. This is significant, as participants identifying as working-class were considerably more likely to have frequent experiences of policing than middle-class participants. The most heavily policed cohort were unable to access cultural capital to negotiate police interactions, contributing to morphostasis for many working-class Black Britons. The variance in experience illustrated how interest divergence may arise, even with communities within a shared historical legacy of racialisation and criminalisation. As with other agential responses to racialised policing, social progress through cultural capital remains ongoing.

10.4 Black British Identity

The relationship between structure, culture and agency is crucial to understanding the intergenerational experiences of policing by Black Britons. As a group with shared structural and cultural interests, Black Britons' shared understanding of policing, the ability to articulate it to themselves and others, organise and achieve their social aims presents conditions of emergence and social change. The data showed that Black Britons, however, do not all share the same understanding and experience of policing. As Archer (2012) argues, reflexivity enables individuals to adopt 'stances', which creates a micro-macro link and produces an 'active agent'. Reflexivity therefore mediates between structure and agency (Archer, 2003), and represents an emergent property of individuals "which can activate the causal powers of structures and allows individuals to deliberate on their future actions" (Golob & Makarovic, 2019:2).

Throughout the research process, I was struck by the fact that young people held more negative views about the police than their parents, despite generally experiencing less overtly racist policing. These generational differences provided insight into how identity and belonging affected perceptions of the police. The narratives used by young people reflected changing expectations about racist treatment from British institutions, which few young Black Britons were willing to tolerate. Crucially, the majority of second and third-generation participants considered themselves part of a community Black Britons, from being born and / or raised in Britain. For them, a sense of belonging in Britain carried with it expectations of fair treatment from British institutions, which often meant freedom from racialised and racist experiences. Younger people were angrier, more demanding and held a vested interest in improving the social conditions in Britain, which they saw as their country.

Many first-generation Caribbeans and Africans did not consider themselves British, due to both ties to countries of origin and lifelong experiences of othering. Asked whether he felt he belonged in Britain, Tayo responded: "*No. Nigeria will always be my home. And when the time is right for me, I'll go back home to Nigeria".* Older Caribbean participants frequently referred to 'going home' to Caribbean islands when they retired. The Windrush scandal had confirmed to many that their status in Britain was conditional: "*that situation was a reminder, if we ever needed one, that we can never truly belong here, as far as they're concerned*" (Finola). Some of these participants were less invested in attaining corporate agency as part of an organised group of Black Britons as they saw racialised policing as part of the 'bargain'

of living in another country, or a temporary condition to be endured until they returned to countries of origin.

Archer identifies fissiparousness as potential barrier in the transition from primary to corporate agency, or the tendency of groups to split. Perceived lack of belonging in Britain allowed some immigrant participants to analyse the policing of Black communities from a remove, which made them less invested in working towards structural change. The failure to identify and articulate based on shared interests, due to immediate disagreements that divide them, may result in interest divergence for Black British communities with different perceptions deriving from varying standpoints. Immigrant participants were not necessarily seeking to overcome racialised policing, but to manage it temporarily while they remained in Britain. This suggests that perceptions of citizenship and belonging are integral to the interest convergence of Black communities.

Young participants were critical of the attitude held by previous generations. Cece explained that her mother is an immigrant from St Lucia and arrived in the UK in the 1970s. She expressed frustration at what she considered her mother's 'passive' attitude towards the police, describing it as 'typical' of Caribbean immigrants from her mother's generation. Cece described her mother and uncles as more "*accepting and trusting*" of the police, unlike her generation "*who have seen too much racism now*". In contrast to their parents, many younger participants saw themselves as part of a group of Black Britons with a shared interest in reducing racialised over-policing by asserting their agency in different ways. Many younger participants felt that the assimilation of ethnic minority cultures into British culture resulted in increased expectations about treatment from institutions such as the police:

> *"You kind of try and let [your parents] know, like, hey, you do have rights, you don't have to listen to what these guys are saying. You can NOT agree with them. For a long time, ethnics just kind of just took what was said to them, and just kind of accepted it. You know, kind of have that, you know, that sovereign authoritative figure? They didn't really understand."* Ahmed

> *"I think the first-generation had a very generational kind of approach to authority. I would say they would naturally kind of 'pro' the police, believing that they're the good guys. Nothing to worry about. They kind of look after us, you know, Queen and Country and all of that bullshit."* Maahir

Maahir's views mirrored the more overtly decolonial stances of some younger participants. Recent months have seen increased reflection Britain's colonial heritage. In 2021, Barbados removed the British monarchy as its head of state and become a republic: "*that was long, long, overdue. I think we will see that happen more and more with other countries*" (Tommy). Cece concurred: "*how can colonies be justified in 2020? The Caribbean people don't want it anymore*". The identification of race as a generative mechanism in policing experiences, and crucially, how they could respond to it as young people with different perspectives from other generations, consistently emerged as a key generational difference between participants. This suggests that membership of a shared cultural world, with its own relationship and expectations of the police, may lead to morphogenesis for young Black Britons:

> *"We've made huge strides. But [the older generation] still feel very British, because they've worked hard for it. And because they because they have the passport and that kind of thing, whereas younger people feel very different about it. Well, we've had to forge our own idea of Britishness.*" Cece

Immigrant participants from African countries seemed to be on a similar journey of belongingness as Caribbean participants. Growing up in Britain distinguished many second and third-generation immigrants from their parents. This suggests that, as immigrants from African countries assimilate into British society and culture over time, expectations and perceptions of the police may increasingly resemble that of Caribbean immigrants. In Ahmed's opinion, older generations expected fair treatment from the police for law-abiding, respectable communities, while younger generations were "*inclined to see race as a factor*" in policing experiences: "*young people are picking up more, and knowing their rights and knowing that they can kind of be opinionated, don't have to kind of listen to the police. They have a voice against the police*". Ahmed felt that trust and confidence in the police among immigrant parents was changing as they "*slowly start to realise that race is a factor that comes into play in these things*".

Second and third-generation immigrant participants of African and Caribbean descent saw themselves as members of the same community. Many were born and raised in Britain, and consequently defined themselves as 'Black Britons' or 'Black-British' political group encompassing Black people who lived in Britain. A second-generation immigrant, Stephen considered himself part of Black British culture first and Ghanaian second: "*it's all of our*

problems, isn't it?" In doing so, they rejected constructions of respectability and criminality held by many of their parents about the 'type' of Black person that experiences over-policing. For them, the policing experiences of other Black people were felt vicariously and conveyed useful information about the place of Black people in Britain more broadly. Second and third generation immigrants had a more vested interest in tackling structural inequalities, as this was likely to affect them and their families in the long term. Consequently, they expressed greater anger towards the police drawn from their shared cultural identity. This has implications for how policing is conceptualised in the future, suggesting that increased cultural cohesion may result in collective action to overcome racialised over-policing.

As the community of Black Britons continues to grow, identification with a collective identity creates opportunities for social progress from shared interests in eradicating racialised policing. This will likely present new challenges for the relationship between the police and Black communities, as long as the policing of Black Britons remains in morphostasis. As Cece put it: "*older people see their Britishness in relation to whiteness. Younger people are more like, yeah, we've created our own Black Britishness. And this is our culture. It's about community*". The reflexivity of younger participants derived from rapidly changing culture, globalised narratives, and online activism. Changing conceptions of identity may lead to changes in cultural structures, and eventually structure itself through collective forms of agency.

10.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed how agential responses contribute towards morphogenesis of Black Britons as a social and political group. Participants represented political actors within a culture and structure with the shared aim of mitigating, reducing and eventually overcoming racialised policing through the effect of Black cultural consciousness. Through the development of shared cultural narratives, participants made sense of their policing experiences and sought to achieve social progress by creating a political community of Black Britishness.

Participants sought to transition from primary agents, without power or influence to achieve social change, to corporate agents, or entities with power and agency. This represented social and cultural elaboration, and the creation of corporate agents against structural racism. Protest and community resistance against the police allowed participants to

work towards changing the structures and cultures reproducing racialised policing. Narratives about the police enabled them to interpret and explain their roles within structure and culture. Through online networks of discourse and activism, young participants viewed, explored, and interpreted the policing experiences of others through a global lens. This provided new avenues of political engagement for participants, strengthening pre-existing narratives about racialised policing, and providing opportunities for resistance. Simultaneously, the inhabiting of a Black British identity presents opportunities for collective action through common goals of overcoming racialised policing in Britain.

Black Britons are on a journey to reach the status of ‘corporate agents’, as a collection of people with the ability to mobilise in ways that articulate their experiences of racialisation and criminalisation. Whilst few participants referred to themselves as ‘activists’, various community-based responses to policing allowed them to exercise agency as social agents through intentional participation in discourses that were both critical of the police and supportive of people experiencing racialised policing. New forms of resistance to racialised policing embodied the roles of participants as agents of social change.

The data suggests that Black Britons are situated at different points within the morphogenetic cycle. However, young participants’ identities as Black Britons, and a shared repertoire of racialised experiences across generations, laid the groundwork for younger generations to develop collective responses to racism, which they may carry forward as a group with specific goals in overcoming racialised policing. These organised collective ideologies, drawn from historical experiences, contemporary policing, online political activism, and Black cultural capital, may achieve social progress by changing the structure and culture they live within and, in doing so, attain corporate agency.

