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"Fitting their profile": A geographical study of race, racism and policing in Nottingham

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Abstract

Racism persists to be one of the most destructive forces in society. It is still present in our institutions that come to govern our cities and our public lives. The conjuncture of i) political rhetoric around the "failure" of multicultural policies in Britain (Amin, 2012); ii) the persistence of cross-ethnic unfamiliarity (Ivseon, 2007) ; iii) a post 9/11 policing of urban space entailing risk-based proactive methods of policing (Webster, 2007) and iv) the persistent racial disproportionality within the use of stop and search (EHRC, 2010) warrants in-depth investigation into police racism in the city.

This research is a geographical investigation into racism within the policing of Nottingham. I foreground the role of geography in racism through the meanings and imaginings encoded by the police to minority ethnic persons and their associated spatial environments and behavioural practices. Drawing on from the power of personal narrative on police encounters and the framing of ethnic and crime issues in the local media, I use the concepts of assemblage, imaginary and spatial governmentality to operationalize this geographical approach. I also use these concepts to contextualise contemporary risk-based and pre-empted methods of policing such as stop and search and dispersal orders. These methods come to not only target minority ethnic persons disproportionately, but also dispossess them of their confidence in using the public sphere, their confidence in the police and ultimately their right to the city.

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Statement of copyright

Acknowledgements

I dedicate this thesis to Mum, Dad and Tom. For without their love and support this research could not have been possible.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

In 2004 I was 14 years old. One day during school holidays I was walking around Derby city centre with two of my friends. We dressed casually in tracksuits and jeans. One of my friends was a smoker but did not want his parents or anyone that knew them to find out. So when he was craving for a cigarette he suggested going to an enclosed alleyway in the city centre. My other friend and I followed.

Whilst congregating in this space, hidden from the "publicness" of the city centre, a police officer appeared from round the corner and approached us. A range of youthful and naïve emotions and anxieties filled us. We were scared that we were "in trouble". We almost automatically felt that being approached by a police officer meant we had broken the law – although we did not know how or why. As the police officer approached us, we stood frozen like statues.

The police officer was white, female and possibly in her mid-to-late thirties. In a stern but condescending demeanour, she stated that there had been "some disturbances" in the area – without going into any further detail. We collectively denied knowledge of or involvement in any such "disturbances". Nevertheless, she took record of our names, date of births and addresses and studied us with a fixed gaze. Almost instinctively, the police officer turned to me and stated that she was to search me for suspicious articles. She gave no reasoning. As she went through my pockets I was unsure whether to think this as routine procedure or harassment. But after she had finished, found nothing in my pockets and left my friends (both white, males) unsearched, a shared interpretation of irregularity or injustice surfaced between my friends and I. "I think you were searched just because you are Black", one of them said.

8 years on, I reflect back on this encounter as a social interaction that can be argued to be a microcosm of the pervasive and divisive relations of race and power inscribed in and performed through institutional practice in the contemporary city (Amin, 2012; Hopkins-Burke, 2004; Webster, 2007). From a policing point of view, the use of stop and search is often justified in reference to a wider code of spatial governmentality that entails a risk-based assessment of public space (Merry, 2001). However the persistent disproportionate use of such methods across racial groups – whereby Black and Asian groups are targeted more on average than their white counterparts – gives rise to the notions that racism i) is still ingrained in police practice and ii) remains a persistent force in society. One can argue the case in which the regulation of social space by alleviating perceived risks and uncertainties opens the door to prejudices and preconceptions towards minority groups. This is especially relevant in a society

whereby the police force is dominated by a racial hierarchy, and racial difference is a social relation that continues to produce anxiety, uncertainty and fear rather than celebration or appreciation (Amin, 2012). The encounter in which I was involved can be argued to encapsulate this. Perhaps racial difference presented the police officer with some form of uncertainty and unfamiliarity which affectively transcended into some form of risk or potential danger. An attempt to eradicate this potential danger for officer was performed through the practice of stop and search.

Although these social relations and institutional practices are important for debates around racism in the contemporary city – and will be within the debates of racism within this research – one can argue that racism also works through spatial representations, geographical imaginations and meanings associated with particular materialities (Saldanha, 2006; Swanton, 2010; Webster, 2003). In other words, particular spatialities, geographical locations and materiality can amplify racial prejudice and the uncertainty that racial difference creates. In the same way, perhaps for the police officer, the enclosed space of the alleyway detached from the openness of the city centre raised her suspicions of my [potential] activity. Perhaps her suspicions were raised through meanings ascribed to the casual clothing I was wearing. The ways in which the unfolding of encounters of racism works through such entities has been termed "phenotypical racism" (Saldanha, 2006; Amin, 2012) or racist assemblages (Swanton, 2010). This shows that race has an "inventiveness" and should be not studied in simply a perpetrator/victim fashion. The categorisation of people and their behaviours/practices is interconnected with spatial imaginaries. These "sorting" act as codes or profiles that are ingrained to the policing of minority ethnic persons (Amin, 2012; Swanton, 2010). This research aims to uncover whether such codes are evident in the policing of minority ethnic persons in Nottingham.

Research Aims

The main aims of this reason are driven by an overall initiative inscribed in Critical Race studies (see Brown, 2011) to challenge institutional racism and categorical forms of knowing. It is argued that these both contribute significantly to the persistence of racism in contemporary society, and the pervasive relations of fear and xenophobia that surround racial difference (Amin, 2012). Secondly, the research aims are also driven by my interest in the geographical analysis of race and inequality. As suggested in recent geographical studies of race (see Amin, 2012; Swanton, 2010), unequal power relations entailing institutional racial hierarchies and fearful attitudes to racial difference produce geographically situated encounters of racism, as well as geographical imaginaries of ethnic crime (Wacquant, 2008). Drawing on selected

literatures on understanding race through the social-spatial and the imaginative; alongside a body of predominantly qualitative research foregrounding the extraction of narrative and uncovering discourses that reflect the everyday manifestation of race in daily life, the aims of this research are:

- To uncover associated coded meanings attached with profiles that interconnect imaginaries of race, space, geography and materiality. I intend to use a pre-cognitive setting of spatial encounters in analysing how these associations unfold through performance and affect.
- To challenge representational and categorical explanations of race
- To uncover public attitudes to race and framing of "race issues", in order to examine how relations of racial difference act as a contextual setting.
- To uncover and analyse how particular police methods of spatial governmentality disproportionately target particular racial groups.
- To foreground the narratives of minority ethnic persons victimised by the police to gain insight into how racism works through spatial encounter.
- To offer possible solutions for how relations between the police and minority ethnic groups might be improved in Nottingham.

How these aims will be operationalized and achieved is discussed in the methodology (Chapter 3).

Further justification for research

Although relevant in bringing into focus the research, my encounter with the police 8 years ago alone is insufficient for the justification for this research. But perhaps the persistent racial inequalities within police practice do suffice. Even in current times where equal opportunities and non-discriminatory policies are ingrained in the practices of the workplace, the British police force still continue to monitored under the lens of racism. Police racism can be seen to be one of the most damaging components in British society. Whilst the principle function of this institution is to keep "order", their divisive practices would appear at times to be a major factor in precipitating significant moments of disorder. The Brixton riots of 1981, for example, were fuelled by the Metropolitan Police's excessive harassment of London's African Caribbean community (Keith, 1993). The 2001 riots throughout England's Northern mill towns were fuelled by instances of police racism and racist attacks on Muslim communities (Amin, 2002; Phillips, 2006). One can even argue that the vast overrepresentation of minority ethnic groups (particularly Black men) in the August 2011 disorders is an indicator that racist police conduct contributed to the intensity of civil disorder (The Guardian, 2011).

What can be learnt from the persistence of racism within institutions that come to govern the multicultural public sphere is that race is still a divisive social relation with society. The manifestation of this divisiveness in police practice has shown to be a disruptive force in the lives of many minority ethnic persons. But disruptive as this may be, the narratives and experiences of these persons need to be further collected and shared if a politics of empathy and cooperation is to be sufficiently created across racial and penal boundaries. Furthermore, the representatives of the police force need to be accountable for the racial injustices that their institution persistently reproduces without cease.

Nottingham

Map of central Nottingham, with St. Ann's in the north and Sneinton in the east. Source: www.mapmoose.com

Within the context of the UK, Nottingham is an extremely ethnically diverse city (DCLG, 2006), with a history of political racial consciousness. The city has been an arena of racial and cultural tensions as far back as the 1950s, which saw civil disorders break out in 1958 – the same year as the Notting Hill riots. Over 50 years later, racial tensions are still very alive in the city; at least between the Black community and the police. Recent studies have shown that in Nottingham over 2010/11, Black people were 9 times more likely to be stopped and searched by the police than their white counterparts. Nottinghamshire Police's current initiative against "gangs" in the city in

conjunction with the extent of this racial disproportionality, warrants an investigation into the imaginings and coding of race, age, associated behaviours and spatial practices (Alexander, 2008). However, statistical evidence alone is insufficient to explain the extent of such social injustice. Individual experiences and narratives need to be brought to life for a greater understanding of police racism and to provoke compassion for the embracing of diversity and racial difference in the multicultural city.

Owing much to the legacy of discrimination within housing opportunities (Simpson, 1981), Nottingham remains of one of Britain's most ethnically segregated cities (DCLG, 2006). The inner city neighbourhoods of St. Ann's and Sneinton (see map above) are respectively known for their large African-Caribbean and Pakistani communities. Perhaps unsurprisingly, my research draws me to these highly diverse inner-city neighbourhoods where public encounters of racial difference are manifested in the everyday; and where fears across racial boundaries may drive these encounters and geographical imaginings. Hence these neighbourhoods serve as excellent geographical locations for this study and the challenging of police racism in the city of Nottingham.

Contribution to the discipline of Geography

Race is still very much a developing area of study within the overall discipline of geography. This is possibly due to the vastly different perspectives that geographers have taken in the study of race (Tolia-Kelly, 2006; Saldanha, 2006; Amin, 2008). Furthermore, the development of race studies in geography has correlated with the continuous expansion of the discipline of human geography – particularly urban geography. For example social-spatial concepts broadening in geographical study have been used in the geographical study of race in the city, e.g. assemblage (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011; Swanton, 2010).

This research serves as part of the expansion of race studies in geography. The multi-conceptual approach within the study serves the purpose of presenting race as a dynamic socio-geographical phenomenon. The various meanings and imaginaries attached to it drive social relations in the multicultural city, becoming inscribed into institutional practice and the governing of urban space and the subjects within. Hence, in relation to the policing of ethnic minorities, race potentially drives the everyday geographies within the city. This is why race needs to be further recognised as a significant force within urban geography.

Research Questions

In accordance with the aims and objectives of this project, the research questions have been formed to research race geographically through the concepts of assemblage, imaginary and spatial governmentality.

- How is race negotiated in spatial encounters between the police and minority ethnic persons?
- Which particular racial and geographical imaginaries are used by the police to appropriate urban public space?
- Which particular methods of spatial governmentality come to regulate minority ethnic persons in urban public space?

In the following chapter, I visit in greater depth the theoretical and conceptual framework behind this research. Firstly, I discuss Critical Race Theory as the research's principle driver in relation to CRT's constructionist and multi-disciplinary approach – as well as the importance of studying how race manifests itself in everyday life (Brown, 2011). Secondly, I introduce the concept of assemblage. Drawing on previous work by Dan Swanton (2010), I discuss how the concept will be deployed in the analysis of accounts of spatial encounters. Thirdly, I discuss the concept of imaginary through the discussion of how racial meanings and spatial representations become ingrained in the policing of ethnic minority persons, and their associated spatialities. Finally I finish on the discussion of spatial governmentality – whereby the policing of urban space and the minority ethnic subjects within is driven by a code of potentiality and risk-based assessment (see Merry, 2001). In reference to racial disproportionality statistics in policing, I argue that such an approach to the regulation of urban space widens the potential for racism within police practice.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the methodological approach of this research and the operationalization of the research's main concepts through the particular selected methods. I revisit the pillars of Critical Race Theory as influence for the methodological approach and design. In relation to standpoint epistemology, I consciously discuss the pros and cons of my own ethnicity within the research process.

Chapter 4 addresses the first research question through the concept of assemblage and phenotypical racism. It puts accounts of spatial encounters as the focal point of analysis, as the concept of conscious/subconscious racial profiling by the police is visited. The concept of profiling is debated as an amalgamation of coded meanings to skin colour, culture, spatial setting and materiality (e.g. clothing, automobiles).

Chapter 5 addresses the second research question through the concept of imaginary. I discuss how imaginaries become geographically and racially connected in the disparate policing of particular neighbourhoods and ethnic groups. I also discuss how the racial and class hierarchy within the police force reproduces these imaginaries and sustains their damaging effects.

Chapter 6 addresses the third research question through the concept of spatial governmentality. I address in detail the enforcement and impact of dispersal orders in Nottingham's most multicultural neighbourhoods. I argue that the enforcement of method is part of a wider culture of policing to govern space by potentiality and subjectivity instead of actuality. Hence prejudices and racisms become amplified under such methods of spatial governmentality and that relations of fear towards racial difference become reproduced and sustained. I address these arguments by drawing on public processes of criminalisation, dispersal order legislation and particular reactions to dispersal order orders in Nottingham.

I conclude in Chapter 7 with a summary of the findings of the research before offering suggestions for how race relations can be improved in the city of Nottingham. In doing so, I take inspiration from Amin's (2012) "politics of empathy" in the initiative to contest attitudes of fear and tension towards racial difference in the contemporary multicultural city.

Chapter 2 - Literature and Theoretical Discussion: Applying Assemblage, Imaginary and Spatial Governmentality to the Geographical Study of Race

Introduction

This chapter aims to identify and justify the theoretical and conceptual approaches identified as fundamental to this geographical study of race and policing, whilst endorsing a constructionist approach to studying race[1]. I draw from these approaches to provide insight as to how racial paradigms emerge as social-spatial formations that become geographically imagined, situated and defined. The importance of critiquing and deconstructing such racial paradigms stems from the argument that they become encoded in institutional practice – leading to the disproportionate targeting of minority ethnic persons (Alexander, 2008; Amin, 2008; 2012; EHRC, 2011; Webster, 2007).

The underlying focus of this chapter and overall study is driven by the view that the pervasiveness of racial difference is a destructive and divisive force in the multicultural city. I draw from fundamental pillars within Critical Race Theory to provide a loose framework of standpoints that maintain a constructionist and non-representational study of race. I later discuss how the main concepts and themes within the research formulate a geographical study of racism in the city. I draw from a range of works including Amin (2012), Alexander (2008) and Webster (2007) to discuss a post 9/11[2] policing of racial difference. I attempt to link an institutional risk-based racially-coded analysis of public space to social relations that breed fear and tension across racial boundaries. For example, the conjunction of i) negative political rhetoric surrounding "failings" of multicultural policy in Britain; ii) a lack of cross-cultural learning and empathy and the iii) resultant contestation of space and resources, I argue breed a lack of understanding, prejudiced explanations of race and xenophobic attitudes (Amin, 2012). The persistent disproportionate targeting of Black people by the police in stop and search, and the rise in the targeting of South Asian ethnic groups since 9/11, suggest that such attitudes come to be ingrained in a police force with a persistent racial hierarchy (EHRC, 2011).

The first section of the chapter identifies and justifies the theoretical approach of Critical Race Theory, which welcomes the researcher to draw from multidisciplinary concepts (such as imaginary and assemblage) in the study of race (Brown, 2011). The second section discusses the conceptual approach of using assemblage to study race, racism and policing. A concept used across various areas of geographical study

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[1] I promote the view that 'race' is a socially constructed phenomenon. I reject categorical devices used to understand people, instead I aim to deconstruct them.
[2] Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, it has been suggested that the policing of urban public spaces either side of the Atlantic have been increasingly driven by a risk-based approach; and that this has led to the amplification of racial prejudices (see Amin, 2012; EHRC, 2011; Webster, 2007).

(Anderson and McFarlane, 2011), I argue that assemblage provides a promising conceptual framework with which to examine how racial meanings become encapsulated in particular bodies, spaces and materialities and act as codes to police the minority ethnic subject. I discuss in particular how such "phenotypical racism" (Saldanha, 2006; Amin, 2012) emerges impulsively in spatial encounters, drawing from research conducted by Dan Swanton (2010).

The third section takes a departure from assemblage through a greater focus on pre-encounter forms of police racism. This section is concerned with how particular racial and geographical meanings intersect and are deployed in the prejudiced imagining of particular social groups, their associated spatialities and spatial practices. Also highlighting the role of social class and youth, I draw upon the works of Wacquant (2008) and Back (1996) in discussing how particular geographical landscapes become racialised and criminalised in their appropriation by white middle-class police officers.

The fourth section discusses in greater detail methods of spatial governmentality used by the police – particularly towards young minority ethnic groups. Drawing from commentators such as Millie (2008) and Newburn (2011), I discuss the possible role of Anti-Social Behaviour and stop and search legislation in the amplification of racial prejudices held by police officers. I also discuss biased terrains of local consultation come to publicly legitimise the targeting of young minority ethnic users of public space deemed potentially threatening. In my concluding thoughts, I refer back to the strengths of the conceptual approach as well as reflecting on the racial inequities of power and the pervasiveness of racial difference that persist to marginalise the ethnic "stranger" in the multicultural city.

Theoretical Approach – Drawing from Critical Race Theory

Although my main concern is with how race and geography work together, the concepts that are woven into this study to explain the workings of race and geography e.g. as power, assemblage, imaginary are neither confined to one academic discipline (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011; Webster, 2003; 2007). Studies of race itself have been carried out in variegated areas of the social sciences – anthropology, sociology, criminology – and are rapidly growing in geography (see Dwyer and Bressey, 2008; Saldanha 2006; 2010; Swanton, 2010; Tolia-Kelly, 2006). Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a theoretical framework that endorses a multidisciplinary approach to race (Brown, 2011). It also values constructionist and historically contextual approaches to race. Brown's (2011:99) summary of CRT states:

"Theorising about race from a critical race theory (CRT) perspective tells us much about how this construct has, and continues to operate in Western societies. Emerging from the US legal tradition, CRT rests on six common themes: (1) recognises that racism is a pervasive and permanent part of society; (2) contests dominant claims of objectivity, neutrality, colour-blindness, and merit; (3) challenges ahistoricism, insisting on a contextual/historical analysis of how law operates; (4) values the experiential knowledge of people of colour in analysing law and society; (5) operates from an interdisciplinary perspective; and (6) views the project of eliminating racial oppression as interdisciplinary and part of a broader goal of ending all forms of oppression (Dixson and Rousseau 2006). Critical race theory excavates how race manifests in daily life and in the institutional structures of society."

In similarity to the themes above, firstly, I agree that race is a social construct. Throughout positivist empirical colonial traditions and past social anthropological studies, there has been a tendency or need to categorise human behaviour in or order to make sense of perceived difference or associated human characteristics (Sibley, 1988). "Race" was primarily explained as the biological and natural, with critical reflection on historical/social context going amiss (ibid.). In the era of the postcolonial, social scientists have gradually adopted a more critical and constructionist stance on such categorisations (Gilroy, 1992). However, areas of academia and Western societies had simply turned to cultural explanations of perceived difference (Back, 1996). But Amin (2012) argues that even in today's Western societies the human compulsion to categorise still exists through the biopolitical. Behaviours and spatial practices are still linked to particular groups of human beings deemed to be threatening, and these groups come to be disciplined by the hegemonic institutions that make such linkages. An example of this is how Muslim populations have increasingly become under scrutiny in Western societies since 9/11.

This brings me on to my second agreement with the themes above in that racism is a pervasive and persistent part of society. In British society there is the continuous disproportionate targeting of minority ethnic persons by the police, partly maintained by the continuous lack of minority ethnic persons represented in these very police institutions (EHRC, 2011). But the pervasiveness of racism dwells also through the "inventiveness" of race. New racisms are produced constantly – by discursive devices and claims making by institutions, the media or through recursive urban narratives (Back, 1996; Amin, 2012). In relation to multicultural society and the geography of the city, Amin (2012) discusses that members of state institutions and various publics felt that multicultural policies of the late 20th and early 21st centuries in fact increased cultural distance and animosity. This had led to an institutional governing of the spatial in plural society through punitive measures that dispose minority ethnic subjects

through "interventions [that] seek to either clean out the spaces of co-habitation, or engineer contact" (Amin, 2012:60). In simpler words, the failure of multicultural policies in Britain under New Labour has driven state-led initiatives of spatial exclusion and regulation of minority ethnic groups to limit risk of disorder in multi-ethnic encounter. It thereby suggests that racism also works through the regulation of urban space and encounters – not simply through perception and rhetoric.

Thirdly, I recognise the contestation of "dominant claims of objectivity, neutrality, colour-blindness, and merit" which Brown (2011) simplifies as "the irrelevance of race and racism in contemporary society". I disagree with the "irrelevance of race" or a "colour-blind ideology" (Bonilla-Silva, 2006) because it undermines racial inequalities that persist in Western societies. It undermines the fact that social relations are (re)produced by perceived difference. One can draw positives from a colour-blind ideology in that this can be used to promote equality. However I view this as a distraction from racial issues that need to be addressed – in particular the disproportionate treatment of minority ethnic groups by a police force composed and overrepresentative of a white majority (Perry and John-Baptiste, 2008). Fourthly and finally, I endorse the interdisciplinary perspective of CRT. This allows one to approach race by using concepts and research themes not simply confined in one but multiple disciplines – such as assemblage (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011), imaginary (Taylor, 2004; Webster 2003; 2007) and spatial governmentality, regulation and discipline (see Coleman, 2004 and Iveson, 2007). However I recognise the risk of over-diversifying my approach and losing track of a central geographical focus.

I will now turn the reader's attention to a detailed discussion of the main concepts used in this research, and how they will be deployed in researching the various research themes and aims. As stated above, I do not use CRT to wholeheartedly dictate the directions of this research. I use it as a guideline to critically understanding race and racism in a constructionist guise, challenging the forms of oppression that come to drive racial meanings.

Conceptual approaches to research

Introducing spatial encounters

In relation to the first research question, spatial encounters are the focal point of analysis for how race is "negotiated". How this approach to race differs from the other research questions is through the study of "situational racism". Situational and non-representational scopes for analysis such as encounters support the notion of "not one but many racisms" and that racism is produced in social engagement and not simply

through discourses and imaginaries. Swanton (2010:2340) argues: "race operates at least in part at the level of nonconscious thinking, where affectively imbued racial summaries sort bodies and pass judgment in the fractions of a second before conscious reflection kicks in". Hence this approach to race will concentrate on how race is "negotiated" in encounter through affect, the intensity of emotion and nonconscious thinking (Thrift, 2004). The main conceptual device for this point of analysis will be assemblage – which has been proliferating in geographical studies of race (Saldanha, 2010; Swanton, 2010). But before introducing this concept and explaining how "assemblage thinking" works in studies of race and geographies of encounter, I will further explain the justification for using encounter as the focal point of analysis for the first research question.

The use of encounter for the geographical analysis of urban social relations through socio-psychological affect takes influence from non-representational studies from as early as Simmel. But the study of urban contact zones in relation to the geographies of race is an inquiry that has arguably only began recent proliferation (Amin, 2012; Saldanha, 2006; 2010; Swanton, 2010). The importance of this approach in studying the policing of minority ethnic groups in the city stem from different factors.

First is the notion that areas of public sphere in are becoming redefined as spaces of "encounter and reconciliation" (Amin, 2012:4). Yet, the political rhetoric of the failure of failed multicultural policy has driven hegemonic institutions and ethnic subjects alike to interpret cross-racial encounters in public spaces as encounters of curiosity and unpredictability (ibid.). Hence in encounter with the police, a mind-set of the "possible" being used to regulate space brings racial judgements to the surface. Therefore it is important for us to find out how the geographies of minority ethnic persons are policed, choreographed and regulated. Secondly, encounters (re)produce discourses, imaginaries and racial knowledges, but it can be said that these social constructions are produced upon post-encounter reflections (Swanton, 2010). Hence social encounters and interactions between the police and minority ethnic people are powerful forces in shaping racial categorisations due to perceived "racial performances".

Thirdly, in encounters race can be seen to be "negotiated" in a variety of ways – through action, performance, thought and emotion. As a persistent construct of human difference, race provokes conscious and subconscious thoughts and emotions of threat and uncertainty in urban contact zones (Amin, 2012). These thoughts and emotions stem from pre-conceptions and perceptions of racial performance and hence drive social interaction. Hence I believe that encounters between minority ethnic persons and police officers can potentially be driven predominantly by difference – which in itself tells us that relations between members of these groups are driven by judgement.

Fourthly is the spatial setting of encounter. Spatial encounter does not simply involve the police officer(s) and the ethnic subject(s). It involves space, materiality, temporality and the associated meanings that are applied to such entities (Swanton, 2010). These meanings can be racial and hence race and these entities become co-dependent on each other for definition. This racial assemblage of meanings that become encoded as a construct for racial profiles will be discussed below.

Before moving onto the explanation of the conceptual approach to studying the negotiation of race in spatial encounter, it can be said that spatial encounters themselves pose particular problems for analysis. Especially in crime-related contexts, behaviours and actions in particular encounters can be argued to be more spontaneous, nonconscious and unplanned rather than structured and predictable. Hence it could be seen as difficult to "make sense" of ongoings and performances in encounters without referring to local and historical contexts. Furthermore, it can be extremely difficult to distinguish the pre-determined from the spontaneous. However I argue that the central focus in analysing spatial encounters will be how they unfold in accordance to research respondent's interpretations of racial performance and judgment. This is explained further in Chapter 3.

Introducing Assemblage

The deployment of the term "assemblage" in geography is not unique (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011). The term has been deployed to approach and explain the composition of social-spatial formations, whereby the elements of composition are heterogeneous and may be human or non-human (ibid.). In the same way one can argue that the composition of social-spatial formations are imagined through "racial assemblages" (Saldanha, 2010; Swanton, 2010) to explain or perceive particular ethnic groups. I believe that this "phenotypical" racism (Saldanha, 2006; Amin, 2012) is what warrants an analysis of the how race, space and materiality are co-defined in the coding and profiling of ethnic groups by the police. I believe that race is induced in the perceived composition of social-spatial formations (examples discussed below).

Saldanha (2006; 2010) and Swanton (2010) have recently conducted research to formulate assemblage and social-spatial formations in terms of race. Swanton's (2010) research in Keighley, Yorkshire, provides insight into how identities of suspected terrorists have been constructed through a racist sorting of materialities, skin colour and spaces. Swanton (2010:2340) comments on how "Particular bodies, things, and spaces - skin colour, rucksacks, veils, mosques, etc. - become sites of intensive difference" in states of emergency and encounters involving the police. Whilst,

Saldanha (2006) explains that racism works through meanings and discourses granted to such entities. Through my own research, I take a similar stance in that I argue that racism is not simply "worked" through judgements of racial bodies alone – but the particular materialities and spaces that such bodies symbolise.

A further important reason for the use of assemblage in this study is the constructionist guise that the concept of assemblage endorses. Anderson and McFarlane (2011:125) state "The proliferation of the term assemblage is, then, only understandable in the context of what can be broadly termed a constructionist account of social-spatial relations". Hence assemblage can be used and interpreted as a collection of words, meanings and representations (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Its deployment allows room for the analysis of racialised meanings to bodies, spaces and materialities.

However, for studying spatial encounters, assemblage has been suggested to be further useful (see Swanton, 2010; Thrift, 2007). As assemblage connotes emergence rather than resultant formation (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011), spatial encounters can be seen as a useful focus for the analysis of assemblage "in practice". McFarlane and Anderson (2011:162) comment "as an orientation, assemblage functions not simply as a concept, but as an ethos of engagement attuned to the possibilities of socio-spatial formations…" I articulate that these possibilities can be used in spatial encounter to police and discipline minority ethnic subjects. But I also welcome the suggestion that assemblage is not simply a concept but an "ethos of engagement" - a code that can perhaps unlock racial coding performed by the police. However, the central focus here is that concepts of performance, possibility and formation all point to a call for the analysis of encounter. I will now move onto how assemblage can be used to unlock and interpret spatial encounters of race between the police and minority ethnic subjects.

Using Assemblage to Interpret Spatial Encounters of Race

The interconnecting essentialism of preconceptions around race, space, behaviours and materiality forms many intersections of Dan Swanton's (2010) insightful notion of "racist assemblage", which recognises the complex workings of spatiality and its associated meanings within the construction of racism. For Saldanha (2006) and Swanton (2010), thinking with assemblage re-defines race as not simply a social construct of human categorisation, but a combination of associated materialisms, spaces, codes of dress, age, gender, sexuality, language, accents and social activity. In relation to policing and containing spatial threats and criminality, race as a form of spatial performance is of considerable interest to hegemonic institutions such as the

police. From this it can be said that race functions as a driver of interaction in police-suspect encounters. The following discussion takes influence from Dan Swanton's work on how intelligence and hearsay drives racial differentiation by the police in relation to sorting bodies, materialities and space in social encounter. Furthermore, the discussion explores how racialisations, identities and meanings are shaped through performances of race within social encounters between the police and minority ethnic individuals and groups. To prove the relevance and value of this approach, primary data and narratives collected in the field will be excellent sources of evidence. But for the present moment, I use different criminal profiles such as "drug dealers", "terrorists" and "rioters" which come to be racialised in police encounters through coded assemblages. In doing so, I will draw from a range of empirical work.

"Dressing the part"

> "All of us non-whites, at first sight, are terrorists or illegals. We wear our passports on our faces – or, lacking them, we are faceless, destitute, taken from our children, voided of the last shreds of human dignity."
>
> Sivanadan (2007:48)

Processes of racial differentiation and the anticipation of racial performance can be said to be as much influenced by dress code and material appearance as by skin colour. More often than not, in many policing encounters it is the use of vision and the unconscious or conscious judgement of appearance that draws a police officer to a suspect. Information that could be given prior to the interaction is mostly appearance-based, often in reference to a combination of ethnicity, skin colour, dress code, height, age, whereabouts and spatial setting. "Intelligence-led" encounters usually involve the police engaging with someone "matching a description" (Swanton, 2010). However with anti-terrorism and anti-immigration rhetoric very much integrated into many quarters of British society at present, we find minority ethnic communities are persistently targeted by the police, making "random" encounters just as important as a focus of analysis.

It can be viewed that police officers use dress code as an appropriation of racial differentiation in relation to criminal profiling. This links to assemblage through the racial sorting of materiality and skin colour in anticipation of racial performance. Shoba Das, a team manager of a Support Group against racism in Bristol accounts a very unique event:

> "We see police targeting of communities, particularly the Muslim community. We recently had a case of an American white convert to Islam, dressed in traditional Islamic attire. He was followed for a while by the police and then stopped and asked for his documents. He

was then followed home by the police officers, who came into his home, asked to see his bank statements, asked to see his passport."

Das (2007:75)

Race has been negotiated in this encounter as a form of ambiguity. The police officers were drawn to this man because of his dress and also due to his whiteness being psychologically registered by the police as an "irregularity". This is shown by the development of the encounter which is taken to the man's home in order to prove his identity as a legitimate human being not simply being an American white Muslim. Before the man could prove his identity, he was an "alien body". He was suspicious because he did not fall into a conventional social profile. Because of his dress, he was deemed suspicious. Being able to prove his identity proved that the encounter was significant in breaking or at least challenging social profiling or categorical ways of thought. But the overall lesson of this encounter is that race is engaged not only through skin colour but through cultural lenses and materiality. The man was deemed suspicious initially because he was dressed in Islamic attire and that he was white - not solely because he was white. As the encounter unfolded, his non-British accent may have furthered suspicion, in that he was non-British, white, wearing Islamic attire and situated in an urban space of a British city in a time of hostility between the Western world and sections of Islam. From the perspective of race as privilege, in this case "whiteness" in the Western world (Dwyer and Bressey, 2008), privilege is lost through the adoption of "foreign" or associated "non-white" cultural aesthetics. In this case the Islamic traditional dress demeans the white man as he becomes targeted by the police.

Cultural borrowings through materiality are definitive examples of the performance of race and the "inventiveness" of race. "Hoodies" are an example amongst youth of most racial groups in Britain today. The wearing of hoods has been borrowed a lot from styles of American gangster dress which are often racialised as materialities of Black lower class criminal dress (Alexander, 2008). But for transatlantic youth of different ethnic and class origins, hoodies represent a symbol of belonging, a code of dress and spatial identity (Back, 1996). However, police seem to be more concerned with the cultural origin of this materiality – and in the present context of a surveillance society where all can be imagined as suspects, its ability to make the suspect "invisible" or evasive. When seen being worn by a young black male in Sanford, Florida, the hoodie leads to subconscious judgments of criminality and drug abuse, and a resultant shooting of the 17 year old Trayvon Martin by community watch leader George Zimmermann (City of Sanford, no date). Cultural borrowings, influenced by globalisation and intense sharing of images, sounds and tastes play significant parts in the innovation of race or the construction of new identities (Back, 1996). This is

fascinating from a sociological point of view, but for the police the inventiveness of race creates new "aliens" and threats that must be contained and categorised in order to be understood and to eliminate perceived risk.

"Soundbites"

We have already established that race is as much defined through action as it is through simply "being". But in relation to the influence of race in encounter, we should look to a more complete view of the senses. Accents, sounds and speech have as much as a place in categorical thinking as physical appearances and visual perceptions do. An example of this can be found in Clement (2007) where a Black man from Bristol speaks at a community meeting, sharing his account of a recent encounter with the police:

> "At a packed public meeting of around 300 people at the Malcolm X community centre in St Paul's in February 2003, Commander Rowe explained that the operation was not targeting locals, apart from recently released known offenders, but rather Jamaican 'yardies' who were believed to be preparing for a conflict with the previous 'local' drug dealers. He also assured the audience that this higher profile policing would be carried out politely and sensitively, in order not to antagonise the public it was there to protect. This assurance was met with some scepticism: one father explained how he had been stopped and questioned very aggressively by armed officers, 'and then, when they recognised my Bristol accent, they changed their tune . . ."
>
> - Clement (2007:99)

This man was considered to be suspicious until his accent and dialect were registered as "local" with the armed officers who were containing him. Up until this point, his skin colour and perhaps masculinity had categorically coded him as a "threatening body". It was his accent that enabled him to prove his "Britishness" or "Bristolness" that seemed to have altered the encounter significantly. His ability to "perform" his British identity seemed to erase such threat in relation to targeting Jamaican "yardies". This encounter proves that race and the police's sorting of bodies that deem threatening or non-threatening can be dependent on the performance of particular identifiable and familiar cultural or local acts. This shows that the politics of police encounter with race is more complex than simply deeming one to be threatening or non-threatening by skin colour. Race can be seen as an amalgamation of cultural and mundane acts, which can be contingent on time and space.

In relation to these discussions one can argue that the policing of ethnic minorities occurs through profiles that are assemblages of racialised meanings attached to particular human and non-human forms and performances. Instead of expelling

prejudices or reflecting on cognitive sorting of bodies and categories, cultural habits and norms are already prescribed to particular bodily forms, individual and collective (Amin, 2012). It can be firmly argued that race-coded classifications are ingrained on humans, and that a racial hierarchy between the ethnic compositions of institutions and society has a hand in its repertoire. It is perhaps true that historical, local and biographical contexts come to have a significant influence over such encounters. In that past events or relations have "racial legacies" to some degree drive then intensities and bodily affect of encounters (Amin, 2012). I shall not ignore this in my discussions of empirical findings. But my main focus and interest is how the spatial encounter brings the performed and imagined together and stages the negotiations of race through coded forms and biopolitical regimes. I now turn to the next main theme in the research of the appropriation of urban space by the police through the concept of imaginary. This takes a departure from spatial encounter and intensities of emotion and performance as the main focus. The main focus switches to more so to the pre-defining of the racial and geographical.

Imaginary and the Appropriation of Urban Space

Urban imaginaries can take upon numerous and variegated forms. But according to Iveson (2007), a similarity that they share is that they are created upon relations of difference, unfamiliarity and estrangement. However, urban scholars from a range of disciplines have commented that the lack of empathy and meaningful exchange between multiple publics in the heterogeneous city has led to relations of difference being based on fear and tension (Alexander, 2002; 2008; Amin, 2012; Harris, 2009; Webster, 2003). It can be seen that the conjunction of i) the racial hierarchy of the institutions that govern and regulate urban space and ii) white-middle-class-centric popular imaginaries of marginalised groups, work together to discipline minority ethnic groups. For example, the urban imaginary of the gang takes particular racial and geographical social-spatial formations. In the UK and US, there is a pathological occupation with gang activity such as violence and drug abuse as young Black male "street" practice (Alexander 2002; 2008; Dickinson, 2008). The group of young Black males to an extent becomes a proxy of white adult fears and anxieties which come to be reflected in police practice (see EHRC, 2011). South Asian ethnicities have been increasingly targeted through stop and search in recent years in correlation with global initiatives against terrorism, whereby brown skin becomes a proxy for the possible Islamic extremist (Bowling and Phillips, 2007). Hence, it seems that the deliberative strategies of policing these racial groups are conducted upon speculation or elimination of threat.

In this section I aim to interrogate how such popular urban imaginaries become formed and are used to appropriate minority ethnic subjects in urban space. I aim to interrogate the role of spatiality in the production of these imaginaries, which I view as white-centric forms of knowledge that exclude marginalised publics in British society. I also foreground the roles of social class and gender in knowledges used to code and classify the minority ethnic subject.

Social-Spatial imaginary

Spatiality has a huge role to play in both the construction of racial imaginaries and also where and when these imaginaries drive social encounters (Carter, 2009; Swanton, 2010). This can be shown through how particular spatialities come to represent or "make sense" of particular racial groups. For the police, the media, various politicians and academics, there has been a continuous pathological occupation with the interconnection of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities, criminality and inner-city neighbourhoods, ghettos and ethnic enclaves (Wacquant, 2008). The inner city neighbourhood with high concentrations of BME communities has been constructed as a spatiality characteristic of "ethnic crime" (ibid.). Images of deprivation and social disadvantage are more often than not coupled with pre-assumptions of crime, violence and disorder (Solomos, 1993) rather than rhetoric that sympathises with disadvantage and breeds hope. This begs us to ask the question as to how does spatiality become racialised and criminalised simultaneously by the police. Unsurprisingly there is not one clear answer but many interconnecting suggestions. Firstly there is the example of the hegemonic and institutionalised interpretation of large scale disorders which shape a police officer's perceptions of space. Many urban scholars such as Solomos (1988), Keith (1993; 2005), Webster (2003; 2007) and Phillips (2006) criticise the racist discursive linkage made by the media, state institutions and politicians between public unrest, inner-city areas and minority ethnic populations. Examples in the past have been how the main causes of the 1981 Brixton riots and 2001 Northern mill town riots were linked to disorderly behaviour of the Black community and Asian community respectively. A second suggestion could be the influence of the intersection of class with the perceptions of race. Here, I am referring to the white middle-class majority of the police force and their perception of lower class minority ethnic groups – particularly the imaginary of a criminal "black underclass" (Alexander, 2008). Relations of unfamiliarity, estrangement and lack of empathy between a majority white middle class police force and a minority ethnic lower class contributes to poor areas of greater concentration of minority ethnic people correspondingly become constructed as "deviant" spatialities or "no-go" areas for the law-abiding middle class (Amin, 2012;

Wacquant, 2008; Webster, 2007). A third suggestion could be the police's interpretations of how BME people use urban public space, and what behaviours and activities the police believe that these populations take part in. Minority ethnic groups – especially younger persons come to be defined by their associated spatial practices. Unfortunately, especially for young Black men, their spatial practices are deemed threatening and destructive to the wider "imagined community" (Day, 2006; Harris, 2009) – particularly knife crime and drug dealing (Alexander, 2008). Hence it is no surprise that scholars find that the very presence of a particular "racial stranger" in public space bring about emotions of unwarranted insecurity (Alexander, 2008; Amin, 2012; Swanton, 2010). It is also perhaps no surprise that these persons are subjected to police methods of spatial discipline, regulation and exclusion – with consultation from selected community stakeholders who choose to criminalise rather than empathise with the minority ethnic users of public space (Millie, 2008)

The public hence becomes an arena in which encounters of race between the police and members of "the public" are simulated. Before one perhaps looks to identify or even categorise which public spaces, places and areas could be used in exploring the complex social relations of racialisation and criminalisation; one could perhaps reflect on Lefebvre's (1991) notion on how space is shaped by uneven power relations. In relation to the police and BME communities, one could suggest that forces of social and economic exclusion and disadvantage lead to particular socio-spatial organisations – which then often become racialised and criminalised by police and other hegemonic actors or claim-makers. An example which can be given is Les Back's (1996) research on minority ethnic young people living in poor multicultural inner-city neighbourhoods in London. The heavy concentration of poor minority ethnic residents in these areas is not simply brought about through choice, but also through discrimination and exclusion in housing markets and employment opportunities (Simpson, 1981). Hence routine psychological factors such as boredom and lack of opportunity influence minority ethnic groups – particularly younger groups, to associate communal and visible activities in public space. However the combination of factors that is characteristic of social deprivation and the "unconventional" use of space perceived not to be law-abiding by police and various residents (Back, 1996; Loader, 1996) lead to routine profiling of race and space.

Furthermore, one can suggest that the criminalisation of youth has a negative disproportionate impact on minority ethnic groups – especially young men. For Alexander (2000), the unequal policing of young minority ethnic men is a product of a racial imaginary in that young Black and Asian men collectively use public spaces to exert patriarchal power that they struggle to achieve elsewhere. This compliments the notion that police officers' social profiling and perceptions of race are influenced in

some part by spatiality. Of course this is also vastly influenced by the intersections of class, age and gender, but specific geographies produced by race, racism and particular meanings attached to race and space can be seen to provide some explanation towards police racism. To encapsulate this in an example, I now argue that a spatial setting that can come to be defined through geographical imaginings of race is "the street".

<u>The street as racial and geographical imaginary</u>

> "In policy discussions, racism or cosmopolitanism are often imputed to places, as almost essential attributes of certain sites of the inner city landscape"
> - Back and Keith in Lees (2004: 68)

> "There is a [...] geopolitics to policing the street [...]. Police officers regularly exercise territoriality they seek to influence social action through controlling space…."
> - Herbert in Fyfe (1998: 226)

The street can be seen as a somewhat vital spatial context in relation to political rhetoric, the geography of police power, the construction of racial imaginaries and representations and mobilisations. The street has long been associated in media representations and historical and situational discourses as a spatial context of racial violence, crime and social territorialisation (see Anderson 1990; Scarman, 1981; Keith, 1993; 2005). Like people, the street is often racially stereotyped - an area that is territorially dominated by a particular ethnic group, through which fear and stigma often sustain such territorialities (Wacquant, 2008; Watt, 1998). Unfortunately, street-based stereotypes and territorialisations come with criminal labels such as "gangs" – which are discursively connected to activities such as violence and drug abuse (Anderson, 1990). Hence for this research, the street becomes a vital spatial setting and geographical imagination for the (re)production of racial meanings, prejudices and discriminations.

Although the street can be imagined as a geography of territory and spatial domination, one can articulate it as a geography of refuge, disenfranchisement and exclusion. It can be seen as a refuge for marginalised groups excluded socio-economically from mainstream society, excluded from other spaces of the public sphere that are territorialised by commercial consumption, spatial purifications and a "clean and safe" social order. However, the streets of even the most deprived areas have come under the microscope of this social order. The street has been noticeably part of political rhetoric in recent years. New Labour's focus on anti-social behaviour and stance on public order included the idea of "reclaiming the streets" (Coleman, 2004). Whether

cliché or meant literally, the street holds great political and social significance for the police. It is a spatiality that allows the police to exert a particular social order and spatial regulation and control with political consent (Herbert, 1998; Beckett and Herbert, 2010). As an extended arm of the state, the police are at the forefront of this spatial aspect of "reclamation". But on this subject we should ask from whom or from what are the streets being reclaimed? "Reclamation" implies that undesirable occupants own or dictate the on-going on the street. Judging from stop and search and arrest statistics by ethnic group, one could suggest that it is ethnic minority groups that are undesirable occupants. And furthermore, who and what is this reclamation for? As the vast majority of police officers on the beat are white male middle class, does this mean this reclamation is for the white middle class? Of course these notions are speculations, but they do feed into the racial imaginaries that come to dominate particular social relations and policing of the street – such as that of the minority ethnic "gang" that territorialise the contested space of street (Alexander, 2008).

The street plays a significant part in the geographical imagination of crimes that have been associated with minority ethnic groups – especially in reference to the African Caribbean community. Muggings, violence, drug dealing, low level and predominantly unorganised crimes which are geographically associated by the police and forms of the media with the street, have been racially categorised to African-Caribbeans and the wider Black community (Hall et al, 1978, Bowling and Phillips, 2007; Webster, 2007). The racist assemblage of "Black crime" and "street crime" and deprivation was a significant concept used in Lord Scarman's (1981) report, where young Black people living in Brixton were explicitly referred to as "people of the street" (Scarman, 1981:11). These discourses and images connecting the street, Black people and crime have been reproduced constantly through police practice, geographies of ethnic segregation which prevent progress in cross-cultural understanding, news reports and film. A good example of the latter is the 2007 Hollywood Blockbuster *American Gangster*, set in Harlem in the 1970s, depicts African-Americans wilfully engaging in street criminality such as drug dealing as a mundane part of their lives.

These representations in both the UK and US have been sustained somewhat by the influence that particular forms of black culture has had on "street culture". For example, codes from hip-hop cultures such as particular speeches, musical tastes and dress codes have been inherited by people Black, White and Asian – particularly young people. Some of these tastes have been outlawed in particular public spaces or rendered suspicious by the police, such as listening to loud music and wearing hoods (Back, 1996; Millie, 2008).

Street cultures are often practiced in group congregations, which are both imagined and actually sustained through local territorialisations and attachment to space, i.e. the street. This often results in tensions and fears with rival groups, local residents and the police, which either escalate or are feared to escalate to violence or other forms of criminality (Watt and Stenson, 1998). Hence, the contemporary influence of particular black culture on street spatial practices is deemed by some to be threatening. For Anderson (1990) some go further to encode black culture as street culture, through which street criminality is associated to be "Black problems" or driven by black populations. However, this is usually the view of predominantly white people who are unfamiliar with the spaces and social groups in question. Their view is a popular imagination has been influenced and proliferated by misleading mediums (Phillips, 2006). These views are held as cultural absolutes appropriated by racial difference and spatio-temporal expectations.

Moving away from political rhetoric and generalisations, Back and Keith (2004) articulate that racisms are imputed to particular spaces through urban myth and story-telling. Racism and racialised antagonisms become locally defined through folk geographies whereby particular meanings and characteristics that are accredited to particular social and ethnic groups (ibid.). Furthermore, methods of street territorialisation that particular social groups deploy are known to produce racialised antagonisms and racial definitions of space (Watt and Stenson, 1998). For example, the occupation and spatial movement of young minority ethnic people in the street is often done so in groups, and for a variety of reasons. These include an attachment or claim to space, a unified sense of belonging and also for security from the imagined dangers of street spatiality or perceived exposure to police harassment (Anderson, 1990; Back, 1996; Loader, 1996). Safety-by-numbers increases the street spatial confidence of young minority ethnic people, but often influences the decline in the spatial confidence of other groups, or provokes antagonisms with different ethnic and social groups and individuals. These antagonisms often influence police practice and interpretation of intelligence given to them by the public – in which minority ethnic groups in the street are constructed to be problem groups (Swanton, 2010).

