Can a Roughneck be a Saint?

A qualitative analysis of the role of cultural capital in police-juvenile interactions

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Date: 03-07-2020

Word count excluding references and appendix: 9870

Abstract

This master thesis focuses on the role of cultural capital in interactions between juveniles and police officers and how this affects inequality in formal punishment. Previous research has focused predominantly on ethnic minority juveniles in interactions and formal punishment. The present study explores the theoretical proliferation of the role of cultural capital in interactions between police officers and juveniles who do not necessarily correspond to the assumed perception of deviance as assessed in previous literature. In order to investigate in what ways cultural capital plays a role in police-juvenile interactions, the notion of cultural capital has been expanded, as well as the role of stereotypes in interactions between juveniles and the police. The findings from semi-structured interviews with 18 juveniles and 6 police officers suggest that cultural capital plays a role in the willingness and ability of juveniles to apply strategies in interactions and is often implicitly acknowledged and recognized by police officers in the way juveniles receive punishment. Future research could be focused on the emphasis of the plurality of cultural capital in interactions.

Key words: cultural capital, formal punishment, juveniles, police officers, strategies

Table of contents

Introduction

Inequality in police treatment in The Netherlands among juveniles is often centered around the disproportionate arrests of (ethnic) minority juveniles in comparison to autochthonous Dutch juveniles (Fogteloo, 2016) and inequalities in the severity of punishments between these groups (Bezemer & Leerkes, 2018; Boon, Van Dorp & De Boer, 2018). Weenink (2009) found that especially disagreements during an interaction accounts for ethnic inequality in punishments. In addition, it is also suggested that inequality in police treatment consists of a socio-economic component. An article published in 1973 described the dissimilar ways in which two groups of young male offenders, the Saints and the Roughnecks, were approached and punished by law enforcement (Chambliss). This unequal treatment was partly due to their (dis)advantaged reputation within the community. Interestingly, these patterns may still be apparent within current society: a suspect's socio-economic status is often not recognized and acknowledged as discrimination or a problem of unequal treatment (Van Eijk, 2006). Certain aspects associated with disadvantaged social groups, such as lower levels of education, suggest that, for instance, a homeless addict is by default outperformed by a prominent businessman when it comes to prosecution. It is therefore suggested that there is inequality in formal punishment across social groups.

While existing literature provides a thorough understanding of the presence of inequality in formal punishment, the gap consists of knowledge on interactions between the police and (dis)advantaged juveniles and the consequences for formal punishment. However, a study on domestic violence suggests that people from a lower socio-economic status experience more difficulties during interactions with the police (Cattaneo, 2010). Therefore, this research will focus on the role of cultural capital in inequality in formal punishment due to interactions between the police and juveniles. In short, cultural capital entails the body of attitudes, beliefs, behavior and (formal) knowledge associated with high-brow culture (Bourdieu, 1986; Lareau, 2015). This research aims to investigate how cultural capital influences interactions between predominantly higher educated juveniles - who are presupposed to possess cultural capital - and the police. In order to investigate to what extent treatment within this group differs, this research includes alternative ways to raise the perception of juveniles as deviant by the police, e.g. juveniles who are associated with a delinquent

subculture, such as graffiti painters (Blackman, 2014; Lachmann, 1988). Taking all of this in consideration, the research question is formulated as follows:

How does the cultural capital of Rotterdam youth affect their willingness and/or ability to gain trust among police officers during an interaction in order to reduce the risk of formal punishment?

This research fills the gap in knowledge about the interactions between the police and juveniles who are often not included in traditional categories of deviance in studies concerning police-juvenile interactions. This research attempts to explore the theoretical proliferation of Bourdieu's (1986) theory of cultural capital. Theoretical proliferation can be established when a theory in a specific scientific field is applied to another field of research in order to contribute to a more in-depth and complete account on the existing theory (Wagner, 2016). Cultural capital is predominantly used as a theory to investigate to what degree inequality is maintained and reproduced, especially in educational research (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010; Lareau & Weiniger, 2003). The present research aims at the application of cultural capital on both the strategies juveniles (un)consciously deploy in interactions and to investigate whether Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital may explain differences in formal punishment among juveniles.