Chapter 11

Conclusions

11.1 Research Overview

This research has analysed the intergenerational experience of policing of Black British communities, set against the backdrop of Britain's relationship with immigrants and groups racialised as 'other' (Gilroy, 1987). Through centring race in analysis of policing experiences, I argued that the racialisation and criminalisation of Black people, and young Black men in particular, produces and reproduces racialised policing across generations. Analysis of qualitative semi-structured and unstructured interviews about policing experiences across a 60-year period revealed that decades on from 'Policing the Crisis', the Black folk devil 'has acquired greater power with each subsequent permutation' (1987b:145). This leaves Black communities positioned as suspect communities, and the collateral damage of white hegemonic social control of the racialised 'other'.

The data demonstrated ongoing relationship between the aggressive historical policing of Black communities and the policing these communities experience today. The historical, social, and cultural foundations of Britishness embody hegemonic whiteness through legacies of imperialism (Gilroy, 2004). Recent research showing that Black communities remain disproportionately subject to stop and search (Shiner et al., 2018) conveys that, despite the debate, little has changed. This continued racialised policing has implications for the relationship between the police and Black communities, already one of considerable mistrust, anger, and fear. Beyond individual interactions, repeated negative experiences of policing entrench pre-existing feelings of marginalisation and alienation, communicating information about status, identity, and place in Britain.

The intergenerational focus of my research allowed comparisons to be made between how policing was experienced historically and now, and how this has contributed to community narratives used by Black Britons. Intersectional analysis shone light on the lived experience of Black people from their different positionalities, conveying how race, gender, age, class, and immigration histories mediate the structure and culture producing racialised policing.

The research took a qualitative approach to data collection, using semi-structured and unstructured interviews with 58 Black Britons to explore the intergenerational lived experience of policing. I answered the following research questions:

What is the intergenerational experience of policing of Black communities?

i. How do parents and children from Black communities understand their experiences of policing?
ii. How do parents and children from Black communities understand and interpret the gendered experiences of policing?
iii. How is class understood and interpreted in the policing of Black Britons?
iv. Do immigration histories change the way parents and children from Black communities understand and interpret their experiences of policing?

11.2 Discussion

From the arrival of Empire Windrush at Tilbury Docks in 1948, the lived experience of many Black people has been characterised by forms of state oppression and racialised inequalities. The policing of Black communities in contemporary Britain has been the subject of almost endless debate over time, from the early days of 'nigger hunting' (Hunte, 1966), the hegemonic crisis of the 1970s, construction of the Black mugger (Hall et al., 1978), 'sus' and other racially disproportionate forms of policing, protests and riots, the Scarman Report, the murder of Stephen Lawrence, the Macpherson Report (1999), BUSSS, and beyond.

As a historically heavily policed community, Brambleton, and Bordertown in particular, was a valuable case for research into the intergenerational experience of racialised policing. The diverse and multicultural population enabled insight into how changes in policing were experienced by participants in different structural positionalities. The data demonstrated that, contrary to discourse surrounding the policing of Black communities, little had changed. Older men and women recalled the hostile policing of the 1970s and 1980s and saw policing today as less overtly racist but were fearful of children and grandchildren experiencing police interactions. Younger participants, drawing on their knowledge of the legacy of racialised policing, expressed even greater amounts of anger, frustration, and resentment towards the police than previous generations.

The data conveyed how changing forms of racialisation and criminalisation have replaced 'the Black mugger', providing new justifications for heavy policing of Black people and neighbourhoods. Williams and Clarke's (2018:234) analysis of 'contemporary commodification' of 'the gang' as a resource in the ongoing creation of Black criminality:

> "The almost symbiotic association between gangs, violence and ethnicity that emerged from the late 1980s onwards has…compounded the view of the BAME population as 'dangerous' and a particularly 'high risk' to the public. Just like the 'Black mugger' in the 1970s…the manifestation of 'gang, gun and knife crime' in the contemporary context has served to justify the punitive policing of Black and ethnic minority groups in an attempt to 'do something' about the proliferation of street violence" (Young et al., 2020:466)

The 'Black folk devil' is continually reproduced as a threat to public safety and the British way of life. The new crises of drug and knife crime represent today's moral panic, created to justify the disproportionate policing and social control of Black communities.

The victim experiences described by participants showed how inadequate responses from the police communicate lesser victim status and calls belonging into question (Bradford & Jackson, 2014). Perceiving they had or would receive racialised treatment from the police led participants to feel they had been denied victim status and deemed complicit in their own victimisation. This finding reinforced how police responses that fall short of expectations can exacerbate the harms of victimisation or lead to secondary victimisation. For victims of crime, perceived poor treatment from the police may aggravate feelings of victimisation, negatively impacting quality of life and recovery from victimisation (Elliott et al., 2014). For participants, over-policing of Black communities was intrinsically linked to their inferior victim status, both the result of racialised assumptions about Black propensities to violence and disorder.

The intergenerational focus of the research shone light on the lived experience of policing for Black communities over time. The legacy of racialised over-policing is crucial to understanding how current generations interpret the police and the policing experiences of Black communities across the country. For many Black Britons, shared narratives about the police within communities play a role in creating, shaping, and accentuating identities, due to the symbolic processes framing interactions between the police and individuals (Bosworth & Kaufman, 2011). The accounts of parents, grandparents and community of historical events

reflected their interpretations of historical events, some of which they re-interpreted with information about contemporary policing experiences of young Black people today. Their recollections allowed older participants to fill in the gaps of historical policing experiences with evolving cultural narratives about the police. This allowed participants to make sense of their own historical experiences, some of which were many years previously, now existing only in their memories.

The data demonstrated the power of narratives in the conceptual schemas of racialised groups. Community elders drew on their own historical experiences, direct and vicarious, of policing, to confirm beliefs of the necessity of 'the Talk' and forms of implicit information and other forms of advice. Intergenerational narratives prepared young people for racist experiences, but also contributed to them by entrenching conceptual schemas of police racism, status, and identity of Black Britons in the minds of young people. This conveyed the effect of negative narratives about the police on how policing is experienced. The embedded nature of racial meanings is internalised by Black Britons, framed within a legacy of ideological white domination (Phillips, 2020).

Young participants conceptualised the police through the prism of long-term hostile relations. This illustrated how vicarious experiences can be more influential than actual experience, embedding ideas of police racism in younger generations. Narratives developed from this history and context were linked to morphostasis for Black Britons, as they facilitated hostile responses to the police from frustrations and fears that were deeply internalised. That policing was experienced as frequent, often hostile, and contentious by participants across generations conveys how new forms of criminalisation may replace previous ones but operate in similar ways. As Gilroy (1987a) argued, criminality has become fixed in the definitions of 'Blackness'.

For Black Britons, longstanding contentious policing forms symbolic repertoires that convey information about their place in British society. These entrench pre-existing cultural narratives about racism and policing in Black communities, compounding the negative effects of individual experiences. Narratives about the police contributed towards morphostasis by potentially increasing hostility in police interactions through interactional discrimination (Reiner, 2010). This showed how the intergenerational transmission of cultural narratives can be both beneficial and unintentionally harmful to young Black Britons. However, any potential negative consequences are contextualised by the function of such narratives in acknowledging and giving voice to experiences perceived to be inevitably racialised.

11.3 Theoretical Implications

The lived experience of racially minoritised communities within a 'host' country conveys how white hegemonic power determines the conditions under which marginalised groups are tolerated (Long, 2018). As Gilroy suggests "many people in Britain have come to need 'race'…as a way of keeping their bearings in a world they experience as increasingly confusing…[it] has become the mechanism that sustains the unstable edifice of increasingly brittle and empty national identity" (2004:116). My data bore out many of Gilroy's positions on Black people representing the racialised other in British society, decades on from his writing.

Examining the policing of Black Britons through a CRT framework demonstrated the relationship between colonial ideologies, racialised constructions of Black criminality, and structural inequalities in Britain. Gildea (2019) argues that Britain works through its 'decolonial trauma' by making 'the Black immigrant…the postcolonial symptom' and 'the most visible symptom of the destruction of the British way of life". Through CRT, this research foregrounded the permanence of race in British structure and culture, and the effect race has on the lives of Black Britons. The police, as the embodiment of state power, illustrates the actualised power of race in modern Britain, the operation of which renders the racialised policing of othered communities almost inevitable.

My critical realist critical race theory approach enabled analysis of how the perceptions, narratives, and behaviours that Black communities have developed to withstand racialised policing are informative of social structures without being fully constitutive of it. Critical realism presents a useful framework for research as, through this, we may consider causality and analyse social problems and further social change (Fletcher, 2017). Path dependency relied on structural and cultural heritages of racialised hierarchies, structural inequalities, racialised othering, heavy policing, marginalisation, classism, and other conditions arising within a white hegemonic structure and culture in contemporary Britain.

As explored throughout data analysis, critical realism distinguishes between the empirical, or experienced events, the actual, or events which may or may not be experienced, and the real, or underlying causal mechanisms that may or may not be realised in events. My eclectically disciplined theoretical approach shed light on the real existence of underlying generative structures, unlike more explicitly constructionist forms of CRT, and theorisation of participants' discourses without denying the materiality of reality and social structures.