Race, then, is often used as defence mechanism in the anticipation of and during cross-ethnic street encounters by minority ethnic groups. It can be said that fear of racial harassment by the police or hostility from the public is often negotiated by a collective appropriation of the street. It is perhaps no surprise then that the connections between race and criminality enter the dialogue in encounters with the police. A recent well-known example to the wider public is the recording of a conversation between PC Alex MacFarlane, a white police officer of the Met Police and Mauro Demetrio, a 21

year old black male being taken into police custody during the summer riots of August 2011 for a crime he did not commit (Lewis, 2012):

Alex MacFarlane: *The problem with you is that you will always be a nigger. That's your problem*

Mauro Demetrio: *Is it?...Are you trying to tell me racist comments?...Don't worry [states Officer's ID number]*

Alex MacFarlane: *All the time, yeah?*

Mauro Demetrio: *I'll always be a nigger. That's what you said, yeah?*

Alex MacFarlane: *You'll always have black skin colour*

Mauro Demetrio: *Yeah no problem mate, no problem. I hear this all the time. I get this all the time officer.*

Alex MacFarlane: *Don't hide behind your colour*

Mauro Demetrio: *I get this all the time, don't worry.*

Sources: Lewis (2012); www.youtube.com

This occurred on 11th August 2011, when Mr Demetrio was stopped whilst driving on a road in Beckton, London. He was taken into police custody for being suspected to having been involved in a raid of an ATM in a nearby Asda supermarket by approximately 30 youths (Lewis, 2012). Mr Demetrio denied that his car was in the Beckton area during this raid (ibid.). From the information and recording above, one can interpret that racist interpretations of intelligence by the police were instrumental in bringing Mr Demetrio into custody. However the fact that Mr Demetrio stated that he "hear(s)" and "get(s) this all the time" implies that he receives routine racism or checks from the police in similar situations or spatialities. Police racism for Mr Demetrio is a social and cultural norm. Furthermore, the national coverage of persistent reports of racist police conduct in the Met Police shapes particular discourses around police conduct – even to the degree that racism is manifested in police culture and practice (Lewis, 2012). It is perhaps no surprise then that the spatial containment or exclusion of minority ethnic groups and individuals in the street and public spaces is perceived to be a product of racism or racial imaginaries held by the police (Beckett and Herbert, 2010).

To summarise, the street is a contested space in many respects and axes. For marginalised groups and the police in particular, it is a space of authority and resistance. It is a space where race is constructed, imagined and performed and complexly intersected with perceptions of gender, religion, class, culture and material

environment. Its spatiality is a public resource, but becomes temporarily owned and restricted to different publics in the form of territoriality and social relations which are sustained by perceived difference. In relation to the powers granted to police officers in public places, we owe the street much credit and critical analysis as to how police racism is played out geopolitically. In the later discussions of empirical findings, I use the street as a valuable public spatial setting for critical discussion of the performances and imaginaries of race. I portray the street as an important geography of contestation, through which particular racial meanings are created and reproduced. The next section will discuss further how these imaginaries translate into the disciplining of social groups and regulation of their associated geographies.

Spatial governmentality and disciplining of minority ethnic groups

It can be suggested that in post 9/11 Western society, the regulation and appropriation of streets and urban public space by the police in the multicultural city is driven by an institutionally embedded ethos of alleviating risk (Amin, 2012; Merry, 2001; Rowe, 2004; Webster, 2007). Alleviating or managing risk, one can argue, involves an attempt to control or limit the impact of the unfamiliar, the irregular or even the unknown. Hence to do so, one would appropriate the given risk as an entity of potential and possibility. In a society of "purportedly failed multiculturalism" and insufficient cross-cultural engagement (Amin, 2012; Iveson, 2007; Phillips, 2006) race persists to present itself as the unfamiliar, the irregular or the unknown. And pre and during cross-racial encounters, public space becomes the geographical means of potential and possibility.

Hence the possible threats or risks that the unfamiliarity of racial difference can purportedly project spatially have to be governed by silencing or controlling. We can point to the persistent racial disproportionality in stop and search in public places as a point of reference (EHRC, 2011) for this control, and in relation to the third research question, we can point to more spatially rigid and situated initiatives – such as dispersal orders. My main argument here in this section is that ethnic minority subjects – especially young people – come to be policed through potentialities rather than actualities. They come to be policed through associated spatial practices and behaviours, and the initiatives placed to police them open the door to possible prejudices and racisms to be amplified. This constitutes spatial governmentality in the form that public space comes to be governed by a risk-based approach to the uncertainty and alarm caused by racial difference (Amin, 2012; Merry, 2001). According to Merry (2001), spatial governmentality constitutes the risk-based governance of space through institutional rationality. Hence the stop-searching of the

ethnic subject by the police becomes rationalised through subjective judgement of potential misbehaviour by "reasonable suspicion" (discussed further below).

Spatial regulation and racial inequality

The culture of control and "deviant paradigms" used by institutional actors to govern urban space criminalises even the most mundane spatial practices (Garland, 2001; Beckett and Herbert, 2010; Newburn, 2011). For particular social groups – notably minority groups and young groups – their very presence in urban public space comes under scrutiny (Amin, 2012; Millie, 2008). As public space becomes imagined to be a sphere of harmful potentialities and cross-ethnic awkwardness, unfamiliarity and ultimately fear, particular measures come to be put in place that disproportionately target the younger generation and the unfamiliar ethnic "stranger" (Amin, 2012). Disciplinary initiatives that are tied to the policing of urban public space such as stop and search and dispersal orders have been suggested to disproportionately target minority ethnic groups and young people respectively (EHRC, 2011; Millie, 2008). Whether such disproportionality and inequity within the policing of ethnic groups is deliberately and culturally embedded within the police force and these disciplinary methods will be an underlying question driving this research.

It is perhaps unsurprising that studies show that police forces deny that particular groups come to be deliberately disproportionately targeted in public space, and that the justification for the disproportionate targeting of young and minority ethnic groups is due to their "hypervisibility" (Alexander, 2002; 2008) or "street availability" (EHRC, 2011). In other words, because such groups are associated to use public space more often and at particular times, they naturally become regulated by the police more than any other group. To an extent, this is probably true. Numerous studies on youth subcultures indicate that the use of public space is a vital part of young people's lives (Colls and Horschelmann, 2009). This is particularly relevant in the case of minority ethnic and multi-ethnic groups, as many subcultures are suggested to be built on cross-cultural engagement or "cultural borrowings", e.g. clothing, dialects, musical tastes (Back, 1996; Alexander, 2002). However, the rate of disproportionate targeting towards minority ethnic people conducted by the police warrants one to look past this simple explanation of hypervisibility. The Equality and Human Rights Commission (2011) found that Black people continue to be more than 4 times likely to be stop and searched than their white counterparts. This figure for Asian people stands at 2 times more likely – but has risen significantly since the 9/11 and 7/7 terrorist attacks. Hence to look past an explanation of visibility and "presence" to explain this persistent inequity, one should probably critically discuss law, governmentality and unequal

relations of power before making any claims or judgement regarding racial motives of the police or associated practices of minority ethnic populations.

Firstly, there is the "racial hierarchy" of the police force. The underrepresentation of minority ethnic populations in both senior decision-making offices and within the police force itself (EHRC, 2011) can be argued to sustain a "white gaze" within the policing of minority ethnic groups. Second, is the significant discretionary powers granted to the police officer in spatial encounters in public space. The use of stop and search is legitimised by the police officer's *reasonable suspicion* or *belief* that: "articles unlawfully obtained or possessed are being carried…"; "incidents involving serious violence may take place or that place or that people are carrying dangerous instruments or offensive weapons…"; or "the exercise of the power is necessary for the prevention of acts of terrorism" (Home Office, 2010:5-6). Further foregrounding the role of "reasonable" grounds of suspicion, Dispersal orders under section 30 of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act: the "Dispersal of groups and removal of persons under 16 to their place of residence […] applies where a relevant officer has reasonable grounds for believing that any members of the public have been intimidated, harassed, alarmed or distressed as a result of the presence or behaviour of groups of two or more persons in public places in any locality in his police area…" (Home Office, 2003). The subjectivities of "reasonable suspicion", "belief" and emotion such as intimidation, harassment, alarm and distress can be argued to be too interpretative within the policing of public space and the multiple publics within (Millie, 2008). The open-endedness of such laws is testament to public being seen as an arena of potential misbehaviour or criminality. Hence this gives opportunities for prejudices to leak into police practice. Thirdly, as suggested above, a cultural ethos to "reclaim the streets" from undesirable and undeserving occupiers signposted by a war against "Anti-Social Behaviour" (Millie, 2008) has disproportionately targeted those deemed to be "street available". However one can argue this is a part of a wider neoliberal project in late capitalist cities to keep public spaces "clean and safe" for middle-class adult majority publics (Iveson, 2007, Minton, 2009). Various geographers have deemed this to be transatlantic urban governance initiative of urban revanchism (Smith, 1996; MacLeod, 2002; Lees et al, 2008) which perhaps can be microcosmic in the dispersal order legislation quoted above. This is an argument I wish to develop later on in the data analysis. But overall the unequal treatment of minority ethnic people in public space by the police should not simply be looked at in a theory of "street availability". This racial inequality needs to be looked out in terms of institutional practices, ethical codes and laws that allow prejudices or subjectivities to be amplified.

The conjunction of: i) Anti-Social Behaviour legislation as a framework to discipline young people (Newburn, 2011) and ii) a predominantly white police force with a means to regulate space through proactivity and risk-based assessment rather than hard evidence (Millie, 2008); could mean that young minority ethnic people are wary about the possibility that they become policed through prejudice and preconception. It could mean that young minority ethnic people are subjected to regulation and discipline under the revanchist city, by a police force that predominantly represents the majority white middle-class (Webster, 2007). It could mean that the policing of urban space by potentialities will sharpen racial differences and fuel tensions. I will re-visit these concepts in later on in discussion of my own empirical findings.

<u>Difference as political driver of spatial control</u>
As mentioned above one can interpret the "overpolicing" of minority ethnic groups as the deliberate project to spatial regulate and discipline. One can view disproportionality as institutional racism or defend it through a lexicon of potential criminality or risk-based assessments of spatial setting. However, I foreground the social relations that have been argued to drive this inequality, i.e. the role of perceived racial difference and the meanings of uncertainty and fear that surface in encountered difference (Amin, 2008; 2012; Phillips, 2006; Webster, 2007). Although this is a running theme throughout the research, I raise it in specific detail here because I agree with the idea that the distrust towards racial differences are manifested in institutional practices of spatial control and democratisation. Amin (2012) articulates this as the social relation of "strangers" in Western society, by where difference across race and culture is neither celebrated nor sufficiently learnt for equality and appreciation to overcome fear and anxiety. Hence the multicultural public sphere is recognised more so as a sphere of *difference* rather than a sphere of *diversity*. I have discussed above how such meanings attached to racial difference can drive spatial encounters involving the police and minority ethnic persons. But in relation to the methods of spatial regulation mentioned above (e.g. stop and search; dispersal orders), one should consider how such meanings attached to racial difference are manifested on a political level.

As racial differences are pronounced as lived experiences of uncertainty and unfamiliarity, contestations over public space and local resources often breed xenophobic sentiments in the multicultural city (Swanton, 2010; Amin, 2012). The ethnic "other" or "stranger" is problematized and their voices are often marginalised in the political arena (Wacquant, 2008). Nationalistic overtones that divide who is deserving and undeserving along ethnic and racial lines become political rhetorical devices that one can argue are translated into institutional practice (see the encounter involving PC Alex MacFarlane above). The persistent underrepresentation of minority

ethnic persons in predominantly white institutions of urban governance projects this marginalisation. Hence rather than taking opportunities for engagement, cultural competence and cross-cultural learning, minority ethnic persons are policed as "potential threats" rather than positive contributors to public life (Amin, 2012). Spatial regulation and disciplinary measures are preferred to consultation and inclusion. What is further alarming is that such actions are taken by the police who claim to serve the interests of the quasi-utopian geographical imaginary of "the community" (Hopkins-Burke, 2004). The conjunction of this inclusionary social-spatial formation and apparent democratic-representative framework serves as a construct that further marginalises those perceived as potential threats (Webster, 2007). The minority ethnic strangers who fall into this category hence do not only find themselves scrutinised by risk-based approaches to the regulation of public space, but marginalised from the participatory-democratic geographical imaginary that encapsulates a particular regime of public order on the streets.

On the subject of regulatory practices in relation to difference in the multicultural city, my investigation into the third research question will warrant me to approach public space as contested space. Its contested nature stems from its uncelebrated multiplicity, and also the unequal relations of power that take form in representation of particular publics over others. This is particularly so for the interests of adults placed over young people (Colls and Horschelmann, 2009), whereby young people are marginalised by the lack of political power and consensus offered to them (Back, 1996; Loader, 1996; Crawford and Lister, 2007). Hence my empirical findings contain much discussion over the political and spatial marginalisation of young minority ethnic persons, and how these persons and their spatial practices become defined and used as discursive devices for their regulation.

It seems that the conjunction of this marginalisation with the intensities of alarm, fear and uncertainty provoked by encountered racial (and age) differences drives a proactive strategy to discipline and regulate the ethnic "stranger". Amin (2012:104) comments, "The harms of phenotypical racism intensify when public legitimacy is given to the treatment of certain bodies as inferior, a threat and out of place; harbouring feelings of superiority and righteousness on one side of the divide, and feelings of inferiority, indebtedness or resentment on the other side." In response to the third research question I will attempt to critically examine whether such a divide and relations of political mobilisation come to victimise minority ethnic subjects in the public sphere. I intend to investigate the localised concentrations of power that drive, in places, a racial sorting of bodies into threating and non-threating categories. Drawing inspiration from the work of Amin (2012), in the concluding chapter I will offer

suggestions on how institutional assumptions that drive attitudes to difference can be dismantled to create a culture of equal subjectivity and a politics of empathy in the multicultural city.

Concluding thoughts

Although this body of research is not tied directly to a specific theoretical framework, it draws upon and aims to maintain various constructionist and epistemological standpoints from CRT that I regard fundamental in the study of race within human geography. These standpoints promote research mindful of historical context and challenge institutional forms of knowing (Brown, 2011). They form an approach of critically examining how power relations which are unequally spread across socially constructed categories of human beings, drive the construction of particular social-spatial formations. I believe that concepts and themes such as assemblage, imaginary and spatial regulation equip the researcher to critically analyse how these social-spatial formations are (re)produced. They also offer insight into how particular meanings attached to components of these social-spatial formations manifest as racial paradigms in which people become categorised and coded (Swanton, 2010). They also allow the researcher access to studying racism at different social, political and cognitive settings, reminding the reader that racism persists in variegated forms. Although these main concepts encapsulate similar social relations e.g. the pervasiveness of racial difference, their own differences offer variegated insights into the study of racism in geography whilst maintaining a constructionist approach.

The social relations that sustain and fuel the persistence of racism in contemporary Western society are arguably just as important for studying race and geography as the concepts applied above. The "failings" of multicultural policies frame the multicultural city as a city of pervasive racial difference rather than multicultural diversity. Xenophobic and nationalist attitudes of entitlement and reluctant tolerance translate politically to the public sphere where space regulated to disproportionately discipline minority ethnic and young people. The scale of power granted to police officers through subjective frameworks that come to govern urban space is a cause for concern, especially in police-community relations that prioritise interests of particular social groups over others.

Hence this study serves a great purpose in challenging categorical the sorting of "raced" bodies, geographical imaginaries and associated spatial practices based on relations of pervasive racial difference. In critically analysing the emergence and formation of the social-spatial profiles used to anticipate the ethnic "stranger", I

foreground the concepts of assemblage and imaginary in the study of racism and geography in the contemporary multicultural city. The next chapter discusses the study's methodological approach and how these concepts drive the research process methodologically.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to outline, explain and justify the methodological approach for this research study. The discussions below critically address the production of knowledge under a qualitative approach towards researching race in conjunction with the geographical, before addressing the research methods and the limitations of the methodology. I draw upon critical race theory as inspiration for this research (see Chapter 2) and in particular the methodological approach. I do so due to the reflexive, constructionist and multi-disciplinary approach that critical race theory promotes (Brown, 2011). I put this approach into practice through a qualitative methodology desired to challenge racialised forms of knowledge that are also geographically formulated. Conceptually, these forms of knowledge are characterised as racial assemblages and imaginaries that become implemented in forms of spatial regulation of minority ethnic groups and individuals. I touch briefly on contributions of former survey and statistical research on racial inequality and policing (see Bowling and Phillips, 2002; 2007) as well as researching these from a geographical perspective (see Carter (2009) and Moncada (2010)). But I argue that the power of narrative, discourse and class are vital in identifying unequal power relations and how imaginaries of race and geography come to be drivers through which particular spaces and bodies are policed, regulated and controlled.

Following on, I critically discuss the role impact of my own positionality, i.e. my individuality, biases and epistemological standpoints not only as a researcher but also a young black male. I examine the possible influences that being a young Black male with negative experiences of the police may have on the research. After introducing and explaining the methods used, I reflect on the limitations were both anticipated and arose from the methodological approach before briefly reflecting on how the data will be approached in terms of discussion of findings.

Methodological Approach

The main aim of the methodological approach is to aid the production of knowledge in a non-essentialist, reflexive and critical epistemology. I aim for the methodological approach to recognise the power and multiplicity of discourse and social constructionism in shaping racial and spatial relations and phenomena. The approach will draw upon aspects of Critical Race Theory (see Nayak, 2006; Parker and Lynn, 2002) – whereby racism is recognised as a persistent force in society which acts

through many forms; dominant claims of objectivity are contested; and racial oppression is challenged through historically situated context and from an interdisciplinary perspective (Brown, 2011). This constructionist approach warrants the researcher to draw from different disciplines or concepts shared between disciplines - which I believe provides a large scope for researching race. Hence concepts used in and/or across sociology, geography and criminology such as assemblage, criminal profiling, imaginary, difference, regulation and affect can be seen as central in the researching of race, space and policing (of race and space) (Saldanha, 2006; Swanton, 2010; Webster, 2003; 2007). As introduced in Chapter 2, I use three main themes and concepts in this study of race. I will now briefly re-introduce them and discuss how they will drive the methodological elements of this study.

i)   Putting main concepts into methodological practice

Firstly, I draw upon the socio-geographical concept of "assemblage" in researching race. I use the concept in similarity to Swanton (2010) whereby race, materiality, cultural and space are subconsciously "assembled" in spatial encounter through racial profiling by the police. This researching of "phenotypical racism" in encounter provokes the researcher to look for evidence of impulsive or reactionary performances of race or coded sorting of raced bodies, spaces and materialities. Hence this drove me to look for evidence of encounters experienced or imagined by respondents that portrayed actions driven by particular interconnections of race, spaces, objects and materialities. For this concept I relied predominantly on the narratives and stories of respondents because I believed that personal accounts would best portray the intensities of emotions and pre-cognitive influences that drive encounters. For example Leslie Ayoola's (Black research participant) accounts of encounters with the police became useful examples of how racial categorisations are impulsively (re)constructed through associated meanings to non-human attributes, e.g. the street, clothing, automobiles.

Furthermore, I use the concept of imaginary in a similar guise to arguments framed by criminologist Colin Webster (2003; 2007), whereby the racial and the geographical are "imagined" in conjunction with criminal perception. Hence imaginaries of particular "raced" bodies, their associated spatialities and spatial practices potentially drive the ways in which minority ethnic groups are policed. This drove me to research narratives that expressed the differential policing of particular neighbourhoods and spaces as a continuous practice due to racial profiling and prejudices. In doing so, I found that interconnections of class with race surfaced within the responses of participants - especially from Andrew Campbell (see Chapter 5) who expressed that the more

multicultural inner-city neighbourhoods were policed "differently" from the less diverse and wealthier outer suburbs. This allowed me to explore in greater depth the discursive linkage between minority ethnic populations, criminal underclass and inner city neighbourhoods (Alexander, 2008; Wacquant, 2008), and whether there was sufficient evidence to suggest that this imaginary was truly ingrained in police practice in Nottingham.

Finally, there is the concept of spatial regulation and control in police practice and its workings through the criminalisation of particular social groups, e.g. young Black people, through i) Anti-Social Behaviour legislation (Millie, 2008; Newburn, 2011); ii) a biased terrain of local democracy; and iii) the significant discretionary powers of the police officer in public space (Crawford and Lister, 2007; Millie, 2008). This warranted me to look closely into the social apparatus through which young minority ethnic users of public space *become* criminalised or emerge as potentially threatening. Hence to find such apparatus of public legitimisation, I focussed on collecting secondary resources evidential of criminalising users of public space in Nottingham's most culturally diverse areas, e.g. the Nottingham Evening Post. I also looked into the disciplinary police practices used in these areas, e.g. stop and search and dispersal orders, and their disproportionate use on minority ethnic youths. I collected a wide range of sources - visual and verbal, primary and secondary. I did so in order discuss in depth the contestations of public space, unequal relations of power in its governmentality, and the pervasiveness of fearful and antagonistic racial difference in the public sphere of the city.

These concepts are central to addressing the research questions introduced in the introductory chapter. Hence for this project it is essential for evaluating how these concepts are researched within the field and analysed afterward. Due to the discursive, psychological and constructionist nature of the above concepts (e.g. assemblages, imaginaries and processes of criminalisation), a reflexive qualitative approach was best for conducting this research (I will touch on the particular methods used below). I believed the foci of analyses to address these research questions, e.g. spatial encounters, affect and discursive linkages in relation to race, space and criminality, demanded attention to the power of narrative. Hence the research methods are predominantly qualitative and were designed to put the experiences, viewpoints and perceptions of research participants and externally collected narratives at the centre of analysing the interconnections of race, space, perceived difference and power. I will elaborate on the specific methods used and proposed means for data analysis later on in this chapter.

ii) A critical approach to researching race

For greater clarity in relation to the methodological approach, I use the term "race" in the similar guise to Jeffrey and Nelson (2011:251) whereby race is "a socially produced category, not a biologically discernible one, but one that retains profound power and meaning in so far as racial inequality and racism continue to delineate groups and to determine rights, privileges, and access to resources." Drawing from a critical race theory perspective, the methodological approach seeks to challenge the categorical understandings of people in relation to "race". In geographical terms, this includes challenging categorical understandings of race in relation to spatiality. Yet, in response to this scholars researching race face many challenges in relation to how categorisation and essentialisms can actually shape methodological approaches, even without the researcher realising (Gunaratnam, 2003). It is impossible for the researcher to completely discard their own biases and the influence of their own identities, lived experiences and subjectivities in shaping these biases. However it is important for the researcher to recognise how these influence the research process and to also recognise that these very biases or preconceptions can influence the production of geographical knowledge. This can occur especially in ethnographic research whereby "race" researchers are drawn to particular spaces by presumptions or prior knowledges (Stanfield, 1993). However this can also occur with the use of interviewing and survey methods, as the researcher may hold beliefs that particular individuals or "key" demographics are bound to produce "significant" findings (Gunaratnam, 2003).

In relation to race, research and the academy, up until recent decades the majority of the studies of race in the social sciences were predominantly conducted by white researchers trying to understand ethnic minority communities. Many of these studies being highly influenced by stereotypical preconceptions of non-white people (Frankenberg, 2004). For Stanfield (1993) this led to an "ideologically determined and culturally biased" production of knowledge – traces of which perhaps still are embedded in academia today. However Paul Gilroy (1992) argues that the biases in academia represented a "strategic silence", i.e. the deliberate exclusion of particular perspectives and experiences of minority ethnic group members. Gilroy (1992) identifies this as an initiative to have maintained an exclusionary sense of "White-Britishness" within contribution to British cultural studies. Although contributions by black academics have grown significantly in the racial and ethnic studies (especially by black feminists), methodological issues mostly tend to be concentrated on categorisation of people by race, with reflections on intersections of class, gender, age and religion (Saldanha, 2006). Hence I believe my research may present a valuable contribution to studies of race. This is due to my positionality as a young Black male

researcher – which may be instrumental in extracting the narratives of minority ethnic respondents that white researchers may not be able to extract; but also through the nature of the research itself. I look at a geographical and discursive role of race through the narrative and foregrounding the importance of spatial setting. Furthermore the research involves the study of the relations between the police and minority ethnic people – an issue framed to be a continuous problem in contemporary society (Webster, 2007).

Although I disagree with the use of popular imaginaries to represent views on racial criminality or "ethnic crime", I argue that it is still important to collect these views - especially in relation to researching unequal power relations and how racialised perceptions are made and reproduced. I argue that these views of minority ethnic groups are still highly relevant, but I believe they should be critically discussed. However, researching race can drive the researcher to speak to and debate with people from a range of ethnic groups, ages and social statuses (Ragin and Hein, 1993). The diverse range of participants in my research were strategically included to challenge existing dominant paradigms, social structures and the role of race and power in proliferating these paradigms spatially. Narratives of those marginalised from local political claims-making or victimised by processes of criminalisation were brought to the foreground, e.g. young minority ethnic participants such as Repo (see appendix figure 9). This strategy reflects the aims of Critical Race Theory in which dominant claims of objectivity and neutrality must be challenged, and also the knowledge of people of colour must be valued in the analysis of society (Brown, 2011). I was fortunate to interact with people from a range of ages, ethnicities, religions and professions – all cutting across variegated personal histories and genders. The extensive narratives they felt confident enough to give provided fascinating insight in relation to perceptions of race, the police and power within the communities in which they live and serve. I will expand further on the role of narrative in the following discussion on researching race qualitatively.

iii) Researching Race Qualitatively

In contemporary academia, researching race and racism in relation towards the police and minority ethnic groups have focussed much on the collection and analysis of survey data and quantitative techniques, and the perception of selected demographics (Bolognani 2007; Sin, 2005; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011). However in relation to geography, Carter (2009) justifies quantification in race studies as a key method to reveal the "workings of place in the manufacturing of the race" (Carter, 2009; 475). I

argue that this concept perhaps can be portrayed clearer and more critically through reflexive and constructionist qualitative analysis (Bolognani, 2007).

It can be argued that statistical and surveyed representations of race, space, perception and emotion do not fully grasp the historical and lived differences that form and drive local meanings and identities of race and space (Gunaratnam, 2003). Yet, it must be said that survey data and quantitative research has contributed much to the framing of issues of racial inequality and institutional racism. For example Bowling and Phillips (2007) have done much survey work on the impact of the disproportionate use of stop and search. Furthermore, Moncada (2010) has researched how such disproportionality can be statistically mapped and correlated with residences of different ethnic communities. However, apart from drawing upon various crime and race related statistics (e.g. stop and search disproportionality), I believe my research questions and the main concepts driving this research (e.g. assemblage, imaginary) are not as compatible with using a quantitative stance due to their constructionist nature. Instead I operationalize these concepts through narrative and the extraction of associated meanings that surface within the accounts of research participants and secondary data sources. The extraction of such meanings and capturing experiences of racism requires in-depth information (Sin, 2005). Hence I partook in research methods that required lengthy periods of interaction in the field, such as interviews and a group discussion which took the form of a public debate (see below).

The qualitative approach of this methodology was designed to influence responses and surface findings that can tell multiple and contested stories. Multiple and variegated narratives are hoped to be found in this research in order to reflect i) the contested meanings and perceptions of race and ii) the racial hierarchy that exists between the police and the multicultural public that come to ingrain meanings and perceptions of race into spatial practices. In relation to the geographical study of race, the researching of contested meanings, racial imaginaries and uneven power relations will give insight as to how minority ethnic groups perhaps come to be spatially excluded, regulated and controlled by the police. This will also give insight as to how minority ethnic groups are perceived in the intensity of spatial encounters.

Standpoint epistemology, positionality and methodological limits of race

As a young male with Black-Caribbean heritage and lived experiences of the police, I carry irremovable subjectivities into the field. I perceive my identity and personal experiences problematic because of their potential to influence dialogue and

participant's responses and actions. However, such biases have been shown to produce relations of trust with some participants (Andersen, 1993). Andersen (1993) suggests that the researcher sharing his/her experiences with the participant can help build a rapport and a further "productive" research encounter (Jeffrey and Nelson, 2011). But epistemological issues for this research are produced partly by own "mixed-race" identity or my own ethnicity as a "White and Black-Caribbean" male. This provokes me to make critical reflections on i) my own perceptions and attachments to spatiality; ii) my irremovable biases towards the dominant and dominated groups in this research   and iii) how the research participants may view or perceive my own identity as young "mixed-race" male as well as a researcher.

8 years ago, I was 14 years old. My two friends (both white British) and I ("mixed-raced"/white and Black Caribbean) were hanging around the back of a building in Derby city centre before being stopped by a policewoman. My memory of the exchange of words between the policewoman, my friends and I is hazy but I remember we answered her questions politely yet fearfully. After her questioning she then searched my pockets for suspicious articles, found nothing and recorded the incident in her notebook. She left my friends unsearched. Although I like to think since I was 14 I have matured and have gained a greater and more critical knowledge of the world. But I felt at the time and still feel today that this encounter was driven by race. As time has passed since I have never thought the extremity that all police officers are racist or are out to target Black people, but my attitudes towards the police have never been as positive and trusting as they can be. This encounter surfaces psychologically whenever I see "the bobby on the beat" or the police car cruising by. The thought that I would be stopped again does not escape me, and neither does the fear of a repeat of the emotions I had to experience: embarrassment, humiliation, fear and subordination.

The fact of the matter is lived experiences shape biases (Gunaratnam, 2003). In research these biases shape the research process and design (ibid.). It is very possible that I planned and carried out my fieldwork subconsciously holding the view of the police as perpetrators and minority ethnic people as victims. Even so, one should never doubt the capacity of the research participants to challenge the biases of the researcher, to surprise or contradict the researcher's preconceptions and ultimately transform the course of the research itself. Research is a long process, and I learnt that I was learning new things about new people much of the time. An example I encountered of this was in the interview with Councillor Thulani Molife (see appendix, figure 8). Mr Molife is a Black middle-aged man who had lived in Nottingham for over 40 years – since childhood. He said that in his time in Nottingham, he had never been stopped, searched or felt victimised by the police. Although at face value this may not

seem surprising, up until this point, most of the conversations I had had with minority ethnic participants entailed negative accounts of the relationship between the police and the BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) communities in Nottingham. Hence until I spoke with Mr Molife the data had complimented a dichotomised view of police as perpetrators and minority ethnic people as victims. But having this view challenged shows that experiences of race and racism are subjectively defined (Sin, 2005) and that assumptions of categorical human behaviour or inheritance of a particular "race consciousness" should be challenged (Brah, 1996). This drove me in following interviews and in the data analysis to consider the role of individual experience, rather than making categorical assumptions of lived experiences based on skin colour and ethnic background.

Many scholars hold the view that the ethnic identities of the researcher and research participants have an influential but complex role in the production of knowledge (Frankenberg, 2004; Skelton, 2001). However Brah (1996) argues that identity does not simply "exist" in a research interaction through standpoints of researcher and participant. Identity is co-dependent with meanings and narratives, which are contested, ever-changing (Bulmer and Solomos, 2004). Hence in this guise our identities are never stable due to the many meanings we give to the various intersections of our identity, e.g. race, class, gender, profession etc. This is why perception and emotion are powerful tools in the forming and dissembling of racial identities (Vera and Feagin, 2004) – and in reflection perception and emotion will be analysed to debate how imaginaries and prejudices are constructed and reproduced.

My own "mixed" ethnic identity presents issues that are understudied in academic writings on research methodologies. Throughout the last two decades there has been growth in work on cross-ethnic and racial identities of researcher and research participants, but the vast majority of these works focus on racial categories of white and Black (Kobayashi, 1994; Gunaratnam, 2003). In my case as a researcher and a person I have a "dual identity". My father is white British and my mother is Black Caribbean. I may have been perceived by my research participants, police and members of the public in particular or variegated ways but I perceive myself as a young Black male. I also perceive myself as white but "being Black" is a huge part of my identity and my place in British society. It distinguishes me from the white British majority in more than just skin colour, but also my personal history, family dynamic, ancestry and in some cases how people relate to and perceive me. Equally as important, belonging to an ethnic group that has historically struggled in fights against racism, discrimination and inequality in Britain often shapes my social-political stances on particular issues and events.

However, one may believe my "dual identity" could serve as an advantage due to having "shared identities" with two different ethnic groups. Yet, this is a common but misguided assumption to have that shared ethnic identities with research participants will lead to "productive" research findings (Skelton, 2001). Especially within the contexts of i) other multiple intersections of a person's identity (e.g. class, gender, age, profession, religion) which can distance the researcher and participant in the cognitive spatial setting of the interview and on particular issues of discussion; and ii) the possibility that research participants regard issues of race and racism as taboo subjects or difficult for them to talk about (Gunaratnam, 2003). This can limit one's capacity for involvement and discussion within the research process. I felt this may have done so for white male participants Ferg Slade and Superintendent Steve Cooper. Both of which recommended me to speak to Black community representatives when asked questions concerning the discursive connection between gang culture and ethnic background.

It can be said that shared ethnic identities can create a more accessible cognitive space of discussion, but power relations between the researcher and research participant in respect to intersections such as class, profession, age and gender can still remain (Brah, 1996). For example, one of the police professionals I interviewed named Gurmit Kaur (see appendix fig 3) was also of an ethnic minority background. We were able to share commonalities in relation to interpretation and experiences of racial encounters, but her profession as a police officer may have forced her to hold back information and personal feelings about particular topics concerning police racism which could put her job or other colleagues at risk. Hence through the multiplicity of identity, one can appreciate the individual's subjective political stance and positioning on issues of race (Skelton, 2001). This can be used as evidence to highlight the complexities of researching race and the particular barriers and limits that may arise from conducting fieldwork, such as the reluctance to share personal views and experiences of race due to its subjective and contested nature.

Positionality, in terms of researching across racial boundaries, I believed had a significant impact on the research process. I believed that non-white participants were on the whole more willing to talk about issues of racial inequality than white participants. This is possibly due to their first-hand experiences of racial inequality growing up and working in Nottingham. Being of Black descent and also having experiences of police racism, I was able to build a rapport with Black participants who spoke of their encounters with the police, e.g. Leslie Ayoola and Natasha Johnson-Richards. This aided the research process – not simply due to insights being discovered that perhaps white researchers may not have been able to access – but the

great depth of detail I was able to extract from the participants in relevance to the conceptual approach. For example, in relation racial profiling and assemblage, Leslie Ayoola and I had a lengthy discussion about the differential encounters between police and young Black people dressed in particular fashions. This enabled me to extract narratives that tied meanings to assemblages of race, space and materiality – in accordance with the first research question.

However, due to their ethnic majority identity, interview questions for white participants were based more on opinion of racial inequality and prejudice rather than experience. Hence the questions for white participants were often geared to provoke responses of sympathy or indifference towards any persistent racial inequalities within the policing of Nottingham. Interestingly, the volatility of this issue or their perceived "lack of knowledge" on issues of racial inequality coerced the white participants to recommend me to talk to minority ethnic community stakeholders such as Andrew Campbell. This highlighted the differential difficulties of "talking race" across racial boundaries within research (corresponding to Gunaratnam, 2003). But I perceived this racial juxtaposition of knowledge also possibly confirmed the racial boundaries of dominant and dominated groups in the policing of Nottingham.

Now that I have addressed some of the methodological issues when researching race qualitatively, I will now discuss in depth how these issues along with others surfaced in the particular research methods applied within the fieldwork. Also I will provide an explanation of how and why these particular methods were applied and how they contribute to a critical understanding of race, difference, power and spatiality.

Research methods

i) In-depth interviews

It can be said that the geographies of race and social relations of power are shaped by people's emotions, attitudes, thoughts, experiences and narratives (Vera and Feagin, 2004). A significant aim of this method was to uncover discourses that provoke or drive spatial and temporal geographies of police racism in Nottingham. The extraction of such discourses was undertaken to offer insights into how assemblages and imaginaries of race and geography are i) cognitively and discursively formed and ii) whether these are used as categorical devices for particular bodies and spaces.
In doing so, I recognised that conversation had to be designed and practiced in particular forms to generate trusty exchanges between researcher and interviewee. I wanted to make sure people felt comfortable to share their honest opinions and views

on race, racism and Nottinghamshire Police. I knew there were going to be obstacles in the way of me achieving this. I was very aware that the volatile issue of racism would perhaps hinder respondents' will to be honest or put them off from sharing particular views or experiences. I was also aware that this volatility would inevitably shape the questions I would ask the participants, how I would conduct myself in the interviews and how I would introduce and talk about my research.

I view the politics and practicalities of in-depth interviewing as a process. The process started with the identification of potential research participants and the reasons for motivation behind this identification. Firstly, I sought to identify research participants for interviewing from a broad range of backgrounds, professions and conflicting interests. This was partly driven to reflect the approach of CRT, whereby racism is produced, experienced and perceived in variegated and contested ways (Brown, 2011; Bulmer and Solomos, 2004; Gunaratnam, 2003). The interviewees were from Black, Asian and white backgrounds, and included two police officers. One officer was Steve Cooper, a high ranking white superintendent (see appendix fig 7) and the other Gurmit Kaur, a leading neighbourhood officer of Indian descent (see figure 3).

Secondly - due to the spatial and geographical elements of the research questions and aims - potential interviewees were targeted based on my intuition that they could provide particular insights that could provoke an understanding of racial geographies of policing in Nottingham. I identified several of the research participants (such as Dr Roger Hopkins-Burke, Ferg Slade and Leslie Ayoola) through relevant books, articles or online blogs they had published or through finding their profiles on websites of prominent political organisations in Nottingham, such as Nottinghamshire Police and Nottinghamshire City Council. Initially, I wished to speak to people who appeared to have significant large-scale political influence over race relations in Nottingham to provide geopolitical context before hearing from people individually and in group discussions (below) about the everyday geographies of police racism in Nottingham. But I also endeavoured to collect the narratives of particular social groups that are sometimes viewed as "hard to reach" in research (Sin, 2005) such as young people. This was important for identifying unequal power relations and tensions between dominant and dominated groups, the police and the policed – which gave insight into the social relations that form particular hegemonic racist imaginaries and assemblages.

Thirdly, I must state that approaching some participants was influenced by the invaluable recommendations of initial interviewees who identified the importance and relevance of my research. But I also suspect that this may have been influenced by the volatile subject of racism. For example, as mentioned above, Steve Cooper and Ferg

Slade (see appendix figure 2), both white males, recommended me to interview Andrew Campbell (see appendix figure 1), a black male who represents BME communities on various political panels in Nottingham. I perceived that the recommendation may have come from kind courtesy and respect for my research. But I also perceived that the volatile and intimidating topic of racial inequality in relation to police coverage may have influenced Steve (a white police officer) and Ferg to divert particular issues of racial inequality away from conversation. This is particularly relevant for the discussion of minority ethnic experiences of police racism. From a networking perspective, I was extremely grateful that the interviewees were willing to help me to build bridges towards potential participants. But from an epistemological perspective, I was very critical about respondents recommending other people to talk to on particular racial issues. I was afraid that this could result in particular racial groups producing similar responses and knowledges. Hence there could have been a risk that conversations and responses could be racially divided. In relation to the research questions, parallels between responses would be easier to analyse but the aim of this research is to challenge racialisations and forms of representational thinking about race. In relation to the example discussed, I tried to engage Steve and Ferg in issues of racial inequality as much as I could, so that such issues wouldn't appear to be available for discussion and elaboration amongst "ethnic minorities only". For example, towards the end of the interview I would ask them questions that would provoke them to produce their own ideas about improving race relations between the police and the BME community in Nottingham.

After the process of selecting research participants, the overall interview process continued with the dialogue and exchange between the researcher and each participant in the organisation of and leading up to the interview. I consider this important as it determines the spatial setting of the interview and can also give the participant awareness of the issues to be discussed. In organising the date, time and place of the interview, I would give the participant the power to initially decide all three. All of the interviews were conducted at either the participant's workplaces or homes. I felt that giving the participants this decision-making power was important for building familiarity between them and myself. Firstly, it would help build conversational familiarity via email or phone and secondly, meeting in a place of their choosing would probably give me an insight into their own lives, persona or identity (Limb and Dwyer, 2001).

Before meeting with participants I would explain to them generically what my research entails and aims to achieve. However, I admittedly framed my explanations in a way that did not mention the terms "race" or "racism". I feared that the terms could invoke

discomfort or refrainment, especially as I did not know for certain (before I met them) the racial/ethnic identity of the potential participants or their levels of willingness to discuss police racism. I mention this especially in context to white respondents who may feel "unable" or "uneasy" when speaking about racism – which is predominantly associated with white racism on Minority Ethnic citizens (Frankenberg, 2004). Hence before I met with participants or when I emailed potential participants I introduced my research in the terminology that I was "studying the relationship between Nottinghamshire police and the BME community". However even this terminology possibly influenced probable white potential participants to "pass me on" to potential black participants such as Leslie Ayoola (see appendix figure 5) and Andrew Campbell (see figure 1). This in a way was frustrating because it presented racism as a "non-white" or "Black" issue, when in fact race and racism is negotiated spatially through groups of socially constructed difference (Amin, 2008). However, returning to the main point as neither the ethnic identity of the participant and researcher were fully known in both parties, my terminology in introducing my research was designed in a way to not silence but mediate the uneasy prominence of racism to not "put off" the participant.

The process's next stage involves the designing and practicing of the questions and interview structure. In relation to the conceptual approach, I tailored questions that would provoke responses that presented particular meanings to particular spatialities or racial groups. For example, for researching racial-geographical imaginaries I asked various participants whether they thought that areas of high ethnic diversity had greater police coverage than other neighbourhoods in the city. For operationalizing assemblage, I asked questions to do with the appearance of a given "suspect" or villain" and the spatial and temporal setting. A common response was the wearing of "hoodies" and "walking down the street at night".

Although, I must admit, in places it was difficult to design questions for participants. This wasn't simply due to the volatile issues of racism or the ethnic identity of the participant (or the researcher) but the variegated and multiple identities of the participant that did not fully surface until I was actually conducting the interview. For example, the conversation with Gurmit Kaur dwelled for a time on her struggles to become an equal and accepted figure within the police force. This was not simply racial in relation to white police officers' perception of Gurmit, but also cultural through traditional Indian attitudes of women "putting themselves in danger". Gurmit's case opened my eyes to variegated racisms that act through intersections of gender, culture and social class (Gurmit mentioned her parents were fairly unskilled labourers) that acted as barriers to her progression through the police force. This confirmed that the issue of social difference and unfamiliarity between researcher and participant beckons

a reflexive outlook in the interview process, and a structure that offers flexibility in conversation and is not pre-determined (Young, 2004).

Hence during the design of interviews, I attempted to refrain from using "set" questions for each participant. I instead used a loosely-based structure that focused more on attempting to draw out narratives of personal experience and socially constructed myth and discourse: a) I would initially invite the participant to tell me about themselves (e.g. how long they have lived in Nottingham; generic questions about personal history; how their working lives links in with Nottinghamshire police) in order to provide some sort of personal context and establish a smooth introduction to conversation; b) I would pose questions and scenarios to do with race relations and Nottinghamshire police attempting to influence the participant to draw upon their personal experiences, spatial encounters and discursive linkages between the police, race and situational context; and c) the participant would be asked as to how relations between the police and the BME community in Nottingham could be strengthened. The interviews were designed to produce informal conversational exchange, designed for free-flowing discussion and debate between researcher and participant. I did not want to come across like a researcher with a "clipboard" of questions. I wanted to ensure that the participant was as interested and engaged in the interviewing process as I was. This way, by being informal, polite and friendly, I hoped it would be easier to encourage the participant to share deeper emotions, thoughts and experiences of race relevant to this research.

In response to the research questions and to correspond to the conceptual approach to the research, I analyse the interview transcripts by detecting relevant themes and narratives in the participants' responses. For example, to uncover the use of racial assemblages to profile minority ethnic persons, I analyse the discourse of the participants that offer insight into racialised meanings associated with spatial encounter setting (e.g. the street in an inner-city neighbourhood) and material entities (e.g. clothing, automobile ownership – see figure 5). I search for particular words and phrases that provoke geographical understanding of the main research concepts in terms of analysing the policing of minority ethnic persons. For example, the participant's viewpoints of uneven geographical police coverage in Nottinghamin conjunction with the imaginaries of "white suburban" areas and "blackness" with the "inner city" (see figures 1, 2 and 7) offers useful insight into the geographical imaginaries of race and crime.

Overall, this research method proved to be successful for extracting narratives to gain insight into a geographical understanding of police racism. However, in terms of problems faced during the interviews, the volatility of racial issues possibly prevented

both the participants and researcher from expanding on particular topics of discussion - e.g. the racial linkages to gang culture and street activity, mentioned above. If the interviews were conducted again, I would perhaps frame questions were directly to provoking participants to express personal attitudes to such social and spatial forms of racialization, as this would have helped gained further insight or aided the research process.

   ii) Group discussions

I was fortunate enough to be invited to partake in a public forum and debate on police racism. This turned out to be an extremely insightful and useful method for this research. In comparison to semi-structured in-depth discussions, I experienced that group discussions as a method grants the researcher a greater observation role rather than a role that demands more frequent verbal interrogation (Bedford and Burgess, 2001). This luxury of participatory observation allowed me to focus on how race is publicly debated, how meanings and identities are publicly contested and constructed, and how public space emerges as a temporal and meaningful forum for debates about police racism. I felt that this public negotiation of issues relating to the police and racial inequality granted a dimension that could not be encapsulated in other research methods. This was because I as the researcher was not the force driving the debate. Power over the direction of discussion was much more evenly distributed – although at times this either not at all the case or brought about limitations towards my research (discussed below).

I attended a public meeting at a community centre in St. Ann's, Nottingham. The meeting's primary focus was to address the poor relationship between the police and young people in Nottingham (see appendix figure 9). People present included Jon Collins, leader of Nottingham City Council, Dave Walker, former Chief of Nottingham Black Police Association, youth workers and concerned members of the public – which included Black and white young people, e.g. Repo, Michael and Denise. I was invited to the forum by youth worker Jo, who I had previously interviewed.

Although this public forum was a fantastic research opportunity, I was forced to recognise that their primary function was for public debate – not my research. I was also forced to recognise that the debates were structured on equal participation – in that everyone was given a turn and allocated time to speak. Although this was useful in terms of debate and contestation, the expected conflict or diversification of interest at times took the focus of the debate away from my own research interests.

