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RELATIONS BETWEEN THE POLICE AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IN SHEFFIELD, ENGLAND

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Relations Between the Police and Ethnic Minorities in Sheffield, England[1]

by

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INTRODUCTION

1. Acknowledgements

This study was made possible by a grant from the *Conseil québécois de la recherche en sciences sociales (CQRS)* in the context of its postdoctoral grants program. I would like to thank the CQRS for this financial assistance, which allowed me to undertake a stay that was not only unforgettable, but also extremely helpful in preparing and carrying out my subsequent research.

The study was conducted in the city of Sheffield, England, from the fall of 1994 to the summer of 1995. The situation at the time I received my grant considerably limited my possibilities, and prevented me from completing this study within a more reasonable time period. I in fact received a two-year postdoctoral grant a few months before being hired as an assistant professor at the Université de Montréal School of Criminology. When I was hired, the departmental staff committee decided to shorten my postdoctoral stay by a year to allow me to take on my full teaching duties as of September 1995. I therefore devoted my stay in Sheffield to data collection only. The verbatim transcription of the interview material was carried out the next year, and the analysis, writing and translation of the report took place during the two following years, in the midst of my teaching activities. I would like to thank those individuals who helped and supported me in this study for their patience in seeing this research report carried through to completion.

This study would not have taken place without the help of a number of people whom I wish to thank in particular. First there is sociologist Simon Holdaway of the University of Sheffield, who suggested the university's Department of Sociological Studies as the supervisory context for my postdoctoral research. Simon generously put me in touch with his contacts in the South Yorkshire Police. And I certainly will not forget the welcome I received from other colleagues and staff in the Department of Sociological Studies. Thanks especially to Ankie Hoogvelt who helped me discover the enigmatic beauty of the South Yorkshire landscape on horseback and bicycle.

I received a great deal of help and collaboration from Diane Ashworth. Besides being a very capable researcher, Diane turned out to be a kindred spirit and friend. I also appreciate the

painstaking work done by Janine Owen (from Sheffield) and by my research assistant in Montreal (Maritza Felices), who were given the thankless task of verbatim transcription of the interviews. My thanks go to Evelyn Lindhorst and Chantale Tardif for their very good translation of this report.

I would like to very warmly thank Mr. Douglas Brand, Chief Superintendent of the South Yorkshire Police. Mr. Brand offered me far more help and encouragement in conducting my research than I had hoped to receive. His interest and intellectual curiosity were greatly appreciated.

I also wish to emphasise the substantial work and support provided by Joan Williams, Chief Inspector at the police station where the research was performed. Her valuable cooperation and her openness to research work in fact allowed the project to be carried out successfully.

I would particularly like to thank all the people I approached and who agreed to take part in the research. I thank them for generously sharing their experiences and beliefs with me, and for their patience in view of my limitations in speaking a language other than my mother tongue.

Finally, my stay would have been far different had it not been for the warmth and unforgettable presence of Valerie Stevenson, with whom I lodged during my entire stay. Valerie was a kindred spirit, a sister and a mother to me, and became a friend for life.

2. Overview of the main studies on relations between the police and ethnic minorities

In general, the literature on ethnicised minorities and the justice system is extensive. A great deal of research has been conducted on the attitudes of the police toward ethnicised minorities. As summarised by Mann (1993: 143), these studies have produced five types of findings:

1. the police are not racially prejudiced
2. the police are racially prejudiced
3. police practices reflect the attitudes of the larger society
4. the police response is related to the socioeconomic status, not the race of the suspect
5. the police differential response to minorities reflects cultural biases

Many studies have also focused on the attitudes of ethnicised groups toward the agents of social control. All of the studies done over the past thirty years have come up with similar findings: ethnicised minority groups exhibit a far less favourable attitude toward the police than that shown by the ethnic majority (Walker, Spohn and DeLone, 1996).

Our view, based on the Weberian tradition and especially the work of Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992), Barth (1969), Banton (1987), Eriksen (1993), Jenkins (1994), Juteau (1983) and Miles (1993), is that ethnicity is a social construct rooted in social relations, relations of reciprocity and relations of power. As Juteau (1983) notes, we are all "bearers of ethnicity," i.e. bearers of culture, of values, of an origin with common ancestors, but in the context of social relations, in the context of relations of power, "the dominant, who believe that they embody the universal, ascribe specificity and difference to the dominated and call this ethnicity. Ethnicity is [in a sense] the humanity of Others" (p. 51) (our translation).

Ethnicity is thus not something that is naturally identifiable and observable; it is created in the context of social relations and especially in the context of relations of power. Racialisation or ethnicisation is consequently seen as a process whereby social relations are structured based on biological or cultural characteristics attributed to individuals, the result of which is to produce a community of individuals that is supposed to reproduce itself (Miles, 1993). This process

inevitably leads to the setting and defining of boundaries between a Self and an Other. It leads to the categorisation of social groups while simultaneously and conversely itself resulting from a categorisation. The expression "racialised or ethnicised group" is thus an attempt to reflect the result of this attribution, which is to characterise social groups based on pseudo-biological and cultural traits.

These remarks serve as a preface to the research we carried out in England. In our study, we tried to understand relations between the police and ethnic minorities without directly highlighting discriminatory attitudes or practices; rather, we wanted to understand how the actors situated at the two poles of an historically antagonistic relationship, i.e. the police and racialised minorities, experience and define their respective relations by taking a closer look at the importance and place of identity and ethnicity in their discourse; more specifically, we wanted to find out how relations based on identity are constructed by the police and racialised minorities so as to better understand how barriers emerge or do not emerge between certain groups of actors.

As noted above, most of the research conducted to date analyses police-minority relations by looking at attitudes and prejudices, based on either quantitative studies or studies that focus on one of the two poles of the relationship. We wanted to study relations between the police and minorities by emphasising a more micro-sociological approach in examining the views and experiences of the actors at both poles of the relationship in a particular urban neighbourhood.

3. Research methodology

The aim of our study of relations between the police and ethnic minorities in a Sheffield neighbourhood was to understand how police officers and ethnicised groups experience and define their relationship, by attempting to bring out the importance of the theme of identity and ethnicity in their discourse. Based on accounts of their experiences and the representations that emerged from these experiences, we also sought to understand some of the issues involved and how these representations of identity affect policing in ethnicised communities.

One facet of the research attempted to analyse the discourse of police officers who are from ethnic minorities. The aim of this facet of the study was to understand how members of minority groups, or people identified with minority groups, and who find themselves in a situation where they hold a certain degree of power, experience and view their identity, and how their sense of identity is likely to affect or not affect their practices and their relations with ethnicised minorities. Given the very limited number of police officers from minority groups in the study population, we cannot generalise from our findings. However, as we will see, our initial efforts in this area point to some interesting research avenues for more in-depth study on the presence of ethnicised minorities within the police.

Since the aim of our research was to understand the views and practices of the actors under study, we chose to focus on a qualitative approach by conducting semi-structured interviews. In order to consider the views of the actors at both poles of the relationship, we conducted interviews with members of the police force and members of ethnicised groups interacting in a single geographic area, the district of Woodseats.

We arrived in Sheffield in November of 1994. Through Professor Simon Holdaway, we arranged to meet with Mr. Douglas Brand, Chief Superintendent of the South district of the South Yorkshire Police. At the time of our stay, there were five main subdivisions of the Yorkshire Police: Barnsley, Doncaster, Rotherham, North Sheffield and South Sheffield. The district of South Sheffield was in turn divided into three subdistricts: Central Sheffield, Hackenthorpe and Woodseats. The study was carried out in Woodseats due to the concerns of the Chief Superintendent regarding Asian youth and certain racial tensions that were said to have become especially apparent the year before our arrival. It should be pointed out that the South district is not particularly known for racial tensions or confrontations. In November of 1993, however, during an annual celebration called Bonfire in England, a confrontation had occurred between police officers from the Woodseats station and young Asians who had gathered in a small park in Abbeydale, a residential and commercial neighbourhood where a number of minority groups are concentrated. Concerned by these events, the Chief Superintendent had asked us to conduct our study in this neighbourhood, as he was interested in finding out how police officers and minority groups viewed their respective relations.

It was difficult to control the selection of interviewees for the group of police officers. We first had to go through a Chief Inspector, who was given our selection criteria. Our selection of interviewees was based on five different criteria: years of experience, gender, ethnicity, rank or position, and whether or not the individual had taken part in the 1993 Bonfire events. After being given our research objectives and selection criteria, the Chief Inspector of the Woodseats station wrote an internal memorandum inviting interested police officers to participate in the study. We unfortunately had no control over the selection of the individuals to whom the memorandum was addressed. Sixteen police officers from the Woodseats station were in fact interviewed. We also conducted interviews with three officers assigned to the South Yorkshire Police's department of relations with ethnic minorities, as well as with an active member of the Black Police Association in London. In total, **twenty formal police interviews** were conducted.

The description and distribution of this population are as follows. There were four women and four police officers from ethnic minorities. Nearly half of the population was made up of police constables (8 out of 20), the others being sergeants (4), detectives (2) and commanding officers (3). In terms of the number of years of experience, more than half of the population had over 16 years of experience (five of the police respondents had between 16 and 20 years of experience at the time of the interviews and four had over 21 years of experience). Two of the police respondents had between 11 and 15 years of experience and one had 7 years. Four had between 1 and 5 years (see Appendix 1: Profile of Respondents).

For the population from the ethnicised group, **23 interviews** were conducted, including three interviews with groups of two people, representing a total of 25 people interviewed.

A number of strategies were employed to select the interviewees. We met with some of the participants in the Abbeydale Community Forum, set up after the 1993 Bonfire confrontation between the police and Pakistani youth. This forum includes members of the police, representatives from various ethnicised communities, and community workers. By introducing ourselves at local community centres, we also made contacts with individuals who helped us to arrange interviews with people working at the centres and with the centres' clientele (mainly young people). We also went around to neighbourhood parks, which put us in contact with local

teenagers. Some of the interviews were conducted with community leaders involved in minority rights protection and advocacy groups. On a few occasions, we used the "snowball" method, whereby a person encountered in an interview refers another interviewee to the researcher. Besides these interviews, we also interviewed a young resident of Wincobank, another Sheffield neighbourhood where we were living at the time. This interviewee was a Pakistani neighbour in the next building who had been a victim of racial harassment in the middle of the night, when racist remarks had been scrawled on the walls of the family's home. Since the police had been called to the scene, we thought that this was a good opportunity to illustrate relations between the police and minorities at the time of a particular incident. This brought the overall total to 26 people interviewed in this group.

The description and distribution of this population are as follows. Of the 25 people interviewed, 18 were men and 7 were women. There were 14 Asians, 6 Afro-Caribbeans, 3 Somalians, and 2 Chinese respondents. Nearly half of the interviewees, i.e. 11 individuals, were under the age of 25. Of these, 8 were under the age of 20. Six interviewees were in the 25-35 age group, one was in the 40-45 age group, and five were 50 years of age or older (two interviewees refused to disclose their age).

In terms of their occupation, the majority of the respondents were community workers or youth workers, i.e. individuals working in a community centre or community association as an animator, social worker or permanent staff member. But this did not mean that they could not hold down another job. For example, one interviewee identified himself as a community worker while also working as a taxi driver. Out of a total of 25 respondents (two respondents refused to state their occupations), there were 9 community or youth workers, 7 students, 2 civil servants, one nurse, one musician, one retired person, one salesperson and one respondent who defined himself as unemployed. The overrepresentation of the category of "community or youth worker" can be seen in two ways. On the one hand, it seriously limits the generalisation of our findings. It is indeed plausible that this type of job attracts individuals who are more politicised than other categories of actors, and that this politicisation colours these individuals' views of police-minority relations. On the other hand, the access to and knowledge of the community and the variety of contacts with people in the community that this job offers give this category of actors a

valuable position as key informants that to some degree offsets the negative effects of their overrepresentation in our sample (see Appendix 2: Profile of Respondents).

Most of the respondents were immigrants: of the 25 individuals interviewed, only 9 had been born in England. Three of the interviewees had immigrated before 1960, three between 1960 and 1969, four between 1970 and 1979, two between 1980 and 1985 and two had come to England after 1985.

We decided to conduct semi-structured interviews. Five main themes were introduced during the interviews:

1. relations between the police and ethnic minorities in Sheffield and, especially, in the neighbourhood
2. the Abbeydale Community Forum
3. the November 5, 1993 Bonfire
4. ethnic minorities within the police
5. neighbourhood life in Abbeydale

At the end of the interviews, the respondents were questioned on their definition of ethnicity (or of an ethnic minority).

4. Analysis of the interviews

The interviews were transcribed in their entirety and then substantially summarised. Based on this summary, we produced an analytical synthesis of each group of ideas that emerged chronologically during the interviewee's discourse. In order to perform a cross-sectional analysis, the chronology of the interviews was then broken down by classifying each group of ideas under certain common themes. Some of the general themes matched the themes set out in the interview schedule, while others were directly generated through the analysis.

Based on the respondent's status, we then divided up this thematic corpus into two subgroups: police officers and members of ethnicised groups.

Two of the themes listed in the interview schedule were not retained in the analysis due to lack of content. These involved the actors' views on the Abbeydale Community Forum and the November 5, 1993 Bonfire clash between the police and Asian youth.

5. The South Yorkshire Police Division: Some general information and statistics

Socio-demographic information

Sheffield is about 250 kilometres north of London, in South Yorkshire. Demographically speaking, it is the fourth largest city in the country. At the time of the 1991 census,[1] it had a population of 530,000, including 25,000 people identified as or who claimed to be members of ethnic groups or minorities. Ethnic minorities thus represented 5% of the population, a percentage corresponding to the national average (national average: 5.5% ethnic minorities in 1991).

Based on the census categories, the two largest ethnic groups in Sheffield are Pakistanis (with a little over a third of the ethnic population) and Blacks, especially Blacks from the Caribbean and Africa. In 1991, the unemployment rate was over 30% for six categories of ethnicised groups (Black Caribbean, Black African, Black Other, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Other), a figure twice the average unemployment rate for the city overall (15.9%). The unemployment rate was particularly high for three categories of minority women: Black African, Pakistani and Bangladeshi. Minority youth were also especially hard hit by unemployment (with a rate of 20.1%, compared to 15.9% for men and 7.8% for women) (see Appendix 3: Unemployment Rate by Ethnic Group, Age and Gender in Sheffield in 1991).

[1] In 1991, ethnic origin was included for the first time in the national census questionnaire (Central Policy Unit, 1994).

The district of Woodseats is not particularly known for interracial clashes. Ethnic minorities make up 13% of the population, with the largest groups being Pakistanis (7.7%) and Caribbean Blacks (1.5%). In 1994, police officers from ethnic minorities represented 1.8% of the South Yorkshire Police, or in actual numbers, 55 officers out of a total of 3031 in the South Yorkshire Police overall (South Yorkshire Police, internal document, app. 1994). It should be noted that this proportion is slightly higher than the national average of 1.6% (Police Service in England and Wales, 1994).

Crime statistics

From July 1, 1993 to June 30, 1994, the Woodseats police station recorded 10,393 offences, representing a rate of 111 offences per 1000 inhabitants. Out of the 14 area subdivisions, Woodseats ranked 6th in the crime rate per 1000 inhabitants (see Appendix 4). In examining the crime rate by subdivision and by type of offence (Appendix 5), we see that Woodseats is primarily affected by "burglaries of dwellings" (of the 14 subdivisions, Woodseats has the 5th highest rate per 1000 inhabitants for this type of offence), and by "theft from vehicles" and "theft/T.W.O.C." (with Woodseats ranking 6th in these categories). On the other hand, Woodseats station, along with Maltby, are the stations with the lowest rates of violent crime.

Racial harassment

The table presenting the South Yorkshire Police Division statistics on racist incidents (see Appendix 6) shows that the number of racist incidents recorded by the South Yorkshire Police virtually doubled from 1986 to 1994. We cannot necessarily conclude from this that the number of incidents is growing, since the increase could be explained by a greater sensitivity and willingness on the part of the citizens affected to condemn and report these acts, just as it could in fact represent an actual increase in these incidents. The types of racially-connected behaviour reported to the South Yorkshire Police in 1994 show that the most often-reported category is

abusive behaviour (42%), a category that is admittedly quite broad and thus rather imprecise. Property damage represents 25% of the incidents reported, assault 16% and verbal racist abuse 12% of the complaints made to the police. Racist graffiti and arson represent 3% and 1% respectively of the incidents reported (South Yorkshire Police, 1995).

In 1993, less than 3% of the complaints made by citizens about police officers to the Police Complaints Authority involved racial discrimination (129 complaints out of a total of 4720). In South Yorkshire, 304 complaints were addressed to the Police Complaints Authority, only 2 of which involved racial discrimination (HMSO, 1994).

Characteristics of the region served by the Woodseats police station

The areas served by the Woodseats police station vary considerably in their socio-demographic and economic make-up. Abbeydale is a residential and commercial neighbourhood with a high concentration of Asians (mainly Pakistanis), as well as a Chinese community, a West Indian community and a Somalian community. Low Edges and Batemoor are very underprivileged areas, whereas further to the west, Dore and Ecclesall are quite well-off neighbourhoods.

6. Organization of the report

This report consists of four parts. The first part includes the views and experiences of the police officers; the second, those of members of various ethnicised communities. The third part examines the views of the two groups of respondents on the recruitment of minority police officers. The fourth and final part provides a comparative analysis of the views of the two groups of actors. We deliberately chose to accord a great deal of space to the respondents' own words. Our report therefore includes numerous quotations. To preserve the respondents' anonymity, fictitious first names were used. Since there were few minority police officers at the Woodseats police station, we deliberately omitted their number of years of service and their ethnic origin in

order to conceal their identity. Similarly, we did not specify the rank of three commanding officers in order to ensure their anonymity.

PART I:

VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES OF THE POLICE OFFICERS

1. Description of relations between the police and ethnic minorities

How do the police officers describe their relations with minority groups in the neighbourhood? At first glance, they seem to view this relationship in a fairly positive light. However, none of the police officers categorically state that relations between minorities and the police are entirely good, or conversely, extremely difficult, conflictual or negative.

In analysing their discourse, we find that the police respondents tend to fall into two main categories:

1) In the first category, representing the majority (16 of the 20 interviewees), the respondents' views are rather positive overall, in that their relations are described as "very good," "quite good," or "good," with some officers remaining more non-committal, employing terms such as "stable," "under control," "no particular problems" or "reasonable";

2) In the second category, representing the minority (4 out of 20), the respondents state that they are unable to describe their relations with minority groups, since the quality of the relationship "varies from individual to individual" or "fluctuates between two extremes," from difficult to good:

> ...relationships are sometimes difficult and sometimes, they're very good.... I think it's very hard to sort of, put a definite view on whether relationships are good or bad but they vary from individual to individual and situation to situation". (Don, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

One of the respondents refers to a range of different types of relations:

> Some people approach me and talk to me quite willingly… Some of the children are a bit dubious towards me, I'd say. Like some are just dead friendly. (Judy, age 22, constable, 1 year of service)

One female commanding officer finds it difficult to express an opinion, given the distance separating her from police officers working in the field, so that it is "hard to know what they're doing" (Mary, age 41, commanding officer, 17 years of service).

And here it is interesting to more closely examine what we may call the argumentative strategy employed by the actors, which underlies their descriptions of police-minority relations. There are two aspects involved in this strategy: first, the use of a set of **comparisons,** and, secondly, the use of **examples** to support the viewpoints expressed. The result of this argumentative strategy is to either reinforce or provide a more nuanced view of the actors' perceptions of their relations with minorities.

Several reference criteria are used in the comparative aspect of the strategy:

1) time: emphasis on the fact that relations with ethnic groups are better now than they were in the past.

2) space. Two types of comparisons are highlighted here. First, an intercity spatial comparison is used to present the situation in the city of Sheffield as better than the situation in other cities such as London, for example. Secondly, an intra-city spatial comparison presents the Woodseats police district as better off than other Sheffield districts. Some officers even describe certain Sheffield districts as "no go police areas." The intra-spatial comparison is used more frequently than the inter-spatial comparison.

3) age. This is the most often-cited of the criteria used in the comparisons. In most cases, the police respondents find that relations are more difficult with young people than with adults and older people:

> Generally, the relationships between police and ethnic communities are quite good. Often, the older they are, effectively, the better we get on with them. It's like, a lot of youth, it's like myself at that age, you go through a stage of rebellion against parents and authority, some it's more serious than others. So, I think the relationship between the ethnic minorities and the police are good. I think, it's not very good between the youth itself, but, not all of them, of course. I mean, we only tend to know about the ones that are going to cause us problems, but there's a lot of young people who we never see. (Douglas, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

> …we come into contact with them daily. Relationships between them, between us and them, it varies, to be honest. I find that, generally, the older, the elders for the families, sort of like thirty years onwards, there's no problem, we get on fine with them. But, we find with the younger end, the teenagers, seem to have this barrier. Whether it's us or them, I don't know. But there seems to be a barrier between us and them, not all of them, just some of them. (Burt, age 30, constable, 5 years of service)

One 43-year-old police officer from the ethnic majority, with 19 years of service, says that he feels that relations are more difficult with older people, due to language barriers:

> I haven't had any training with ethnic minorities and, there's no doubt, it is very difficult, understanding them, the older type, as I say, the older end who don't speak English...(Bob, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

Only one police respondent takes a more nuanced view in specifying that relations with youth are quite varied, and that there are differences within this age group, not only among youth from various ethnic communities but also within the same ethnic group:

> If, however, you were to ask about the younger generation, we have a variety of different relationships. For a start, there is no clear age group. So, it would be wrong to talk about the Asian youth, for instance, because there are all sorts of different Asian youth. It would be wrong to even talk about the Somalia youth, because we know that we have two definite factions, and that they are the two historical and political factions that have caused the country to be in turmoil at the present time, and also, the fact that there's a

> psychological and environmental effect on them, having come from the most part from ....(1 word inaudible) warfare. As young children and young adolescents, they come to a non-warfare situation, but still feel the same need to defend territory and protect themselves... It would be wrong to try and categorise the groups. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

4) gender. Only one police officer mentions gender as a factor affecting the quality of relations between the police and ethnicised groups. This is Janine (age 34, constable, 16 years of service), who feels that she has better relations with women than with men, especially with Pakistani women.

5) ethnic origin. Some respondents compare the quality of relations with various ethnic groups, although there is no consensus in this area. Some officers feel that there are few problems with the Chinese community whereas others claim that relations are difficult with this community because it shuts itself off from outsiders. Similarly opposing viewpoints are found in comparisons of the Asian and Somalian communities.

6) the numerical factor. A number of officers emphasise that they have good relations with most people in the neighbourhood's various ethnic communities, and that relations are only difficult with a minority of individuals.

7) the type of behaviour. Some officers make a distinction between members of minority groups who are seen as criminals and those who are not, in stating that relations are most often problematic with the first type of individual and not the second. Others say that the quality of relations varies with the type of crime, in stressing that relations are more difficult with members of minority groups who are involved with drugs (Don, age 48, detective, 16 years of service).

Moreover, respondents often combine references to ethnic origin, age, type of "ethnic behaviour" and the numerical factor to outline a typical profile of the group with whom relations present the most difficulties, conflicts and problems, i.e. a very small group of criminalised Asian youth:

> ...when I say problems, I'm talking about a very small minority. I can, perhaps, point out a dozen, fifteen addresses where there are Asian young people living who I know have got criminal convictions, it's the same group of people. (Ron, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

Certain types of events are used to illustrate difficult or tense relations. One of the events mentioned by some police officers is an isolated incident where a young policewoman from the Woodseats police station is said to have been attacked by a group of young Asians:

> We have a problem with the Asian community. I think, wherever you go, you'll have problems with youngsters, full stop. The Asian community here, we've had problems for the last few years. They've attacked a Police woman, they slashed her car up and she was badly injured. There was about seven or eight of them. Approximately, 16 to 20 years old… She was off for a while. A gross act of cowardice. They got her down there on false pretences, got her away from the car and just attacked her. That caused a little bit of animosity between the Asians and the Police Force, because one of your own gets beaten up, it's bad enough, but when a woman gets beaten up by 7 or 8 Asian lads, it's a bit out of order. So, historically down at the Abbeydale, Heeley we've had problems with the Asian community, but no worse than anywhere else. (Wayne, minority police officer)

The unusual character of certain incidents prompts one commanding officer to underscore the relative nature of problematic relations with Asian youth:

> We've had one or two celebrated incidents which, to be ill informed or uninformed, could indicate that we have serious problems with the "Asian youth". I don't believe that, that's the case. I believe, that they are, there have been one or two separate incidents, which people have chosen for a variety of reasons to try and make into symbolic incidents, for their own motivation. November 5th last year, November 5th the year before, are two dates which particularly come to mind at the moment in the Broad Field Road area where there was definite confrontation between groups of Asian youths and Police Officers. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

In addition to these isolated incidents, the interviewees refer to some of the more frequent problems in the Abbeydale neighbourhood, such as graffiti, burglaries and break-ins.

The respondents emphasise the quality of relations and improvements in relations in noting that there has been an increase in the number of calls made by ethnic communities to the police, that a formal structure, i.e. the Abbeydale Community Forum, now exists to discuss and resolve problems, that police now have free access to youth centres and mosques, and that soccer games have been organised between the police and minority youth. These soccer games are the example most often given to illustrate the good relations or the improved relationship that police now have with ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood.

Three types of arguments are used by the police interviewees to explain why relations are good or why they have improved.

1) the police officer's attitude and personal experience: one officer indicates that his attitude and his experiences during his travels have brought him into contact with other cultures and have enabled him to more readily understand minorities, thus differentiating himself from some of his colleagues:

> It is a matter of the way you talk to people…Iprobably helped greatly in that because I've travelled extensively in the world, I've lived in other parts of the world, any part you want. I've lived in places like Mauritius, lived in Yemen for a long time in…certain times, I have actually lived in, in black communities and, so I think I have got slightly better understanding of them than some of my colleagues. (Don, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

2) the distinctive culture at the Woodseats police station, which is seen as much less aggressive than the culture at other police stations due to the lack of nightlife in the area:

> I think there is a different culture in the police station itself. The West Bar police station is basically a city centre police station, which also polices some housing estates. They came to adopt a fairly aggressive high profile stance in the city centre and the same stance, to some extent, is then used when dealing with the communities. You don't get that here because we haven't got that, the sort of city centre trouble spots, nightclubs and lots of drunks, things like that, people fighting…We don't have to adopt that same high profile taking perhaps, quite an aggressive approach and then getting in and stopping things early which is the way things are dealt with in the city centre. And, so there is perhaps a

> much more relaxed attitude in dealing with the public than there is in the city centre. (Don, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

3) police efforts to encourage mutual understanding and to accommodate different cultures:

> I think there's more effort made now to understand the cultures that are involved, certainly. Also we try and accommodate them more. By that, I mean, the fact that notices in police stations and notices that are handed out to people now are routinely published in a number of languages whereby they didn't used to be so. Perhaps, by that, people are able to understand a bit more what you know, what we're all about, whereas, if they didn't read English before, then they were struggling, and there are plenty of people in the Nether Edge area who don't, who are unable to read English. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

2. Police interactions with minorities

In this brief section, we will identify the people with whom the police interact in the course of their day-to-day work, based on the comments made by the police respondents.

The respondents' statements differ, since some police officers say that they have little contact with minorities whereas others maintain that they try to form close contacts with these groups, to the point that relations with minorities are closer than those with the ethnic majority:

> ... it's the sort of area where we try very hard to keep up the links with the community leaders and the mosque and that sort of thing. We probably have a much closer contact with them than we would have with the vicar of the local church around here. (Mary, age 41, commanding officer, 17 years of service)

More often, the police respondents claim to interact more frequently with young people, since this group is considered the most problematic. But frequency of contact does not necessarily mean quality of contact, as the police interviewees usually note that it is difficult to have good relations with teenagers. A few officers mention the lack of contact with the Chinese community,

which is seen as being closed to outsiders and is said to use its own internal mechanisms of social control:

> I don't think I've arrested one Chinese or prosecuted one Chinese. They tend to be a community that keep themselves to themselves and on the whole appear to be law-abiding people. I'm sure that some of them will do things wrong, but they don't get reported to the Police. They sort it out within their own community. (Ron, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

In passing, we can note that Ron makes similar remarks about the Jewish community.

Some officers specify that they mostly come into contact with people they see as criminals or with people seeking police protection:

> … the ones that we come into contact, most are either those that have an interest in their own protection or their own interest or their own safety point of view or those that are criminally orientated. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

A few officers specifically mention having more contact with the Asian community, while others make no ethnic distinctions in describing their contacts with the various communities living in the neighbourhood.

3. Race, culture and identity

The issue of identity is an especially interesting topic to explore, particularly since most of the police interviewees do not initially describe their relations with minorities as especially difficult or problematic. As the interview progresses, however, almost all of the officers tend to spontaneously mention the issue of race, culture or identity in describing a problem or a barrier between ethnic minorities and themselves.

Two types of problems emerge. The first type, which we can refer to as the first level of difficulty, involves the communication problems, mainly associated with language, experienced by some police officers. These problems generally seem to arise when police officers are in contact with older people, especially women, with whom, according to the policewoman quoted below, there is a real language barrier:

> With some of the older ones there's obviously a bit of difficulty with language at times, especially with females, who quite often, their English is limited, so, obviously, there is a language barrier there. (Diana, age 26, constable, 7 years of service)

This situation requires police officers to ask the children of the people with whom they are interacting to act as interpreters:

> I've been to the houses and there's been the woman present with a teenage son and the teenage son has taken the responsibility and the mum has taken a back role. So, it's like the son is in charge, if you like, which can be difficult when the mum lets him assume the responsibility, which again, is usually because of language, or I assume because of language, anyway. We often quite, we often have to sort of use children to interpret for us, which obviously isn't ideal. (Diana, age 26, constable, 7 years of service)

Despite this problem, some officers feel that communication is still possible, and say that they use other ways to relate to people:

> I mean, just because you can't speak the language doesn't mean you can't communicate with them, because just smiling at them and being friendly to them, you know, and body language when you walk past them, it's just as good as speaking to them sometimes I find. (Judy, age 22, constable, 1 year of service)

The second type of problem can be said to occur on a different level; it represents a very interesting meta-problem in the area of the structuring of identity. In referring to ethnic or racial differences, most of the police interviewees express their exasperation in describing how members of ethnic minorities tend to highlight their differences in their relations with the police and to make strategic use of these differences.

According to the police respondents, members of minorities make strategic use of their differences for a number of purposes.