As the interviews progressed, I increasingly analysed policing experiences in the context of legacy. Writing in 1978, a time of acutely hostile policing, Hall et al. considered the emerging moral panic of mugging, which was becoming associated with Black crime in the public imagination. Constructions of Black criminality provided the ideological basis for criminalisation: "the Black object as migrant becomes recast as the Black criminal Other as a device to explain the myriad of problems affecting British society" (Williams & Clarke, 2018: 234). Critical realism allows us to dismiss the idea that CRT simply represents standpoints or identity politics and see race as a generative mechanism in the policing of Black Britons. Social constructs like race are the outcome of real causal processes, with real effects on the lives of participants, both in their experiences and how they make sense of them.

The morphogenetic approach facilitates critical analysis of social reproduction, acknowledging that agency has the capacity to transform structure. Policing experiences were located within ongoing cycles of action and interaction between social structures and individual actions. As Archer argues, morphogenesis occurs when systems are changed in form, structure, or state (1995:75). Structural elaboration 're-starts a new morphogenetic cycle, for it introduces a new set of conditional influences upon interaction which are constraining as well as facilitating' (Archer, 2010:241).

The data finds many Black Britons occupying different agential positions but with a vested interest in eradicating racialised policing. Participants represented agents, primary or corporate, within the morphogenetic / morphostatic framework of racialised structures. Corporate agents, or primary agents with the power and agency to bring about social transformation, may move existing structures forward, acting collectively through recognition of shared interests, and subsequently acting on them. Archer argues: "it is precisely because such elaboration is co-determined by the conditional influence exerted by antecedent structures together with the autonomous causal powers of current agents, that society can develop in unpredictable ways" (1996:75).

The production and reproduction of knowledge, information, and narratives about the policing of Black communities across generations is integral to morphogenesis of Black Britons. Through the development of narratives, cultural adaptive mechanisms, and even participating in this research, participants exercised their ability as agents to use discourses to achieve social change. In doing so, they embodied the social group of Black Britons and

sought to create a new cultural world away from the historical experiences of racialised othering. New forms of global activism, most crucially the BLM movement, present opportunities for corporate agency in the future through organisation of collective interests.

It is argued here that morphogenesis is occurring over time, but in a non-linear manner and often in fits and starts. The continuous cycle of interaction of gains and losses as Black Britons seek corporate agency show how "structure and agency operate over different time periods …that structure necessarily pre-dates the action(s) which transform it; and that structural elaboration necessarily post-dates those actions" (Archer, 1995: 76). Some Black Britons have achieved corporate agency through increasingly powerful social movements, such as BLM, which provide the vehicle for organisation of interests, access to resources, and articulation of interests, to transition to corporate agency. In doing so, they become individuals with 'a role(s) in which they feel they can invest' and whose accompanying social identity 'is expressive of who they are as persons in society' (Archer, 1995: 261).

In contrast to some of Archer's theories, I argue that social progress does not rely purely on organised collective action. Forms of resistance displayed by participants that were practiced individually also presented opportunities for social progress. Refusing to cooperate with the police presents both self-defeating behaviour by increasing the risk of interactional discrimination (Reiner, 2010) and hostile police interactions whilst also representing a form of empowerment and resilience. Whilst potentially self-excluding, these actions also provided vehicles for young participants in particular to effectively reject white hegemony, demonstrating agency and resilience against racialising and criminalising structural conditions.

Crucially, informal forms of resistance drew from intergenerational community narratives about the police treatment of Black Britons. The embodiment of Black British identity allowed participants to conceptualise overcoming racialised policing as in their collective interests. The data suggested that some Black Britons tolerate policing in the interim, on the basis that certain actions and behaviours are necessary in the short-term to achieve social progress in the future. This conveys the perception among many Black people that hegemony may not be a permanent condition. This located informal forms of resistance within a legacy of racialised policing that is increasingly shared across whole communities. Narratives that are critical of the police are the inevitable effect of the legacy of racialised policing and will likely endure until tangible improvements in policing are experienced by generations of Black Britons which replace existing narratives.

11.4 Suggestions for Further Research

The state of the world at the time of fieldwork presented barriers to research. Due to restrictions on movement and interaction arising from the Covid-19 pandemic, I was unable to conduct the ethnographic research I had originally planned. While I was able to conduct interviews with community workers, parents, and children, ethnography at the few community centres that remain in Bordertown would provide valuable insight into the day-to-day experience for Black Britons. This would include experiences of policing, but also provide insights into cultural behaviours as practiced in group settings. I conducted several focus groups remotely but building relationships with families in community centres would have enabled a different and perhaps more holistic understanding into how policing is conceptualised and experienced.

I had also originally planned to find multiple generations of one family through working with community centres. In recruitment, I sought participants from the same families, but was unable to recruit as many multi-generational families as I would have liked. I believe that interviewing generations of families would provide important insight into the intergenerational experience of racialised policing in different family context. Doing so would enable analysis of how different generations produce and share narratives with subsequent generations and how these narratives are mediated by different agents within family structures.

Future research could further explore the intersectional experience of policing. As already noted, recruitment of female participants, particular older women, proved difficult. The opportunity to conduct ethnography and ethnographic interviews with more Black women and girls would provide greater insight into the gendered experience of policing of Black Britons. The data suggested that Black women are often tasked with 'picking up the pieces' of policing in their communities. Greater exploration of the role of gender in 'the Talk' and other community narratives would be valuable, in addition to the further insight into the emotional labour taken on by Black women and girls.

11.5 Research Contributions

The role and function of the police, institutional racism and misogyny, corruption, and violence are barely out of the news in recent years. Despite decades of discourse, racialised

policing and violence against Black people too often remain attributed to 'bad apples' in the police. The Beating Crime Plan 2022, investigations into police accountability, and the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022 all present new sites of conflict for British policing. The frequent claim that increased policing is the most effective means of protecting communities is belied by the lived experiences of members of communities, enduring mistrust, and perceptions of targeting from the police.

My research provides insight into the power held by the institution of the police to produce reproduce racialised power relations through discretionary policing. As the political agent most representative of state and legal authority, the police embody the power of white hegemonic social order to prevent social change occurring for social agents. Continued racialised over-policing would see Black communities, structurally and culturally, remaining in morphostasis, whereby actions in the social world reproduce existing social arrangements across generations. However, morphogenetic theories posit that society does not have permanent form but takes its form from agents and the consequences of their actions. This reflects Archer's ideas that society is activity-dependent and reproduced through the activities of agents operating in conditions not of their choosing. Through the development of cultural narratives about the police transmitted intergenerationally, Black Britons demonstrate agency and seek corporate agency.

Within the collective experiences of Black Britons as a political community, individual experiences are seen as part of a whole. I did not set out to establish the existence of racism in policing but to consider how racialised structural and cultural conditions affect lived experience from the perspective of participants. Many participants had internalised their 'master status' as Black (reference), therefore viewing direct and vicarious police interactions through a racialised lens. The actions of the police, media, discourse surrounding race and crime, and structural inequalities all contributed to how policing was experienced. Thus, policing interactions were not experienced in a vacuum but as one aspect of racialised relations between Black people and the British state. The data revealed the ontological impact of internalised interpretations of race and racism in the lives of participants.

Participants interpreted information about the policing of Black people in accordance with pre-existing narratives about racial disproportionalities in the criminal justice system and a lack of police accountability contributed to perceptions of structural inequalities throughout British society. The current issues facing policing are often conceptualised as a problem that can be solved through improving individual stops and searches or increasing the

diversity of the police force. My research illustrates that the issue is far more complex. The production and reproduction of collective understandings have ramifications for increasing trust and confidence in the police within Black communities, and the data suggests that improving specific police interactions will not be enough to improve relations with whole communities.

The competing interpretations explored in this thesis highlight how narratives may be more powerful than actual experiences, particularly when emerging from deeply entrenched conceptual schemes about race in British society. Recommendations for policing reform continue to overlook the deeply-entrenched nature of these negative intergenerational narratives. Through stories transmitted from parent to child, participants positioned experiences of their own within a legacy of hostility, discrimination, and over-policing of Black communities. The greater levels of frustration and anger displayed by young people demonstrated the ontological status of perceptions of the police. Any policy recommendations for improving trust, confidence, reporting and cooperation must consider the power of these narratives and acknowledge that only by changing these intergenerational narratives can social progress be achieved.

Narratives developed from this history and context were linked to morphostasis for Black Britons, as they facilitated hostile responses to be police from frustrations and fears that were deeply internalised. Parents, in seeking to protect, guide, and prepare children for racist experiences, contributed to framing and instilling anti-police worldviews in younger generations. In doing so, they instil cultural narratives about police racism that become more powerful than actual policing interactions, entrenching negative attitudes about the police that often exacerbated the harm of police interactions. These narratives will continue to be used until tangible differences in policing are experienced by generations of Black Britons, which effectively replace existing narratives with new ones.

Conflicting narratives suggested that some participants did think progress had taken place but that it was slower, more incremental, and unequally proportioned across Black communities. Police reform did not seem progressive to many participants, as if often took place years after decades of disregarding discourse, campaigning, protest from Black communities. Changes to police policy and practice were seen to be insufficient and out of step with community needs. This illustrated the significance of intergenerational narratives about the police that were often more influential to how participants interpreted the police than the other information or evidence.