This research method was a success in that participants across multiple ethnic and racial backgrounds were able and felt able to voice their opinions, emotions and share experiences. Upon observing the exchange between people of different races, ages, gender and classes, I recognised that interests in police conduct did not just lie with ethnic minorities and young people but across many social intersections and standpoints. I also recognised that local public spaces such as neighbourhood community centres play a huge part in facilitating community cohesion and equipping communities to tackling social problems. It confirmed that progression relies on cohesion, but showed that cohesion relies on public spaces such as community centres.

Although I personally felt that the group discussion contributed excellent methodological insight and contribution to the aims of the research, I was disappointed that no current police officers were present at either forum. I believe this would have made the debates "full circle" and would have changed the dynamic of the debates. Having witnessed members of the public challenge the police about their conduct first hand would have provided fascinating scope for analysis. It is true Dave Walker, a former police officer, was present at the first forum I attended. But Mr Walker's sympathetic stance towards the members of the public present and his current work in tackling racial inequality within the police force did not represent the "man in uniform" as far as the public was concerned.

After realising the success of this method, if I had more scheduled time for fieldwork or repeated this project again, I would have seriously considered organising my own group discussion with police officers present. I believe witnessing and participating in verbal exchange with and between the police and young minority ethnic persons, would have offered an invaluable insight that this research would have certainly benefited from.

iii) Secondary data

The social construction of racial and geographical imaginaries and also spatial representations require an analysis of information and narratives constructed in domains such as the local media and official statistics. The public portrayal of racial issues provided invaluable insight into the workings of racialization, relations of power and inequalities that drive social relations and spatial encounters in Nottingham. I use reports and blog comments from the online version of the *Nottingham Evening Post* and also, where appropriate, official statistics documenting disproportionate treatment of minority ethnic persons by the police.

The *Nottingham Evening Post* proved to be an excellent public resource for portraying an arguably biased framing of issues around youth activity in public space. The reactionary framing of young people as "gangs" in relation to the enforcement of dispersal orders, and also the racial depiction of particular incidents of crime provided valuable evidence of stances on racial difference within the city. I draw from such media material predominantly in Chapter 6 within my empirical discussion on the biased terrain of local consultation of public defining of marginalised social groups in the city.

I use a combination of official publications and academic research for extracting police legislation in relation to methods of spatial regulation, e.g. dispersal orders and stop and search (see Crawford and Lister, 2007; Home Office, 2003; 2010); and also for local and national statistical findings on the racially disproportionate use of stop and search by the police (see BBC, 2012; Bowling and Phillips, 2007; Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2011; Nottingham Evening Post, 2012). This secondary data became vital in presenting arguments on the significance of the extent of police power in public space (see Chapter 6) and also place-based racial imaginaries (see Chapter 5). I identified these sources of data through online research. They were strategically found in order to aid discussions on racism within policing, but in terms of their analysis these sources were predominantly analysed in terms of the spatial regulation of young minority ethnic persons in multicultural urban contact zones (see Chapter 6).

Overall, the framing of race-related issues by claims-making (and white dominated) institutions such as the police, the media and the Home Office provide a scope for analysing the workings of unequal power relations and also how issues of race and space are defined, represented and portrayed. This will help one to decipher how racial and geographical imaginaries are constructed publicly.

iv) Photographs

I took photographs and present them in my data analysis predominantly as a visual tool for the reader. However, particular photographs are included in the data analysis for items of discussion. For example, the photograph of the dispersal order in Forest Fields defaced with graffiti (see figure a, Chapter 6, page 101) offers important insight to the reaction of members of particular racial or cultural groups to the enforcement of the order. Hence photographs have proved to be a useful tool to the project. But due to the research being centred predominantly on verbal evidence, visual tools have predominantly been used as points of reference.

Methodological Limitations and Reflections on Data Analysis

As discussed above, the main aim of this methodological approach is to uncover how social relations of race and space construct specific geographies of power, dominance and racism in Nottingham. Through a social constructionist guise, the methodological approach relied on qualitative methods with a reflexive outlook. These methods were strategically used or formulated to encourage and facilitate a) narrative and the capacity of the individual account (through in-depth interviews and ethnographic research) and b) public forums that debate meanings and constructions of race, space and power within Nottingham. Overall I was pleased with the execution of these methods and their outcomes in terms of data produced. But the methodological approaches, the methods themselves and the themes of race, racism, power and inequality that are encapsulated in the research can be seen to produce limitations in particular ways.

The first concerns the reliability of the answers and narratives produced by respondents in interviews. As the subjects of race and inequality are topics that are often normed as taboo subjects, feelings and attitudes of discomfort and awkwardness in relation to these topics can produce responses that a) do not represent the respondent's genuine attitudes or b) limit the respondent's psychological capacity to confidently talk about race and racism (Skelton, 2001). Nonetheless, this overwhelming or intimidating power of race that produces non-representative discourses can be argued to be a significant research finding in itself. However, in turn, this may be difficult for the researcher to detect or prove, hence providing problems for the data analysis. Also, in relation to this research and its aims, this may not simply produce non-representative discourses of people attitudes, but also of sociospatial relations.

A second limitation, which is interlinked to the first, is the role of race in the relationship between the researcher and research participant. It has been widely suggested that race plays an influential role in the relations of power and trust between researcher and researched (Skelton, 2001). Although I believe that my Black heritage gave me an advantage in being able to relate to some of the experiences and narratives of the minority ethnic respondents, I believe my racial identity may have acted as a barrier during conversations with white respondents. As some points I felt uneasy talking about particular racial topics with white respondents. For example, when I was interviewing youth workers Jo and Denise, this "uneasiness" restricted me to talking simply about issues of police treatment of youth. I refrained to bring up topics of racial inequality.

Perhaps this "uneasiness" in the research process is also created by a third limitation - my inexperience of researching race. Although it has been established that race has a place in urban studies (Alexander, 2004; Keith, 1993; 2005), it is an area that I as an urban geographer have little experience in researching. From my position, I believe that prior experience of researching race may have helped me develop useful techniques for carrying out particular methods and breaking down barriers of racial difference that are presented in the research process.

A fourth limitation is the temporal element of the research. The research design, methods used and the various narratives that are produced can be seen to represent historically-situated phenomena (Stanfield, 1993; Valentine, 2001). Race and power can be seen to be social relations that are constantly mutating and non-fixed. The methodological approach and methods used can be seen to be influenced by socially situated relations, knowledges and events, e.g. the August 2011 riots and stop-search racial inequality. However, it can be argued that it is near impossible for the research design to avoid historically situated social relations and that social-geographical phenomena cannot be produced in isolation (Valentine, 2001).

A final limitation is based around recurrent themes in the data. Although patterns and themes within research findings are often positive outcomes for researchers, they can also restrict the researcher in terms of data analysis (Valentine, 2001). For example, narratives of racial harassment by the police towards Black people usually centred on issues of youth and linked to particular places in the city of Nottingham, e.g. the Brewster's Estate in the St. Ann's neighbourhood. But I argue that these particular spaces can be analysed in-depth to thoroughly discuss the production of racial imaginaries, geographical imaginaries and the intensities of spatial encounters.

As the methodological approach consisted of a social constructionist guise, the approach for data analysis will follow in a similar but critical manner. The analysis will aim to critically examine how racial meanings are attached to people and space. The methods used have aided insight into the production and construction of meanings, and within the analysis I will now aim to examine how these constructions are translated spatially. In doing this I interpret the transcripts, newspaper articles, blog entries through discourse analysis. This technique relies much on the interpretation of the researcher, but I will attempt to foreground the narratives of research participants and secondary data sources in a critical and unbiased guise as possible.

To make sense of the relationship between race, space, power and perceptions and representations of difference, I will draw upon the main concepts presented above and

in the literature and theoretical discussion. I will also draw upon Lefebvre's (1991) triad of spatial practices, spatial representation and representation of space. This, according to Gunaratnam (2003) provides a valuable conceptual framework for identifying and analysing perceptions of danger and insecurity in psycho-social space. Hence, where relevant, I will draw on these concepts to analyse how police practice is driven by racial imaginaries, geographical imaginaries and associated spatial practices of particular racial groups.

Chapter 4 - The negotiation of race in spatial encounter

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the critical analysis of findings on the performance of race in spatial encounters between members of Nottinghamshire Police and minority ethnic persons. In similarity to previous works by geographers such as Arun Saldanha (2006; 2010) and Dan Swanton (2010), an approach I use for analysing active workings of racism is social interactions. Drawing on empirical findings I discuss how racist assemblages work in spatial encounters. I argue that racism works through mental social-spatial categorisations of bodies, spaces and materialities. I further argue that these categorisations surface within the intensity that encounters of perceived difference and estrangement are deemed to create in urban public space (Amin, 2012). Through psychoanalysis and discourse analysis of previous accounts given to me by respondents in one-to-one interviews, I aim to articulate how race is negotiated and performed in these accounts. For greater clarity, the concept of "negotiation" warrants explanation.

I articulate the idea of the negotiation of race in spatial encounters through forms of thinking and physical action or performance. The analysis of negotiation will be determined by an approach which entails a focus on how space, materiality and bodies are racially categorised subconsciously and consciously. I also approach the data collected in the field supporting the concept that the intensity and impulsive nature of social interactions and encounters provide an insightful epistemological stage for the intersection of the mental and social, thought and action. These interactions are performances whereby meanings are translate socially and spatially through intensities of emotion and mental negotiation (Saldanha, 2006; Thrift, 2004). I stand by the view that encounters offer a great insight as to how race is "negotiated", how race and racisms unfold spatially and how "established" views of race can be challenged and re-defined.

Throughout the chapter, I aim to show how interconnected or assembled meanings of race and space become applied to making sense of individuals or racial groups. The first section discusses how these assemblages emerge as profiles for policing the minority ethnic subject, but also how these profiles are challenged and re-defined. The second section explores how material imaginaries of class become a part of racial assemblages. Finally, the third sections introduces spatial encounters that suggest how particular meanings of race, youth and masculinity form social-spatial profiles which come to be built on relations of difference, fear and a disregard for empathy.

The accounts of research participants that are discussed below are not simply aimed to show institutional oppression or minority ethnic victimisation. The accounts are aimed to show how meanings of race, space and materiality are defined co-dependently are encoded to racially profile particular ethnic bodies. This will be done through the analysis of how meanings of criminality become attributed to minority ethnic persons through their appearance, material ownership and spatial setting. This connects to similar empirical work conducted by Swanton (2010), who analyses how human and non-human forms, entities and objects (e.g. skin colour, clothing, vehicles) take on particular racial meanings and associations in everyday urban encounters. The accounts also aim to show that race can be used as a form of categorisation, as a discursive tool and a precursor to imaginaries of space and class.

"Fitting their profile: The making and breaking of racial categorisations"

Leslie Ayoola is a black middle-aged man of African descent. He has lived in Nottingham for most of his life, growing up in Hyson Green and St. Ann's since the age of 7. Throughout his adulthood, Leslie has been a dedicated servant to socially disadvantaged individuals and communities in Nottingham, namely the Black community. His current community work includes running "Street Entrepreneur Programmes", which include advising and mentoring young Black people about career progression and facing challenges of racial discrimination within the workplace. In his early adult years, Leslie was a manager at Nottingham YMCA. One of the privileges that came with this position was the use of one of the 3 company cars registered with the YMCA. The company car that Leslie used to drive was a Rover 75, a respectable automobile in terms of what professional middle-class workers may drive.

One day, whilst conducting some outreach work, Leslie was driving this Rover 75 in St. Ann's, a multicultural inner city multicultural neighbourhood with a history of gun crime, gang violence and known to police today as an area of high levels of drug abuse. Whilst driving, Leslie was followed by a police vehicle with two white policemen inside. He was asked to pull over. At the time, Leslie was dressed in casual clothing – jeans and tracksuit to be exact. His post at YMCA as a coordinator of activities for young men did not require him to wear "smart" or "professional" attire. To Leslie, in his mind, he knew why he had been stopped:

> "Driving around in those company cars, a black guy dressed in jeans, tracksuits and stuff – it fitted their profile…"

<p style="text-align:right">- Leslie Ayoola (see figure 5)</p>

For me, these words took me back to the one and only time I was stopped and searched by the police. I was 14 years old. Two of my school friends (both white, same age) and I were in Derby city centre one weekend afternoon. We snuck away down a backstreet alley to smoke a cigarette. The only reason why we ejected ourselves "out of the public" was to avoid being seen by people we knew – a typical youthful "fear of getting caught". Whilst passing this cigarette around and smoking it between ourselves, we saw a police officer (white, female, middle-aged) come towards us from around the corner. Although it was over 8 years ago, I remember exactly what she said:

> "Now then lads, there have been reports that there have been some disturbances in the area. Issues of noise and vandalism."

> "We're just here having a fag", one of my friends replied.

> "There's no problem with you having a fag lads but I'm going to take your names and contact details."

We anxiously obliged and gave the police officer our details. For reasons I cannot remember I kept my eyes fixated on the ground, probably because I wanted the encounter to be over as soon as possible. However, I saw her turn to me to say:

> "Young man, you like you have something in your pockets so I'm going to search you under Section... (I struggle to remember the rest)"

Although my hands were in my pockets, I had nothing in them. The police officer searched my pockets in my tracksuit top and jeans. She then left us, with my friends both unsearched and with me, struggling to get to grips with what had just happened. But when I got home that night I thought, "if I was white, like my friends, would I have been searched?" To a degree, I still ask myself that question, but as the years have gone by and I have (hopefully!) matured and thought about things a bit more critically and open-ended, I ask myself different questions: one being, "Perhaps if I was somewhere else smoking that cigarette, perhaps if I wasn't in a backstreet alley with my friends – would I have been searched?" In the same way if Leslie had been driving in a less multicultural (probably more predominantly white) suburban estate – would he have been pulled over? Possibly. Possibly not. Here I make the case that it is possible that the geography of an area, or the meanings and discourses given to a particular place or space, would have driven the police officers to have stopped and later searched Leslie and me. If I was in an area more exposed to the public eye, If Leslie was not driving a Rover 75 in St. Ann's, would we have been deemed suspicious? In these cases, the geography of an area or the geographical imaginations prescribed to space do not act alone- which brings me to question and deconstruct an important phrase from Leslie quote above: "their profile".

It is possible that Leslie and I for that matter were stopped (and later searched) due to the sole fact that we were Black. I would like to think (especially in this day and age) not. But it is probable that Leslie and I were stopped and searched due to an amalgamation, an assemblage of our race, age, masculinity, our immediate personal materialities and the geography that surrounded us. This assemblage is the *profile* that Leslie was referring to - a mental negotiation that has been applied to us unfortunate individuals in order to negotiate and alleviate the risk of threat or illegality.

However, I must also interrogate how and why Leslie articulated this profiling as *their* profile. It is very probable by "their" he was referring to the police. To suggest that such profiles are articulated by the police, at least in part, suggests that race is implemented in the institutional or spontaneous construction of criminal imaginaries. In other words, police, Leslie is suggesting, already have in their minds what a (Black) criminal looks like – or this conceptualisation surfaces consciously and is enacted upon in spatial encounters. White criminologist and research participant Dr Roger Hopkins-Burke at Nottingham Trent University seems to agree with this stance:

> "I think the police carry around psychological ideas in their heads as to what a likely suspect will be"

> - Dr Roger Hopkins-Burke (see appendix figure 10)

However, whether this be preconception, impulsive mental negotiation or psychological sorting of bodies, races, spaces and materialities, this is not overly vital. This is because the action of the police officer in question is still driven by some sort of perception:

> "If you perceive that Blacks are criminals then that will affect your behaviour"

> - Leslie Ayoola (see figure 5)

It is at this point I wish to emphasize that these encounters discussed show that meanings of race both a) become embodied within spatiality (attachments to space and place) and materiality (attachments to personal non-human objects and entities) and b) become interconnected with them, and dependent on them for the construction of meaning. I add support to my argument by putting some hypothetical cases to the reader (the cases are independent of each other and hence their order constitutes no hidden meaning):

If Leslie had been white
If he had been in attire deemed "professional" or "executive/managerial"
If he had been driving a car other than a Rover 75 that was deemed to have a "lower" status or possessed less charisma

If he had not been driving in St. Ann's

Would had he been deemed suspicious by the police?

…Obviously we cannot answer this with surety. But it should not prevent us from asking these questions and challenging "assemblage" and categorised thinking about race, space, materiality, geography and associated meanings. It is also worth asking does this categorical thinking by the police simply place subjects in question as holistically "suspicious/threatening"; or are persons placed into particular criminal or profiles such as "drug dealer", "terrorist" or "vandal"? As discussed in an early chapter, scholars such as Ben Bowling, Trevor Phillips and A. Sivanadan articulate that criminal profiles become racialised. In spatial encounter, the Black man becomes the drug dealer, the Asian man the terrorist. But a central argument that I maintain, influenced by Saldanha's and Swanton's approached to race, space and materiality have a huge influence in the racialization of these criminal profiles. Spatial imaginaries about St. Ann's as an area of drug dealing and associations with a Rover 75 as being a vehicle driven by smartly dressed working professionals may well have grounded police suspicion for Leslie, a Black man, being a possible drug dealer. I will return to role of space, place and materiality in the construct of racial imaginaries in more detail later on.

This idea of assemblage within mental negotiation of race, space and materiality can be summed in a response made by Superintendent Steve Cooper of Nottinghamshire Police, after I asked him the question (baring much relevance to Leslie's and Dr Hopkins-Burke's notion of preconceived "profiles"): "…do police have an idea of what a troublesome person looks like in their head?" Steve – very conscious that the question had an underlying racial agenda to it, replied:

> "…do officers look at people and say '…you're a young Black male so you must be a villain' – No I don't think it's that. I think there's a degree a probably a combination of lots of different factors… But you know time of day, clothing, you're out in the middle of the night, you're in an area that isn't very lit you're wearing dark clothing, you've got a hood up… '[Asks himself] why is there an individual here? What are you doing?' And you stop them…"
>
> - Steve Cooper (see figure 7)

The discursive connection made between "Blackness", masculinity, youth, clothing, is an imaginary (to quote Steve) "combination of lots of different factors" deemed suspicious. Unfortunately, from this hypothetical encounter, it is difficult to distinguish

the influence of one factor over the other. This shows how elusive race can be in conversation and how difficult it can be to critique categorising forms of knowing. Dr Hopkins-Burke offered a similar scenario when I asked him a similar question about associated criminal appearances:

> "They [the police] make some kind of assumptions such as how "hoodies" are a target. Well if you are walking down the street at one o'clock in the morning with your mates with your hoods up and dark glasses on… I think the police are perfectly reasonable in suspected that you are up to no good"

At the time I was unsure whether he was referring to me, or referring to a given Black man or young person – or all of the above. But upon reflection, I could see from both of these accounts some alarming parallels. First, is the discursive linkage (by two white middle-aged men – one in law enforcement; one in the academy) between hoodies, youth, Blackness (or at least implications of Black individuals) and street space as suspicious, criminal or amounted to grounded reason for these individuals to be deemed so. But second, is an issue that I as well as Saldanha (2006) and Swanton (2010) - have overlooked in the context of profiling or assemblage thinking – the concept of temporality. For racialised meanings or profiled sorting of races and spaces to be produced and enacted upon, there is a dependence on the intersection of space and time (e.g. being "out in the middle of the night" or "at one o'clock in the morning"). Particular spatialities intersect with particular temporalities in the mental negotiation of what constitutes threat, suspicion or a particular criminal profile. Time and space are co-dependent. Now to a member of law enforcement, stopping a given person with their hood up late at night in an unlit space may be standard procedure, obvious or "logic". But one must appreciate how space and time influence this "logic" and how negotiation of race may be amplified by the particularities of time and space.

To this point, I have addressed how race is negotiated in spatial encounter through the construction or making of racial categorisations in time and space and materiality – all amalgamated and assembled like pieces in a mental jigsaw. But we should turn our attention to something I consider to be equally important: how associated racist assemblages can be broken or disproved.

I return to Leslie Ayoola's encounter. I left at the point where both he and his vehicle were being searched by two white police officers. After the police had finished their search, they checked the registration details of the company car and Leslie's employment details – finding no irregularity or illegitimacy. According to Leslie the encounter ended in laughter – an uncomfortable sort of laughter that follows a scenario

of proven misunderstanding or disproven speculation. Reading over Leslie's account and trying to relate it to some academic theory, previous conceptualisation or empirical work, I remembered attending a public lecture at Durham University on race, racism and the everyday rhythms of urban life. The speaker was Dan Swanton. During the lecture, Dr Swanton spoke of an incident he collected from the *Keighley News* about an Israeli male tourist who was pinned to the ground and searched by the police. He was staying in a cottage in Haworth - a small village on the outskirts of Keighley, Yorkshire (Swanton, 2010). The encounter with the police occurred just over two weeks after the 7/7 attacks in London. The nation was in a state of insecurity. He was approaching his hired car which had provoked suspicion amongst local residents. The police, believing the man to be "dark-skinned and looked Asian" and a possible terrorist, pinned the man to a curb and raided the cottage in search of incriminating evidence. The police found nothing of the sort. The man then provided documents giving proof of his identity, his stay in England and legitimacy of his vehicle. The encounter ended also in laughter and mixed emotions of relief and embarrassment (Swanton, 2010).

Just as in Leslie's account, the self-legitimisation of the suspect through immediate materiality, ownership and proven claim to space challenged and broke these categorisations. The encounters both challenged the racial assemblages mentally constructed and enacted upon. It is true and it should be said that I have given little reference to the internal and external influences that may also drive these encounters, e.g. managerial/institutional pressures to act, interpretations of public intelligence or the personal identity and attitudes of the given police officer. I will visit these influences in greater detail in later chapters. But here, I have aimed and attempted to show the existence of racial profiling or assemblages through processes of mental and physical negotiation and action within social space.

"I could have been a hustler!": Identifying the interconnection of race and class through materiality and space

I have thus far attempted to establish the ways in which racial categorisations are constructed through the negotiation of the racial assemblages in encounter, and also – through findings – articulated the role of geographical imaginations and temporality in the construction and application of these assemblages. However, my findings and the spatial encounters within them suggest the active role of social class and class imaginaries within this process of racial assemblage and profiling. Here, I take a similar approach to scholars Michael Keith (1993) and Jon Solomos (1988; 1993) that gives rise to the deep interconnectedness of race and class, in attempting to explain the role of class in racial profiling.

In relation to this stage in the investigation, if race and class are deeply interconnected, then police imaginaries of social class are paramount to analysing how race is negotiated and how persons, spaces and materialities become categorised in spatial encounter. Furthermore, in relation to the immediate discussion above, if racial imaginaries are assembled by that of an amalgamation of spaces and materialities, then class imaginaries (at least to an extent) must be also. For prominent urban geographers such as David Harvey (2008) and Neil Smith (1996), linkages of class to space and materiality (from the personal to the environment) whether they are considered real or imaginary are nothing new in urban geography. Through spatial encounter, I attempt to show how class and race are defined co-dependently through space and materiality in the production of racial assemblages.

In relation to the narratives of spatial encounters I collected, I found fascinating how assemblages of particular spaces, geographical imaginations and materialities serve (or have the potential to serve) as precursors to race-class profiles that are deemed criminal. I have argued above that spatial imaginaries drive categorical thought in spatial encounter, but the findings suggest that the role of personal materiality becomes a key driver in the emergence of race-class profiling in social interaction (Swanton, 2010). In relation to my findings, what I am specifically referring to here is dress code. In spatial encounter, clothing becomes a key player in the race-class assemblage and it correspondingly becomes a precursor to "suspicious bodies" in the eyes of the police. This theme within the findings links to the work of Saldanha (2006) and Swanton (2010), whereby materiality in the form of particular personal objects such as clothing and garments in conjunction with skin colour co-produce particular meanings in psycho-spatial analysis. For example, Swanton (2010) discusses the psychological sorting of race and clothing by police officers in Keighley in respect to Asian males, that in turn produce racist assemblages of the "becoming terrorist"

In a similar guise, Superintendent Steve Cooper, Dr Hopkins-Burke and Leslie Ayoola all discussed the influential role of dress in the emergence of the police suspect. What can be learnt from the hypothetical encounters given is that young Black working class and low-income men are often deemed suspicious not simply due to spatiality and temporality but their dress code – namely "the hoody". As discussed in a previous chapter, young people who wear hoods in Western society are defined by hegemonic institutions and claim-makers such as the police, the media and the upper classes as innately criminal. Roger Hopkins-Burke quoted above, confirmed that people who wear "hoodies are a target" for the police. The hoody hence becomes an imaginary materiality of lower class "non-law-abidingness". I find it both alarming however

unsurprising when Steve Cooper's image of a "young Black male" consisted of "wearing dark clothing and having a hood up" (full quote above). The association of a young Black male with a symbolism of lower class criminality confirmed the importance of materiality in this race-class imaginary but also how such symbolisms are somewhat ethnically defined by hegemonic individuals. However, a part of me finds this race/class/materiality/criminality linkage unsurprising due to my own lived experiences of working class and poor Black youths, before, during and after conducting this research. Many young poor Black people – particularly men - wear hoodies. So I do empathise with Steve Cooper's narrative. However I am confident that the reader agrees with me when I say I believe that what one wears does not innately make them a criminal or inclined to break the law. But material meanings that become synonymous with race-class imaginaries which are enacted upon in space by the upholders of our laws do not help to build trust between minority ethnic communities and the police. An articulation of this can reflect the work of Harvey (2008) and Smith (1996), in that a given person's right to space becomes reducible to (the police's perception of) their social status and race. This can be argued to transcend into a mental production of a cultural explanation of the given persons motives for their usage of that given space and hence prompts the police-suspect encounter.

Staying on the subject of materiality and class, I turn our attention to a concern with the mental negotiations of the suspect in question, the materiality of the police uniform and its racial indications in spatial encounter. Gurmit Kaur is an Indian female police officer in charge of the Hyson Green and Basford neighbourhoods in Nottingham. She joined the force in 1987 when she was 18 years old. My conversation with Gurmit involved much discussion about barriers she faced upon joining the police force and rising through its ranks - such as cultural alienation from patriarchal attitudes of Indian friends and relatives, and also institutional racism within the police force. Gurmit's positionality as a minority ethnic woman and as a police officer is unique. She had lived experiences of facing police racism by white police officers and also being accused of it by Black youths. Her unique multiple identities negotiated through her experiences in life and her profession had brought her (and myself) to realise that profiling and stereotypes are two-way traffic, and that each group (the police and minority ethnic groups) are co-dependent on the interpretations and actions of the other to be "profiled" through race and class:

> "You know as well as me that cutbacks financially, unemployment is sky high – how do you break that cycle as a…BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) guy having to deal with all those stereotypes as well? So they then think that a quick win is that they can go and get some cannabis or cocaine… But when it is this greed – 'I need my designer this, my

designer that, I need more money now' – Why? You know I used it sit with young BME people at meetings and they used a stereotypical image of me, they used to say 'Well you come from a wealthy family and everything', and I would say 'oh, let's take you back to where I am from. Mum and Dad, came from India, OK? Dad and Mum spoke very little English, so no backup for my education from my parents. Father was a labourer, no fantastic job, ended up on the social [benefits]. Lived in a council house – not our choice"

There are two simultaneous profiles being negotiated here. First is the imagined case of the jobless "BME guy" who is being connected to a life of drug dealing and materialism. The second concerns the young BME people assuming Gurmit as "wealthy" and having a lack of empathy for them because she is a police officer, discarding any thought to interrogate Gurmit about her personal history. The running theme in these profiles is how materiality acts as social indicators for class differences. Material desire through means of drug dealing is associated with the minority ethnic poor, and the police uniform is represented as a materiality that denotes wealth, power and class distinction by the very same young minority ethnic poor people Gurmit refers to. If these views are shared amongst the social groups in question, do young lower class minority ethnic persons view police officers as untrustworthy middle-class individuals who do not understand them - or according to community volunteers Jo and Denise (see appendix figure 4) "don't have a clue"? Do police officers view young lower class minority ethnic persons as innately criminal due to lack of income support? If so, are these views manifested and negotiated in spatial practice…?

…Perhaps so. In March 2012 I visited Chase Neighbourhood Centre in St. Ann's, Nottingham (pictured below). The centre provides learning support and recreational activities to young socially disadvantaged people of all ethnic backgrounds aged 14-21. The majority of young people that use the centre regularly are the "Brewster's Road Crew" – a group of predominantly Black males and females who live locally (mainly on Brewster's Road in St. Ann's). At the centre I spoke to activity coordinators Jo and Denise (see figure 4) about relations between the young people and the police:

> Tim: "Can you tell me about the police?"
> Jo: "There are…cops in the area that harass the kids badly"
> Denise: "The police don't have a clue. They don't treat young people like human beings. When it comes to stop and search the police don't give them the slips or their numbers
> Tim: "Do you get the police around here often?"
> Jo: "The police tend to be up and down here all the time…We've had a PCSO in uniform in here before and the young people refused to come in because of the uniform. They can't sit here in uniform"
> Denise: "Police are stop and searching all the time on Brewster's Road"

The suggested excessive harassment of young people, the persistent occupation of police in the area and the avoidance of the police by the young people all point towards a relationship based on distrust and suspicion. This is manifested spatially through the corresponding movements of the young people in relation to that of the police – who are identified by materiality (their uniform). If this materiality symbolises distrust for young people and drives spatial avoidance, then it not only serves as a symbol of class division but also of social distance between minority ethnic youths and the police. This re-iterates arguments made by Saldanha (2006) and Swanton (2010) in that materiality such as clothing and uniform can symbolise racial meaning – and can hence drive particular micro-geographies, i.e. the spatial avoidance of police occupied areas by young people.

Chase Neighbourhood Centre, St. Ann's, Nottingham: Source: therenewaltrust.org.uk

But what about the role of spatiality? How does it influence the mental construction of race-class imaginaries? The answer lies in the meanings that are given to space. In this case, the excessive policing of Chase Neighbourhood Centre and Brewster's Road makes a strong case that the spatial practices there are discursively connected to criminality. In Lefebvrian terms, these areas are "spaces of representation". They are conceived to be "potential spaces" of criminality for the police and of harassment for young Black youths – particularly males. Through the encounters discussed, it can be suggested that these "potentialities" can be amplified through particularities of race, class (spontaneously and mentally defined by materiality and spatial setting) and spatial imaginary. This is shown through the suggested over-use of stop-search in the area on young people and also by the young people's avoidance of the police. This concept of spatial "potential" is explore further in the empirical discussion in Chapter 6

on spatial governmentality – whereby due to the particular application of racial meanings of criminality, bodies and spaces become policed as pre-criminal (see Merry, 2001).

I finish this discussion on class and materiality with another spatial encounter involving Leslie Ayoola. I was asking Leslie whether poor young minority ethnic people feel disenfranchised from public spaces in city centres. His reply was much to do with perception of dress code, and that the role of this materiality sends out messages to the public and the police. Class-based perceptions of suspicion, such as the ones discussed above, discursively prohibit young minority ethnic people from using city centre spaces often. Leslie Ayoola states:

> "…I would say some of the high end shops they will not probably feel that comfortable walking into…probably because of the way that they are probably dressed or how the staff may perceive them…"

However, Leslie insists that if young minority ethnic people – especially Black men - adopt a different dress code, they will be treated differently by the police and general public:

> Leslie: "…normally my day to day wear is I've got a suit on, shirt, smart etc. – even if I've got dreadlocks. They [the police] perceive me totally different. But if you dress differently – and this is something that we teach them [young BME people] in our business classes…it's about how people perceive but something they see, many by the way they are dressed…I just tell them and say look, 'You know there is an issue in society about the way that people perceive you. Just try it out one day. Go to town, dress in your Sunday best or your suit etc., and see how you are perceived then'…you'll get treated differently. I know, for instance my Dad lives in St. Ann's…I went there on the way to a meeting….I was getting some hot delicatessens – whatever it was. She [the shop assistant] said 'Oh you're alright because we don't normally get people coming in here dressed like you…"
> Tim: "Where was this…?"
> Leslie: "In St. Ann's on Well's Road. So it was the way that I was dressed got her to say you know I'm a Black guy, she doesn't really see other people like me, dressed like me coming into that shop. I could have been a hustler (laughs) but dressed in a certain way. But I got perceived and treated differently."

The difference in how Leslie views he is perceived by the police, the encounter on Well's Road, and Leslie's analysis of it, all encapsulate how race-class imaginaries are formed through the perception of materiality and space. Leslie points to the fact that although he is Black and has dreadlocks, his smart dress - which as daily wear for work

- is a performance of his middle-class identity and is held to be trustworthy, unsuspicious or how the shop assistant put it: "alright". However the fact that Leslie in his professional attire in a working-class neighbourhood is perceived as law-abiding is interesting. Leslie said himself that he "could have been a hustler" – a white collar criminal or man who has makes a good living from organised crime. But the fact that he is perceived as "alright" shows that the societal issue he refers to is how the classification of criminal suspects is concerned with how Black people look. Visibility is usually the first point of contact in social interaction after all, and this is why he endeavours to persuade his mentees to think about the way they dress and where they go to *be seen.*

However, with this concept that materiality and class have great influence in perception, one can find it difficult to trace the role of race here. Race and the role of the body become elusive. Or perhaps they become reducible to physical materials of personal appearance (Radley, 1995; Swanton, 2010). For if the treatment of the same Black man is conditioned on how he presents himself perhaps one can challenge the exact role of race in criminal profiling. Dr Roger Hopkins Burke puts the influence of social class over that of race in the classification of criminals:

> "As far as the police are concerned it's not just Black people. As far as the police are concerned there are two classes of people really. There are people whose opinions they have to take seriously – that's people like me and actually Tim, you. Because you are a respectable middle-class person and they will treat you that way. But there are people out here, they can be Black, they can be white – the scumbags and the scroats and they are what you call 'police business'. They think they can do what they like people like that."

However, it seems simplistic to view that criminal profiling is reducible to class. From the encounters discussed above and the narratives of the respondents, it would be safe to say race does have a role in the criminal profile, but it's role is deeply interconnected with class, with material perception, with spaces of representation. And it is an amalgamation of these factors and social relations that co-produce racial assemblages (Swanton, 2010). It is difficult to discard the influence of race when stop-search statistics show that Black and Asian people are far more likely to be searched by the police than their white counterparts (EHRC, 2011). It is just as difficult to discard class when police coverage in working-class inner city neighbourhoods such as St. Ann's is heavy. It is just as difficult to discard materiality when Black people wearing hoods are deemed suspicious whereas those dressed smartly are deemed respectable and law-abiding. I argue that the amalgamation of these different perceptions account for distinguishing between those who are deemed law-abiding and for those Roger

Hopkins-Burke refers to as "police business". But whilst the police disproportionately target minority ethnic individuals and whilst BME confidence in Nottinghamshire police hangs lower than their white counterparts (Nottinghamshire Police, 2011), we cannot discard the role of race in the relationship between minority ethnic persons and the police nor the way it is negotiated in social interactions.

"Mutual Suspicion": Masculinity, Youth, Space

The conjunction of youth, race, masculinity and gang culture has been a common theme spread throughout the responses from the research participants. Nottinghamshire Police's current initiative on tackling gang culture has seemed to have had a major effect on encounters between the police and young Black men in neighbourhood public spaces in inner city Nottingham. In August 2011 after the police shooting of young Black man Mark Duggan in London, riots proliferated through England's major cities. Thousands of young people took to the streets in uproar to vent their anger and frustration with Britain's hegemonic institutions. It is said that many took part due to opportunistic criminality, to steal and loot to make a quick buck. The political left condemned the government for denying young disadvantaged people of opportunities, whereas David Cameron and the political right blamed the proliferation of "gang culture" amongst the poor in Britain – even though the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office have downplayed the role of gangs in the riots (Travis, 2011). David Starkey went a step further to blame "Black culture", although he later mentioned that he was referring to a particular kind of gangster culture (Quinn, 2011). However, according to recent research, underlying issues included the overrepresentation of minority ethnic youth (accounted for over 50% in Nottingham) – particularly men – involved in the uprisings and also that police brutality and the overuse of stop and search were one of the main reasons that people decided to riot (The Guardian, 2011).

The events in Nottingham however were of a particular case in relation to the rest of the country. They were more small scale in comparison to the rest of the country but nonetheless symbolic. For it was not so much the high street or the shops of the inner city that were attacked but the neighbourhood district police stations. These included the stations in St. Ann's (pictured below), The Meadows and Canning Circus – the petrol bombing of the latter was filmed and uploaded onto YouTube. It is disputed amongst my respondents as to the reasoning behind the lack of attacks on the city centre but it what was clear from these events is a dysfunctional relationship between Nottinghamshire Police and the young people of Nottingham, many of whom belong to Black and Minority Ethnic communities.

St. Ann's Police Station, St. Ann's, Nottingham: Photograph taken February 2012

It seems that the riots, the rhetoric from the political right and the attacks on the police stations all played a part in what seems to be a "war on gangs" initiative implemented by Nottinghamshire Police. The experiences that young minority ethnic men have had in relation to this initiative drew me to a public discussion at Chase Neighbourhood Centre in Nottingham. The purpose of the discussion was to debate views on the treatment of young people by the police and problems of lack opportunity for working class young people. Present, were several young men who voiced their experiences about being on the receiving end of police harassment. All of which were Black – which in itself possibly constituted that this "war on gangs" had racial implications. Repo, who in the immediate months after the riots, reflected on his experiences:

> "Things have got better [but] I used to get stop searched all the time. But now I can actually walk out of my house without getting searched. It was like they thought I was a gangster."

> Repo (see figure 9)

Repo is a Black male in his early twenties. He lives locally in the neighbourhood of St. Ann's, is unemployed and has low income support. When I met him he was wearing very scruffy clothes, slightly ragged and had a demotivated look about him. I was inclined to empathise with Repo. I had little doubt that the police's perception of his identity (race, class) and appearance (clothing) had driven a series of routine encounters whereby he would be searched by the police – whether he'd been a previous offender or not. But the fact that he perceived himself to have been caught up

in this anti-gang initiative could be linked to racialised perception of masculinity (Alexander, 2000). This imaginary is made more explicit when I asked Black community activist about the effect of the riots on the relationship between the police and Black youths:

> "It's…about social stereotype. The Black man is perceived as a big strong man that needs to be contained."
>
> Andrew Campbell (see figure 1)

If this "containment" of the Black man has a linkage to gangs or gang culture, one must interrogate the concept of the term "gang" by seeing how it is used perceived among the respondents:

> "There's a place called the Brewster's Estate which is well known…there is a gang culture built up there…there's various gangs – some which are criminal gangs, some are gangs of people just hanging out together and not mixing…"
>
> Thulani Molife, Labour Party City Councillor for Mapperley Ward (see figure 8)

> "Someone from my rank can authorise an area and authorise a time when anyone in that area can be stopped-searched…We use it appropriately and say 'we have the information that a gang of Eastern-European males versus a group of Asian lads. Don't stop the white fifty-year old lady walking a dog' – so you know using it appropriately."
>
> Superintendent Steve Cooper

> "You've got two or three high ranked people from the police who say 'we're going to go for this money from the government in tackling gang culture because we can get at the areas hardest hit in the riots'"
>
> Fergus Slade, Nottingham Community and Voluntary Service (see figure 2)

> "We as law abiding people, we have a sense of belonging, a sense of purpose, we show respect. So that to me is the basics, so why is it that young people go into a gang format. Because they see the gang – same needs as we see as a law abiding citizen, a sense of belonging, respect and purpose."
>
> Officer Gurmit Kaur

> "A small group of lads meeting up on a street corner to hang around is not a gang!"
>
> Jane, resident of St. Ann's (see figure 4)

Many interpretations can be made from these findings. But in a short summary, the quotes infer that individuals with political and hegemonic influence, e.g. Thulani Molife and Gurmit Kaur see gangs as havens for young people, with discursive attachments

to Minority Ethnic groups (see Steve Cooper quote). "Gang culture" is not something that is explicitly defined as criminal (neither is it explicitly defined), but it is evidently something that institutions of power such as the government (central and local) and the police look to destroy. Fergus Slade implied that the police have an almost obsessive occupation with taking on gangs (see figure 2). But what puts all of these quotes into perspective is what is encapsulated in Jane's quote directly above. Jane, a retired white resident who was present at the meeting, spoke out against the harassment of young people by the police. She argued that the police's definition of a gang is misguided and argued that young people, namely her grandson, were being targeted simply for congregating on the street – empirically argued to be an everyday routine activity for young people (Back, 1996; Alexander, 2000). This corresponds with the work of Alexander (2000; 2004; 2008) in that the imaginary of "the gang" or "gang culture" conjures variegated discourses around race and criminality. These terms conjure ambiguity. But what is clear from the data is that the terms embody racial stereotypes, masculinity and spatial territoriality that are defined institutionally as a threatening societal force (see Alexander, 2008).

It seems that the only specific logic to the police imaginary of a gang is the congregational-masculine occupation of space. The Home Office (2011:19) states:

> "Gangs tend to be formed through affiliations based on territory…"

But this congregation for members of Nottinghamshire Police seems to either produce or is an inevitable product of illegal activity, or what is constituted to be Anti-Social Behaviour. Hence in some cases, including under dispersal orders, congregation itself becomes illegal activity:

> Nottingham Evening Post: Tuesday 16th November, 2010:
>
> "POLICE are renewing a dispersal order covering most of the Brewsters Estate until May 2011.
>
> It gives officers the power to move on individuals suspected of being involved in crime and antisocial behaviour for 24 hours.
>
> If someone returns to the same area within that time, they will be arrested and face up to three months in jail or a fine of up to £2,500.
>
> The dispersal order was introduced last November amid concerns over drug dealing and other crime and antisocial behaviour said to be caused by gangs of youths congregating near the Premier shop in Wells Road and Flint's store in Ransom Road.

Officers have also been carrying out stop and searches in the area. These were stepped up after two shots were fired at a group of people outside the Premier grocery store, known as Smithy's in Wells Road on August 30.

A 20-year-old Radford man arrested on suspicion of attempted murder has since been bailed pending further inquiries.

'As a result of a lack of multi-agency co-ordinated work, there've been gangs of youths hanging around shops," said Sergeant Nigel Bradley. "When these lads see us coming they disperse. They know we have the power to make them do so. Dispersal works but it is not the long term answer.'"

Such spatially assigned initiatives have had a hand in influencing encounters that have had negative effects on the relationship between the police and Black youth. In the last three years, Nottinghamshire police have been shown to be over 9 times more likely to stop and search Black people than white people. Asian people are twice more likely to be stopped than whites (BBC, 2012). Mrs Francis of Nottingham speaks to the BBC:

"It is blatant racism, they are just being targeted. There is no relationship between the police and the young black kids and you can see why. [Black youths] think 'If they see us they are going to stop us'. If they go to the local shop and see the police, they turn around, which gets them stopped."

<div align="right">Source: BBC (2012)</div>

These statistics and statements point to very alarming issues. The extent of this statistical disproportionality suggests a wholesale treatment of young Black people. The mutual suspicion between the police and Black youth suggests that such encounters are driven largely by spatial occupation, racialised fear and avoidance, which can be equated as:

Territorial occupation of Black youths + police presence = mutual suspicion

Mutual suspicion + Black youths fleeing from the area = escalation (increased grounds of suspicion for the police to stop and search Black youths in question)

Escalation + stop and search = increased levels of victimisation felt by Black youths + increased levels of mutual distrust

I maintain that the intense sorting of race, class, materiality and (in relation to the police initiative against gangs) youth and masculinity as a process of racist assemblage production, is an active force in the prompting of police-suspect encounters (Swanton,

2010). But through my findings it can be put forward that the roles of mutual fear and spatial control drive these encounters. It has been shown in the encounters discussed that race is *done* and performed. The relationship of racialised fear and distrust between the Black youths and police instigate such performances, and the performances in these encounters can be seen as to always be of a defensive nature. The police giving chase are seen to defend space from perceived criminality, and the Black youths are running to defend themselves from perceived harassment. Defensive racial performance is even expressed in verbal exchange. According to Steve Cooper and Gurmit Kaur, suspects who are repeatedly stopped often accuse the police of picking on them "because of the colour of my [their] skin".

To conclude, there are many lessons are to be learnt on both sides. To name a couple: the more the police imagine black low-income young men in "suspicious" attire and who live in the inner city to be innately in a gang; the more black young men try to avoid the police when spotted, the more dysfunctional and distrust there will be between these groups. But the onslaught against gangs either needs new and defined meanings for Nottinghamshire Police. Territorialisation on the street or the local shop is not inherently criminal, it is also cultural and a product of spatial meaning and attachment, and to an extent masculinity (Alexander, 2000). I will address this in more depth I following chapters which look at spatial exclusion and racial imaginaries in relation to place.

Conclusion

Spatial encounters show that race has a vital role to play in perceptions of class, appearances of materiality and conjunctions with masculinity and occupations of space. The encounters presented are explanations of how racial assemblages work and are produced by the meanings assigned to its components (bodies, space and materialities), how they can be challenged and how they drive social interaction. This encapsulates the concept of the "negotiation of race". In simpler terms, the discussions in this chapter have aimed to show that race manifests in various human and non-human forms. In terms of police-suspect encounters, these manifestations drive psycho-spatial notions of performance and anticipation – e.g. young minority ethnic persons fear of being stopped by a white police officer prompts them to spatially avoid the police.

Racial negotiations can show that encounters produce racial knowledge, but are also driven by it. This is not to say that these knowledges are absolute but are discursive

and socially constructed. The imaginaries used and enacted upon in these spatial encounters for following chapters signpost us to interrogate how spatial exclusions and place-based territorialisations are driven by racial imaginaries held by both the police and BME communities and persons. Spatial encounters have shown us human experiences of how race is actively engendered and defined in space in amalgamation with a range of factors that cannot be considered to be discarded in the formation of situated criminal profiling. The subconscious, impulsive and reactionary psychoanalysis of race instigated by geographers Dan Swanton and Arun Saldanha has been confirmed to be an effective analytical tool for discussing how race works in police-suspect encounters, and also how these encounters become reference points for how race is perceived in policing and also the perception of the police. Deconstructing the production of racial assemblages is an insightful analytical approach for studying the geographical role in racial profiling by the police in spatial encounters. However the approach to studying how race is negotiated through assemblage needs further attention in urban geography. Given that public spaces act as urban contact zone for cross-ethnic encounters; and that both particular and variegated knowledges and meanings come to define interconnections of place, the body and non-human entities – there is ample opportunity for the expansion of this area of geographical study through the ethnographical or study of narrative.

Chapter 5 - Appropriation of space through racial and geographical Imaginaries

Introduction

> "The strategic capacity to imagine the city […] has the potential to become a key element of the institutional infrastructure of urban governance."

<div align="right">Healey (2002:1779)</div>

Drawing on empirical findings, the main focus of this chapter is to discuss and interpret how urban space becomes governed and appropriated by racial and geographical imaginaries. I approach my data mindful of recent works by Iveson (2007) and Amin (2012) who both suggest that contemporary social relations in the city comprise of ethnic and cultural multiplicity. Yet this multiplicity is characterised by estrangement and unfamiliarity that can pronounce ethnic, racial, cultural and spatial boundaries. According to Iveson (2007), this unfamiliarity and these socio-spatial boundaries both construct and become part of urban imaginaries which take form as "spatio-temporal expectations attached to particular places" (Iveson, 2007:46).