Some of the remarks imply that this “strategy” is used to “hide” certain things in an attempt to escape justice:

> They use it. Oh, it's harassment and stuff, and all that. Then again you find that you only tend to find it with people if they've got something to hide. (Judy, age 22, constable, 1 year of service)

> … that's just an excuse, just for them to try and get off what they've been caught for. (Richard, minority police officer)

One police officer more directly calls it a tactic used to get away with breaking the law:

> Sometimes, occasionally, they use their culture as an excuse for breaking the law, like we had one incident when this Somali person came to see me and says: “I don't think the police understand our culture”. I said: “in what way?” He said: “well they come from a war-torn area in Somali, which they have”. They're not integrated in this society yet because they're new and they've been used to carrying knives, some carry guns, some may even kill somebody. You know in their cultures they carry knives. I said: “well unfortunately that might be so, but the law says that you should not carry knives, and in that respect, the law overtakes your culture”, and they've got to abide by the law. Or if they don't, they've got to suffer the consequences. (Douglas, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

Others view it as a means of acquiring an advantage:

> They could use that to their advantage. I think they use that sometimes, like to discuss things amongst themselves. (Judy, age 22, constable, 1 year of service)

> Because I can't understand what they're saying so it can be used to their advantage. You know, it leaves you out in the cold if you like and gives them an extra, you know, something extra that you've completely lost, you know (...) It's done just to sort of say, yes we can talk and you won’t understand us, to get one over, if you like to say, this is an

> advantage that we've got. (Diane, age 26, constable, 7 years of service)

Some officers think that it is a strategy directly aimed at triggering a confrontation:

> I always say: “no you have been arrested because you've assaulted somebody” or I tell them why they've been arrested. I mean, they know why they've been arrested, I think its just to create a confrontation sometimes. (Bob, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

> "Oh, you wouldn't say that to a group of white youths, you're just saying that because we're Asian etc. etc." and their group will work just to complete the confrontation. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

Some feel that this attitude is deliberately adopted to establish a separation and create barriers:

> One of the things I've experienced when I've gone in there, they will suddenly revert to a language that I don't understand. Although when I'm walking in, they're speaking openly in English, they will revert to a language that they know I don't understand, in order to talk without me understanding what they say, that happens quite a lot, and that, obviously, creates barriers and difficulties. (Diane, age 26, constable, 7 years of service)

The many police respondents who mention this aspect imply that it is a widespread practice among members of ethnic minorities who have run-ins with the police. The respondents often express how fed up they are and how powerless they feel in dealing with an attitude that they say shows a lack of respect:

> … they don't consider that we're only doing it because they've committed an offence, they seem to want to throw that at you, not all of them but, certainly a proportion of them seem to think that they're being picked on because of their colour or they're ignorant of the fact that, they're committing an offence. "You've only picked on me because I'm black", that is quite a common thing to say. I don't know really what they're hoping to achieve by saying that, because, it doesn't achieve anything, it probably just wind some people up. You do get sick of hearing it but, majority of people will deal with it professionally and you just ignore anything that's designed to annoy you or wind you up. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

> It annoys me, definitely, because, like I say, there's nothing you can do about it, you can't stop somebody from talking. When it's done in order to exclude you, then, you know, I find it very annoying. (Diane, age 26, constable, 7 years of service)

> …they started speaking the language they speak, which I have not got a clue about, in my presence, which I found quite rude to be quite honest. (Judy, age 22, constable, 1 year of service)

> So there's a concentration on using their race and their minority position as the reason why they won't talk to us or are reluctant to co-operate or keep making this issue of race such a big thing, as being the only reason as to why we're there. To be honest with you, you get fed up with it. It's an excuse. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

> I sometimes feel that we're in a no-win situation because no matter what I say they don't take any notice. They just say: "you know, it's not right, it's because I'm Paki'" as they call it. (Burt, age 30, constable, 5 years of service)

There is no consensus among the respondents about which minority group is most likely to use such a strategy. Some officers feel that this practice is more common among West Indians:

> Very often, when you deal with an ethnic person, particularly West Indians as opposed to an Asian… they very often will say to you: "you're only doing this because I'm black". (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

Others think that this reaction is more frequent among Asians, especially due to their relatively high concentration in the neighbourhood:

> So, if they've got their own culture, their own prayers, and their own Mosque, that's fine. But, when it comes to the law, there are certain laws you've got to obey. When they come back with the excuse: "it's our culture", and it's more Asians because we've got more Asians than anybody else. So, it tends to be them, you know, you don't understand, you don't police sensitively. (Douglas, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

Still others feel that this is more of a problem with second-generation members of ethnic minorities:

> I, generally, tend to find that when dealing with those sorts of people who are from Pakistan, or who are second generation, you know, British people of an Asian race, they will use that. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

Some see it as a situation mainly occurring among young people:

> The anti Police feeling is primarily from the youth, because they do not like to deal with the authority. If you work in an area where there are a lot of Asians or West Indians, then you're bound to see more of them and because you see more of the West Indians, you're stopping them, everybody thinks: "oh, he's picking on me because I'm black or Asian". That's not the case. (Samuel, minority police officer)

Most of the police officers encountered thus tend to claim that members of minority groups deliberately highlight racialised differences in their relations with the police and employ this strategy for specific purposes, as we have seen.

Only one female commanding officer notes the same attitude as that observed by her colleagues without seeing it as a strategy or a deliberate action by members of ethnic minorities. She does however feel that this attitude represents a barrier that is difficult to break down:

> Young Asians ... will always perceive that the police action against them is only being taken because they are from an ethnic minority and that big barrier is very difficult to get across. (Mary, age 41, commanding officer, 17 years of service)

Although found far less frequently, some of the respondents' comments attempt to minimise the importance of ethnic issues in police relations with minority groups. Some thus tend to stress that criminal activity is linked to age, and not to race:

> Obviously, there are problems with the Asian youths but then you get that from no matter which part of the world you are, there will be a problem with it or whatever nationalities you are…It's not a question of race, it's just youths…(Samuel, minority police officer)

Others de-emphasise ethnicity in noting that one should not make categorisations or generalisations about minority groups:

> It's very easy to categorise people and I could very easily say that all West Indians are drug smoking, rum drinking layabouts but, clearly that isn't the case. It may be the case with the minority who the police come into contact with but certainly not the case as regards to all West Indian, people who live in the community...You might find some of us here who say that Asians literally tell lies and are deceitful. Well that may be the case with the minority we come into contact with but we do only come into contact with very much a minority of the Asian community. We don't come into contact with the larger part of them...I'm actually getting on extremely well with them, having no problems but on other occasions when I've dealt with them where they've been concerned in matters of criminality themselves, it's been very difficult but I can't say I can ascribe that to their ethnic orientation at all. (Don, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

Another officer underscores the fact that people of all kinds, and not just minorities, tend to react badly when being arrested:

> You get all sorts of things said to you by all sorts of people, certainly not exclusively people from ethnic communities. Basically people don't like being arrested, no matter what colour they are, and some people's way to react to that is, some will react violently, even if, they might not have initially been arrested for a violent matter. People don't like having their liberty taken from them, for whatever reason it's been taken from them, and they react in different ways. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

Finally, this same officer goes on to say that racial differences are less important than the difference between people who respect the law and people who do not:

> I think the difference, the difference is more between the law-abiding people and the people who don't have any respect for the law regardless of colour. I mean we've got groups of white youths who are committing all sorts of crimes and they're equally as bad as anybody else with an attitude towards us, if not worse. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

4. Types of problems highlighted

In this section, we briefly examine a range of situations that the police see as problematic in their relations with ethnic minorities. The two most frequently recurring problems are accusations of police racism and problems with young people. In view of their importance, these two problems will be dealt with in a separate section.

This being said, while our analysis of the police interviewees' discourse shows that some officers mention problems within the police force itself, most of the respondents refer to problems outside their organization.

The few police officers who cite problems within the force mention:

1) police officers' mistakes in their work and "lack of tact":

> …one of the problems has been, from our side, whereby, as I said earlier, there are, there are some police officers who don't handle things as well as others do. I'm going to give you an example, an abstract example, whereby, perhaps, a police officer stops an Asian or a West Indian chap driving a car and he says, you know: "what did you stop me for?", majority of people say well: "I stopped you because, you know, you've got a light out on your car" or whatever the reason. But that, no doubt in the past, because I'm a police officer, you know, you don't need to know why I've stopped you. That sort of thing creates, straight away, that persons' had a bad experience with a police officer…he only needs to tell the next person and so on and so on. I think that's how, how things can get out of hand, and then, of course, stories always get a little bit added on to them and what started off as just a few words, gets distorted, but certainly some of the, I think, some of the fault has been historically with the police, but I think they are, we are trying to put it right … there…are problems, yes, certainly. Some of that can be down that attitude of police officers, not all police officers are, what shall we say, as tactful as others, but I think if you look at an organization that's got close to 3,000 employees, you're certainly going to get a percentage of people who will handle…less tactful than others, as you would in any society, taking … of three thousand people, there are going

> to be people who handle things better than others, so I don't think there is anything particularly, shall we say, sinister about that. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

2) police officers' lack of training and experience:

> ….we have very, very little training in relation to the ethnic side of it. Certainly, when I joined, I didn't have any training at all, no training at all…So, yeah, up until me actually coming in this department, I was very, I was lacking in knowledge about it, you know. It's just through the actual experience of doing it, so it makes me think in such a small department the other 3,000 and old bobbies are not getting this experience are they. They are not dealing with this solely all the time. So you are gonna get a bit of lack of understanding sometimes. (Janine, age 34, constable, 16 years of service)

> I received no input whatsoever about the sort of ethnic communities and the backgrounds and cultures of people I was going to encounter. Now, whether they do now, I don't know, but I've certainly received none since. So, I certainly wasn't given any preparation. My generation were given no preparation for what we were going to encounter. And, of course, I think of my training class, I'm sure we were all, all white, we all came from middle class sort of backgrounds where we hadn't lived and perhaps been to school even with…(Don, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

3) the existence of prejudices and stereotypes:

> I think our problems with ethnic groups, which are different from ourselves, is that generally our contact with them is with criminal element which gives us a bad view of that section of society…We, obviously, used to have stereotype, or stereotypical images of what people would do but I think over the years, certainly for myself, as a policeman, greater involvement has meant that, those stereotypes have disappeared. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

4) the problem of over-policing. In describing the 1993 Bonfire confrontation between police and Asian youth, one minority police officer maintains that:

> Heavy policing created the scenario and resulted in the way it did. (Samuel, minority police officer)

5) the problem of police officers expecting confrontation to occur:

> … if you are in an area where everywhere is hard, harsh, everywhere is difficult policing, it's always conflict and confrontation, then as a police officer, I think you become maybe a little bit offensive, always ready for conflict and confrontation. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

Aside from these internal problems, and aside from problems with young people and accusations of racism, the issue most commonly cited by police officers is the problem of a barrier, one that is very real and not directly tied to their organization, although one officer implies that the problem may be a joint one:

> But, we find with the younger end, the teenagers, seem to have this barrier, whether it's us or them, I don't know, but it seems to be a barrier between us and them, not all of them, just some of them. Sometimes, it can get quite intense, in that we get the feeling that, obviously, they don't like us, they don't want us around them. (Burt, age 30, constable, 5 years of service)

When reporting this type of problem, the officers clearly imply that barriers of this kind not only result in a lack of communication but also lead to distrust of the police and lack of cooperation:

> With the younger ones, it's not too bad. The problem that we've got, obviously, is the older ones with the language barriers. It takes a long time to get their confidence and, even now, there's some of them that don't trust the police. Yes, it's very difficult, it is, very, very suspicious of us…(Bob, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

> …sometimes, we do, we still have to bend over backwards to try and gain the confidence of these people, and … they seem to have an inbuilt suspicion of the police, that we are out to get them at all costs. I mean (short laugh), personally, I don't think that is the case, at all. But, there's certainly a perception that we've got to watch… I think that's the biggest problem, is trying to gain their confidence. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

One upper-level commanding officer clearly differentiates himself from his organization in deploring his colleagues' lack of understanding about this problem, which he feels stems from the image minority groups have of police forces in their countries of origin:

> The great frustration of Police Officers has been, for many years, not being able to understand why people won't trust them in the way that other parts of the indigenous population will trust them. What they fail to recognise, is that if you are brought up in a society where the Police is a police by brutality, if the Police Officers have tremendous power and little accountability, then the exercise of that power can touch any part of the community whenever it seeks to make an influence, and there is no recourse to true justice. Then is there any wonder that people, when they see Police written English, they see Police Officers in England, they have the same feeling that they had from their own country. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

Similarly, one respondent feels that the problems derive from a mistaken belief, based on minority groups' experience with police forces in their countries of origin, that the police have absolute powers and can do whatever they like:

> I think, in Pakistan and India, policing is very, very different to what it is in this country and the people that have experienced that over there, I think, they've got this sort of inbuilt belief that we've got wide, wide ranging powers to sort of get anything done. That's not the case, and they do seem to find it difficult to accept that sometimes. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

Many officers spontaneously link the problems the police face to a specific part of the city and, in particular, Leyburn Road. This area is directly associated with the problems the police have experienced with Asian youth:

> It's definitely Leyburn Road, this rebel meet. All the Asian kids from Nether Edge Area meet there, and they see it as their patch, you know, if they see a strange face like, you're not welcome here, when it belongs to the community not just to the Asians. So they think it's their, it's their corner and sometimes we get problems there. (Samuel, minority police officer)

However, some respondents note that on Leyburn Road, the area associated with the 1993 Bonfire clash between young Asians and the police, there are fewer problems now than there were in the past:

> If we're talking about Leyburn Road, I think it's a little bit better because, more recently, we've started trying to be involved with them, a bit more. We've organised football matches between this station and them, we've had two or three now. Now whether that's helped, I don't know, but, coincidentally, we don't seem to have had so many incidents on Leyburn Road. (Burt, age 30, constable, 5 years of service)

5. Racism and differential treatment

This is one of the main themes cropping up in the police interviews. Three subthemes are discussed by the respondents: minority groups' accusations of police racism, racism within the police, and racial harassment. Of the three, accusations of police racism are said to most often characterise police relations with minority groups:

> I hope I don't appear racist. I know I'm not but sometimes you get the feeling that they think you are and because, you get accused of it a lot down there, it's mainly the Nether Edge area, the Abbeydale areas of Sheffield, where a lot of the young lads are which we deal with. And you get told that we're racist, you know, you know, when you're talking to them, you know, Pakistanis or whatever. (Burt, age 30, constable, 5 years of service)

Minority groups have even publicly voiced these accusations in identifying certain officers by name:

> I once had my name painted on the wall, because I'd arrested a young Asian lad who is a prolific burglar, stealing from his own community and stealing cars, all that, in and out of prison all the time, and I remember once I locked him up and a few days later, my name was sprayed on a wall, you know, "this officer is a racist", and there was also obscene remarks about my mother and my wife. I'm not gonna repeat those, but obscene remarks. I mean, it didn't upset me

> because I knew it wasn't true, but other people see that, you know, they think: “who is this guy?, what's all this about?”, and they can get the wrong impression. (Ron, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

Many officers believe that members of minority groups make accusations of racism in an attempt to put pressure on the police and have the charges against them reduced:

> They often accuse the police of being racist…. I often find that's an excuse…to reduce charges and ...pressure on the people to reduce the charges, or get them dropped completely. (Douglas, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

When police officers discuss the issue of racism within the police, they often dispute its existence or try to minimise its importance. Some acknowledge that racism did exist in the past:

> …there was one instance, a long time ago now, I mean, I'm talking twelve, ten, twelve years ago, where I worked at another police station but where there was a large Asian community and there had been a dispute, a fight, if you like, between members of the white community youths and members of the Pakistani community, Pakistanis. And I was very much at that time the junior officer in, in this group of officers and they went and immediately arrested all the Pakistanis and didn't arrest the whites. Now, that to me was clearly wrong, and it was resolved, it was sorted out properly in the end but that was clearly wrong… and that was clearly, without a doubt, because the officers had the knowledge to know that, you know, that what they were doing wasn't right, wasn't correct in the operation… I've not seen it happen in front of me as a supervisory officer and it may be purely and simply because of my presence there as a supervisory officer that any officer who, who did feel discriminatory, felt constrained by my presence and would understand that I wouldn't permit that to happen. That's possible, it's always difficult once you're a supervisor, and people know that, and know that you will interpose if you think something is being done incorrectly. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

Overall, the officers feel that the police have changed a great deal and that racism is no longer tolerated. The main factors said to be involved in this change are the introduction of internal sanctions and improvements in recruitment standards:

> But, I mean, you get some Officer, or you see in the paper individual Officer, you know, they've been committed of an internal disciplinary offence, for some sort of racial incident, but, I mean, as I say, these days, that is rarer and rarer…. absolutely, absolutely, because of the standards of people that they're now recruitment; because of the training that those recruits undergo and with those who are existing Police Officers prior to that, who have perhaps, well, had the training etc. or the awareness. These new people coming through filters in have an effect on them and also because management in the Police, these days, will not tolerate it at all, at all. It's, virtually, to the point where you will lose your job, you will be dismissed. So it's an ever reducing triangle, you're going to the thin edge, when, you know, there will always be a bad apple in the barrel. There will always be somebody whatever organization it is, because, after all, the Police represent wider society, because we're all taken from society, but there's the training and there's the type of person whose now being attracted to the Police. There's the internal sort of like statements from the Management. It's not tolerated etc, which immediately reduces. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service).

Some feel that police officers are more careful now than they once were due to potential repercussions:

> I'd be lying if I said it didn't happen because it certainly has happened in the past, and people have lost their jobs because of it. I think people are perhaps a bit more careful these days to what they actually say or do because they know the repercussions are perhaps, they're more than what they used to be, there's no doubt about that. You're more likely to find yourselves in serious trouble for something you do than perhaps you did ten years ago, certainly. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

One policewoman contests accusations of police racism by seriously questioning members of minority groups' ability to judge their situation objectively:

> …how do they know that the officer is dealing with them in the same way that they deal with somebody else because they actually never see the police officer deal with somebody else. So, they have nothing to compare it with and say: "right, yeah, I'm actually being treated in the same way as a white person would've been" because they don't know how a white person would've been treated, they haven't seen,

> usually you haven't seen a police officer stop another car, so they don't know that they're being treated in the same way. So, it is, I think, that is the big sort of gap we've got to get over. (Mary, age 41, commanding officer, 22 years of service)

Without actually calling fellow officers racists, other officers say that some of their colleagues do not really understand minorities:

> I've got to admit that I was very, let me think, very ignorant about some of the issues relating to the Asian people. How can I put it? I don't mean that all these Policemen are racist, I don't mean that, but I just feel that they don't understand….So, I do feel, just by listening to general talk in the canteen type of chit chat, that maybe, some of the Police Officers, just don't really understand about the different communities and how they live, you know, their beliefs and things. (Janine, age 34, constable, 16 years of service)

A few officers acknowledge that the nature of their work can easily lead them to develop stereotypes and prejudices about the people they deal with. This is why they feel that they must be very careful to avoid making hasty generalisations:

> …if you are dealing with an ethnic, let's say Asian, who is a bad one, whose been in trouble and then you come to work the following day, you're dealing with a bad one again, the next day you're dealing with a bad one again, in those three days you've dealt with bad Asians and you haven't spoken to or interviewed or taken a complaint from a respectable, honest, law abiding Asian, then you can say, they're all the bloody same. Like you know, they're all criminals, they're all the same. So, you've got to be aware of that and not let that influence you, because they're not all the same. (Ron, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

Some find it normal for prejudices to exist within their organization in emphasising the fact that society has prejudices, and that the police are a part of society:

> Well, people do have irrational prejudices. If, if you speak to someone and try and be logical with them and say: "Well why do you dislike black people?" and you take them through the logical thinking process, you may, well, show them that what they're doing is illogical but it doesn't necessarily mean that you will change what they feel. And policemen are just society and society has people who are

> prejudiced. So it, so it's only right to accept that, with the, probably, within the police force, there will be people who are prejudiced. It's certainly part of my job to avoid that sort of behaviour becoming apparent or affecting decisions that affect in fairness. But, it's bound to happen from time to time and it does the police service a dis-service. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

This same officer feels that we have to separate people's views from their actions. An officer may have prejudices about minorities, but the main thing is for his ideas not to affect his behaviour:

> I still wouldn't expect any of those people who are prepared to make racist comments to allow their ideas to affect their professional treatment of anyone. And, I've yet to see, any racist viewpoint out loud, interfere with the duty on a professional level…I think, that the people who have those viewpoints realise that they must separate the view because if they don't, they will lose their job. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

One minority police officer maintains that a subtle form of racism still exists within the force:

> So, those subtle racism, desires and feelings exist. They still do, to this day and age. Some are blatant, some are not so blatant, but the subtleties of racism exist no matter where you are. They may be within the Police Force, but it's extremely subtle, you know. (Samuel, minority police officer)

A problem cited by another respondent is that an officer may unconsciously discriminate against a person from a minority group:

> … it's possible for me to make a decision which would, in affect, be discriminating against an ethnic minority. And I, and I don't know that I've done it because I haven't fully understood, maybe what the problem is, and so by, by some way, I have discriminated against this person…it is possible, if you're not fully aware of the circumstances to be wrong, to make, you know, and, and, that if, if it was ethnicity that, that you were wrong about then that would be some form of discrimination. I cannot think of an instance to give you unfortunately. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

The third subtheme falling under the category of racism is the problem of racial harassment experienced by ethnic minorities. This is an interesting question from the standpoint of the structuring of identity. A few officers in fact find it difficult to evaluate the racist nature of some crimes:

> How do you determine whether or not the white landlord is harassing a family because they are Asian, or because they're particularly vulnerable and he wants more money out of them anyway, irrespective of what colour they are. These circumstances are faced by the Police Officers on a regular basis….What's more difficult to see where people are discriminated against in a very insidious way, a very cold way, and you're never quite sure whether or not it's because an individual is just of that type or whether or not they're specifically saying no I'm going to disadvantage this Asian family because they're an Asian family. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

Some respondents even criticise minority groups for once again using their ethnicity to blame police for failing to do anything about such incidents:

> … if there's nothing to go on, like any, a lot of crimes, that opportunist thing, then there's very little you can do, other than to say we'll take a report, you know, you're telling me that you can't think of anybody who would want to do it. It looks as if though they're drunk lads on the way home from the pub, who picked up a brick and lobbed it at any old house. If it's that sort of situation and nobody's seen anything, there's nothing you can do, because you've got nowhere to start and when you get those sort of instances, you can find that people turn around and say: "well it's obvious it's a racist attack, well it's obvious it's this". Then you say to them: "why is it obvious?" Because I'm Asian, when in reality it's not a racist attack at all, it was an opportunity instant, because, you know, they have a perception themselves that it was a racist attack because they're Asian. Then, if you were perhaps to catch up with someone whose put a brick through somebody's window and you say well: "why did you do it?" Because it was alarmed, and it transpires then that there was no racist motivation behind it at all. It was just somebody who was drunk and though they'd have a good laugh and do a scarper. That's possibly when people will turn around and say, well, you've not done anything. Their perception is that it was a racist attack, when in reality, it wasn't a racist attack. It was just

> another incident, another incident of crime, but because they're Asian, they think, well it had to be a racist attack, “why haven't you done anything it?” "Bloody hell, you Police Officers, you're all the same, you won't do anything about it" when there's nothing really to do about it, because it's not racist, and also because there's no line of enquiry. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

One minority police officer criticises some people for using racist incidents for political ends, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, for failing to ask for help at the time of the incidents:

> I think, there was, at one stage, a National Front trying to stir some trouble by putting slogans on and then the militants who where trying to defend and put the anti-National Front feeling in, took it to hand and decided to create a little bit more out of it than what there initially was. And then, they were saying the Police does not care about the Asian problems and they were quoting full scenarios of damage done to the property, Asian families being harassed and sat there and listened and listened and then, I turned round one day and I says: “Okay, why wasn't the incident reported at the time? Why are you raking the stuff that happened six months ago, seven months ago? That situation has been dealt with. Why are you building these things up when in essence there is no tension?”. When I walk on the street, nobody's stopping me and saying: “hey Mr… you're one of us, I'm having this problem, can you help us”. Why haven't they done that? Why hasn't the community done that?, instead of you, as the Social Workers with whatever, your biases and politics coming out and making such a big song and dance about it. For that reason, I became very unpopular with them and they had no time for me, and perhaps it's right to say that I had no time for them as well. If the ordinary man on the street can't stop me and say to me: “I'm having this problem”. (Samuel, minority police officer)

Racial harassment would therefore seem to represent a sensitive issue in police-minority relations. The police interviewees imply that minorities blame them for failing to act in these situations, which is seen by minorities as a sign of racism. This has led to a change in the procedure used by police to record racially-connected incidents, in order to attempt to change minorities’ perceptions of the police not doing anything:

> If a Police Officer is called to an allegation of racial harassment, racial abuse, and he makes a note of the times

> he's arrived there in his pocket book, and he's going to make a report, and it will be recorded. In the Police Officer's mind, and in a lot of peoples' minds, there's an understanding now that Police Officers don't have to write everything down because, back at Head Quarters, there's a computer system which has created all the details of the incident, name, address, telephone number of the person who has reported the incident. So, the officer at the scene doesn't have to write anything down. Now, to the average person who calls the Police, that might be quite acceptable, but to somebody's whose feeling somewhat vulnerable, he feels that they've been the subject of harassment or abuse, to have a Police Officer saying: "yes, it will be reported" and not write anything down, this might actually exacerbate their perception that nobody's going to do anything about it. Therefore, in one of my neighbouring divisions, the Police introduced a system there of duplicating reports, so that people could see, particularly for ethnic communities, that things were being written down, because that was very important for them. Now, that's treating people differently, albeit very slightly, to the average, but it means that they have a sense of fairness. It meant that they were able to see that things were actually being done, despite the fact that modern technology, being what it is, all their information would have been recorded anyway. So, it's introducing a system, which is a duplication, right, but it satisfies a need. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

In regard to differential treatment, several viewpoints emerge from the interviews. Some officers believe that they do not act any differently with minorities, in that minorities are said to be treated in the same way as other people, that is, as "human beings with the same rights, privileges and lifestyles as other human beings" (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service). Other officers do however note that their relations with minorities are different, especially due to their awareness that they are dealing with a person of another origin, an awareness that one respondent feels stems from the minority person's own perceptions of the situation:

> …you cannot disassociate yourself from the fact that these sort of incidents of disorder are carried out by young Asians who will always, who themselves, will always perceive that the police action against them is only being taken because they are from an ethnic minority and that is, that is, the big barrier that is very difficult to get across… they have a real belief that police actions are only taken against them because they are black…. it's a very difficult gap to get over

> and as I say we're always, I think, we are always sensitive to that, I don't think it actually affects the way we police down there, but we do, in many ways, as I say, because of the area, it is in a high crime area, you get more policing down there than elsewhere…I mean, there's an awareness, there's an awareness that they might be a second level to things, that could easily create problems. (Mary, age 41, commanding officer, 17 years of service)

Some respondents state that the fear of being seen as a racist is what causes differential treatment, and puts pressure on police officers:

> I feel differently when I'm talking to them because of that. I've always got it in the back of my mind that I don't want to make them feel that I've just stopped them because the colour of their skin or whatever, or they're ethnic minority, that's always in the back of my mind and I must admit that, when I stop someone, when I speak to somebody that's white, you know, or English, you know, same colour as me, I've not got **…** that's just struck me, that has, yes. When I speak to an Asian or ethnic minority, I've always got in my mind that I mustn't let on, or I mustn't let it show, or try not to make them think. Should I say that I've got something against them, sometimes I find it, I have to be very, very careful….It makes me feel uptight, I, I just cannot work them out a lot of the time. I can't work out why they're doing it, I know it's just a show off thing but, you've got to be very, very careful not, not to try and get upset, and loose your temper with them. (Burt, age 30, constable, 5 years of service)

This happens to the point that some officers admit to acting more leniently, especially to avoid a complaint of racism:

> When you come with an Asian person, you are aware of the possibilities of them turning round and making a complaint about: "oh, this Officer was racially abusive to me" or whatever, you know, "was just generally awkward or abusive because I was Asian". You're aware of that, perhaps as I say, you might treat a bit more softly, because you do not want your Inspector, your manager coming back and saying, now: "I've received a complaint from Mr Khan saying that, you know, you were racist to him" or something like that, because you don't want the possible consequences of that, because it's a sensitive issue still, although it's decreasing. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

> …you feel sometimes, I know that if you see Asians or something in a car, I feel less inclined to stop them because I feel that the community could get annoyed by saying: “Oh you've only stopped them because you know they're coloured”. (Judy, age 22, constable, 1 year of service)

Some police officers do not hesitate to say that minorities should be treated differently, because of their differences:

> Sometimes, of course, we have to react differently because people, because of their ethnicity, have different perceptions and we have to be aware of those but really all we can be is, or try to be, is even-handed within the law. And whilst we may understand that people from different ethnic backgrounds look at things in a different way, we still must treat them like we treat everyone else and try not to treat them differently. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

In this case, there is a conscious effort to treat people differently in the aim of fairness:

> Treating people the same may not be fair, so fairness is one of the maxims that I established when I first came here. I acknowledge that people will be, I acknowledge that people will be treated differently, because circumstances will often determinate that they should be treated differently, but everybody should be treated fairly. That's the main thrust. Therefore, as far as ethnic minorities are concerned, treating their members fairly, quite often, means appearing to do much more for them than the rest of the population. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

This interviewee gives two examples to illustrate his comments: the situation of Muslim women who refuse to enter into arranged marriages, and the carrying of weapons in the Somalian community:

> Now, as far as we're concerned, it may mean that something along the lines of protecting Muslim women who choose not to engage in arranged marriages from being discovered and being assaulted by family members, and so, therefore, I may have to spend some extra time through my crime prevention officers in ensuring that the Muslim women's community know of the existence of women's refuge or that they can call the Police and know that they'll get treated differently,

> but fairly, from the average person, because of the particular problems they face…
>
> With Somali youth who've known nothing but war and fighting, and, therefore, come to Sheffield with that sort of mind set to have an understanding that actually they don't need to be arming themselves every time they go out on the streets, because this is a different place to the two part of Somalia that are in conflict. Simple things like that, it's incumbent on me to provide some of that information because, otherwise, we find ourselves in a situation where we treat everybody the same, and we miss a tremendous number of potential victims, simply because our treating everybody the same doesn't accommodate their needs. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

6. Views regarding ethnic minorities

The theme of how the respondents view minorities is one of the main topics discussed in the interviews. Once again, it is an interesting theme to explore because the ways the respondents view minorities testify to a far more problematic or conflictual relationship than that implied when the officers are directly asked to describe their relations with ethnic minorities at the beginning of the interviews.

We do not find any overall uniformity in the respondents' views. The main differences found in the police officers' views of minority groups centre around age and origin.

The majority of the officers feel that there are important differences between young people and older people. Many of their comments concern young people, who seem to represent an especially problematic group.