The data demonstrated key differences in how the reality of racialised policing was experienced by participants in their different positions as social actors. Through analysis of the intersectional experience of policing, my research moved beyond the traditional focus on young Black males towards considering how gender, class, age, and immigration histories affect policing experiences of Black British people. The interviews reinforced that Black communities do not experience policing as a monolith. Instead, different sectors of Black communities both experience policing differently, and are able to draw on different forms of cultural capital available to them to minimise the harmful consequences of racialised policing. This demonstrated the interest divergence of different members of the community within raced and classed power structures, which may constrain community efforts to achieve corporate agency.

Cultural narratives conveyed ideas about British policing through which participants interpreted their own identities as Britons. For many, racialised policing over decades conveyed that their status, identity, and belonging in Britain remains highly conditional. The class-based forms of capital discussed here suggests this may be achieved by greater structural and cultural equality for Black Britons as a racially minoritised group. The development of cultural capital enabled participants to affirm legitimacy as agential individuals and groups within a particular structure and culture. This suggests that increasing the capital of Black Britons is crucial to overcoming racialised policing. Despite this, the increasing identification of participants as Black Britons, with a vested interest in eradicating the racialisation and criminalisation producing racialised policing, presents a vehicle for social change through collective articulation of shared goals and interest convergence.

The effort to overcome racialised policing remains an ongoing battle. These attempts of Black Britons achieve corporate agency must be sustained, or entities may return to their constituent parts. The nature of the morphogenetic cycle is that social progress may not continue: "having come into existence, there is no guarantee that an entity will continue to exist; if it does so, we can label the set of causes that sustains this existence as its morphostatic causes. At any moment, it is always possible that countervailing causes will overcome the morphostatic causes sustaining an entity and dissolve it back into its component parts" (Elder-Vass (2007:6).

My research presents a counterpoint to some of the traditional recommendations improving policing, arguing that a structural problem requires structural solutions, through by addressing the contentious relationship between Black people and the British state. While the

racialising and criminalising processes of the police and the British state may endure, Black Britons are on a path to corporate agency through the expression and embodiment of cultural capital from groups who recognise the global scale of the systemic violence experienced by Black people. Through collective Black consciousness, Black British communities work towards achieving corporate agency with and on behalf of other Black Britons. In doing so, the policing of Black British communities may no longer cast its long shadow on the next generation of Black Britons.

11.6 Final Comments

Racialised policing is an ordinary part of life for many Black Britons. The policing of Black communities, however, is simply one example of the structural inequalities that too many Black British people endure in modern Britain. While this research focused on policing, critical analysis of other British institutions might reveal similar racialising processes that disproportionately affect ethnic minority communities. This speaks to the power of race, integral to, but resolutely unacknowledged by, British imperial endeavour. Identifying race as a generative mechanism in the policing of Black Britons is crucial to the development of sustainable improvements to the police-community relationship, and social progress for Black Britons. As Hirsch (2018:125) puts it, “We want to be post-racial, without ever having admitted how racial a society we have been.”

As the Black Lives Matter movement continues to grow, the policing of Black communities stands at a precipice. The aftermath of Stephen Lawrence’s murder, while in many ways embodying a lack of social progress, also resulted in lessons learned in the police. While post-Macpherson reforms were not enough to eradicate racialised policing, the criticism of the police and debates around police racism, provided language for discussing the phenomenon of institutional racism in the police, which remains vital today for understanding the policing of Black communities today. The recent announcement from MPS that it intends to overhaul the ‘Gangs Matrix’, following a legal challenge by human-rights organisation Liberty, could represent a commitment to reducing the racialisation and criminalisation of Black communities (BBC News, 2022). Furthermore, recent debates around defunding the police in Britain, which might have seemed unheard of even a few years ago, suggest the desire for significant reform in policing and police-community relations.

Histories of human action shape paths, and the relationships between paths (Golob & Makarovic, 2019). The socio-political and structural positioning of Black communities in Britain remains enunciated through the prisms of racialisation, criminalisation, and othering. My research leaves me hopeful that social progress is not just possible, but inevitable, once the racialising, criminalising, and othering processes that produce policing are overcome. In the meantime, Black Britons continue their efforts to overcome racialised policing, demonstrating agency, fortitude, and resilience as they seek a fairer society for future generations. As Derrick Bell (1992: 378) expressed, "the struggle for freedom is, at bottom, a manifestation of our humanity that survives and grows stronger through resistance to oppression even if that oppression is never overcome". Seventeen-year-old Zav laid out his hopes for the future:

> *"I want everything to be fair. Because if things aren't fair, that's when society gets the how it is. Like, look at it. Look how it is when things aren't fair. Things ain't fair. Look at what you're looking at now, Bisi. If I could make things more fair and more equal for everyone, if I had that power, do you think I wouldn't do that? I would do that today, right now. I would love to change things. But I can't, I've had to say it 100 times to you on this phone call. I wish, I wish, I really wish I could. I wish I had the power. I wish I could be in the Queen's position. I wish I could change everything. Because if I really could do that, like, England would just be nice. It would be the best country in the world. You know, I mean, it would be rich, it would be happy. There'll be no dramas. But obviously, I haven't got that power. I'm not the government. I can't change things. But if I could, like I said, it would be better, you know what I mean?"*

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APPENDIX 1

Research Information Sheet for Community Centres

Bisi Akintoye - PhD Candidate at the University of Kent

Research Title: Exploring the Lived Experience and Intergenerational Impact of Policing of Black Communities

Overview

I am interested in the personal and community experiences of the people that are affected by police practices. My research will seek to understand the effects of policing and stop and search, and specifically the effect it has on black and brown families and communities.

I am working with community organisations, youth groups and schools, in order to meet, spend time with and potentially conduct interviews with young people, particularly young black and Asian people aged between 12 and 21, and their parents/guardians. I will be recruiting young people and adults to participate in the research from these organisations. I hope to gain insight into:

1) Knowledge and experience of the police;
2) Experience of stop and search and feelings related to it; and
3) The impact of stop and search on individuals and communities.

Research Methods

1. Observation

Over the next few months, I will be spending time at and other organisations that work closely with the community and the police in [deleted] on reducing violence and provide support and advice to parents and guardians of young people living in [deleted]. I will attend group meetings, events, and other discussions. I am interested in listening to discussions between parents and guardians about what they think are they key issues facing young people in [deleted], as well as your opinions on the police and your opinions on stop and search. During this time, I will note my observations and may ask you questions about the issues raised.

2. Interviews

I also intend to recruit participants for interviews. There is a separate information sheet for interviews that I will give you if you are interviewed. The interviews will take place here, either individually or in small groups. If you agree to be interviewed, I will ask you questions about your experiences and what it is like living in the borough. You are free to ask me any questions. The interviews will not last more than an hour.

What are the risks and benefits of taking part?

I want to make sure that research is done in an ethical way and also in a way that makes you feel comfortable. I will be making observations and taking notes about some of the things you discuss in the group meetings. I may ask you some questions, but you are free not to answer them. You can discuss anything you would like with me, but you are also free not to talk to me at all.

My research is about the real experiences of families living in [deleted] around policing and stop and search, so benefits of taking part will be to provide insight into this and provide you with an opportunity to express feelings, opinions and worries about these issues, particularly issues you feel your child or children are facing. You may find it interesting or enjoyable to talk about your experiences with someone else. Your responses will contribute to understanding of these issues.

What are my rights as a participant?

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you can stop participating at any time.

Your data will not be used without your permission.

Please note that you will not be paid.

What if I have concerns about the research?

You are free to raise any concerns you have with me, or one of the key workers here, such as [deleted].

How do I consent to take part?

Anyone who would like to participate in interviews is asked to sign a consent form. It is important that you read the consent form before you sign as it explains how I will protect

your rights by keeping your answers confidential and how you can stop participating at any time.

What will happen to my information?

Your data will be anonymised and remain confidential.

You will be able to choose an alias.

Your personal information will be kept on an encrypted USB.

My handwritten notes will be kept in a locked box.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The findings may be discussed in articles, journals, or presentations with other researchers. The findings will be presented in a way that you could not be personally identified.

About me

I am a qualified solicitor and have been working in civil litigation for the past 5 years. I am now completing a PhD at the University of Kent in Social Police, with a focus on race and policing.

I can't provide you with legal advice, but I can make suggestions or referrals for advice.

Contact

Phone: [deleted]

Email: [deleted]

Thank you for your time in reading this information. If you have any further questions at any stage of the research, please do not hesitate to ask me.

Interview Information Sheet Ages 12 and 13

Bisi Akintoye - PhD Candidate at the University of Kent

Research Title: Exploring the Lived Experience of Policing of Black and Brown Minority Ethnic Communities

Overview

I am interested in the personal and community experiences of the people that are affected by police practices. My research is to try to understand the effects of policing and stop and search, and especially the effect it has on black and brown families and communities.