The societal relevance of this research lies within its possibility to create an understanding of and diminish inequality in formal punishment. For instance, the findings may be incorporated in educational institutions. Knowledge of the strategies applied by juveniles who are assumed to have cultural capital while also being considered deviant, might be beneficial for juveniles who possess less or other forms of cultural capital. This might facilitate more positive interactions between police officers and juveniles and reduce inequality in formal punishment.

Second, the findings might raise awareness within the police academy about the notion and the presence of cultural capital among juveniles. Police officers who are familiar with cultural capital might be aware of the presence of the classical notion of cultural capital in an interaction and be able to distinguish various forms of cultural capital in order to smoothen the interaction. For the same reason, the results could also be beneficial to improving the police academy's curricula.

Theoretical framework

First, the phenomenon of inequality in formal punishment will be elaborated on, since this is the central problem statement in this research. In order to acquire a thorough understanding of inequality in formal punishment, it is necessary to distinguish the different penalties in the Dutch juvenile justice system. Subsequently, the implications of inequality in formal punishment will be analyzed.

Second, stereotypes can play a role in the punishments juveniles receive. Police officers are demanded to make an estimation of the situation based on limited information, which easily leads to the use of stereotypes (Çankaya, 2015). The presence of stereotypes can influence an interaction and can have consequences for juveniles' opportunities in applying strategies during an interaction as well as formal punishment.

Finally, the role of cultural capital will be explained. It is necessary to delve deeper into this theory, because it can provide insights into how the strategies performed by juveniles are being valued during by a police officer. For juveniles who are associated with owning more cultural capital might, it may be more feasible to apply certain strategies as well as the opportunity to be stereotyped in a positive manner (Chambliss, 1973).

Inequality in formal punishment

In the Dutch juvenile justice system an offender of a light violation might receive a Halt-punishment, which gives the offender the opportunity to apologize to the victims and compensate for the damages (Rijksoverheid, z.d.). Another way of punishment is community service, which can consist of both labour service and a learning service.

Community service can be combined with juvenile detention. Juvenile detention can go up to maximally two years. In the Dutch system, the adolescent justice system serves juvenile suspects between the age of 16 and 23. Its aim in determining a punishment is to take into account the development of adolescents (Rijksoverheid, z.d.). With regard to this, minority juveniles receive a heavier penalty than their non-minority counterparts and are more often arrested instead of receiving a warning or community service, whereas the violations might be exactly the same (Boon, Van Dorp & De Boer, 2018). Not only are autochthonous Dutch juveniles more likely to receive a relatively light Halt punishment in comparison to

minority youth; the latter are also more often represented in the juvenile justice statistics and the chance to be registered as a (potential) suspect is significantly higher than it is for autochthonous Dutch youth. Muller explains that inequalities in punishments may be due to the images upheld by both police officers and society about (ethnic) minority and autochthonous Dutch juveniles (2016). A native Dutch juvenile committing a crime is more often associated with a single case as a consequence of unfavorable circumstances, whereas a juvenile from a different cultural background is often generalized as being part of a group of 'bad boys' (Muller, 2016).

In addition to the police officer's and society's framing of ethnic minorities compared to native Dutch juveniles, another potential explanation for ethnic inequality in the juvenile justice system is related to interactional problems. According to Weenink (2009), the framing of minority juveniles in the Dutch juvenile justice system is often associated with a lack of integration and a weak relationship with mainstream society. The weak ties to society can also be a consequence of a frail belief in institutions in general (Brownfield & Sorenson, 1993). The extent to which individuals trust institutions is often based on satisfactory experiences with public employees of institutions, like police officers (Sønderskov & Dinesen, 2016). According to Leiber, Nalla & Farnworth (1998), negative experiences with the police have implications for the development of the image of the police by juveniles. This can lead to interactions being more often and more severely reported as troublesome by police officers and court employees: according to Weenink (2009), whereas native Dutch juveniles tend to more often expose visible resistant behavior, ethnic minorities are more often reported as equivocating in their behavior. However, in the cases where ethnic minorities expose deviant or disturbing behavior similar to that of native Dutch youth, their demeanor might still be perceived differently and more suspiciously.