Most respondents say that older people understand the police better than younger people do:

> I think the older, the older element, respects a bit of a strong word, but they tend to understand authority a little bit better. It's not like we're trying to victimise anybody but, you know,

> the law's there to be upheld and I think the younger element don't understand that. Whereas, I think the older element grew up with slightly stricter upbringing, so they understand a little bit more about rules and regulations. (Richard, minority police officer)

> If you were to look at the older generation of Pakistani groups, who lived in the Sharrow, Abbeydale area, you would find that most of them are from the north of Pakistan, but a lot of the origins are to do with working in Government service, so they're a pretty sort of law abiding bunch. Therefore, their expectations are that if they cause no fuss, they cause no bother, then they won't run into problems themselves. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

One respondent specifies that a lack of respect for authority is an attitude more closely linked to age than ethnicity:

> I think it, in general, the younger, the younger ends of the age scale, regardless of what the ethnic background is, whether it's white, Afro Caribbean, Asian or whatever, there is less respect for the police certainly…(Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

Almost all the respondents describe young people as openly "anti-police," a tendency that some particularly note in the case of Asian youth:

> The only thing is the youth from the Asian culture, when he sees the Police Officer, they have a tendency to play up…. They become very rowdy. If the Policeman is talking to one Asian youth regarding a specific problem saying: "look behave yourself", before you know it, they all congregate and start lipping the Officer and causing sort of a public nuisance. There is that kind of problem that occurs, and that's where the problem lies and that's where the anti-Police feeling comes in from the youths, but when you check the individual files, you'll find that one or two have had a run in with the Police anyway, so there is that anti-police feeling comes back for that particular youth. (Samuel, minority police officer)

Asian youth are said to have developed a very aggressive attitude toward the police:

> …it's problems with youths but, so we, we have got, with it being a large Asian community down there, obviously the kids we deal with down there, are Asian. And, a lot of them are, no doubt about it, are very anti-police ….very, aggressive towards us, you know, in their attitudes…(Bob, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

This is felt to the point that some officers express their anger about such an attitude. One respondent very explicitly states that "there's just no need for that in England":

> It's the younger ones, I think they just want to cause, they seem to want to cause agro (aggression and nuisance) between us and them. I think they're trying to wind us up half the time, to be honest… I was feeling really angry at the time with them and thinking, you know: "what are they doing?", you know, there's just no need for that in England. (Burt, age 30, constable, 5 years of service)

Besides what they term the aggressive or anti-police attitude of minority youths, the police interviewees mention the tendency to gather into groups which is seen more often among minority youths than "white" youths:

> We usually find that Asian adolescents within this Woodseats area, congregate more together, much more as a group. I'm talking about Asian males, and will go around together as a group much more than white youths of the same age groupings. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

This tendency to form groups is seen as problematic by some officers, who find that difficulties can arise in the group context:

> Generally, on a one-to-one basis, you can usually get across to people what you want and they can get across to you, what they want. It's often when people are in groups that you can have difficulties. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

One officer feels that groups play a part in reinforcing individual behaviour and in encouraging disrespectful actions toward the police:

> Because they're in a group, group, the way groups work, they reinforce one another and they come up more cheeky and more, sort of like, disrespectful. They'll start swearing

> and carry on what they're doing, you know, basically ignoring what you're saying. You know, well, which, they're not doing what you're saying, you've got to get them to stop doing what they're doing, because they are committing offences. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

In general, group pressure is seen as helping to stir up conflict and tensions between youths and the police:

> … I think a lot of it is just youths in general, when they get in groups, that's how they are, it's like peer pressure…. they will try and goad police officers into a public order situation or they might try to goad members of the public into a public order situation. Just, basically, I think to see a response, and I can remember one specific incident that's just come to mind. Myself, I was walking on Abbeydale Road with my colleague and as we were walking down Leyburn Road, noticed a group of Asian youths, on the corner, with fireworks. We were about two hundred yards away from the group of youths and were just walking down, basically, where a beat which was just around the block, not actually encompassing Leyburn Road. And, as we got to Glen Road, the group sort of gathered round and lit a couple of Roman Candles, I think, and started firing them and launching them in our direction, narrowly hitting…(Mikel, age 27, constable, 3 years of service)

While most respondents find it easier to relate to older people, others say that older members of minority groups are less cooperative and more suspicious of the police than older members of the ethnic majority:

> … there is a large percentage of the Asian, older members of the community, who are far more sceptical and suspect and less willing to cooperate and to help than the equivalent non-ethnic minority family member…I usually find that the older community members with families usually do not wish a police presence or intrusion into an issue. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

One commanding officer cites the biased views that could easily be held about young Asians:

> We can wrongly make the assumption that all Asian youth is involved in crime. For instance, to use an example, or all Asians as ethnic minorities are deprived, harassed, or in some way victimised. We know, I know that that's not the

> case, but if we continue to talk in general terms, it means that I try and apply a remedy, or a solution to a whole generic group of people, whereas it may only be applicable to a small part. I encourage my officers to try and look at the distinctions, to look at the multicultural situation we have. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

This high-ranking officer notes that people should avoid making generalizations:

> It would be wrong to try and categorise the groups…So, it would be wrong to talk about the Asian youth, for instance, because there are all sorts of different Asian youth. It would be wrong to talk even about the Somalia youth, because we know that we have two definite factions, and that they are the two historical and political factions that have caused the country to be in turmoil at the present time, and also the fact that there's a psychological and environmental effect on them, having come from the most part from. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

Some officers say that parents often do not know what their children are up to, as the latter tend to conceal their brushes with the law:

> I've found out that the parents don't even know what's been happening, because these young people obviously know, full well, that it's shameful for the family, not just for them, but the family, and so, one of the reasons why they're asking their brother or sister to come in for the interview is so that the parents don't find out, because they know it's shameful and it's gonna be embarrassing for the family in the community. So, they are keeping secrets from their own elders, you know, their own parents, which I don't think is good, because if parents don't know what are happening with the children how are they going to help them make things better. (Ron, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

Young people are often seen as having difficulties due to intergenerational problems stemming from conflicting values. Some respondents also feel that minority youths have a much harder time than “white” youths because they are between two cultures:

> I feel very sorry for them because they are there in the middle, type of thing, you know, the parents are from Pakistan, yet they've been brought up English, you know, and it's more difficult for them than what it is for the white

> kids, to adjust type of thing. (Bob, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

The problems young people have in developing a sense of identity are also viewed as a factor in their criminal behaviour:

> There does seem to be a problem between the older, traditional Asian that the, the Muslim mosque attended, Pakistanis, Asians, Afghanistans who find their young people are not adhering or following their views and that leads to conflict between parents and children and it tends to leave the kids a little bit out on a limb. They are, and they're split from the traditional values. They're not quite gone over one hundred percent to what we would call Western values and so they're in, maybe not….but they're somewhere in between still trying to find maybe what they, they want their identities to be and they have all the other problems that the youth in this country has and so they resort at times to criminal behaviour. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

Young people are thus generally seen as a problematic group, not only by the police but also by adults in their own communities who are said to no longer know how to deal with them:

> One of the problems that I've found is that the belief of my Police Officers that the older generation don't really know what to do about the condition of their youth. They recognise that a lot of them don't go to the Mosque, which ought to be the centre in their parents' view, ought to be the centre of their social and religious **(1 word inaudible)**. That they form associations which are alien to a lot of parents; that some of them are becoming too westernised, there's a cultural issue there, and none of these things I have any judgment or weighting factor to apply to them. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

The police interviewees sometimes compare the various minority groups. West Indians, for example, especially the generation that immigrated during the 1950s, are described as respecting the police:

> Take the West Indians for instance, the ones who came in the fifties, are almost exclusively pro-police, I would say, and up to the point where, where the old, you know, the older ones of fifty plus, very often will call police officers

> **(small laugh)** Sir. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

Other respondents feel that West Indians are more expressive in their behaviour in situations of confrontation than Asians, which is not necessarily perceived as aggressiveness:

> Afro Caribbean men are far more excitable than white males. You know that. Whereas an Afro Caribbean man might be throwing his arms about, shouting and everything like that, you know. That doesn't mean that they're about to get aggressive. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

> The West Indian is more vociferous. He is very noisy compared with the Asian person. An Asian person now is beginning to shout back, but the West Indian before you even speak to him, I'm not saying all West Indians are like that. Those who have dealings with Police automatically start shouting and bawling and acting the goat when there's no need, when all it need is a bit of a co-operation, listen to what the officer's is saying and get the matter resolved... the West Indian will make more song and dance about it than the Asian lad will. He'll initially act up, but then he'll calm down, but the West Indian will just keep on going. (Samuel, minority police officer)

> … I mean, you normally find that Afro-Carribeans are very voluble, will very quickly raise their voices, will come up very close to you and shout and point fingers and can look very aggressive but aren't actually, you know, aren't actually being as aggressive as you think, they are but that is just the way they, that is the way they act. Whereas Asians, I mean again this is a gross generalisation, but Asians tend to avoid eye contact, sort of keep a distance and that can be seen as very suspicious, especially as avoiding the eye contact, erm, because we expect when somebody's talking to you that they'll actually look at you and if somebody's sort of looking down there all the time you think that's a bit suspicious, and all the body language comes into it, so in that way there are differences. (Mary, age 41, commanding officer, 17 years of service)

The few officers who mention the Chinese community note that this community tends to keep to itself and to resolve its disputes internally. The Chinese community does not in fact seem to be viewed as problematic by the police:

> They tend to be a community that keep themselves to themselves and on the whole appear to be law-abiding people. I'm sure that some of them will do things wrong, but they don't get reported to the Police. In fact, they sort it out within their own community. (Ron, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

> We had so little problems with them. They are very, very, they keep themselves to themselves. They are very calm or they come across as being very calm ..., and yeah, we've got links with, you know, we've got names on our list of different people from that community but we have little involvement because they don't really want us to. I mean, they don't really become host families for the probation of Police Officers. (Janine, age 34, constable, 16 years of service)

> …most of the Chinese community lives within this area, but we just don't really see them. We don't get called in to resolve their problems and yet they must have, have things stolen, they must have, family disputes that maybe require somebody to mediate. They must have offences committed against them. They must commit offences because they are just a society like, like any other society. But we see very, very little of them, even less than the proportion of their population to the rest of the population of Sheffield. So, we see very little of them and, and the belief, or our belief is that they police themselves. (Philipp, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

The Somalian community is seen as less well-integrated than other communities. One officer notes that this group's low level of education makes it harder for Somalians to find jobs:

> …certainly the Somalis who come across here, who don't speak very good English, are not integrated very well, not given a lot of support when they come here, and that's down, often that's down to resources, that's down to money. The Council can't pour money into one community when it's got, it's got its own financial problems, hasn't it. So, it can't do that. Because they're not very well educated, the chances of them getting a job are far less than what a white person. (Douglas, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

Their status as refugees puts Somalians in a particularly vulnerable situation. Recognizing that little attention has been given to this community, one policewoman describes some of the problems experienced by this group:

> I actually haven't really made a contact with any groups as such as yet, and I think there's a need for it because you're probably aware that over the past couple of years, the number of Somali refuges who have come to Sheffield has increased rapidly, and they have got their own problems, very, very high unemployment rate, very, very few can speak the language and they've got all sorts of problems, you know. It must be very difficult to suddenly, bear in mind some of these Somalis might not have even wanted to come to Sheffield, you know, they've come as refugee status. They, suddenly, find themselves in one area of Sheffield all housed together. A few of them have been put in brand new houses, which can cause animosity from other members of the community, who see them getting preferential treatment, you know, been put in the new houses, and we do have racial attacks and incidents with the Somalis. (Janine, age 34, constable, 16 years of service)

This same officer mentions that the men in this community tend to use a certain drug as a substitute for food:

> There's a big problem with the Somali men taking a drug called cat or is it chat. It's like part of their culture over there. It's not illegal here and what they tend to do is, apparently, take the drug and they'll take it as a substitute for food and a lot of Somali men have stomach problems and bowel problems. They're all, they don't see many fat overweight Somalis and they tend to, apparently this is what, we're having a bit of a meeting on it, they tend to use this on a daily basis, which makes them feel very lethargic and sleepy and that can cause problems within the family, you know. So they are, I suppose really they're neglecting their own health and the Police, this drug isn't actually illegal in this country, so there's nothing really that we can do. So, there needs to be some sort of education. Now, I don't think that's the Police responsibility as such, but there needs to be some sort of education regarding that. (Janine, age 34, constable, 16 years of service)

One officer claims that other minority groups do not like Somalians, and that the latter tend to tell lies and take advantage of the system:

> More recently, we've had Somalians coming into Sheffield, Somalians, this is just hearsay, what I've heard from other people. There seems to be dislike of Somalians from the other minorities, your West Indians and your Asians don't tend to get on with the Somalians. I've spoken to people who work in other agencies, Government Offices in Sheffield, you know such as your Town Hall, your Tax Office, your Social Security and they all seem to have a problem with Somalians telling lies and obviously claiming benefit and housing allowances and basically abusing the system and fiddling the system that's available. As far as criminality's concerned, I think there's only one Somalian that I'm aware of that's been arrested and brought into our Police Station in the last six months or so. (Ron, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

Some officers find that it is not only young people who tend to group together. Most of the respondents in fact view minorities, especially the Asian community, as closed to outsiders, and as keeping to their own group:

> In the Asian community at Abbeydale, everybody knows each individual, everybody knows them by their family, and so there is more communication between them and I think that, in itself, could either create problems…They never seem to interact with anyone else apart from their own communities. You see such as the Asian taxi drivers will always seem to go, there's two restaurants, one's an Indian restaurant and one's a bistro. All the Asian taxi drivers always go to the Asian restaurant. All the Asian supermarkets are all geared up for the Asian culture, the halal meat and everything else, so that's basically… (Mikel, age 27, constable, 5 years of service)

Some respondents feel that social control over young people is still quite extensive and strict in the communities, even though it may appear to have lessened. One interviewee mentions "consciousness of community" as a factor affecting relations between the police and minority groups, especially in terms of the formation of ethnicised territorial boundaries:

> I mean, many of the sort of the incidents we've had, for instance, the run up to the last bonfire were sort of Asians against whites but, you know, in almost, I think we discussed this before, almost, in a sort of territorial sort of way, in as much as this is our area, we don't want you in this area, and I think they are very conscious of their own

> community which perhaps, again, stems back to this idea of sort of interference. There's a consciousness of community that we do have to be sensitive to, that what you do, that an instance may happen to one person can affect the whole community in a way it might not do in a different area. We might go up to the Arbouthorne and arrest somebody, nobody else up there will know what's happened, if we go down to Sharrow and arrest somebody, which is very likely, the whole community will know in a very short space of time. “Oh, such and such has been arrested” and the rumors start to fly around, you know, “why and what's happened” and this sort of thing. (Mary, age 41, commanding officer, 17 years of service)

Some interviewees say that older people maintain a considerable degree of control over young people, a remark that would seem to contradict the image of intergenerational conflict conveyed by many respondents:

> …because I think, and again this is generalising grossly, but erm, the, sort of the elder part of the community, still had very significant and strict control over it's, over the young people. Now, I mean, that control perhaps, over the last 10 years, has erm, diminished, as the young people are, become more English than Asian. They've all gone through the English school system and developed, you know, erm, much more western ideas about what parents aren't there to tell you what to do and that sort of thing. (Mary, age 41, commanding officer, 17 years of service)

Cultural differences attributed to minorities are the focus of a number of remarks and comments. There is a certain lack of understanding about religious practices and the socialisation of young girls, suggesting that increasing westernisation of the younger generation will lead to fewer differences and thus greater understanding:

> …praying five times a day and going to the mosque every day and things like that, you know, we don't understand that. It's very different for me. Whether they're not, well it obviously help it. It would help if we could speak their language, it would definitely help if they could speak our language. But, with us being British, we don't speak many languages do we?….Their culture is different…. it is, a different way of life in a way, isn't it? Obviously the younger ones are getting more westernised but…. (Bob, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

> I don't appreciate the different moral standards and moral codes which, particularly Islam, applies to people. And, indeed, the whole way of life and, perhaps the extended, the extended family which very much more applies in the Asian community whereas it did here, at one time, years ago, many years ago. (Don, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

The socialisation of young people and relations between men and women are subjects that elicit a certain number of reactions. Police officers tend to support young women or girls who want to adopt western values and escape marriages arranged in Pakistan:

> …their lifestyle is very different to, to a westerner and, I think, it's sometimes we, we perhaps, as a group, don't appreciate that the different standards they have, the different concerns they might have and different priorities they have to us…. with regard to perhaps the way, they'll expect their children to behave, particularly the girls...the confidence and the different emphasis that the Asian population perhaps puts on family relationships and the sort of behaviour they expect from their children and perhaps allegiances they expect from their children. And, I think, I'd mention in particular things like, Asian girls who are very much expected to stay at home perhaps by their parents and do as their mothers do and that, of course, causes some difficulty these days and we tend to get in, become involved as the girls, these days, are, want to adopt western ideas and values to some extent and it brings them into conflict with their families. (Don, age 48, detective, 16 years of service).

> The Asian men seem to think of the women as second class to them, and one member of panel is actually an Asian lady who is a teacher and she's very independent and so, occasionally, we'll have discussions at the meeting and you can sense the animosity….. I do sympathise with the family, because I suppose, really, all they're doing is following their beliefs and they, and, as a result of that, they end up losing a daughter, you know, having no contact with her at all, but I think that my role has always got to be for the girl. I feel that I've got to protect the girl and that she is in a vulnerable situation and if somebody's coming to you and telling you about a serious problem like that, which to me, I try to put myself in their position and think about marrying somebody who you've never met, I think I've got to go along with the girl. The Police tend to do that. I mean, there's nobody who I

> know in this job who would go on the side of the family. (Janine, age 34, constable, 16 years of service)

One officer describes his difficulty in understanding the attitudes of young West Indians or Asians who, despite being born in England, tend to cling to their roots in their country of origin:

> Now, the majority of the younger ones are born in this country, yet, it's hard to explain really, that, they want to, seem to cling onto their Caribbean culture, more so than the people who were born there, it's what I, it's what I believe. And probably, I would say, a large proportion have never actually visited the Caribbean, and probably the same with the Asian community, you know. They sort of have an affiliation to the, to their original background, although they were born in this country, they seem to have more affiliation to, to Pakistan or Bangladeshi, or wherever their family originate from than the actually country they are born in. They perhaps don't even see themselves as being English, although they're just as English as, as any other person that was born in this country. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

The idea of an extended family all living together under one roof is seen as “strange”:

> I have noticed with Asian families, is the fact that they tend to have several generations all living within one household, which I don't come across very often with white people, you know, it tends to be Mum, Dad and children, and perhaps a grandparent every now and again. Whereas, quite often, you'll get an extended family, you know, on search houses it's different. I remember, the first time on searching a house, I thought: why is there is there two double beds in one room and there was two sets of adults living in one room, you know, sleeping in one room, which I've not come across before, which doesn't happen or I've not seen with white people, the beds, yes, and that's quite strange, you know, and there's grandparents and great grandparents and cousins and uncles all, all living together in one house. (Diane, age 26, constable, 7 years of service)

Many of the police officers encountered mention that minorities are generally suspicious of the police. Many respondents see this suspicion as resulting from minorities’ very negative experience of the police in their country of origin, an experience they carry with them, so that the image of a repressive police force tends to be reproduced in England:

> Yes, they're very, very suspicious, yes. Whether, whether it is back to being in Pakistan where I assumed that, as I say, it is like the army and from what, what you hear, there is a lot of, a lot of corruption where, where people will tell you: "It's the chap whose got the most money who can get what ever he wants" type of thing. Whether they think, it's the same thing here, even though they've had no contact with the police….they probably think we are the same as what they are. I'm sure a lot of them do. (Bob, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

The police interviewees often note that minority groups typically show a lack of involvement, especially in terms of cooperating with the police, in neighbourhood watch programs or on local committees (in particular the Abbeydale Forum). One officer observes that people from minority groups are often late for meetings and wonders whether this might be a cultural trait:

> I've noticed that, I don't know why this is, they always seem to turn up late, you know, if set a meeting, it's the same if we play them at football like, we have a pitch booked from quarter to eight while half past eight, and that's it, you know, we've got forty five minutes and then somebody else, but they never ever turn up until eight o'clock, now I don't know if that's culture or what **(short laugh).** (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

> …getting the, like, neighbourhood watch schemes, I don't know whether you've heard about those, have you? As far as I know, we haven't got one Asian community in a neighbourhood watch scheme, and all that is, is, we have a neighbourhood watch officer and it's a, a row, I say a row of twenty houses where they just look after each other's neighbours and if they have any problems, they phone the police and say: “yes someone's breaking into my neighbour's house" or something like that. In, in Sheffield, as far as I know, we haven't got a neighbourhood watch scheme that involves any ethnic minorities. (Bob, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

Finally, the image most often conveyed by our respondents is that of minority groups as quick to voice complaints of victimisation, persecution and unfair treatment.

7. Definitions of ethnicity

As mentioned in the introduction to this report, we concluded the interviews with a question that examined how the respondents defined ethnicity. Asking respondents to define ethnicity is a useful way to identify the standard or standards of reference used and thus to better understand how the interviewees structure identity and define its boundaries. By including this question in our interview schedule, we found that the police officers do not all use the same standards of reference to define ethnicity. The majority, however, use their national territory as a criterion, in defining ethnicity as a characteristic of persons or groups from outside their national territory, i.e. "not from this country." As a result, they may categorise the Irish, for example, as an ethnic group. One respondent specifies that this categorisation can also be used for people who were born in England but whose ancestors came from outside the country:

> An ethnic group, to me, can be a religious group drawn from a number of nationalities, but, generally, it's a person whose origins, original, origins are not from this country, that's how I would describe an ethnic personally. The majority of people, now, are born in this country but their ethnic, because of their, their original...their parentage have been born outside this country, or, or even their grandparents. I mean, as years go by, there'll be people who probably still classed as being from an ethnic minority who, for several generations, their family has lived in this country….they certainly are still classed as an ethnic, an ethnic minority because of their background. (Peter, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

Some officers refer to skin colour to define a person's ethnicity, with "white" being the standard of reference in this case:

> My definition, I suppose, it's somebody whose non-white, non-white. (Wayne, minority police officer)

> To me it takes, it's a visual thing, I think, probably, it's got colour connotations as well because Europeans living over here are non Anglo Saxon background would obviously blend in, you wouldn't, you wouldn't stand out as such, so, I mean we've got large, a fairly, I think, we've got a fairly large Polish community in this area, but I don't regard them as, as an ethnic minority…whereas, I think, if somebody is a different colour, that kind of makes you think an ethnic

> minority, so, I suppose, it's a black or a dark person who's not Anglo Saxon. (George, age 48, commanding officer, 20 years of service)

Some prefer to use a numerical criterion to define ethnicity, with an ethnic group seen as any group whose numbers are smaller than a numerically larger majority group:

> I would say, it's any ethnic minority, any group that isn't in the majority really, any ethnic group that isn't the majority group. (Diana, age 26, constable, 7 years of service)

One young policewoman expands the definition of ethnicity to include any group of people who are in the minority, whether in terms of their sexual orientation, gender, or "race":

> It could be anything, anybody that's not considered white, heterosexual and male probably (laughs), to be quite honest. I mean, it could be women, it can be homosexual men, it can be Asians, it can be coloured people, it can be anything that's not what they classify as white heterosexual male basically. That's my whole view. (Judy, age 22, constable, 1 year of service)

Some respondents base their definition of ethnicity on "natural" cultural differences and a background from "another part of the world," i.e. from outside Europe:

> It's a group of people who by nature of, who are perhaps not indigenous to an area, but of a particular cultural background or from a particular, another part of the world. So you can look at Bangladesh's as a group, you can look at Pakistani's as a group, that call them an ethnic minority. I mean, talk about ethnic minorities or collectively mean, meaning those who are, are of non-European descent. (Don, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

A few respondents directly and narrowly associate ethnicity with racial differences:

> It's the other, other races, Asian, Chinese, Somalian. (Burt, age 30, constable, 5 years of service)

> A person or group of people who have a differing racial or cultural background to perhaps the indigenous population. That's my definition. (Roger, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

One respondent did not use criteria based on "identity" or "cultural," "ethnic," "racial," "territorial," "national" or "numerical" differences, in defining ethnicity in terms of the special needs a particular group may have in a given community at a given point in time:

> I suppose, for me, an ethnic minority group would be any group in the community that had some sort of special need and that, I used ethnic minority to describe a group of people whose tension from the Police needs to be, needs to have some extra thinking about it. (Simon, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

8. Comments

We will pursue a more in-depth analysis of the views of the police respondents in the final section of this report. We have already noted that the most significant aspect of these views is the respondents' increasing emphasis on the problems in their relations with minorities as the interviews progress. The respondents avoid the use of extremes in describing these relations, which are termed neither excellent nor disastrous. But problems emerge during the interviews, and it is ultimately the issues of accusations of police racism and the strategic use of differences by minority groups that are viewed as creating problems and barriers.

PART II:

VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES OF THE MEMBERS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

1. Description of relations between the police and ethnic minorities

Most of the respondents in this group believe that relations between the police and minority groups are problematic, describing them as "not good," or "not very good." Most of the interviewees criticise the way the police behave toward minority groups in Sheffield.

Only three individuals show very positive attitudes toward police officers. These individuals include two Pakistanis (a 17-year-old female student born in Sheffield and a 50-year-old municipal civil servant who immigrated in 1970) and a Chinese community worker employed at the Chinese community centre who came to England in 1965.

These three interviewees view the police force as supportive and helpful, and as trying to do its best, with police officers considered good on the whole, even though some officers may be racist:

> At the end, we can say, the whole force, there are, there, there are some racist officers but majority still, we can say, the whole force, they are good police officers and they help Asian and other ethnic minorities. (Saeed, M, age 50, civil servant, Asian)

The police force is seen as making real efforts to develop harmonious relations with minorities:

> The police force is trying to create a harmonious relation between one minority and the other minority. (Fu Shing, H, age 50, community worker, Chinese)

> …police are trying to make good relation with the community…they're trying now with older people, like, a day centre, they go there and the police officer goes to those places, explaining he's not here to…not here to charge you or anything but as your friend, if you've got any problem, anything where I can help you so…and the police come and about ten, twenty people are sitting and say: "oh, well,

> gentlemen how are you?", and if you've got any problem we will help, so these are beginning of good relations, yes. (Saeed, M, age 50, civil servant, Asian)

These three respondents defend the behaviour of police officers, and blame minorities for problems with the police:

> I think the Police get on really well with people. I mean, when they don't, it's like, I think, it's more the black person's fault … I think they're fine. I think they're, you know, alright. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

According to Kiran, a 17-year-old student, claims of racist police behaviour are not based on reality:

> I mean, my law lecturer, he goes on about how the Police are, you know, they're racist and they're sexist and they're this and that. I mean, sometimes, TV does the same thing, you know, portrays the Police as being like racist and all this, but I've never seen that. I've always been right nice and right helpful….(Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

Expressing a viewpoint similar to that of some of the police respondents, Kiran believes that problems between blacks and the police represent a sort of phobia, in suggesting that it is people who do not respect the law who most often cry racism:

> …but from what I can see it's really rough, you know, it's hard. I mean, I know there's this phobia about black people not getting on with the Police, but, I think, those people who don't get on with the Police are those who are in trouble with the Police. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

One of the three respondents feels that minorities use their origin to criticise how the police treat them in an attempt to escape legal proceedings:

> They say: "oh, my skin is black" so this appears racist, it's very easy to blame…but the majority thinks, if I am doing any wrong…if the police, I didn't stop at that lights…then police are racist. (Saeed, M, age 50, civil servant, Asian)

Kiran even claims that we are seeing a reverse form of racism, with minority groups being more racist than whites. She bases this claim on her comparison of her mostly white classmates with

the black friends she sees outside of school. She finds that whites are more respectful of blacks and women:

> I see more black people being racist towards whites than whites being racist against blacks… I'm in a class, I'm doing economics at school, at college, and I'm the only girl in that class and all the others are white boys, white boys and dare not tell rude jokes because I'm a woman. They dare not say anything against, you know, black person…and where, ifI'm sitting with a black person, because I've got black friends outside college, they'll be so openly against, not against whites, but openly tell jokes about whites, tell jokes about women, how this and that, and I just see a total difference there. I see white people being right scared to say whatever they want, yet black people say whatever they want because they're black…I've got some black friends and I've got some white friends and I see the difference between the two. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

The Chinese community worker feels that it is senseless to accuse the police of racism for not speaking the languages used by minority groups. He believes that since minority groups living in England chose to immigrate to a new land, it is normal that they should adapt to the rules of their host country and not vice versa:

> …as far as the police is concerned, it is not their duty to speak any other language than English, because they live in England, you deal with English people. You can't say I expect the police to speak a different language towards different people; it has nothing to do with racism or anything… Because you, nobody forced anybody to go to any strange place, so you live in England, you cannot wish, we also obviously, ethnic minorities there is something to be respected, for their own traditions. (Fu Shing, M, age 50, community worker, Chinese)

Aside from the views expressed by these three respondents, who clearly represent the minority in our study population, all the interviewees encountered exhibit very negative attitudes toward the police and police work. The dominant theme found in their discourse is criticism of police behaviour toward ethnic groups, which is seen as particularly abusive and discriminatory.

Whereas many respondents see relations between the police and minority groups as intrinsically negative (a theme we will return to), a few believe that these relations have deteriorated in the past three years, thus implying that this antagonism was not always so widespread:

> Well, to start with the black people as a whole and the relationship between the police, it is deteriorating. In a way, it was getting better about three years ago but now, it's deteriorating, they starting all over again the relationship, hum, that's the way I see it. (Badri, M, age 23, community worker, Somalian)

It is interesting that the claim of poor relations between the police and minority groups is illustrated by two realities which at first sight appear contradictory. Indeed, while most respondents are convinced that over-policing (i.e. the constant presence of the police in their neighbourhood) is a major problem in ethnic communities, a few interviewees feel that the main problem in their relations with the police is the under-policing of their communities.

Bruce, a Caribbean youth worker, deplores the lack of a police presence in his community. The problem is thus seen as a lack of relations between the police and the community:

> Hum, I don't know if you see in Sheffield, if you look around on some of your research, you can actually see it openly. You won't see any black person standing and talking to the police or laughing and joking. You won't see that. Well, that's not just unique to Sheffield that's just, hum, a British thing ... I've never been in a situation where police has come and been any kind of help **(inaudible)** of the police themselves are really frighten of going into that certain area, not frighten into that certain area, not frighten of the violence but because they haven't got no relationship with the people from the area, they wouldn't know how to start, how to handle a situation. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Many respondents refer to the police's lack of contact or involvement with the community:

> So, police very rarely get involved and there are some police officers who go to the day centre where Asian or Afro Caribbean are having lunch, they're having lunch and they have five minutes to talk with them but that's it. But that doesn't mean anything, that's not way to prove that the friendship…police don't want to know black people, black

> people don’t want to know the police. (Adnam, M, age 56, civil servant, Asian)

> I have never, I've never seen a police officer... actually, in this area, this is Sharrow ,or in my own area **(one word inaudible)** I haven't seen any police officers walking around the area. I can't remember a time when I saw a police officer. I think the police officers walking around the areas, patrolling areas just getting to know the community; it's a good idea. …I would really like to see more police officers on the streets, I think, it would deter people from just loitering and **(one sentence inaudible)** the police walking around people would be less inclined to, they'd feel there's police watching this area **(one sentence inaudible**). I think, it's a good idea for police to go back to when they actually used to patrol the streets. (Salman, M, age 18, student, Asian)

The remarks of one respondent give us a better understanding of the apparent paradox we have just described. This Asian community worker feels that the police are overrepresented in terms of “heavy policing,” aimed at young people in particular, and underrepresented in terms of helping crime victims from minority groups:

> There's not a constant heavy policing in the area but, from time to time, when an incident has **(one word inaudible)** in the area, there seems to be a channel, kind of, heavy appearance of the police in the area and I would say more, more, more so because the, they probably fear other thing or they have this conception that it may be the Asian young people who are who are the perpetrators of the crime and usually, I mean, if somebody got burglar or somebody had a robbery, you wouldn't see heavy policing but when it came to do with the young people in the area, hum, you would see a lot heavier policing or, straight after the event, there would be more buggies on the beat, hum, than , the normal routine policing. (Samir, M, age 29, community worker, Asian)

This being said, most of the respondents believe that they face a situation of overcontrol by the police. The two dominant themes found in the discourse of the minority group interviewees are <u>differential treatment</u> and <u>racism and discrimination</u>.

The material that follows will hopefully give us a more systematised view and a better understanding of what differential treatment, racism and discrimination mean in the context of our respondents' remarks.