Hence, the focus of analysis in this chapter is to decode through empirical data whether/what social totalities and expectations of the racial and geographical are used by the police to appropriate urban space and the ethnic subjects within. In doing so, empirical findings draw us to look predominantly at the policing of young Black people in public spaces of the multi-ethnic neighbourhood of St. Ann's. The departure this discussion takes from the previous chapter is that the focus will be predominantly concerned of how racial imaginaries are geographically defined prior to spatial encounters – although such imaginaries may present similarities to instinctive racial coding within the intensity of social interaction.

In correspondence to the Healey (2002) quote above, I aim to interrogate how imaginings of urban spaces and the apparent activities within drive the practice of institutional "governors" of urban space such as the police. In relation to the imaginaries and expectations of young Black people, I briefly refer to works from "youth geographers" such as Cahill (2000) and Colls and Horschelmann (2009) who discuss the representational discursive devices used to make sense of young people and particular spatial contexts.

Iveson (2007) articulates that social imaginaries are also spatial imaginaries, in that the imagined spatial practices of a social group (or given public) come to imagined as spatial representations. In a similar guise the discussions in the this chapter aim to show that the apparent practices of young minority ethnic persons become used as spatial imaginations that drive police practice in a given place or neighbourhood.

Hence with the view that the racial is embedded in the social, one can argue that this too becomes imagined in the spatial. But this analysis will attempt to show this through the police's imagined spatial practices of young Black people in St. Ann's, Nottingham.

Firstly, I discuss how racial and geographical imaginaries are variegated and somewhat rigidly bound to spatial imaginaries of the "urban" and "suburban" and also, through police practice such as stop and search, how these spatialities become constructed to be synonymous with imaginaries of race and crime. Second, I visit the role of unfamiliarity in the construction of racial-geographical imaginaries by analysing the influences of a) police institutional policy and b) "outsider police officers" as barriers to empathy and fuel for fear and distrust between the police and young Black people. Thirdly, drawing on the work of Andrew Millie and Tim Newburn, I challenge how behavioural codes such as Anti-Social behaviour socially construct the criminalisation of particular urban publics and their subcultures, such as young Black people "hanging around" on the street. I also discuss how young Black people in St. Ann's come to be socially excluded from intelligence frameworks and public consultations with the police. I argue that this perhaps serves as an insight into the possible construction of racial-geographical imaginaries held by the police. Finally, I use empirical findings to portray possible solutions for improving cross-ethnic relations in order to reduce fear and tensions caused by imaginaries that arguably drive the policing of minority ethnic persons in Nottingham.

Racial Imaginaries of the "urban" and "suburban"

> Tim: "Do you think the relationship between the police and the black community – youths in particular – was a significant influence in the disturbances in Nottingham last summer?"

> Andrew: "I think there are three things you should be looking at here. First is the killing of Mark Duggan. Secondly, the difference in how the inner city and outer city estates are policed. Thirdly, how this 'urban youth' is imagined and constructed by the police. Ask the police where the drugs team is located and you will see for yourself"

Andrew Campbell is one of the most influential leaders of the BME community in Nottingham. All of my respondents either knew him or knew of him and his work of fighting racial injustice in the city. What fascinated me about him the most was not his activism nor the fact that he sits on many political panels citywide to promote the interest of the BME community, but his passion and insight. The interview I had with him was unlike any other on many levels, namely his articulation of how issues of racial inequality are deeply embedded in issues of class difference and uneven geographies -

and how these inequalities and social differences form criminal profiles in the eyes of the police (Bowling and Philips, 2007; Keith, 1993).

The extract from the conversation above is not shown primarily to discuss the cause of the riots last year but to suggest that geography and race become interconnected in the police's imagination of space. Andrew's response to my question produced a term that demands focus: "urban youth". This term contains much in terms of an intersection of racial and geographical imaginaries – but I will use the meanings that I interpret Andrew is putting across as a framework to deconstruct this term.

In Geography, the "urban" is not defined in the realms of the particular – nor is it confined to spatial boundaries. What is considered urban encapsulates an array of scales (spatial and temporal), social relations, materialities, networks and infrastructures (Amin and Thrift, 2002). Yet for Andrew, under the guises of policing and race, "the urban" takes particular forms and meanings. The urban connotes Blackness, multiculturalism and, placed with "youth", connotes criminality in the inner city neighbourhood (Wacquant, 2008). This is supported through Andrew's suggestion that "inner city estates" are "policed differently" from "outer city estates" and that the police's drugs team are unevenly distributed throughout the city – concentrating on areas of high minority ethnic concentration. However Andrew's articulation of "the urban" here perhaps is rooted in the view that police use racial dichotomies to appropriate the geography of the city – e.g. "urban" as multicultural, non-white, criminal, characterised by youth gang culture; and the *sub*urban as white and law-abiding. In police practice, it is probable that these imaginaries are not so rigid or do not apply for many police officers, but conversations with other research participants present other examples of how geographical imaginations become discursively linked to race and criminality in Nottingham.

> "Yeah I would say that it is but if they know that if there is a high crime rate in certain areas such as St. Ann's which has got a higher population of Blacks – not to say that Blacks are the majority in St. Ann's – whites are the majority. But there is just a higher proportion. So wherever there is a higher proportion of Blacks in a particular area is deemed a "Black area". So once you get to that situation of an area of higher crime and there's Blacks in there, high unemployment, low academic – all of those things – these are the ingredients to say 'look, we will throw more resources there to tackle that crime'."
>
> Leslie Ayoola

> Tim: "Talking about disproportionality and the overrepresentation of Black and Asian people in the criminal justice and in relation to stop and search, why does it persist? Why is that trend still there?"

Superintendent Steve Cooper: "It is a hard question…So it's a case of why is it? Is it because we target areas of deprivation, more crime, and is it because those areas where people are predominantly from a BME background? That may answer part of it but that doesn't answer all of it…let's take a snapshot…Aspley… [is] a predominantly white working-class suburban estate that doesn't have the stop and search numbers that St. Ann's has… So what is the difference, what are the policing stats? The answer at the moment I'm going to have to give you is 'not sure'. We are trying to work out what it is and why it is."

These extracts are clear examples of racial-geographical imaginations and suggest how they may influence police practice. According to Leslie, St. Ann's is a predominantly white area, but it's relatively high proportion of Black residents lead it to be known as a "Black area" or an ethnic enclave. Nottinghamshire Police's online profile of the neighbourhood primarily defines St. Ann's in ethnic and cultural terms:

"The St Ann's and Sneinton Neighbourhood Policing Area covers the neighbouring inner city areas of St Ann's and Sneinton to the east of Nottingham city centre.

Both areas have multi-cultural communities. St Ann's has one of the highest proportions of black people in the City of Nottingham, while Sneinton has a large Pakistani community."

Nottinghamshire Police (no date) – www.nottinghamshire.police.pnn.uk

The problems of social disadvantage that persist in the inner city working-class neighbourhood of St. Ann's such as high crime rate, unemployment and low educational attainment (Nottingham City Council, 2008) could potentially serve to be deemed as "Black problems" – which have been found in previous research to serve as stereotypes within racial criminal profiling by the police (Bowling and Phillips, 2007). Superintendent Steve Cooper in his above comment ponders over why stop and search disproportionality continues not just to be racial but geographical, "Aspley [is] a predominantly white working-class suburban estate that doesn't have the stop and search numbers that St. Ann's has". This comment is interesting for a variety of reasons. Firstly is his race-class definition of Aspley as a predominantly white working-class estate, yet St. Ann's (more multicultural but yet also a predominantly white working class neighbourhood (Nottingham City Council, 2008) is implied not to be. Second, is the suggestion that stop and search happens more in St. Ann's than Aspley and that minority ethnic people are disproportionately targeted by the police as a result. Thirdly, this comment of Steve's encapsulates Andrew's concept of the police's construction and imagination of "*urban* youth". It further suggests the variegated nature

of police practice between ethnically diverse inner city neighbourhoods and more predominantly white suburban estates in Nottingham.

Correspondingly, it can be suggested that Andrew's police concept of "the urban" is an imaginary that is spatially bound to the inner city and has with it, racial connotations of Minority ethnic crime. This discursive linkage, confirmed through the spatial unevenness of police practice, is an imaginary that scholars such as Michael Keith (1993) and Colin Webster (2007) believe is manifested in the police's appropriation of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and inner city space. Webster (2007:96) states "studies of police-initiated contact can permit inferences to be made about police attitudes towards and different treatment of minority ethnic groups […] For example, Norris et al's (1992) observation study of a routine police patrol in inner-city London found that black people, particularly young black men, were disproportionately likely to be stopped." These spatialities come to be deemed criminal – whereby reputations and moral attributes become assigned to minority ethnic groups and where they live (Webster, 2007). Although - in reference to Leslie and Steve's comments above - it may indeed occur that crime rates and stop and search rates there are shown to be high. But if multi-ethnic neighbourhoods such as St. Ann's are targeted more so by the police in relation to more predominantly white suburban estates (as Steve and Andrew's comments suggest) then it is probable that more crimes are *found* to be committed. Hence this possibly presents a spatial selectivity within the policing of Nottingham's neighbourhoods. This "spatial selectivity" is something that Ferg Slade feels is an actuality, whereby "young kids hanging around are targeted" (see figure 2). He expresses that "I think it is really interesting to look at the differences in areas like St. Ann's and Sneinton [inner urban estates] where there is that setting, and areas such as Hyson Green [an outer suburban estate] where there isn't that setting. You do get areas where there are young kids hanging around but they are not stopped and they are not searched, and it is weird where there is that difference." It is not certain whether this "difference" Ferg Slade speaks of is racial – or indeed if it actually exists - but what he suggests is that it is geographical. This suggestion is important for building the case for distinguishing that the use of disciplinary methods such as stop and search are more prominent in more multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. The racial linkages used to distinguish St. Ann's and Sneinton by Nottinghamshire Police (no date) (i.e. high concentration of Black and Pakistani populations (see above)) in conjunction with racial disproportionality of stop and search in Nottingham could suggest that: i) "spatial selectivity"; and ii) Ferg Slade's concept of geographical "difference" of policing; can indeed be argued to be driven by deviant racial imaginaries.

Reflecting on Andrew's insightful comment above in conjunction with Steve and Leslie's comments, there are several imaginaries at play here. The "urban" and the

"suburban" are both imagined racial-geographical landscapes, and what distinguishes one from the other seems to be the imagined ethnic composition and perceived crime levels. These imaginaries are interwoven into these landscapes through dialogue and police practice – namely the heavy policing of the Brewster's Estate in St. Ann's (see figures 4, 8 and 9). However, to better interrogate these imaginaries we need to look and understand the socio-psychological influences on how the police officer appropriates these spatialities. We need to interrogate the influences of social differentiation and unfamiliarity between the police and the young Black people of St. Ann's.

A white middle class appropriation of space?: Representation, Community and Outsiders

As my fieldwork was progressing and as I spoke to more research participants, I began to visualise from my findings a combination of interconnecting themes. I could detect that many of the problems in the relationship between Nottinghamshire Police force and BME communities were driven by the unfamiliarity and lack of understanding that racial differences can create. The narratives were very consistent with each other. The lack of trust was highlighted as the biggest problem in the relationship, including issues of prejudice and lack of empathy from either side. But one of the most pressing issues fuelling this distrust is the lack of representation of Black and Minority Ethnic communities in Nottinghamshire Police force:

> Tim: "Do you think that the underrepresentation of the BME community in the police force is a problem?"
>
> Steve Cooper: "Yeah, hugely. I think the underrepresentation of all protected characteristics is a problem. I think the issue being is it's got to be down to empathy, understanding and we've got to be representative of the community that we serve. What people do often forget is that we are part of the community. We do police the community but with their consent…how we can go to the community and say 'look we understand what you are going through, we want to work with you' and we are saying that from a position that is hugely stereotypical, you know white middle-class males – it's not appropriate it's not right."

To make matters worse, those police officers who *are* of BME background are perceived by members of their own ethnicities to i) treat their fellow ethnic persons "worse" than white police officers and ii) to have "betrayed" their fellow ethnic communities:

"The Police should have a statistically representative cross-section of society. But even Black police officers are capable of treating people of their own ethnicity worse than the average white police officer"

<div align="right">Andrew Campbell</div>

"You'd think that having ethnic minority people in the police force would bridge the gap and build stronger relations between ethnic minorities and the police. But in fact they are more abusive and aggressive than white officers…Black and Asian police officers want to make a name for themselves and build up a reputation. They don't care. They have no sensitivity."

<div align="right">Natasha Johnson-Richards</div>

"When I was posted in Meadows, a group of lads just...looked at me and said 'you're a traitor'. And I looked at myself and I think 'why are they saying that? The thing is it is about that divide isn't it…Culturally, policing is not something that it held in a high regard."

<div align="right">Gurmit Kaur</div>

Superintendent Cooper's remarks speak volumes in relation to the police officer's appropriation of space through racial-geographical imaginary. The imaginary mentioned here by Steve Cooper is that of "the community". Steve articulates "the community" as a spatially bound and multi-ethnic entity which "gives consent" to the police to uphold the law within the spatial boundaries of "the community", i.e. Nottingham. Although Steve refers to this ideal in a holistic sense, he recognises racial difference and ethnic diversity within its composition – and importantly he reflects that this diversity within "the community" is not represented in the police force. Furthermore, he notes that underrepresentation stretches to the realms of class and gender, not only race. Hence the "white middle-class male" stereotype that Steve mentions not only becomes a racial profile that "the community" uses to imagine or define the police, but one can articulate that the profile becomes a socio-psychological standpoint or positionality for how the police perceive and imagine minority ethnic persons and their associated geographies (Rowe, 2004; Valentine, 1996; Webster, 2007).

I do not say this to suggest that that all police officers are white middle-class males, or that they all perceive minority ethnic persons and their associated geographies as villainous. I say this to suggest several notions. Firstly, the dominance of white middle-class males in the police force could potentially create a racialised perception of the police as institutionally and culturally "white British" (Webster, 2007) – shown in Gurmit's case when she was called a "traitor" by a fellow person of Indian descent for becoming a police officer. Secondly, the racial dominance of whiteness, the middle-class and masculinity within the force has in cases pressured minority ethnic police

male officers into treating minority ethnic (often working-class) persons harshly in the attempt to "fit in" – see Andrew and Natasha's comments above. This claim links to Amin's (2012) articulation of racial hierarchy (lack of minority ethnic representation/overrepresentation of the white majority) within institutions such as the police, and also to Perry and John Baptiste (2008) who have found that peer pressure drives the conduct of minority ethnic officers in the police force. These factors are crucial, as they can be seen to sustain relations of unfamiliarity, distrust and lack of cross-cultural empathy between the police and minority ethnic communities. Notable local leaders suggest that a more ethnically proportionate police force with more officers who are from the local area will break down such barriers:

> "A huge problem is that we have a police force that looks nothing like the community. We have only 23 black police officers out of 2150…There needs to be a change in the culture of policing. Proper policing should be done in a courteous manner and through good conversation. It should be 'hello, how are you, can I talk you for a moment' – then move on."

> Dave Walker

> "Something that could work is recruiting police officers from Nottingham to police their local communities."

> John Collins, Leader of Nottingham City Council

> "Cultural competence. The Police should have a statistically representative cross-section of society."

> Andrew Campbell

Thirdly, there are the interconnected issues of the police officer as "an outsider", the lack of cross-cultural engagement and the use of deterministic and stereotypical knowledges. Rowe (2004) discusses the case of the white middle-class police officer in that he/she only encounters the working class Black person within the line of work, i.e. upholding the law. Andrew Campbell also articulates:

> Tim: "Do you think there is a poor cross-cultural understanding between members of the BME community and a white majority police force?"

> Andrew: "I'm not an anarchist. I believe there does need to be a police force. But many of these police officers are white, may be from rural Nottinghamshire or have little knowledge about Black people. They may have never encountered a Black person before. People are afraid of young people anyway. People are afraid of black people anyway."

Andrew's comment ends on the next issue I wish to next address – the issue of fear. The racialised differences and sustained unfamiliarity between the police as perceived as white middle-class and the BME community fuel a lack of empathy that manifests spatially through landscapes of fear. This links to suggestions made by Wacquant (2008), through which "black" neighbourhoods become imaginary geographies of race-class tension, especially in anticipation of encounters between young people and the police.

Perhaps this explains the cases of black youths running away from the police, due to the fear of being harassed (BBC, 2012). But one can articulate that this fear is mutual. In accordance to Andrew's comments, the police's fear of Black people – especially young Black people – can be explained through the overrepresentation of white police officers and their lack of familiarity and cross-cultural engagement with the Black community in Nottingham. However, I find it interesting how Andrew uses geographical classifications or imaginaries to emphasise this racial difference. Just as above where he explains how BME communities are constructed through "the urban", he discursively links "whiteness" to the spatiality of "the rural". For Andrew, these racial-geographical imaginaries explain how difference is heightened in encounter and how their "little knowledge" of Black persons (or well indeed the knowledges used to constitute prejudice) construct this fearful relationship. This corresponds to Rowe's (2004) articulation of how many white police officers only encounter Black people within their responsibility of fighting crime.

For clarity about the racial-geographical background of the police officers in Nottingham, I asked Steve Cooper questions about the recruitment process of the police force. If the police force in Nottingham were not representative of the community they serve (ethnically and geographically (place of birth/upbringing)), then where are these police officers coming from? Through his own career progression in the police force, Steve explained that police officers below the rank of Sergeant had minimal choice about where they could be placed. Steve, originally from Wiltshire, began his policing career on the beat in Kensington, London:

> "…That's where I started. You don't have a choice where you start. You just sign on the dotted line and get posted there. From there I did various bits of investigation and intelligence work and from there I got promoted there as a sergeant – that's when you do get a choice of where you go…"

The locational flexibility of the rank of Sergeant allowed Steve Cooper to eventually move to Nottingham, where he became a superintendent. But in terms of the beat officer (the officers that are present on the street and the officers that negotiate race in spatial encounter), these officers are placed in neighbourhoods, communities and

spatialities that are unfamiliar to them. These can potentially begin as geographies of imagination for the officers – through myths and discourses delivered to them by the media, fellow officers in conversation or through "mandatory diversity training":

> "There is what we call mandatory diversity training which takes place with every recruit, every officer has gone through it – it's part of the process. It takes place on a 2 to 3 day course depending on your level of service and where you are based…"

<div align="right">Steve Cooper</div>

However despite these initiatives, Andrew Campbell believes that racialised fears will be sustained if white police officers from non-ethnically diverse communities or outside of Nottingham continue to be placed in the city's multicultural neighbourhoods. Cahill's (2000) study of young people's fears of police in Lower East Manhattan addresses a similar set of relations. She found that young minority ethnic people viewed police officer's in the area as "suspicious figures foreign to their neighbourhood, who engaged in acts of brutality and harassment" (p. 252) and who were placed to represent "middle-class security" and "sanitise" the neighbourhood (p. 261). Based on the empirical findings discussed, one could agree that the streets and public spaces of St. Ann's are subject to a similar spatial purification. One may interpret that this has been also been done through deterministic and prejudice forms of knowledge about young minority ethnic people. However, the daunting combination of: a) the lack of police officer representatives from their respective communities; b) the overrepresentation of white police officers; c) the persistence of gross racial disproportionality in stop-search statistics in Nottingham (Blacks 9 times more likely to be stopped than whites) (BBC, 2012; Nottingham Evening Post, 2012) and d) narratives of minority ethnic officers who treat their fellow ethnic persons harshly upon institution pressures, provoke us to ask some pressing questions. These include: What forms of knowledge, narratives and discourses are being used to train and educate police officers? In this training, are the narratives and experiences of minority ethnic residents held paramount? Are the police force simply using this training as a checkpoint or "ticking a box"? Is the police force a professional institution that represents "whiteness" in the face of diversity and racial inequality?

The above questions are all difficult to answer. But in relation to institutional practices, training and educating police officers about the neighbourhoods, communities and geographically defined areas they serve – one can say that current efforts are insufficient and that particular racial and geographical imaginaries play a role in this shortfall (explaining the racial disproportionality of stop-search and the disparity between the policing of the inner and outer city estates). In relation to the police as an institution of "whiteness", there is a case to suggest that particular members of the

BME community view the police uniform as a symbol of whiteness and racial oppression – irrespective of the ethnic identity or skin colour of the police officer. On this subject, Gurmit Kaur's "traitor" incident speaks volumes (quote above). The fact that her profession as a police officer was interpreted by a fellow Indian as a "betrayal" to her "race" and culture suggests that the profession in cases connotes whiteness and distrust across ethnic boundaries:

> "Culturally, policing is not something that is held in a high regard"

This deep imaginary of "whiteness" in the policing of space through the form of is articulated by Swanton (2010) through the concept "white gaze". But I argue that this appropriation of space by the police is not simply racial. It is further influenced by differences of culture, identity, particular forms of knowledge and imagined geographical differences – urban-rural; inner city-outer city. It is even conceded by high ranking police officers such Steve Cooper that the Nottinghamshire Police force does not represent a true ethnic representation of its "community". But the lack of representation is also geographical, as many officers are placed to serve communities that they know little about or may hold prejudices about their spatialities, such as the "suburban white" officer placed in a community to engage with "Black urban youth" . These discourses and facts represent difference, and this difference is intensified and encapsulated in fear within spatial encounters, e.g. stop and search – which in turn recycle fear and breed distrust between the police and members of the BME communities. The solutions could provoke a change or addressing of the institutional ethics and practices of the police force in Nottingham, and perhaps also extensive consultation with BME communities to bridge the many gaps that drive the racial inequalities and prejudices addressed above.

"Hanging around": The criminalisation of "street life"

When I interviewed Dr Roger Hopkins-Burke I asked him about an interesting concept he used in an introductory chapter to the book *Hard Cop: Soft Cop*, published in 2004. The concept was the "social construction of crime". He explained that:

> "The social construction of crime is…what is crime and what isn't crime is based on someone's definition of it. Who defines crime as being a crime are the people with the ability to do this…"

On its own this may seem to be simply an abstract concept. But I believe that this concept bears much relevance to racial and geographical imaginaries. What is deemed illegal and criminal can be imputed to particular social groups and/or spatialities (see

Chapter 4). What is also vital in Roger Hopkins-Burke's explanation is his reference to "people with the ability" to define crime, i.e. hegemonic institutions dominated by the white middle and upper classes, such as the police. But here we should not simply be concerned by *who* crime is *defined by*, but also *where* it is perhaps *defined through* geographical imaginary and *who* it is *perhaps defined for* through social or racial imaginary. I welcome the view that in the eyes of the law all are equal regardless of race or creed, but I make the case, through my findings, that certain "constructions of crime" disproportionately target young minority ethnic people in poor neighbourhoods in Nottingham.

Tim Newburn (2011) argues that current initiatives in tackling Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) in Britain have disproportionately targeted young people – particularly from minority ethnic communities - rendering several of their particular day-to-day activities such as "hanging out "as "pre-criminal" behaviour. Newburn comments that many of the encounters between police and young people have been "street-based", corresponding to an argument in an earlier chapter that the street plays a significant part in the geographical imaginations of crime. Parallels are evident within the findings of this research. The Brewster's estate in St. Ann's once again comes under the microscope. I asked Thulani Molife a Black Councillor for St. Ann's and Mapperley if he thought police racism was a prominent issue in his constituency. He answered:

> "There's a place called the Brewster's Estate which is well known…there is a lot of ASB taking place, there's a gang culture that is built up there….there's various gangs – some which are criminal gangs, some are gangs of people just hanging out together and not mixing with the other group. So there is a lot that gets reported, but a lot gets reported because of the different activities that the police do. So if they've got an operation to kind of target drugs and things like that - on-street crime they're really hot on. So there is a lot of distrust around why it that there is always the BME community that is disproportionately questioned…"

In relation to the focused police initiative against ASB, the criminalisation of street-based activity and the minority ethnic occupation of the street, Thulani's response suggests that particular discourses, myths and imaginaries are at work here. First, there is the Brewster's Estate's "well-known" reputation of gang culture and ASB. Second, this reputation becomes intertwined with racial profiles – shown through the suggested wholesale treatment of minority ethnic people – which contributes to the disproportionality in questioning and stop and search. Third, in conjunction with this disproportionality, the initiative against "street crime" - defined through operations such as "target[ing] drugs" and anti-ASB - suggests that the streets of the Brewster's Estate serve as racial-geographical imaginaries of crime. Criminality becomes geographically

imagined and racialised, as the "gangs of [BME] people just hanging out together" are treated wholesale with "criminal gangs".

If Thulani's response or my articulation of it is insufficient in relation to the operation of racial and geographical imaginaries in the role of crime detection, I present the reader with Jo and Denise's narratives about police conduct on the Brewster's Estate:

> Tim: "Can you tell me about the police?"
>
> Jo: "There are two cops in the area that harass the kids badly – 'Londoner' and 'Clarky'."
>
> Denise: "The police don't' have a clue. They don't treat young people like human beings. When it comes to stop and search the police don't give them the slips or their numbers"
>
> Tim: "Do you get the police around here often?"
>
> Jo: "The police tend to be up and down here all of the time…"
>
> Denise: "Police are stop and searching all the time on Brewster's Road. "Londoner" and "Clarky" are the worst. But Londoner has been away for a while and Clarky hasn't been so bad with Londoner not being there."

What is striking about these narratives is the suggested excessive use of stop and search by the police, the lack of respect they purportedly show to young people in Brewster's Estate and also the neglect towards following full stop-search procedure. It may be probable that this lack of respect runs both ways due to mutual distrust and suspicion (see Chapter 4). However, this further suggestion of the excessive policing of the streets of the Brewster's Estate provokes the case that young BME people are treated as potential criminals by the police in the Brewster's Estate. Either way, on the basis of these empirical findings, one can make the case that particular racial and geographical imaginaries are being used as tools of prejudice for the policing of the area. This corresponds to Webster (2003) who argues that place-based imaginaries of terror and disorder translated to the adverse policing of Muslim groups in Northern England shortly after 9/11. Also, the character and performance of "Londoner" seems to encapsulate the running themes of distrust, unfamiliarity and lack of empathy. The tag "Londoner" connotes a police officer who is regarded as an "outsider", and the accounts of his conduct and influence on his partner "Clarky" suggests that "Londoner" polices Brewster's Road through clear preconceptions, prejudices and criminal knowledges of young BME people (see Cahill, 2000). But perhaps it is also i) a geographical imagination of the Brewster's Estate and ii) particular meanings that police officers give to its space that play a role in the social construction of crime and the initiative against "pre-criminal" behaviour. Perhaps further research is warranted in the particularities of the socio-geographical imaginings of the Brewster's Estate. Moreover, as discussed in the previous chapter, criminal activity is imagined not only through social profile but spatial setting, and it is these spatial settings that become

representational devices for the spatial practices of young people (Colls and Horschelmann, 2009). Racially, this corresponds to Back and Keith's (2004) notion that racisms and prejudices are imputed to particular spaces. Hence, the Brewster's Estates construction as a "criminal hotspot" becomes an urban myth that governs the policing of that space – which explains the suggested wholesale treatment of young Black people in the area.

Again, it may be a principle that in the eyes of the law we are equally judged. However, with persistent racial disproportionality of young people targeted by the police in Nottingham, one can make the case that the human agency that represents the structure of the law does not consider all equally "likely" to commit crime. Furthermore, areas of high ethnic diversity and social deprivation such as St. Ann's become spatial representations of crime – which sustains this disproportionality and adverse relationship between BME people and the police. But more specifically it is the spatiality and geographical exposure of the street that becomes a space of representation for the adversarial relation between the police and young Black people. The street becomes imagined as a space for control of the public sphere (Iveson, 2007). Hence its territoriality is paramount to achieving a particular "order". For contemporary times, this order is driven by anti-social behaviour, whereby young people (deemed to territorialise the street) become the subject of its [institutional] control (Millie, 2009). For Black people in St. Ann's and Nottingham city-wide such as Andrew Campbell and Thulani Molife, this order is deemed racially subjective due to the persistent inequalities in police treatment of ethnic groups and also police practice in representational spaces of ethnicity – such as Brewster's Road.

However, referring back to Steve Cooper (above) for the police to impose order in the streets they need "consent" from "the community". But the consent they seem to gain for imposing order over young people seems to be done so by extracting "intelligence" adult social groups. In other words, young people are seemingly deliberately excluded from the police-community consensus so that the police can gain consent to discipline them. Recent research compiled by Nottinghamshire Police force showed that of the 8000 respondents interviewed by telephone, approximately a third voiced that their primary concern in their neighbourhood was "Groups of young people hanging around" (Nottinghamshire Police, 2011). This figure - in conjunction with the extent of racial disproportionality within the use of stop and search in Nottingham - begs one to wonder whether a sufficient ethnic and age cross-section of "the community" were represented in this survey. Just as in research within social sciences, surely preconceptions, prejudices and imaginaries become manifest within this process of gaining intelligence and reacting to it. Surely particular forms of knowledge become actively used in the interpretation of this intelligence? Dan Swanton's (2010) work argues that if certain

police officers or forces are institutionally racist then this is bound to drive the gaining and interpretation of intelligence and information that can lead to the criminalisation of ethnic groups. One can argue that in a similar way, in Nottingham intelligence has been strategically extracted and mobilised through racist police practice. The evidence can be shown in the extent to which minority ethnic persons are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police; and also the theory of "spatial selectivity" in which highly multi-ethnic neighbourhoods become subjected to such disciplinary measures more so than "white suburban" areas. However, perhaps further research needs to be carried out within the politics of gaining police intelligence. This is so that one can establish clearer possible motives behind gaining particular forms of intelligence, and also the particular knowledges used by the police to research crime in their community.

These discussions correspond to suggestions made by Iveson (2007) and Webster (2007), in that racial and geographical imaginaries are used by the police to appropriate urban space in multi-ethnic inner city neighbourhoods. These imaginaries, (re)produced by particular discourses, images, narratives and experiences under an umbrella of racial difference and unfamiliarity, take form in categorical expectations and anticipations of human behaviour and spatial practices. These in turn can be argued to come to form spatial representations of the given neighbourhood, estate or public place subjected to police coverage. These spatial representations (again, in the forms of discourse, images, narratives or experiences) can be argued to act as knowledges that drive how these spaces and the subjects within are appropriated by the police.

Suggested ways forward and concluding thoughts

It can be argued that racial, spatial and geographical imaginaries work through processes of police practice, community relations, intelligence, covertness and fear. But from these findings one can argue that these imaginaries and their processes are driven by social relations of social distance/unfamiliarity and racial and class inequalities. This argument corresponds to the work of Webster (2007) and Amin (2012) who argue that the persistence of racism within police practice is sustained by social relations of unfamiliarity, fear and xenophobia in the multicultural city.The above discussions suggest that inequalities within police practice can be articulated in forms of access – the unequal access to power in policing, the unequal access to voicing concerns within "the community" and the rejection of dialogue and collaborative solutions to social problems. The lack of minority ethnic representation in the police force and the induction of white middle-class police officers who are unfamiliar with cycles of social deprivation, the spatiality of ethnic subcultures and communities of ethnic diversity encapsulate the pervasiveness of this structural inequality.

I have attempted to show that these many interlinking social relations of difference drive racial and geographical imaginaries of place-based and race-based criminality; and that these become used by the police to appropriate multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, spaces and the minority ethnic subjects within. Drawing on narratives from research participants and statistical findings, I have attempted to show the detrimental effects that the use of such imaginaries and spatial representations have on race relations in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. But I have also used the opportunity to present strategies from research participants that can challenge or mend the social relations that persistently produce criminal imaginaries of minority ethnic persons and their spatial practices.

One can sympathise with the suggestions from local leaders such as Dave Walker and Andrew Campbell in that there needs to be cross-racial and cross-class empathy for differences to be understood in a language of positivity rather than fear. This needs to be achieved so that racial and geographical imaginaries are not (re)produced through fear, crime, distrust and unfamiliarity, as this has been argued to sustain racial inequality within police practice. Within relations of social difference there needs to be a shift from simple cultural awareness to relations based on cultural understanding and appreciation. Amin (2012) in a similar light calls for empathy under a "politics of care" – whereby dialogue and empathy across constructed boundaries of difference is needed if the multicultural city can function for the better.

In the wider context of the overall study, I believe that the findings in this chapter put into perspective particular racially induced geographies of policing – speared on by racial prejudices and stereotypes. I now take the arguments presented about racial assemblages, encounter and geographical imaginations forward to further and more detailed examples of how these manifested in police practice through spatial governmentality.

Chapter 6 - Police practice, race and spatial governmentality

This chapter aims to explore the ways through which police methods of spatial governmentality come to regulate the presence and spatial practices of young Black people in Nottingham. I use the term "spatial governmentality" in similarity to Merry (2001), by which space is governmentalized in terms of pre-emption, expectation and risk rather than lived experience. In specificity to this research, spatial governmentality takes the form of risk-based measures such as dispersal orders and stop and search which focus on "potential misbehaviour" (see Millie, 2008) rather than actual criminality. I argue that the regulation of space through a guise of potentiality can amplify racial prejudices. The departure from previous chapters takes form in the discussions in how young Black people become regulated through the "disciplining" of particular spatial zones and spatial practices associated with ethnicity and "gang" culture. The chapter also aims to explore the persistent representative devices of fear and disorder used by institutions and the public to imagine Black people – and ultimately to justify punitive measures used to regulate their associated practices in the public sphere (Keith, 1993; Coleman, 2004; Wacquant, 2008).

Regarding particular police methods of spatial governmentality, this chapter focusses in detail on dispersal orders and argues how their "spatial assignment" in Nottingham disproportionately targets young minority ethnic groups, particular of the Black community. Through examination of dispersal order legislation, I argue that the conjunction of i) the significant discretionary powers granted to the police officer and ii) social relations of racial difference that reproduce encounters of uncertainty and suspicion (Amin, 2012; Iveson, 2007), mutate into preventative and risk-based measures that discipline the minority ethnic stranger, e.g. stop and search (see BBC, 2012; Nottingham Evening Post, 2012) and banning of wearing particular garments (Nottingham Evening Post, 2011a).

The first section of the chapter discusses how the spatial regulation of young Black people is in part driven by a process of criminalisation, which takes on biased and in places xenophobic public attitudes. Firstly, I put forward the case that the power for the police to spatially regulate young Black people comes not only through legality but also "public legitimisation" (see Amin, 2012). Drawing from narratives from members of the public and Superintendent Steve Cooper, I further argue that through a biased terrain of local consultation (between the police and adult residents) racial imaginaries of "gang culture" persist to define the spatial practices of Black youths (Alexander, 2008) . Secondly, I explore the legal extent of police spatial power under dispersal order legislation. I make the connection between the subjective and interpretative nature of the legislation and how the spatiality in question comes to be governed by possibility,

potentiality and risk management rather than actuality and punishment (Merry, 2001; Millie, 2008). Hence the policing of racial bodies becomes focused on disciplining rather than punishment, leaving the door open to police officers to wilfully stop and search or disperse individuals deemed remotely suspicious.

The second section argues that regulatory practices such as dispersal orders and disorderly imaginaries of young Black people link to wider issues of spatial contestation. Following on from the first section's discussion on exclusive local consultation, I argue that the fear of racial difference drives the reproduction of racial imaginaries and the punitive measures used against young Black people (Wacquant, 2008; Webster, 2007). Using an example of a dispersal order enforced in Forest Fields, Nottingham, I suggest how fear and a lack of understanding across race and age transcends into intense cross-racial contestation over public space. I conclude by offering thoughts on how police-community relations can be improved and that difference in the city should be welcomed and learnt rather than feared.

Imagined spatial practices, spatial representations and the legitimate capacity to regulate

The criminalisation of the racial "gang"

I start by visiting how dispersal orders are implemented through how particular groups are defined, hinting at the role of racial imaginaries within this process.

Through analysing interview transcripts and newspaper reports, I have gathered that it is not simply the law that grants the police governmentality over public space and its users – but also the social imaginaries and the spatial representations that come to define particular spatial "occupiers", e.g. groups of young Black people. It is how these spatial occupiers are defined through residents' discourses that drive practices of spatial governmentality by the police (i.e. dispersal orders and stop and search) and grant them exclusionary and discretionary powers over the occupiers in question. Millie (2011) articulates that processes of criminalisation are driven by unequal power relations. The power to make claim and define criminals and criminal practice is granted to selected persons to define who and what behaviours are criminal. Empirical findings in this research suggest that "social definers" are the adult residents of Nottingham, chosen by the police as "community" representatives to engage in consultation with the police (see quote below). Young people hence do not only find themselves spatially regulated under this legislation, but socially excluded from decision-making and consultation frameworks (Crawford and Lister, 2007): Superintendent Steve Cooper concedes:

"There are huge gaps within our engagement – mainly with young people – and I think that's part of it. We are talking to representatives of the community that don't represent the views of young people all the time."

Hence it can also be argued that these institutional forms of spatial governmentality are driven by representational devices (discourses, myths, interpretations) that define the spatial practices of young people socially and geographically (Colls and Horschelmann, 2009; Iveson, 2007). Hence it can be worth interrogating if the police are not gathering the views of young BME people, then is this a "strategic silence" in the framework of consultation to politically exclude – and further legitimately spatially regulate?

When I was searching for public perceptions and reactions to the enforcement of dispersal orders in the city's multicultural neighbourhoods, I found and read through articles published by the Nottingham Evening Post on the internet – where readers were given the opportunity to post comments about relevant issues in the articles. One of the alarming similarities revealed within the articles was the "gang labels" attributed to young people in these neighbourhoods:

"Dispersal order set to end but residents fear trouble could return"

"Speaking at a public meeting about crime and community safety in Forest Fields, beat manager Mark Tindall said that the dispersal order had done its job [….] But residents who are still concerned about antisocial behaviour also spoke at the meeting […] They said women felt intimidated and that people sometimes found it difficult to enter shops or walk on the pavements, because there were gangs of up to 15 youths."

Nottingham Evening Post (September 30, 2011)

"Officers want estate order to be renewed"

"POLICE are looking to renew a dispersal order covering most of the Brewsters Estate which is due to expire on Monday, May 16 […] The dispersal order was introduced in November 2009 amid concerns over drug dealing and other crime and antisocial behaviour said to be caused by gangs of youths near the Premier shop in Wells Road and Flint's store in Ransom Road."

Nottingham Evening Post (May 7, 2011)

"Sneinton gets court order to deter gangs"

"MOVES to crack down on gangs of youths hanging around and causing trouble have been welcomed by people in Sneinton."

In relation to race, a deep-seated concern is the discursive linkage of gangs to minority ethnic groups – namely African-Caribbean men. Claire Alexander in much of her work discusses the racialization of the term "gang", and how the term becomes a racial-geographical imaginary to define groups of young African-Caribbean and Asian men who congregate in public spaces as culturally violent, criminal and involved in knife and gun crime. Alexander (2008:14) comments "the correlation of 'gang cultures and criminal activities' with 'young black boys' serves to collectively implicate and criminalize all 'young black boys' and, by extension, the broader 'black community'." Unfortunately this correlation is evident amongst the comments of particular residents in neighbourhoods which have dispersal zones. An article was published online by the Nottingham Evening Post about the imposition of a dispersal order in St. Ann's in response to combatting group-led drug activity and violence in the area. The article reads:

> **"New powers to combat drugs and violence in St Ann's"**
>
> "POLICE have imposed a dispersal order in a part of St Ann's being plagued by drug dealers and violence.
>
> A group of up to 20 young people, aged between 14 and 22, have been causing problems in and around Wells Road and Ransom Road…"

<div align="right">Nottingham Evening Post (October 30, 2009)</div>

Even though the article does not mention any issues about ethnicity or race, it still sparked debate between local residents on such issues – giving insight into how local issues perhaps become racially defined in the area. Some of the comments had nationalistic ties and were made to define the spatial practices of young black people, whilst others lamented that drugs and violence in the area had been treated as "black problems" by the police.

> "Wake me up when they decide to round them up and deport them […] they don't fit in here and plainly don't like us, and so could try it back in Kingston with their kinfolk instead?"

<div align="right">Dave, Nottingham</div>

> "It's not a black problem it's an everyone problem. I live in St. Ann's, its black white and mixed race youths causing the trouble ."

"More police powers are needed to tackle this problem but racist views do not help. Most antisocial crime in Nottingham is committed by whites! Let's solve the problem."

Danny, Nottingham

Source: www.thisisnottingham.co.uk (2009)

Although I could not hide my anger towards some of the comments and suggestions posted on the webpage, I found this debate quite fascinating. The fact that some residents of the area either felt that criminality and gang activity were "black problems" or that they felt they were treated as "black problems" by the police, opens up suggestions as to whether the dispersal order issued in October 2009 was driven by racial imaginaries. In correspondence to Alexander (2008), the racial connotations attached to "gang labels" potentially serve to criminalise young Black people. But this criminalisation is in part driven by discursive linkages or representational devices used by residents to define young Black people, hence giving the police the means to claim that the social totality of "the community" is on their side.

What can be learnt from this is that the lived differences of race and age contribute to prejudiced grounds of suspicion that define the spatial practices of young Black men as criminal, suspicious or (as suggested in Dave's comment above) those that "don't belong" (Iveson, 2007; Beckett, 2011). The social difference, unfamiliarity and othering that such debates of race creates reproduces criminal imaginaries of young Black men (Alexander, 2008), and to an extent builds the grounds of the police to spatially exclude "them". Hence, this dispersal order has become welcomed by older adult residents and frowned upon by young Black males such as Repo, further excluding them from the framework of police intelligence and the police-defined "community". Repo reflects living in St. Ann's under the dispersal order:

"I used to get stop searched all the time. But now I can actually walk out of my house without getting searched. "

Repo (see figure 9)

In relation to this specific example in St. Ann's, I ponder over what seems to be the actions of a small minority (a group of up to 20 young people) had brought about a dispersal order for over 13 streets in a neighbourhood with a large BME community. One can wonder why public reaction to this had sparked off rows over race and criminality. Looking over my findings I find it interesting that the police have enforced a

dispersal order in a neighbourhood where young Black people congregate on the streets as a part of their routine geographies (see figures 5 and 9). This warrants us to ask, are methods of spatial governmentality such as dispersal orders and stop and search enforced so that the lives of young Black people in St. Ann's are policed and spatially regulated? Beckett (2011) argues that such institutional practices of spatial governmentality are enforced to re-define spatial practice and to purposely regulate the day-to-day geographies of suspected populations.

Dispersal order as spatial governmentality

To assess whether dispersal orders do just this in relation to the policing of young Black people, we should interrogate the additional powers police are given under its legislation and how this legislation and additional powers shape spatial encounters and particular forms of spatial governmentality.

Within the actual politics of a spatial encounter under a dispersal order, a given police officer can only disperse a group of 2 people or more through "reasonable suspicion" of disruptive behaviour. The first section of the legislation reads:

> "**Dispersal of groups and removal of persons under 16 to their place of residence**"
>
> "1. This section applies where a relevant officer has reasonable grounds for believing –
>
> a) That any members of the public have been intimidated, harassed, alarmed or distressed as result of the presence or behaviour of groups of two or more persons in public places in any locality in his police area…"
>
> Section 30, Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 (Source:www.legislation.gov.uk, no date)

One can interpret that the many subjectivities embedded in this legislation, e.g. interpretation of intimidation, harassment, alarm, etc. and an officer's "reasonable grounds for believing" grant the given police officer significant discretionary powers in spatial encounters under dispersal orders. It opens up the possibility for interactions between police officers and the suspects in question to be driven by speculative interpretations, as the legislation grants power to disperse those who are believed to be engaging in pre-criminal behaviour (Crawford and Lister, 2007; Millie, 2008). Hence this becomes a proactive tool that targets *potential* misbehaviour rather than a tool that censures *actual* behaviour (Millie, 2008).

But when practiced in spatial encounter, how does this work through race? If the given space becomes a space of potential misbehaviour under the dispersal order for the

police officer then perhaps racial suspicions or perceptions either surface or become amplified? Or perhaps actions become driven through misleading forms of "community" intelligence, leading the group of young Black men on the street to become the violent gang or drug dealers (Alexander, 2008; Swanton, 2010). But what can be firmly suggested is the role of spatial representations in the implementation of dispersal orders. Because the dispersal zone is a space of potential (misbehaviour or criminality), this psychologically drives the police officer to suspect the spatial practice of presence and congregation itself (see Crawford and Lister, 2007; Millie; 2008). Hence, for young Black people in these dispersal zones, emotions of anxiety in relation to adversarial encounters with the police intensify – leading some to run away in sight of the police (potentially leading to further suspicion of their activities):

> "(Black youths) think 'If they see us they are going to stop us'. If they go to the local shop and see the police, they turn around, which gets them stopped."

- Mrs Francis quoted in BBC (2012) report "Nottinghamshire Police deny stop and search racism claim"

In a previous chapter I discussed the role of materiality within racial assemblages used by the police to profile BME people. In a similar way, Crawford and Lister (2007) investigated the role of personal materialities such as clothing and appearance take form as spatial representations that connote potential criminality. It was found that young people perceived that one of the reasons for being targeted in dispersal zones was due to them wearing hooded clothing or baseball caps. They felt that this physical appearance was found intimidating by the police and members of the community (Crawford and Lister, 2007). Then, could it too be suggested that the use of racial assemblages become amplified within dispersal zones? The escalated use of stop and search in the Brewster's Estate under a recent dispersal order may suggest so. And also due to the fact that the police have recently launched an initiative to ban garments such as caps and bandanas in public spaces deemed to "promote gang activity" (Nottingham Evening Post, 2011a).

But what can be seen to be the underlying factor of these encounters, is the power of police discretion. The Nottingham Evening Post (2009b; 2010b; 2011b) in several cases has defined dispersal orders as equipping police officers with "new powers" to tackle anti-social behaviour caused by "gangs of youths". But Crawford and Lister (2007) argue that this actually resembles police powers of old - specifically the pre-1984 "sus" laws which granted police officers powers to stop and search anyone in a public space who were deemed remotely suspicious. The laws were altered after the impact of the 1981 Brixton riots and Scarman Report suggested that these powers

were being used to unfairly target African-Caribbean people (Scarman, 1981). Hopefully one can agree that race relations in Britain have improved somewhat since pre-1984. But unfortunately one can also agree that the sustained lived differences between ethnic groups in Britain still fuel unfamiliarity and suspicion in social interaction (Amin, 2008; 2012). Hence one can argue that these relations of pervasive racial difference can inscribe themselves in subjective forms of "intimidation", "alarm" and "distress" (Swanton, 2010) – which, under the above legislation, become "reasonable" grounds for dispersion. For example, a white resident who interacts only with other whites believes that the very presence of young Black persons (or any young persons for that matter) is "intimidating" can report this as "potential misbehaviour". This is relevant to Swanton's (2010) research in Keighley, West Yorkshire – home to an ethnically segregated Muslim population in a neighbourhood called Lawkholme. Through a white gaze, when "brown" Muslim bodies are seen to be "out of place", i.e. out of Lawkholme, their presence is registered as alarming and suspicious by white residents – and becomes under the surveillance of the institutionally racist police force in the area (Swanton, 2010).