I am working with community organisations, youth groups and schools to meet and spend time with young people like you. I'm doing interviews with young people, especially young black and Asian people aged between 12 and 21, and your parents/guardians. I want to find out about:

1) Knowledge and experience of the police;
2) Experience of stop and search and feelings related to it; and
3) The impact of stop and search on individuals and communities.

What will the interviews be like?

The interviews will take place here, either one on one, or in small groups.

If you agree to be interviewed, I will ask you questions about your experiences and what it is like living in the borough and how you feel about the police.

You are free to ask me any questions.

The interviews will not last more than an hour.

What are your rights as a participant?

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can stop taking part at any time.

Your data won't be used without your permission.

If you agree to take part, you will be asked to complete a consent form showing that you have understood the study and have had a chance to discuss any questions with me. I will confirm whether you are happy for the interview to be recorded.

Please note that you won't be paid!

How does consent work?

Anyone who would like to participate in interviews is asked to sign a consent form.

If you are 12 or 13 and would like to take part in the interviews, a parent or guardian will have to sign a consent form on your behalf.

It is important that you and your parent or guardian read the consent form before you sign as it explains how I will protect your rights by keeping your answers confidential and how you can stop participating at any time.

What will happen to my data?

Your data will be anonymous and confidential.

You will be able to choose a fake name.

I will be the only person who listens to your interview. A written transcript of your interview will be stored securely after the interview.

Your personal information will be kept on an encrypted USB.

My handwritten notes will be kept in a locked box.

The interviews will be audio recorded, transcribed, and then deleted. The transcripts will be kept on an encrypted USB.

What are the risks and benefits of the study?

I want to make sure that research is done in an ethical way and also in a way that makes you feel comfortable. We will be discussing issues around the police and stop and search and this may be uncomfortable for you. Please let me know if I am making you uncomfortable in any way during the interview and I will stop. I will ask you questions but you are free not to answer them. You can discuss anything you would like with me, but you are also free not to talk to me at all.

My research is about the real experiences of young people living in [deleted] around policing and stop and search, so benefits of taking part will be to provide insight into this and provide young people like you with an opportunity to express your feelings, opinions and worries

about these issues. You may find it interesting or enjoyable to talk about your experiences with someone else. Your responses will contribute to understanding of these issues.

What if I want to leave the study?

You can stop the interview or refuse to take part at any stage, and you don't have to explain why. In this case, I will destroy the recordings of you and any transcripts to date.

What are the safety procedures?

This study is confidential, but under [deleted] procedure, I am required to inform [deleted] if I receive any information relating to a crime (e.g., possession of a weapon or drugs).

If I learn information from you about a risk to any person on or off the premises, I will disclose this to [deleted], who will contact your parents or guardians.

If I receive information about risk to a child, I will inform [deleted], who may decide to contact the police.

What if I'm worried about something in the study?

You are free to raise any concerns you have with me, or one of the key workers here.

If you have any feelings of distress or anxiety during or after the interview, you can contact:

ChildLine, a charity that offers help and advice to young people, by phone on 0800 1111 (https://www.childline.org.uk/); or

You can contact the Samaritans, by phone on 116 123 or by email: jo@samaritans.org.

What will happen to the results of this study?

It will become part of my PhD thesis.

The findings may be discussed in articles, journals, or presentations with other researchers. The findings will be presented in a way that you could not be personally identified.

About me

I am a qualified solicitor and have been working in civil litigation for the past 5 years. I am now completing a PhD at the University of Kent in Social Police, with a focus on race and policing.

I can't provide legal advice but can make suggestions or referrals for advice.

Contact

Phone: [deleted]

Email: [deleted]

Thank you for your time in reading this information. If you have any further questions at any stage of the research, please do not hesitate to ask me.

Interview Information Sheet – Ages 14 and 15

Bisi Akintoye - PhD Candidate at the University of Kent

Research Title: Exploring the Lived Experience and Intergenerational Impact of Policing of Black and Brown Minority Ethnic Communities

Overview

I am interested in the personal and community experiences of the people that are affected by police practices. My research is to try to understand the effects of policing and stop and search, and especially the effect it has on black and brown families and communities.

I am working with community organisations, youth groups and schools to meet and spend time with young people like you. I'm doing interviews with young people, especially young black and Asian people aged between 12 and 21, and your parents/guardians. I want to find out about:

1) Knowledge and experience of the police;
2) Experience of stop and search and feelings related to it; and
3) The impact of stop and search on individuals and communities.

What will the interviews be like?

The interviews will take place here, either individually or in small groups.

If you agree to be interviewed, I will ask you questions about your experiences and what it is like living in the borough and how you feel about the police.

You are free to ask me any questions.

The interviews will not last more than an hour.

What are your rights as a participant?

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can stop taking part at any time.

Your data won't be used without your permission.

I will confirm whether you are happy for the interview to be recorded.

Please note that you won't be paid!

How does consent work?

If you are 14 or 15 and would like to take part in the interviews, you will need to sign a consent form. It is important that you read the consent form before you sign as it explains how I will protect your rights by keeping your answers confidential and how you can stop participating at any time.

A parent, guardian, teacher, key worker here, or another adult that knows you will also have to vouch for you and say you are mature enough to take part in the study.

What will happen to my data?

Your data will be anonymous and confidential.

You will be able to choose a fake name.

I will be the only person who listens to your interview. A written transcript of your interview will be stored securely after the interview.

Your personal information will be kept on an encrypted USB.

My handwritten notes will be kept in a locked box.

The interviews will be audio recorded, transcribed, and then deleted. The transcripts will be kept on an encrypted USB.

What are the risks and benefits of the study?

I want to make sure that research is done in an ethical way and also in a way that makes you feel comfortable. We will be discussing issues around the police and stop and search and this may be uncomfortable for you. Please let me know if I am making you uncomfortable in any way during the interview and I will move on to another question. I will ask you questions but you are free not to answer them. You can discuss anything you would like with me, but you are also free not to talk to me at all.

My research is about the real experiences of young people living in [deleted] around policing and stop and search, so benefits of taking part will be to provide insight into this and provide young people like you with an opportunity to express your feelings, opinions and worries about these issues. You may find it interesting or enjoyable to talk about your experiences with someone else. Your responses will contribute to understanding of these issues.

What happens if I no longer want to take part in the study?

You can stop the interview or refuse to take part at any stage, and you don't have to explain why. In this case, I will destroy the recordings of you and any transcripts to date.

What are the safety procedures?

This study is confidential, but under [deleted] procedure, I am required to inform [deleted] if I receive any information relating to a crime (e.g., possession of a weapon or drugs).

If I learn information from you about a risk to any person inside or outside of [deleted], I will disclose this to [deleted], who will contact your parents or guardians.

If I receive information about risk to a child, I will inform [deleted], who may decide to contact the police.

What if I'm worried about something in the study?

You are free to raise any concerns you have with me, or one of the key workers here, such as [deleted].

If you have any feelings of worry or distress during or after the interview, you can contact:

ChildLine, a charity that offers help and advice to young people, by phone on 0800 1111 (https://www.childline.org.uk/); or

You can contact the Samaritans, by phone on 116 123 or by email: jo@samaritans.org.

What will happen to the results of this study?

The data will become part of my PhD thesis.

The findings may be discussed in articles, journals, or presentations with other researchers. The findings will be presented in a way that you could not be personally identified.

About me

I am a qualified solicitor and have been working in civil litigation for the past 5 years. I am now completing a PhD at the University of Kent in Social Police, with a focus on race and policing.

I can't provide legal advice but can make suggestions or referrals for advice.

Contact

Phone: [deleted]

Email: [deleted]

Thank you for your time in reading this information. If you have any further questions at any stage of the research, please do not hesitate to ask me.

Interview Information Sheet – Ages 16 and 17

Bisi Akintoye - PhD Candidate at the University of Kent

Research Title: Exploring the Lived Experience and Intergenerational Impact of Policing of Black and Brown Minority Ethnic Communities

Overview

I am interested in the personal and community experiences of the people that are affected by police practices. My research is to try to understand the effects of policing and stop and search, and especially the effect it has on black and brown families and communities.

I am working with community organisations, youth groups and schools to meet and spend time with young people like you. I'm doing interviews with young people, especially young black and Asian people aged between 12 and 21, and your parents/guardians. I want to find out about:

1) Knowledge and experience of the police;
2) Experience of stop and search and feelings related to it; and
3) The impact of stop and search on individuals and communities.

What will the interviews be like?

The interviews will take place here, either individually or in small groups.

If you agree to be interviewed, I will ask you questions about your experiences and what it is like living in the borough and how you feel about the police.

You are free to ask me any questions.

The interviews will not last more than an hour.

What are your rights as a participant?

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can stop taking part at any time.

Your data won't be used without your permission.

I will confirm whether you are happy for the interview to be recorded.

Please note that you won't be paid!

How does consent work?

If you are 16 or 17 and would like to take part in the interviews, you will need to sign a consent form.

It is important that you read the consent form before you sign as it explains how I will protect your rights by keeping your answers confidential and how you can stop participating at any time.

You can participate in the study without permission from your parent or guardian. If they have concerns about the study, they can contact me, or [deleted]

What will happen to my data?

Your data will be anonymous and confidential.

You will be able to choose a fake name.

I will be the only person who listens to your interview. A written transcript of your interview will be stored securely after the interview.