2. Abusive searches and arrests

One of the most common forms of differential treatment, racism and discrimination mentioned by the respondents involves searches and arrests of members of minority groups. Except for the three atypical respondents we have already cited, all the interviewees are certain that individuals from ethnic groups are more likely to be arrested and searched in an abusive manner and without good reason. One 15-year-old Caribbean student claims to have been "arrested for no reason. Twice" (Brenda, F, age 15, student, Caribbean). Like other, older respondents, she feels that black people are more likely to be stopped for traffic checks on the roads:

> And, like, if they see someone black in a car in a big flashy car, they get pulled over and breath tested and that isn't it….they'll stop black people straight away, but, like if a white man, right, one of his headlights didn't work…they wouldn't pull him up, but if it were a black man and his headlight didn't work, they'd pull him straight away, or the Asian man, they'd pull him straight away. So they are racist against coloureds. (Brenda, F, age 15, student, Caribbean)

Bruce relates a personal experience of what he believes to be an unjustified search and arrest:

> It's happened on a few occasions, hum, walking home late at night. One night, I was stopped on West Street. Hum, he asked me where I was coming from. It was about **(two words inaudible)** a quarter to three in the morning and I told him, I was coming from a club and the club is called The Limits and it used to be on **(one word inaudible)** street. Hum, so he asked me if I mind if he searched me and I asked why he wanted to search me for anyway. One of them was quite a bit younger and he got a bit out of hand, so he started to shout and I started to shout. They **(one word inaudible)** me in his car, took me down to West Park police station and searched me down there for no reason at all. They kept me down there for about three hours before they decided to let me go home at a quarter past six in the morning…I asked

> him why he was stopping me for and he said on suspicion and that was it. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

The police are criticised not only for harassment but also for never apologising and thus, implicitly, never admitting their mistakes:

> They can harass you for things that you don't do. And then, after all that, you never get an apology. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

> The best thing that the police, I think, can improve is simply by admitting that they've been wrong and that maybe, due to ignorance towards these particular people or their backgrounds, although that's not an excuse but at the same time, they could say something to, at least, please the public and say well: "we're sorry" but they never, they always want to win. (Badri, M, age 23, community worker, Somalian)

While many respondents describe abusive and unjustified searches and arrests, others relate instances where the searches and arrests were justified due to illegal acts (drug possession, theft) but where they criticise the verbal abuse they were subjected to during the arrest:

> The time when me and Tom was walking, minding our own business, walking along, a car comes along, excuse me lads can you wait. So, we say: "yeah", you know what I mean. Well, we're Police Officers, now we've had a report of two youths **...(3 words inaudible)** striking matches in the area, so we said that: "yeah right", and then they said: "oh, can we look in your pockets" you know what I mean Alright, but I had something that I shouldn't have had, but before he could like search my pockets, I dropped it on the floor. So, anyway the search, they couldn't find anything. So, next minute, he torches on the floor looking around and he found it, you know what I mean. He found it and then, I was arrested for possessing something that I shouldn't have had possession of and nothing really come of it. I only got some community service or something, but I mean, we was walking into the area and he's saying he has reports of people in the area already, I mean we was coming from town towards the area and they was already in that area, coming down, you know what I mean. They probably didn't have nothing to do and I don't know. It's a good job they're not on commission though, isn't it. Imagine the Police go on commission, only if they make arrests they get paid. I've been in more Police Stations that I care to remember in the past…I've had my car

searched, I've had myself searched, I've had my passengers searched. (Willis, M., age 20, unemployed, Caribbean)

I

You have experience with Woodseats Police ?

Tom
Woodseats, yeah, I've had a bit of experience. There's a very cheeky Police woman in there actually. She's very out of order, she called me a sod or something like that. Okay, what I called her, but I didn't call her that until she called it me. He says you're arrogant because, I don't know, they've got attitude problems, right. I mean, anyone who's got a bit of power, well not everyone, but three out of five people with a bit of power like, for instance **...(1 word inaudible)** or security guards, anyone whose got some kind of custody, seem to think that they're some kind of special person that you're supposed to bow down to or something. (Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean)

Willis
Yeah. One time I was on London Road and I was walking, three of us, the Police car come down and asked some questions. Yeah. One time, I was on London Road and I was walking, three of us, the Police car came down and asked some questions.

Tom
When was that?

Willis
You were there, Delia was there and he came out and started shouting and shouting and shouting and shouting and I go listen: “I've done nothing, so don't start shouting at me”, so he went: “fuck off” and I'm getting angry because it's a Policeman that said it, and I'm getting angry and irated and I came out. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean)

The respondents who describe being arrested and subjected to physical and verbal abuse do not in fact fall into any particular age group. Many respondents report verbal abuse and police brutality during arrests or questioning by the police.

If what our respondents say is true, verbal abuse seems to be a rather common occurrence in relations between police officers and minority groups:

> Most of them are racist, because I got called a black bastard once. They arrested me for a watch and one of them grab me and he goes: “hey black bastard try running and I'll break your legs”. And he made racist comments and that, called me black bastard and that, and when I went to the police station they took me to court for a watch, because I'd appealed the case I was on, and I told my solicitor he called me a black bastard, but my solicitor was **(inaudible)** no proof. (Ahmad, M, age 14, student, Asian and Ali, H, age 15, student, Asian)

Some interviewees suggest that arrests result from the escalation of a conflict, as seen in this 15-year-old Caribbean student’s account of her arrest:

> I have been hit by a Policeman. He hit me and got away….He punched me…We nicked his car and my friends we all got caught for it and they come and they arrested me and they put these handcuffs on me tight, down my back, and they took me in a car and they were saying all horrible things to me like: “you black bitch”… (Brenda, F, age 15, student, Caribbean)

Brenda in fact cited several conflicts with police officers:

> I were waiting outside the police station and a police woman came out and she just said well: “why don’t you just fuck off, black bastard”. (Brenda, F, age 15, student, Caribbean)

The interviewees also feel that the police hold a great deal of power and ultimately have the law on their side:

> There's this law, that they can stop you here in suspicion and search you anywhere and things like that…they have got extra power, they use that as part of their job and they use it ruthlessly…That power doesn’t lie in our hands, that power actually lies in the hands of the police, the city counsel and the government. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

In criticising the powers held by the police, the respondents point to the inequality of the situation when police officers are allowed to use physical abuse whereas citizens would be charged for similar acts:

> They do banging or whatever…If I had been physically hurt by an Officer, I'd be in jail doing a long time now…..One day, when I was on there, just playing football, a man came out of the bushes and he came running at us, so we shouted Police, you know what I mean. So, our instinct straight away is to run and get away from the scene. So, as I'm running now .....**(5 words inaudible)** flying in the air. Flat, bang, flat on my face, did a rugby tackle. He picked me off my feet and threw me up like that, so I land on the floor and he put me out just like that, flat out on the floor. One had his foot on my ankle like that, holding me down, so I was strapped down like that, while he ....**(about 6 words inaudible)** so he said: "no I want to strip search you" and see if they can find any drugs on me, so they searched my pockets. About four paced and they stopped. They searched me, got dogs sniffing at my collar, searched my coat. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean)

Police officers are often criticised for their excessive use of resources and equipment when arresting members of ethnic minorities:

> What we see with the experience of when the police go to a black person to arrest them, you won't get one or two policemen at your house to arrest the black person. You'll get dogs and you'll get eight vans and you'll get wholly equipped cars, to go to arrest one little person and they take their time about getting their way. Can you understand why they have to bring the whole fleet (laughs) to arrest one person? (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Some respondents express feelings of powerlessness in view of the amount of power said to be held by the police:

> You can't do nothing about it, and like, no matter what you say to them, they just laugh at you and that, because they know that you can't do nothing about it. (Brenda, F, age 15, student, Caribbean)

Besides this sense of powerlessness, some respondents feel that their space has been invaded:

> The only thing that doesn't work up there, is the police in the (**one word inaudible**). Whenever the police goes in that area, like, they go in forces. Like, I mean, last night, there was a whole lot of police up there. I mean, cars and everything, all over. That's got to antagonise people and make them aggressive because your space has been invaded and it's not nice for you. I mean, it's like if you have in your own house, if you went in your own house and found somebody in your house and he shouldn't be there, you would feel your space has been invaded and you would want to do something about it. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Some of the interviewees think that it is better not to react since police officers purposely provoke members of minority groups into reactions which are then used to justify their arrest:

> There's not a lot you can do more than tighten your lip and swear under your breath. There's not a lot you can do because, at the end of the day, the power is with them. They can antagonise you to get a reaction from you, to use it against you, to arrest you, so there's more damage. So, it's best left alone. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Provocation is seen as a deliberate strategy used by the police to arrest black people:

> They know that black people tend to, I mean, I don't know for a fact, but I'm pretty sure that black people's temperament is quicker than white peoples. I don't know if it's true, but I think it is, and they know that or he's, either they know that or they're just hoping that they're catching a black person with a bad temper, rile them up, get them angry, then they will have something to arrest him for, you know what I mean. (Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean)

> I've been stopped in the High street. Well, I was just going along the road, because I used to run away from home a lot when I was younger and the particular officer that sometimes bring me home, sort of thing, seemed to think he'd got this big task to do. You know, assigned himself to me, you know what I mean. So, I'd seen him one day, he was there and quite a lot of my friends, you know what I mean, and he says because we went up to ....**(1 word inaudible)** in Darnall and he's looking at me, but I had my hood up, you know what I mean, so I was kind of walking, the next minute, “Willis we're doing a check on you to see if you're wanted for anything. So, I goes do your test but don't

> think I'm hanging around", you know what I mean, so I was kind of walking and they tried to grab me and he grabbed me and he twisted my arm, put me against, well he tried to put me against and I pushed him off and I said something to him. Next minute, oh you're under arrest for threatening and abusive behaviour towards a Police Officer. So, then I got arrested, a few more cars come, I went down to the Police Station, but in 15 minutes, I was out again because, I don't know, it must have been a bit of a buzz thing, I don't know what he gained from it, but I think I was about 15 then. So, that's what I'm saying, I don't know if it's something to do with their childhood or something, but it's like, or if he was bullied at school **(laughs),** it's like they seem to feel sort of inferior around black people and then their way is getting back is the young ones, because when you're young you're naive, you know, vulnerable, you know what I mean, they can't do it to the older, I've noticed that, as I've got older they don't do it, well it's been a long time since I've been stopped on the street and properly harassed, you know what I mean, properly harassed and end up arguing and getting locked up, but I was stopped about a month ago. I was out of town and I'd been to a club and I was just walking down the street and the riot van stopped me, asking where I was coming from at that time at night, so I told him, he did a check and then I was off, but he talked to be normal and he didn't he wasn't **...(1 word inaudible)** so I cooperated, let him do his check and then he was off and I was on my way. That's all they've gotta do, you know what I mean, if they treat me as a human being, and not as a criminal already, cos like they look at you and they think: "yeah I know his sort" and they don't, because everybody is different, you know. **(laughs)** (Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean**)**

Some respondents mention deliberate acts of intimidation by the police, to the point that they fear a decrease in the black population if the police are given the right to carry firearms:

> They try to intimidate, kind of thing. It's like an ego kind of thing for them, that the bit of power they've got goes to their head and they abuse it…. I guarantee the day they are allowed to carry firearms on the street, the day that black peoples population decreases rapidly, slowly but surely it will…(Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean, and Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean)

Some respondents say that members of minority groups may be arrested, not for the crime they committed, but for the way they spoke to police officers:

> …and if you try to be funny in any way you want to, you don't want to be booked for the crime you committed with the car, but you're booked for the crime the way you speak to the Police, you see, so you're in double trouble and that is what generally happens to the black people. (Paul, M, age 65, retired, Caribbean)

Some interviewees claim that arrests occur mainly due to stereotypes on the part of police officers who are generally suspicious of any person of colour exhibiting material wealth. One individual working at the Black Police Project in Sheffield describes a situation that happened to him when he was living in Birmingham:

> In Birmingham, I was driving a brand new sports car that belonged to a company I worked for. It wasn't mine, and yet the Police Officers said: "we're not letting you go", after checking paper work, they said: "we're not letting you go until you tell us where you got the money for this car from". I said: "well, it's got bugger all to do with you and I'm not telling you". They arrested me, took me to the station and as it turned out my boss was at school with the Deputy Chief Constable. So, he called him in and said: "what are your bloody officers doing here", because my boss used to regard me as his son. He said: "they've arrested my son", right and they wanna know where he gets the money from. He says: "you know, I'm a millionaire, right. I could buy a hundred cars like that for him. So why the hell have they arrested him for it?". Eventually, I put in a complaint and both of the officers retired, right, on the grounds of ill health, but this wasn't here, this was in Birmingham. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

> they would stop you and say: "hey nigger, where are you going? where have you been? there's been some burglaries around here, do you know anything about it?, can we stop you for drugs?". Because they stereotype black people and every time they see a black person, they only see you in a negative light, like they see you are either a drug pusher, you're a pimp or if they see you driving a nice car, you're guaranteed to be harassed. Buying a good looking car, a nice car, it's an open invitation to the police to stop you and stop you on a regular basis and have your car searched. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Some respondents feel that one of the problems experienced by minorities is that police officers do not understand that minorities have to defend themselves against racial harassment. They claim that the police tend to confuse self-defence with aggression, and that this confusion results in unfair and unjustified arrests:

> Another racial incident, about two months ago, in an area where there is about sixteen, seventeen families, Somali families and about, you know, mixed but mostly there are Somalians, we had some problem, it was kind of a racial problem caused by a white family living in the area and ah, what they did is, it was like kind of a set up, they started a fight and, as soon as they started, they called the police and the police must have been around the corner. What they did, is they attacked this family's house a Somalian family, they put a brick through a window and there was a child about twelve years old in the kitchen, doing washing up and the glass and the brick went into his eyes and they brought him to hospital. So what happened was two youths, teenagers went into the house and they wanted to defend themselves, they came out one with a knife and other with nothing and, as soon as they came out, the police came got his hands, drop the knife of him and beat him into the back of the car and they detained him for forty-eight hours and they even injured his arm, ah, he, and when he came out he went to the hospital for a fracture, I think. (Badri, M, age 23, community worker, Somalian)

> Yes, there is a great problem. I'm one of the workers here, who actually works with the Somali group on a Friday. Two weeks ago, we had to shut this club early because the pub on London road, the BMP, about 50 of them, had a meeting and they were waiting to come and beat up this Somalians on the way home. Some Somalian youths got beat up. The other day, one was critical and in life support machine, hum, a couple more were set up soon after that and I think, one stabbed a white guy in self defense. I think he's being arrested this morning we've got a meeting tomorrow...But that's happened to me before in town, that's happened to, personally, when I got arrested in town for fighting, well for defending myself and I got arrested and when I went to the police station and asked the police: “where's the person which”, hum -what's the word for it now- “who's charging me with this, hum, batter?” they said: “oh, well, we can't, we couldn't get a hold of him”, he went and I asked: “well, how can you arrest me then?”, they said: “well, we're arresting

> you on a public offence act". So, it didn't matter about catching the white guy, what happened about, it was that they arrested me and they could actually bring the chart **(one word inaudible)** up creating a disturbance in a public place and I went to court and we were thrown out of court. It's **(two words inaudible)** things that happen in Sheffield, it really does. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

While some respondents report unjustified arrests, others cite arrests made for minor infractions or trivialities:

> I think it was a Friday, X left home. I said to him: "go and wash me them dishes", and he says: "yes, mum", he never says: "no", he says: "yes, mum". And next thing I knew, I saw him on his bike, not motorbike you know, pushbike. I saw him on this bike and **(few words inaudible)** you come and call me. Few minutes after that, what happened, police come to the house, to tell me that he's been arrested. So, I said: "what for, what's he done?" "Obstructing footpath", you see little things like that. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

> If I tell you how unfairly they treat you, I've been over with some of my friends to the police station and for innocent things, you know, they get into trouble for innocent things and they get charged. (Najam, M, age 24, community worker, Asian)

Another aspect is that some interviewees claim that arrests are made inadvertently or abusively because the police confuse their suspects. Without explicitly being mentioned, the issue raised here is the lack of differentiation faced by members of minority groups:

> ….A week after, police came to the door and I said: "what is it now", and he said they want to have a word with my son because he fits the description of a lad that was trying to break, it's a long way from here. Mrs X, you see it's that way Sheffield, not up here, he fits the description of someone that was breaking into a house…..most people that get harassed is because you look like somebody that's done something. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

Finally, the respondents who say that they have been subjected to abusive searches and arrests are convinced that harassment of this kind generally stems from racism toward them, so that they are treated differently, i.e. in a discriminatory manner, from the ethnic majority:

> When they come and arrest you for something you've done, you know, they tend to be a lot harder on us, you know, tend to be a lot harder on us, simply because, obviously, they're white and we're a different colour of what they are and they feel that they have a stronger power. (Amir, M, age 25, salesperson, Asian)

Some believe that discriminatory treatment not only affects people from minority groups who are arrested but can also be directed toward interpreters. One of the interviewees we encountered in fact stopped working as an interpreter for this reason:

> Even interpreters been treated, by some of the police officers, as a criminals. You go, they ring you, or they come and pick you up, you go to police station and you sit wait, wait outside, when they ready to call you in, you been sitting in the little room and then, all of a sudden, police do not explain to you what it is all about right, are you ready and you switch…. I used to do a lot of work as interpreter when I was unemployed but since I got a job, I don't do very much now, I do very little, because finding the time and the, secondly, police behaviour makes me little bit bitter about it because they don't, sometimes they don't act as an officer or as a person, so I feel, sometimes, I feel angry and shameful, so, I don't get very much involved. (Adnam, M, age 56, civil servant, Asian)

Moreover, although the focus of our study was relations between the police and minorities, most of the respondents expanded on this theme in pointing to discrimination and differential treatment in the justice system in general:

> As an example, black people are more likely to be stopped by a Police Officer than white people of a similar age. Black people are more likely to be searched, arrested, and charged, than the similar age group of white people. They are more likely to be taken to court, rather than being cautioned. They're more likely to have a case going on and be found guilty at the end of it. They're more likely to get a longer sentence for the same offence than a white person, who would have got a lesser sentence. Now, once they go into the prisons, they're likely to get worse treatments than white

> people. Once they're released, the help they would get from a Probation Officer would be less than the help a similar white person would get from a Probation Officer. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

3. Racism

Exceptionally, a small minority of the respondents find that there is less police racism than before. Two reasons for this change are identified by the young Asian student quoted below, who says that she has never experienced racism personally: the growth in the ethnic population and minority groups' higher level of education, which are helping to change society's perceptions about members of these communities, who are now more likely to be viewed as equal citizens:

> I mean, of course, there is racism, there is like the BNP, the British National Party and National Front, but I'm talking day to day, I don't come across racism that much. I mean, I've never experienced it, I've never ever experienced racism and I don't believe my family has. Maybe, it's just because there's a bigger population, bigger majority of Asian and black people or maybe it's because they're getting educated more, because like before they were like, they came into the country for manual jobs didn't they, they came to **..(1 word inaudible)** the working class. They didn't come for any high, quite high positioned jobs, they came to do taxi drivers or factory workers in 1960, and maybe because they were, because working class have always been treated, so you know, that they'll be treated as equal citizens and that's how, you know, black people were treated then, but slowly they've come, they've got their education, they've got, you know, understanding of the country etc. etc. and now they have better jobs and they understand the country more and all this. But I think, maybe that's why it's changed, but I don't know because, before there was like, black people never were in high jobs or good positions in offices and things, but now I think that's changed. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

Aside from these exceptional cases, racism on the part of police officers is the theme most often cited by the respondents. But the respondents do not always view racism in the same way. Most

feel that racism is a systemic problem that pervades not just the police as a whole, but British society in general:

> There are lots of people in this town that don't like black people, and I prove it where I work. I work in the hospital for twenty seven years and I can prove because some of them turn to me and says; “I've a confession to make” and I say: “go on it's good for the soul”, and they tell you that because they've not had anything to do with blacks they didn't like them. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

Moreover, racism within the police is seen as normal for the simple reason that it is said to reflect the racism found in society. This respondent claims to quote a police officer’s own words in support of the existence of racist police behaviour:

> Now, one of the Police Officers that we work closely with in the Derbyshire Police, he is a guy called ….. Now, he said to me that there are racist people within the Police, and I agree with that. The Police is just a reflection of society. It has the good, the bad and the ugly. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

Racism is said to be so “natural” for police officers that some interviewees directly associate police work with racism:

> It's a natural thing to be racist for the police. What I'm saying is that they can't, they can't all be racist in that way but I've never seen one that isn't and I've had quite a bit of dealing with them, specially working in the youth work settings and having to go, and having to go and visit some of the young people that have been arrested or in trouble or whatsoever. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

> They are, they're racist, they are a hundred and one percent racist, they are, they have to be if they weren't racist, they wouldn't be police officers. (Amir, M, age 25, salesperson, Asian)

4. Victimization

The respondents see racially-targeted victimisation and other forms of victimisation as another area in which to highlight their negative views of and experiences with police forces.

A small minority of the respondents' remarks suggest that there is less racial harassment today, compared to the situation in the late 1950s:

> In 1957,….there was a well known racism in Sheffield… there was always a fight. These teddy boys used to have a hammer, little hammer in their trousers and chain, bicycle chain, beat Asian and black people up, and many, down there, gang used to beat black people like happen in London now….Since that riot of 57, I'm sure it was 57, it could be 58, but 57, when this riot, after that, we didn't hear anything of it. (Adnam, M, age 56, civil servant, Asian)

One Jamaican interviewee feels that racial harassment has changed its focus, and that it is currently targeted more toward Asians than West Indians, as it once was:

> …when we first came here, I never went out, only because I was working on the buses, but the thing about it, if you finished at twelve o'clock, or after twelve o'clock, there are staff buses that take you home. And you get beat up for nothing because the colour is not right. A lot of it used to happen when I first came here, it's not happening as much. I think, they're mostly picking on the Pakistanis now and not the West Indians. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

Instances of racial harassment, like other forms of victimisation, are cited to show that members of minority groups are subjected to discrimination and widespread racism in society. But examples of racial harassment are also presented to show that minority groups are less well protected than other groups in society, thus providing the respondents with an opportunity to criticise police practices which they feel discriminate against minority groups.

One problematic aspect, viewed as discriminatory by members of minority groups, is what they see as police officers' limited interpretation of racial harassment, which is said to result in unequal treatment:

> If, sometimes, somewhere, they know there the racial harassment police interpretation of racial harassment is entirely different. Police rely on the police officer who go to visit the family or individual as it happened, as a black person, or he or she is a black person, or a family, the interpretation of racial harassment depends on the police officer who went there, he could be racist and say no it's not a racist case, and these things does happen. (Adnam, M, age 56, civil servant, Asian)

Of all the forms of victimisation experienced by minorities, laxness on the part of the police is a frequent topic of criticism:

> Other Chinese, there's like, when they are nasty people that create problems in the take-away shops. You see, so the owner of the shop ring up for the police and, wait, wait, wait for an hour, wait for an hour or so, no police came. At the end no police came. (Mei Li, F, age 42, community worker, Chinese)

The Chinese respondent quoted below views lax police involvement or responsiveness as a form of discrimination against the Chinese community:

> Maybe, it's because, maybe, it's Chinese. And, it depends on individual police stations and who receive the call, I think. Yes, there is racial discrimination, it's really hard to say, isn't it? sometimes, yes. (Mei Li, F, age 42, community worker, Chinese)

Most respondents feel that the quality of the police response is affected by the victim's ethnic origin. One interviewee claims that a double standard can be seen in cases where a police officer is injured:

> The fact is, if a Police Officer is injured, or attacked or killed, I guarantee you, they'll find out who it is very, very quickly. Right, I mean, if you look at the Stephen Lawrence murder, and a lot of other racist murders, three four years later, the Police say we don't know who it is. One Police Officer gets shot or attacked, I can guarantee you that, within 7 to 10 days, they've arrested someone. It seems like if it's a Police Officer, like it's one of us, we've got to do everything. They'll drop everything else and they'll concentrate on it properly. But if it's like a racist murder, I mean, if you check up with the REC in London and ask them how many unsolved racist murders are on their files, I

> think you'll be surprised, a hell of a lot. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

In general, the respondents believe that the police response is very inadequate, especially in cases of racial harassment:

> For example... there is an attack on a community or a family and ah, you have situations where the police respond inappropriately. I can say there's always two sides to the story but a lot of the times they've responded very inappropriately. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

Such laxness is even said to discourage minorities from complaining to the appropriate authorities:

> Black people's voices it's never been heard anywhere, with the police, with the city council or where ever. Bad treatment they have and, and its, you can't have happier or better relationships with the police when the police treat you the way they treat most of the Asian or black people in Sheffield. And many, many, Asians and blacks don't go to police and don't complain because they know that they won't get anywhere, the police is not going to do anything, so it just a waste of time and they suffer….As I said to you, my car was broken in and I rang the police officer. They took the details on telephone, but other than that, nothing. And I was ninety five percent sure who broke in my car, who stole the radio, excuse me, music centre from there. But the police wasn't interested. They didn't ask me, they didn't come round to see me. So, next time, my car will be broken into, I'd be thinking twice before informing the police because they didn't do it the first time. And that's how the Asian community and black community is suffering because police just will not do anything. (Adnam, M, age 56, civil servant, Asian)

The respondents also claim that this laxness reinforces their distrust of the police:

> I mean, I don't trust them totally. When black people phone for the police they take their time to come to you. (Bruce, H, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean).

Some feel that this laxness encourages victimised minority groups to take action to defend themselves, actions for which they are then charged by the police:

> So you phone the police and you tell the police: “look, look at the damage”, and they say: “we don't know, we got to look first”. They go look for them, they don't even look for nobody, they go back to base instead of looking … So, if the Asian guy wants, if blacks want to take their revenge instead of phoning the police, they go, get in their car take some bats, go to the white area, beat a few of them up… police everywhere, arrest everybody, everybody gets charged, with assault, everybody goes to court, everybody gets into trouble. (Najam, M, age 24, community worker, Asian)

In comparing the resources allocated for control purposes to the resources assigned to protect the public, some respondents dispute the police’s claim that they are unable to respond quickly due to a lack of resources:

> They go: "oh, we haven't got enough time, we haven't got any resources to do that", but they got video cameras on Abbeydale road, they have a video camera there, where some Asian kids hang around, to see what they do...(Naveed, M, age 28, community worker, Asian)

5. Assessment of problems in police-minority relations

Overall, most respondents identify racism as the key factor in problems experienced with the police. More specifically, they cite the problem of their visibility, which increases the likelihood of their being stigmatised:

> When you go out, because we are noticeable, because we are of a different colour and anything that goes wrong, the finger is going to be pointed at us. So be careful what you do. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

Most of the interviewees note that minorities are stereotyped and frequently linked to criminal activity:

> They think like Asian people do most things like most burglaries down, down at the **(inaudible)** and the Shadow. But it's really not, it's not, most of burg (mumble)... I mean, some Asians do some things wrong, like they do burglary but most of the people are getting caught for it are Asians, like, because they, they think they do the burglaries and they

> think white people don't do them. I think they are racist. (Aslam, M, age 12, student, Asian and Salvan, M, age 13, student, Asian)
>
> So when ever they go to see an Afro Caribbean person, their first reaction is, he's a criminal. So when you go in there with ideas already fixed in your mind, you're not gonna be equal, fair to them. You're not gonna give them equal treatment. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

The existence of these stereotypes is said to explain why blacks are arrested more often than other people:

> For example, I mean, I know so many people, they're two, two parts of Abbeydale one is the top area, nice where expensive housing then there is the bottom area of Abbeydale…There's been cases where black have been walking up in the nice area and like you know a police officer will stop them thinking: "what're you doing here?" You were probably trying to commit and offence or were going to so all this business of the new law stop and a search is actually going against black people. You know you're more likely to get stopped and searched, but now the law is in their hands. They can stop you and search you for anything. (Samir, M, age 29, community worker, Asian)

More specifically, some respondents maintain that the ethnic majority associates black people with drugs:

> Black equal drugs, that's what the Police think… Now that they know that these things is produced in a lot of black countries. A lot of drugs came, they come from abroad, they come from a black country, apart from China who have opium and things like that. Many of the drugs come from Africa or the West Indies or Columbia, many other places, where as you might be, you might be a mixed race or whoever you might be you know. You generally get drugs mixed with mixed race, black people and things like that. And then the Police look forward and said, once you are that race, like, if you're that type of people, you are involved in drugs. (Paul, M, age 65, retired, Caribbean)

The question of stereotypes, which very frequently arises during the interviews, prompts some respondents to feel that unjustified stigmatisation ultimately drives some members of minority

groups to conform with the image projected by the ethnic majority. This belief is illustrated in the remarks of a black youth quoted below:

> I've done my part to Sheffield, you know what I mean. I've been in workshops with people that I don't even know. But they want me to do it and I'll do it, because I've done a lot of things for a lot of people that are out there and they so, oh, yeah, we're the kind of people, we sell drugs, we mug people, we do this, that and the other. The majority of black people are doing something in Sheffield… but they want to say no, it's not, it's us that are polluting it with the drugs, making people addictive. All this, all this crazy stuff, blowing it up out of proportion. It's not needed, no. Because everyone's to blame. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean)

An unjust justice system is said to foster antagonistic relations:

> They feel, many Asian people in this area feel the police are targeting them. I mean, they have, they've had the wrong experience with the police and some people are being arrested by the police wrongfully and then being released obviously. When that happens, you get very bitter and you're angry and your friends feel the same. My friend's got arrested by the police. He was wrongfully accused and then one Asian guy who was in the paper, his picture was in the paper, he's got compensation for being sent to prison for not committing a crime. He was accused of obviously these events they're done to other people and they went to fight back against the police, fighting against the law enforcement. (Salman, M, 18 years, student, Asian)

Some respondents also feel that how minorities behave depends on how the police behave toward them:

> If he says hello, I'll say hello back to him. If he's giving off to me, I'll give off the same attitude, stink attitude that they're coming with. So, I play the same game, and two wrongs don't make a right, … He's playing the same game. They wanna be rude, you be rude back. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean)

A few respondents believe that some groups' ignorance of the law and their rights is one factor that may help to explain the problems they encounter with the police, especially in the case of the more recently-arrived Somalian community:

> They intimidate you and most of our people don't know the right to... when you get stopped by the police, you have a right. But they don't have, they don't know anything about their rights or the law's rights. And they take advantage of that sometimes. They stop you in the street and search you for nothing, you know, your pockets, take your jacket off, you know, take you into the car, ask you irrelevant things. (Badri, H, age 23, community worker, Somalian)

This theme of ignorance of the law prompts another respondent to deplore the fact that the police are more likely to incriminate members of minority groups than to try to educate them:

> I agree that some of the Police are heavy handed in many, many, many things because the Police have never tried to educate you. When you break the law, they've tried to incriminate you, you know, and develop this discrimination between the black people and Police. (Paul, M, age 65, retired, Caribbean)

One interviewee maintains that, in addition to discrimination on their part, the police are required to perform a certain number of arrests:

> There was one fellow that we know, his son was a policeman and he used to tell them that the Sergeant, if they don't make an arrest for a week, they think they're falling down on the job and they don't get promotion easily. So, some of them, frame them just to keep the sergeant happy. Yes, some of them do it just to keep them happy and that is something that we were told from a man that's got a son that's a police. They have to make an arrest. So, sometimes, it's just trumped up charges, you see. Just to please, make the sergeant happy. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

The above respondent feels that discrimination against minorities chiefly stems from the ethnic majority's fear of them. Besides their fear of the unknown or the unfamiliar, people in the ethnic majority are said to fear black people's spirit of revenge, an image that the respondent attempts to discredit:

> I think it's the fear of the unknown, really. You see somebody going on there because they are different to you. You think: "oh I don't like them, that one's going to do this and that one's going to do that"…What I tell you a lot of these things, you see a white man go out into Africa and try to kill off all the black just for the land, isn't it. So they think

> that when you come here you going to take revenge. But we came for, we came here to get a better living to see if we can get a job and help the people back home that need help and to see if the children can have a better life. So, that's all there is to it. And if they don't torment you, you don't have to bother them. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

One respondent believes that people in the ethnic majority are jealous of minority groups who do well or even better economically than themselves:

> We are here in this country, we're Muslims you know, Pakistani people are Muslims and our job here is just to work, earn money you know, look after our family, you know. That's our job, that's our duty, that's what we do o.k. ….. It irritates them, to see people like us working, earning money, you know. Having a little car, or maybe a big car, a nice house, maybe a big house, you know, earn and making money here. They don't like it. (Amir, M, age 25, salesperson, Asian)

According to the 65-year-old Caribbean respondent quoted below, problems with the police are closely linked to the deterioration in economic conditions and the ghettoization of blacks, which encouraged the trade in illegal drugs, viewed as an economic resource:

> The problem with the Police only came perhaps about 15 years ago and its, its, the breakdown of society came through the unemployed and the deprived area that developed, you know. People move out from one area, leave the black people in the area. Then, they call it slum or what they want to call it. It's not really what they call it. It's what they make it to be and that's when you know, people start to have problem with the Police. Even when we talk about drugs and things like that. Drugs have been in creation, drugs is a part of creation. When I came to this country we hear, hear about purple heart (?) and things like that. But like the drugs that come from abroad like, cocaine, heroine, you name it, god knows, we didn't have that problem, until when things break down to a point where people can't find work and things like that. (Paul, M, age 65, retired, Caribbean)

So we see that most respondents feel that the problems in relations with the police are structural in nature, and that the inherent racism and discrimination in British society constitute the reasons for such tensions. Only three respondents express dissimilar views, either in denying that their

relations with the police are problematic, or in blaming minorities themselves for the problems. This is the case for the Asian teenager quoted below who maintains that the police have every reason to stereotype black people, since black people are more likely to be involved in crimes:

> I'm not surprised the Police think like that. They talk to, there's a car crime in a certain area and they talk to black person. It's probably because it's more likely to be black person, or not because they are black and that's why they've chose to pick on them. I mean, Pittsmoor is a really bad area. I mean, you always see the knives about and the drugs and this and that. I mean, if there's a drug problem, I mean you know 99% sure that black people are gonna be involved. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

6. Other types of problems experienced with the police

Aside from questions related to arrests and abusive searches, discrimination or racism, victimisation, and the analyses that the respondents make of their problems with the police, a certain number of other types of problems have been identified by the respondents.