In addition, inequality in formal punishment has a socio-economic perspective. As Chambliss (1973) describes, the Roughnecks as being part of a social disadvantaged group are more frequently monitored than the well-off Saints by both the community as well as the police. One possible interpretation is that poverty is associated with higher crime rates (Thorbecke & Charumilind, 2002). In addition, it has been assumed that people in lower social strata lack the resources to disclaim negative stereotypes and are a potential threat to people in power who are supposed to

maintain law and order (Myers, 1987). The negative characteristics attributed to people from disadvantaged social backgrounds, e.g. lower educational levels, low incomes and poor housing are also associated with potential criminality (Van Eijk, 2006). This often results in differences in the severity of formal punishments across different social groups. It is often the case that individuals in higher social strata receive a lighter punishment than do their worse-off counterparts, both because their crime is associated with a 'social downfall,' which implies that atonement improvement is possible, as well as the presence of certain protective factors such as a stable income and a higher level of education (Van Eijk, 2006).

Considering this disparity in punishment of disadvantaged and advantaged social groups, it is necessary to thoroughly analyze the interactions between police and higher educated youth, and scrutinize the latter group's reported strategies in such interactions. Therefore, this research aims to investigate what strategies the juveniles in this study, who are predominantly associated with advantaged social groups, are able to use in police interactions and how these strategies are valued by the police. Thus, the first sub-question is as follows: *What conscious and unconscious strategies are being used by juveniles during interactions to either win the police officer's trust and/or diminish the chance of a formal punishment?*

Stereotypes

Reciprocal stereotypes have implications for police treatment of delinquents and in particular the severity of the punishment (Weenink, 2009). A police officer is demanded to assess the degree of deviance in order to estimate the risk that a situation can yield (Çankaya, 2015).

Stereotypes can positively or negatively influence an interaction, depending on the nature of the prejudice. Stereotyping is the attribution of a specific characteristic to an entire social group (Allport, Clark & Pettigrew, 1954). Stereotypes can emerge on an overt level, which can for example culminate in comments about a group of individuals as well as in institutional policies by excluding certain groups in society (Solorzano, 1997). Banaji & Greenwald (1994) argue that prejudices more often occur on the unconscious level. In this fashion, prejudices are rather implicit reproductions of beliefs about a collective of individuals and the unconscious application of knowledge about an existing connection between an attribute and a social category.

The images people maintain of strangers can increase or diminish trust, dependent on the nature of the image. Strangers are more often trusted when part of the same social category, since people tend to attribute favourable characteristics to others when they can properly relate themselves to one another (Foddy, Platow & Yamagishi, 2009). Trust in others is both developed early in life through socialization as well as through experiences throughout life (Sønderskov & Dinesen, 2016). Consequently, stereotypes about others can have implications for the level of trust one will put into the other (Foddy, Platow & Yamagishi, 2009).

Stereotypes are reinforced through stereotype threat, which is a situation in which negative stereotypes about an individual from a stigmatized group induces judgment or negative treatment based on this stereotype (Spencer, Logel & Davies, 2016). This threat can be estimated by filtering information and filling in missing data in order to categorize people, which facilitates the decisions in social interactions (Graham & Lowery, 2004).

This specifically occurs in police practices, since they are regularly confronted with people in situations accompanied by emotional pressure and limited decision time. The existence of these stereotypes is not on their own, for it is part of the broader organizational and institutional police context (Çankaya, 2015).

Simultaneously, juveniles maintain stereotypes about the police as a consequence of both experiences with law enforcement as well as environmental factors such as socio-economic, family and neighbourhood characteristics (Leiber, Nalla & Farnworth, 1998). These stereotypes also affect trust in the police, since (un)pleasant experiences logically influence the way the police as an institution is perceived (Sønderskov & Dinesen, 2016).

In order to investigate the images maintained by the respondents in this research on the police and vice versa, the second sub-question is as follows: *What reciprocal images about both juveniles and police officers exist which are associated with (negative) stereotypes?*

Cultural capital

According to the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), inequality is reprodu- ced and transmitted through certain embodied, institutional and objectified characteristics (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010). Embodied cultural capital is the most

indistinct form, since it consists of a lifelong process of socialization. The embodiment has become a 'natural' way of distinction from others. This is also known as *habitus*: it is an unconscious symbolic achievement of embodied characteristics, dependent on society and one's social class (Bourdieu, 1986).