The framing of dispersal orders can be said to be flawed because its reliance on belief, suspicion and perception can open the door to prejudices, racisms and discriminations within spatial encounters in the given locality. Even if police officers themselves do not hold such attitudes, minority ethnic persons may still perceive to be at risk of targeting due to the due to extent of an officer's authority. Also, the fact that these forms of spatial governmentality have been issued repetitively in Nottingham's inner city and most multicultural areas such as St. Ann's, Sneinton, Forest Fields and Hyson Green (Nottingham Evening Post, 2010a; 2010b) does not bode well for establishing a working relationship between the police and young minority ethnic persons. This is particularly relevant for young Black people, who have been found to be targeted far more in these areas than any other racial group (BBC, 2012; Nottingham Evening Post, 2012).

The last point for discussion in this section relates to the contention that these forms of spatial governmentality do not simply entail the regulation of suspects or intimidators from space: rather they also regulate or outlaw their associated spatial practices. In the name of tackling Anti-Social Behaviour and "gang culture" the spatial rights of many have been withdrawn due to the alleged practices of the few. Public consumption of alcohol has been banned in areas of St. Ann's (Nottingham Evening Post, 2010d), an initiative to ban the wearing of associated "gang coloured" garments has been put forward by the police (Nottingham Evening Post, 2011a) and under dispersal orders, the very presence of young people comes under scrutiny.

It can be argued that the disproportionate treatment of young members of the Black community have been at the centre of these initiatives. Recent dispersal orders in the Brewster Estate, according to Local Councillor Thulani Molife have resulted in unfair treatment of Black youths in the area.

> "There's a huge distrust and it's always with youth, whereby if there is a dispersal order – regardless that youth tend to hang around and there's this stop and searches that happen which are[…] disproportionate"

Hence if such methods of spatial governmentality (i.e. stop and search; dispersal orders) produce racially disproportionate targeting, one can argue that to some extent this wider initiative against gangs may have inscribed racial connotations. I asked Thulani about the specific spaces in St. Ann's where these social relations and interactions between the police and Black youths are most prominent. He pointed to two areas outside shops called Smithy's on The Wells Road and Flint's on Ransom Road. After reading over numerous secondary data sources – particularly in the Nottingham Evening Post, it became clear that these spaces were considered by the police to be crime hotspots. In August 2010, gunshots were fired outside Smithy's store. 8 days later, a report accounts the views of local residents and initiatives undertaken by the police in response to the event.

> **"Police do 'stop and searches' at scene of St Ann's shooting"**
>
> "POLICE have been carrying out stop-and-searches near the scene of a shooting in St Ann's eight days ago. Officers have also been using special powers to move on groups of people hanging around in the area. Two gunshots were fired towards a group of people standing outside Smithy's News, Food and Wine store on The Wells Road at around 1.05pm on Monday, August 30. Officers believe the shots came from a silver Ford Puma, which was then driven towards Woodborough Road. No one was injured in the incident, although damage was caused to the shop.
>
> St Ann's Neighbourhood Policing Inspector Keith Priest said: "As part of an on-going strategy, officers are deployed to hot-spot areas at key times to deal with anyone who is acting suspiciously, to gather intelligence and to provide public reassurance…As a result we have a range of measures in place, including a dispersal order in The Wells Road area – which allows us to move-on groups of more than two people – and [we] have been actively using stop and search powers on individuals who are acting suspiciously."
>
> Mum-of-three Aimi Wright, 30, who spoke to the Post as she headed past the scene of the incident, said: "I won't send my kids down here after 6pm. This shooting was something waiting to happen given the amount of youths hanging around here…." Chris Penn, 38, from St Ann's, said: "Before I moved here a year ago I heard St Ann's was very violent, but that it's got much better."

Not everyone was fearful of crime in the area. Mary Bartlett, 79, said: "There will always be some nasty people around but I don't think about it. It's normally quiet around here." One 59-year-old trader on Robin Hood Chase, who did not want to be named, said he'd seen more police on the street. "Things have improved a lot in the last 18 months. You see the police walking around three or four times a day."

Officers are still keen to speak to anyone who saw a silver Ford Puma on the day of the shooting or who has any information about anyone associated with the car."

- Compiled extracts taken from Nottingham Evening Post (7th September, 2010)

What one can find alarming from this information is that the report suggests that instead of gaining intelligence on the event itself, the prime focus of the police seems to be the "moving on", dispersal and stop and searching of youths. The response has seemed to be the excessive spatial regulation of the locality, even though various residents such as 79 year old Mary Bartlett and the anonymous 59 year old trader expressed that the areas was "normally quiet" and that "things ha[d] improved". Hence one must take note of this heavy policing of youths in areas, many of whom according to Thulani are Black. Their spatial practices have become under scrutiny by what can be deemed an excessive authoritarian response to an action that may or may not have been committed by someone from the area. Instead of offering these local Black youths protection from the possibility of a similar event, they become criminalised and deemed responsible for its occurrence – explained by the disproportionate use of stop and search in the area. It is a further concern that no young people, regardless of race, were interviewed by the Evening Post, further alienating them from public consultation and further defining them as criminal and/or "the other". The wholesale attitude to young groups of people has had damaging effects to the local Black community.

Police methods of spatial governmentality such as dispersal orders hence can potentially have negative effects on young minority ethnic people – particularly in relation to their spatial confidence (see Mrs Francis quote above). It can be argued that the anticipation of their potential behaviour is rendered suspicious under the subjective legislation of the dispersal zone; and that their criminalisation is a process that is also driven by the participation of residents reflecting the [adult] "interests of the community". The lack of dialogue between the police and young people adds weight to this case. But what is clear from the unequal access to power and political voice is that these areas subjected to police methods of spatial governmentality are contested spaces. They are contested in meaning, ownership and struggle over the shaping of spatial practice. I will now discuss this in more detail in relation to the possible role of race in these contestations.

Whose streets?: Fear, contestation and control

<u>Fear, Race and Criminality</u>

> "So too now, in contemporary society, there is a new surge of "moral panic", structured by gender, class, age and racial fear, with public space continuing to be contested domain"

> Malone (2002:160)

> "Public space therefore is not produced as an open space, a space where teenagers are freely able to participate in street life or define their own ways of interacting and using space, but is a highly regulated – or closed – space where young people are expected to show deference to adults and adults' definitions of appropriate behaviour, levels of voices, and so on – to use the traditional saying: 'Children should be seen and not heard'."

> Valentine (1996:214)

What one can learn from the practices of spatial governmentality is that the very spaces through which they are practiced are contested. Dispersal orders and spatial laws regarding Anti-Social Behaviour drive public space in to a space of potential misbehaviour and criminality (Millie, 2008). The regulation of space is driven by a "fear of crime" shared by the dominant and hegemonic forces of that given space – i.e. politicians, police and the residents that the former two believe to be "representative" of community interests. This fear of crime and its associated agents (e.g. young people; BME youth) brings about a contestation over space through the workings of racial and geographical imaginaries (Valentine, 1996).

The quotes directly above are a nod to contemporary social relations in the city of youth, social exclusion, fear – and possibly most importantly, the difficulty of tolerating difference. But the quotes can also remind the reader of the many forms of contestation that can form out of these social relations. Spatial contestation is not simply a claim to space nor the tensions between social groups, but also how spatial practice is defined and how space and its associated users are discursively represented to justify practices of spatial governmentality. In his book *"Geographies of Exclusion",* David Sibley (1995) discusses how in Western society, racial boundaries become constructed through fear, in that "Blackness" becomes synonymous with fear, negativity and criminality within the rhetoric of elite groups – dominated by white gaze and a lack of voice and knowledge from "Black perspective". Sibley addresses that this fear translates spatially through the regulation of Black people in public spheres by white-dominated institutions – such as the police. In the 21st century, similar discursive

linkages continue to be made. But with contemporary emphases on tackling Anti-Social Behaviour and "reclaiming the streets" under neoliberal rule of the city (Coleman, 2004), the focus of these discursive linkages are predominantly turned to Black youth, particularly males (Alexander , 2008). Coleman (2004) articulates that contemporary measures of social control in British cities have been hostile to forms of social difference due to fears, uncertainties and anxieties – in particular black males.

We must ask, then, are young Black bodies constructed in this way to bring about reclamation of public space or a particular "order" through their spatial regulation within contested space? Also, are they spatially excluded "in favour" of another public? Under practices of spatial governmentality who are the streets reclaimed for?

In the narratives of research participants and archived newspaper articles, strong discursive connections can be found between issues of youth, fear, gang culture and the spatial control of streets. In fact, membership of "gangs" in Nottingham is said to be determined by where one lives or "their postcode" (Nottingham Evening Post, 2009a) rather than one's race:

> "[T]hey [gangs/groups of youths] are mixed in ethnicity […] it is more about area and territory and what neighbourhood [they] are from. Groups from different areas only seem to mix when there is trouble or they are fighting. Otherwise, if you're from the Meadows you stay in the Meadows, or from St. Ann's you stay in St. Ann's. People tend not to come out of their area because of fear."

> Natasha Johnson-Richards (see figure 6)

> "People in St Ann's carry knives because they think if someone from another area sees them they are going to carry a knife and they are going to need a knife to defend themselves."

- Jonathon Stewardson, 18, from St Ann's in Nottingham Evening Post (February 2009)

One can interpret from these comments that being in a "gang" or part of a group of youths that their attachment to their very own locality prohibits them from leaving their neighbourhoods - unless they wish to engage in violence. Hence one can argue that this is a powerful discursive tool for young people's occupation of public space in their own localities. But for the police and their fellow residents, their ostensible spatial dominance and congregation becomes synonymous with violence and/or drug activity (Alexander, 2008) - leading to the disproportionate targeting of Black people. This gap in understanding hence potentially paints a completely different picture from the actual spatial practices of Black youth. For the police, this becomes an image that focusses on the "interracial gang", with Black youth and "Black culture" at the foreground – with

their white fellow gang members portrayed as wanting to be "like them" (Alexander, 2008):

> "[It is] In fact whites [who] integrate at the heart of these groups. They seem to adopt this 'black gangster culture'."

<div align="right">Natasha Johnson-Richards</div>

Hence with "black gangster culture" brought to the foreground of "gang culture" and "gang" formation, it seems that there is no wonder why young Black people are disproportionately targeted by the police, and that their occupation of space in their own localities is deemed inappropriate. It also serves as an explanation for racist and nationalistic comments disclosed to the local media (shown above). It seems that the differences of age and race have becomes subjects of fear and "moral panic" – and this difference is contested in the public domain (Malone, 2002) through practices of spatial governmentality. It can be argued that the negativity and fear that surrounds racial difference in the public sphere drives the dispersal orders being enforced in inner-city neighbourhoods of high concentrations of the Black community. The lack of cross-racial and cross-age understanding drives the persistent construction of associated criminal spatial practices of young Black people. Hence, with the enforcement of practices of spatial governmentality to regulate young Black people, messages of resistance and claim to spatial rights come to the forefront.

<u>Spatial contestation – Forest Fields</u>

The recent dispersal order in the Forest Fields neighbourhood (see pictures above) which lasted from April to October 2011 (Nottingham Indymedia, 2011) presents the workings of social difference, race and spatial contestation through i) ethnic, cultural and nationalistic messages of resistance (see Figure a, page 101) and ii) cohesive resistance against dispersal orders and police harassment (Figure b, page 101). The message "Fuck Da Police" (Figure a) is no simple expletive, but a cultural catchphrase inspired largely by African-Caribbean rap group N.W.A.'s 1988 protest song "Fuck Tha Police". The song highlights tensions between the police and black youth. It is perhaps unsurprising that the other messages written, i.e. "Jebac Policje" and "HWDP" (Huj W Dupe Policji) translate as Polish for "Fuck the Police" (Urban Dictionary, no date). This provokes one to wonder whether police practice in Forest Fields has been interpreted to be executed in the interests of the white British majority, further marginalising the spatial rights of non-white British claimants to this space. Though the identities of the authors of the graffiti are not known, the fact is that the practices of spatial governmentality by the police have driven multicultural messages of resistance. Within these discourses of resistance lie ties of racial inequality – which perhaps suggests that

minority ethnic persons are victims to this operation of spatial control. These findings correspond to Iveson (2007), whereby graffiti-writing is presented as a counterpublic response to governance strategies that increasingly marginalise minority groups.

Figure a (Left): Information regarding the recent Dispersal Order in Forest Field covered in Graffiti telling reactions to the issue of the order
Figure b (Right): A poster campaign against the Dispersal Order and Police harassment
Sources both from *Nottingham.indymedia.org*

Elsewhere, the spatial regulation of minority ethnic males in the Brewsters Estate, has been justified or (to an extent) concealed by discursively constructing the Brewsters Estate as "inclusionary space" for other "publics". According to Jo and Denise who work at the Chase Neighbourhood Centre in St. Ann's, the Brewsters Estate is home to a gang who call themselves the Brewsters Road Crew (see figure 4). The gang is predominantly male and includes many young Black males. In November 2010, an article was published in the Nottingham Evening Post detailing that Police and local councillors were concerned about the lack of young women "rarely seen out an about" in the area (Nottingham Evening Post, 2010c) due to the spatial presence of gangs such as the Brewsters Road Crew:

> "Projects will include working with the estate's young people, and looking at problems which often cause fear among residents, such as gangs hanging around."

> Nottingham Evening Post (November 16, 2010)

Rather than using means of consultation to engage with parties of all ages and races, the police renewed a dispersal order for the area that very same month (Nottingham Evening Post, 2010b) – thereby making the Brewsters Estate seem more "accessible" by outlawing the spatial practices of gangs of young males.

> "When these lads see us coming they disperse. They know we have the power to make them do so. Dispersal works but it is not the long term answer."

> Sergeant Nigel Bradley of Nottinghamshire Police quoted in Nottingham Evening Post (November, 2010)

These cases leave us to think critically about whom the police choose to "serve" and how particular interests are prioritised. It was the police and local politicians with decision-making power who chose to give concern to a "lack of young women seen out" in the Brewsters Estate. It was the same police that responded with a solution to disperse groups of males in the area, regardless of the fact that Sergeant Nigel Bradley disagreed with the initiative being a long term solution.

What can be learnt about the contestation for control of public space is that young people – especially Blacks - are being policed through adult and negative definitions of them. In congregation, their spatial practices such as hanging around are rendered suspicious and potentially criminal. And, due to the vastly unrepresentative ethnic composition of the police force, they are policed through a white gaze. This is possibly a reason for members of the Brewsters Road Crew visiting the Chase Neighbourhood Centre regularly. To avoid the police through fear of harassment, and to occupy themselves, they regularly stay clear of public spaces in the Estate:

> "It's mostly the Brewster's Road boys who come down here but we actually welcome people from all over the city.[…] They come down […] here because they've got nothing to do. "

> Denise

Iveson (2007) comments that the spatial regulation of particular social groups in order to "better" accommodate others, is delivered through various forms of spatial governmentality which outlaw the presence and spatial practices of the given social group. As social relations in contemporary society discursively prohibit discrimination and the explicit targeting of racial groups, the spatial regulation of young Black people has instead been done through the outlawing of their spatial practices. Hanging around and visibility become indicators of potential criminality, and racial imaginaries that are pronounced through relations of difference and fear (Amin, 2008; 2012). The fact is that these imaginaries represents a poor understanding of the actual spatial practices of Black youth, and this is confirmed by the exertion of orders of spatial governmentality

that can potentially withdraw one's right to space. It is this poor understanding that sustains the emotions of intimidation between racial groups - emotions that potentially drive spatial encounters that result in higher levels of distrust and damaged cross-racial relations.

However, the representations of Black youth and their spatial practices in the local media and in wider political rhetoric are held to justify the practices of spatial governmentality (Coleman, 2004; Alexander 2008). It is true, some of these youths are criminal – but this is used as a stereotype to condemn youths wholesale. It also seems this is used as part as an initiative of spatial contestation, to reclaim streets back to a select "community" that the police serve – whereby the spatial rights of many law-abiding minority ethnic young people are lost through the prejudiced and short-sighted appropriations that are used to police and control urban space.

Conclusion

Through the initiatives against Anti-Social Behaviour and the pathological occupation with tackling "gang" culture and activity in Nottingham, it can be argued that practices of spatial governmentality enforced by the police are driven by spatial regulation based on possibility, prevention and potential. Due to the subjective nature of Anti-Social Behaviour legislation including Dispersal Orders, public space becomes potential space (Millie, 2008; 2011). In the streets under practices of spatial governmentality such as dispersal orders and stop and search, anxieties and fears become pronounced through boundaries of social difference – namely race and age (Alexander, 2008; Malone, 2002). And in this struggle with living with difference, the framework of the policing of public space constructs young minority ethnic people as the "socially defined" but rarely the "social definers" (Millie, 2008).

The spatial practices of youth become correlated with gang culture – with "Black culture" associated at the heart of this (Alexander, 2008). The discursive linkage of "gangs", "Blackness" and young people can to be seen to be very much active in Nottingham – whether this is through the local media, its readers or the disproportionate targeting of young Black people by the police. The associated practices of young Black people in public space have arguably led to their exclusion from it, or justification for their spatial regulation. Through subjectivities such as intimidation, harassment and alarm, the legislative framework of Anti-Social Behaviour becomes a tool whereby spatial presence, congregation and visibility constitute potential misbehaviour or even criminality (Millie, 2008). Furthermore, these

subjectivities allow prejudices or nationalistic views from community representatives or police officers to drive spatial control of minority ethnic youth.

From these discussions, one can understand that public space is contested space, and that contestation is intensified in these multicultural neighbourhoods. One can infer from this that there is an on-going struggle in these localities for residents and the police to accommodate and tolerate the sharing of public space by different groups, based on age and race. One must accept that crime does exist in these communities, but the discursive tools that formulate or reproduce stereotypes based on correlations of race, age, gender and criminality do not aid community relations.

On a final note, for community relations to improve, a better understanding is needed about the actual spatial practices of the users of public space. Spatial controls should not be enforced based on speculation or possibility, but initiatives should be implemented based on clearer evidence and with consultation with all parts of the given community. Perhaps, simply recognising difference may not be enough in the contemporary city, perhaps difference needs to be celebrated, learnt and not conjured with negativity in order for community relations to improve and trust between the police and BME groups to increase.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

The research aims of this project were:

- To uncover associated coded meanings attached with profiles that interconnect imaginaries of race, space, geography and materiality. I intend to use a pre-cognitive setting of spatial encounters in analysing how these associations unfold through performance and affect.
- To challenge representational and categorical explanations of race
- To uncover public attitudes to race and framing of "race issues", in order to examine how relations of racial difference act as a contextual setting.
- To uncover and analyse how particular police methods of spatial governmentality disproportionately target particular racial groups.
- To foreground the narratives of minority ethnic persons victimised by the police to gain insight into how racism works through spatial encounter.
- To offer possible solutions for how relations between the police and minority ethnic groups might be improved in Nottingham.

Through the collection of narrative, resources presenting public framings of race issues and academic and statistical findings on police racism, I have addressed these aims by uncovering and critically analysing i) coded meanings and perceptions of racial behaviour within everyday encounters of race; ii) the associated geographies of minority ethnic subjects and geographical imaginings of ethnic crime and iii) methods of spatial governmentality used to regulate the bodies of racial difference and their potential behaviours.

I believe that this study was successful in addressing the research aims through i) the operationalization of its concepts through the methodology; ii) the critical analysis of the various data collected and iii) the extraction of empirical findings that bring to light the importance of studying how institutional racism can be a destructive force in the everyday lives of people. I begin this concluding chapter by summarising the main findings of the research, referring back to the data analysis chapters. Then, based on empirical findings and my own articulations, briefly offer ideas on how race relations can be improved between the police, minority ethnic groups and the wider "public". I finish by offering thoughts for further research as well as thoughts on this research's contribution to the geographical study of race.

Summary of findings

Negotiations of race in spatial encounter

Chapter 4 addresses the first research question as to how race is negotiated in spatial encounters between the police and particular minority ethnic persons. Corresponding to discussions in Amin (2012) I have found that spatial encounters are important psycho-spatial foci for analysing how racial meanings are (re)produced. Also, through the concept of "assemblage", we can analyse how these meanings are co-dependent on space, materiality and to some extent temporality.

It can be argued that through spatial encounters, we learn that assemblages of race, space and materiality act as (potential) criminal profiles or coded meanings that can be used to police particular racial bodies and associated behaviours (see Swanton, 2010). For example, the stop-searching of Leslie Ayoola's company car for illegal articles was not perceived to be random. It was believed by Leslie to be due to a combination of racial, material and spatial factors that form a cultural explanation of young Black males. Leslie, a Black man dressed casually driving a very respectable vehicle in a neighbourhood deemed for a reputation of drug abuse can be seen to be, in Leslie's own words, "fit[ting] their profile". Their [the police's] profile is this psychogeographical racial assemblage. This is a binding of meanings and discursive linkages to geography, race, materiality that in time and space (in spatial encounter) become or emerge as potentially criminal.

Whether or not these racial assemblages are spontaneous or are "known" criminal profiles within the police force, they can be seen to serve as cultural explanations of racial performance: e.g. the Black male with the flashy car as the drug dealer or brown-skinned Asian man in traditional dress as the terrorist. It is these cultural explanations that affect and drive encounters. Leslie Ayoola's summarises this well in saying "If you perceive that Blacks are criminals then this will affect your behaviour" (see figure 5).

But what we can also learn from these spatial encounters is how these assemblages and cultural explanations can be challenged, reproduced and broken through materiality and spatiality itself. Leslie's provision of registration documents for ownership of the company car and his own residence (spatial ownership) and identity (at least temporarily) disbanded the profile that may have been used as racialised knowledge to perceive him. Instead, these knowledges and meanings were challenged.

One can learn that race can be imagined and embodied with materiality, spatiality and temporality. Superintendent Steve Cooper's hypothetical encounter involving stop-searching a Black person was linked with dominant perceptions on the part of the police of masculinity, hooded clothing, the street and night time (see figure 7). This can

show that race does not act alone in criminal profiling but suspicions of potential criminality are amplified through differences of race, age and class that are highlighted through meanings given to space and materiality.

These interconnections of race, class and age are something that can be found through the meanings applied to particular spaces and materialities. A theme discussed within the chapter is how hooded clothing becomes a symbolism for deviance and "gang" subcultures – which have become synonymous with "Blackness" and a young "criminal underclass" (Alexander, 2008; Crawford and Lister, 2007). On the other side, I have found through Gurmit Kaur's encounters with young BME people that the police uniform becomes a symbolism of wealth and power – perhaps as far as class and adult oppression. These knowledges have been suggested to affect encounters in such a way that the visibility of such clothing brings about an intensity of emotions – namely suspicion and fear. This "mutual suspicion" between the police and young BME people I argue drives spatial encounters between them. Encounters become based on spatial avoidance and pursuit – based on relations of distrust and negative and criminalised perceptions of difference. These relations are maintained through the disproportionate targeting of young BME (particularly Black) people and their associated "gang" activity. It seems that spatial encounters in St. Ann's have become driven by spatial control through the monitoring of racial bodies and associated materialities (such as hooded clothing). It can be argued that these have become precursors or spatial representations of illegal spatial practices for the police (linking to Colls and Horschelmann, 2009). Or in at least racial imaginaries that are used to justify the regulation of young Black people in multicultural areas such as St. Ann's.

Appropriations of space through racial and geographical imaginaries

Chapter 5 addresses the second research question as to how space is appropriated by the police through racial and geographical imaginaries. Its departure from the previous chapter is encapsulated through the focus on the pre-cognitive and pre-categorisations that come to regulate space and its ethnic subjects, rather than the intensities of emotional and psychological affect in spatial encounter.

What can be learned from this discussion is that members of minority ethnic groups and their associated spatialities come to be policed through expectations or imagined totalities of the racial and geographical. Corresponding to Amin (2012), these can be argued to be embedded in institutional thought and practice. In Nottingham, empirical findings that come to support this case are: i) the differential racial and geographical imaginaries of the "urban" and "suburban" (and how the perceptions of both shape

differential police practice); ii) the racial and class hierarchies of power that are present in relation to the ethnic compositions of the police force and the "community" they serve (and how this sustains cross-ethnic relations of fear, distrust and difference across boundaries of race and age) and iii) how the imagined practices and spatialities of young Black people in St. Ann's are rendered criminal or potentially criminal via biased intelligence frameworks and discretionary power (expanded on in Chapter 6).

What was found to be an excellent finding was the respondents' articulations of how racial groups become discursively categorised to space – and that perceptions of racial groups map the differential policing of particular neighbourhoods. Andrew Campbell suggested that multicultural inner city "urban" areas are policed "differently" from "white suburban estates". He further suggested that the main cause of this is due to the connotations of "urban youth" that become racially and geographically imagined through criminal practices, for example Black gang activity on streets in inner-city neighbourhoods (see Alexander, 2008). However, Superintendent Steve Cooper conceded that police coverage and stop-search rates are higher in inner city and more multi-ethnic areas of the city (see figure 7). One may perceive that this could be so due to higher crime rates. However, the persistent narratives of racial harassment conducted by the police in inner-city areas such as St. Ann's (BBC, 2012; see figures 1,2 and 8) add weight to Andrew's views. Hence, there is an argument to be put forward that the possible spatial unevenness (or selectivity) of police practice is driven in part by perceptions of spatially bound racial-geographical landscapes. There is also an argument that race and geography work together because they are co-defined by perceptions of particular publics, e.g. "urban youth".

But how are these racial and geographical imaginaries which come to criminalise members of BME groups come to be produced, maintained and reproduced? Of course there is the role of historically driven race relations, but in terms of the present a persistent force is race-class hierarchy. Conceded by Steve Cooper, the police force in Nottingham does not reflect the ethnic or class composition of the community they serve (see figure 7). This lack of representation sharpens difference and inequality in terms of the policing of inner city multicultural neighbourhoods. The institutional policy of placing police officers in such neighbourhoods unfamiliar to them can be argued to open the door to such neighbourhoods being policed by pre-conceptions and prejudices. It is then unsurprising that particular residents have accused the police force of a lack of understanding or empathy, and that the social differences between that of the police officers and the residents fuel relations of distrust and fear based on unfamiliarity. However, even members of the police force who are perceived to represent minority ethnic groups are afterward labelled as "traitors" to their own ethnicity (see Gurmit Kaur interview) for joining the police or "worse than white officers"

due to their conduct (see Natasha Johnson-Richards interview). Hence as an institution the police can become represented through "whiteness" and/or racial oppression. In turn, this can come to escalate fear amongst young BME groups in particular, that their everyday geographies are policed through racial and geographical imaginaries rendered criminal.

These everyday geographies can be constructed as behavioural codes assigned to the street (under Anti-Social Behaviour legislation) and intelligence frameworks that exclude the associated practices of young BME people. Through a police philosophy of "dealing with the right people in the right areas" (see Gurmit Kaur interview), the mundane practices of young BME people hanging around come under the radar of the police onslaught against Anti-Social Behaviour (see Millie, 2008) and/or "gang culture". The pathological initiative against gang culture in Nottingham has brought with it a strict policing of young BME people and their everyday geographies. The streets and public spaces in areas of multicultural neighbourhoods such as Brewster's Road, St. Ann's have been subjected to heavy policing and, according to Thulani Molife, the disproportionate targeting of young Black people. From these findings it is important to recognise that imaginaries of race are geographically defined to these spaces. These findings develop the suggestions made by Iveson (2007) and Webster (2007), in that public spaces and the minority ethnic subjects within come to be appropriated by imaginaries of criminality used by the police.

Police Practice through Spatial Governmentality

Chapter 6, which addresses the third research question on spatial governmentality, looks in more detail the methods of policing that come to spatially regulate minority ethnic persons. I find that the designation of dispersal orders in Nottingham's most multicultural neighbourhoods increase the likelihood of the instances of racism in police practice. This is due to the legislation of dispersal orders that grant the police officer significant discretionary powers to discipline the minority ethnic stranger on the merits of potential misbehaviour (Millie, 2008). Under dispersal orders, space and the subjects within become governed by the police officer's risk-based assessment of space. Hence in conjunction with relations of unfamiliarity across boundaries of race and age, this governing of space through possible misbehaviour and proactive judgement can be argued to amplify racial prejudices and preconceptions. This can be argued to explain the common and racially disproportionate use of stop and search in areas of Nottingham such as St. Ann's, in accordance to respondents such as Thulani Molife (see figure 8).

However, discussions in the online addition of the Nottingham Evening Post suggest that the power for the police to regulate the racialised other is not simply granted through legal power but also public legitimisation – extending arguments made by Amin (2012). The local media's ready attribution of gang labels to young people "hanging around" in ethnically diverse areas such as St. Ann's and Sneinton have provoked xenophobic and nationalistic sentiments - suggesting contestation over public space (see Chapter 6, page). Furthermore, the criminalisation of young Black people in such areas can be argued to work through a biased terrain of local consultation – whereby adult interests and appropriations to space formulate into the policing of the young minority ethnic strangers. Hence one can argue that this is evidential of a struggle to live with difference in accordance to race and age in neighbourhoods such as St. Ann's, Sneinton and Forest Fields. Also one can suggest that fear persistently clouds over these boundaries of identity. Contestation over claim to space and the fear of the racialised other can be argued to be coded into fearful and proactive regulation of young Black people in these areas of Nottingham. The narratives of some of the Black research participants such as Repo suggest that in spatial encounter these potentialities are treated as real by the police. The reactions to the Forest Fields Dispersal order speak multi-cultural narratives of resistance and potential police harassment. It seems that dispersal orders represent not simply a displacement or regulatory control, but a loss of spatial rights that has been enforced through an initiative to discipline minority ethnic young people rather than consult a functional spatial order with them.

To summarise, it can argued that a combination of factors that are divisive by nature (re)produce racism in police practice and the policing of minority ethnic persons in Nottingham. These are i) the cognitive and pre-cognitive "profiled" sorting of bodies, objects and spaces in encounters of racial difference; ii) the geographical imagining of minority ethnic persons through associated spatial practices, e.g. "gang culture"; iii) the persistent racial and class hierarchy within the police force – which contributes to the pervasiveness of criminal imaginaries; iv) narratives of xenophobia persistent entering discussions of race and v) powers granted to the police to govern and appropriate public space through subjective judgements of potential (mis)behaviour – increasing the risk of minority ethnic persons to be governed by prejudice and racist preconceptions. As long as such relations of race and methods of policing continue to exist, one can argue that sufficient harmony will be soon achieved across racial groups and the institutions that govern them and the public sphere.

Towards a "politics of empathy"

A drastic increase in the inclusion of minority ethnic young people in frameworks of policing intelligence and local consultation may work wonders for understanding across racial and age barriers. The disproportionate targeting of Black young people in particular is not helped by their exclusion from consultative frameworks (e.g. intelligence) which hold influence over the governing of urban space by the police. Steve Cooper conceded that this inclusion is insufficient and is damaging to police relations with young [Black] people (see Chapter 6). In terms of police practice in spatial encounters, one can probably not expect police officers to refrain from the compulsion to categorise overnight, but empathy can be given to the ethnic subject in question – especially if it is unknown whether they have committed a crime or possess illegal articles. The judgement of racial bodies, behaviours and spatial practices should be reserved until sufficient means to discipline are obtained. Where to draw the line for "sufficiency" is a matter of discussion for all parties concerned.

Racial equality needs to be a goal that is readily achievable rather than an idea that is desirable. For this project to be achieved, equality needs to be achieved in the practices, ethos and morality of the institutions that shape our everyday lives, i.e. the police. I am perhaps not in the privileged position to suggest how these initiatives can be and should be achieved. But perhaps this is a goal that can start where the data analysis of this thesis started, in encounters of racial difference in the public sphere.

Perhaps the suggestions of some of research participants should be further explored and mobilised. As suggested by former Black police chief Dave Walker, "dialogue" (see figure 9) is needed to improve the relations of distrust that persist between the police and minority ethnic young people. One can sympathise with the view that for empathy to be increased in the hope of the ultimate goal of equality, conversations need to be had across boundaries of race and age – even if these conversations at first appear to not contribute to progress. Or perhaps Andrew Campbell's idea of "cultural competence" (see figure 1) can be explored. Intra-institutional initiatives promoting cross-cultural understanding and working towards a statistical cross-section of ethnic groups within the police force, could perhaps improve the spatial confidence of the minority ethnic urbanite.

It may be impossible to create "equal subjectivity" in the psyche of the police officer (Amin, 2012), but performances and initiatives that foreground dialogue, tolerance and reserved judgement may make a significant difference in a) the public lives of minority ethnic persons and b) attitudes towards racial difference. However, a collective will and support to move race relations in the public sphere "forward" will be a fundamental

factor in this. This will require contributions from all racial groups – namely the invigoration of the white middle class (Dickinson, 2008; Wu et al 2009)

Final thoughts and reflections on future research

Whilst racial difference in the city is looked upon through fear, uncertainty, discomfort or even xenophobia, race will continue to be a volatile phenomenon to study. However, as race studies' development in geography is still very much on-going, there is room for different perspectives and concepts to be applied to studying race in geography. In a nutshell, this study aimed to show that institutional racism can be studied through: i) the cognitive sorting of bodies, spaces and objects; ii) the geographical imaginings of race and spatial representations and iii) the way urban space and ethnic minorities are policed through risk – potentially leading to prejudice. Race, especially in terms of urban geographical studies of "the everyday" can be further studied in a countless number of guises. This is particularly relevant in relation to intersections with class – as I have presented in the empirical chapters through discussions on police perception of appearance and neighbourhood spatial setting.

Furthermore, the intersection of race with other expanding geographical areas of interest over the last two decades such as gender (see Kobayashi, 1994) and youth (see Back, 1996) warrant a further exploration in the geographical study of race. This is relevant too in contemporary city where neoliberal governing strategies increasingly deny spatial access and rights to marginalised social groups who rely on public space for expression (Iveson, 2007). To further challenge or even alter damaging institutional practices, further research needs to be done on the geographical manifestation of racism. The narratives and actual spatial practices of minority ethnic persons – particularly young people - need to be heard and recorded to nullify the divisive use of stereotype, prejudice and profiling by members of the police force and by other institutional actors. This study's research methods of interviewing and extracting of discourses in secondary data has operated as a framework for foregrounding such narratives.

In terms of the main limitations of the research, the volatility issues around racism and police conduct has the potential to influence the responses of research participants – especially where there are racial boundaries in respect to the identities of the researcher and participant (Skelton, 2001). Hence the data produced potentially reflects views that may be false or strategically modified. Therefore, if I was to conduct research again I may consider the use of extensive ethnographic research to perhaps capture a "first-hand" insight into everyday encounters between the police and minority

ethnic persons (see Swanton, 2010). Furthermore, because the main concepts in this geographical study of police racism are focused around the roles of imagination and the psychological, one could argue that the articulations of these roles are perhaps driven by an element of speculation and "over-suggestion". To respond to such scepticism, in a repeat of this research I would perhaps deploy the research methods in a way that could surface narratives that respond to the research questions and aims more directly.

On a personal note, I hope that research has made a useful contribution to the study of race in geography. 8 years after my own racial encounter with the police, I find it discouraging that similar interactions are still occurring in Britain at a phenomenally disproportionate rate. But the persistence of institutional racism, inequality within policing and their effect on the geographies of everyday urban life, need to be further researched and better understood if the fearful barriers that racial differences present are to be broken down. I wish that further research will follow this in the expansion of knowledge on race, racism and urban geography.

Appendix

Figure 1- Interview with Andrew Campbell – February 2012

TP: As the BME advocate on One Nottingham Board, do you work strategically with the Police Chief Constable? What issues have you put forward to her in the past, if any?

AC: What do you mean by "strategically"?

TP: Meaning do you work with her on issues affecting the Black community, do you put any issues forward to her?

AC: On the board, the Chief Constable is an outward facing member. I speak more with the Deputy Chief Constable. I have mentioned disproportionality before.

TP: What are the police's attitude towards disproportionality?

AC: They accept it because the statistics don't lie. They have set up a special task force to address this but the statistical outcomes still continue

TP: Do you think the relationship between the police and the black community – youths in particular – was a significant influence in the disturbances in Nottingham last summer?

AC: I think there is three things you should be looking at here. First is the killing of Mark Duggan. Secondly, the difference in how the inner city and outer city estates are policed. Thirdly, how this "urban youth" is imagined and constructed by the police. Ask the police where the drugs team is located and you will see for yourself. It isn't that much about race anymore it's about poverty and socio-economic issues. It's also about social stereotype. The Black man is perceived as a big strong man that needs to be contained.

TP: Do you think there is a poor cross-cultural understanding between members of the BME community and a white majority police force?

AC: I'm not an anarchist. I believe there does need to be a police force. But many of these police officers are white, may be from rural Nottinghamshire or have little knowledge about Black people. They may have never encountered a Black person before. People are afraid of young people anyway. People are afraid of black people anyway.

TP: What can be done to eliminate this fear?

AC: Train them.

TP: Who? The police or members of the Black community?

AC: Train all. Train the police to know what people's rights are. Train Black people to not be so active with their hands.

TP: What can be done to improve these race relations?

AC: Cultural competence. The Police should have a statistically representative cross-section of society. But even Black police officers are capable of treating people of their own ethnicity worse than the average white police officer. I think that real change will happen only with street activism. Someone has to die. Something has to happen. Someone has to invigorate the white middle class into thinking "it is a social injustice what the police is doing to Black people in Britain."

Figure 2 - Interview with Fergus Slade, 07/02/12

TP: So you are Policy and Campaign Manager?

FS: Officer yes.

TP: So do you use your own or other people's ideas to shape policies and stuff.

FS: It has to go through a process. There's no point of using my personal opinion on a particular subject . Obviously I use my brain and figure out what the implications are, and then try and run things from there.

TP: Cool. So you have to be pretty impartial?

FS: I have to be realistic. I think they are two very different things. I am partial. I'm aware of how the voluntary sector works, I have to be. But I try and not let party politics get in the way, I know what I believe in but I try and not let that affect my work. I've said on a lot of occasions that I don't like the Tory government, but you know what I said that about the Labour Government. But when you say it now it just sounds like I'm slagging off the Conservatives. And I probably am.

TP: Can you tell me about Neighbourhood Nottingham and how that project works.

FS: It's not running anymore. But it functioned as one of the partnerships within One Nottingham. It was one of the partnerships linking the public, private and third sectors. Now, because of the restructuring of One Nottingham and local government, neighbourhoods are not as much the priority. The priority has become housing and strategic partnerships. Homelessness has become and issue again… The main fear expressed by the local housing charities such as HLG, is that they are going to knock down a lot of single bedroom places and build family places. The neighbourhood aspect is now falling under the remit of these local areas and partnerships in the three localities now – north, centre and south. You've got Bestwood Partnership in the north, the Renewal Trust in the South and Partnership Council in the Central, and they will have neighbourhood officers in those areas feeding issues to the Council and that will be on a strategic level as well.

TP: In terms of the successes of the Neighbourhood Nottingham scheme, how did it work well?

FS: (pause) It was a better environment to bring up issues that affected neighbourhoods more broadly. You knew you had that channel to go down. You didn't have to go around struggling to find the name of the councillor you need to speak to or which charity to speak to. You knew that you could get hold of for example, Claire Granger is Chief Executive of HLG, and that you could do it that way for those issues. But what was also good about Neighbourhood Nottingham was certainly for the Charities Advocates. They came to advocates meetings that covered all of those partnerships and then they come in and discuss issues that are broader than Nottingham. So you might find that issues for Neighbourhood Nottingham and Crime and Drugs Partnership on a board level may an impact for the Children's Network. So everyone came together, so it meant that we had people from the public and private sector as well. People knew who the points of contact were.

TP: Were there consultations and meetings with members of the public or was it just giving them information and the contacts?

FS: Intelligence from the public was fed in. Yeah its little conversations you have. I was talking to someone yesterday and you feed that in. It was fed in from all sorts of levels.

TP: Oh very good. So under the current governance structure. Has that been eradicated? Has that been changed?

FS: It has been changed. Claire Grainger from the Housing Strategic Partnership has been given a role. We have been trying to push to get the Neighbourhood Nottingham out onto the board localities – north, central and south – we want to try and help them feed into it the way they might have done before. Or if anything more effectively because if anything the Partnership Council is perfect for a central locality, that's their patch, that's their thing to deal with. That's the most important thing to deal with I think.

TP: Did it work well with issues such as – not just socio-economic issues but issues such as race as well. So were BME advocates able to collect narratives from their own local areas and bring them to the forefront?

FS: That's quite a difficult one to answer. It's largely again, that sort of intelligence would be fed through the local area partnerships and their own point of call. For example the Renewal Trust, they are absolutely phenomenal because their areas covers St Ann's, Sneinton, and they can bring the majority of those issues to the floor. In particular on our One Nottingham board there are three advocates that represent sectors. So you've got the advocate for the Third Sector, you've got the Faith Sector and the advocate for the BME is a bloke called Andrew Campbell.

TP: I spoke to him this morning

FS: Yeah. Very passionate. And watching the meetings he is just a joy to see. You know all these people who are sat there – there's just a vibe in the room. But you know you do have that white middle class guy sat in a room thinking "what's going on?". And Andrew sits there and he just brings in a perspective that they would never have access to. Not a fault to their own. Personally I've seen a lot of that. But he will bring a lot of that through, talking to people and also from the Renewal Trust and we'll get the opportunity to do that as well as NCVS, as well as the chief executive Helen Vose whose relationship with Cherrie Underwood who's chief executive of the Renewal Trust. So we'll all try and feed things in at every level and issues of race. And One Nottingham recently, are working on particular themes a meeting. So the first particular theme was around young people, unemployment and the links there. There was a focus on the inequalities around unemployment. And beyond that you actually look and bring it down a little more and see there are actually inequalities so they took action there. The last meeting, which was a couple of months ago was around gangs, and how do we engage with people who might have fallen into that and how do we tackle that. And again, whereas you've got two or three high ranked people from the police who say "we're going to go for this money from the government in tackling gang culture because we can get at the areas hardest hit in the riots", and you've got people like Andrew saying "look you're going to give kudos to these guys, these gang members, and it's going to take us back to ten years where we have an issue which came to the floor when Daniel Beckan was shot". So there's a real fear there I think. And that's going to come back again, but there is a want to tackle that at a higher strategic level and whilst Neighbourhood Nottingham isn't there, that doesn't mean that unused statistics shouldn't be raised.

TP: When I spoke to Andrew this morning, he kind of gave me the perception that the police – I wouldn't say don't understand the underlying social and economic issues – but there's not that will to understand them.

FS: Yeah I think that is spot on. Conversations that I have had with the Renewal Trust have indicated a similar thing. At the NCVO conference I went to speak to them and they said all you have to look at is the stop and search. It's not just London. It's here as well. And there is a sense from the Renewal Trust that the police almost enjoy stop and search, and that sense that they're going to really find someone that they think is a trouble maker or these kids that are hanging around on corners. You know, it's no difference to me. I was …you see gangs of young people around everywhere. I walk down this street, I'm intimidated by a gang of young people and I'm 25! It doesn't really matter to me but it's weird that the police do tend to focus on that and focus their energies on that.

TP: They might not be breaking the law. That's a big argument for me. They might be standing there doing nothing and having a conversation but police feel the need to disperse them and contain them.

FS: I used to hang around on street corners when I was a kid. But I did it in Arnold. That's where I grew up. That wouldn't stop me. They would see me and drive along going to somewhere else. But I think young people do feel mistreated by that and do feel that it is wrong. I think it is really interesting to look at the differences in areas like St. Ann's and Sneinton where there is that setting, and areas such as Hyson Green where there isn't that setting. You do get areas where there are young kids hanging around but they are not stopped and they are not searched, and it is weird where there is that difference. Not saying that I've experienced it myself, but I do think it is unfair from what I can see.

TP: Do you think treatment by the police were influences in the civil disturbances last year?

FS: Yes. Everything that I heard about it told me that that was the case. I mean one thing that I will say is that the police got a lot of the reaction to when the riots kicked off right. They cornered off the city centre and kept them contained in their areas. It is interesting that once they were contained in those areas what they targeted. There weren't a great deal of cars you know broken in or burnt out.

TP: It was police stations.

FS: It was police stations. It was police cars.

TP; Fascinating isn't it?

FS: But it is very very telling. You know, if you look at where the anger was directed. There was a fire bomb around my area at Clarendon College. But that was more of an isolated incident. But the main stuff – it was the police stations, it was Canning Circus, there was fire bombs in St. Ann's, the Meadows…

TP: Fascinating because compared to the rest of the country there was very little looting in Nottingham. It was more about getting back at the police.

FS: I work at weekends I do some casual work at a bar in the city centre. Foreman's bar near Nando's and the Cornerhouse. I didn't go in that night but I did sort of keep in touch. I thought I could leg it up if needs be. They pulled all the barriers in, no barriers were out and they said it was like a ghost town. But the owner went out and took some photographs around town, and what

they'd done, all of the big shops – you know all the ones that were targeted like the sports shops – all boarded up. The message was very clear, "there isn't anything for you here: go home". Partly is a deterrent I think, partly I think to contain them in those areas which I think definitely worked. But again I think like you say it is so telling what actually happened as a result of that and what was targeted. That's not a coincidence. That is absolutely true and that was what was fed into the stuff that NCVO put out in the end of it.

TP: Yeah I've read that.

FS: I say we were there we made it very clear that it was anger at the police that mattered here. And I think that if you look at where it stemmed from, their opportunism took over. If you talk to people they will tell you that is what they are upset about, that is what they are pissed off about.

TP: Have you spoke to any members of the public about it?

FS: About the riots themselves?

TP: Yeah

FS: Yeah you couldn't avoid it. My first day in this role was the Wednesday of the week of the riots and I had to draft an NCVS response and actually really it was a precarious thing. You looked at it on telly and you think that this might be happening in my city. And there is that initial thing – the immediate reaction "how dare they, how could they?", you know people being opportunists. Then the dust settles a bit and then you look at it much more clearly and you think "OK, why?". And the answer was always anger at the police. And you speak to the Renewal Trust and they say its stop and search, it's about how unfairly they felt treated, it's how police seem to feel enjoy it, it's how people seem targeted. And again you look at gang videos now and this was mentioned a couple of weeks ago at One Nottingham, gang members now are singling out officers. In videos online they are waving their gang colours and waving the weapons they have at the officers that they are upset with. And a part of that is to do with this show called "Coppers". They've seen that. That's been really powerful. Andrew said at the One Nottingham meeting that the heads of gangs have seen that and are now all working together with each other against the police. That show has made it worse. And that has caused these videos to be shown, and now these gangs are going out in the street and showing their colours in three areas it's Meadows, St. Ann's and Radford. I don't know where Radford has come from, that's one that took me by surprise. It's definitely interesting that that area has popped up. The argument after with colleagues and people at home was that it was about unfairness.

TP: Yeah. Injustice is a word that has come up a lot.

FS: Yeah. I think that actually epitomises it.