What is notably raised by some as being problematic is the designations whose minorities are the subject. For example, we blame policemen for using terms that refer to skin colour or birthplace in order to really underline the difference and the non-belonging to the country :

> White people they'll call you Paki for short. And it's like, have you come across with the word nigger? And they would never call me a nigger because they've got a word Paki. I look Asian if I am a Paki because I'm an Asian I look like a Paki not many people go on an say, say things like these pingel (?), Seeks, Hindus…Paki because we know what they referring to, it's by your colour, your origin and you're being single pointed, you know, Paki you don't belong here and because you're a Paki, you look different you dress different, you, you've got a different background. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

The diminutive, Paki, is perceived as a very offensive term:

> We come from Pakistan, and Pakis is something that hurts, you know. They know that we don't like being called Pakis. Because the word Pakistan means clean. But Pak means clean and Istan is just a land, it means clean land, Pakistan.

> So when they say Paki, they're just trying to…it hurts so much… (Najam, M, age 24, community worker, Asian)

Two young people blame policemen for their disrespectful attitude:

> Aslam
> When we don't want them to come inside our house they just walk in. They should ask first politely, if they could come in... (Aslam, M., age 12, student, Asian)
>
> Salvan
> Usually they don't even knock (upset). (Salvan, M., age 13, student, Asian)
>
> Aslam
>
> …they just walk in.
>
> Salvan
> I open, I open the door, if it's not open, then do not knock that loud. Every time they knock that loud, anyone, you can tell it's the police.

One interviewee considers that policemen, through a strategy of public relations, use one's parents to exercise their control and put on a psychological pressure:

> If they want to do an enquiry, they'll come at their own time of the day and they'll make sure that your parents get to know about it. And they know culture of minority communities can be quite, we're quite close you know. We have extended family and we tend to live in one family and you know the mother and the father and children are quite close knitted families. They play with your psychology in a way, you know your parents, they'll use your parents also to give you punishment really. (Samir, M, age 29, community worker, Asian)

The lack of consistency on the part of policemen is also mentioned:

> One minute, you could be all right with the Police and then the next minute, they're ready to get their truncheon and beat the hell out of you. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean, and Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean)

> One day, a police officer could be sat with a young, with a number of young people. But tomorrow he could clear his mind and you know, you could be the same young people that are victims of malpractice. (Samir, M, age 29, community worker, Asian)

7. Differential treatment depending on categorial belonging

Some respondents reveal that policemen behave differently according to the categorical belonging of a person within a minority group. Four categories emerge: gender, religion, ethnic origin and age.

The question of relations between the police force and minority women is poorly developed. Only two respondents made reference to this issue. This was the case with two community workers, a 34-year-old Jamaican man and a 25-year-old woman working in a shelter for Black women. What extends from these comments is that, in comparison to men, policemen would treat young black women even more vigorously:

> About some experience with some women or being able to sit in a group with some women who's been in trouble with the police. I've only talked to a girl who lost a finger, you know. She said, she lost her finger in the police station and hum, nobody, she would bleed all over the place and nobody attended to her for four hours and the story goes up and some of the things that she tell me, just, it's amazing, it's worse than the men. It is really worse than the men. I haven't, that's just more than hearsay, apart from which she showed me her finger. I haven't had a lot of dealings with the young women and the police because most times they're relayed back to other women worker. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

According to this community worker, not only do women in contact with the justice system have to undergo the separation with their kids but, still more, they have to put up with bad physical treatments:

> I know that there's quite a lot of young black women that's being arrested and specially lately….Some of the treatment that I heard them talking about, yeah, it's as bad, if it's not worse. Because some of the women are young and with

> young children that have to be separated from their kids and have their kids taken off and put in homes and places like that…I think why, I thought it was worse, it was the physical treatment that they actually got. Hum, how they explained it to me, how they were harassed, how they were searched, how they were stripped, what happened to them while they were stripped, hum that kind of thing. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

The community worker considers that they cannot trust the police force. Notably, the police would not intervene appropriately to protect women that are increasingly the subject of racist attacks:

> …the way they treat Asian women and men, which ever generation, is so fundamentally different from how they'll treat any other majority group. And when it comes down to the issue of women, I think we've very much... we don't have a voice. We only have a voice in the sense that if, for example, there's... I mean, for example, racist incidents, women, there's more and more that are being attacked, it's reported nationally in (one word: newspaper's name) the newspaper you pick up downstairs. I mean, again it's media publication but they very, very strong … I mean, you know, an aboriginal has been attacked and she's called the police, I've had that in the centre, and she's got a you know like, ah, a half an hour to two hour response, see now and she's call five times and she's got neighbours who are so racist. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

One of the problems brought up by this worker is the fact that women are excluded from the possibility of taking decisions in such a way that when a problem occurs, it is male leaders and policemen that negotiate together, therefore excluding the women's point of view:

> The whole issue is seen in terms of race relations and community relations. But when negotiations take place, I mean, you see they're trying to write to the community, the Asian community. I mean, when Sheffield had riots, the police and all the, all the community leaders, they all negotiated with each other. But there was a hard play but it wasn't seen as the women's issue. It was, we were working in advice hum, and it was not the community leaders were taken as men. But you see, if yes, a lot of the community leaders are men, they are but if the police had justifiably felt right, this is an issue that has hurt the community in the

> whole. It's hurt families and individuals and therefore it must affect women predominantly. They would want to link in with the women and negotiate with women. There isn't a shortage of women in the community, of women in the cities all over but you always get the policemen, the male community leaders together. Women's opinions are not asked for. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

In a more personal way, this interviewee provided sexist comments that she has experienced with policemen, letting clearly know that policemen are both racist and sexist:

> I've had sexist comments from the police. For me, they're equally bad you know, they've, the vast majority of them are men and not only are they really, really sexist but they are really, really racists as well, you hum know. It's not acceptable to have things like darling and sweetheart and it's like, treat people as equal, whoever you are, whether you are a black woman or a white man and not because of the skin or the sex. The skin colour should be treated equal not put up on a pedestal. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

For reasons linked partly to the way she dresses, her occupation, and the quality of her English, policemen tend not to consider her as a true Asian, but more as someone closer to Whites. This is a compliment from their part, but for her, it is more of an offence because of the way it denigrates the Asian community:

> They wouldn't consider women, Asian women, as persons, as people. I've had situations where I've spoken to police officers and they've actually thought that I'm so different from all the Asian women. You know, I'm just so different, I could be a white woman and because I'm so different, I'm better. I'm more like a white woman than an Asian woman. I find that quite offensive in lots of ways because they make judgements. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

The attitude of policemen is perceived as an insult because it tends to occult the identity of a person in general:

> I feel insulted because, to me, they just don't see me for who I am. They are making me into something that I'm not. You know, we as Asians, I mean, nobody would ever say, dare to say to a white person who didn't speak very well, who didn't have the same abilities, you don't really, you don't

> sound like a white person. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

When they state their relation with the police, the people that we met use different ways to identify the two ends of the relation. Some will only speak of their reference group or their belonging group when they elaborate on the subject of our research. Others remain more distant from their belonging group in order to more widely address matter concerning relations between the police force and minority groups. Occasionally, we noticed that some respondents established distinctions. According to them, the police force would act differently depending on the origin of the reference group that the person is in relation with. In this register, the only consensus that is put forward is that the majority of the interviewees consider that policemen treat the minority group differently in comparison to the majority group.

A Chinese respondent relates a case where she has been implicated in a car accident with a British conductor. She had a feeling that the policeman was ignoring her version of the facts:

> It seems like the police just listened to the British and ignore what we said…I felt it was unfair…it seems like the police said that we are not right, you see. (Mei Li, F, age 42, community worker, Chinese)

On the other hand, it is impossible to identify a consensus on what is related to the comparison between minority groups themselves. The only tendency that we can ascertain is that most of the time, the respondent tends to edify his reference group as the most discriminated one.

This was the case with a Somali respondent who was persuaded that his community was the subject of an more discrimination in comparison to other groups. This community worker explains this difference by the shorter period of insertion that the Somalian community has had n the welcoming country, and therefore, the lower likelihood that they would have knowledge of their rights :

> Sometimes, they keep, especially young people, in the cell for about 24 hours, which they shouldn't be doing. This is just our community, the Somali community, not the Black community as a whole. It is different to be public as a black because they've been through with the, all the black communities before and there are certain things they can't

> do to them….the difference between the Somalian community and other black, ah, communities, hum, Somalian community, is the latest newly arrived in this country due to the war back home….they know their rights 'cause they've been here before the Somalians and Somalians is, they just, they just newly arrived, they're just so new, it's like alienated country, in a way, that you don't know what to do sometimes. you know. And the police take advantage of that since you don't know your rights. (Badri, M, age 23, community worker, Somalian)

A Caribbean community worker is persuaded, however, that Blacks undergo the most discrimination:

> What I'm saying is that us, in my opinion, we are harassed more than any other group. I've come across it and I work with young people who daily are always coming out to the police station on this or are just being arrested for that, who are hiding from the police. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

And according to a Chinese worker, it is the Chinese community that experiences difficulties because of the lack of understanding by the police about the problems of this community:

> The police in Britain are largely, they are ignorant of what the Chinese culture is like, the Chinese people, understand the Chinese people in the way they deal with conflict. They don't really understand the problems the Chinese people have to deal with. Especially for take-aways and restaurants. (Mei Li, F, age 42, community worker, Chinese)

For that matter, some Asian young people are persuaded that their group is the target of more arrests than any other groups:

> Aslam
> They only just catch the Asian people, just Asians…they never catch Somalians or English, the white people, they just go for Asians, ain't it. (Aslam, M, age 12, student, Asian and Salvan, M, age 13, student, Asian)

For this Asian youngster, Asians are more inclined to be arrested than Blacks because the police know that it will be an easier arrest:

> It's guaranteed, I mean, there's a lot of black guys there, they part on zigzags, they **(one word inaudible)** pedestrian

> crossing, they part on different **(one word inaudible)**. Police never go there, they don't stop them because they know that they've got trouble. They stop the Asians because we don't cause trouble, we're quiet and everything. We are the easy targets. (Naveed, M, age 28, community worker, Asian)

However, it sometimes occurs that a respondent tends to identify another belonging group as being more discriminated. In this way, a young Asian thinks that Blacks are more stigmatised than Asians:

> They don't like us just as much as they don't like black people. They don't, they can't take it but then again, I feel that they have more hatred towards black people than they have towards us. (Shadid, M., age 19, student, Asian).

According to some, the police act differently depending on the group. They stigmatise each community differently:

> They'll deal like with African-Carribeans differently to the Asian people cos they've labelled every community. Afro-Carribean are very aggressive you know and you know they'll do anything for anything. The Asian people, they're growing, they're growing, they're becoming now cripples, the tiny community, they don't commit that many offences, you know. The Italians, you know, they like work in a Mafia style, you know, so they'll deal with them in a different way. So, they've got labelling and they've got different techniques of working with different people. (Samir, M, age 29, community worker, Asian)

> If you stopped a Police Officer now, right, in the street, and asked them what's your views about Afro Caribbean, Asian Chinese, etc., people, I can tell you that 9 out of 10 of them will say, they'll say oh yeah, Afro Caribbean's, they're into drugs, they're into prostitution, they're into nicking, they're into mugging" etc. Asian peopleoh yeah, they've respect for the Police. They are very quiet, but some of the young ones are real sods. Chinese, oh yeah, they keep to themselves. They don't get involved in anything funny or any sort of criminal activity. They have these images in their minds, which if you likely go there are not anything, are not that close to reality, and its those images that they're taking with them. So, whenever they go to see an Afro Caribbean person, their first reaction is he's a criminal. So, when you

> go in there with ideas already fixed in your mind, you're not gonna be equal, fair to them. You're not gonna give them equal treatment. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

Only one respondent identified religious belonging as a category liable to discriminatory treatment. For this young community worker, Asian minorities are the subject of a more unfavorable treatment for reason linked to their identification to the Muslim religion. The demarcation is therefore established between the Christian community and the Muslim community, a demarcation that could explain why West Indians of Christian roots could be, in the end, treated better than Asians. This demarcation based on religious beliefs could be less applied to the Chinese community, as this community represents a lesser menace on the religious plan:

> If you're Muslim you get treated worse, now if you're West Indian at least you're Christian, at least you got same name, at least you got same culture, at least you got same things… Chinese, same, they not very big in religion, they are not a threat. (Najam, M, age 24, community worker, Asian)

The questionable relations between young minorities and the police are often mentioned. A consensus emerges that youngsters are particularly aimed at and aggressed by the police.

The few youngsters that we interviewed provided different experiences in which the police intervened in situations that, according to them, did not call for intervention. Two adolescents considered that the police did not let them have fun and that they glance at them suspiciously:

> Aslam
>
> We play baseball right there and only because there's grass, play baseball and we have a lot of baseball bats all that and they say: "are you going to beat someone up?"
>
> Salvan
> They just don't let us have fun and that's it. They take the bats away from us and they don't give them back.
>
> Aslam
> and even we play football, they come asking us questions saying: "have you nicked in the stove(?) in the, in the..like have you?"

Salvan
Burglar

Aslam
Go burglar a car or anything. (Aslam, M, age 12, student, Asian and Salvan, M, age 13, student, Asian)

These two adolescents complain of the lack of game areas, which causes problems with the police:

Aslam

That day, we were just playing in the building, Boston building, and they go: “oh, you're not allowed in there. You are not allowed in this place”.

Salvan
'Cause there's nowhere else to play is there?

Aslam
The best place is to play in the buildings where it’s dark.

Salvan
Yeah, but there is nowhere else to play. (Aslam, M, age 12, student, Asian and Salvan, M, age 13, student, Asian)

Two other youngsters, a little older, also complain of being arrested while they were playing football :

You know when, just going to play football in the park, and you kick it over, like they just, when it just goes into the bushes and you go and find it, they just come and arrest you for nothing. (Ahmad, M, age 14, student, Asian and Ali, M, age 15, student, Asian)

The two teenagers denounce the searches that are being done on kids :

They search a lot of people even little kids. Yeah, they say they're thinking that we have druga and that. (Aslam, M, age 12, student, Asian and Salvan, M, age 13, student, Asian)

To really point out the extent to which youngsters represent a target group by the police, some adults compare their situations to that of teenagers. Also, this Jamaican community worker

affirms that what he has experienced with the police is not comparable with what youngsters face today :

> I haven't had the experience that they've had, apart from being harassed occasionally, but some of them have been arrested and had things done to them while they were in the police station. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Even youngsters of 20-21 years of age consider themselves more fortunate than adolescents who, according to them, are more harassed because of their vulnerability :

> I feel sorry for some of the younger guys now, who are 14, 15, who might be out late at night with their friends. They might dress a bit different and you know what I mean, the Police look at them and say: “oh yeah we've seen this all before, what have you been lads”. It's like a game to them. It's peoples' lives they're playing with, and it has a very long lasting effect like I said. They've changed me into a person that when I get mad with a Police Officer, I hate them, I hate them, I hate them all. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean and Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean).

A respondent estimates that the 16 to 30 years of age bracket is a target of police harassment, especially at night. Moreover, he seems to have personally lived that kind of experience :

> If you are in an age group between 16 and about 30, you're going to be harassed by the police especially if you're walking home late. I used to walk home from (two words inaudible) club with some friends. After club, we were walking around, we would be laughing and joking and things. We used to get stopped by the police for that, they wanted to arrest us for causing a disturbance in a public place. We're just having a laugh. How stupid can you get, that sort of thing. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

This young Asian, age 25, ascertains that police harassment decreases with age, except for Blacks who are harassed regardless of their age :

> Like, the young ones you know, the older ones, they don't tend to hassle anymore. People who are over 25, 28 30 maybe they don't hassle but they younger ones, they get full abused from them. Because the reason I think they get full abuse is to let them know who is in charged here … they take more advantage of them you know, to put them in their

> place who we are and who you are you know, but while I tend to think black people, regardless of age, they hassle them all the time, so we should class ourselves kind of lucky here that we don't get that much hassle…male Asian teenagers get some serious abuse from police, definitively a hundred percent. (Amir, M, age 25, salesperson, Asian)

How are we to understand that relations between youngsters and the police are more difficult than with older minorities? Some respondents tell us that attitudes and, more specifically, the expectations of people issued of an older generation of immigrants are very different than the that of a later generation, born in England. For this 30 year old community worker, that first generation members feel like outsiders has maintained itself in a position of retreat from the police due to fear of facing problems. Members of the second generation, less resigned than those of the preceding generation, call for equality:

> The older ones probably would have a bit different opinion because when they came first, it was quite hum not frightened of the police but quite frightened of getting into troubled, so they actually did everything they could to keep out of, to keep away from the police…the young ones now feel that they are part of the system, part of the society. They are born here, grow here and they want to be treated on an equal basis….the younger ones are more…they are really bitter, they are very bitter. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

This analysis is equally advanced by a Jamaican retired driver. He believes that youngsters' quests for identity contributes to the pressure on the police:

> When we came here, we came as foreigners, we come and we work. We make the best use of what life is like. Now my boy, my girl would have problems with the Police because they are more European, they are more modern. They decided that time, what is good for those is good for them, so they decided that well we are not going to just back, we will demand things. We didn't, we just take things for granted that we are in a foreign land and what comes to us, we take it, and we let it go and this is the attitude that we did have. Our children, our grandchildren don't have that. They are demanding, so it put more pressure on the Police…. At the time I came here, the Police in a sense look at us, oh they're a nobody, but the younger generation that have come up now, they discover that they are somebody,

> and if they're not somebody, they want to be somebody. That's where the problem begins, because my children and grandchildren who they take me as a nobody, they want them to know that they're somebody. (Paul, M, age 65, retired, Caribbean)

Others consider that the police reacts in accordance with stereotypes, notably those based on appearances:

> The feeling that from the police is a broad generalization that is if you're young and if he dresses a certain way then you're a potential young criminal, specially if you're Black, black young dresses a certain way. (Erika, F, Somalian)

The vulnerability of younger members that fail to recognise their rights is one other reason:

> You have no knowledge until you're locked up so many times that you're learning yourself, you know what I mean, from your mistakes kind of thing. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean, and Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean)

This being said, some adults closely working with youngsters consider that the resolution of racism towards youngsters is an urgent issue. This community worker informed us that his activities with young people consists, among other things, in containing their revolt:

> It's an unacceptable level of racism within the police and if it doesn't get resolved sooner, it will create a lot of mess in the future because young people can rebel against police in a certain way. Nowadays, they can cause a lot of damages and if the police are looking for that ah, it's another thing but we keep trying to convince people to stay calm. (Badri, M, age 23, community worker, Somalian)

An interviewee nuanced the importance of the racial factor in the stigmatisation and harassment of youngsters by affirming that discrimination goes beyond the racial question and that it touches youths as a whole:

> I mean, it's not just about race. I mean, you get a lot of Police Officers being negative towards young kids as a whole. Right, they see a group of young kids, right, whether they're white or black, they think trouble. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

Only one interviewee, a West Indian woman of age 65, enounced a point of view that is opposed to the previous views, by upholding, without specifically speaking of relations with the police, that the racism problem is less present within the young generations used to co-education settings:

> Because when I first came to Sheffield, it was not so bad, now, because, the younger generation, they've been to school with the blacks, you see, they have more, they're friends, they come home and then what you prepared for your children, so you find that even though it might be around, it's not as bad as when we first came. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

Another interviewee, an Asian of age 24, told us that the relations seemed rather tense between young " Whites " and young " Asians ":

> That area (*Leyburn Road*) is like a little gathering area. So whereever some minorities are gathered, whether it might be English people in the English area, there's always a meeting place where all kids hang about. Now, there's the white kids sometimes come down with bats and we have a fight or something...(Najam, M, age 24, community worker, Asian)

As we have just noticed, the discourses are very much concentrated on the behaviour of policemen towards the minority groups. In the next section, we will present another aspect of the relation between policemen and minorities by regrouping the accounts of minorities concerning their behaviour towards the police.

8. The behaviour of ethnic minorities toward the police

In our sample, we identified three respondents who were very in favour of the police. For these respondents, the behaviour of minorities remained problematical. In particular, a female respondent mentioned the existence of racist behaviours on the part of minorities in regard to Whites. The emergence of this inversed racism is observed by this young lady:

> I see more black people being racist towards whites than whites being racist against blacks…White people have to

> think twice before saying anything, I think that's true. I mean, I'm Asian and I know, I've got some black friends and I've got some white friends and I see the difference between the two. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

The Chinese community worker estimates that it is minorities that have to adapt to the laws of the welcoming country and that there is no question of imposing the respect of the cultural traditions to the detriment of the laws of the country:

> We have seen Sikhs because they wear a turban on their head they say how different, I cannot wear a hat on top of my head. And as part of my concept, that's wrong, because the law says you've got to wear a hat in case of accident…because once you start making an exception, then other people say well, "I'm not going to wear the hat because of this because of that". (Fu Shing, M, age 50, community worker, Chinese)

Aside from these exceptional cases, the persons that we met mentioned that they were very much in fear of the police. A generalised distrust seemed to be in place

> I think that they try to implant a sort of fear into you so that it's like when you see Police, oh better be good, kind of thing. It's like, I don't know, some kind of mind games that they play here. But I shouldn't have to think that I should feel safe and when I see a Police Officer, I don't feel safe from and that's not right. That's completely the opposite of what it should be. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean, and Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean)

This young respondent mentions that his behaviour toward the police has changed:

> If a Policeman walked past me and he's looking at me too long, given the amount of people around me, singling me out, I'll ask him: "what are you looking at?". I wanna know what's wrong, is there something wrong. Like, when I get pulled over now, if I'm driving I don't sit there and wait and wind down the window and wait for them to come, I get out, I go through and I say: "what, what's wrong?". I mean that's how they've made me, you know what I mean. They've made me into that, you know what I mean. Originally, I'd wait in my car for the Officer to come and say: "what's wrong Officer?", nice and polite and they still treat me like shit. So, now I treat them like shit too. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean, and Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean)

Willis considers that the police has contributed to such a change in his behaviour. He holds the police responsible for his hatred toward them:

> They've changed me into a person that, when I get mad with a Police Officer, I hate them, I hate them, I hate them all. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean)

A Caribbean woman of age 63, explains that she avoids crowd situations because she fears being arrested:

> I try to avoid a crowd situation so that if anything happens, I'm not caught up in it. Because when you are in a crowd sometimes something happens and the person that does things is not always the one that gets the bad… I just think that you can go in a crowd and you can get hurt and you can get arrested for something you didn't do because you are in the wrong place at the wrong time, so I just keep away. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

The distrust and deception towards the police is such that many respondents affirm not calling the police, notably in case of racist attacks. This attitude is mentioned as much by the representative of the Somali community as it is by the Asian and Chinese communities :

> … they mostly don't report the racial incidents or racial abuse that are taking place. And they don't report because most of them think nothing is going to be done. (Badri, M, age 23, community worker, Somalian)

A Chinese community worker justifies this attitude by considerations that touch as much the Chinese community as the police since it justifies this behaviour not only by the passive character and by linguistic incapacities of the Chinese, but also by the inaptitude for understanding the Chinese community and the inequitable practices of policemen towards minorities:

> …the Chinese are very passive and very often, they don't want to report crimes or incidents to the police. And the second point is that, I think the police in Britain are largely, they are ignorant of what the Chinese culture is like, the Chinese people, understand the Chinese people in the way they deal with conflict. They don't really understand the problems the Chinese people have to deal with…Actually for the Chinese, so far as I know, sometimes the Chinese people they are quite, I mean they are quite passive, right. So, and because of their language inadequacy, somehow they came across something they may respond quite

> passively, and, they do not want to, to make things into, to turn it into big things, you see. For some and sometimes I find it, the police are for dealing things with the, I mean just for myself yes. I find it sometimes not very fair….Normally, normally in the Chinese community sometimes they took the things to their own, yes, yes. Because afraid, not afraid but because they do not want things, because spread very quickly, you see they just keep the things to their own. (Mei Li, F, age 42, community worker, Chinese)

9. Definitions of ethnicity

As noted in the introduction to this report, the interviews ended with a question focusing on the respondents' definitions of ethnicity. As with the police officers, the views and definitions of ethnicity in this group vary considerably from one respondent to another. Some respondents define ethnic minorities as people coming from outside implied national boundaries, a characteristic that is passed on to people born in England but whose ancestors came "from outside":

> For me, someone who is an ethnic minority comes from outside, this my definition…I was born in Pakistan, I came over here and my children are born here, but still we are, my children they are British, by birth, but still their backgrounds are which ethnic groups they belong, they belong to Pakistani I think. (Saeed, M, age 50, civil servant, Asian).

Some respondents focus solely on the relative demographic size of any given group:

> The smallest group of people whatever it is, that is in an area, that's the minority, the small group. We are the minority in this area, because the whites are the majority, so we are the minority. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

Other respondents add additional criteria to that of demographic size. Amjad, for example, notes that ethnicity is a characteristic shared by all groups, with the difference being that there are ethnic minorities and ethnic majorities:

> If you're talking about an ethnic group, then English people are included in it. Right, because they are an ethnic

> majority. But an ethnic minority by the name of it, basically is a group of people that is the minority in the host community. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

Salman specifies that ethnic minorities are defined by cultural and religious differences and by a skin colour that is “not white”:

> What is my definition of an ethnic minority ? In this country the majority of people are white, so an ethnic minority would be someone who is not white, that would be a broader definition. Consequently Pakistani is an ethnic minority. Anyone who is not Christian. A black person is an ethnic minority, Asian, any group of people, any small group of people who's not within this society is an ethnic minority. (Salman, M, 18 ans, student, Asian)

Badri notes that the term “ethnic minority” is applied to non-whites, whereas it actually means a “small community”:

> Ethnic minority is someone who's not white english or someone who's not white because the real definition is small community whether they're white or black but it only applies to black small communities. That's the way they use it. (Badri, M, age 23, community worker, Somalian)

Some respondents define ethnicity exclusively in terms of skin colour, with “white” used as the standard of reference:

> Willis
> Ethnic minority is just anyone whose not white. What is yours?
>
> Tom
> The same thing. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed, Caribbean, and Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean)

A few respondents base their definition on skin colour, regardless of where a person comes from:

> Definition ? I think black it doesn't matter on what country you're in as long as you're black or asian...I don't think, it doesn't matter which country you come from you'll always be black. (Naveed, M, age 28, community worker, Asian)

Conversely, ethnicity is sometimes defined as more strongly linked to national and cultural differences, to the idea of coming from outside certain territorial boundaries, than to a particular skin colour:

> I think an ethnic minority is someone from a different country or a different culture…You know, I think I'm an ethnic minority because of my culture. I see myself as ethnic minority, because of my culture. I think there's culture and the country more than anything else. I don't think colour comes into ethnic minorities. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

Kiran specifies that ethnicity is associated with a way of life that is different from the "white" lifestyle, to the point that black people who adopt the lifestyle of the ethnic majority can no longer be described as an ethnic minority:

> You know I don't see someone whose born in this country and whose got the same way of life of the majority like white people, as been, you know a black person whose born in this country has got the same kind of lifestyle as white people. I don't see them as ethnic minority. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

Other respondents add a structural type of criterion to that of skin colour in maintaining that the term "ethnic minority" applies to groups who are oppressed, treated differently or "not welcome," i.e. not accepted by society:

> I mean for me it's every community that comes who's, who's skin is not white or, or, or from other part of the country which is probably being oppressed or is has been under the regime of another you know dictator. (Samir, M, age 29, community worker, Asian)

> Ethnic minority I would say Chinese, Blacks, Bangadleshi, we are all ethnic minority. If you're not white, you're ethnic, you're not white, you're not English, you're an ethnic minority, you're different class, been treated different in this country. (Amir, M, age 25, salesperson, Asian)

> My definition of an ethnic minority is you are not welcome. There's no such thing as an ethnic minority, do you know what, you're ethnic, if you're a minority you aint welcome. That's my version of it. (Najam, M, age 24, community worker, Asian)

It is interesting to note that some respondents either try to clarify and highlight subtle distinctions in their use of the expressions “ethnic minority” and “ethnicity,” or criticise the use of these expressions. Samir emphasises the differences between the terms “ethnic minorities” and “black people”. He feels that the term “ethnic minorities” refers to groups coming from European countries who are accepted as British citizens, whereas this is not the case for “black people”, a term, as we have just seen, that Samir associates with groups who are socially oppressed:

> Because for me ethnic minority are people like the Irish, the Polish, the Hungarians, the Germans you name it all white people but not Black and probably you can say you know the European countries are ethnic you know, they're not they're not from England but neither are they probably accepted as British citizens. (Samir, M, age 29, community worker, Asian)

Paul, a Caribbean retiree, rejects the use of the term “ethnic”, a term that he views as helping to maintain a situation of inequality:

> My definition of an ethnic minority is, the word ethnic poses a bit of a problem. Because after being in this country all these years, at the moment now I am a British citizen, but when we talk about ethnic, I am an African descendant, been to the West Indies through slave trade and all the different things that goes with it and to find a name to put on me when you are already taken from the motherland, so far and then, because Hitler had done the damage that nobody want them to do and then you have got to take us back here and we come here actually as slave even though we pay our passage and then to use that word ethnic, I can't even define the word, you know, that word ethnic. I can't define it, because it's no good, you sit there, you tell me that you're an ethnic minority then you said we are one equal. How could we be one when I am an ethnic and a half caste of your society. (Paul, M, age 65, retired, Caribbean)

Bruce dislikes the term “ethnic” because he feels it is misused by people (including researchers!). He especially criticises the limited way it is used, which results in a subjective view of reality:

> You came in and you said you're doing a research on ethnic minority. So by you saying you're doing a research on the ethnic minority, people naturally assume that ethnic minority is just black or asian but it isn't that. Ethnic minority is anybody from a minority group, which is including yourself the French, the Irish you know all those

> people and I really don't like that term ethnic minority because you don't give me a true picture of what it really is. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

One Chinese respondent claims that he is unable to define the expression “ethnic minority”, since he cannot understand why the word “ethnic” has to be added to the term “minority”:

> They are different people living in a different country, because when you use word ethnic, the word itself already means they are minority. Because if all the population were the same kind, you will not talk that ethnic anymore, it's the other person, small percentage, they become ethnic minority. What I'm trying to say is, I can only talk in my own Chinese people, I would say we are the minority, because the number of us, I will not use the word ethnic, on top of the minority. I can't understand why the word ethnic got to be added onto the minority. (Fu Shing, M, age 50, community worker, Chinese)

Najma finds that “ethnic minority” is an especially poor and cold expression, in that being called an ethnic minority does not give a person any sense of identity or sense of belonging:

> I don't really often refer myself, to myself as an ethnic minority. I know it's really used widely because there's no other term for it but I think it's quite poor, it's quite poor as a definition. I prefer Black, meaning the black communities and black people because that's what we are in lots of ways and I refer to myself as an Asian. Ethnic minority in the whole I think it is very cold. It doesn't give you your identity. It doesn't give you any sense of person. It doesn't give you, it's just cold. Ethnic minority it sounds like a figure or a column, it's easy really. A minority not that it does, doesn't give you a sense of belonging, does it? (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

10. Comments

In a general manner, the respondents of minorities are particularly critical towards the police. The accusation of racism, the differential treatment, the propensity to stereotype minority groups, the suspicion, even the fear that is aroused by the police, the police’s inertia in situations of victimization as a racial character and the repression exercised on young minorities are the main

conflict matters between minorities and policemen. We will analyse meticulously these discourses in a comparative analysis of discourses figuring in part IV of this present report.