Second, the institutionalized state of cultural capital somewhat coincides with the embodied state. Institutions, like schools, are facilitators and recognizers of cultural capital (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010). Agents with a high cultural capital are sometimes mistakenly regarded as more able or intelligent than their counterparts with less cultural capital (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). In addition, Lareau (2015) states about the importance of cultural knowledge when examining the notion of (institutionalized) cultural capital, since cultural knowledge consists of the information about the working of institutions and the skills how to take advantage of them.

Finally, the objectified state of cultural capital entails actual tangible goods. These goods are multi-faceted, in that they function not only as merchandise but also inherit a symbolic value appreciated within certain social surroundings (Kraaykamp & Van Eijk, 2010). The way in which these goods are valued by society is two-dimensional: the goods are appreciated by the individual who possesses it, but also by those who collect and ana- lyze these goods (Gracy, 2007). Institutions function as controllers of the valuation of cultural objects and their appreciation into embodied cultural capital. Objectified cultural capital not only includes classic high-brow goods such as art, but also food, interior, clothing, popular culture, hobbies and sport (Holt, 1998). While these perspectives on cultural capital seem to be disentangled, they accumulate and induce an overall image of what is socially appreciated and what is not (Bourdieu, 1986). The implicit practical skills, knowledge, behavior and attitudes classified as embodied cultural capital carry with them objectified cultural capital. The symbolic force of cultural capital entails the appreciation of socially shared high status cultural signals, i.e. attitudes, preferences, behavior and formal knowledge, which can unconsciously lead to social and cultural exclusion of those who do not possess it (Lamont & Lareau, 1988).

As mentioned in the introduction, *The Saints and the Roughnecks* (Chambliss, 1973) can illustrate the mechanisms of cultural capital with regards to police encounters. Chambliss distinguishes two groups of male juveniles: the Saints and the Roughnecks.

The behavior of the Saints when confronted with institutions like law enforcement can be described as polite and penitent, which caused less difficulties and subsequently less risk of a formal punishment. The bright, disciplined and respected Saints committed at least as many, but less visible, crimes as the outspoken, poor and undiplomatic Roughnecks. The offenses of the latter were considered more violent according to the community and the police regularly kept an eye on them. The interactions were often tense and the Roughnecks viewed the police as unfair and even corrupt.

The difference between the two groups and especially the 'well-mannered' and 'deviant' labels attached to them, is illustrated in the following quotation:

"If one of the Saints was confronted with an accusing policeman, even if he felt he was truly innocent of wrongdoing, his demeanor was apologetic and penitent. A Rough- neck's attitude was almost the polar opposite. When confronted with a threatening adult, even one who tried to be pleasant, the Roughneck's hostility and disdain were clearly observable. Sometimes he might attempt to put up a veneer of respect, but it was thin and was not accepted as sincere by the authority," (Chambliss, 1973, p. 192)

Knowledge of appropriate word usage, specific attitudes and knowing "the rules of the game" are a few examples of how individuals with a higher socio-economic status may be appreciated by their social environment (Lareau, 2015, p. 2). Cultural capital can function as a starting point in investigating police-juvenile interactions, since the example of the Saints and the Roughnecks clearly illustrates how the perception of socially acceptable behavior of both the community as well as police officers may play a role in the distribution of penalties among different social groups.

In order to understand that certain behavior is appreciated more than other behavior, even when violating the exact same legal rules, it is important to investigate to what extent cultural capital plays a role in police-juvenile interactions. Therefore, the third sub-question is as follows: *What is the role of cultural capital in the application and outcome of strategies in police-juvenile interactions?*

Methodology

Research design

The present study is the qualitative addition to a larger, mixed-method doctoral research conducted by W. E. Bezemer, at Erasmus University, Rotterdam. The topic of this research entails the processes during interactions between police and youth.

In order to reveal processes of meaning-making and create an in-depth understanding of thoughts, desires and ideas, a qualitative approach has been used. This entails an inductive way of inquiry (Bryman, 2016). First, the main topics were formed to distinguish and conceptualize the used theories as explained in the theoretical framework, which resulted in sensitizing concepts. The use of sensitizing concepts facilitates the nature of qualitative research, in which patterns can be identified and new information can emerge (Charmaz, 1996).