TP: It's really interesting. I didn't know about the gangs coming together. What I have been told about the gangs in Nottingham is that they don't get on with each other at all. They keep themselves to themselves in their own neighbourhoods and the only time when they do clash is when it is unpleasant.

FS: Yeah I am just trying to find the name of the key words for the video because I quite wanted to look it up. What I've done is…if you put "Punchline and Rudy" through in Nottingham, that will help. That's what they showed, and you'll see the gang colours, you'll see then flick knives and the names of the officers. You know, blatant, out on the street, broad daylight, not hiding, stood in front of a camera phone…again it's being decided at a higher level by Vanguard Plus, a fella called David Walker, he's heading that up and looking at that.

TP: Do you know of anyone personally who took part in the riots?

FS: At the Renewal Trust I met a lad who has been electronically tagged. But because he forwarded on a BBM. He had previous offences but they had put him in for a little bit and tagged him.

TP: Did he take part?

FS: He just forwarded on a message and was harshly punished as a result

TP: What did he say in the message?

FS: Someone had put down a time and a place where people were going to congregate and go and do something. And he forwarded it on to a bunch of mates on his BBM contact. That is what he did. And that has affected him getting a job, that's affected him being able to go out, and you know he knows he's got to be in the house all the time he's already demotivated, he's already not feeling any kind of love for society. It gets really difficult for them to get motivated and go out of the house and go and do stuff that way. But again, he's a Renewal Trust service user and he goes in there. They know quite a lot of people who have been…

TP: I'd like to talk to the Renewal Trust

FS: Yeah the girl I talk to is really sharp her name is Rachel Wicks. I can't remember her title but there's her and another woman called Colene Francis I think.

TP: Where are they based?

FS: There is a Renewal Trust building in St. Ann's. They really do all that on the ground intelligence stuff. I'm surprise Andrew didn't recommend them. You know now (laughs).

TP: Well thanks a lot, I will definitely get in touch with them. Are NCVS doing anything in the aftermath of the riots? Are you guys doing anything to tackle that?

FS: Our message was business as usual. We will continue to work with whoever comes through the door. Obviously we have supported groups who have had a variety of issues within particular areas. That's just our remit. I'd be stunned if there wasn't a group would help around that issue but it's not something that is specifically no…In this last year we've helped nearly 400 groups across the city. It is inevitable in that time that people are asking questions or asking us to comment on that, been asking for support and how to get funding for people affected by riots, who took part and wanting to get their head round not doing that again.

TP: Last question, just about your notes that you took at the conference, was it?

FS: NCVO conference yeah

TP: What have you got for me?

FS: It was notes just to take to it… the points we put across were that these were disturbances not riots, the communication with the police about what was going on was absolutely excellent, first class, excellent practice and kept everyone updated and involved over twitter. They really really made sure that everyone knew what was going on. So that was really helpful. The city centre was blocked off and very much contained. The council quickly set up volunteering during the riots so that there were diversionary activities to take part in rather than leaving people with their mates to go and take part on the streets…

TP: Did they put activities on did they?

FS: Yes they put a lot of sporting activities on.

TP: Oh right, that's really interesting.

FS: Yep, throughout the day. Throughout the evenings as well.

TP: Throughout the whole of Nottingham?

FS: Yep

TP: The council did that?

FS: The city council did that.

TP: That's very good.

FS: They were so quick to respond.

TP: That's really proactive.

FS: That wasn't the case – CRB checks, application forms, it was turn up – get involved and help your community. Any holidays booked or any days off were suspended. People were straight out there.

TP: Is that community centres, parks, everywhere?

FS: Yeah out there on the street and it was Renewal Trust who were out there on the street saying "look what are you doing? Really, what are you doing?". Just talking around with people they trusted. Because it was youth workers that they know and trusted more than the police of course, and that made so much more difference. Erm… (pause) the City Council liked to see us at the time like we had 50 volunteers to mobilise like that (clicks fingers) which led us to think about the government policy and it's rhetoric of an "army of volunteers".

TP: The Big Society. Take your own responsibility.

FS "Big society" is a swear word around here.

TP: (laughs) Do everything on an amateur basis

FS: Yeah. In terms of what we felt the government needed to hear at that time – if anything it's got worse now. This country has the ninth worse unemployment record in Europe. At the time there was no funding to create youth opportunities in Nottingham. The national citizen service which works for 17 and 18 year olds replaced a project I used to work on that worked with 16 to 25 year olds across the city to find relevant interest in opportunities, get them involved, give them experience. That also had specific targets about gender split, about ethnicity – we had a huge thing, we had quite a high target about BME communities getting involved in volunteering which we far far exceeded. That was the same across the country – funding got cut for that in place of this ridiculous national citizenship service which forces these 16 year olds to volunteer over the summer holidays after their GCSEs.

TP: The last thing they want to do.

FS: Yeah. And the interesting thing about that is that it is costing about £1000 to £1200 per person to go and do these activities over summer. And they want that to be universal by 2014/2015. If you think that there are 400,000 16 year olds in the country you're looking at about half a billion pounds. The whole project initially costs £119million a year, but there are enormous budgets on publicity, on advertising, there's actually a lot of bureaucracy and there's an awful lot of badly spent money. You could probably work off half that budget and get ten times the output. Putting power in society's hands through, yeah we said about putting power in society's hands through Big Society, through localism, through services – why isn't this is the case through youth volunteering too? That is just not acknowledged. (Reading from notebook – minutes from conference): We recognise the value of local routed voluntary organisations in the city like the Renewal Trust. We entrust smaller groups but they are threatened by the removal of funding – the Renewal Trust their funding is so insecure at the minute.

TP: Yeah, it's happening all across the Third Sector isn't it…

FS: The city council's latest commissioning intentions. Basically local area partnerships who have been given money by the council have been told that they have to tend for it now. So they actually have to bid for money for services that they would have been providing with that money – I don't know who's going to get their services. It scares me. Advice agencies, homelessness charities, all facing cuts but they are essential services responsible for problems like this. You know, putting people in hostels, looking after people who might be struggling around debt who feel the need to turn to crime to get back around. The main thing that scared me at the time was there was an awful lot of criticism about BBM, facebook, twitter…

TP: The media were obsessed about it weren't they?

FS: Yeah they were really slagging off social media and the way that it had been used to coordinate the riots, and they are saying that in times of these crises it should be shut down. But two things I can say about this. Firstly, if people want to communicate they communicate. If you shut down instant messaging then they will call people. They'll do a ring around like back when you only had a landline. But you can't record them like you can record telephone calls. Second thing is erm… the last time the state turned off all the social media at the time there was perceived to be a national crisis, there was a revolution and the Egyptian government was to be overthrown. And it really is a dangerous precedent. And again you know there was all this thing about the bad it did but very few people acknowledged the role that twitter did in the big clean up in London with the broom army going out to clean up. There was very little of that and the role that the social media played in that. And I am all for constructive criticism and the fact is I am all for criticism, but there has to be praise as well. You can't just sit there going "it's rubbish, it's rubbish", you can't do what the Daily Mail do. There has to be an acknowledgement of when something goes right you sit there and you go "Wow, look how good this was". And there wasn't an acknowledgement of that and they never made it clear that it had done a lot of good.

TP: I think it was the media's obsession of trying to criminalise youth and didn't want to put social networking in a good light. They wanted to say "look, this is why teenagers are this way, they are obsessed with social media".

FS: Well, it goes back. Young people are always seen as dangerous. There always has to be something that makes young people the way they are. It's never that they're young, it's something that society has – if you look back to the '90s and the Jamie Bulger case – "video nasties". It was nasty films that made kids do these horrible things. Nothing to do with the fact that Jon Venables had been abused as a young lad. Nothing to do with the crappy social situation. And then you had Columbine. And it was Marilyn Manson. And there has been other instances where heavy metal music or violent video games were played – and in this case it was social media because young people can talk to each other really quickly. Well yeah, I can talk to people really quickly, I stand up in the room and I shout and I catch everyone's attention. But there will always be something to blame. And I just find it really tragic that in this instance, the energy was directed at blaming things like social media and at young people and this apparent "something for nothing" culture that exists. And not the fact that over the years this has been a welfare state that has said that it is going to provide for people, and now it came to the point that these are people who really need everything we didn't say "right how can we help", we lock them up. And actually prison rates are high anyway, the rate of re-offending is soaring, we have basically created a whole new generation of criminals and there is going to be no help for them long term and that's going to breed long term as well. It's not going to bring people out of that cycle. And yeah I really hope that when people do come out they do sit there and think "Christ that was stupid of me I will never ever do that again" but I can't see it happening. I think that there is still going to be real bitterness and resentment and again that's not going to be directed towards the government because they don't want to see it as a government thing. They look at the people in front of them – it was the police that arrested them, it was the courts that put them in jail, it was unfair illegitimate systems that aren't going to protect them long term and in fact are out to get them. And I would feel disenchanted and disenfranchised if I was in that situation as well I think that anyone would.

TP: I am done with my questions. Thank you.

Figure 3 - Interview with Gurmit Kaur, Nottinghamshire Police, 08/02/12

TP: I read on your profile on the website that you have grown up here, lived here all your life and joined the police force ages ago. So you've got a personal attachment to the place have you?

GK: Yeah

TP: Would you say whilst you've been working in this area have been the most pressing issues?

GK: Pressing issues as regards to crime?

TP: Yeah

GK: I feel my biggest issue is the lack of trust of the community in the police. And that is probably to do with naivety from the police, individuals from particular cultures, different sectors, the barriers, and the pressing issue for me is around building that trust. I have a twofold aim in this role. One is about reducing crime which is the organisational drive but the community has that as well through wanting to making the area look pretty and crime free, and another area around that is ongoing policing issues, neighbourhood disputes, the trusts in your "bobby on the beat" – so what we've done is employ those PCSOs so that the police are more visible and accessible.

TP: Yeah I've noticed that in the past few days that I've been here.

GK: Well that really is across everywhere in Nottingham. It is about building that home, that environment, that atmosphere because policing is all about a consensus. Policing is about gaining intelligence from your community and turning that intelligence over to dealing with those individuals causing manic to the community or to the individuals and building that back into the community so we can say "look we've done this for the community and we can give you more" and that's the trust and the cycle of confidence and that is what I keep saying. You can't have quick wins for you sometimes but you if keep bringing in information I'll turn things over. I need you to work with me because I can't work solo.

TP: So are you saying that policing should be a democratic process? It should all be about consultation?

GK: Yes but there's obviously sometimes that you cannot consult and you just have to go out there and deal with it but the majority of the issues – you know let's just talk about – have you heard about the death in custody on Oxfields Lane? Well one of our roles is that the community are kept up to date with the issues and what can be learnt from a big investigation. So my job is that we keep these issues shared with the community and that they aren't left out of the loop and vice-versa so we can say to them "look, we're not hiding anything, we are open and transparent and that is how we need to work". Because once you start putting up your guard as police officers, that's when you get communities – especially the BME community think "right". You get the chip off the shoulder, or "you're always picking on me for stop and search, you're harassing me", and you get that all over again. And if you have looked at the research about disproportionality in Nottingham and about stop and search you will find we're a little bit skewing. So we really need to look at this and to find "are we using it rightly?" But some concentrated theorists such as you would say, "if the disproportionality checks are going to be higher because of that population for that area, but if it is a white area and there is disproportionality of the BME then why?" You know that's the work we need to be looking at.

TP: Well as you and I mentioned, the police research in Nottingham publication of the police website on confidence of the BME in the police. And it was quite what I expected it – across the board nationally, not just Nottingham so… So think the best way of policing is integrating the residents?

GK: There's two ways. You need to keep the residents updated and on board with the issues and give that integration back. The other is recruitment, getting people to represent which is important. Because when I – before I joined – and yes I and my family had experiences of racist attacks – verbal as well physical. What I am saying is that the only way to address some of these issues internal and from inside and breaking those barriers. To where I am since I joined 24 years ago to where I am now, some of the overt experiences I had internally – it was obvious – it happened. But now there are occasions where some racisms and prejudices occur but a lot of it tends to be covert and not too obvious – you know that sixth sense you always have? That's quite there. And then you're trying to prove it. But we have processes in place now in Nottinghamshire. We have the national BPA. We have the BPA in Nottingham. So we have been able to make some inroads as a support mechanism. You talk about support for the community but you also have to have support internally for each other.

TP: I saw you got nominated for an award or something didn't you? On the national BPA website?

GK: (pause) I've not read that one, yes.

TP: What was that for?

GK: Excellence of work for policing. But I wasn't there to accept it. I couldn't make the conference … but that was nice to be acknowledged. I got a phone call to say congratulations and I said "are you sure it's me you are talking about?"

TP: (laughs) Coming back to what you were saying about representation. I saw an item on the news about the recent progress on the Lawrence Inquiry. The BBC reporter asked a group of young Black teenage boys. He asked them "would you join the police?" And they laughed in his face. And from what I've read and everything I've done I have found it is commonplace that ethnic minorities kind of see joining the police as a cultural betrayal. Have you got any comments on that?

GK: Yeah I had the same myself. When I was posted in Meadows, a group of lads just called me a traitor and just looked at me and said "you're a traitor". And I looked at myself and I think "why are they saying that?" The thing is it is about that divide isn't it? If you go back to Asian culture, Police officers in India, you pay a bribe you get what you want – it's not a fearless process. So you fear the police in India. So there is a tendency to follow that through to here. And it was a young generation that said that, which surprised me. You think the young people wouldn't have had that. But thinking about their experiences and thinking about what their behaviours are and appreciation of what their focus for life is, thankfully it was a one off. It was the only time where I had it in my face. Culturally, policing is not something that it held in a high regard. Obviously, that again, you know, you are not seen as a respectable career, so there is a tendency to avoid people having to go into the policing career, if you go into doctoring and teaching that seems to be more acceptable. So that's again breaking down barriers of perception. And then being female is worse because you are not suppose yourself at risk, you are not supposed to be on the front line, you are supposed to be behind the Black and males. In correct terminology it's some people's family set-ups. So it's about having to break through that but that's not why I work – there are a couple of reasons why I work. A couple of reasons include that I need a challenge, I used to go to an all girls' school. You've been brought up here?

TP: I was brought up in Derby but I know Nottingham well.

GK: We've got the education girls' school, predominantly – the headteacher talked about doing what you feel, don't categorise yourself. I ended up doing a week course in Engineering in Newcastle. I thought I might go down, it sounds posh, it might give me nothing. But I did a week of that and then we had a careers convention and saw all of these careers opportunities and saw what stood out was the uniform officers. So I went up and said "hey, can I come into a career at the age of 16?" They said, "No you can't, no respect to you but a lot of females do fizzle out of the career. Get some qualifications under your belt and see how it goes". So I did and I kept knocking on the door and saying "I'm back again!" and I persevered. But my family was against that?

TP: Really? Because of the cultural background.

GK: Because of cultural background, so had to sort of say to them "how do I go around applying for it?" Kept it quiet. Went through it.

TP: To join the police nowadays, is it more desirable to have a degree or education…

GK: When I joined you had to. And you had a degree you got through to an acceleration scheme – an acceleration process. It's the quick track. Now, if anyone wants to get into senior management, they can actually – you don't need a degree, you don't need any qualifications, you've just got to go through the same entrance exam – I think it's right, it's fair. But the people with the degrees understand hard work with studying and preparation. Needless to say, people who haven't got a degree can still do it, and have done. So there's none of this hierarchy or tier process of that you must have a degree. So basically you go through the entrance exam like everybody else. They've taken away the age group. When I joined it was 18 and a half to 30 you had to join. Now it's any age with an 18 and a half minimum. Up-age bracket, as long as they can get a good 5 to 10 years out of you then you can still join. They removed height restriction.

TP: When was that removed?

GK: It was still there when I joined. Probably removed around early 1990s.

TP: Was it 5"10 or something?

GK: For ladies it was 5"6. For blokes it was 5"10 I think, I can't remember. But I know that there was a height restriction there. But at the time, there was an entrance exam but I don't think that here was a minimum qualification. And things have moved on. So it's given people a more open playing field to come in. Obviously now as you know, they've frozen all recruitments because of the financial cutbacks. But I hope they will re-open it in a couple of years' time.

TP: Talking more about how Nottingham is policed. Is police coverage evenly spread in Nottingham or are more police concentrated in the inner city areas?

GK: That's a good question. I think he said we've got 600… In total police officers is 2225. I think 600 of them is within the city. I say 600 because I remember the boss telling me. But proportionality-wise I would say that the city has more. I think the county has got a bigger spread in percentage- wise.

TP: 2225, does that include out of the city as well? The whole county?

GK: The whole county is 2225. And then you break it down to males and females. 72% are males. 28% are females. But I'd be honest with you that's pretty good, because when I joined I hardly saw another female around. But then you've got the support staff – which is more females. You see how you've got the opposite? And then you've got your rank structure of BME staff. The highest is female. You've got the female chief constable. One female who is Chief Super. You've got two females who are Super intenders, 72 female sergeants. For BME staff, for police officers, you have 4% of the 2225 equates to 85 officers that are BME – that declare themselves as BME – of which 7 are BME females. And then you got to police staff and amazingly it is 86, predominantly it is white staff but a higher percentage of BME are female.

TP: Do you think areas like St. Ann's, Hyson Green and Basford - is there more police presence there than outer estates of the city like Wollaton…

GK: No. The structure broken down is, you've got three divisions within the city (begins to draw). You've got the north, you've got the central and you've got the south. I fall into the central which is predominantly BME community. You've got your city centre life

as well, you do have Wollaton in this bit now (points to map), we've reshuffled a bit you see. The north is going to be Broxtowe, Bestwood, Basford ward and Bulwell. And the south is your Meadows, Sneinton, St. Anns'. This is just the city. When you talk about policing, you police in concentration. The actual breakdown of the staff in the areas shows that you probably tend to have more here (points to the central) and the city centre but we do have to pull in resources from elsewhere. I haven't got your statistics for you, but your question is "are we going to have extra staff for the BME community?" No. What you will have on each other – from a neighbourhood policing point of view – is you will have your beat managers for each area, and they may have extra PCSOs depending on the demand. So it's not the case of it being a black community that we need to increase it. The only time we increase staff is when you get tensions or have to deal with raised issues. But you tend to get additional staff where you've got a little town centre – like here in Hyson Green, if you've got a shopping centre in Bulwell, you will tend to have a little bit more…

TP: So it's more about the concentration of people? That answers my question, thank you. Moving on to the history of social exclusion and deprivation, are the police in Nottingham aware and understand those issues? Because it's kind of an ongoing cycle isn't it? And…

GK:…Why haven't we learnt by now? As from the perspective of a PC who comes from the affluent area and suburbia into the inner city life, you are looking at naivety, ignorance, lack of understanding and appreciation. But it's not particularly their fault because it's been the environment they understand and the environment they have been brought up. But then to expose them to policing, what we have to do as an organisation is provide the training and they get that training at that level. To actually comprehend and appreciate that diversity within a community, I question those individuals. But you can't criticise the organisation because the organisation has given them the information. It is their willingness and appreciation to comprehend. I picked up an email from someone in the county. They want to come into the city because one of their developments is the need to understand diversity in the community. So if people identify that, it should be a part of their appraisals or PR developments. So coming back to your question, it is there to help people but taking part in it and understanding and willing to adapt is…

TP: It's up to the individual isn't it?

GK: But if they do blatantly fail to – because of the gender race or disability – there is procedures for us to address.

TP: Moving onto the riots now. The fun part.

GK: (jokily) Disturbances, don't we say?

TP: Sorry, civil disturbances. How much of an influence stop and search and disproportionality was in it. Because a lot – the research that I've read on a national scale shows that the BME community were vastly overrepresented in the riots. And in Nottingham, interestingly enough, it was more about the police stations being attacked. I've seen how the police in Nottingham dealt with the riots and did very well by shutting down the city centre – that was really impressive and fantastic. But the fact that the youths – whoever – the majority of people who took part in the riots attacked the police stations. I find that really fascinating.

GK: It's telling you a message there. It's telling you a message that there's a lot of mistrust and barriers with our youth generation. And it frustrates me 24 years in. I thought by now with the younger generation and breaking down those barriers it would be decreasing as time goes by and it hasn't. But then again, if you look at the age groups it wasn't just young people but it was some of the adults involved in this. And the ethnicity breakdown – it was wide. But what I was interested and concerned about was my own area, because we had been afraid that they would attack my police station – and they didn't. And I ask myself, "why is that?" I look at it and I think I could have been a target on the street. Why didn't they do it – probably because we've got good trust and a relationship with the community – so they didn't see it as a target. The individuals that were involved from my area in the disturbances actually went over to the other side up to Canning and other areas, so I'm glad. A couple of them did get stopped as a cause of heavy policing, but it wasn't a result of any disturbance. We had a couple of arsine attacks that were said to be connected to the disturbances. It wasn't. It was isolated. When I realised after doing my homework, it wasn't connected. So am I saying that the young people have a strong relationship with us here so that they didn't have to focus on us, or was it whoever got this twitter or whatever saying "let's have a fight or whatever or go and meet up" – I don't know we can all surmise, can't we? But as you say, why did they target the police vehicles, why did they target the police stations, where is it that we went wrong? I guess they did do the city centre as well so… But the following day was the stations wasn't it?

TP: How do you build trust and confidence in the public after that?

GK: What is currently happening as a result of this is that we have built seminars and workshops where the young people are attending and have a say to police officers. They've actually had other councillors there so that they can voice their concerns, so we are moving forward to say "right youths, you give us the information telling us why it happened like that and what we need to do to move forward". So that's the good news. You remember the older generation always move the younger generations to one side. This about closing that gap and moving forward and say "right, we're telling you to tell us". We are not creating with the City Council a gang youth knife group in partnership. So this is police officers working alongside youth workers who are going to work with what people class as inverted commas "gangs" and try and identify and try and divert or reinforce, and if we have to reinforce then we have to do reinforcement. But that is a more concerted effort to what it was before.

TP: Have these seminars and workshops started yet?

GK: Yeah

TP: How have they been attended? I'd imagine that if I took part in rioting, I might not want to go to one of these workshops if the police were there in the danger of criminalising myself.

GK: I can't give you full hand on experience because I haven't attended them myself. But I have heard through another party. You're probably right. Those that have been involved won't probably attend to be honest with you. It will probably be those on the superficial, on the circumference who could have attended or had a feel for their community. With the attendance, what we are trying to do is do more group work and then do a follow-up to see where and how we can move forward. I can't actually give you those individual attendees – as in whether they are connected or not. But you have also got speakers and ambassadors for those people, people who speak for those hard to reach people – they're represented their voices as well aren't they. It's better – I don't know if that is the right answer but it's that vicious circle. People move in, people grow out of it. The seminar I went to this morning – if I knew you were in Nottingham you could have popped in – it was a seminar on gangs in Nottingham. There was a

chap from Learn2Learn, Hyson Green – I can give you his contact details if you need to follow this up. He had a couple of lads who wrote a poem about one being a victim and one going through the difficulties. They talked about working with young people. There was another lad there from Derbyshire who talked about the mafia, the other gang groups, how we need to be reaching in. It was really based on how to hit home (ruffling of notes). A couple of notes that I made here is you've got 39.1% child poverty in Nottingham – the third highest nationally; 1 of 5 gang members were involved in the riots within the cities; then they talked about some reports on gangs and youth; and they talked about why people formulate themselves into gangs. If we as law abiding people, we have a sense of belonging, a sense of purpose, we show respect. So that to me is the basics, so why is it that young people go into a gang format. Because they see the gang – same needs as we see as a law abiding citizen, a sense of belonging, respect and purpose. So how do we take that mindset of them being in that gang to being in the right direction. And then they talk about partnership approach, creating that pathway, the need to divert but there has to be an element of punishment because some people just can't do that. And then there is the need to tackle unemployment and mentoring. And that's – these are words I have heard over the past two decades. You know as well as me that cutbacks financially, unemployment is sky high – how do you break that cycle as a young white boy or a BME guy having to deal with all of those stereotypes as well. So they then think that a quick win is that they can go and get some cannabis or cocaine. So what is the incentive of them stopping that? Prime example, if I can earn 5 grand or whatever and then do a few months in prison then so what? I'll be back out – but we need to understand that. My ethos is that there is always going to be a small percentage of that no matter what you do – that won't change. But if you don't give hope to the others who want to change but want some support – that's the one I work on, and that's where we as a partnership – and not just the organisation but the community. There may not be a job at the end of it, but there's a sense of purpose. You can do voluntary work, you can keep yourself occupied. You don't need to…

TP: Occupation, that's it. Doing something more constructive with their time, and something legal – that's it.

GK: But when it is this greed - "I need my designer this, my designer that, I need more money now" – Why? You know I used to sit with young people at meetings and they used a stereotypical image of me, they used to say, "Well you come from a wealthy family and everything", and I would say "oh, let's take you back to where I am from. Mum and Dad, came from India, OK? Dad and Mum spoke very little English, so no backup for my education from my parents. Father was a labourer, no fantastic job, ended up on the social. Lived in a council house – not our choice. Circumstances. Look at that path, do I go that way or that way? Do I just claim benefits like my Dad or do I make something? My Dad didn't have a choice so I said to him just because I'm giving you the foundation doesn't not mean I have had it easy. I am not telling my sob story for you to tell me "poor you". I'm giving you this story to say that if you are focused and you put yourself in the right direction you can. You come across some bloody problems on the road – you come across barriers, you come across knockbacks. But the point is you respond to these knockbacks you get up and you move forward. And that's the message I am trying to give, and it is the same in policing. You know when you talk about BME staff who find it difficult because it is like living in another world isn't it? So it's having that support mechanism. If those young people out there have that support mechanism, you can work.

TP: That's true. I've got a couple of points about the Asian community, especially the Islamophobia that has been around in the past ten years. Obviously since 9/11 and 7/7 in London, I've seen the stop and search statistics for Asians skyrocket.

GK: Sky high yes, even more than the Black community. Yeah because historically it's always been the black community. Yes I think you're right, I think it is a result of exactly that. Again, it is ignorance of understanding why you are stopping that person in terms of people who are Sikh and not Muslim. Oh it's – again within the organisation there is a lot of work done around prevent, with groups, educating our police to understand what to look for, particular signs of what is going towards the terrorist path – and that will always be at the back of their mind.

TP: What I find interesting from what I have read, normally these extremist groups and these networks – correct me if I am wrong – they are normally made of white collar Asian Muslims and people, not the working class Asian community – that's what I find fascinating.

GK: I said to someone who put a workshop together with hard-to-reach young Muslim boys with no direction. I don't like using the word "dysfunctional" but they've got no focus. In their eyes they are the ones that are going to be easily moulded and led into terrorist behaviour. And you know the research that has been shown recently – the one's that happened in Nottingham and the man who got arrested – they are educated people. The one's that happened in Scotland – they are educated people. Have we done any work around them? I totally agree with you, I do think sometimes we – as in the people – make assumptions that people who are rif-rafs, got no direction, they are the ones – possibly. One or two of them will do that as well because they are not thinking. But to be a terrorist you've got to have some nerve now – the tactics and the thinking. It's straightforward. So why we are not working on that sort of behaviour – but they're very clever aren't they. Think about it.

TP: Yeah! That's why it happens because it is find out over months to years. It's not just like – "Oh I feel like blowing up a shopping centre today", these things are planned.

GK: So looking at that point you'd think that by now they would be able to think that they'd be able to look at a strategy of they are the ones we can see but what are we going to do about the ones at university level and have that sort of education. And that's a big question because I am not from the preventative department but that's something I do sit down and look at in meetings and what I brief to my team is you've got to look at people who may have a lost soul and haven't got that sense of direction – could they be potentially…

TP: Do the police now say why that they have stopped and searched you?

GK: They always have to do. You know when they do stop and search or stop and check, you always have to explain what the purpose is. Now – and I again say to young people and anyone if a cop hasn't told you, then you should mentally make a note of their number and that can be pursued afterwards. Because they have to explain why they have stopped you, the reasons why, the name of the officers, the name and the station they are from. If they are not in uniform then warrant card – and then do the search. As far as I'm concerned, if they don't comply then they give you the notice and reasons why. And if they've not done it – then they should give the reasons why. They may be purely picking on you, perhaps because of the colour of your skin or they

know you've got a history of offences and stuff but that's the official way of doing it. Having people that don't do that is another issue.

TP: I don't want sound essentialist or anything. But I'd say working class people, uneducated people, do not have the mental power for that bureaucracy to ask them "why are you stopping me, what's your number, can I see your…" you know.

GK: Yeah. Because they haven't got the confidence. That's why there's workshops on stop and search and know your rights. I used to have cops coming up to me saying "why are you going up to youths telling them what their rights are?" Erm…because they are entitled to? Excuse me, if you do your job rightly there wouldn't be an issue with it. That's the way I look at it. You do your job right you shouldn't fear what the community – anyone can pick up a law book or go on the internet to see what their rights are. But me, I'm educated, I'm bringing down the barrier, I've got nothing to hide –I'm a cop. If I'm doing my job right – you'll be OK with it, if I'm doing it wrong then complain about me – that's the way I do it. I had a gentleman once, a black lad who I stopped on Mansfield Road when I was a sergeant – oh God did he give he an earache? He said "You've picked on me, you've stopped me because of the colour of my skin, you've picked on me". And there I am just standing there thinking "right, how can I explain to him that I haven't picked on him?" I said "your light bulb is down, I've stopped you and whilst I've stopped you I've asked you have you had a drink. He said yes, and then I gave him the breath test". He tested me out because he'd been stopped that many times, he kept ranting and ranting and ranting. He'd only had a drink five minutes ago so I had to wait ten minutes for the breathalyzer so I said "right you can breathe into it now". It came back blue, all clear, I said "here's my details, if you're not happy in the way that I dealt with it please free… You know I'm not here to pick on you because of the colour of your skin but clearly if you think you've been targeted because you've been stopped under suspicion then that's your right to complain". I did go back to the station to have a look and he had been stopped several times, but that's not my fault. So you are always going to have those individuals who say "look, I've been picked on" and when I look at it, I'm just dealing with an Asian family who feel that the police have been too heavy handed and I can see now from an officer's point of view what they did and now I've got to explain to them why they did it. Gosh.

TP: The Minority Ethnic Advisory Group. Are they still going? Are they active?

GK: It's the IAG. Independent Advisory Group in the city. I'm not sure that the one at the county with the Chief Constable is still running. I know the one in the city is.

TP: Who do I contact for that?

GK: Do you want the chair? I can give you the chair's details. I'll give you his details when I leave.

TP: That's fine. Now onto anti-social behaviour as well. I saw some research on the police website that one of the public's greatest concerns is youths hanging around on street corners. I'm quite sceptical of this because I think that they might not be even breaking the law. Kids hang around on street corners, I used to do it when I was a kid but it's not breaking the law.

GK: It's not breaking the law – I totally agree with you. But if they are being loud or causing a disturbance, it's a different matter. Standing on the street corner, talking, is not disrupting anyone. What happens is that people's perception plays a key role. And it's about getting rid of that perception of stereotyping groups of youths that are up to no good, "I want them out of the way". So they call us, we go to them, we find them standing there just talking. We say "We know you are not breaking the law but people have called us and say they want us to move you on". They've got every right to say "no we're not because we are not breaking the law". What we do face with these issues and what we do pick up on is that there are repeating individuals that are sticking on a street which is causing an obstruction, where people are trying to get by. And as you know, it can be quite intimidating, people standing in a group, so we're trying to educate the kids, the young people as well as the adults, telling them that they're not doing anything wrong. Our job is to stand on the street and ask them, "look why don't you try and go to a local youth club or go to the park?" or whatever you know, just try and change it in a way. But if they are stubborn and say "look we're not moving we're not doing anything" – if they're not doing anything wrong then we haven't got the power to do anything about that.

TP: On what grounds do you give out dispersal orders?

GK: Oh dispersal orders. Last year we had our first ever dispersal order, and that was instigated by me. I picked that up myself. About this time last year we started to have an increase of violent assaults, we had incidents of racial abuse, going into shops and attacking the shopkeepers, we had incidents of people walking down the street and have been pulled, we've had attacks – physical and verbal. It was getting bad. It became apparent that they were saying that there is a zone area that has literally been taken over. So the dispersal order isn't taken lightly. It is supposed to be done in consultation but it was one bit on my area – Forest Fields, but that is only done and issued – the warning is only issued when they are causing a disturbance or harassment. So if they are in a group and they are doing nothing wrong – that isn't the reason for the dispersal order to tell them to go away. What you say is that there is a dispersal order in the area, our advice is that they should move on because people make reports and they have. So it's about using common sense.

TP: Would you like to see more BME officers in the police force, or would you say it's more about morals and moral values, and you know – cultural tolerance?

GK: I will say to you, it goes back to why I joined – we need more. We need more BME staff and officers within the organisation because if you are going to try and educate people to understand, you've got to have it inside. So that would be my priority, get people in. But they have to be the right people – not just about the colour of your skin or "let's tick a box", you've got to have the right credentials to get in and have the ability to work and fight the systems internally and externally. And then on the other fold, you've got to educate the people who aren't of BME to appreciate and mould into the society we live in. You know, I find it difficult sometimes when I sit around people and say "I've never come across a curry before, I've never had a curry", and that's the way they've been brought up. And that's my naivety, my ignorance to think that "you all should fit in". So I have to adapt and realise that they have come from an area where they have not been exposed. So that sort of prejudice and my prejudice – well I say that they should know but I shouldn't force my morals and opinions and beliefs on them, but what should be said is that now you're in that environment, there should be certain etiquettes and certain behaviours.

TP: I have a question about the "20/20 vision strategy". There is a quote in it that states "Operational priorities will concentrate on risky people and risky places". How are risky people and risky places identified and what characteristics make risky people or a risky place?

GK: OK risky person – we look at it twofold. It automatically conjures the offender; the risky person is going to cause hell to everybody else. That's right, the rules, there are offenders, there are people that are going to cause risk, the risk to the community and to the crime. We identify that through the arrests that we make or the intelligence that we have and we have a team set up to manage those risky people and are differently graded. I look at the other side, risky people through the vulnerability. We have got a programme that we set up for victims of ASB because we had that case at I can't remember now but she committed suicide – and that was through bullying. So when you talk about those risky people we talk about the risk that people pose for themselves or that others pose for the way they are through their ethnicity or through their disability, homosexuality-wise and what we need to do is identify those risky people and make sure we give we give them the support mechanism. What we have here and across the city is a VPP – Vulnerable Persons Panel. And we have a meeting where we go through a number of people and think "these people are vulnerable for whatever reason" through drink, domestics or whatever. And we ask other agencies whether they can support this person – so we've got that process but it's more about signposting other agencies to help that individual. What we do internally is we've got a working sheet for those who are vulnerable to show we've got a trial to see what plans can be put in place to try and reduce that risk to that certain person. So coming back to your question, risky people is offending management as well as a victim management and then you've got your location – your risky location. That tends to be your hotspot areas, where your crimes have been and where the tensions have been and where we police it. And if we do all of that it is said that crime will be massively reduced (jokily). It is said that your repeat victims, if you deal with them it equates to a large percentage of your – if you get them sorted then there won't be a crimezone area – allegedly. So it's about dealing with the right people and the right areas. If you focus on the right people then you should be able to deal with things.

TP: I've got a question about hate crime. I looked at the hate crime stats for Nottinghamshire. Race tends to be the biggest one by a long way. How do you deal with racial hate crimes?

GK: Twofold. One – if it is a crime then it's a crime. But if it's not a crime we still give it a crime number but hate incident not a crime, it's a process we still have to follow. Officers try and investigate as much as they can. There's a follow up from the Beat manager to do with some reassurance visits to see if there's not a repeat with the victims, see if there's a pattern, see if we can try and address and reduce the risk to that victim of hate. And then what we do, what comes to me, is that as an inspector I make sure that it has the right policy of service basically. So we've got a good policy, we've got a good hate crime risk assessment and Anti-Social Behaviour risk assessment. Tick it, if it is standard, it gets put through normal process, if it's raised it will get brought to my attention and I will look at that one closer.

TP: Yeah. What are the most common racial hate crimes? Is it violence or verbal?

GK: Verbal. Predominantly it is verbal because it is the easiest way to say. Percentage-wise a lot of it will be verbal, around causing local disorder and public distress. And it is usually the same common words which are used.

TP: My last few questions are about Channel 4 Coppers. My first few questions are on a couple of quotes that were used. One question was "who is the biggest gang in Nottingham?" and the guy replied "my gang". What thoughts do you have on that? Because the way that I perceived those interviews is that kind of "us and them" culture kind of thing.

GK: I think that the way he came across was more at the offenders who they were fighting. Did you see the neighbourhood policing episode of Coppers at all? Because that episode you saw about Coppers, it was my gang not their gang – was to fight the baddies. If you saw the programme – not the week after but the following week after was Neighbourhood policing. That was more about engaging and interacting – so back to your question to thinking about that comment…

TP:…Possibly a bit out of context.

GK: It was seeing the villains. Our gang against their gang. The word "gang" conjures up negativity. You know, you count yourself as a police organisation but it gives it a negative perception – but we're not. But you know from reality we are seen in a negative way. So I would say that some words and behaviours in that episode I would have thought twice about – especially as there's a camera in your face. So yeah I wouldn't say I see Nottinghamshire Police as a gang. My view is that we are policing a community, we are part of the community.

TP: Are you a service or a force?

GK: OK. That's an… Having gone through set of my years of service, I'd say I was a force to begin with and I'm a service now because that's the ethos because it serves the community. As a force it conjures up the ethos that we take over, and it has changed. It used to be very in your face, "we will do this, you will do that", but there was a lot of push to say we will work together.

TP: My last point was on that show, there was no Black or Asian police officers talking on it. They were all white.

GK: There was one Asian detention office with his hair covered.

TP: A sikh guy. Yeah.

GK: The answer to that is you're absolutely right. It gives you the wrong perception of Nottinghamshire Police. The other episode with the Neighbourhood Policing in Worksop – they were all white. There's the TSG on next week – they'll be all white. I can't see a Black face there – which again you're question about fairness – they should have come to me! So again it gives you that false reputation, we are Nottinghamshire Police, we do not represent our BME community.

Figure 4- Interview with Jo and Denise from Peek-A-Boo, Chase Neighbourhood Centre, St. Ann's, 23/3/12

TP: Could you tell me about Peek-A-Boo?

Jo: Peek-A-Boo was set up as part of the Renewal Trust for young people. It was named after a local lad called "Boo" who died of bone marrow cancer. The death really rocked the rest of the young lads in the community. They took Boo's death really deeply.

TP: Is it just for St. Ann's?

Denise: It's mostly the Brewster's Road boys who come down here but we actually welcome people from all over the city. People get the idea it's just for the Brewster's Road lot. They come down here for Boo but they also come here because they've got nothing to do.

TP: What sort of things do you do here?

Jo: We run two sessions a week for the young people. Wednesday 6.30 til 9 and Friday 6 til 9. They come here to play pool and listen to music on the system they bring down. They rap along to the music and have a laugh. We had a Social Research Worker here not long ago and the lads wouldn't come in because they thought she worked for the feds. Because she was a strange face. You should come down here on a Wednesday night.

TP: Because I'm a strange face would they feel comfortable with me being here with them?

Jo: Yes. I think they would benefit from you being here. They need a positive male image. They need someone with knowledge and experience. As long as you don't want to be a fed!

TP: Is it just lads who come here?

Denise: It's mostly lads but we get some girls down here as well.

TP: Can you tell me about the police?

Jo: There are two cops in the area that harass the kids badly – "Londoner" and "Clarky".

Denise: The police don't' have a clue. They don't treat young people like human beings. When it comes to stop and search the police don't give them the slips or their numbers

TP: Do you get the police around here often?

Jo: The police tend to be up and down here all of the time but tend not to be when we have our sessions on. We've had a PCSO in uniform in here before and the young people refused to come in because of the uniform. They can't sit here in uniform.

Denise: Police are stop and searching all the time on Brewster's Road. "Londoner" and "Clarky" are the worst. But Londoner has been away for a while and Clarky hasn't been so bad with Londoner not being there.

TP: Do the young people know their rights?

Jo: Yes they do. The Police don't engage properly with the community so they send in these PCSOs to get the information they want.

Denise: They used so much force on handling my brother they broke his tag off his leg.

TP: What about the people who want to go to uni or college or apply for jobs? Do they come here for help?

We offer the older ones guidance on how to write CVs and knowledge about career pathways and higher education.

Figure 5 - Interview with Leslie Ayoola, Inspiring Greatness – February 2012

TP: First of all, can you tell me about the aims and functions of your consultancy that you set up?

LA: The main functions of the consultancy is to support small and medium enterprises and third sector organisations and getting them to be more business-like in their approach. A lot of third sector organisations rely on funding, we try and work with them in order to develop their skills and knowledge in order to allow them to survive in economic times like this.

TP: How do you advertise this? How do you get people to come to you? How do you motivate people?

LA: It's both you see. We do a lot of networking, so it's through networking that we promote our services. But also people from other organisations come to us as well. So we design programmes for them and deliver on their behalf. So, at times we will do executive coaching for people who are within business who want to improve their skills, overcome a new challenge or want to move from one career path to another. We motivate them through a series of questions to get people to think differently and make the right steps.

TP: What about young black males in particular who come out of education with poor qualifications? Do you offer them opportunities to get those qualifications?

LA: Yeah I'll tell you about a time when I was working at YMCA, I was running a programme called the "Street Entrepreneur Programme" and what it is now we run it within Inspiring Greatness, it focusses on young people who haven't got qualifications and who are probably involved in criminality to generate an income. We design programmes to get them to think about the similarities between legitimate legal entrepreneurs and illegal entrepreneurs to get them to see the similarities and transfer their skills over to the legal setting and showing them how to do it. We get them to understand how someone drug dealing is a market, how that market works, getting them to understand the principles of demand and supply. All of these different things we put into little case studies and exercises and little seminars. We set up a little programme that involves the politics, the sociology, etc., psychology – all these different things to get them to understand how to make money the legal way. We were doing that until about 2005/2006, and now we are trying to do this through other third sector organisations or statutory organisations who have the responsibility to reduce crime – such as the Crime and Drugs Partnership – and we say "look, if you are trying to reduce crime and know that a lot of our young black males are involved in the criminal justice system, then you give us the funding and we will give you the results to say that we have kept these guys out of criminality".

TP: How have the results been?

LA: Well, this was in 2005 and crime was high. It only lasted a year because we ran out of funding. So my target is to you now set up a pilot, linking up other organisations. So if we were to run another programme now, what we'll do is run it as a temporary programme for ten weeks. After the programme has finished we will link those eventual people up with business mentors – so we will develop a business network. And these people will be black people running their own businesses mentoring these people and helping them to where they want to get to or what career they are looking for, get them into self-employment or get them to set up a business. So its first developing a network again – so we have to start from scratch again, building the programmes and developing the programmes which hopefully we will be running one again this year.

TP: Fantastic. About the Crime and Drugs Partnership. Tell me briefly about the work of the Crime and Drugs Partnership. What does it do?

LA: Basically, it's all statutory organisations based within Nottingham – mainly Nottingham city. Basically their aim is to reduce crime and the fear of crime within the city. So what they do is try and work in partnerships and try to tackle drugs use as well. They work in partnerships to try and you know…bring down their stats – statistics. So what they'll do is meet every 2 months and talk about the statistics, talk about plans, talk about campaigns they're going to be running and talk about how they can address the issues. I sit on there as a part of the voluntary sector, a part of the BME sector, and although we haven't got a vote, we basically ask questions or give them support…

TP: Is that on the One Nottingham board?

LA: Well erm…no not actually on the One Nottingham board. The BME representative on the One Nottingham board is a man named Andrew Campbell.

TP: I'm interviewing him tomorrow.

LA: Yeah okay. So One Nottingham is the overarching one. And one of the themes of One Nottingham is crime disorder, and that's the one that I sit on.

TP: Right. Does the Crime and Drugs Partnership relate to Stop and Search at all?

LA: Yes it would do because within the Crime and Drugs Partnership you've got the police, the city council, the health services, the fire services, the NHS – all those different services – so yeah they would do. They would address the issues there. But at the same time they won't probably deal with it in minute detail because under that there are different working groups that represent different interests. So we will be there to try and deal with it on a strategic level to say "look, how can we address this?". One of things that I will be addressing at the next meeting is the overrepresentation of Blacks in the criminal justice system. It's a sticky issue because they know that the stats have been high for a long time, the links between crime and poverty, the links between…

TP: It's a cycle isn't it?

LA: Yes, the links between crime and education. So it's asking the partners what are they going to do about it. It's about asking the partners what are they going to do to bring the numbers down. They need to work with partners if they are struggling with ideas.

TP: The reason why I asked that is because I read their minutes on one of their last board meetings, and I saw that the Chief Constable was there, I think Andrew – I don't know who it was – asked a question about it, and er… I was wondering if you were present and about the stop and search and obviously it's still an overriding issue in the police.

LA: Yeah (pause). It is. There's probably many factors that impact it. If you've got a lot of people, if you've got a copy of statistics I saw, it was probably about 4 to 5 years ago but it showed that round about or over 50% of 16 to 25 year olds in the city were unemployed. So if you were unemployed or were on the basic jobseekers' allowance or whatever, what a lot of young people do to supplement that income is to engage in criminality. And even some of them who are 16 to 25 and who haven't got any work – some of them don't even sign on. And what does that say? That says to me that they've got some other ways of generating income and that they don't even need to sign on. So to me it starts to become a lifestyle and that's why we need to address it.

TP: Were you…have you ever been or had any experiences with the police growing up in Nottingham? With stop and search or…anything that made you feel personally victimised?

LA: Erm…oh yeah yeah of course. I mean I was a manager at the YMCA. And one of the privileges I had was to use a company car.

TP: Oh right

LA: So I was driving around in a Rover 75 you know, at the time we had about 3 different company cars. And me driving around in those company cars, a black guy dressing in jeans, tracksuits and stuff – it fitted their profile. You know, you looked a certain age group and you were black so you fitted their profile. So yes, plenty of times I was stopped. And obviously when they run it through, do their number plate checks etc. they realise that "Oh this guy's a legitimate person so they won't bother him" (laughs). So it's because they – to me a part is yes, they've got stats to keep, so they've got profiles of people who are criminals and you fit that profile. But on top of that is an element of the issues of race. That comes into it as well. If you perceives that blacks are criminals then therefore that will affect your behaviour, your attitudes, how you address people and how you think about them. So for a black person driving a nice car, if you are of a viewpoint that blacks don't work – you tend to want to stop them and search them you know.

TP: Well I find that it even cuts across age groups you know, my Mum has been stopped and she drives a BMW.

LA: Oh (laughs)

TP: (laughs) and she's a middle aged woman!

LA: You can find out then that the statistics are right across the board. But to me it goes down to the issues of race within this country which are still underlying. Racism isn't as present – well I wouldn't say it isn't as present but I would say that the guise that it comes under has changed.

TP: It's more subtle isn't it?

LA: It's more subtle yeah and so therefore it is more harder to prove and it is difficult for people to say "look I am being victimised in this way", but it's still there. And, you know, one of the issues is the police and how are they going to address their own staff and workforce to change their concepts of race relations and how they relate to you know black people.