PART III:

ETHNIC MINORITIES WITHIN THE POLICE

In this section, we present the point of views and the experiences of police officers and minority groups on this specific question. We will remember that we met with 16 police officers from the Woodseats quarter, 3 at the Department of Relations with ethnics minorities of the South Yorkhire Police as well as one London police officer who was active within the Black Police Association. On the count of 16 officers at the Woodseats quarters, 3 were members of visible minorities. Due to this very limited number, we have deliberately omitted to specify their ages, their origins and their ranks in order to ensure their anonymity.

1. Views of the police officers

If we rely on information transmitted by our interviewees, the three minority members were the only police officers in the division from visible minority groups :

> In this sub division, we have two, we have a sergeant and a P.C. Oh no, two P.C.'s now, we've got an Asian P.C. and an Afro-Carribean P.C., an Afro-Carribean Sergeant, although they're all English, you know they were all born here, and they are totally integrated. (Mary, F, age 41, Headquarters, 17 years of service)

If some police officers note that representativeness of minorities in the division has improved in the last years, others think that this number remains insufficient and that representativeness could be better :

> … we've got definitely, got one, one Pakistani, and he's been here quite a long time, and we have now got two Afro-Caribbean. But, you know that's not enough really. (Bob, M, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)
>
> We could be more successful. (Simon, M, age 44, Commanding officer, 25 years of service)

Overall in the Police Force of South Yorkshire, minorities seem to represent 3% of the police staff, as notes this constable working at the Department of Relations with ethnic minorities :

> …there's definitely a need. Something like, just over 3% of South Yorkshire have ethnic, 3% of the population are from ethnic minority groups… I mean, there's now something like 58, which doesn't sound like a lot, but going back 5 years, there was only maybe 18. So, I know that we've got Asian men and women, we've got black men and women. I think we've got a couple of oriental, like Chinese. (Janine, F, age 34, constable, 16 years of service)

The Black sergeant ascertains a clear progress of the representativity of Blacks compared to the period when he entered the Police Force :

> …in our Force, when I joined, I was the thirteenth black Officer, that was in 1983. Now there's 59, 59 out of 3,000…It's not a very good percentage at all, but it's getting better. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

The Police consider the presence of minority parties insufficient in the Forces of law and order. They advance some hypotheses to explain the reasons for this sub-representation.

One of the primary reasons forwarded concerns the suspicion that minority holders would feel towards the Forces of law and order. This is possibly linked to the prejudices that the British Police could have made the minority members live in the past :

> I think it's trust, the implicit trust isn't there for, for all sorts of reasons. Maybe because of prejudicial behavior by this Police Force, that the British Force in the past against those areas. (Philipp, M, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

Another reason often invoked is the negative image of the Police based on experiences from their country of birth :

> Perhaps almost, there is still a comparison with the Police Forces that people encountered in their, you know in Islam and India and that sort of thing. Where the Police Force is very corrupt. I mean, that's one of the things that we had at a meeting with a Samali community a week or 2 ago and one of the things they brought up, is the fact the Police Force in Samalia has been involved in the

> actual genocide and they're just seen as murderers. So, you know, if you see a police officer over there you know, you don't see friendly P.C. X, it is actually somebody who is likely to shoot you and so they come across here and it's very difficult to wipe that out and see the Police Force over here as a caring service organisation which is more the way we are going. They still have a, they are actually frightened when they see a police uniform and it will take a long time to get over that. I mean, that's one of the reasons why we don't, we still feel we don't get the interest in the recruits, certainly from the Asian community, in as much as it's not seen as a suitable profession for people cos it is seen as, you know, ..., corrupt organisation. It's not seen as a profession status that you would encourage a son or daughter to enter. (Mary, F, age 41, Commanding officer, 17 years of service)

According to some, the weak application rate of minority members could result from the fact that they anticipate a poor reception in their environment:

> I think the actual applications are quite low, percentage wise, for the percentage of people. I don't know what percentage of the population in Sheffield is for ethnic minorities but I think the percentage of applications is down on what you would expect. But that could part of the lack of applications, could be possibly blamed on the fact that the people know that people from their own communities are going to be against them. I think that probably does have some affect, that they don't want to be rejected by their own, by the people from their own community because they want to join the Police Force. (Peter, M, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

One last reason is advanced by an agent who works at the Department of Relations with ethnic minorities. According to her, the minority members are not well informed on the opening of the Police Force to recruit people from minority groups :

> …one of the girls said: "I'm very very keen to join South Yorkshire Police". She said: "but apparently you don't recruit Asian people, do you?". I said: "who on earth told you that?", you know I mean we do. We're very keen to recruit people from ethnic minority groups. So since then, I've gone and like given her an individual talk about the Police. I provided her with the recruitment information and she's actually applied, so it's going through the

> system, you know. (Janine, F, age 34, constable, 16 years of service)

The strategies of recruitment minority groups seem to be axed on two types of policies. The first is a policy of publicity, addressed directly to minority environments by using brochures and advertisements in the local media. The second one, a policy of sensitisation to the Police trade, consists of inviting young recruits to patrol with policemen on the context of two " open house " days :

> We actually have sessions each year where we invite a group of Asian and Black, potential recruits to spend some time with us, to see what it's like to be walking out as police officers; to see what's it's like to be involved in a way that we probably wouldn't need to do for White recruits, and we're having remarkable success with that. (Simon, M, age 44, Commanding officer, 25 years of service)

This being said, not all of the policemen agree with the encouragement of members of minorities to apply for a job in the Police. For some, it is not necessary to target a publicity towards a particular group since that publicity is large enough to reach whoever is interested in that job :

> There is no need for it because the way that the jobs are advertised it's on, what we call, general orders, and they are given out to every, every group gets a copy of this order. So everyone has the opportunity to read through and find out what jobs have been advertised, and what jobs they can apply for. If you're interested in that job then you'll apply for it. If you're not interested then you won't, and I don't see the need to put on that they particularly want this group of people to apply, because if somebody from that group is interested then they'll apply anyway. (Diane, F, 26 years old, constable, 7 years of service)

Others believe in the opposite, that the service should continue to encourage minority groups to apply until this encouragement is no longer necessary :

> We should maybe encourage it until we reach that point where we don't need to encourage it. That's the thing. I mean, we shouldn't need to encourage it but we obviously do. So we need to reach that situation where people naturally come without any specific push, or encouragement in that direction. You know we should get sufficient people coming from the black community

> without us having to go out and say we would like you to come. We don't really have to advertise to get members of the white community to join the Police Force and it would be nice to be in that situation with members of the other communities as well I think. But at the moment, that's not the case. (Philipp, M, age 44, sergeant, 23 years of service)

If we must release a global point of view on the presence of minority holders in the Police, we are forced to record that no policeman expressed himself openly against. Most of them considered that their presence was positive and we will further see the diverse justifications advanced to hold their point of view.

The police officers that felt less interested with the idea of welcoming minority policemen had a tendency to elucidate the question and to answer by deconstructing the importance of color and valuing the individual capacities of the recruit :

> To be honest, a police officer is a police officer no matter what colour, creed or background he comes from. Because obviously he can do the job that he's paid for and you know…. he's just another colleague, he's just another colleague, whatever that means…, I think it should be recruited on an individual's capabilities to potentially become a police officer in the manner that shall we say, South Yorkshire Police want their police-officers to act and to carry out their duties. (Mikel, M, age 27, constable, 5 years of service)

It is more towards the direction taking way or could take way to succeed in taking people issued from minority groups that leaves many officers sour. Two questions bring very negative reactions : the preferential selection towards target groups and the required qualifications to be hired.

The preferential selection brings reactions from some policemen who consider it unfair for a policeman to be chosen on the grounds of ethnic criteria:

> … if there was positive discrimination, that's not only unfair to the white man that's applied to join and doesn't get the job, it's unfair to the black man that's applied and got it, because if a black man's got it purely on merit. (Diane, F, age 26, constable, 7 years of service)

This young police officer of 22 years old shares this same point of view :

> I think police officers should be selected because they think they're gonna be good at their job, not necessarily because they come from minority groups necessarily. If they come from minority groups and they're good and they're selected, then go ahead. (Judy, F, age 22, constable, 1 year of service)

And this young constable, 26 years old, also shares this conception. According to him, police work is a vocation. The selection should be therefore conducted along such criteria :

> My opinion is, is that you recruit, this job it's a vocation, not a job, it's a way of life. It has many rewards, many satisfying features about it, it's a vocation. So you should be employing the right sort of people for it. It's very demanding. You have to be superhuman in a lot of circumstances and take charge and remain calm while everything is crumbling around you, because you're the focal point. So you've got to be, you know, a capable human being, and the fact that it's a vocation as well, you should recruit people who want to do it, whether they're Black, Asian, Chinese, White, whatever. If they want to do it and they're good enough to do it, then they should do it. (Roger, M, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

This point of view is shared by the three minority policemen that we have met :

> You know, just because he's Black I don't want him recruited on those basis. I want him recruited as a black man, but be competent and be confident to do the job that he is going to do, not on his colour alone. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

The question of the recruitment criteria is the second thorny challenge for the policemen. Some police officers dispute an hypothetical lowering of qualification criteria at the time of recruitment. Some others estimate that this lowering is a great reality.

A detective relates the case of a Police Force, other than the South Yorkshire one, who had lowered the criteria of qualification to allow new recruits from minority groups to integrate the Forces of law and order, a practice that he denounces vigorously :

> Well a few years ago, I forgot which Police Force it was, but there was another Police Force, not South Yorkshire and they were trying to hopefully encourage the ethnic

> minorities to come into the Police Force…and they tried to encourage you know, your West Indians, your Asians to join the Force and there were dropping the standard of the exam, the pass mark, the height restriction, physical capabilities and they were prepared to drop those standards in order to get more ethnics into the Police Force. Well, I don't think that that's right. (Ron, M, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

If some argue that qualification standards should not be in place and are not lowered, others are persuaded that this preferential practice favouring minorities is an active reality :

> As I understand, there has been some lowering of the standards to accommodate officers from ethnic backgrounds and I'm not really sure that works to anybody's advantage. (Don, M, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

> It certainly helps to have more, but what, what I wouldn't agree with is lowering the standards, because I think some Forces, I wouldn't like to say for definite but I believe they've, sort of, made it easier to… and I don't agree with that because I don't think they should have two tiers of standards of entry. (Peter, M, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

One policeman estimated that certain changes in standards were relevant particularly for requirements related to a recruit's height. However, he considered that standards in relation to one's education level should not be modified in any way :

> I think the same standards for entry should apply regardless of background. We have, we have abandoned the height requirements and I can see that that makes good sense. But when you start changing educational requirements, then I think that that can have an adverse effect. (Don, M, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

A minority policeman also opposes himself to the specific courses destinated to minority people that do not have the requirements or who could have failed their entrance test. He estimated that this practice contributed to the creation of a second class policeman :

> Access it came sometime back when academically you had to do an entrance test and people wasn't, people weren't scoring high enough marks. So what they then said is, yeah we'll give tuition in maths, we'll give you

> tuition in English and physical training as well and then you can join any one of the services like the Ambulance, Fire Brigade or the Police. To me that was wrong, because it then made an Officer like me or others who are in the Police Force as secondary citizens within that Police Force and I did not like that one bit, because that made me as a second class policeman rather than a policeman on part with everybody else. And for that reason, I didn't like the access course. I've no respect for it and I've no respect for positive discrimination, in that respect either. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

Another minority policeman estimated that the practice of lowering standards was an inadequate practice that contributed to create animosity :

> The problem I think we had in 1983, Derbyshire, you know the next country, they lowered the standards for black Officers, which I think just caused animosity for some, because if you're allowing people to come in who haven't reached the required standard, then that's like having a two tier Police system. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

Policemen occupying higher positions or working in the Department of Relations with ethnic minorities vary from such points of view. Either they considered that qualification standards were not lowered (in the case of Mary, age 41, Commanding officer, 17 years of service) or they recognised that minority members had to be the object of differential treatment to re-establish the equity between the majorating group and themselves:

> So let's take for example, a hypothetical situation, say we had a general knowledge test, and the general knowledge test talked about politicians, political systems in this country, history of this country, you know what happened in 1066. Now, if you're from Bangladesh, what happened in 1066 in England has got nothing to do with you. So, therefore, we could argue that people scoring badly in that test, this is a theoretical example, people who score badly in that test, on the one hand, one argument you could say, well they're not up to the standard. The other argument, the one I tend to favor, is that they weren't allowed to be brought to the start line. They couldn't compete on the same level. (Simon, M, age 44, Commanding officer, 25 years of service)

It was on the base of these arguments that this highly ranked officer declared the importance in recognising cultural differences :

> Therefore, it's necessary for us to recognize cultural differences. It's necessary for us to recognize cultural history, and influences, in order that, although we might treat people differently, we treat everybody fairly. (Simon, M, age 44, Commanding officer, 25 years of service)

A policeman from the Department of Relations with ethnic minorities further specifies that minority recruits receive special training but did not benefit from lower standards :

> We don't, you know lower the standards, but encourage them. We encourage them, we have an extra course, Preliminarization course, just minority officers can come on, come for two days with the police, just to get over that barrier of what it's like, and that's extra to what we do for normal recruitment. (Douglas, M, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

The high-ranked policeman added that favouring the recruitment of Black policemen should also be accompanied by a respect to their specific needs once inserted in the institution :

> What we need to do is to acknowledge cultural differences. So for instance, it would be entirely wrong for us not to provide appropriate food for a Muslim constable or give him the opportunity to have halal meat or something like that. It would be improper for us not to observe his need to fast during Ramadam. That would be wrong because we would then be imposing conditions on him as an individual. We accepted him into the Police, we accepted within our full equal opportunities policy, not to prejudice anybody on race, sex or religion. So it would be quite wrong for us to say well: "yes you can come into the Police". We won't provide you with the right food. We won't give you the time to pray when you need to. That would be unequal and unfair. (Simon, M, age 44, Commanding officer, 25 years of service)

However, this policeman positioned himself as very opposed to the quota system that provokes, according to him, two types of problem situations. Such a policy favours the recruitment of incompetent individuals who take advantage of this system and it mines the credibility of minority policemen who are competent :

> But one thing I'm very against, is this system in the United States, where you have a quota system. I mean, that does nothing for anybody. For Black and Asian people who are competent, it undermines their competence. For those who are not competent, to take advantage of the system, you get poor leadership, poor ability, they're not up to it, and everybody suffers. (Simon, M, age 44, Commanding officer, 25 years of service)

With this being said, the policemen show themselves, as we have noted, in favour with the presence of minorities within the Forces. It is interesting to retrace how the policemen justify the opening of the Forces to the presence of minority groups.

The synthesis of the arguments invoked permits us to see that the justifications of the policemen are quite varying. One particular justification appears more often than other : as to know that the presence of minority groups in the Forces is a necessity because the Police has to be representative of the society and its composition :

> It is important that the Police service does reflect the whole community and not just part of it. (Don, M, age 48, detective, 16 years of service)

> We ought to reflect, and this is a very firm belief of mine, the Police are nothing more or less than a small part of society, appointed to look after the interests of the rest. There must be a true reflection of society and not just a selective part of society. (Simon, M, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

> I can't say much more than I agree with it really. It's, it's necessary, it's a strong word, but there's a strong importance on it just for representation almost. (Richard, M, minority police officer)

> I think that we need more black police officers in this police force, because I really do think that we need to mirror the people that we're supposed to represent. (George, M, age 48, Commanding officer, 20 years of service)

This point of view is also shared by the minority policemen :

> You've got to bear in mind that Police represent the community or are working for society, so you should have a cross section of society. If you have a population, sorry, an area that's densely populated with Afro-Caribbean's, then I think you should have Afro Caribbean representation in the Police Force. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

The improvement of relations with minority groups constitutes another argument frequently advanced by police officers. It is interesting to observe that everybody does not necessarily conceive the settings of such improvement in the same way. For some, the relations will increased because of the improvement of the quality of Police work towards these groups :

> It will improve the Police work and obviously, it would help with relations between the Police and communities. (Ron, M, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

Others estimate that it is the image of the Police that is the source of improvement of relations with minorities, with the integration of minorities in the Police contributing to heightening the confidence of minorities towards Police services :

> Now, I think the issue with recruitment officers from Asian minority backgrounds has always been, well, we want to get more representation into the Police from that ethnic minority, so that we can improve Police relations. Because the ethnic minority can see that there's an Asian police officer; they can see that there's a black police officer and they can perhaps feel more confident because, well he's black and he's a police officer, he knows what it's like to be black, he knows what it's like to be a minority, you know. It's building confidence. (Roger, M, age 26, constable, 3 years of service)

Without necessarily invoking the improvement of relations, some are just satisfied to underline that the presence of minorities provides an image of a Police that is fair and indiscriminating. The presence of minorities would then have a function of reassuring the minorities :

> I suppose that it looks bad on the Police if they've only got a certain amount of Asians or Blacks. I mean because it's meant to be a fair and indiscriminate service to the public and I can see why they perhaps want to recruit more in one area, if you see what I mean. (Judy, F, age 22, constable, 1 year of service)

In referring to this, some clearly value that the presence of minorities contributes to refute the image of a racist Police that minorities maintain :

> If you've got a trouble youth who thinks that the Police are always picking on him, always after them, just because he's Black of whatever, it's gonna be difficult for him to understand anything else if all he's seen is white police officers. Now, if he sees a Black Officer who deals with him, who does exactly the same as the White Officer, then he might start thinking you know, that there isn't some sort of racial grudge against anybody. (Richard, M, minority police officer)

The question of high confidence is very much cited as a factor that encourages the development of a recruitment policy favouring minorities within the Police services :

> Well, like we said earlier, you can get some Asians who perhaps don't trust some policemen or they don't feel that the Police Force are doing enough and if you get these Asians working in the Police Force with community, then it dispels that mistrust, doesn't it, and you know the job will get done more efficiently and better, I think. (Ron, M, 45 years, detective, 20 years of service)

A minority interviewee estimates that the presence of minority policemen can contribute to changing the attitudes of minorities, particularly by inspiring more respect :

> It can change attitudes as time goes on, because if it's a long process, you might have kids, they grow up and they start respecting the Police because their dad's in the Police or their friends and that sort of thing and it all ties in with you trying to create a better image of the Police. (Richard, M, minority police officer).

This point of view is also shared by a sergeant, who specifies that the changing of attitudes would be more external than internal to the organization :

> Well, I don't think it would make any difference from within the organization, the Police, but I think it might change the attitudes of, it certainly won't change the attitudes of all of them, but it might change their attitudes towards us. (Peter, M, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

However, other policemen, like minority police officers, believe that the inclusion of minorities is also a way of changing the organization from the inside :

> I'm a bit of an idealist at this stage because I think that unless you join something you're never gonna change it. Because you don't really understand it and it reasonably easy just to sit out there and criticise and sayyes, yes they're all racist, they all go round beating everybody up and hide behind the uniforms…And really just to create, to try and create close links with people. You've got people within there who understand what's happening, so somebody who they can come and talk to, if they need or somebody's just out there, I'm out there wandering about and I might stop and have a word with them and they might say that I'm picking on them, but then you know, I've got a chance to explain something then haven't I? They might go away thinking well they're not all bad, or they might go away thinking yes they are, but there's an opportunity there to try and create some sort of change of attitude towards the Police. (Richard, M, minority police officer)

> But they don't have to come into the police to try and change anything. They should come into the police to be good police officers basically. Now hopefully in doing that, they will come in with a realistic understanding of how they're seen, how the Police operate, see some of the faults that the Police have and will hopefully want to try and contribute to improvement in policing, cos if black officers don't make that contribution, who else will? (John, M, minority police officer)

According to some, the insertion of minorities could not only give back confidence to minorities but also contribute in breaking the tension existing between them :

> If we're going to police the ethnic communities and we're going to diffuse any tension or any suspicion or what have you, it would be good if we have people from the ethnic communities working with us. It's as simple as that. So people, I assume, that if people see Asian police officers or black police officers, if a black or an Asian man sees an Asian or a black policeman then I assume that it will, will not look so much like an **(one word inaudible)** occupation. (George, M, age 48, Sergeant, 20 years of service)

The diversity (presence of minorities and women) could allow for better communications in situations where barriers of gender, language and of culture are present :

> They can actually sometimes break down the barrier, because they go to incidents, if you've got two officers going, one Asian and one White then you go to an Asian, then they're probably more likely, some people probably are more likely, although he could get more abuse, they're more likely to talk to them. The same with women, if a man and a woman go to an Asian house to deal with an incident, then the Asian man will just speak to the male officer and will ignore the female officer, but that's the way their culture is. And it's like, if we went to a house, half the time, the woman wouldn't talk to us, I don't really like it but that's the way it is, I suppose. (Douglas, M, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

A minority policeman estimates that the presence of minority police officers allows for the attainment of improved knowledge of the community's needs. In this perception, the Police is built like a true service to a custom-population :

> I mean, one of the reasons why you're here is because we've got quite a mixed community of different ethnic minorities. So obviously, we're there to serve the public and we need to know and understand the public. So really, we try to get involved in as many different things as we can. We've got community policeman who go visit and let us know what's happening. Really you just try to keep in touch with the different sections within Sheffield and understand their needs, what they need from us and what we can give to them. (Richard, M, minority police officer)

Some policemen talk directly of the use of policemen to the advantage of the organization, particularly in situations of linguistic barriers :

> Also, of course, we go to many houses in the Asian community to take statements or to investigate crime and we do not understand the language and we have problems investigating and recording things. I've been to, I've worked areas in the Nether Edge area and I've found it very helpful to take an Asian police officer with me. (Ron, M, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

> They can be used to our advantage, particularly PC X who, who often gets used to interpret sometimes. We can't use them for interviews where we're interviewing somebody for criminal offence, but, you get occasions where maybe there's been a road accident or something

> like that, or somebody comes to the desk and doesn't speak very good English and being able to use him to translate. You know he's actually got positive advantages the fact that he speaks a foreign language. (Peter, M, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

Crime prevention is another factor identified as positive in the recruitment of minority police officers:

> In fact, some of the West Indians get called the name. I'm just trying to think what it is, but I can't think of it. I think it's a good idea to have them on the job because perhaps they can see problems that me as a white officer can't see and obviously, understand the culture a bit more and perhaps help prevent crime and help keep things calm and you know generally any unrest boiling, bubbling up, they can quell before it gets out of hand. You know, they know the culture, they know the people, if they come from that community and it would be a good idea to have them, I think. (Ron, M, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

A last type of justification, mostly, but not exclusively, advanced by minority police officers concerns the educational role played by a minority police officer towards his colleagues from the majority group :

> Whereas, if you've got a load of Asians in the area, you should have some Asian officers so the Asian officers can teach the white officers about the Asian way of life. For example, in Europe the talking distance between you and I, the comfortable distance would be what? a metre, two metres, whereas in Jamaica it could almost be two inches. If you're shouting at somebody then you could almost be nose to nose. Whereas if a white officer tried to speak to a Jamaican bloke, a Jamaican man was upset, and the Jamaican man was nose to nose with the white officer, the white officer's gonna arrest him immediately. Whereas if he's educated to understand why the Jamaican person is like that, about his culture, his lifestyle you know and what they're like in Jamaica, and become aware, then I feel that there's not so much animosity, not so much, because you're gonna be more tolerant, and I feel as though that's important. It's certainly important. So it's a case of teaching everybody about cultures, backgrounds and our hopes and fears basically… It's all a case of awareness and knowing how to treat different

> parts of the community in different ways. Not preferential treatment, but just treating them as they would wish to be treated. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

For this sergeant who belongs to the majority group, the fact of working with minority police officers contributes in disconstructing the stereotypes that a police officer could hold towards an ethnic minority :

> It also balances a little bit because if you're working with a particular Asian officer who you get on with and work well with and all that, then you get to an incident involving some Asian youths it's quite, when you're particularly working in an area, to start to stereotype, you know what I mean, thinking they're all the same and it's quite easy to get into that situation, it's very easy, to thinkoh they're all like that, which is a load of rubbish. If you're with an Asian officer, you think well he's like that but my mate here he's not and it helps as well you see, get both sides….They bring a lot of culture from their relatives, if not from themselves, they can actually pass that onto other officers. (Douglas, M, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

The experience of minority police officers and racism

How do policemen describe the experience of minority police officers within the Forces of the law ? The matters are clearly different whether they are considered by an officer of the minority group or by an officer of the majority group. Obviously, the size of our population does not necessarily allow us to elaborate generalizations. We can simply maintain that most of the policemen from the majority group estimate that the policemen are very well integrated and that they are considered as of any other policeman :

> We don't class them as Asians or West Indians, they're just Police Officers or Station Driver. They do their job the same as what I would do and treat everyone the same. I don't think there's any problems, no problems at all with them working in the Police Station. In fact they do a good job. (Ron, M, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

Exceptionally, police officers of the majority group, who deny the existence of internal racism, admit that it is possible that marginalised racism does occur :

> I've never found any problem of racism within the police services, I'm not saying it doesn't exist, I'm sure it does a bit, but not to any large extent….(Douglas, M, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

Moreover, this sergeant tends to normalise the few possible problems by reducing them to a " canteen culture " in which the reach is diminished by the character of jokes :

> …there might be one or two comments made, but there's some coloured officers it doesn't bother them at all, you know…It depends how strong they are and how sensitive they are, how seriously they take it. Some can just shrug it off and, it don't bother me, say what you want to me…There's, it's a term what you call a 'canteen culture', canteen being a refreshment, things like that, they make comments, not serious, but jokingly. It's alright making them jokingly but, if the officer can laugh it off, but deep down it might upset him, it doesn't happen as much as it used to. (Douglas, M, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

The few policemen accepting the idea that racism may occur internally affirm not having personally witnessed any racist behaviors. They reinforce their point of view by pointing out the dissuasive aspect of sanctions in cases of racism :

> It's no doubt that there are racists in the police force, but then, as I said earlier you know, you've got a body of three thousand people there are going to be some, there's no doubt about it, it's... I can't say I've experienced operations where police officers have been openly racist, and to be quite honest, even if that's what they feel, they can't afford to do that these days, because of what the repercussions can be…..he might think you've got to really curb what their thoughts are. (Peter, M, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

Only one policeman of the majority group has mentioned that problems of racism existed by pointing to the resignation of some minority policemen :

> I would think if they do come off the job, I would assume that it is difficult for them no doubt about it… I'm only, it's only what I'm assuming, because it is very white orientated isn't it? (Bob, M, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

Without overelaborating, this policeman has shown himself comprehensive by stating a feeling of isolation that minority police officers have to necessarily experience :

> I assume it's like if I went to an area where there is a large ethnic minority, a job where there is a large ethnic minority, you would feel a bit isolated, wouldn't you? and I'm sure them coming into an environment like Woodseats police station to work here, would be the same for them. I'm sure it would. (Bob, M, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

Amongst the three minority police officers interviewed, two have mentioned internal racism. This was the case with two policemen having more than 10 years of service. Only the youngest one did not discuss racist experiences. It would be more exact to mention that this young policeman was attempting not to be concerned with the color of the skin, which is a notable nuance :

> I've had no problems. I don't tend to, I try not to concern myself too much about you know, the colour of my skin, because if you make it an issue you start, you start seeing things that aren't there. Well I think you do. I mean, there might be or might not be, but you know I tend to see, I've gotta be a person first and as long as everybody treats me as a human being, as a person then that's my main concern. I've really had no problems on the otherside of things. I don't really go to try looking for problems like that, because then I'd find even more and I wouldn't know how to deal with them. (Richard, M, minority police officer)

Does this policeman have an insufficient number of years to relate experiences of racism in his regard, has the Police Force from the mid-nineties changed, or again, is the status of being on probation invite caution to this subject ? On the other hand, an experienced minority police officer did tell us that, at least in his days, the situation of a policeman on probation is so fragile that he tends to stay quiet :

> Your first two years in this job, you’re in probation and they can sack you. So you’re careful with your first two years. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

Another minority policeman estimates that racism in the Police has become more subtle than before :

> For me to say that there is no racism within the South Yorkshire Force, I think I'd be wrong in saying that. There is, it's done subtly, you won't notice it if you're not

> experienced enough. The old banter has died tremendously, you know when they used to call Pakistanis, a Paki to some it's very offensive. They were used a lot. But over the years, it's gone by the way because of the threat of being disciplined and losing your job, so that has a lot to do with it, because the canteen culture, as I call it, has gone. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

This policeman asserts that in the beginning, he had faced difficulties extending from his origin, notably by proving that he was able to do the job without being supervised :

> I felt that there was that critical look at me and I wasn't just running off to come up to the bar of my colleagues, but I had to be slightly above, to show that I'm capable of working without the supervision. So yeah, that did cause initial problems and pressures at the initial stage. I'm going back to 1980 when I joined the Police Force, one of the comments that were made was: “Oh you're a neat writer, you can read and write then”. I goes: “yeah that's **(2 words inaudible)** otherwise I wouldn't be here”. So that was a subtle kind of racism. Yeah, all ethnics can now read and write. You know, that's how I felt like, an insult by a ranking officer. So, yeah it was blatant some days and sometimes people slipped and said things when they thought I wasn't there, but that culture, like I said, has gone, it's going slowly and it's disappearing. We'll no way eradicate racism, you know, we'll not exactly drive it underground, but you'll see it in a more subtle form. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

This policeman considers that the subtlety of racism is to such an extent that it has become difficult to describe :