Your personal information will be kept on an encrypted USB.

My handwritten notes will be kept in a locked box.

The interviews will be audio recorded, transcribed, and then deleted. The transcripts will be kept on an encrypted USB.

What are the risks and benefits of the study?

I want to make sure that research is done in an ethical way and also in a way that makes you feel comfortable. We will be discussing issues around the police and stop and search and this may be uncomfortable for you. Please let me know if I am making you uncomfortable in any way during the interview and I will move on to another question. I will ask you questions but you are free not to answer them. You may find it interesting or enjoyable to talk about your experiences with someone else. Your responses will contribute to understanding of these issues.

My research is about the real experiences of young people living in [deleted] around policing and stop and search, so benefits of taking part will be to provide insight into this and provide young people like you with an opportunity to express your feelings, opinions and worries about these issues.

What happens if I no longer want to take part in the study?

You can stop the interview or refuse to take part at any stage, and you don't have to explain why. In this case, I will destroy the recordings of you and any transcripts to date.

What are the safety procedures?

This study is confidential, but under [deleted] procedure, I am required to inform [deleted]when I receive information from you about a risk to any member of the group or any other person. [deleted] will contact your parents or guardians.

If I receive information about risk to a child, I will inform [deleted] who may decide to contact the police.

What if I'm worried about something in the study?

You are free to raise any concerns you have with me, or one of the key workers here, such as [deleted].

If you have any feelings of worry or distress during or after the interview, you can contact:

ChildLine, a charity that offers help and advice to young people, by phone on 0800 1111 (https://www.childline.org.uk/); or

You can contact the Samaritans, by phone on 116 123 or by email: jo@samaritans.org.

What will happen to the results of this study?

The data will become part of my PhD thesis.

The findings may be discussed in articles, journals, or presentations with other researchers. The findings will be presented in a way that you could not be personally identified.

About me

I am a qualified solicitor and have been working in civil litigation for the past 5 years. I am now completing a PhD at the University of Kent in Social Police, with a focus on race and policing.

I can't provide legal advice but can make suggestions or referrals for advice.

Contact

Phone[deleted]

Email: [deleted]

Thank you for your time in reading this information. If you have any further questions at any stage of the research, please do not hesitate to ask me.

Interview Research Information Sheet – Young People

Bisi Akintoye - PhD Candidate at the University of Kent

Research Title: Exploring the Lived Experience and Intergenerational Impact of Policing of Black and Brown Minority Ethnic Communities

Overview

I am interested in the personal and community experiences of the people that are affected by police practices. My research is to try to understand the effects of policing and stop and search, and especially the effect it has on black and brown families and communities.

I am working with community organisations, youth groups and schools to meet and spend time with young people. I'm doing interviews with young people, especially young black and Asian people aged between 12 and 21, and parents/guardians. I want to find out about:

1) Knowledge and experience of the police;
2) Experience of stop and search and feelings related to it; and
3) The impact of stop and search on individuals and communities.

What will the interviews be like?

The interviews will take place here, either individually or in small groups.

If you agree to be interviewed, I will ask you questions about your experiences and what it is like living in the borough and how you feel about the police.

You are free to ask me any questions.

The interviews will not last more than an hour.

What are your rights as a participant?

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can stop taking part at any time.

If you agree to take part, you will be asked to complete a consent form showing that you have understood the study and have had a chance to discuss any questions with me.

I will confirm whether you are happy for the interview to be recorded.

Your data won't be used without your permission.

Please note that you won't be paid.

How does consent work?

If you would like to take part in the interviews, you will need to sign a consent form.

It is important that you read the consent form before you sign as it explains how I will protect your rights by keeping your answers confidential and how you can stop participating at any time.

What will happen to my data?

Your data will be anonymous and confidential.

I will be the only person who listens to your interview. A written transcript of your interview will be stored securely after the interview.

You will be able to choose an alias.

Your personal information will be kept on an encrypted USB.

My handwritten notes will be kept in a locked box.

The interviews will be audio recorded, transcribed, and then deleted. The transcripts will be kept on an encrypted USB.

What are the risks and benefits of the study?

I want to make sure that research is done in an ethical way and also in a way that makes you feel comfortable. We will be discussing issues around the police and stop and search and this may be uncomfortable for you. Please let me know if I am making you uncomfortable in any way during the interview and I will move on to another question. You are free not to answer questions you don't want to answer.

My research is about the real experiences of families living in [deleted] around policing and stop and search, so benefits of taking part will be to provide insight into this and provide you with an opportunity to express your feelings, opinions and worries about these issues. You may find it interesting or enjoyable to talk about your experiences with someone else. Your responses will contribute to understanding of these issues.

What happens if I no longer want to take part in the study?

You can stop the interview or refuse to take part at any stage, and you don't have to explain why. In this case, I will destroy the recordings of you and any transcripts to date.

What if I'm worried about something in the study?

You are free to raise any concerns you have with me, or one of the key workers here, such as [deleted].

What will happen to the results of this study?

The data will become part of my PhD thesis.

The findings may be discussed in articles, journals, or presentations with other researchers. The findings will be presented in a way that you could not be personally identified.

About me

I am a qualified solicitor and have been working in civil litigation for the past 5 years. I am now completing a PhD at the University of Kent in Social Police, with a focus on race and policing.

I can't provide legal advice but can make suggestions or referrals for advice.

This study is self-funded.

Contact

Phone: [deleted]

Email: [deleted]

Thank you for your time in reading this information. If you have any further questions at any stage of the research, please do not hesitate to ask me.

Interview Research Information Sheet – Parents and Guardians

Bisi Akintoye - PhD Candidate at the University of Kent

Research Title: Exploring the Lived Experience and Intergenerational Impact of Policing of Black and Brown Minority Ethnic Communities

Overview

I am interested in the personal and community experiences of the people that are affected by police practices. My research is to try to understand the effects of policing and stop and search, and especially the effect it has on black and brown families and communities.

I am working with community organisations, youth groups and schools to meet and spend time with young people. I'm doing interviews with young people, especially young black and Asian people aged between 12 and 21, and parents/guardians. I want to find out about:

1) Knowledge and experience of the police;
2) Experience of stop and search and feelings related to it; and
3) The impact of stop and search on individuals and communities.

What will the interviews be like?

The interviews will take place here, either individually or in small groups.

If you agree to be interviewed, I will ask you questions about you and your child/children's experiences and what it is like living in the borough and how you feel about the police.

You are free to ask me any questions.

The interviews will not last more than an hour.

What are your rights as a participant?

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can stop taking part at any time.

If you agree to take part, you will be asked to complete a consent form showing that you have understood the study and have had a chance to discuss any questions with me.

I will confirm whether you are happy for the interview to be recorded.

Your data won't be used without your permission.

Please note that you won't be paid.

How does consent work?

If you would like to take part in the interviews, you will need to sign a consent form.

It is important that you read the consent form before you sign as it explains how I will protect your rights by keeping your answers confidential and how you can stop participating at any time.

What will happen to my data?

Your data will be anonymous and confidential.

I will be the only person who listens to your interview. A written transcript of your interview will be stored securely after the interview.

You will be able to choose an alias.

Your personal information will be kept on an encrypted USB.

My handwritten notes will be kept in a locked box.

The interviews will be audio recorded, transcribed, and then deleted. The transcripts will be kept on an encrypted USB.

What are the risks and benefits of the study?

I want to make sure that research is done in an ethical way and also in a way that makes you feel comfortable. We will be discussing issues around the police and stop and search and this may be uncomfortable for you. Please let me know if I am making you uncomfortable in any way during the interview and I will move on to another question. You are free not to answer questions you don't want to answer.

My research is about the real experiences of families living in [deleted] around policing and stop and search, so benefits of taking part will be to provide insight into this and provide you with an opportunity to express your feelings, opinions and worries about these issues. You may find it interesting or enjoyable to talk about your experiences with someone else. Your responses will contribute to understanding of these issues.

What happens if I no longer want to take part in the study?

You can stop the interview or refuse to take part at any stage, and you don't have to explain why. In this case, I will destroy the recordings of you and any transcripts to date.

What if I'm worried about something in the study?

You are free to raise any concerns you have with me, or one of the key workers here, such as [deleted].

What will happen to the results of this study?

The data will become part of my PhD thesis.

The findings may be discussed in articles, journals, or presentations with other researchers. The findings will be presented in a way that you could not be personally identified.

About me

I am a qualified solicitor and have been working in civil litigation for the past 5 years. I am now completing a PhD at the University of Kent in Social Police, with a focus on race and policing.

I can't provide legal advice but can make suggestions or referrals for advice.

This study is self-funded.

Contact

Phone: [deleted]

Email: [deleted]

Thank you for your time in reading this information. If you have any further questions at any stage of the research, please do not hesitate to ask me.

<u>Interview Research Information Sheet – Community Workers</u>

Bisi Akintoye - PhD Candidate at the University of Kent

<u>Research Title</u>: Exploring the Lived Experience and Intergenerational Impact of Policing of Black and Brown Minority Ethnic Communities

<u>Overview</u>

I am interested in the personal and community experiences of the people that are affected by police practices. My research is to try to understand the effects of policing and stop and search, and especially the effect it has on black and brown families and communities.