TP: Did you do some work with Hyson Green Youth…?

LA: …Youth club yeah. I was on the board there for about 5 or 6 years.

TP: Was that at the community centre or…?

LA: No the Hyson Green Youth Club. There's a Hyson Green Community Centre which is around the corner just along where the tram is, and the Community Centre years ago was called the "Girls' Club". And the Boys' Club is now called the Hyson Green Youth Club, and that is just round the corner. So there is two centres – the one which is most popular is the Boys Club, which is now called Hyson Green Youth Club.

TP: What kind of activities did you do there?

LA: Well basically when I was there I tried to set up an internet café. So basically I got funding to set up a multimedia café with Apple Macs, basically started to see if we could develop a music studio, got some film equipment – basically tried to make it an E-Learning centre. It only got so far because changes happened, we had a break-in, lots of the Macs got stolen, erm…the board at

that point didn't agree that we needed to bring the equipment back in and then have the building to be much more secure. Now that we had a break-in and had Apple Macs stolen, it would be a constant target. So they bottled it and decided not to get the equipment back in which is a shame really. I was of the view that if you are going to change people's lives and want to give them opportunities to get out of a life of crime and unemployment etc., you need to have skills and a knowledge base. So for me, multimedia you can make films, animation, erm you know, filming, I got £15,000 worth of filming equipment, a music studio – so there you've got a straight route into communication, documentaries, news, so many different things that can come from the multimedia….

TP: Do you think those places like community centres, youth groups and those places are key…?

LA: Oh yes, definitely. Because once you've got music there, once you've got film, once you've got computers, it will be a hive to start attracting young people. You can open up on a Wednesday, the internet café, people will come in to start off with, just going on the internet and we say "look, if you want to start to go off and doing some film training and teach you how to operate a video camera", and then we can put them into film competitions all these different things – and that's how it starts. You start the – the bait is you start with the internet and get them to go on there and then move on to some of the harder careers where they can start using a computer, photoshop, graphic designing – all these different things you know, so that they can develop these skills, and once they develop then they can start careers of their own. That was the idea behind it. But obviously if you've got a board which is not seeing the same…

TP: …the same interest yeah. Is it a target across all ages and races or was it used primarily for Black youths?

LA: It was actually for everybody. But at the same time, most of the people who attended the club – probably about 70% - were obviously of African descent. So you know, yeah, people perceived that it was just a "Black club" but it wasn't necessarily. It was just that more people, you know, the type of club it was and more people from African Caribbean communities came. But you had Europeans there, you had any race of people come and go.

TP: I read somewhere you worked with young African Fathers, is that right?

LA: Oh, I set up a programme – the first programme in Nottingham called "Break the Cycle". It was when I was at YMCA. I got some funding from the Parenting Fund to set up a Black men's programme, addressing the issues of fatherhood within Nottingham City. Again, one of the issues was when you are working in organisations they don't see the whole vision and sometimes it can cause a bit of a conflict. So we got the funding, ran it for two years, and when the funding came to an end, YMCA didn't want to renew the project because, for whatever reasons, they felt that it didn't fit into what they wanted, it was a Black men's programme looking at the issues of Black men in the community – they didn't want to take it on. I personally know that the people in that strategic level in the organisation had issues with race etc. I personally know that because issues happened with me. But again, if it doesn't work with one organisation, you have to then take it out and then start developing it elsewhere. So after I left, I passed it onto a chap called Michael Taylor, then he ran with it for two years within an organisation called "Family Action", then "Family Action" went bust and left Nottingham and I'm not sure what is happening with the programme now.

TP: Did the young fathers that you worked with ever tell you about local institutions such as the police and anyways in that they had been victimised by local authorities? Or was it just about fatherhood itself?

LA: No, I would say this led onto a piece of research we did for the council. It was around the needs of young fathers, and a lot of people we spoke to were of African descent in that research. They did not say that they were victimised in any way but some issues with the criminal justice system were that they ended up going to prison whilst their child was born. So in a sense they got into trouble with the police and ended up going to jail. But to me I would say that it is an issue wherever you go. I was at a focus group a few weeks ago, young people always talk about how they are harassed. Like certain members of the police in St Ann's. It's a constant thing. So it's not as if it's one or two people like they say it is. It's right across the board. Not just in Nottingham, but across the country. So where you've got a predominant white police force and where you've got black youths, there's going to be a clash there.

TP: Do you think Black youths are policed more than White youths? For example in St. Ann's there's a large Black community there – so from what you think or what you know, do you think that area is policed more often or in a different way to what other areas are?

LA: Yeah I would say that it is but if they know that if there is a high crime rate in certain areas such as St. Ann's which has got a higher population of Blacks – not to say that Blacks are the majority in St. Ann's – whites are the majority. But there is just a higher proportion. So wherever there is a higher proportion of Blacks in a particular area is deemed a "Black area". So once you get to that situation of an area of higher crime and there's blacks in there, high unemployment, low academic – all of those things – these are the ingredients to say "look, we will throw more resources there to tackle that crime". But on the same angle they will probably do that in a same area like Aspley. Again, there's more whites up there – there are Blacks up there but not as many as maybe as St. Ann's. But I would say yes, they would police and target that area more because there's a higher crime rate there. It doesn't always mean that there's always Blacks committing the crimes because there's whites in St. Ann's that do commit crimes as well.

TP: Do you think the BME community as a whole in Nottingham has sufficient confidence in the police force?

LA: No. Not at all. And it goes back years of course – there's a lot of history. I would probably say it has got a little bit better because we have more Black people in the police force, you've got the Black Police Association, you've got Black police officers – but still there is a long way to go. It is still not a balanced and equal society. There is still racism within all institutions across the country. So it's not as if the police have a good working relationship with the Black community. They still have a long way to go.

TP: You obviously know Nottingham very well. You've lived here almost all of your life. Do you think some Black youths and Asian youths for that matter feel scared of the police? Are there places in the city they go to avoid the police?

LA: Erm... Not sure whether they will go to avoid the police so much. I'm not so sure about that. They may be more cautious if they are paroling in an area, they don't want to get in to trouble, more trouble or get any bother from the police. They may want to avoid particular areas. I know when I was growing up, not necessarily of the police but of the white community in itself. We know if we went up to places like Belper, Heanor and Ilkeston, you'll be in trouble (laughs)

TP: Yes, I know that myself.

LA: But you know as you get older you develop a bit more courage and you go up there. But I wouldn't say there are areas that specifically Blacks will not go to avoid the police.

TP: Are there particular places in the city where youths spend their time on a day to day basis – ethnic minority youths – is it in their areas? Because from where I have been in Nottingham City Centre, I've not ever seen groups of black youths together. I'm talking about Victoria Centre, places like that.

LA: Oh okay yeah. Where they congregate.

TP: Yeah

LA: You probably get youngsters who probably congregate in numbers probably after school, they all come into the city after school to go back to their various areas on the way home or on Saturday afternoon. But back in my day we used to congregate in town etc. I don't really see that any more – young Blacks congregating and young ethnic minorities congregating in certain areas. I think it's gone back out to those ethnic minorities congregating in their own localities not necessarily in the city centre.

TP: Any reasons why do you think that?

LA: (pause) I don't know I think it's more about the times. I think it's how it's changed. Back in our day we would go certain places, and a lot of the time we would come into town. We used to go to amusement arcades, we used to go and walk around town etc. You don't necessarily get that much now. I think that the increase of – partly the increase of that is the rivalry between different areas. Within the Black community you get Meadows not liking Radford, Radford not liking St. Ann's etc. So some of those young people are therefore scared to come into town because they know they may meet up with people from certain areas. And the town is known as – because it is right close to St. Ann's, so some of them will no actually come into the city centre.

TP: So some people avoid the city centre because of perceived trouble…

LA: …That's right between themselves. Not necessarily for the police.

TP: That's really interesting. Erm…do you think members of the BME have equal access and freedom of use to public areas, whether this being their neighbourhood and city centre, and facilities in relation to the white majority population.

LA: The same access to public services?

TP: Yeah.

LA: (pause) Yeah I would say that they do for access. But I personally feel that there are certain things that will probably prevent them from accessing those services. So you probably won't get any young Blacks going up to use services in West Bridgford or you know other areas if they feel that they are not from that community. They would normally try and access their resources in their own locality and where they come from. I don't think they feel comfortable going to another area.

TP: It's interesting how you talk about how times have changed. As you said when you were young people would go into town and congregate but now people are staying in their own localities and using their own immediate materialities. I think that's really interesting.

LA: I think that a part of it is 1 – technology – a lot of the time if people are staying at home etc or going around friend's houses in the locality you've got the Xbox, you've got the internet – back in our day there was none of that. So a form of entertainment was to go out into town and use the arcades. Saturday afternoons we used to go Palay, which is like a dancehall facility, so as I say as society, times and technology changes, it affects where people go.

TP: One more question about young people not using the town and stuff. Do you think that lower income Black and Ethnic Minority people feel disenfranchised from public areas such as shopping centres because they don't have that extra income to go out into town and spend their money or they may not fit into consumerist areas such as the Victoria Centre?

LA: (pause) I think that they will go into town if they need to. For instance, JD Sports, a lot of young people go there to buy their trainers and tracksuits etc. from there. So when they want to they will make the effort and go if needs must – those that are in gangs. Those that aren't in gangs will probably feel free to roam around anywhere. But I would say some of the high end shops they will not probably feel that comfortable walking into those shops, probably because of the way that they are probably dressed or how the staff may perceive them or treat you.

TP: Sorry can I interrupt? You see that what you just said there is something really interesting, how people perceive themselves, not fitting in, those certain kind of areas. I tried to organise the interview with the Victoria Centre but they wouldn't let me talk to them.

LA: Because it's very contentious. I can normally going around – normally my day to day wear is I've got a suit on, shirt, smart etc. – even if I've got dreadlocks. They perceive me totally different. But if you dress differently – and this is something that we teach them in some of our business classes etc. and entrepreneurship etc. – it's about how people perceive but something they see, many by the way they are dressed. So sometimes if young people want to change that, instead of saying that the other people are a problem, I just tell them and say look, "You know there is an issue in society about the way that people perceive you". Just try it out one day. Go to town, dress in your Sunday best or your suit etc., and see how you are perceived then…

TP:…And then do the polar opposite the next Sunday, go in wearing your tracksuit bottoms and hoody and then see…I might actually try that you know…

LA: Yeah you'll get treated differently. I know, for instance, my Dad still lives in St. Ann's – even though part of St. Ann's is classified as Mapperley, I went there on the way to a meeting. I think I was buying something and I offered to pay first etc., I was getting some hot delicatessens – whatever it was. She said "Oh you're alright because we don't normally get people coming in here dressed like you".

TP: That's very interesting.

LA: She was…

TP: Where was this sorry?

LA: In St. Ann's on Well's Road. So it was the way that I was dressed got her to say you know I'm a black guy, she doesn't really see other people like me, dressed like me coming into that shop. I could have been a hustler (laughs) but dressed in a certain way. But I got perceived and treated differently.

TP: Yeah. Right, just going to move onto the riots now. First of all, do you know of anyone who took part in the riots? Do you know anyone you work with or the young people you work with…?

LA: Erm, I don't know any names but if I say a list of names I could probably say "yeah I know this person" – but not that I know of.

TP: Do you think that the history of treatment by the police was a major factor in it? I'm talking about Nottingham here to be specific…Or were there other bigger reasons – apart from you know – obviously some people took part in it because it was an opportunity and materialism – things that they'd never had before and maybe a bit of frustration as well.

LA: Yeah.

TP: But do you think the societal issues that were impinging on it influenced it as well?

LA: (pause)

TP: This is a difficult question, it's a nut I'm trying to crack as well.

LA: There are a range of issues for people who got involved in those crimes. The majority, the statistics I saw, around about 85% of the people who got involved in the civil disturbances in Nottingham were known to the police. So these guys were unemployed, majority unemployed – I'm not sure about the education etc. – but most people were unemployed. Underlying, what I believe, is the materialism and an opportunity to make a quick buck.

TP: Yeah

LA: If they can get that and they can make some quick money – yes, that's the reason why they got in. It was targeted at the police because of this group of people having issues with the police, and I think a part of that is the harsh treatment of the police and probably some of the police overstepping their mark as they go about their duties. Now if some of them don't follow procedures, if some of them are victimising, are constantly going after these groups of people whether they are black or white, they'll get you know – I think those guys saw it as an opportunity to try and get back at the police – one – get back at the police directly, and that's why you got these attacks on police stations – but also as the police were going up and down areas, and obviously there was things thrown at cars etc. So it was a combination of things. One – yes it was partly directed at the police, two – opportunism, three – some guys really wanted to release some tension and really wanted to get out there and cause somebody somewhere some sort of damage because that's the mentality – some of their mentality is. So again, it's a combination of those things put together.

TP: It just sounds interesting because a lot of the areas that were attacked were the actual police stations. It wasn't just about looting in Nottingham. Compared to the other cities, it was more about the police and payback towards the police!

LA: Oh yeah, and that's because: one – the media were showing everything – it started off by the killing of Mark Duggan. So when they saw that, they say that was injust. And some of them didn't even know who Mark Duggan was, didn't even know but knew that something was kicking off and just said "we'll get involved". So it's a combination of different things why people get involved. But the fact that they were targeting the police station shows a clear dislike for the police. Why would you want to risk attacking a police station if you are not committing – it's not as if you are going about committing a crime etc. – but it's because of the bad relationship. And if you have gone around policing in a certain way which has gone around causing these young people to dislike you or dislike your institution for whatever reason that is you know a comeback. They want to attack the police in some way.

TP: But unfortunately there's the flip side because what happen in August – would you say the Black community has not done itself any favours?

LA: Well yes, definitely. It hasn't done itself any favours. But that goes on the flip side to what I said. The issue of racism affects blacks and whites. It affects whites because it gets you to think in the mindset of fear. It gets people to not see the greater opportunities of how they can work with different races of people business-wise, person-wise, workforce and everywhere else. But it also affects blacks as well because it reinforces a stereotype of us which a lot of people automatically think about blacks anyway. So they say "look, there go those niggers again ruining our country". So that shows on one side that there's something that we need to do within the community to address our problems. And we have to address that ourselves. And to me it's more about operating on a certain set of standards, a certain set of morals, a certain set of ethics, a certain set of principles and all these things to ensure that we develop our communities effectively, and this – I am not talking about any other places – say the police or social services or anybody before – I'm talking about what we teach our children, the morals, the ethics and the choices that we make. These are the things that help us build strong and proper communities. Now if you look at the statistics, where the other people were getting involved – in Nottingham there weren't many Asians that got involved, there were only a handful, only one or two. But, again, you know, if you don't address your own community's issues the problems will carry on and be ongoing. I know the Asian community have their own different challenges and troubles etc. But if you start comparing and drawing comparisons, you know communities don't have the same sort of problems as the Blacks – some of them may do – but not on the scale of the Blacks.

TP: Yeah very true. Going back to what you just said about morals and stuff, and institutions. Do you think morals and putting morals into our culture is more important than say more representation of Black people in local institutions and local authorities. Is it more about morals for us, us solidifying good morals and sharing them with white people as well, or is it about being represented more?

LA: To tell the truth I don't think you can just rely on one. It's got to be a combination of things running side by side. Because if you don't do that – back in our parents' days when they came over in the '60s and '70s etc., a lot of them were Christian believing and their morals and ethics were high, and that got related into how they viewed relationships, marriage, discipline etc. But they only achieved a certain amount. If you want to change a lot of more things within your community and take your community up one economic notch then it means that you have to engage in politics, you have to engage in building an economic base, you have to engage in within business. So I don't think it can be just one or the other, it has to be a combination of things done side by side to develop the whole community.

TP: Do you know of anyone in the Black Police Association in Nottingham?

LA: No. One guy you might know is Dave Walker. He was a Black Police Officer, now he's working in the City Council heading up Vanguard Plus. I'll try and get a number, see if you can contact him.

TP: Great. Thanks…Last question. And probably the most important of them. How do we better motivate young Black people to follow the footsteps of local entrepreneurs such as yourself? Do we need role models? Or should it be done through organisations or should it be done cross-cultural mixing of White, Black and Asian people? What are the main pillars?

LA: First of all I would say it is difficult to motivate another group, motivate your young people, if you are at the level of another social or racial group. So if they don't see that you are successful in some way, it is hard for you to motivate them. That's why I believe that within black communities we have to develop stronger role models and have to promote it more and run certain campaigns, and these campaigns are not one off they need to be on an ongoing basis. It's what we celebrate as well. We need a totally different mindset in the way that we think and the way that we influence. So it is down to our morals, our ethics, our principles and embedding them in our young people. So once you start doing that you start to build your businesses, start building your economy, start getting people into more strategic positions and then people start communicating more and sharing good practice. So you will say "OK this is an issue, it doesn't just relate to your children, it relates to all of our children", and then we may start to see some change. But where I feel the start has to be for any community is to start addressing its problems internally, address problem and start seeing the changes. And once you start seeing the changes then you can start going to other communities and saying "OK, let's start to share good practice, let's do inter-racial work or whatever you want to call it". But I feel the position within the black community is that now I'm not so sure how effective it would be working with other groups – it can be, but the priority for me is addressing where we are at in this moment in time. Once we get to that level we can start developing, having right systems in place, developing ideology, the way we think, talk, and how we relate to ourselves, how we do business. One of the main things is that when we are doing business, a lot of the time if I make money as a Black person, they say that that money will stay in our community one or two times at the most before that money goes out and is spent within another racial group. Typical example is that if you have a couple of Black businesses and an Asian business there, some Blacks will tend to spend their money with Asians rather than their own people. So in a sense that is economic suicide. Normally what it is, is that when people are running businesses, from a Black person I am more likely to employ another Black person. But if Black people are not spending the money in my community, the business will keep on struggling. So to me it's addressing a lot of these things, starting internally, doing the community up, doing itself up, its morals, its ethics, its systems, its ideology and then we can negotiating and talking with other communities and how you develop then.

TP: Thank you for a great chat.

Figure 6 - Interview with Natasha Johnson-Richards, Black Community activist and volunteer, Meadows, Nottingham. Interview done in Canning Circus, Nottingham, October 2011.

Interview on youths from ethnic minorities, their relationship with the police and the August riots of 2011.

Originally was going to talk to rioters but none of them turned up.

TP: Can you tell me about how youths in Nottingham from different ethnic backgrounds occupy or don't occupy public and neighbourhood spaces in the city? Do they or don't they roam in groups? Is there a racial divide in how they interact?

NJR: Youths in Nottingham tend to go around in groups not individually.

TP: Why is that do you think?

NJR: I think it is driven largely by fear. Fear of getting stopped or raided by the police. Fear of other groups and violence.

TP: Raided?

NJR: Yeah. Police raid people's houses all the time for drugs. Many of them are Black.

TP: That's interesting. So these groups of youths, are they usually of one ethnic background?

NJR: No they are mixed in ethnicity. In fact whites integrate at the heart of these groups. They seem to adopt this "black gangster culture".

TP: So race isn't a part of this fear?

NJR: No it is more about area and territory and what neighbourhood you are from. Groups from different areas only seem to mix when there is trouble or they are fighting. Otherwise, if you're from the Meadows you stay in the Meadows, or from St. Ann's you stay in St. Ann's. People tend not to come out of their area because of fear. People grow up in opposition to one another because their parents were involved in fights with each other.

TP: What about the police? Do they have a role in this fear?

NJR: Nottinghamshire police are incredibly racist.

TP: Really, do you have any experiences of this.

NJR: Yes I've been stopped before. And when I opened my mouth to them, one replied saying "we are freemasons and a band of brothers".

TP: Really?

NJR: Yes. In fact people know individual police officers in their areas and avoid them due to their reputations and stories about harassment. Officer Mullins – I think his name is, in the Meadows – he's known for driving around in his car and harassing young girls. There's an Asian one – in Hyson Green I think. He does the same.

TP: What? To Black and Asian people?

NJR: Yeah. You'd think that having ethnic minority people in the police force would bridge the gap and build stronger relations between ethnic minorities and the police. But in fact they are more abusive and aggressive than white officers…Black and Asian police officers want to make a name for themselves and build up a reputation. They don't care. They have no sensitivity. I remember one 17 year-old Black boy was taken to the police station once and was cavity-searched.

TP: Is it mostly these inner city areas where this happens do you think?

NJR: Yeah I think so. It's because in these areas people are illiterate and have low confidence in the legal system so don't give the time and effort to make complaints against the police. They feel their voice can't be heard so that's why the police treat them that way. I don't think groups just go around to intimidate, I think they go around together to protect themselves.

TP: Yes. I'd like to move onto talking about the riots now. I saw in the news and media that it wasn't just shops that were looted and attacked in Nottingham but it was mostly an attack on the police stations. Why do you think this could be?

NJR: Payback. I think it was payback to how young black people are treated by the police. It was payback for a long history of oppression.

TP: Obviously there must be other reasons such as consumerism and materialism.

NJR: Yes, consumerism drove people to loot because these people thought that they would never have such things…this materialism is influenced by things they seen on the TV.

TP: Anything else?

NJR: A lack of role models for these young people, I think. A lot of these young people have no fathers. Young people are motivated by new designer clothes and trainers instead of getting good grades at school.

TP: What about the role of Blackberrys and social media?

NJR: No I don't think so. I don't think these events were planned. They were more reactive.

TP: Would it be possible to talk to any of these young people you know and work with?

NJR: You would have to come down to the community centre. I mean they wouldn't come here to today because they are unemployed, demotivated and they don't know you so it would be hard to trust you and have a conversation with you about these sorts of thing. They definitely wouldn't be comfortable with you recording them.

Figure 7 - Interview with Steve Cooper, SUPT, Nottinghamshire Police, Nottingham Central Police Station, 23/2/12

TP: Are police in Nottinghamshire, especially those from rural almost totally white backgrounds educated or trained about multi-ethnic and racial awareness? Do they go through diversity training?

SC: There is what we call mandatory diversity training which takes place with every recruit, every officer has gone through it – it's part of the process. It takes place on a 2 to 3 day course depending on your level of service and where you are based. It used to focus mainly on areas of ethnic diversity, now it focusses on all areas under the legislation of the race and equality act. There is also other specialist training that takes place – whether that is where you work or your own personal interest, officers can go on special days – for instance officers who want to go on disability aid. So there's opportunities for officers to personally enhance their development.

TP: So there's a lot of it that comes down to the individual and what the individual wants to know?

SC: There's a basic level that everyone has. And then sprouting onto personal interest, for example if you are a beat manager who is going to work in Mansfield – and thinks "now what I need to focus on is Eastern European crime because now there is a large population that has arrived because of the Polish inclusion – I can go on that". Whether that has been recommended by your line manager or whether you have recommended it to your line manager, you can go on those courses. A lot of those courses are offered by external people, so the cost of going "I'm now an expert on…" is on one of our third sector organisations, we piggyback on the back of it.

TP: Is there much enthusiasm from the cops to learn that extra information about diversity and cultural awareness?

SC: Yeah cultural awareness especially. We've gone through some post 9/11 and 7/7 – which is when this really gained scope whereby understanding different faiths was minimal. I think we went through different stages of diversity is purely a race issue, then we realised it's not it's actually about religion and then we realised it's not it's about disability. I think we have been slow at some points at picking that up. But I think when you highlight that need, there is a lot of enthusiasm to try and improve it.

TP: Are you from Nottingham yourself?

SC: No not originally, no. I grew up in Wiltshire.

TP: I do.

SC: Quite a rural quiet place to grow up. I moved to London, a totally different place, to work.

TP: To the force?

SC: Yes

TP: So that's where you got started?

SC: Yes started there, scattered police career there. Started off in Kensington, the Royal Borough of, a very nice place to work, very affluent, no real deprivation, one of the richest areas in the world – if anything else.

TP: Were you on the beat or were you in the office?

SC: On the beat there. That's where I started. You don't have a choice where you start. You just sign on the dotted line and get posted there. From there I did various bits of investigation and intelligence work and from there I got promoted there as a sergeant – that's when you do get a choice of where you go – and I went to Lambeth police station for a few years. Again, very different place to work and what I call "proper policing". Because you know London, Chelsea, Kensington – in Lambeth its real communities, real people and a lot of places in London have a real sense of community, and I really really enjoyed it there.

TP: Fantastic. So when did you move up here?

SC: I moved up here about 10 or 11 years ago, I always get confused with the year but it was about 2001. Around there. Started off at Mansfield, moved from Mansfield to the city about 7 years ago.

TP: What made you move to the city?

SC: When I joined, when I left London to come up here, I was told or I thought I was going to be in the city. I wanted to come up here because I had no idea about what other policing is like. I only know city policing. Obviously ten years ago when we had significant problems in the city such as high murder rates and firearms discharge rate was extremely high, and we've been doing a lot of good work in Lambeth in trying to combat those problems down there. Some of it was good work, some of it was not so

good work. But you know we learn from those sort of lessons. Well I thought I was guaranteed to be in the city as opposed to Mansfield. I say I've always wanted to come to the city. I do enjoy city life and the whole policing of it, the whole you can look at communities how communities are communities through choice rather than communities living in a village half a mile either side of you. So I like it but no plans to leave either. Not that I know of (laughs)

TP: Moving back to talking about ethnic minority communities, what do you think are the most pressing issues in that relationship between the police and ethnic minorities at the moment?

SC: I think trust is probably the biggest one. I think if I take it pre-August I think the feeling – my feeling was that we had come a long way. Trust in the police was increasing. Confidence in the police was increasing. This how genuinely I feel and believe and I still do in some respects. Post-August is a wake-up. Whether August might not have happen due to the national attention – I don't know – but what I think it did show was that the warm glowing feeling that we had inside was perhaps a bit too warm and glowing. There are huge gaps within our engagement – mainly with young people – and I think that's part of it. We are talking to representatives of the community that don't represent the views of young people all the time. I know we can't get everyone's view – that's absolutely impossible, but how hard did we actually try to get to the hard to reach people. And we say there's no such thing as hard to reach, there are harder to reach people, but we obviously did not try as hard as we should have.

TP: How can you engage with young people?

SC: It's bit of a chicken and egg situation, because we can't effectively engage with them until there is trust there, and we can't gain that trust until we effectively engage – so we've got to keep trying and keep making those efforts. I think, speaking honestly and frankly, with groups, I think what we are good at in the police service is being "slightly defensive". We are good at recognising something in which we've done right may be only "slightly right" in terms of actual policing sense – but not right in the actual community sense. So I think we've got to go out there and say "this is what we do and how we do it. If you don't like it, tell us and we might be able to adapt it" – try and actually engage. We're doing some work with – there's a model process that's being used in other areas where we are putting members of the community into our shoes. We say "well you come along to this forum, you can be the police commander, you can be the one making the decisions, this is the information you've got". For example one scenario we've given them is that you've got information about a feud between two rival gangs, what do you do? Nothing. Then you gain some information that one gang member is going to shoot at a member from the rival gang – what do you do? That's our day-to-day business. We say "OK, well everyone's going to get searched". Then they say "what are you doing that for, I've done nothing wrong?" But then we say "we have information that someone is going to shoot somebody". So I think until they understand what we do and why we do it – but likewise we need to go back to the community and say "what do you actually want us to do?" Because we go out and we stop and search people – and we recover drugs and weapons, and some will say "that's really good you need to keep doing it" but some people then say "do you need to do it all the time?" "What's the disproportionality rate". These are all the different questions that I think we are not answering to the public at the moment – well we are – but we are not answering in a way that is being heard.

TP: Talking about disproportionality and the overrepresentation of Black and Asian people in the criminal justice and in relation to stop and search, why does it persist? Why is that trend still there?

SC: I don't know is the honest answer.

TP: It's a hard question isn't it?

SC: It is a hard question. I think it still does exist, the gap is closing but when we say its closing I think it's moving from being a gulf into an ocean. It's not closing, by any means, quickly enough. Will it close? (pause) I would hope, we are working towards it closing. I think there are two aspects to it – stop and search is one of them, I know I'm moving towards splitting the question but stop and search is what police do off their own back, it's the conscious decision of the individual officer to engage an individual stop and search. They've got to have – I know a senior officer's got to have the grounds to do it as in perhaps the old "SUS laws" of the Met – there's got to be grounds. So it's a case of why is it? Is it because we target areas of deprivation, more crime, and is it because those areas where people are predominantly from a BME background. That may answer part of it but that doesn't answer all of it because if he said "let's take a snapshot – why is Aspley a predominantly white working-class estate that doesn't have the stop and search numbers that St. Ann's has?" So what is the difference, what is the policing stats? The answer at the moment I'm going to have to give you is "not sure". We are trying to work out what it is and why it is. Partly the reason why we are working with the communities a lot of the time is – we had a situation where OSD officers were looking at young lads who were saying "you have repeatedly stopped and searched us, why are you doing this?" And we got them talking and had a chat about it, and it was quite interesting to hear that debate. From the member of the public side of it, "of course I won't do what you tell me because you are rude to me and obnoxious, you give orders to me because I'm a young lad with my mates having a fag on the street corner, why should I?" Then the cops go, "well the reason we talk to you like that is because every time we get out the car to talk to you, you immediately go on the defensive". It's almost that sort of cathartic – as in those individual groups of people. You know the cops who spoke to them now have a very good relationship. The sad thing is, is when the next cops come along they don't know that, so I say "how can we spread that?" Because a lot of the time it's the interaction on both sides that causes that tension and causes that friction. We've solved it in a number of cases, but there are individual cases and we need to work out how we can change that whole sort of behaviour.

TP: Predominantly, where do stop and searches take place? Is it on the street?

SC: Stop search legislation only allows it to take place in a public place. If you're searching in a house it is done under a warrant. So if it's an offence that they've done it goes under drugs act, theft act and then gone under a warrant. It can only take place in a public place. Where and when it takes place – we do map it out. What we are looking at doing soon – and it's a technology that I can do on my iPhone but we can't do it on our systems (laughs), is a mapping where I stop you know, you're searched, I record your details and we record what has happened – that's immediately Geo-coded or whatever you like, and it maps exactly where that equates – not St. Ann's not Mansfield Road – there. Or you can end up saying "at that week, all these searches took place. This is our profile for that week." Yeah so what you will be able to see is, if we put a big spike in crime for burglary or whatever or that is where our stop and searches take place. What we are not confident about is if we have a big spike in crime in Sherwood yet

we are searching everybody in St. Ann's or in the Meadows. It's not that linked up yet. So that is what we are looking to be able to do. That is why we explain to the community why we are in areas doing stop searches.

TP: Is this information accessible to the public or just available internally?

SC: You can get some of the information externally. We've done what is called the Equality Impact Report which is available on our website. It's a legal requirement for all authorities to complete it. It's on our website it tells you very rough disproportionality and equality data. Where it tells you in terms of where we take the data, for example on that street or at that time – that will be police data, we will keep that. What we need to do is sanitise that so that we keep that person's personal information but then making it public available. So we don't say "we stopped Steve Cooper here at that time" or we don't say "white male in a car" because it starts to get… But we say, "look, this is the number of people we stopped in this area" and then we peel it back. We say "this is how many were male, this is how many were white, this is how many were black, this is how many that were over 18 or under 24", all those different things….

TP: I'd love to see those mappings.

SC: So would we (laughs). We were promised it by the beginning of this year. It hasn't arrived yet, but it's one of our big plans to try and tackle – not necessarily tackle disproportionality – but show to our officers the stop searches and the right place to do it – and to show to the public that this is why we are doing it. So it should be that nice bit of information that we haven't got at the moment.

TP: To your knowledge, are there any particular places and streets where stop search is more prominent than anywhere else?

SC: I wouldn't say street. One of the areas where it is more prominent is Forest Road east. Is where there is a prostitution hotspot, which is at the top of Mansfield Road. But that is a very specific problem. And that is where our prostitution task force will go and engage and stop the punters, obviously stop the girls who are acting as prostitutes, so there is lot of stop and searches there but that's a – the numbers are massive. So if you did map that it would be glowing red because that is a very specific problem in that area. It's like a mini Red Light District. I wouldn't say there are other streets but I would say that there are other areas and used at specific times to greater effect.

TP: Which particular areas and particular times would you say? To give examples…

SC: If I use the one about time, we had a situation a while ago whereby we had quite specific but over a long time information regarding gangs of youths congregating on Forest Recreation Ground to cause disorder and fight each other. So we introduced something called a Section 60. Now a Section 60 – I don't know if you are aware of policing legislation – a Section 60 is when we get intelligence that there's going to be a disorder and that weapons are going to be involved. Someone from my rank can authorise an area and authorise a time when anyone in that area can be stopped-searched. They don't need grounds – I've got the grounds because of… We use it appropriately and say "we have the information that a gang of Eastern-European males versus a group of Asian lads. Don't stop the white fifty-year old lady walking a dog" – so you know using it appropriately. You know you have the authority legally to search anyone in that area. So there you go you'll cease fights then because that is used as a tactic to stop disorders from taking place, and I think one of the negatives you've got is, you map that spike then and the idea is you see the spike but there isn't any crime because we've stopped it. We report that back to the community and we say, "actually we did this to keep you and your kids safe". Other areas of stop search that features heavily is St. Ann's, which is predominantly for drugs. Not a lot of searches happens there that is theft related, because I don't know if you know but stop search is under several different powers. There's Section 60, there's Section 1 of pace – which allows you to search for stolen goods or things that will help them commit theft themselves, you can search for offensive weapons or related articles. Section 23 allows you stop and search individuals for drugs – stop and search is the same but we can be asked "how many section 1s did you do?" It's a different question to how many stop searches did you do? So that's why we try and make it a bit more clear.

TP: Do officers by law have to tell the citizens why they are being searched?

SC: Or what they are looking for. There's a pneumonic that we use called "Go-wise". It's basically the grounds. So the ground could be "I'm searching you because you've got drugs on you. I can smell the cannabis on you, your eyes are diluted" – whatever it is – you give them those grounds. And what it sort of goes on to is the objects you are looking for. I know it sounds obvious, but are you looking for drugs or… and then it goes on to the entitlement – who I am, what the entitlement is, showing your number, showing that you are a police officer. "I'm stop searching you for drugs" – steal the drugs. There is legislation of what we have to do and what we have to say. I think what we let ourselves down before is what we say to people in that interaction, we say through the legal requirement to say it. If we actually spoke to people as a human, you know and say "look, this is what's going on, this is what I think you've got on you, loads of kids have been stabbed around here, I think you've got a knife on you because as I was walking behind you I saw something shiny on you go into the small of your back". It's probably a traditional thing of knowing what your grinds are. If you speak to them and actually explain why and if you are polite, courteous and respectful…

TP: Because especially young people challenge what the police actually say rather than what they actually do.

SC: Yeah. It's all about behaviour. If the first thing I do is walk up to you grab you and slam you against the wall and say "I'm searching you", what do I think you are going to give back, "Thank you officer, that's very kind of you"?

TP: Where is your drugs team based? Is it spread around the city?

SC: We don't have a drugs team per se. What we have in our structure are divisional support units who are our proactive arms teams who if we get a warrant who tend to class those individuals and we have neighbourhood support units who will deal with that particular problem at that time. People often say "what happened to your drugs team in St. Ann's? What about your drugs team in Radford?" – We don't have a drugs team. We have a team where their focus on drugs isn't a focus on drugs, it's a focus on criminality and one of the tactics they use is well drugs is fuelled in that. Well if you look at our drug market then uses are high in the same places.

TP: Do you think that the underrepresentation of the BME community in the police force is a problem?

SC: Yeah, hugely. I think the underrepresentation of all protected characteristics is a problem. I think the issue being is it's got to be down to empathy, understanding and we've got to be representative of the community that we serve. What people do often forget is that we are part of the community. We do police the community but with their consent. There's over 1 million people

who live in Nottinghamshire and there's only 1100 cops that are actually out on the street. We can't police with anything other than consent. We're not serial. If we start policing without consent then we start to lose that understanding and we're in trouble, and how we can go to the community and say "look we understand what you are going through, we want to work with you" and we are saying that from a position that is hugely stereotypical, you know white middle-class males – it's not appropriate it's not right. It's huge, it's not helping that we're not recruiting at the moment but that's nationally. Whereas before we were seeing that our recruitment was becoming ever more diverse. We were seeing that we were going up to 50% female recruitment, some of the intakes coming through were having 10% representation from BME, but in some areas that's only 1 or 2 officers. It sounds lovely in terms of percentages, but then you look at it and then you talk about "he or she" you know it's not enough, it's really not enough. But we are not going to get that better until we address all the other issues that we have spoken about: trust, engagement and confidence with each other.

TP: Do you think the progress in the Lawrence Inquiry down in London will help build race relations nationally?

SC: With the convictions?

TP: Yeah

SC: erm (pause) In a year's time if I look back and asked somebody "what do you think about the Stephen Lawrence investigation?" I don't think they'll say we solved it. I think it's still and rightly so would focus on the failings and the lessons not learnt and all the other issues. I think the fact that two people are sentenced for his murder is fantastic. To see that his family can have a degree of closure – but when I say degree we all know that it wasn't two people that did it, it was at least 4 others who escaped justice, but I think that they've got a degree of closure around it. But I think that it was too big an event that solving it would be the end of it. I think it was a huge wake up call. I was working in London at the time when it was all happening. To be sort of first all told you are institutionally racist, and then to have your leader, your commissioner to say "yeah you're right" wasn't something that would ever happen before – not even two years before. So firstly accepting it was a huge huge step. I think that living in London in that time put me in good stead to move to another force because it was personal. It wasn't "oh, I'm having my lesson on the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry". We were you know feeling the consequences of what we had got wrong. And what was interesting was – there are officers in this organisation now who (pause) certainly weren't in the job when the Inquiry came in and almost weren't born. You know that legacy, that feeling still lives on, to see how powerful it was to see people who weren't still out of nappies to still know about it, know the lessons and still try to improve the service. But I think long term I don't think it will help – I don't think it will do any harm to recruitment but I don't think it will help, and that is something we need to do now because that was too long ago to gain credibility.

TP: Moving back to Nottingham, what do you think personally is best way of building public confidence in police practice? Is it about police presence, being out on the street, doing their job? Or is it more about honesty, accountability and what you were talking about earlier?

SC: I think it's a combination of both. Because seeing cops out on the street isn't enough. We used to always joke that people always say "I want to see more police on my street" but when they do see people on their street then they say "Why is there police on my street? What's going on?" But if they are on the street and they are courteous, they are not polite and they are not professional, the last thing you want is "that cop" on your street. So how we can build trust and confidence is being professional – which 95% of our staff are. I'm not going to say 100% because I'm not that naïve; be respectful – that's where I think we've got our gaps. We tend to be – and again I'm making sweeping statements. Victims of crime, witnesses, people tend to be respectful to them. People that we are engaging with, usually at a point of confrontation, wherever we're making an arrest or anything else – that's where I think we need to make sure we are respectful, we are courteous and we are polite. We have to force occasionally – but let's not be Gung Ho about it, let's not be aggressive with that use – people understand that. I think that people have seen too many sort of bad things played out and then that becomes a norm. But in fact usually we are very professional, we are a very good police service. People see things on youtube and on "Coppers" and that sticks as their last memory of Nottinghamshire Police.

TP: It is taken out of context, though isn't it?

SC: But people see things on television and hear things on television and think it's true. But a lot of things that come out we say "that's out of context". I know it's out of context, we know that but the general public don't. They say "we have seen this", and that's it so it's true. They saw that happen therefore it's true.

TP: Exactly. I was going to talk about that later. Have there been any public reactions to Coppers and the way that some of the police came across on the show?

SC: Yeah there has been that. Very very mixed, and it depends where you look for it. Something that you have to take with a degree – you know I watched every single Coppers as you'd expect but I don't usually watch those programmes – so we've had a totally different mix of views. Comments on the side of social media is about 75% positive, but there's the health side of it when you think who actually watches it? Who can be bothered to comment? Who can be bothered to tweet? It's that kind of thing. 20-25% quite negative. And there's no one really in the middle. It's either "fantastic you're great" or "how dare you treat people like that". It's absolutely polarised opinions. And I think it's the bits that are – you know certain bits are taken out of context, but fine you know it goes on TV – that happened. I think that generally things that came out of it were "police shouldn't swear", you know there are times when it may slip out as police officers are human, but it make it look like this was the norm and I don't like that. There was a degree of aggressive style of policing shown, which I don't think is representative from what I've seen of policing – but again it's an entertainment programme. If they show a nice police officer walking down the street and they dealt with a confrontation that wasn't largely entertaining they're not going to show it. They'll show the one that has the excitement. But a lot of what has come back through the social media is 75% positive and 25% negative. What's coming back from what I call our "trusted community contacts" is that "we've told you something about the cops behaving badly and this is evidence of it. You haven't listened before but now you are going to have to listen because we've seen it on TV". And I think that this is where we go back to the explanation bit to the community and the need to talk to us "what do you want the police to do in your area?" Because it isn't our area, we don't own the Meadows – the people in the Meadows own the Meadows. "How do you want us to engage with you and people in your area?" Well it's not rocket science is it? "I want you to be polite, courteous, professional and

respectful and treat us as human beings". It shouldn't be hard to keep that up but I think the programme hasn't done us any favours what so ever.

TP: For my research, one thing I picked up in particular in the programme was that there was a very poor representation of the minority ethnic community in the programme. I mean everyone interviewed on that programme from Nottinghamshire Police – correct me if I'm wrong – were white.

SC: Yes. Mainly male.

TP: Mainly male as well.

SC: I think wrong in terms of what we had to show. I think slightly right in terms of what our police force is. I think the honest bit is, is that it had 50% male and female, Black officers going on to television. But that isn't what our organisation looks like. It also focusses on our specialist unit, entirely on a policing team, and I think they suffer the most in terms of representation – again that's another issue, once you are in the organisation whether you are male or female or from a BME background – why aren't you progressing like your white male colleagues? And sometimes it's out of personal choice – but all the time? I don't know.

TP: Going back to trust in the public and bobbies on the beat? When the police are out there on the beat, on the street or the city centre of whatever, do police have an idea of what a troublesome person looks like in their head?

SC: Without asking every cop, the answer I would love to give you is "no we don't, we judge people on their own merits".

TP: But everyone has their own prejudices don't they?

SC: Everyone has preconceptions. We used to have something – I don't know if it's taught up here – but we used to have something called the "sphere of influence". We had a thing in London where it was taught and you had to recognise what a sphere of influence was. Things affect you. Where you went to school, who your friends are, what programmes – all those things affect your judgement – whether you are conscious or you are just putting bits in. And as long as you recognise the fact that you went to x school and you had this and you have a lovely house in the middle of nowhere blah blah blah – that is what makes your personality. As long as you can recognise that you can deal with your prejudice. Because I say everyone has preconceptions, you can't avoid that. I think do officers look at people and say "you're a – whatever it is – you're a young Black male so you must be a villain" – No I don't think it's that. I think there's a degree of probably a combination of lots of different factors and none of them are right. But you know time of day, clothing, you're out in the middle of the night, you're in an area that isn't very lit you're wearing dark clothing, you've got a hood up – sometimes I think it can go down to that first initial interaction, which is what I say you can start building your story and your grounds but that is through something that is totally – "why is there an individual here? What are you doing?" And you stop them. They don't answer your questions and they are obstructive. That's building your grounds. They are a member of the public thinking "this is the fifth time I've been stopped in a month. I'm fed up of talking to you I'm not talking to you, I've told you every time what I'm doing". So they are immediately defensive and I dare say aggressive back. So that's where we start getting to "I told you he's up to no good, look at his behaviour." That's where I think we get the issues. I think a lot of it comes down to physical appearance is more that first interaction. And you know one thing I would say is that what a lot of our officers are very good at is recognising the local villains, you know that individual that has been caught for breaking into 70 houses in the last… you know they know who the local villains are. But regardless of that, they've still got to be treated with courtesy and…

TP: Talking about re-offenders, someone told me if you put the re-offenders away it would cut crime by a half or something like that? If they weren't committing crime, would it cut crime by a half?

SC: Probably more. No one really knows because we don't detect every crime but there's a lot of research a while ago that said that 20% of offenders commit 80% of crime sort of approach. And you can see that because you rarely get…On our custody computer system it's divided up and there's a snapshot on the right hand side which just has symbols. And they're not designed for this but you can work out when somebody's matched up on our police national computer, it changes one symbol to a certain colour. If they are matched up with warning signals then it changes to another colour. And there is a colour that means "never been arrested before" – that's what it actually translates as. And when you see one you go "Oh – somebody that's never been…", so that's why you can believe that this re-offending is that high. I think that the honest answer is that we will always have a level of criminality and a level of re-offending… There's nothing we can do except trying to adapt that offender's behaviour. There is a graph of offending that shows when you hit 25, you're offending – not drops – but dramatically reduces – obviously not in every case but largely. Goes up from 16 sort of up again from 18 and 22 and 23 and then down again from 25. That sort of nationally is what it looks like. What happens at 25? They probably grow up really. It's that sort of thing where "I can't keep having a criminal lifestyle" – parenthood might come up for example. And that happens without any real interjection but the state or any of the agencies.

TP: I'd like to talk about gang culture and rivalries. Because everyone I have spoken to and interviewed has brought it up. I don't know that much about it in Nottingham because I'm not from Nottingham, but I've found a lot to do with it is about turf and territoriality like the St. Ann's gang will stick to St. Ann's – they will try and avoid people from the Meadows etc. And this kind of stops people from going to the city centre or going to each other's areas or whatever. How do you police that? How do you contain that?

SC: I might be able to introduce you to someone who can answer this a lot better. There's a chap called Dave Walker…How do we police tensions? I think a lot of it is you can't police – in the traditional sense – out those issues, because the way we'll police it out is stop, search, lock them up, and then it's gone aware – but it hasn't because it still remains. We do work with people in those communities who are affected and try and talk to them by asking "what are the issues? Tell us what's happening and give us the information and we'll try and react it". And that's why we close venues at very short notice sometimes at night because we know that there is going to be a coming together of groups, we know that tensions are going to be high, we may not know that there is going to be shooting and stabbing but the indications are "if we see you there we are going to…", well let's not fingers crossed. I think there are gangs in Nottingham. Are they all horrendous gangs? I'm not sure.

TP: Moving on to the riots. Why were the police stations attacked more so in Nottingham compared to other cities where looting was more commonplace?

SC: I think the honest answer is for a lot of people – I know it's a horrible thing to say is – nobody knows. I think lots of people have their own theories and I don't know what that means. There's two schools of general thought running: One – and I'll give the police-friendly one first – the tactical plan deployed in relation to the city of Nottingham was different to a lot of places.

TP: Yes I heard about that, I heard it was very good.