These concepts were entangled in the topic list, which consisted of questions such as: *What do you think about the police in Rotterdam?* and *How would you measure your trust in the police on a scale from 1 to 10?* (image of the police, trust in the police); *Would you call the police if necessary?* (trust in the police, experiences with the police); *What did you do to make sure you'd fulfill the expectations of the police officer?* (strategies, cultural capital); *Did you ever feel like a police officer had a prejudice about you?* (prejudices, stereotypes).

Moreover, to ensure the inductive nature of this research, a couple of questions were constructed to retrieve findings which were not necessarily included in the theoretical framework. Examples of these questions were: *If this interaction would occur again, how would you act to make sure this interaction would have a positive ending?* Moreover, the strategies used by juveniles in this research have been studied inductively. This was measured by the question: *Did you undertake any actions to make sure this interaction would go according to your expectations?*

Data collection

Arranging semi-structured interviews with respondents has firstly been done by distributing a call for respondents on various social media. As this research aimed to find respondents who possessed certain experiences or knowledge that correspond

with the subject of the study, purposive sampling has been used (Tongco, 2007).

The message called for juveniles between 16 and 25 years old, living in Rotterdam, who have had one (or more) interaction(s) with the police. These were also the inclusion criteria for the respondents. Some respondents included in this research were (slightly) older than 25, since I had limited resources for recruitment of respondents. These limited resources were largely due to the global COVID-19 pandemic, which required most recruitment to take place online. The initial idea of this research was to conduct interviews among lower educated and minority juveniles, since literature suggests that these social groups have lower levels of trust in the police (Wennekers, Boelhouwer, Van Campen & Kullberg, 2019) and experience the most difficulties during interactions (Weenink, 2009). Online recruitment meant that the call for respondents reached youth within my own social circles, mainly. Due to the COVID-19 measures, Rotterdam has been chosen as the location of recruitment, since this would generate more options for respondents due to my contacts in the city of Rotterdam. This means that the majority of the respondents have higher levels of (tertiary) education. Eventually, this generated a new interesting angle in this research, since these respondents allowed me to investigate what strategies this group uses in interactions and whether there is inequality in formal punishment between higher educated juveniles who are (partly) considered deviant.

Furthermore, snowball sampling has been consulted. This sampling technique involves the use of making connections through existing connections (Bryman, 2016). Besides, snowball sampling has an informal nature (Noy, 2008). Because the content of this study's topics can include sensitive information, snowball sampling was suitable for this research. Snowball sampling also facilitated the search for respondents, especially since interviews had to be conducted through online platforms, like Skype, or through the telephone. Finally, snowball sampling also led to the majority of the respondents found within my own circles.

Finally, in order to find more respondents, a Tinder account has been created. Tinder is a dating app which allows the user to connect with people by selecting profiles of users ([What is Tinder?], n.d.). In addition, the filters were set up according to the inclusion criteria of the respondents for this research project (starting from the age of 18, which is the minimum age for using Tinder). The total amount of juveniles included in this research is 18 (N=18).

Secondly, the intention was to plan non-participatory observations along with the police during a shift. The Dutch government's regulations regarding social contact during the COVID-19 outbreak made this virtually impossible. Instead, I conducted interviews with three police officers from Rotterdam-Delfshaven and included three more interviews with police officers from another student participating in this research project (*N*=6).

Data analysis

The analysis is aimed at the identification of categories, relationships and patterns in order to define and refine the interpretations of the data (Basit, 2003).

The data have been coded and analyzed in Atlas.ti, which is an analysis tool for qualitative research. Atlas.ti allows for the researcher to code, compare and trace patterns in the data. The first cycle of coding was inductive, which is a detailed and close reading of the transcribed text that allows for the researcher to become more familiar with the raw data (Thomas, 2006). This has especially been applied in the search for different strategies which juveniles use in interactions and images of the police and juveniles. The second cycle of coding was concept driven. The transcripts were read again while searching for text segments which corresponded with the theory. This was especially focused around the coding of cultural capital. The codes used to code cultural capital were 'habitus', 'knowing how to act' and 'socialization' (which were merged into 'embodied cultural capital'). Furthermore, 'institutional knowledge', 'knowledge of police work' and 'knowledge of the law' were merged into 'institutional cultural capital'. Objectified cultural capital was inductively coded as 'objectified cultural capital', in which the different forms of objects were later on distinguished in the results.