I am working with community organisations, youth groups and schools to meet and spend time with young people. I'm doing interviews with young people, especially young black and Asian people aged between 12 and 21, their parents/guardians, and key workers like you. I want to find out about:

1) Knowledge and experience of the police;
2) Experience of stop and search and feelings related to it; and
3) The impact of stop and search on individuals and communities.

What will the interviews be like?

The interviews will take place at [deleted], either individually or in small groups.

If you agree to be interviewed, I will ask you questions about your personal experiences and also your experiences while working with the organisation, what it is like living in the borough and your feelings on the relationship between the police and the community.

You are free to ask me any questions.

The interviews will not last more than an hour.

What are your rights as a participant?

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can stop taking part at any time.

If you agree to take part, you will be asked to complete a consent form showing that you have understood the study and have had a chance to discuss any questions with me.

I will confirm whether you are happy for the interview to be recorded.

Your data won’t be used without your permission.

Please note that you won’t be paid.

How does consent work?

If you would like to take part in the interviews, you will need to sign a consent form.

It is important that you read the consent form before you sign as it explains how I will protect your rights by keeping your answers confidential and how you can stop participating at any time.

What will happen to my data?

Your data will be anonymous and confidential.

If you would like, you will be able to choose an alias.

I will be the only person who listens to your interview.

A written transcript of your interview will be stored securely after the interview.

Your personal information will be kept on an encrypted USB.

My handwritten notes will be kept in a locked box.

The interviews will be audio recorded, transcribed, and then deleted. The transcripts will be kept on an encrypted USB.

What are the risks and benefits of the study?

I want to make sure that research is done in an ethical way and also in a way that makes you feel comfortable. We will be discussing issues around the police and stop and search and this may be uncomfortable for you. Please let me know if I am making you uncomfortable in any way during the interview and I will move on to another question. You are free not to answer questions.

My research is about the real experiences of communities living in [deleted] around policing and stop and search, so benefits of taking part will be to provide insight into this and provide you with an opportunity to express your feelings, opinions and worries about these issues. You may find it interesting or enjoyable to talk about your experiences with someone else. Your responses will contribute to understanding of these issues.

What happens if I no longer want to take part in the study?

You can stop the interview or refuse to take part at any stage, and you don't have to explain why. In this case, I will destroy the recordings of you and any transcripts to date.

What if I'm worried about something in the study?

You are free to raise any concerns you have with me, or [deleted]

What will happen to the results of this study?

The data will become part of my PhD thesis.

The findings may also be discussed in articles, journals, or presentations with other researchers. The findings will be presented in a way that you could not be personally identified.

About me

I am a qualified solicitor and have been working in civil litigation for the past 5 years. I am now completing a PhD at the University of Kent in Social Police, with a focus on race and policing.

I can't provide legal advice but can make suggestions or referrals for advice.

This study is self-funded.

Contact

Phone: [deleted]

Email: [deleted]

Thank you for your time in reading this information. If you have any further questions at any stage of the research, please do not hesitate to ask me.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

PARENTS / GUARDIANS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Young People, Policing and Stop and Search

Please answer the following questions by ticking the response that applies.

	YES	**NO**
I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me.		
I have had the chance to ask, and I understand that I can ask further questions at any point.		
I understand that my child's participation is voluntary, and that they do not have to take part in the study if they don't want to.		
I understand that my child is able to leave the study if they choose.		
I understand what will happen to my child's data.		
I am happy for my child to take part in the study.		

I am happy for my child to be interviewed.

I am happy for the interview to be recorded.

I agree to let the researcher use information from the interviews, as long as this is done in such a way that my child cannot be identified.

Parent / Guardian's Signature: ____

Date: ___________

Parent/Guardian's Name (Printed): _____________________________

Participant's Name (Printed): __________________________________

Researcher's Signature: ______________________________________

Researcher's Name (Printed): __________________________________

Researcher's contact details: Bisi Akintoye

Email: [deleted]

CONSENT FORM – OBSERVATION

PARENTS / GUARDIANS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Young People, Policing and Stop and Search

Please answer the following questions by ticking the response that applies.

	YES	NO
I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me.		
I have had the chance to ask, and I understand that I can ask further questions at any point.		
I understand that my child's participation is voluntary, and that they do not have to take part in the study if they don't want to.		
I understand that my child is able to leave the study if they choose.		
I understand what will happen to my child's data.		
I am happy for my child to take part in the study.		
I am happy for my child to be observed.		

I am happy for notes to be taken of the observations.

I agree to let the researcher use information from the observations, as long as this is done in such a way that my child cannot be identified.

Parent / Guardian's Signature: ____

Date: ___________

Parent/Guardian's Name (Printed): _______________________________

Participant's Name (Printed): ____________________________________

Researcher's Signature: ____

Researcher's Name (Printed): ____________________________________

Researcher's contact details: Bisi Akintoye

Email: [deleted]

CONSENT FORM – OBSERVATION

PARENTS / GUARDIANS

Young People, Policing and Stop and Search

Please answer the following questions by ticking the response that applies.

	YES	**NO**
I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me.		
I have had the chance to ask, and I understand that I can ask further questions at any point.		
I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I do not have to take part in the study if I don’t want to.		
I understand that I am able to leave the study if I choose.		
I understand what will happen to my data.		
I am happy to take part in the study.		
I am happy to be observed.		

I am happy for notes to be taken of the observations.

I agree to let the researcher use information from the observations, as long as this is done in such a way that I cannot be identified.

Participant's Signature: ______________________________________

Date: ___________

Participant's Name (Printed): ________________________________

Researcher's Signature: ____________________________________

Researcher's Name (Printed): ________________________________

Researcher's contact details: Bisi Akintoye

Email: [deleted]

CONSENT FORM – INTERVIEWS

PARENTS & GUARDIANS

Young People, Policing and Stop and Search

Please answer the following questions by ticking the response that applies.

	YES	NO
I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me.		
I have had the chance to ask, and I understand that I can ask further questions at any point.		
I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I do not have to answer any of the researcher's questions if I do not wish to.		
I understand that I am able to leave the study if I choose.		
I understand what will happen to my data.		
I am happy to take part in the study.		
I am happy to take part in an interview.		

I am happy for the interview to be recorded.

I agree to let the researcher use quotes from our interviews, as long as this is done in such a way that I cannot be identified.

Participant’s Signature: ______________________________________

Date: __________

Participant’s Name (Printed): ________________________________

Researcher’s Signature: ____________________________________

Researcher’s Name (Printed): ________________________________

Researcher's contact details: Bisi Akintoye

Email: [deleted]

CONSENT FORM – OBSERVATION

KEY WORKERS

Communities, Policing and Stop and Search

Please answer the following questions by ticking the response that applies.

	YES	NO
I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me.		
I have had the chance to ask, and I understand that I can ask further questions at any point.		
I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I do not have to answer any of the researcher's questions if I do not wish to.		
I understand that I am able to leave the study if I choose.		
I understand what will happen to my data.		
I am happy to take part in the study.		
I am happy to be observed.		

I am happy for the observations to be recorded.

I agree to let the researcher use quotes from our interviews, as long as this is done in such a way that I cannot be identified.

Participant's Signature: ____

Date: ___________

Participant's Name (Printed): __________________________________

Researcher's Signature: ______________________________________

Researcher's Name (Printed): __________________________________

Researcher's contact details: Bisi Akintoye

Email: [deleted]

CONSENT FORM – INTERVIEWS

COMMUNITY WORKERS

Communities, Policing and Stop and Search

Please answer the following questions by ticking the response that applies.

	YES	NO
I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me.		
I have had the chance to ask, and I understand that I can ask further questions at any point.		
I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I do not have to answer any of the researcher's questions if I do not wish to.		
I understand that I am able to leave the study if I choose.		
I understand what will happen to my data.		
I am happy to take part in the study.		
I am happy to take part in an interview.		

I am happy for the interview to be recorded.

I agree to let the researcher use quotes from our interviews, as long as this is done in such a way that I cannot be identified.

Participant’s Signature: ____

Date: ___________

Participant’s Name (Printed): __________________________________

Researcher’s Signature: ______________________________________

Researcher’s Name (Printed): __________________________________

Researcher's contact details: Bisi Akintoye

Email: [deleted]

APPENDIX 3

Semi-Structured Interview Guide– Children and Young People

Research Focus: The Lived Experience and Intergenerational Impact of Racialised Policing

Key Themes

1. Knowledge and experience of the police
2. Experience of stop and search and feelings related to it
3. The impact of stop and search on individuals and communities

1. Introductory statements and questions

Explain who I am, briefly summarise research aims and explain format of interview. Ask participant to select pseudonym.

Example questions –

How old are you?

Can you tell me a bit about yourself?

Do you live locally?

Were you born in the UK?

Where were your parents born?

2. Background-setting questions

Example questions –

Who do you live with?

How would you describe the area you live in?

Can you describe an average day in the borough?

What do you like to do when you go out?

What's it like to live around here?

What's it like being a teenager here?

Are there any facilities for young people in the area?

Can you describe them? How do you feel about them?

Is it safe to live here?

Are there any unsafe areas in the borough? Where are they? Why do you feel they are unsafe?