SC: It was praised nationally, you know, we hold our ground, we do not let people come into the city centre and cause mass disorder, you know "do not burn our shops do not destroy our centre". So there was a lot of you know – people were trying to get into the city centre, but were being pushed back. So could that be why the shops weren't targeted? Possibly. There was a lot of comments saying "it was the police stopped it" and not being heroic like that. But possibly. Where were their frustrations targeted? Well either places in their own community – because it was by people being kept in their own community and being pushed back from the city centre. Is there a sort of iconic place in their own neighbourhood where they can target? The police station is not a bad one if it is a "police versus" type of disorder. And I think that is probably why they get targeted. The other view that has come on board is that the community wanted to send a clear message that they were fed up with how the police were treating them. Personally I think it lands somewhere in the middle. You don't have a disorder where the police are liked. You don't because there's a disorder, there's a riot going on and it the police's job – contrary to what had been reported in some of the early stages – is to prevent that. So you are going to get clashes, you are going to get some frustration, and I think somewhere in the middle of that, keeping the city centre clear and keeping people in their own neighbourhoods, resulted in the police stations being targeted. Would they have targeted the police stations had we had a good relationship with the young community? Probably not. They might have smashed a police car up or set fire to a police car but one of the things that is interesting though is if you look at other cities where this had taken place, police stations were targeted. I know in London that around 6 stations were targeted…but I'm not going to pretend to know the answer as to why it was, I think you've got two theories running and as with most things the truth tends to lie somewhere in the middle.

TP: I have a question about the Victoria Centre actually. That's policed by a private security force isn't it?

SC: Within the Victoria centre itself they have their own private security – just like Boots have their own security guards. We still do and are still responsible for policing the Victoria Centre because as with all areas there are no other institutions that are allowed to police. Do we go in there as much as we go to the other main shopping streets? No because they have their own – as up in the Meadows, they like to do it themselves.

TP: What kind of jurisdictions do they have? What kind of authorities do private securities have? Obviously they can't make arrests…

SC: They can make arrests

TP: Oh citizen's arrests.

SC: Only as a citizen, they have no additional powers. What there used to be was Section 24 of pace which gives power to the citizen for where they know a serious offence has or is taking place – is basically what the law says. "I think you might be just about" – they can't arrest. They almost wait for you to see you shoplifting. If you get anything, put it in your pocket (whistles and pretends to walk), then they can detain you and use force. But you can do that to someone in your house or you can do that to someone in John Lewis if you want to, but they have no further power other than the power of the citizen.

TP: But do they have the power surely to remove people from…

SC: Yeah but that's the same as any person on a private premises. They've got the power of – acting as an agent on the behalf of the owner. Say if they wanted you to leave, then technically you leave. Likewise, if they ask the police to leave – then technically…OK.

TP: Does the ownership of the property have that much power then?

SC: Well it's a bit – if I came into your house to chat to you, you're not under arrest, you haven't done anything, I haven't got a warrant, I detect that you might have done something, if you said to me "I'd really rather you leave", then you have every right to do that because you are not under arrest, you're not suspected, you're not – I would leave. And it's the same with any land owner or shop owner – technically they can ask you to leave. Would they have asked the police to leave if there's a crime taking place? No because we have primacy, we take over. If they ask us to leave because there's cops not letting people in because there's a bloke standing outside eating his kebab – not that we ever would – if they asked "Could you leave our shopping centre?" Yeah we would. I don't think that's ever happened but could they? Yes.

TP: Last few questions, around social and economic issues and social deprivation. Are Nottinghamshire Police sympathetic with you know the cuts and the effects the cutbacks are having on poor people in Nottingham? I know crime does result from social deprivation and that it is an ongoing cycle but are they sympathetic of that?

SC: I think for that sort of thing, police officers are individuals and individuals behave differently. I think are cops aware of the cuts? Yes because it's affecting police as well as other public services. And the knock on effect is that it is affecting the wider members of the community – not just in terms of pay in your back pocket but also the services you received previously, so I think people are aware of it. I think people's understanding of it – we've had a number of situations whereby people are resorting to low level criminality to sort of make ends meet, yeah they are trying to deal with this proportionately and rightly. Do we fully understand what the cuts mean to some of our most deprived areas? Probably not. But I think that goes for most other public authorities. We try to, you know, we do Impact Assessments, some of our – I say intelligence products – I mean more than the typical policing, more the "where's unemployment – we do that with our partners, where's deprivation, where's absenteeism from school?" And it is circles that you sort of expect to see, they all marry up, there's no great surprises. It's those areas – do we police them differently because of hostility? Probably not as differently as we maybe should. Are we trying to work with our partnerships and making sure things don't get any worse for people? – Absolutely yes. But does that mean anything to the person driving the police car at 10 o'clock on a Saturday night? Does to some, doesn't to others.

TP: Exactly. Going back to what you said to the beginning of the discussion about that forum you had, you members of the community to be in your shoes. Do you ever do it the other way round? Do the ever put you in their shoes?

SC: No. And I think that would be very very hard to do. You know, there's always that light at the end of that – how long or whatever it is, I will go back and sit in my office, I will get my salary at the end of the month…

TP: Or do they tell you about…

SC: One of the other areas we are looking at – I don't know if you have heard of it but we use a process called "Resultive Justice" in the police. It's about understanding it from the other person's perspective. So a victim of crime tends to sit with the offender opposite in a room and the offender who has simply damaged their fence for the third time saying "oh it's only a property it's only a fence", looks right into the eyes of the victim. And the victim says, "look we're scared to go out at night, you've made me feel targeted about something else, I don't sleep. I couldn't take my little kid to primary school because I couldn't afford the school uniform because I had to pay for…", and it's remarkably powerful, because somebody always goes "I didn't mean to do that, I just meant to..." – so it really does work. What we are doing is we are trying to use that method of working to some of our officers to some of the community. We've used it where some of the people have had OSD, get together and say "why do you behave like that to us, and why we behave like that to you". That was in a way a bit of "RJ". We are not calling it that because people may say "which one of us is the victim, which one of us is the offender?" We're not saying that. We're just saying get together and understand, and I think that's the closest we have got to it so far is "why is it when I stop the car as a police officer you are so rude to me? Because that is why we are rude to you". But then they say "I'm so rude to you because…" – and they never have that chance to have a calm conversation and I think that would be very good if we can get that working, because generally I think people are nice. There are not many people who want to be bad, who want to be violent, who want to be aggressive. Most people, including police officers, tend to want to get on. So if we can break down those barriers of "I behave like that because you behave like that", well as I've said before "your behaviour is influencing that other person's behaviour" so greet them when you first interact with "hello". It might bring a lot of different outcomes and it might feedback to disproportionality in the criminal justice system, disproportionality in stop and search, all these different things can come to that understand of just because someone is standing on a street corner when you walk up to them they say "go forth". It's not because they're a villain, it's not because they're nasty, it's because they are fed up all the time.

TP: Would you like to see more BME officers in Nottinghamshire Police? Or do you think police officers should be employed on their moral values in relation to minimal prejudice and discrimination.

SC: Yeah both. In Nottinghamshire Police I would like to see more representation from the Black community, more representation from females, more representation from both groups at senior ranks and specialist posts. We are woefully underrepresented at everything. You look at the percentages, and sometimes percentages make you feel sometimes a bit warmer than you should – because some of them are one officer. It doesn't take a lot to change. We used to have a very good representation for Black officers at senior level. It took one year to wipe it out. And that left us saying "where was our succession plan?" We knew it was coming – we know people retire. It's not a surprise – so where was plan B. Where we looking for Constables and Sergeants saying "you've got talent…" We are looking at how we can use Positive Action more appropriately. We are looking at recruitment through the ranks and through specialisation structures. But we've still got to get people through the front door. And if they don't want to go through the front door because they don't have trust, they don't have confidence – we've got to be careful that we don't simply chase targets. We do need to have more BME officers in the police service. We also need everyone to have the other bits you were saying – they can't be prejudice, they can't be – you know they've got to have high integrity whatever their gender and ethnic background they come from. That's the starting block but why we are so underrepresented, goodness knows given all the things we've discussed.

Figure 8 - Interview with Thulani Molife, Labour Councillor for Mapperley, Nottingham City Council, Loxley House

TP: So is it Arboretum you are councillor for?

TM: No, Mapperley, which incorporates St. Ann's as well.

TP: So you became a councillor in May?

TM: Yes I did.

TP: Well done. Labour gained a lot there didn't they?

TM: Yeah we got 50 out of the 55 seats. We've got no Liberals, just 5 Conservatives.

TP: That's just Nottingham.

TM: Oh yeah

TP: I was talking about nationwide, the gains for Labour weren't as large as they'd hoped.

TM: No, if you notice a lot of the city constituencies went Labour but the rural yes (laughs).

TP: I just noticed that Labour got all the Lib Dem councils didn't they?

TM: Yeah. We did.

TP: Moving onto the BME community and the police in Nottingham, for you what are the most pressing issues across the city for the BME community in general – and that's talking about issues from social deprivation to education.

TM: There's two strands. One of them is employment. And again I think the national statistics kind of wheel out on that and if you are from a BME background, your levels of unemployment tends to be higher than compared to any other community. The other interesting one is about economic participation. Looking at black businesses, there are not many BME businesses that grow large and to me that's a bit of a frustration, the fact that I'm involved in a few groups in the voluntary sector and a lot of things that would otherwise grow…

TP: Do you work with PATRA at all?

TM: I used to be on their board.

TP: Yeah. I used to work for them for three summers… So as you were saying it's only small and medium enterprises then.

TM: Yeah. And to some extent, education. Because at one point, education wasn't really that great. The city in 2004/2005 had Black Achievement Strategy they put in place and that really worked. I helped out on it, which was really fantastic. It was about

ensuring that we don't get forgotten. If you look on statistics, and you're a teacher and you think you "need to get my guys grades", you look at which communities do well and you seem to concentrate on them and then you forget.

TP: Moving on to the police, what do you think are the biggest issues for you personally within the relationship between the police and the BME community?

TM: I think that there is a certain amount of trust that needs to be built up. There's a huge distrust, and there's not so much a huge distrust in the community policing, it's more that comes from the response unit and people don't quite make that distinction because they see people in the uniform as the police. But there's a difference between the response unit which come in to deal with the matter, and community policing which is all about ensuring that they knock on doors and that the community relations are working. And to some extent it's that and to some extent it's certain – and it's always with youth, whereby if there is a dispersal order – regardless that youth tend to hang around and there's this stop and searches that happen which are sometimes disproportionate.

TP: Yes definitely. What else do you think can be done to improve the relationship between the BME community and the police? What can help build up that trust?

TM: What can help build up that trust I think is people understanding the difference between the response unit and the local police…

TP: How long have you lived in Nottingham?

TM: For 35 years

TP: You obviously know the city very well then. Over the years have you had any experiences of being victimised by the police racially do you think?

TM: I suppose to some extent I've been lucky.

TP: Yeah

TM: Yeah. I have never experienced such things, which is interesting because when I was young I was quite radical (laughs).

TP: They are obviously not doing their job properly (laughs). In your constituency is police racism a prominent thing?

TM: There's a place called the Bruce's Estate which is well known. It's hard to say well known but there is a lot of ASB taking place, there's a gang culture that is built up there. You've got a gang – because there's various gangs – some which are criminal gangs, some are gangs of people just hanging out together and not mixing with the other group. So there is a lot that gets reported, but a lot gets reported because of the different activities that the police do. So if they've got an operation to kind of target drugs and things like that, on-street crime they're really hot on. So there is a lot of distrust around why is that there is always the BME community that is disproportionately questioned.

TP: Yeah, you mention gangs. More or less everyone I have spoken to so far has mentioned gangs and the role of gangs in youth in not just the criminal side but also that sense of belonging as well. And they are all within their areas – it's not cross city – it's all within their neighbourhoods, they don't come out of their neighbourhoods.

TM: That's right yeah. There's a football tournament that they do in the city, and one year in which they did it, they made sure that nobody wore the same colours, so everybody was asked to be dressed in a certain way. Until people went up to talk to each other after three or four days and asked "where are you from?" They say, "oh I'm from this area", and they reply "well I shouldn't really be talking to you because I'm from that area", but by that time they had already become friends. I went to a church, a vineyard, and they've got an out-of-school club. And one of the things they definitely say there is "regardless of where you come from" because exclusion doesn't come in there because of their school uniform. And then at the end of the day, in relation to where everyone is from, there's a chap that says "friends as soon as we leave I've got to go my way and you go your way" (laughs). The thing is it's not so much them, it's how the other people see them.

TP: Yeah that's very true actually. So do your constituents feed back to you about the police conduct there?

TM: Well yeah, but one particular one which tends to crop up again and again is the stop and search. In the area, now that we've put more money into activities as councillors, the kids tend to hang around as kids do – or youths should I say. Hanging around in light areas and in gangs – because that's where they feel safe. So obviously anybody seeing youths hanging around – and it's normally around shops – people think they're up to trouble, but when you actually speak to them they say "when I stand here I am lit, I can see who's coming that way and who's coming that way. When's there's a bunch of us we know that protects us".

TP: Are there any particular hotspots or places in Mapperley where youths congregate?

TM: Well yeah there is a shop called Smithy's which is up on Well's Road – which is well known. And there is Flint's – which is another shop. But the problem is that because the second shop is well off the main road so it is an easy-to-congregate place. You can't see what's going on. And you've got those covered shops as well where they tend to hide – well not tend to hide but hang around in the little covers – obviously if when it's raining and it keeps them away from the rain.

TP: Moving back to Nottingham more broadly, do you think ethnic minorities or different ethnic groups in Nottingham live segregated lives? Do you think there is not enough or enough cultural and multiracial mixing?

TM: I think there is a lot but there is a certain age, especially when people have work – when people are out there at school or college there isn't much segregation that takes place because people tend to know who their family is and friends. But when people start work I think that they start to take their lives more seriously and I think there is that definite – you know, "this is what we do, we stick to what we do". And a few of the new communities feel very vulnerable so they try and keep everyone together.

TP: Do you have many emerging community in Mapperley?

TM: Very few. I mean there's the Polish community which is quite big but there's also the Somalians that have come in, and that's an interesting one because they're trying to keep themselves together – and people don't understand where they've come from. A lot of them have come from drought or war, so there's a lot of suspicion around anyone trying to get too close – so they are like "what do you want and why", so obviously when you get to a new country and try and find their way around…

TP: Moving on to the civil disturbances last year, do you think police conduct, stop and search disproportionality and maybe even a lack of care for social and economic issues such as lack of opportunities and cutbacks, do you think they caused or had a hands in the riots?

TM: I think they had a little hand in it. Because from the police report I saw people that they caught were people that they knew. So from some extent it gave people that chance to be criminal – that was going on. But in terms of disturbances in Nottingham, it was nothing really. The way that it was reported on the news was so disproportionate, "London, Nottingham, Manchester", and then we look at the statistics and there's no comparison. The only three things that happened were the police stations got firebombed – one in St. Ann's and Canning Circus – but the police knew who were doing it – it wasn't massive. If you think where St. Ann's is, the number of BME people in there who could have come together – they would have destroyed the place, it goes without saying.

TP: I think it's interesting, because in comparison to the rest of the country, it was very small scale in Nottingham compared to the rest of the country. But in this city it was more about attacking the police stations than looting. I know they shut down the city centre but I found it fascinating that they went for the police stations.

TM: Well as I said, it was certain people wanting their voice to be heard. Previous to that they had done a few operations, so I think people were just taking opportunities to vent their frustrations really.

TP: What are the ethnic demographics of Mapperley, I don't really know much about Mapperley. Is there are a large BME community there? What are the demographics percentage-wise?

TM: I wouldn't say I know for certain but I know there is a majority white population, there's certain area such as Brewster's near St. Ann's where there's a lot more mixing, so in terms of percentage I'd probably say it's more like 3 to 1.

TP: When you go to your councillors meetings, how high on the agenda are these issues which we've been talking about?

TM: They are very high. Especially from the employment side. If people are not giving economically to the city then for what they do with their time – because people want things. I was talking to one of the youth workers at the forum and they said "people need something to do" because if you notice the youngsters that get involved in the drugs – more so the drugs running – it isn't because they want to do it, it's because they want to go out and by the Nike t-shirts and trainers – that kind of things. It's that they are doing it for other reasons. It's because Mum and Dad can't do it so – that's what they spend it on.

TP: It's unfortunate isn't it really isn't it? Especially within the context of welfare cuts – it's more or less their only choice – well their mindset makes them think it's the only choice they've got is to turn to petty criminality.

TM: And a lot of it – it's mainly about – if you live in an area and you want to belong therefore you kind of follow gang because that's where everyone is and you want to be seen as cool and attached. And it's more the older kids who will get the younger kids involved. Because they know if the younger kids get caught then if they get caught – they get the bigger sentence.

TP: What was this centre you were talking about with the youth worker?

TM: Oh it's the - we as councillors hold an award forum. So we invite the police and a range of other organisations. So all the services that can make it, we get in touch with them and they attend.

TP: Would you like to see more BME police officers on the street?

TM: Yeah that would make a great difference in terms of…there is a BME officer in St. Ann's – Brian Dikuno. I think people – it's how people react to him. For example it's another black face, they can ask him questions about "how does it work?" And they feel that he's giving that info, whereas asking somebody else might… But that's people's perception.

TP: So does he have a rapport with people in the area? Do you know that?

TM: Yeah. I know that because we do ward walks together.

TP: That's good. Final question: what solutions can you offer for building a greater confidence of the BME community in the police?

TM: Oh right, well one of things that they are doing in Mapperley ward is police are going to a local youth club – and what they are doing is they are going to be sitting down there and they want the youths to ask them "why do you do what you do?" The reasons why, so that they can tell people from their point of view because there is never that interaction when you see the police in enforcement. When you see a policeman at the door, you think they've done something wrong or whatever. There is a difference between community policing and the response unit. The community police say for example "little Jonny there has been in trouble lots, they know where he is, they know his family, the history", but when the response unit come in it's like "Great, let's nab him" or whatever intelligence that's come from. Some people lack that sensitivity that take place. Because a local policeman would know. They would say, "look come out, can you explain things?" The response unit would just go in there, grab him, and that reflects badly – because there isn't that "we'll go to number 32, you're the local policeman, tell us about what goes on, what's the best way of going through it".

Figure 9 - Youth meeting, Chase Neighbourhood Centre, St Ann's, Nottingham, 23-3-12

People present: 15-20

Jon Collins – Leader of Nottingham City Council, Councillor for St. Ann's Ward

Dave Walker – Head of Vanguard Plus

Coleen Francis – Renewal Trust

Jo and Denise – Peek-A-Boo

Community volunteers and Youth Workers: Jane, Ross, Matty, Ivy, Repo

Everyone present except Jon, Denise and Jo is from BME background.

No police officers, staff or BME people under 21 present

Dave (ex- Head of Nottingham City Police District, ex-member of Nottingham Black Police Association, grew up in St. Ann's): Dialogue is need to bridge relations between youths and the police. Police constables and superintendents should attend these meetings to hear these issues first hand.

As a Police Constable you are a citizen first and foremost. You only have the authority to act in the line of duty when things get out of hand.

Police officers are trained to do what they are told and to follow orders.

I know of the police officers that have been problematic in the past but I can't give you their names.

A huge problem is that we have a police force that looks nothing like the community. We have only 23 black police officers out of 2150.

There needs to be a change in the culture of policing. Proper policing should be done in a courteous manner and through good conversation. It should be "hello, how are you, can I talk you for a moment" – then move on.

Jane: A small group of lads meeting up on a street corner to hang around is not a gang!

Jo: We should think about how we define the term "gang". We need to get our definitions and words clear.

The young lads will not come anywhere near here if they know the police are here.

Jon Collins: Some things said and shown on Coppers were utterly unacceptable.

Police presence on the street gives residents a sense of comfort.

It's not just that young people are frightened of the police but I think police are frightened of young people too

Something that could work is recruiting police officers from Nottingham to police their local communities.

We are moving slowly moving in the right direction. But community centres and facilities need to play a part in giving youths something to do. Differences in ways of doing things and people running programmes and events need to be put aside.

Repo (a Black Caribbean man in his mid-20s, unemployed and frequently stopped by the police): Things have got better since last year. I used to get stop searched all the time. But now I can actually walk out of my house without getting searched.

There's nothing for us to do.

Ross: We need more of a focus from grassroots level.

It is only the small minority of youths who are the problem, but they are all treated poorly by the police.

We need less funding to go to PCSOs and Wardens and more funding in youth work.

People are too quick to turn to increasing the number of police. But that doesn't get to the root of the problem.

Dispersal orders and moving groups of youths along just move the problem elsewhere.

Police presence doesn't make young people comfortable it makes them feel afraid. Kids from a young age are running away from the police because they see the older kids doing so.

Everyone has seen Coppers. Everyone has seen what was said "we are the biggest gang in Nottingham".

Youths need opportunities to express their creativity. They need their computers and their music.

A big problem with the community centres is that many of them have cliques and inward looking groups

Matty (a Black Caribbean man mid-20s, voluntary worker): We want to organise a football match against the police. I'd love to skill on and tackle some feds.

Figure 10 - Interview with Dr Roger Hopkins-Burke, Nottingham Trent University, Lecturer in Criminology, Faculty of Social Sciences October 2011 at Nottingham Trent University

Discussion on issues in Hard Cop Soft Cop and...

TP: What did you mean by the "social construction of crime"?

RHB: The social construction of crime is the well...what is crime and what isn't crime is based on someone's definition of it. Who defines crime as being a crime..are the people with the ability to do this. The people who have the ability to do this are those with political and economic power – in governments and institutions – those with the power to define things as crime. Certain activities in the past have been legal but are made illegal – and sometimes the other way round. But the social construction of crime is what is decided as criminal. And perhaps in terms of policing in that sense...erm...I'm jumping around too much... is the issue of police discretion. The police officer has an immense amount of power and they can decide what to do in certain circumstances.

TP: Yeah, and do you think this varies across particular social groups?

RHB: Erm (pause) There will be various reasons for it. There will be managerial pressures to do certain things. There will be the nature of...erm... the education of the person...So will be a significant kind of thing. In terms of stop and search which is clearly kind of interesting...

TP: Do you think that some actions are pre-meditated?

RHB: I think people...you know...carry around psychological ideas in their heads as to what a likely prospect will be. As I said to my students, if you really want to be a drug dealer, then you'd probably be wise to try and look like me going around in Nottingham because no one is going to stop and search me. What is interesting is this thing called "street drug dealing". I mean...you don't want to be a street drug dealer looking like me because you won't survive for five minutes (laughs). But you've got to get rid of all the kind of trappings

TP: Yeah

RHB: So it's easy to be critical of the police in relation to stop and search...

TP (interrupting): Based upon...appearance?

RHB: On – on appearance. But actually...they are not usually stupid but they can be. And erm...they make some kind of assumptions such as how "hoodies" are a target. Well if you are walking down the street at one o'clock in the morning with your mates with your hoods up and dark glasses on – you know – I think the police are perfectly reasonable in suspecting that you are up to no good. But you know that is a fashionable way of walking around. But you want to be involved in...well actually I suppose people who are involved in serious crime don't do that – but on the other hand you know perfectly well police can be stupid. You know Ely Silkman in that book talked about "smart policing" – not that book the Zero Tolerance one I think – about the alternative to smart policing is stupid policing. Now there's the case of the Bishop of Stepney. Now the Bishop of Stepney is about my age and when this happened a few years back he was in his early fifties but he was a erm...so he was a black man. He was a black man in his early fifties – normally the police don't regard people in their early fifties regardless of what colour they are as a threat. It is youngsters that are the problem

. Now he was driving around in a rather nice car and he had been stopped fifty-five times by the police as to what he was doing driving around in this nice car.

TP: (laughs)

RHB: Now that's kind of really weird.

TP: Yeah. Yeah. Chris Crowther...I really liked his chapter and the different approaches he used. The neo-Marxist approach and the Foucauldian one. First of all the Neo-Marxian one, he says that...he kind of talks about police strategies in place to maintain stability of the political economy. You could probably say that more so for private security for say shopping malls to keep consumption in place. But would you say the state police also are there to maintain that stability as well and to keep that political economic order or...?

RHB: Marx talked about in the last resort (pause). Coercion is the main...obvious form of control. But it also in societies like here and American, you only use coercion as a last measure. In other words once you've got the police out there with riots shields and once it's got really bad you've got the army out there and everyone can see there is a serious problem. Usually far more softer methods are used. Subtle. And here among our students – do not forget to ask me about who polices Nottingham on a Saturday night

TP: Oh God

RHB: And it also I think links to the riots. We have lots of students here who want to join the police.

TP: Really?

RHB: Astonishing isn't it?

TP: Wow

RHB: I think people like the idea of law and order. They want to catch criminals. You see lots of young girls who want to be in the police force motivated by domestic violence and rape. And you also see an increasing number of black people wanting to join the police force. There's this whole kind of tradition of poor policing of black communities, and they want to be a part of it – which is good. So...when the crunch comes, when it comes to talking about community policing – you know going out there and mixing with people and talking with them. You are far too young for Kojak but there is this idea of knowing everyone in the community and people are attracted to that. But when the crunch comes and you've got a riot going on in the street you drop all that. In the final analysis of all this in reference to the "New Labour boom years", things for a lot of people weren't too bad, you know telling people police is the last resort in protecting global capitalism people can get glassy-eyed. But what's happened in the last few years things have become far more clear. Global capitalism in this country is in serious trouble. And the government has responded by bringing in some serious significant tough measures on the economy and the police have been there to sort of defend this. In the finally analysis that is called upon. It is problematic it seems to me because they isn't an awful lot of money around.

TP: Moving onto the Foucauldian approach in the forms such as disciplining and sovereignty, would you say that are particular ties in British Nationalism and sovereignty in relation to the police force?

RHB: Erm...

TP: Especially when it comes to policing ethnic minorities such as immigrants.

RHB: Erm...I think that erm...the police as an institution is probably a significant bastion of tradition. I think that is the way. Do you have any intention of talking to the Black Police Association?

TP: I do yes

RHB: Glen Williams I think he's the chap. When you get absorbed into any institution there are certain moulds in which you have to adapt to. I think that young black police officers have had a hard time in the past. And I think that they still do. But I think that providing education about these issues, especially at a theoretical level will have an impact. I have said this before...But as I said the British police are there to preserve this bastion British way of life and...(pause). But the world is a changing place. There is a significant presence of black police officers walking the street and there are more officers in senior positions. And I suspect that they have to play some sort of cultural game to get on.

TP: Yes, definitely... Erm...Moving onto Colin Webster's chapter "Policing Asian Communities", he talks about the lack of confidence in the police of particular Asian communities and he talks about how this leads to a self-policing of their own communities. Would you say that these examples of autonomy are a natural or expected product this lack of confidence, or would you say this is specific to Asian culture?

RHB: Well, I think in complex terms, different groups, different ethnic groups have different relationships. And I think there is the issue of the relevance of social class. And it is significant. It would be interesting to perhaps compare the policing of Asian communities in Leicester than with Bradford where Colin Webster did his work, and even up there in Lancashire in places like Burnley and Blackburn. Because one thing that is interesting about Leicester of course is that Leicester is home to a very middle class Asian community. Many of the Asians in Leicester came from Uganda when Idi Amin kicked them out. They were doctors and middle class. And of course when they arrived they did not automatically move into similar jobs in England initially. But they had these education traditions and brought their kids up. And when you go to Leicester, go to some of the Asian areas there, there's a kind of affluence about it. Whereas if you go to some areas in the North, mill towns, where people go there from poor parts of Bangladesh etc, they kind of bring their baggage with them. So in the same way, you know, that white ethnic groups – well actually that's where they kind of clash isn't it? You've got white poorly educated working class alongside...

TP (interrupting): Competing for resources yeah...

RHB: Competing for resources. And there aren't many of them. So that's a significant kind of issue. Erm yeah a certain distrust I think in erm... in Bradford. And communities – all communities are policed to a certain extent...erm... and if erm...some are called the "state sponsored police" can't get in and then they police themselves. Well, in Nottingham in the past, we've had policing beyond the state etc when the local gangsters policed the area.

TP: Hmm. Wow.

RHB: (laughs)

TP: Do you want to elaborate on that?

RHB: It's always very dangerous in Nottingham...Colin Gunn of course is a very renown crime boss.

TP: Oh right

RHB: Interesting. Interesting people. White, suburban estates. When I say suburban estates I mean outer council estates. Probably little more than a generation ago. Low level sort of stuff. Probably a bit of low level drug dealing, bit of violence outside of pubs and probably a bit of violence at the local football ground. But take away their jobs and then they find that drug dealing is something in which you can make a large sum of money.

TP: A way of life, yes.

RHB: And when the guns were running this place we didn't have any petty crime. Not far from us, and someone I know. Nice house, working in IT sort of thing, nice BMW. And he had his house burgled. Someone told him who had done it. He went round to this family and they said "you can't touch us, we know the guns". So he went to them – it was like going to see the Godfather – and he said "he's not one of ours, we'll have a word with him though". And from then on there were no burglars in the area.

TP: Wow. The discourse of fear

RHB: Well they just said we'll have a word with him. "Leave that guy alone". And what people say on these estates – you know- erm... "don't cross us or this is what happens". Now I was going to get a friend for my Zero Tolerance book to do a chapter on Sinn Fein or the IRA to discuss how they police they police their own communities. Because if you get involved with the wrong drug dealers then people will kneecap you....but communities will always please themselves, and if they don't have a...or trust or have a good reason or a good police service in there then they will probably police themselves. But that's always quite a probably isn't it? As much as you think about the problem of the British police service...the rule of law still controls them. If they do something that they shouldn't do or have done, they still have a system out there that will tackle this...But you don't get all that with vigilantes and self-policing. There have been areas in the past where the police don't feel able to go. That are not nice places to walk around. In complete and utter dark.

TP: Yeah. Do you know of Stuart Hall et al's "Policing the Crisis"? We were talking about this earlier, the pre-existing beliefs of police when policing er...ethnic minority communities. Do you think at ground level before the police go out and police these communities, do you think this manifested institutionally in police or do you think it's more about in the encounter, spontaneous and in the situation?

RHB: Well, its historical context. Stuart Hall is talking about some years ago. And I have mentioned about how we educate the police force. Most of them who join the police nowadays have university degrees which is rather different from the old school of police officers who went to police training at the age of 16, were white working class boys, had certain kinds of prejudices already and were happy to have them re-enforced when they were there. Now when Stuart Hall wrote that book, you are probably quite right. You were always going to get this sort of culture that – you know it is a multicultural society – and people have an understanding of other societies – sorry other communities, and have negative opinions and can spread. So you are probably quite right. Now the extent to which that has changed – I don't know. Again, I think you need to look at different communities. You know, London- the Met is an interesting kind of place. I mean round here is interesting.

TP: I'm looking around here specifically

RHB: Well it is because – you know – central Nottingham is a very cosmopolitan place. But it isn't once you go out of central Nottingham...This is particularly interesting. I largely think a large black presence in this country is really occurred since the 1950s which is not long historically. Now one of the things that strikes me about this country is the fact that erm black and white people kind of mingle quite happily. If you go to America its more or less apartheid. It really is. Black and white people don't mix. If you look historically – you know – it's probably not surprising if you look at the history of it. In terms of slavery Britain's role in all of this was predominantly buying and selling and washing their hands of it. It was really all the Americans and the Caribbean. But the history is very kind of different. So you get people coming over here in the fifties who fought in the British army in the war. They would talk about the preponderance of how many West Indian males were called Winston in the nineteen fifties – and that was because of Winston Churchill! How many black people in America call their sons George Bush?

TP: My uncle is called Winston – my mum's brother!

RHB: Well no because this was seen as the motherland.

TP: Yes. Yes, definitely.

RHB: And very much different. Very different I think in terms because...there was the race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill. In Bristol the bus people went out on strike, "we don't want black people working on the buses". There was all that and – but what is quite astonishing about all that overt racism – I'm not talking about if you are trying to walk into a pub in Heanor on a Friday night, that's something different. I am talking about overt racism that was acceptable to wider society actually didn't pass that particularly long. If you...you know...Enoch Powell made that speech. "The Rivers of Blood" speech. Basically it was a speech that said if we have all this immigration, this will lead to serious unrest. But it didn't seem that kind of revolutionary really. But a Conservative Party in which he was an evident member, disowned him. You know, that was absolutely fascinating. Now if you look at America and the history of America, the Jim Crow laws and that sort of thing, this was actually institutionalised. You had the actual state government you know...I remember an old state governor George Wallace sitting there outside the University of Alabama, Birmingham, saying "no blacks are coming in here". You know, that's in my lifetime. It's never been institutionalised to that extent here.

TP: Yeah

RHB: But opinions of ordinary people and police officers were in the past institutionally recruited from the white working class.

TP: Yeah...moving on swiftly onwards to the last ten years. I say ten years because I am pointing out the event of 9/11. Erm...how much effect do you think 9/11 and the rise of Islamaphobia and fears of extremism have had on policing strategies in Britain – if any?

RHB: Erm...

TP: Particularly in relation to policing Asian communities.

RHB: Well yeah its Asian communities which are perceived as the threat.

TP: Perceived yeah.

RHB: Which – which is kind of fascinating. Because in the past they never were.

TP: Hmm.

RHB: Certainly from a policing point of you. So that has had a significant impact. But it's erm...again a clash of different communities isn't it? Some people have said to me that the whole 9/11 thing is a complete and utter sham and the American's did it themselves. And we have students here who believe that from Asian backgrounds.

TP: I've met one or two people who believe it.

RHB: Some students write it in their essays and have obviously been brought up with that view. Erm... you know I'm not a great enthusiast for conspiracy theories even though Americans can do weird things but erm they wouldn't have gone that far. And clearly there is a terrorist threat. And there have been other instances in this country. There was the 7/7. And we are told that there are threats all the time and people are arrested all the time and it's at a time where there's a lot of terrorist threats so civil liberties go on the backburner. The history of Ireland of course – Northern Ireland – from 1969 demonstrates that. When you have a...terrorist threat a lot of liberal niceties go out of the window. Now, that can have a big impact on young Asian people growing up...erm...in communities. It's rather the same as Black kids living in St. Pauls in Bristol, which I knew well and was there at the time of the riots there (pause). It was very antagonistic because the police would treat them with very little respect. I think you know, it's a similar thing in Asian communities now. Particular Asian Communities. And what's also kind of interesting is that it does seem to cut across class boundaries, because some people who have been arrested under terrorism laws have been quite erm respectable educated people – which is kind of interesting.

TP: That's interesting.

RHB: It is. There is a... (pause). I don't think Islam is widely accepted outside Islamic groups in this country.

TP: They hate it in America..But moving back to England (laughs). Colin Webster's book "Understanding Race and Crime".

RHB: Yeah

TP: I read that a month or so ago. And he talks about the notion of disciplining marginalised groups such as ethnic minorities as a form of increasing public confidence for the majority.

RHB: Yeah

TP: Any comment on that?

RHB: Does he mention Wacquant in there?

TP: Yeah Loïc Wacquant. I've read his "Urban Outcasts" book.

RHB: Yeah Wacquant is the...you mentioned Foucault earlier. Well Wacquant is the new Foucault. I mean what Wacquant is talking about now and how the – particularly Black America is policed and controlled has been seriously influential. And yeah...And erm... the kind of treatment of dissident groups in society. It's always been a significant thing. And why this is historically important – because it is where we come from. And groups are controlled. We can go back to the industrial revolution here and what was predominantly a rural society became in a short period of time an urban society. And a whole new way of disciplinary measures were used to control what was a quite urban working class. Now you can call it late modernity, post-modernity or whatever you like – but I call it "fragmented modernity" but you have... It's a complex place. You have groups that threaten more than others but you do have groups who create threat and there's more control. What kind of erm...is really interesting about all of this is how the erm...I...I think the ordinary well meaning person – well what is the ordinary well meaning person – the people whose social science I'm very dismissive of because people seem to be kind of the silent majority or whatever – go along with these things. If we talk about surveillance at all...or the fact that this country has more closed circuit television than...

TP: Than the rest of Europe put together yeah.

RHB: It's not because Big Brother or "Big Sibling" as I like to refer to, is out there doing this. In the final analysis it is in the interests of who. But the public want it.

TP: They do.

RHB: It is a public demand. If there was a rape or something around your area you would look at the television camera.

TP: And the paradox is the more CCTV there is the more fearful people get

RHB: Well also yes....Yeah the more fearful people get. And these closed circuit television cameras and these other things which you will clearly have one of – mobile phones.

TP: Mobile phones yeah.

RHB: These are everywhere. These are kind of trapping us in this surveillance network. Closed circuit television cameras are being used by the state and what is interesting when there is a terrorism atrocity or something, when they have no idea who they were they manage to trace them from Leeds all the way down to Luton all the way down to the bombing. And you have to think to yourself when they're doing that they're watching us as well.

TP: Yeah definitely, well look at the phone hacking scandals. Yeah.

RHB: Yeah well these phone things...We are all conducting this surveillance. And that in itself I find fascinating. But let me get back to your question about different groups. Different groups are represented to have different threats and they will be targeted.

TP: Okay. Next one. Next question is as a researcher, what do you think are the most effective ways of measuring police prejudice and partiality – especially when you have to combat police being reluctant to discuss areas such as racism or they may give answers that are different to how they may act on the street?

RHB: The only way you can do this as far as I'm concerned is participant observation. My old friend Shaun in Bristol, when we were students there, rode around in a police van in St Pauls. Police officers in the van knew what he was whilst they shouted racial abuse out of the windows at young black lads. And he said he couldn't believe it. He was totally and utterly astonished. It was like having a television crew following people around. You would think people would have the sense to behave themselves whilst they are being watched but no they didn't. And what I think is interesting about that is when people going around behaving like that they think that they are right. Otherwise they wouldn't do it. So I think that is kind of essential. Erm... participant observation. It is

very difficult that sort of thing these days but actually these insider things – television have done it haven't they? They use cameras to catch people off guard. What they call canteen culture and I'm sure it still happens. As far as the police are concerned it's not just black people. As far as the police are concerned there are two classes of people really. There are people whose opinions they have to take seriously – that's people like me and actually Tim, you. Because you are a respectable middle-class person and they will treat you that way. But there are the people out there, they can be black, they can be white – the scumbags and the scroats and they are what you call "police business". They think they can do what they like people like that.

TP: Would you say this is reducible to class – not just class but intellectual capacity as well?

RHB: It's people I think they see as their preserve. I think that they have to tackle white collar criminals – I mean they will do it and increasingly so because white collar crime is increasingly a threat to the economy. Which is a big big thing and they will tackle. You can take a walk around the streets here and you will see people which are police business. If you see people scurrying around Mansfield Road then they will be looking for their next fix of heroin or being linked to a certain amount of criminality because actually your social security benefits are not going to fund that, so the police will be interested in that.

TP: Before I forget let's return to the riots. And who polices Nottingham on a Saturday night.

RHB: That's an interesting one. There's a report on the Cabinet Office Website on some research that a group did on the riots where they went into young offenders institutions and prisons and talked to people about why they were rioting. Now I methodologically think there is a great problem in doing this.

TP: Is that the Guardian and LSE...?

RHB: It may be. I thought it was a private organisation but anyway. Whoever did this, the political pressure to deliver this in a very short space of time and also the problem of going into a young offenders institution and asking somebody why they did what they did...

TP: It's criminalising them isn't it?

RHB: Well actually, ethically and whatever. If you go to interview somebody that is a convicted criminal unless they are really not that smart, they usually say what they think the authorities...

TP: want to hear...

RHB: Want to hear. And however much you tell them that you have nothing to do with the authorities and you are a neutral researcher, they are not really going to believe you. And they are not really going to take the chance. There is an interesting kind of comment – there is one of the kind of comments they make – because this is people reflecting back and also the interviews of people who they thought who should have been involved in the riots but they weren't - it's kind of interesting what they said. And I mean people got involved for a variety of reasons. They were some kind of street gangs and criminal gangs who thought that this way a good opportunity to clearly...It all kicked off in Tottenham – they sort of have this tradition with the police. There was a young black guy. He was shot be the police. Erm...youngsters kind of rise up and demonstrate, their Dads say you know "it happened in our day as well" you know all of this. And they're all out there you know, there's a long tradition in this country of riot and whatever, people are unhappy about the nature of things and it got out of hand. Now what was actually quite interesting was 1981 when the police were totally unprepared for this and the streets were handed over to the riots for five hours and the same happened in Tottenham. Now you may think to yourself that this is weird, this is 2011, we've had plenty of experience of this so where are the police? Now what suddenly became obvious (Roger's phone rings). Sorry. Just ignored that. That erm... the word started to spread – there was no police out there! And what became obvious to people sitting at home watching the television and the mob getting out their Blackberrys and all the social networking – there doesn't seem to be any police around, what's going on? And you know – so people have different reasons for getting involved in this. Some people talk about the government, the loss of EMA allowance and this sort of thing, you know give Cameron a bloody nose. Far less of that actually, and other people say there's riots going on and they say "well go and get yourself some new trainers". In Nottingham they went straight to JD Sports. I mean this is the kind of fascinating thing. But what seems to be central in all of this is that the police aren't there and the word spread. And asked about this, some of these young people, the word kind of spread so their out on the street the police don't seem to be in control and the word spread, there's more rioting around the country, the authorities start to become horrified and start pouring people off leave and whatever and regain the streets. Terror, you know, what's happened right across the political spectrum , left or right, I haven't seen or whatever but famously this young woman talks about how we can do what we like – which immediately if you tell the government you can do what you like – and across ethnic boundaries here. Absolutely.

TP: Oh yeah

RHB: It's young people that are doing this. I was told there was a film out there called "Skank". Have you come across this?

TP: No

RHB: Well this film "Skank" is quite interesting because in this film it shows gangs of youths who do go rioting do take over the city. And apparently you see all these kids and they know it. They know it. Anyway so that brings us to Nottingham. And what happens on a Friday night is that it's kind of interesting because we have kind of a link here with Nottinghamshire Police at the moment.

TP: Oh right.

RHB: ...Where if you come to us as a student, we can arrange a – if you fit the right criteria and not have a criminal record – you can be a special. So you can go out there. Now there are a lot of specials out there.

TP: Wow

RHB: Now you should keep some of this anonymous...A friend of mine by the police authority was invited to go around in the van on a Friday and Saturday night, turns up there and finds out there is only one full time police officer and eight specials out there.

TP: Wow

RHB: So who's policing Nottingham on a Friday and Saturday night.

TP: The students

RHB: Our students. Now if you want to put this into some theoretical kind of context about this. Let's leave Wacquant and Foucault alone. This goes back to some simple basics. In the Zero Tolerance stuff – now this takes us back there, I observed talking

to lots of people across a long spectrum – lots of people – that people actually like to see uniforms out on the street. This is not just little old ladies when they go to collect their pension. But when young people have too much to drink and come out of nightclubs at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, seeing police officers while there's a few lairy youths who looked at the wrong way at the club outside its a reassurance. It's a reassurance to lots of people. As much as the police are targeting you, they don't like you, and that they are trudging you but if the police are OK and behaving themselves and acting professionally people actually like to see them out on the streets. And across all kinds of cultural boundaries. And apparently this has had some kind of influence for the Home Office who said this is totally correct. But this is totally contrary to what people have said that seeing police out on the street has had a very little impact on crime. But of course they do in certain ways but they do have this reassurance thing, and have this law abiding citizen thing. So it does have this kind of control mechanism thing that kind of works quite well. But then the Home Office are thinking to themselves it would be good to have a lot more uniforms out on the street but we can't – it's expensive police – it's expensive and professionalization of policies. A long time ago police were paid very little and it was a low status kind of job but now it is a high status and professional. So now they've introduced PCSOs. And PCSOs are cheap. They get PCSOs to walk around and patrol the street and they do that. Then of course what we actually then find of course is that the economy goes completely down the drain – completely down the drain. We now no longer have any money to pay for public services and we are cutting back. And it's the police...Margaret Thatcher actually invested a lot of money into the police and that helped her win the miner's strike. Margaret Thatcher was actually part of the professionalization of the police. But what we now suddenly discover that police now to their absolute horror are told they have to shake down masses and masses of jobs. So at that time, you know, Foucault would talk about "historical moment" really, and historical moment comes along when suddenly specials become the solutions to all of this. You know, let them go out and police their own communities and do it on the cheap. But it's not necessarily, you know, it's terrible. I remember a story once about one of our students, he was out on his own one night and encountered this guy who had been injured – he had been attacked – and he didn't know what to do.

TP: Yeah

RHB: And he rang up the police station and there was only one police officer on duty, so you know I think that's what's happened. It's not just Nottingham is it, this is what's called the Big Society thing – we're all going to do things on an amateur basis. And erm... I think you are probably thinking with students "OK they're alright you know" but you do have to wonder that training is – if you are going to have proper policing you need to get beyond the kind of things that have caused things in the past. You need properly educated and properly trained police officers and proper control. So I do think that...

TP: Is that opposed to community policing...erm....

RHB: Well community policing. Well community policing are professional police. I know it's brilliant. What I talk about in that book is you can't police communities unless you've got the consent of the community. I mean what is the clear problem in the old military style policing that targeted old Black areas like Brixton, was that police had no ability to differentiate between law abiding Black people and a dodgy little group in their mitts. Now of course the problem is they start teaching other police to search for dodgy little groups in their mitts and start picking on all young black youngsters and that means the whole community turns against them. So actually probably community policing probably having a few Black police officers or a significant number of Black police officers – because what has actually become interesting is that in America you get a lot of Black police officers. You can't effectively police any community unless you have the support because you are relying on people for you know information and whatever. So if you are outside a kind of Asian force or such a thing you have no kind of knowledge of what you are dealing with.

TP: Yeah. One of my final questions is, is it a "police force" or a "police service"?

RHB: (laughs) Fancy asking me! That's a sort of question you ask students (laughs)

TP: (laughs) It's quite an important question.

RHB: Oh I think that is the most significant question of the lot. Because I think the police love to be a service. When things are good, when you have a buoyant economy, people have jobs, in a situation like that it would be much easier to tackle problems of different groups coming together and getting on with each other. In that kind of world it's a police service. Because the police do provide services and they can be very very good. And they often are. But it is a police force when the going gets tough. And the going is getting tough. And when you see what's going on the streets of Greece. People in this country don't grasp that actually they are part of the European Union and once their economy has gone, the police has been used as a force to control this – the same is happening in Italy – France next is it?

TP: Good point actually

RHB: And then what happens after France?

TP: Us? Germany?

RHB: Wel...

TP: (laughs)

RHB: But at a time like that they become a force. So there is this continuous thing. Is it a service or a force? When times are good I think it's a service. But when the going gets tough I think it becomes a force.

TP: A couple of final questions. Recommendations for research strategies...erm...How should a researcher talk to police or trying to get ordinary people's opinions about the police. Is it better to do ethnographic research?

RHB: It's dangerous isn't it? I mean you infiltrating the police and whatever can be dangerous. I wouldn't recommend that to you at all. If you go and talk to the police...I think you should talk to the black police association for a start and take their advice on this. Otherwise there's lots of very decent young police officers, people who I meet who are well educated, who spout social science more than I do, and if you go and talk to an organisation as an organisation then they will bring this people out and talk to you and they will give you the official view. Erm...and if their point of view this may be true. And what is happening I think – never ever – all these people and encounters in that situation I think they are all perfectly honest that there are things going on that they are not familiar with. So as a research strategy I am not entirely sure. I think (pause) I would have a word with the black police association and see what they think at the moment.

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