> Racism exists within the Police but I can't describe it. It's something, you see it. No, I can't put it into words. It's like a seventh sense. For example, how can I put it, I suppose you as a, I'm surmising you're a French speaking Quebec, that there's some sort of tension within Canada between the French speaking and the English speaking, and if you're a French speaking person you went to the English speaking corner, and you were the only one, as a French person and there was English there, suddenly they'll recognise you as a French person and they look at you thinking, what is this man doing here or woman doing here. It's that kind of scenario I'm talking about, that I can't put into words…I can feel the atmosphere, I can feel the atmosphere, and I think

> yeah they know I'm here, you know, and just get on with doing what you do. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

This racism is so subtle that its detection requires a certain sensitivity :

> It's not blatant, you know, if you're not looking for it you won't notice… it it's like you as a Police Officer in a uniform, walk into a scenario of, say all the local officers sat in the room and you get the looks like what's this man doing here. You know, he shouldn't be amongst us. You feel that sometimes. I've felt it when I've gone to a different force area and people are looking me up and down, like, what's he doing in uniform, he shouldn't be here. So it becomes more subtle. If you're alert to the original signs, then you can pick it up. If you just ignore it, then you won't see it. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

This does not prevent the fact that the policeman has faced open racism :

> Some of them were you know, were fairly open about it and saying, well what are you doing in the Police Force, you shouldn't be in this Police Force at all… (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

The second experienced minority policeman specifies that it is more as a constable he had suffered comments, while the sergeant status seemed to protect him from such remarks :

> An Inspector actually once said to me seven years ago, eight years ago, a white Inspector, I might add, it doesn't look right a black person being in charge of white people and that was an Inspector in this force, which really is quite outrageous, but it's a fact of life…As a Sergeant, I've been a Sergeant for over 4 years, no problems whatsoever, because obviously you go up a rank and you're in charge of them and you're also responsible for them, so no animosity whatsoever since I've been a Sergeant. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

This policeman portrayed a state of discriminatory assignation to differential tasks in his regard :

> I had an Inspector that I had another problem with, Rotherham another Inspector and he was from Barnsley. He had no black friends, he knew no black people, and he treated me almost like a second class citizen. For example, all the duties, he would make sure, for example, if there's five car beats to man and there's six of us to man those car

> beats, he would put the five white Officers on the car beats and put me on foot, somebody to man the front desk, which is a task you don't want. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

He also relates the promise of a quick promotion if he engaged himself to the community of liaison, an assignation that he refused categorically :

> It's like when I first, I got promoted in 1991 and I went for my promotion board in 1990. You have a panel and if you pass the board, you will get promoted, okay. So, somebody said to me a week before, you pass your board, bearing in mind there were no black Sergeants, none what so ever. If you pass your board, you'll get promoted a month after, which is very, very rare, invariably you wait like two or three months, four months. They said you will get promoted a month after. I thought great stuff, because it was like an increase of three thousand pounds a year, and then they said: “however you will get promoted as community liaison”…Community liaison deals with people in the community, like they go on different panels; your women's panel; your black panel; your community forums; your open meetings. You go everywhere around the area. So basically they wanted a token black Officer. Look here we've got a black Officer with stripes on his arms, so that's all they wanted. So I said if I pass the board. They said to me Community Liaison, I'm not gonna take you. I would take you, but I didn't want to be a token black and that's what I would have been. Look we've got one here he's got stripes on his shoulders which really is wrong. Why should I be the token black. So that got back to the powers that be and they didn't do anything for three months, but they put me somewhere else, because they didn't want to take the chance of the first black Officer in the Force saying no, and I wouldn't have said no. It was just bravado, but at the time, I was annoyed by the fact that I'd worked hard for seven years or six years, why should I be put in Community Liaison when I want to be on the streets, where I work best and where I'm the most effective. So I was annoyed, but obviously the power that be were annoyed because I said no. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

Moreover this police officer notes a tendency to use the black policemen to execute specific tasks, that he contextualized with vehemence :

> There is a tendency to use black people in a specific way but not with me, because I won't tolerate that and sometimes it upsets people, senior officers, it upsets them, but if I'm not happy in a job, then why should I do it. I joined to be a Policeman, not somebody sat behind a desk working nine to five to talking to panels and forums and going to schools. I want to be a Policeman on the streets. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

Besides, another minority interviewee has felt used while he was assigned for 5 years to an ethnic community in which there were tensions. He now says that he regretted this assignation that had an incidence on his career :

> For five years I worked in an ethnic community area and then I came out to pursue my own career basically. I was maybe used a bit, yes…but that was the reason why I had gone to help that detachment instead of being say attached to a CID Office for my own criminal investigation skills, that I needed to develop at the time, but they chose to put me down there and I took it, and I regret taking it now, because I can't get in my investigation department for long. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

One of the police officers in the Command Force that we have met estimates to this effect that it is unfair to assign a minority policeman to a black community unless that assignation is the object of negotiation :

> It would be wrong to recruit somebody to work in a black area. It might be okay to recruit somebody into South Yorkshire Police and to then say to them, look we really want to make some inroads into this community, would you be prepared to work with .... **(1 word inaudible)** in the Sharrow area, if you're a Pakistani Muslim. Would you be prepared to do that? It's more of a negotiation point, a discussion point. (Simon, M, age 44, commanding officer, 25 years of service)

One of the three minority police officers says to feel constrained to be more productive and efficient than the others:

> I have to work better…and make sure that my supervisors knew that I dealt with that situation and also to deal with not bringing just one offence in, but bringing three or four in and saying: “look I am capable of putting paperwork

> in"…So I have to be involved and I have to push myself to the forefront all the time because I've found that if I sort of stood in the shadows and learnt the job that way, then I wouldn't have been noticed. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

Mainly in the beginning, Samuel was being observed and felt that he had to do better than the whites, which represented a strong pressure :

> When I first came into the job about 15 years ago, all eyes were on me to see how I would react, how I would develop my policing skills and I had to be better than the white person, if I can put it bluntly. I had to show that I was much better than he was because everybody expected so much of you…, but having said that, the time has passed on and they have now realised the skills that I possess and I didn't sort of buckle down under the pressure, but there was immense pressure from within your colleagues to do the right thing. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

Samuel assures that a minority policeman awakes suspicion with colleagues and they will narrowly examine the limits of his loyalties

> Is this man going to support us in the hour of need, is he going to be biased towards his own community, because that's the culture he comes from and the language he speaks…coming from an ethnic minority you are more scrutinised. I think you're scrutinised at the higher level, scrutinised in a sense of your loyalties primarily, because your colleagues expect you to support them. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

A policewoman affirms moreover that she works with an Indo-Pakistani policeman in which she does not have trust, for reasons of his " mixed loyalties ". The mistrust is such that colleagues and herself take the habit to not lie about files on their desks in his presence :

> I mean, there is an Asian Sergeant who I find is excellent, he's great. Now he, I view him a little bit differently. I trust him, but for some reason I don't trust this other one, I really don't, and I'm being honest. When he was on attachment with me, I mean, X the Sergeant felt the same. We would purposely not leave anything knocking about on the desk. I would put my files away, because I didn't trust him, I'm being honest yeah, I didn't trust him. I think his loyalties are

> very mixed, you know. (Janine, F, age 34, constable, 16 years of service)

A minority police officer insists to mention that the experiences of racism he has lived are not of a structural order but of isolated incidents :

> Yes there is racism, but the incidents that have happened to me are isolated incidents and bearing in mind I've been here eleven and a half years, I suppose there's four or five that spring to mind, but nothing I couldn't handle and nothing less or nothing more that would happen in society anyway. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

On the other hand, this policeman notices that in spite of equal opportunity policies, very few minorities fill hierarchical positions in the organization :

> There's an equal opportunities policy, which is important for women, black women, Asian women, Black officers. The fact that they are treated equally; people who are disabled and rightly so, because I'm really into equal opportunities and rightly so. So I think it's more a question of people being aware of the fact that it's inevitable, you can have black Sergeants. There's only two black Sergeants in this force. There's no black Inspectors. There's not black, there's no black women Sergeants. There's just me and another officer. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

The two minority policemen of experience do not seem to necessarily adopt the same attitude in cases of racist comments. The Indo-Pakistani police officer seems to adopt a more passive attitude, having even learned to laugh about it to survive :

> Those that come face to face with me and says: "Well I don't like the Pakistanis and I don't like the West Indians", my remark seems to be, you're the ones that are going to suffer, I shan't have sleepless nights over it… I don't experience them anymore, in a sense that I've become more experienced. Now, I can justify my existence if an argument comes to a head. And, obviously, being experienced, I can pick and choose what I'm dealing with, and not only that, my colleagues I feel now know me. And therefore, they're quite prepared to let me lead and deal. Whereas, perhaps when I was new, the first station I worked with in the Police environment, so there were all those kinds of taboos and misunderstandings that exist. You might say something to me jokingly and I might take it in the wrong way thinking,

> Oh, you've been racist or whatever. You have to laugh. The culture is such that if you don't have a sense of humor, you won't survive, especially in jobs where you have a lot of pressure. You've got to have a sense of humor to alleviate the stress that's involved and it is a stressful job. So yes, I would say I'm at ease now. I don't deliberately look for racial attitudes. I've switched off from that a number of years ago. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

For him, the most important is the recognition of his skills. As long as they are not threatened, he adopts a standing back attitude :

> As long as my professional skills and my capabilities and my trust is recognised, then I don't have to worry about anything. If one of those things come into question is when I start questioning like why, after all these years, suddenly these things are coming to ahead. Why have they not come say five years ago, six years ago, if the problem was that severe? That's the attitude I now work on. Plus, I don't see it as much now, the racial scenarios that used to exist. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

As for Wayne, he airs an attitude of intolerance towards the policemen he knows to vehicule racist prejudices :

> I'm sure that there's some people in the Police Office, in fact, I know for sure that they see me as a second class citizen. But I don't worry too much about it as long as they're aware of it and monitor it and it doesn't come to the fore. As long as they don't make me aware of it, then there's no cause for concern. But we've gotta be professional, but if anybody's out there and they treat Asians, blacks or whatever like second class citizens, and I witness it, then they're in trouble. They're in big trouble, because I won't tolerate that. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

He specifies that he would apply sanctions but by taking into account the circumstances :

> It maybe a case of, a verbal warning with a view to endorsing their pocket book. If it's something that it's from a member of the public and he comes and sees me and it's been proved by somebody else. If someone can corroborate that, then it has to go further. If they do that, whether it be in a moment of temper, moment of weakness, then on their own head be it. But if it's something that's out of the ordinary for them, then I would back them and try and help

> them. It depends on the situation and the Officer basically. (Wayne, M, minority police officer).

If most of the police officers of the majority group affirm not having difficulties with their minority group colleagues, only one policeman has put forward the necessity to control oneself in the comments and the tendency that some have to misunderstand certain matters :

> I think sometimes you know, inadvertently some Police Officer might make a comment and it can be taken the wrong way. So I think we have to be careful what we say. I mean, I know for instance last week a Police Officer made a comment about some West Indians who were doing something wrong and he said "Oh those blackies down in that area are so and so" and afterwards he was picked up on it by a Senior Officer, you know, "be careful what you say, you know that could be treated as a racist comment". I think sometimes they take it too far. I mean, I know that Police Officer, it wasn't meant as a racist comment at all and if he's talking about some black people doing something wrong, what is wrong with saying "those blackies". I mean, he didn't mean anything racist by it. So, but all the same you have to be careful what you say I think. It's the same you know, like 'Pakis' I mean that's used quite a lot. You hear it on television, you hear it in Police Stations. (Ron, M, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

This policeman mentions the use of the term " Paki " with an Indo-Pakistanis police officer and holds that this policeman does not perceive his use of words as offending or racist :

> ..like I was saying earlier about comments like the word Paki, I can use words like that with him and he knows full well you know, I'm not being offensive and take it as a racist remark, or an offensive remark or anything. (Ron, M, age 45, detective, 20 years of service)

Relations between minority police officers and ethnic communities

Unanimously, with some minor nuances, the policemen interviewed affirmed that minority police officers were badly accepted within their respective communities. The expression that came

forward the most was that of betrayer : the minority police officer would be recognised by minority groups as someone who had changed ends :

> Obviously we do need more and I, but saying that, speaking to the kids down in the ethnic communities, they don't like the thought of having one of their own race policing the area. (Bob, M, age 43, constable, 19 years of service)

> When they go out on the streets, and I know it happens, it happened the other day, if you're an Asian officer, that if you go into an Asian area you're going to get, you get more abuse than what we would because they seen as traitors to them. (Douglas, M, age 44, sergeant, 25 years of service)

> I think they do experience some problems. The officer I was telling you about, this sergeant X his name is, and he mentioned whereby he's been on raids, when he raided these drug parties and other West Indians who've been at the party have, sort of branded him as being a traitor because he's sort of working with the Police, you know. So, they do have certainly, certainly some of them, yes, do have problem with the fact that they're police officers. (Peter, M, age 39, sergeant, 15 years of service)

The non-acceptance of minority police officers by the minority communities is corroborated by minority policemen themselves. All, however, make believe that this ostracism seems different according to the generation. The second generation seems to be the most negative one :

> You'll find that your first generation Afro Caribbean, or the ones that came over from Jamaica, West Indies, West Africa, they aren't too bad, but it's the youth, for want of a better word, between 15 and 30… that have all the hostility and all the hatred. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

> You know the elders of the community are grateful, yes, it's nice to have a representation. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

An Indo-Pakistani policeman thinks that delinquent people are the ones who do not like police officers of the same origin and prefer being arrested by a majority group representative :

> When I ran into the community, I was accused of nobbing with the white society. I was accused of eating from their hand. I was accused of being against my own clan…They just did not like their own kind arresting them for doing wrong, whatever wrong they did and they didn't like to see their own brothers and sisters working against them. That what it was, top and bottom. They could just not foresee or have a thought of a policeman being an Asian policeman dealing with them. They would have rather dealt with an English policeman and give them the stick and agro and grief. (Samuel, M, minority police officer)

Another minority police officer mentions having been called " coconut ", to well underline the transformation that a Black goes through by engaging himself in the Police :

> They were booing, hissing, calling me coconut, you know white on the inside black on the out, called us coconuts and things like that. They were saying, you know they were shouting: "if you were on your own "we'd murder you"" and the hatred and animosity was something to behold. Quite intimidating. (Wayne, M, minority police officer)

In fact, the minority police officers do not only suffer from insults or negative comments, but they also mention the pressures they encounter in their attempts to obtain favours from their communities :

> There was a pressure from the community to say will you do us favours because you're one of us. Therefore, you shouldn't be taking me or arresting me. There were all those kind of pressures that the ethnic police officer has to put up with. (Samuel, M, minority police officer).

2. Views of the ethnic minorities

Minority recruitment in the Police creates more controversy between minorities compared to the policemen's perspectives. The interviewees saw both advantages and inconveniences in relation to this policy.

Advantages

Among the advantages that we have identified, it is noticeable that some interviewees, including the Pakistani young man, underline that the presence of black police officers would lessen the stereotypes of the communities towards policemen. From this fact, hostility towards policemen from the majority group could be lowered :

> … if there is more Asian police officers in a particular area where there are a lot of Asians, that could reduce the hostility. If there are more black officers where there's a lot of blacks, that would reduce the hostility towards the white police officers which is all about hostility there. I mean, they feel the police officers are pigs. They're not. They're different but if you have your own kind of person your own clothes, your own colour, someone who's from the same religion than you, you're not going to be hostile in the same way as to someone who is completely different from you. (Salman, M, age 18, student, Asian)

Contrary to this reasoning, others estimate that it is policemen that would change their attitude and behaviour towards minority groups. In this sense, racism would find itself somehow neutralised by the presence of minority representatives :

> Because when black people, when things happen, racial incidents and you have black officers you know, that a black person or a black police wouldn't do the same things that other police were doing to you, at least you can say he wont do wrong, he won't do wrong because they work together or maybe the white police wouldn't do some stupid things that they were doing before she was doing before 'cause being with them will really, will make them realise that they're doing wrong and they would stop because of the black companion or whatever. In that way, it would reduce and then it, it would improve yeah. (Badri, M, age 23, community worker, Somalian)

> I mean, then there wouldn't be no more racist like the cop. The cop would get to know each other better and then they could say, like sayno you don't have to be racist this and that you're alright… Probably, it will stop racism. (Aslam, M, age 12, school boy, Asian et Salvan, M, age 13, school boy, Asian)

Independently of the racism question, some insist more on the fact that the presence of minority police officers, necessary by the socio-demographic representation of the minorities in the population, encourages comprehension of the Police towards the way of life of the communities :

> The percentage of black people or Pakistani peoplethey are much, much higher than Chinese people. So there is a reason why they want to recruit ethnic minority as far as those people are concerned, because they represent far higher proportion of the local people. So you need some people who can understand those ethnic groups way of living, way of thinking. So it's good idea to employ some ethnic police people in the police. So they can act on those ethnic minorities behalf. (Fu Shing, M, age 50, community worker, Chinese)

An interviewee of Chinese descent estimates that the recruitment of policemen could help to understand and support their complaints :

> It's a voice, as a voice, I mean, at least can compete back isn't it, can compete back for the Chinese community voice, their complaints, I don't know…There's someone who knows about Chinese culture and also the language of the community, so they may have a voice in the police force, that the ways of treating Chinese community needs to be improved. At least the police can report it, if there's really people who can speak Chinese so they can, they can really, if they come across something, they can just speak Chinese instead of English. (Mei Li, F, age 42, community worker, Chinese).

Disadvantages

Some interviewees (the majority) present themselves as more critical towards the recruitment of minorities in the Police.

This Caribbean teenager is convinced that racism would not be resolved with such policies. The racism problem refers more to the practices and the black policemen is satisfied to repeat these particular ones :

> It just won't stop racism because even if they did, even if black people did work as police officers, like white people

> are still going to be feeling the same. (Brenda, F, age 15, student, Caribbean)

In this sense, another interviewee supports that the Police Force's ideology is a racist ideology. Also, recruitment individuals would not contribute to transform the " system ".

> …they think really by recruitment more black officers, the minority officers, it will change the racism problem. I disagree with that totally because the thing is the system is not even such for them to accept me or you joining the Police Force….But in England because the society at large doesn't accept black people or immigrants as British citizens then you are, you telling me that you put a black person in the Police Force which is a very powerful institution that it's going to change their ideology of racism. (Samir, M, age 29, community counsellor, Asian)

This point of view is shared by many interviewees who consider that Black policemen act like White policemen :

> They shouldn't be there working for the Police itself and acting the same as a white policeman…Black or White a cop is a cop. A cop is a cop and I don't like them. (Willis, M, age 20, unemployed worker, and Tom, M, age 21, musician, Caribbean)

> What I mean is they know the position that we are, as people that they themselves are, as people they know the way we are oppressed, the extent to which we are oppressed and for them to decide that they are going to be part of that oppressing Force, well it's just criminal, it is just not done and they can't justify it, they can't say "oh well we need black police to police black people" because the black police approach the exact same way as white police and probably even worse. Because they think they've got something to justify. They think that in the eyes of the white police, they need to be seen to be doing (silence) and in the eyes of the black person, they don't give a damn anyway that's why the join the Force. So the only excuse that we need black police to police the black areas, that's just ridiculous, that's just really ridiculous. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Many interviewees think that the presence of police officers does not change the practices or the Police organization. Instead, they maintain that black policemen are contaminated by the organization. This is the reason why the interlocutors that have shown themselves to be critical and sceptical toward that policy do not trust black policemen. They even go to the limit of qualifying them as traitors :

> If their own people going to the mickey, they're better off having whites in it…it just shift from one court. The ball is in another court now you see, the black court calling their own Blacks. You see when once upon a time it was the White that was calling the Blacks, well you have mostly Blacks, you have White that still does it, but mostly your own color, Blacks calling you names, it's a vicious circle isn't it?…you might think that it's changing but it's not really changing. It's just shifting from one place to the next. It's just shift from mostly Whites to mostly Blacks, you can't win. You can't really win. So you've got to call it a vicious circle. You think it's finishing because they are in the Force, and they have to keep law and order in the Black community. They find that the Blacks are taking it out on them because they have joined the Force. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

In fact, some estimate that the black officers that remain within the Police Force are the ones " playing their own game " :

> ….the only one who get away with it or who to tend to stay within the Police Force are who play the game, who stick with the system…who talk their language and who tend to agree with the perceptions of this…you have got to be like one of them in order to get accepted. (Samir, M, age 29, community counsellor, Asian)

In the same order of ideas, some consider that the " system " is so corrupted that the presence of some minorities will not contribute to transforming it :

> It's everywhere man, it's too big. If you say tomorrow they give us five, six jobs, five six Asians, it doesn't make no difference, nothing. As long as that system and that **(inaudible)** stinks and smells, and it's bent and it's racist and it's corrupt, doesn't matter how many jobs you give Asian people or black people, doesn't make no difference. (Najam, M, age 24, community worker, Asian)

This community worker considers that the recruitment of minorities is a deliberate strategy to control the black communities. It is for the reason that black policemen appear as traitors :

> That people shouldn't go in the force because what they actually do is to use the black police to implement the racist strategy. (Brief silence) The black people, the black police, I don't know, they're traitors because we are already oppressed people and for black police to go into a **(one word inaudible**) and oppress us even more that is disgusting. And I know a hell of a lot of people, professional people who share my opinion. We should have black police when we are equality, when we can fight on an equal basis. Until we have that kind of **(one word inaudible)** no I will not support black police and they're noting more than traitors. They're just another tool of the system. I know two black police who actually resigned because of the racism towards them from their own police officers. So if it can be so bad in there, how can you join such a Force to come and implement such a thing on your own people. If we had more (silence), if we're more equal in treatment, in everything, then yes I could see it and justify it and possibly even support it. But the Police and black people are not close, are not really close no and I definitely would not support a black police officer. I could not support a black police because they're traitors to black people and I don't care how they try to justify it, they can't…. A tool of the system. Yeah, because they really think that because he's a black police, he's going to have automatic access into our area. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Many have shared the idea that recruitment only constitutes one policy of Public Relations, aiming to shine the institution as a whole :

> In fact, they really don't want us to come to the Police to join the police community …they're using us as puppets to say look we got him we're not bad. You know he's join the Police Force, so we're alright this and that but **(two words inaudible)** they don't want to do anything to help the community. (Naveed, M, age 28, community worker, Asian)

This Pakistani young woman says that the presence of minorities allows the organization to hide racism :

> I can see scenarios of Asian people at the riots and they have a lot of Asian police and, and this comment was made

> actually. I remember this, this comment was made to me that the first officers to arrive, to arrive on the scene and the Berdford riot were Asian, you see. And I find that very threatening because they are Asian officers in uniforms. But I don't, I don't know how their white colleagues could use that to justify well we're not racist there were Asian officers there because they all go through that system. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

The recruitment of minority police officers could contribute, according to this interviewee, to the re-enforcement of repression :

> Well, it could be worse because the black police to his comrade, he has to be seen, to be doing and not just be taking a soft side because he's dealing with black people. And most times, they go out of their way to make sure that he's rough. He would also take part in the police-station of beating up black people, they would. It's incredible. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Another interviewee, very touched by the conflicts between generations in his own community, estimates that policemen use their elders to attempt to favor their recruitment policy :

> they'll encourage … the elderly community to encourage the young people to join the Police for example. And like the elderly community thinks "oh that's a very good thing" but they don't know what the effects of that are. It's not them who's going to go into the Police Force you know. It's the young people and it's like though their talking to another, another set of people who don't realize. But it's not them who, who, who I would say are directly affected by the policing you know. (Samir, M, age 29, community counsellor, Asian)

It is for these reasons that some estimate that the racism problem can not be resolved through recruitment but through a policy based on education :

> …because, for me, it, it is a question of having more police officers who are trained, are more aware. But it is to educate the people that who need the education. It's not our problem in the sense that we are not the ones who need policing…You know it's like we've got a problem or we need the policemen, we need the additional not it's a, it's a universal problem it's a, it's the racism that is the problem. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

Others consider, in imitation of some policemen elsewhere, that the competence of the police officers have to overpass their origin. In consequence, this Pakistani young girl opposes herself to the recruitment policy because she estimates that this policy generates conflicts within the organization :

> I'm against it, yeah. Because I mean, it could bring about ill feeling between the other people, white officers. Because if one person, there's a white and a black person and the white person could do a better job than the black person, the police officer might think you know, "we'll choose a black person" because then you know it won't seen as racism, even though the white person could do a better job. I mean, it might bring some kind of disputes in the Force between people there. Because they might think he only came in because he's black and not because of what he can do. I mean, I think it causes more trouble than it's worth. I mean, if they're gonna, they should employ people of whom they are and what they can do, no who they are and what color they are. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

Some observe that the black policemen find themselves at the bottom of the organization scale, and that this condition clears away the power to proceed and provoke changes within the organization. Also they consider that the policy of recruitment will not change relations between the Police Force and the minorities as long as minority policemen do not find themselves in senior position :

> … black people if they were to join the Police Force, they usually join at the very low level. So they are very powerless anyway, yeah. If I were to be a police officer, after all this, if I were quite good and I got on with police officer, I would like a quite senior post cos that's where the decisions are made. Because I want people to feel that I can make decisions you know, give me some authority and I will do it. But no, they will always give you a very low paid, low-level job. They say "oh there's room for improvement, there's room for moving up" but …. (Samir, M, age 29, community counsellor, Asian)

In the same order of ideas, some, such as this Pakistani man of age 56, are pessimistic toward the integration of minorities in higher positions :

> I would love to say but I don't think I will live that age to see police officer in hierarchy. If they odd one, they may be

> as a clerk or maybe PC at counter or maybe on a street and that's about it. (Adnam, M, age 56, civil servant, Asian)

To illustrate, a young man of age 24 quotes the example of a minority police officer working at the Woodseats quarters and that, after 30 years of service, still finds himself only as a constable :

> I know one guy, you could ask them up there Woodseats, there's one guy up at Woodseats, his name is PC X, been there thirty years, thirty five years, no promotion yet. End of the day if you're good enough, you're decent enough, you been working for a Force for thirty years you deserve recognition. You deserve something…. Nothing. (Najam, M, age 24, community worker, Asian)

Many interviewees are convinced that black policemen suffer from discriminatory treatments within the organization. Those treatments seem to be of many types, from the lack of support of superiors, the teasing, racist comments, and the ignorance of white colleagues on their behalf :

> …you can be working with somebody and because they don't like you, they don't speak to you. Two of us can be on the ward and you can go and say Mrs so and so needs so and so, and they don't, they don't turn an eye. You see, that's a form of harassment, I think, because it makes you uncomfortable. You'll be wondering: "what did I do?, what have I said?, why she don't want to talk to me?" (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

> Well, I've nothing against them. I don't have very much deal with them. But as I say, their job is very, very hard because community accept, expect more from them, more help from them, and they can't give the help because their superior won't listen…they can't do that, because if they do then they been told by their superior, their rules are whatever **(a few words inaudible)** and their community don't like that very much. (Adnam, M, age 56, civil servant, Asian)

> …in the newspapers, about a few months ago, there was a small bit, an Iraqi police officer you know gets called a nigger you know or blacky or something like that. Now you don't see white people or black people calling white police officers " oh you white man ". (Samir, M, age 29, community counselor, Asian)

> I've heard of Police and hum Asian policemen and women saying that they've been treated quite poorly by particular police individuals. I mean, you know, they have racist comments, comments made to them. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

> Police officers have like what they call, a canteen culture…. Most black recruits in the canteen, in the work, get called racist names, get racist abuse, get treated like someone who is inferior in some way. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

Some interviewees estimate that minority police officers, when they experience racism, prefer to be silent than to denounce to avoid embittering their situation :

> Well, they have to say they're all right to **(two words inaudible)** if they are in the Police Force because if they don't, they're mostly getting more trouble. They come, go out and say look they're getting discriminations, their getting racial abuse because if they did that, they would get more discriminations. So, they have to keep quiet. (Naveed, M, age 28, community worker, Asian)

Analysis of the underrepresentation

It is in the light that the internal discrimination and racism founded on fact that the interviewees analyse the underrepresentation of minorities in the Police Force. By proceeding on the synthesis of the various point of views, three factors allow us to understand the underrepresentation of minority police officers :

a- The fact that, for reasons of maintaining the Police and racist image, minorities are not automatically thinking of a career within the police (fear of the career) :

> People are worried if we join the Police Force there will be discrimination… there is some sort of fear really in the communities, they will be discriminated and this and that. So not many people are joining the police and I don't know how we can encourage our youth to go in the job. (Saeed, M, age 50, civil servant, Asian)

> The problems that you've got is …, the perception people have of the Police being a racist organisation, a lot of people don't apply. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

b- The fact that, always for reasons of racism and ostracism, minority police officers resign from their Police functions :

> I know two black police who actually resigned because of the racism towards them from their own police officers. So if it can be so bad in there, how can you join such a Force to come and implement such a thing on your own people. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

> There's been so many publicised cases of black people going into the Police Force, being discriminated against through training and afterwards, that they end up leaving. So the number of officers that leave, right, is very high. (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

c- The fact that minority police officers undergo from their community both pressure (demands) (that the policeman cannot fulfill because of the Police culture) and recriminations, by being qualified as traitors :

> Well, they basically seen as being traitors, right, because, I mean all these things are interrelated. I don't think you can highlight one of other areas a bit more important. What they see is the Police treats black communities differently. So when they get one of their own people joining the Police, they turn round and question and say: “why are you joining a racist organisation?” (Amjad, M, age 32, community worker, Asian)

An interviewee has shown himself very critic toward the recruitment policy that the Police organization does not try to resolve the internal racism problem that the minority police officers put up with :

> If somebody wanted to be police officer, good luck to them. But I certainly would, in these circumstances. I'd find hard to live as a civilian if it be more harder for someone to be in the Force, because they have to be in the good frame of mind to take on this racism from the Force, from the community. Certainly it's not my cup of tea, and if Police want the Asian and black people more, then Police Force

> should be looking at, wondering why they're not coming forward. And they're, they know the answer why they're not coming forward, but they not willing to do anything. They just ignoring the fact. (Adnam, M, age 56, civil servant, Asian)

Differential assignment

The interviewees have not elaborated on the question of assignments of minority police officers. However, from a few retraced comments, we can mention that two opposite points of view emerge : those who wish to see the presence of minority police officers increased in the " ethicised " districts and those who, on the contrary, consider that the specific assignation of minority policemen in function of the multiracial character of a district is not a good policy. The opposite points of view mainly value the risks and dangers that policemen meet as well as taking into consideration that it is a question of " using " minority police officers :

> …two years ago, where a black police officer joined the Police, he became an officer, I think, started working in drugs or something. And what the Police did, and this is how stupid and insensitive police officers are towards their own black officers, is that they used him to go and buy drugs from certain people in the houses and then they went in and arrested him. Now, ordinarily that's fine. But this black officer lived in the area that they were policing. On three occasions when he was out, part of his flat got broken into, and everything was destroyed. Right, now had it been a white officer, they would not use someone who lives in the area as a stool pigeon, you could say, as a front person in that same area, because you're putting that officer at risk. Yet here they didn't give a damn. They virtually asked him to go and buy drugs from the same area where he lived and then they raided those people, and it became so obvious who it was, who had tipped them off. (Amjad, M, age 32, Asian)

Quotas

Four interviewees have taken up the quota question. All four have shown themselves critical toward this policy. Among these interviewees, (we could almost dare say " logically ") two, a young Pakistani girl and a Chinese community worker, are very positive regarding the Police in that they hold purposes that indicate a very large distance in comparison with their community of origin. The two other ones are a 25-year-old Pakistani woman and a 63-year-old Jamaïcan woman. The critiques that these four interviewees transmit are reduced to three principal ideas. The first is that recruitment has to be established in accordance with the person's qualities as a candidate and not as a function of their colour. The second must consider the positive action policy that creates an inversed discrimination. Finally, the third addresses that the reach of the quantitative will not change anything as long as the transformation of consciences will not occur :

> Their whole purpose is to uphold the law against any criminals whether you are black or white or anything. So in theory, why should they get any ethnic people into the Police Force, matter of opinion, just matter of their ability. Because local black people got a good qualification **(a few words inaudible)** the same as our. I'm not saying that because there's a minority group in the country you say you've got to have two percent of Pakistanis, 3 percent of black people, one percent of Somali to be in the Police Force. It cannot work that way. (Fu Shing, M, age 50, community worker, Chinese)

> …that was discrimination a few years ago, when white people got jobs because they were white and now it's black people getting jobs because they're black. I mean, I don't think, either of them are fair. (Kiran, F, age 17, student, Asian)

> …you have black in the Force now and it's, **(laughter)** it's the same Black now that is **(more laughter)** it's the Black that's doing the color now you know for going in the Force, you see. Things are changing but it's changing in the opposite direction. (Sandy, F, age 63, nurse, Caribbean)

> I understand the philosophy behind it. I understand that but, but I feel that... it's not, it's not a numerous gain, you know. It's not a numerous gain that we are going to have, 5% of

> the population that are going to be ethnic minorities. It has to be more positive than that… I might be recruited as a Police but I need to be aware as an individual of the responsibility of the wide implications hum for me. (Najma, F, age 25, community worker, Asian)

Relations between minority police officers and communities

This theme is approached in a manner that is used in many arguments to inform against the recruitment of minorities.