3. Knowledge and experience of the police

Example questions –

What is the role of the police?

Who are they for?

What are your opinions on the police? Why?

Where do these views come from?

How often do you see the police hanging around here?

Do you think this more or less than before?

How do you feel when you see them?

Has that changed as you have gotten older?

Would the police help you if you had a problem? If so, why? If not, why not?

Was it different when you were younger?

Do you think gender plays a role? If so, why? If not, why not?

Have you had any interactions with the police and if so, can you describe them?

Do you have friends or family members who have had interactions with the police and if so, can you describe them?

Can you tell me any stories about the police you found interesting?

4. Experience of stop and search and feelings related to it

Example questions –

What are your opinions on stop and search?

Have your feelings about stop and search changed? If so, when, and why?

Has there been a time where you have been stopped and searched for any reason?

Can you describe the experience(s)? When, where, why, how?

How did it make you feel?

Did you discuss this with anyone? Who? Why? How did you feel afterwards?

Has this happened more than once?

Has it affected your life in any way?

Do your friends have any stories like that?

Do you have any stories, or have you heard any stories about stop and search or interactions with the police?

Do you think age plays a role? How?

Do you think gender plays a role? How?

5. Impact of stop and search on individual and communities

Example questions –

What impact do you think stop and search has on your community?

Do you think it an effective way of preventing or dealing with crime? If so, why? If not, why not?

What can the police do to improve their relationship with young people?

What can young people do to improve their relationship with the police?

Have you discussed this with you parents / guardians? What do you think they think?

6. Closing questions

Do you have anything else you would like to add?

Do you have any questions?

Semi-Structured Interview Guide – Parents and Guardians

Key themes

- Knowledge and experience of the police
- Experience of stop and search on selves, children and feelings related to it
- Impact of stop and search on selves, children, communities and feelings related to it

1. Introductory statements and questions

Explain who I am, briefly summarise research aims and explain format of interview.

Example questions –

Can you tell me a bit about yourself / your background?

Were you born in the UK?

Can you tell me a bit about your children?

2. Background-setting questions

Example questions –

Can you describe the area you grew up in? How do you feel about the area?

Do you think it has changed since you have been living here?

What about the area you live in now? What's it like to bring up a child around here?

3. Knowledge and experience of the police

Example questions –

What is the role of the police?

Did you have conversations with your parents about the police?

Where do these views come from other than parents?

Was it different when you were younger?

Have you or your child had any interactions with the police and if so, can you describe them?

Have you or your child had any problems with the police?

Thoughts on Nigerian police?

Do you talk to your children about the police? What do you talk about and why?

Do you think gender plays a role? If so, why? If not, why not?

4. Experience of stop and search on selves, children and feelings related to it

Example questions –

What are your opinions on stop and search?

Do you think stop and search is useful?

Have you ever been stopped and searched?

Has your child ever been stopped and searched?

Do you discuss stop and search with your children? What do you discuss?

5. Impact of stop and search on selves, children, communities and feelings related to it

Example questions

What are the key issues facing policing today?

What made you want the commissioner role?
What do you hope to achieve?

Is there a race issue in British policing – if so, why, and if not, how do we explain some of the disproportionalities we see in stop and search etc.

What can the police do to improve their relationship with young people?

What can young people do to improve their relationship with the police?

What is working well?

What needs improvement?

6. Closing questions

Do you have anything else you would like to add?

Do you have any questions?

Semi-Structured Interview Guide – Community Workers

Key themes

- Knowledge and experience of the police
- Experience of stop and search on selves and feelings related to it
- Impact of stop and search on children, young people, and communities that they work with
- Perspectives on how negative impacts may be mitigated

1. Introductory statement and questions

Explain who I am, briefly summarise research aims and explain format of interview.

Example questions –

What is your name?

Can you tell me a bit about yourself?

Do you have any children?

What are their ages?

Do you live locally?

What work do you do?

How long have you been doing it?

2. Background-setting questions

Example questions –

What do you or the organisation do to help young people?

What are the aims of the organisation?

Why do you do this work?

Can you describe an average day with the organisation for me?

Can you describe what a young person's average day would look like?

3. Experience of stop and search and policing on selves and feelings related to it

Example questions –

What are your opinions on the police?

What role do the police play?

Has this changed over the years?

Have you had any problems with the police?

How did that make you feel?

Has it affected your feelings or behaviour in any way?

How often do you see the police hanging around here?

Do you think this more or less than before?

How do you feel when you see them?

Has that changed as you have gotten older?

What are your opinions on stop and search?

Where do these views come from?

Do you think stop and search is useful?

Have you ever been stopped and searched?

How did it make you feel?

Do you still get stop and searched today?

When was the last time and can you describe the experience?

Do you have any stories, or have you heard any stories about stop and search or interactions with the police?

What role do you think age and gender play?

4. Impact of stop and search on children, young people, and communities that they work with

Example questions-

How many young people that you work with have been stop and searched?

How would you describe their experiences?

What is your opinion on this?

What do you do to help children and young people who have been stopped and searched?

How do you help young people in their interactions with the police?

Why do you think the work you do is necessary?

5. Perspectives on how negative impacts may be mitigated

What impact do the police have on young people in the borough?

What impact do you think stop and search has on young people / families/ communities?
What impact do the police have on young people in the borough?

What effect does stop, and search have on young people?

How can this be mitigated?

How do you think situation may be improved?

What do you think the main issues are?

What would help young people and communities to improve their relationship with the police?

What can the police do to improve their relationship with young people?

6. Closing questions

Do you have anything else you would like to add?

Do you have any questions?

APPENDIX 4

Schedule of Participants

Alias	Category	Gender	Nationality	Class (self-defined)	Age
Mifta	Adult	M	British	Working	39
Lekan	Adult	M	Irish-Nigerian	Middle	35
Lanre	Parent	M	Nigerian	Middle	64
Viola	Adult	F	British-Ghanaian	Middle	29
Porsha	Adult	F	British-Ghanaian	Middle	28
Jen	Adult	F	British-Caribbean	Working	28
D'Angelo	Community worker	M	British-Caribbean	Working	32
Kay	Young person	M	British-Caribbean	Middle	25
Mel	Adult	F	Caribbean	Middle	34
Fola	Community worker	M	British-Nigerian	Working	45
Ahmed	Adult	M	British-Indian	Working	30
Ruff Diamond	Community worker	M	British - Caribbean	Working	62
Sade	Young person	F	British – Nigerian	Middle	18
Richard	Parent	M	Irish-Nigerian	Middle	63
Eddie	Young person	M	British-Caribbean	Middle	26
Mase	Young person	M	British-Caribbean	Working	29
Sean	Young person	M	British-Caribbean	Middle	26
Rafe	Young person	M	British-Caribbean	Working	22
Cece	Young person	F	British - Caribbean	Middle	35
Femi	Adult	M	Nigerian	Working	37
Jamal	Adult	M	British-Nigerian	Middle	35
Alicia	Young person	F	British-Nigerian	Middle	18
Paola	Adul	F	Angolan-Portuguese	Middle	42
Buki	Adult	F	British-Nigerian	Middle	28
Aartie	Adult	F	Indian	Middle	27
Julie	Community worker	F	British-Caribbean	Middle	58
Cara	Parent	F	British-Caribbean	Working	55
Moses	Community worker	M	British - Caribbean	Working	63
Dan	Community worker	M	British	Working	38
Stephen	Parent	M	British - Nigerian	Middle	42
Mark	Community worker	M	British- Caribbean	Middle	40

Lucas	Adult	M	British- Caribbean	Working	36
Zav	Young person	M	British-Caribbean	Working	17
Tayo	Adult	M	Nigerian	Middle	64
Maahir	Adult	M	British-Bengali	Middle	37
Hector	Community worker	M	British-Ghanaian	Working	37
Ijon	Adult	M	Sri Lankan	Middle	32
Q	Young person	M	British-Somali	Working	18
Henry	Community worker	M	British-Nigerian	Middle	60
Abdi	Young person	M	Dutch-British-Somali	Working	27
Chris Brown	Young person	M	British-Caribbean	Working	17
Arsene Lupin	Young person	M	Sierra Leonian	Middle	16
Dean	Adult	M	British-Caribbean	Declined	32
Sara	Community worker	F	British-Caribbean-American	Middle	28
Holly	Young people	M	British-Caribbean	Working	64
Telv	Adult	M	British-Caribbean	Working	66
Phillip	Adult	M	British-Caribbean	Middle	57
Tommy	Adult	M	British-Caribbean	Middle	69
Dalia	Young person	F	British-Caribbean	Working	14
Fumi	Young person	F	British-Nigerian	Working	14
Monee	Young person	F	British-Caribbean	Working	15
Finola	Adult	F	British-Caribbean	Middle	69
Helen	Adult	F	British-Caribbean	Middle	52
Bev	Adult	F	British-Caribbean	Middle	65
Ben	Adult	M	British-Ghanaian	Middle	65
Marcus	Community worker	M	British-Caribbean	Working	38
Abdullahi	Young person	M	British-Somali	Working	14
Kyra	Young person	F	British-Caribbean	Working	13
Akhtar	Young person	F	British-Somali	Working	14
Lalo	Young person	M	British-Ghanaian	Middle	13