Even if we have seen at the beginning of this section that some rare interviewees think that they could feel more comfortable with a policeman of their group of origin, (none of the interviewees that we have met) that the relations between minority police officers and the communities are really good and positive. In contrast, most of them assert that the black policemen are excluded of their own community of origin, or again, that their community makes fun of them :

> … because of the experience we've had from Police, all our lives and then suddenly a black guy comes and we think to ourselves he doesn't know or maybe he does know that the abuse we've, we've had through Police yeah. Why is this guy joining them if he knows full well that they're racist. He knows full well that they don't like him. He knows full well that they don't want him anywhere near them. What is he doing there? He's making a fool of himself. He's not only making a fool of himself he's making disgrace of others. (Amir, M, age 25, salesperson, Asian)

> When black police go in, when a black person joins the Police Force, he instantly and automatically **(one word inaudible)** the black community because we won't have him in our house again; he's not one of us. I wouldn't allow Police in my house because he's trained to be looking for things and one thing I don't want him to know **(one word inaudible)** my own house for a start (laughs) and therefore there is no chance that I'd want him in my house on any kind of basis because he would just become an informer take things back to the authorities. (Bruce, M, age 34, youth worker, Caribbean)

Some have shared with us their mistrust toward the minority police officers :

> … a lifetime in the Police, once you had a family or you had relation from the black community and you become a police-officer, they sort of have a doubt about you that you've gone into the Force and you might become compatible with and their system, custom, practices and they don't trust you anymore. So it's a long, long drawn out thing, where the black police officer. You will find them far and few between, but they've got the same problem as I'm saying. They're many of them or the family, relation, who will not trust them because they've gone into the Police Force. (Paul, M, age 65, retired, Caribbean)

It is interesting to note that most of the interviewees, when invited to express themselves in regard to relations between minority police officers and the community, rarely refer to the community of the majority group. Only two interviewees have shared possible difficulties with the “ white ” community :

> I think of, a fear of discrimination, when you are in the Forces **(inaudible)** and then another thing I feel but if police officer will deal with this white people, white, perhaps there would be a reaction of, a different reaction. (Saeed, M, age 50, civil servant, Asian)

> If you were out on the streets, can you just imagine the, the kind of treatment you're going to get from the general public. I mean, there'll be so many bad scenes that that person would have to you know attend to. Can you just imagine hum, hum, a public house on a normal highstreet all white people drink there. They don't even let black people come in and a black officer goes in. (Samir, M, age 29, community counsellor, Asian)

PART IV:

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The views of police officers and members of minority groups are clearly very different, although there are some similarities in their viewpoints, which we will come back to later on.

Two main findings stand out in particular. First, it is important to note that the viewpoints of the police officers are far less uniform than those of the minority group respondents. There are more differences in the views expressed by the police interviewees, differences which are not easily explainable on any one level. It would seem, however, that the police officers' rank, area of specialization, personal experience and ethnic origin are important variables in understanding the diversity of some of the viewpoints, even though similar and separate subgroups cannot be formed on the basis of these variables alone. Such variables would instead seem to represent criteria that help us to discern certain trends. In particular, we can say that police officers in positions of command generally take a more nuanced view of problems in relations with minority groups, and that they are more likely to criticise certain internal police practices, to minimise the extent of the problems and to de-emphasise the racial character of some of the problems identified compared to the constables. In some cases, the area of specialization would seem to be a factor in explaining differences in viewpoints. For example, police officers assigned to the department of relations with ethnic minorities and who work more closely with minority women tend to state that their relations are better with the women than the men. Personal experience can also shed light on differences in viewpoints. In one case, an officer maintained that his travels around the world when he was in the Navy enabled him to be more understanding and more open to minority groups in his duties as a police officer. The officers' ethnic origin may also influence their views of the police force. Whereas officers from the ethnic majority believe that racism is not a real problem in their organization, the minority police officers (except for one young officer on probation) feel that racism does exist and that they have been personally affected by it. However, the latter maintain that racism within the force has changed in form and has become more subtle than before. We will come back to these questions when we look at the issue of minority police recruitment. In contrast, the minority group respondents show far more consensus

in their views. Except for three respondents, the individuals interviewed in this group uniformly denounce police racism and police behaviour toward them. The only areas where their viewpoints differ are in their definitions of ethnicity and their assessment of the police presence in ethnicised neighbourhoods: some feel that these neighbourhoods are over-policed, while others criticise the fact that these neighbourhoods are under-policed and thus less well protected.

The second main finding is that the two groups use an inverse discursive strategy: in the police group, the respondents' discourse gradually moves toward a greater emphasis on the problems in their relations with minority groups, whereas the minority group interviewees gradually take a more nuanced view of the problems they emphasise right from the start of the interview.

This being said, the four main areas where the police and minority groups differ in their viewpoints are: their views on changes in relations between the two groups, their description of these relations, their definitions of ethnicity, and their views on the policy of minority police recruitment.

1. Changes in police-minority relations

The police respondents unanimously believe that relations with minority groups have improved. The minority group respondents take a completely opposite view: some find that these relations have deteriorated in recent years, and others feel that police-minority relations have historically been, and remain, intrinsically negative.

2. Description of police-minority relations

Right from the start, the police respondents claim to have no particular difficulties with minority groups. It is only during the course of the interviews that they begin to mention certain problems. Three areas of tension emerge: 1) communication problems, mainly attributed to language and cultural barriers; 2) stereotypes about the police (seen as stemming from the image minority

groups have brought with them of repressive police practices in their country of origin), which help to create and reinforce barriers in social relations; and lastly, if not primarily, 3) the strategic use of their ethnic origin by minority groups in their contacts with police.

Minority groups themselves generally cite a structural and inherent racism in police work as soon as the interview begins. The types of problems reported are abusive searches and arrests, verbal abuse and abuse of power during arrests, provocation and intimidation seen as part of a deliberate police strategy, stereotypes, harassment, lack of differentiation between minority groups (which encourages the view of minorities as a uniformly criminal group), a strategy of fostering divisions in minority populations for purposes of control (especially intergenerational divisions), and sexism. As the interview progresses, the problems in police-minority relations are gradually seen in a somewhat more subtle light as the respondents specify that abusive and racist police practices are mainly aimed at youth and particular ethnic communities. In this regard, moreover, we found that most minority respondents tend to feel that their own ethnic group is the most strongly stigmatised and discriminated against.

It is, however, interesting to note that both groups of respondents feel that the other uses strategic actions to spark confrontation, and that each group claims that it is stereotyped by the other group.

More specifically, it should be reiterated that there is no consensus among the police respondents in their assessment of their relations with minorities. Some police officers note that they have little contact with minorities, whereas others state that they frequently come into contact with minorities. Some consider that they have little contact with youth, whereas others say that they most often come into contact with youth and have far less contact with older people. Some claim that relations are more difficult with older people, while others find it easier to deal with the latter. The officers' views of the problems involved in working with the different minority groups also vary: at times, it is the West Indians, at times the Asians or the Somalians that are seen as the most difficult to deal with. Views on racism within the police are equally varied: some officers feel that racism is no longer tolerated in the police, due to changes in society's values and due to internal sanctions, whereas others believe that racism clearly does exist. The existence of such

racism, the extent of which is generally seen as minimal, is attributed to the existence of racism in our society: since police forces are made up of members of society, there will inevitably be some racist police officers. Racism is also seen as resulting from the nature of police work, which is said to foster stereotypes and prejudices. Finally, views on differential practices toward minorities also vary. Some police officers claim that they do not treat minorities differently, while others acknowledge that they use different strategies in their behaviour toward minorities. Such differential practices are justified in various ways: due to ascribed cultural differences (respect for differences and concerns about equity) or due to uneasiness and fear of accusations of racism (according to some police officers, this fear would seem to result in more lenient practices). Ultimately, the police respondents distinguish between the level of difficulty in relations with minority groups based on a number of criteria, including time (the idea that relations are better now than they were in the past), space (relations are said to be better in Sheffield than in other cities, just as respondents tend to claim that there is less conflict in their district than in other areas of the city), age (it is mainly young people who are said to pose problems of social control), gender (one policewoman implies that relations are easier with women than with men in a certain minority group), origin (relations vary according to the individual's ethnic origin, although the police do not agree on the group with whom relations are the most difficult), the numerical factor and the type of behaviour (relations are considered positive with most minority groups, with tensions only occurring with a limited number of people such as criminalised youth or people involved with drugs).

Overall, it is therefore fairly difficult to pinpoint similarities in the viewpoints of the police respondents. The only aspects they tend to agree upon in the interviews are related to a generally positive view of the police: all the officers encountered maintain that the police have changed, that racism is no longer tolerated as it once was on the force, that police relations with minorities have improved, and that the difficulties that are likely to arise are not due to internal problems in their organization, but instead stem from external conditions.

3. Definitions of ethnicity

Although variations in viewpoints on ethnicity are found within each of the two groups of respondents, just as similarities between the two groups can be seen in some of the definitions offered, the notion of ethnicity and the term "ethnic minority" generally seem to be less problematic for the police officers than for the minority group respondents. Some of the minority group respondents reject the expression "ethnic minority" for political reasons: they view it as a "cold" expression which fails to foster a sense of identity and belonging and which tends to mask relations of oppression, relations that are brought out in the expression "black people," which is associated with a social, political and cultural movement. In addition to the criteria generally accepted by both groups of respondents,[2] the minority group respondents also mention certain structural criteria: ethnicity is narrowly defined based on relations of power and domination, with "ethnic minorities" seen as referring to minorities who are exploited or oppressed or not fully accepted as citizens. Finally, although some police officers equate ethnicity with race, none of the minority group respondents views the term "race" as synonymous with ethnicity.

4. The policy of minority police recruitment

Here again, the viewpoints of the two groups differ considerably. Whereas the police interviewees feel that the recruitment of minority police officers is a positive practice, representing a very favourable change in their organization, the minority group respondents are highly critical of this practice. On the other hand, there are areas where the two groups tend to agree. We find this in some of the reasons given for the underrepresentation of minorities in the police and in the respondents' views on the best ways of remedying this problem. The police and minority group interviewees both mention minorities' distrust and negative image of the police. But the reasons given for this situation vary: the police respondents maintain that it is the direct result of minorities' negative experiences with police forces in their non-democratic countries of origin, experiences that affect the way they view the British police. The minority group

[2] In both groups, the criteria used in defining ethnicity are based on the notions of identity, culture, demographic weight and citizenship and the idea of coming "from outside" certain national or territorial boundaries.

respondents, on the other hand, who rarely talk about the police in their country of origin, justify their negative views by their experiences with what they term racist police practices in the host country. Both groups agree that some of the reasons for the underrepresentation of minorities on the force include the pressures placed on minority police officers by the community (especially to obtain certain favours), and the officers' ostracism by the community due to the unpopularity of their role. The minority group respondents add a third reason for this underrepresentation, linked to racism within the police: the claim that minorities tend to resign from police work. Resignations on the part of minority police officers are not mentioned by the police interviewees.

Viewpoints differ within the police group itself as to the means of countering problems of underrepresentation: some officers support advertising targeted to minority communities, while others do not believe that such a practice is justified. Police and minority group respondents both agree that public authorities should not set quotas. Both groups feel that such practices would represent reverse discrimination and that the primary focus should be on recruitment capable and qualified candidates, not on the candidate's origin. Some minority group respondents are opposed to quotas due to what they call structural racism: they claim that certain values and attitudes must be changed before minority police officers are hired.

Aside from these areas of agreement, as we noted above, the two groups differ completely on the overall issue of minority police recruitment. Whereas all the police respondents support such an approach in principle, the minority group respondents oppose this practice. The police interviewees cite a number of reasons why the recruitment of minorities should be encouraged, claiming that it leads to: better-quality police work with minorities; greater understanding of the problems and particular needs of minority groups; improved communication, especially in helping to overcome language barriers; greater trust in the police on the part of minorities; an improved image of the police in minority communities, thus encouraging minorities to change their attitudes; positive effects in terms of crime prevention; and internal changes in the organization by helping to destroy the stereotypes likely to be conveyed by ethnic majority police officers.

The minority group interviewees are against minority police recruitment in emphasizing the ineffectiveness of placing a member of a minority group in a structurally racist organization. They claim that the presence of minority police officers does not change the organization, but instead the minority police officers are themselves changed by the institution as they begin to adopt discriminatory and racist behaviours. Minority recruitment is seen as a deliberate tactic to control minority groups in our society and as a political strategy to mask racism within the organization. It is not considered effective due to the racism within the force which makes it harder for minority police officers to be promoted, so that they are unable to change police practices by acceding to positions of authority. Minority recruitment is seen as a source of conflict both within and outside the organization (with conflicts arising between ethnic majority and minority police officers and between minority police officers and ethnic communities).

The police interviewees vary in their views on the experience of minority police officers. Overall, we noted that minority police officers and citizens from minority groups tend to feel that minority police officers are affected by racist practices and attitudes, in contrast to the viewpoint of ethnic majority officers who believe that there is no internal discrimination in the treatment of minority officers. Minority police officers and citizens from minority groups disapprove of the practice of differential assignment of minority police officers based on the ethnic concentration of the neighbourhood. This practice, which they maintain is a very real one, is seen as discriminatory in that it keeps these officers from being promoted as quickly as other officers. The minority group respondents also view such differential assignments as a tactic used to control ethnicised communities.

By combining the views and experiences of all the respondents, we can draw up a list of the types of differential and indeed discriminatory practices said to affect minority police officers:

1. Verbal abuse: racist jokes, insults, undervaluing and deprecation of minority police officers.
2. Non-verbal racist attitudes: minority police officers claim that this is a new, more subtle form of racism (non-verbal attitudes conveyed by nasty looks, ostracism, etc.) This new form of racism is said to have appeared after the introduction of internal sanctions to combat racism within the police.

3. Suspicion: some ethnic majority officers question the loyalty of minority police officers.
4. Assignment to tasks perceived in police culture as low-ranking. For example, in the eyes of black officers, assigning a black officer to foot patrol duties may be perceived as discriminatory.
5. Differential use of minority police officers: assigning a minority police officer to an ethnic neighbourhood may prompt this officer to feel that he is being used by the force due to his origin.
6. Limited opportunities for promotion: minority police officers ant minority groups say that chances of promotion are limited for minority officers and that they are promoted less rapidly. They claim that being assigned to so-called ethnic neighbourhoods has kept them from advancing more quickly in their careers.
7. Internal pressures from ethnic majority officers. In the interviews, minority police officers state that they have to prove themselves, that expectations are higher for them than for other officers, that they feel that they have to outperform other officers. They feel that they are constantly being watched and that their loyalty is being put to the test.
8. External pressures: individuals from minority groups attempt to obtain favours from police officers of the same ethnic origin.
9. A different role attributed to minority police officers: the following arguments are used to justify the recruitment of minority police officers:
    - minority recruitment helps to change people's image of the police and thus ethnic groups' perceptions about the police;
    - minority recruitment encourages a more equitable representation within the police of the cultural diversity found in society;
    - minority recruitment helps to improve relations between the police and racialised minorities and to lessen or even resolve racial tensions between the police and minorities;
    - minority recruitment makes for more effective policing in ethnic communities by allowing minority officers to act as a bridge, and help infiltrate criminal circles in minority communities; minority officers thus help to increase crime detection as a result of their closeness in terms of culture and identity to the ethnic minorities involved;

- minority recruitment helps to change organizational police culture by helping to destroy the stereotypes conveyed by some ethnic majority police officers.

10. Rejection of minority police officers by the minority communities themselves. Such ostracism is mainly verbal in form (hostility, threats, insults). Minority police officers note that they are often called traitors or “coconuts.”

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to identify how police officers and minority groups experience and describe their relations by attempting to pinpoint the importance and place of identity and ethnicity in structuring these relations. We have to acknowledge that these objectives were preconstructed, and therefore prestructured the discourses which we prompted by introducing themes in the interview schedule that conveyed an initial demarcation between minority group and majority group. This is why we should consider our data less as a series of discourses on race or ethnicity than as a series of discourses on the initial precatogorization which we introduced in the interview schedule. Four types of discourses thus emerged from our research theme:

1) a discourse wherein the respondents merely reproduce the researcher's preconstruction
2) a discourse wherein the respondents reinforce our preconstruction
3) a discourse wherein the respondents attempt to neutralise this preconstruction
4) a discourse wherein the respondents negate the preconstruction

1. Reproduction of the preconstruction

In this type of discourse, the respondents integrate the researcher's precategorization, in reconstructing the initial barrier set up by the researcher without emphasizing or reinforcing this barrier. Few respondents are found or remain in this discourse category. They are mainly respondents who simply describe their relations as good or smooth or (in the case of the police respondents) merely note the existence of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood they police. In this type of discourse, the notion of ethnic minorities is not elaborated on, so that it is not laden with meaning or developed into a category that produces boundaries. This type of discourse, found among a minority of respondents, mainly appears at the beginning of the interview and often tends toward the second type of discourse: a discourse that reinforces the researcher's preconstruction.

2. Reinforcement of the preconstruction

This is clearly the dominant discourse produced by the respondents. The researcher's preconstruction is reinforced by the use of remarks that identify, describe and define tangible boundaries between the two groups. In this discursive category, one finds remarks that tend in particular: to define the neighbourhood as an ethnic neighbourhood or a neighbourhood with a high ethnic concentration or, inversely, as a neighbourhood that is heavily policed; to use dichotomies such as "White/Black" or "White/Asian" and categories such as "colour" and "race"; to affirm the existence of rigid barriers between minorities and police officers; to establish a link between ethnicity and criminality [whether a direct link (cultural conflicts) or an indirect link (minorities are poor and are thus more likely to commit offences)] or between ethnicity and arrests, to highlight the existence of different respective behaviours: minorities are perceived as representing a strong community, as having a sense of family, as discriminating against women, with men allowed to beat their woman, as having a very different lifestyle, as tending toward provocation, as exhibiting a lack of involvement and lack of punctuality, as trying to manipulate police officers by accusing the latter of racism; and the police are perceived as uncivilised, as representing a strong, cohesive community, as lacking human feeling, as racist, as tending toward provocation and as having their own culture (language, dress style); and to claim that the police adopt different behaviours toward minorities. This difference consists in over-policing (using more control and more police officers); or in exhibiting greater sensitivity toward minorities (i.e. using more understanding or tact); or in holding back and avoiding arrests of members of minority groups (police respondents' perspective) or underprotecting minority neighbourhoods (minority group respondents' perspective); or in believing that police officers from racialised groups should be assigned to ethnicised areas (so that they can help to improve police-minority relations or to increase police effectiveness); or in defining ethnicity in reference to skin colour, cultural differences, territorial "otherness," religion or nationality.

3. Neutralization of the preconstruction

Some respondents emphasised a more finely shaded view of the existence of barriers between majority groups and minority groups by deconstructing the link between crime and ethnicity, by

minimizing the extent of criminality among minority groups and by specifying that it is a case of the actions of a minority within a minority, by presenting minority police officers as being fully integrated into the police organization (a view primarily shared by police officers), by saying that the recruitment of minorities within the police should be based on capability and not on ethnic criteria, and by noting that it is very difficult to define ethnicity due to the imprecise nature of the concept.

4. Negation of the preconstruction

Finally, a fourth type of discourse emerges: a discourse that consists in deconstructing the barriers, for example, by dismissing the existence of an ethnic criminality or the idea that Black criminality is more widespread than that of Whites, in either qualitative or quantitative terms; by denouncing the policy of revealing the offender's ethnic origin; by claiming that police actions make no distinctions based on ethnicity because ethnicity has no significance whatsoever (discourse of the police respondents primarily); by denying the existence of "problematic ethnic areas"; by protesting the assignment of minority police officers to minority neighbourhoods; and finally, by maintaining that one cannot define ethnicity since this notion is considered vague and is said to include multiple identities.

We can therefore conclude that the actors are situated along two different axes when it comes to describing their respective relations:

- an axis oriented toward the construction of boundaries based on identity
- an axis oriented toward the deconstruction of boundaries based on identity

The axis of construction of boundaries based on identity is in fact situated along a continuum ranging from reproduction to reinforcement of the researcher's precatogorization; and the axis of deconstruction of ethnic boundaries is situated along a continuum ranging from neutralization to negation of the researcher's precatogorization. It is interesting to note that the two axes do not correspond to a polarization of the social relationship between the police and racialised groups since, on each side, one finds both police officers and members of minority groups. The extent to which the viewpoints are interchangeable is also remarkable. This reminds us that ethnic

boundaries and boundaries based on identity are truly the product of a social relationship and that they are developed reciprocally.

The lack of correspondence between the structural polarization of the two groups of respondents (police officers and minorities) and the importance of identity and ethnicity in their respective discourses leads us to believe that the organizational culture attributed to the police organization, formerly male and ethnocentric, is no longer monolithic, since, as we have seen, the diversity of intra-group viewpoints is considerably greater within the group of police officers.

The approach taken by this study, where the construction of boundaries based on identity is a key focus, has clearly shown that each group attributes a specific identity to the other group, with each side tending toward a form of essentialism. Stereotypes are produced on both sides, and each side attributes strategies of provocation to the other. The difference, and an important one, is that the concrete repercussions (arising from a conception which essentialises the existence of boundaries and fundamental differences between the majority group and minority groups) vary according to the actor's status. Police officers working within an organization characterised by the fact that it holds the monopoly on the use of force and who view the Other as fundamentally different, disruptive and even threatening are very likely, due to the power they hold, to have a far greater impact if their practices are structured by their beliefs and attitudes.

In conclusion, although the purpose of this study was not to make recommendations of any kind, we would like to at least identify two aspects which we believe deserve special attention from the authorities and groups concerned by the question of relations between the police and ethnicised groups: the youth issue and the issue of recruitment minority groups within police forces. The question of minority youth is certainly the most fragile area in relations between the police and minority groups and also within minority groups themselves. Barriers seem to be developing more in terms of a distancing based on age, a distancing that fosters lack of understanding and intolerance. If interculturalism is an intervention approach that public administrations have integrated in order to change relations between minority groups and majority groups (awareness programs addressing cultural differences have been widely developed in the public services, especially in the justice system), we have to wonder if it would not be better for intervention and

awareness programs to "deculturalise" and move toward practices incorporating awareness of the stereotypes produced in intergenerational relations. As for the policy of recruitment minority groups within police services, it has, as we have seen, triggered strong reactions on both sides. In our opinion, great care should be taken in developing such a policy. This obviously does not mean that we should limit minority groups' access to police forces. But the issues involved in such a policy should clearly be redefined. The policy of recruitment minority groups does not seem to be helping to improve relations between racialised groups and the police (see especially Jaccoud and Felices, 1999) and may ultimately exacerbate existing divisions or create new ones: i.e. a distancing on an external level (conflictual relations between minority police officers and minority communities) as well as an internal one (conflictual relations between minority and majority police officers). We therefore believe that the expectations of police authorities regarding such a policy should be more modest and be limited to simply attaining a policy of access to the exercise of full citizenship.

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APPENDIX 1 : Profile of Respondents (Police Officers)

First Name (fictious)	Status	Gender	Age	Rank	Date of entry into the Police	Number of years of service	Date of entry into UK	Place of Work
Simon	Ethnic majority	M	44	Commanding officer	1970	25	-	Sheffield
George	"	M	48	Sergeant	1980	15	-	"
Peter	"	M	39	Sergeant	1980	15	-	"
Douglas	"	M	44	Sergeant	1970	25	-	.
Philipp	"	M	44	Sergeant	1972	23	-	"
Don	"	M	48	Detective	1979	16	-	"
Ron	"	M	45	Detective	1975	20	-	"
Bob	"	M	43	Constable	1976	19	-	"
Joe	"	M	49	Constable	1969	26	-	"
Burt	"	M	30	Constable	1990	5	-	"
Mikel	"	M	27	Constable	1992	3	-	"
Roger	"	M	26	Constable	1992	3	-	"
Mary	"	F	41	Commanding officer	1978	17	-	"
Diana	"	F	26	Constable	1988	7	-	"
Janine	"	F	34	Constable	1979	16	-	"
Judy	"	F	22	Constable	1994	1	-	"
John	Ethnic Minority	M	41	Commanding officer	-	-	-	London
Samuel	"	M	31	-	-	-	-	Sheffield
Wayne	"	M	35	-	-	-	-	"
Richard	"	M	24	-	-	-	-	"

APPENDIX 2 : Profile of Respondents (Members of Ethnic Minorities)

First Name (fictious)	Origin	Gender	Age	Occupation	Date of entry into UK
Erika	Somalian	F	?	?	?
Carla	"	F	?	?	?
Badri	"	M	23	Youth worker	1987
Mei Li	Chinese	F	42	Community worker	1984
Fu Shing	"	M	50	"	1965
Brenda	Caribbean	F	15	Student	-
Sandy	"	F	63	Nurse	1957
Paul	"	M	65	Retired	1955
Bruce	"	M	34	Youth worker	1969
Tom	"	M	20	Unemployed	-
Willis	"	M	21	Musician, Caribbean	-
Kiran	Asian	F	17	Student	-
Najma	"	F	25	Community worker	1970
Samir	"	M	29	Community worker	-
Shadid	"	M	19	Student	1981
Amjad	"	M	32	Community worker	1967
Saeed	"	M	50	Civil Servant	1970
Adnan	"	M	56	Civil Servant	1955
Naveed	"	M	28	Youth worker	1976
Najam	"	M	24	Youth worker	1979
Ahmad	"	M	14	Student	-
Ali	"	M	15	"	-
Aslam	"	M	12	Student	1987
Salvan	"	M	13	"	-
Amir	"	M	25	Salesperson	-

APPENDIX 3 : Unemployment Rate by Ethnic Groups, Age and Gender in Sheffield in 1991

Ethnic Group	Unemployment Rate		
	Males	**Females**	**Youth**
White	15,2%	7,4%	19,2%
Black Caribbean (1)	32,2%	15,2%	35,8%
Black African (2)	40,6%	32,8%	49,4%
Black Other (3)	36,4%	18,3%	37,5%
Indian	13,2%	15,0%	33,0%
Pakistani	39,2%	41,8%	45,4%
Bangladeshi	38,9%	39,4%	24,7%
Chinese	8,1%	13,8%	13,8%
Other Asian (4)	18,1%	14,5%	26,5%
Other (5)	32,9%	20,6%	36,5%
Total	**15,9%**	**7,8%**	**20,1%**

Source : Central Policy Unit (1994: 14)

According to Sheffield Health Authority and Family Health Services Authority (1994), categories 1-2-3 and 4 include :
(1) Black Caribbean, Caribbean Island, West Indies, Guyana
(2) Black African, other African excluding North African
(3) Black British, Black Other, Black/White, Black/Mixed
(4) East African Asian, Indo-Caribbean, Indian Sub-Continent, Other Asian
(5) North African, Arab or Iranian, Asian/White, Black/White, Other Mixed, Other

APPENDIX 4 : Crimes Rate by Sub Divisional in South Yorshire Police District

1st July 1993 to 30th June 1994

Sub Divisional	Committed Offences last 12 months	Offences/1000 pop. last 12 months
1. Sheffield	10,193	500
2. Doncaster	15,513	209
3. Attercliffe	12,581	206
4. Barnsley	15,265	162
5. Rotherham	11,239	119
6. Woodseats	**10,393**	**111**
7. Hillsboro'	11,796	107
8. Wombwell	13,206	106
9. Rawmarsh	6,691	105
10. Mexboro'	9,972	102
11. Eccelsfield	10,670	100
12. Hackentrh'pe	9,232	89
13. Thorne	9,988	85
14. Maltby	6,483	69
TOTAL	**153,222**	**121**

APPENDIX 5 : Registered Crime Level by Sub-divisional and by types of crimes
1st July 1993 to 30th June 1994

Sub-divisional	Burglaries of dwelling		Burglaries other		Theft from vehicles		Theft/ T.W.O.C.		Robbery		Violent crimes		Arson & criminal damage		Sexual offences	
	Nb	1000/ hab	Nb	1000/ hab	Nb	1000/ hab	Nb	1000/ hab	Nb	1000/ hab	Nb	1000/ hab	Nb	1000/ hab	Nb	1000/ hab
Doncaster	1,975	65	2,415	32	2,630	35	2,078	35	71	1	507	7	2,215	30	52	1
Thorne	1,461	33	2,258	19	1,488	13	1,145	13	29	0	342	3	1,290	11	71	1
Mexboro'	1,700	44	1,950	20	1,560	16	1,334	16	30	0	344	4	1,348	14	46	0
Barnsley	2,671	70	2,800	30	2,097	22	1,906	22	67	1	474	5	2,453	26	66	1
Wombwell	2,075	42	2,811	23	2,025	16	1,704	16	32	0	490	4	1,975	16	83	1
Rotherham	1,603	43	2,129	23	1,930	20	1,588	20	73	1	391	4	1,381	15	79	1
Rawmarsh	1,094	44	1,494	24	1,071	17	777	17	26	0	238	4	751	12	27	0
Maltby	1,066	30	1,476	16	1,071	11	832	11	16	0	223	2	645	7	50	1
Hackenth'pe	1,826	42	1,740	17	1,405	14	1,202	14	69	1	298	3	1,304	13	42	0
Woodseats	**2,529**	**62**	**1,592**	**17**	**1,770**	**19**	**1,675**	**19**	**77**	**1**	**163**	**2**	**1,058**	**11**	**35**	**0**
Sheffield	542	56	1,162	57	1,364	67	1,721	67	184	9	419	21	1,313	64	32	2
Hillsboro'	2,524	52	1,621	15	1,826	17	2,279	17	134	1	287	3	1,173	11	53	0
Ecclesfield	2,731	63	1,535	14	1,818	17	1,798	17	59	1	287	3	1,014	9	47	0
Attercliffe	2,138	84	1,814	30	1,855	30	1,852	30	145	2	313	5	1,499	24	33	1
TOTAL	**25,935**	**51**	**26,797**	**21**	**23,910**	**19**	**21,894**	**19**	**1,012**	**1**	**4,776**	**4**	**19,419**	**15**	**717**	**1**

APPENDIX 6: South Yorkshire Police Racial Incidents from 1986 to 1994

SOUTH YORKSHIRE POLICE RACIAL INCIDENTS

STATISTICAL COMPARISON