Validity and reliability

The strive for internal validity of this inquiry has been realized by what Bryman (2016) calls 'credibility', which considers to what extent the researcher can be confident about the observed reality. To ensure a proper understanding of respondents' answers, respondent validation has been applied. This entailed that respondent's answers within the interviews were regularly checked upon by summarizing answers and requesting confirmation of my understanding. In addition, this research contains

data from multiple researchers, which can contribute to the internal validity of the data (Bryman, 2016). In order to guarantee maximum reliability of this research, the topic lists are provided in the appendices as well as the original quotations in Dutch. Generally, non-participatory observations allow for a more reliable analysis. The lack of non-participatory observations puts an emphasis on the trustworthiness of respondents. As such, it is important to note that this research analyzes respondents' perceptions, opinions, reported encounters and experiences.

Respondent privacy

Respondent privacy has been guaranteed by securing the gathered data in a guarded online vault. In this study's results section, the names of the respondents are fictitious to ensure their privacy and their quotations have been translated into English. Moreover, the respondents were informed about the nature of this research beforehand, which gave them the chance to reject participation.

Theoretical saturation

Another important aspect of qualitative research is to take theoretical saturation into consideration. This entails the process of conducting interviews and re-theorizing until no new or relevant data regarding a certain category occurs (Rowlands, Waddell & McKenna, 2016). Within this research, the attempt at theoretical saturation has been centered around finding different strategies applied by juveniles in interactions. At a certain point, many strategies seemed to overlap, which indicated that theoretical saturation concerning the strategies distinguished in this research had been reached. However, theoretical saturation
within this research is limited since there may exist other strategies that can be applied in interactions with the police.

Quantitative data respondents

In order to interpret the data, I have created a table with information about the police officers (Figure 1). The table shows that the police officers cover different functions within the police and the area they work in is diverse. This is important in interpreting the data, since the police in urban settings differ substantially from the police in rural areas (Feld, 1991).

Secondly, a table has been added to distinguish the characteristics of the juveniles (Figure 2). The information includes level of education, since higher educated people are predisposed to possess more cultural capital compared to the lower educated (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). The nature of police contact and the perceived trust in the police have been included as well.

Figure 1: Quantitative data police officers

Name police officer	Neighbourhood/city	Type of police officer
Chris	Delfshaven/Rotterdam	Chief officer/emergency team
Marly	Delfshaven/Rotterdam	Research/youth officer
Bob	Delfshaven/Rotterdam	Chief officer/youth officer
Anja	Kerkrade	Police dog trainer/community officer
Leroy	Zeeland/West-Brabant	Flex team
Tom	Unknown	Brigadier/community officer

Figure 2: Quantitative data juveniles

Name + age	Education	Contact with the police	Trust in the police (mark)
Stacey - 23	University	Night-time contact/party setting	7
Mikolaj - 28	University	Suspect of bicycle theft	8
Harry - 21	University	- Police call - Arrested	7,5/8
Lisa - 27	University	- Harassed by the police - Complaint about the police	Low trust (no mark)
Alex - 21	University	Nightlife setting	4
Sharon - 25	Higher vocational education	- Traffic fine - Squatting	7
Mila -	Higher vocational education	- Apprehension - Suspected	5/5,5
Shanti - 23	Higher vocational education	Traffic fine	7
Elias - 23	Higher vocational education	- House search - Suspected	7
Jordi - 24	Higher vocational education	- 112 call - Halt office - Hanging around	6,5
Damian - 19	Higher vocational education	- Checked - Arrested	5,5/6
Anil - 18	Pre-university education	- Warrant for hanging around	7,5
Dennis - 23	Vocational education	Hanging around	6
Wesley - 23	Unknown	- Arrested - Hanging around	7
Jorden - 21	Unknown	Casual contact	7
Raymond - 25	Unknown	- Arrested - Juvenile court	6
Bastiano - 29	Unknown	- Arrest team - Hanging around	6,5
Oscar - 19	Unknown	- Hanging around - Arrested	7,5

Findings

First, I will elaborate on the different strategies juveniles (are allowed to) use in interactions with the police to reduce the chance of formal punishment. Thereafter, the role of stereotypes will be expanded on. Finally, the information extracted from the former sub-questions will facilitate the interpretation of the last sub-question, in which the role of cultural capital in strategies and formal punishment will be explained.

Sub-question 1:

What conscious and unconscious strategies are being used by juveniles during interactions to either win the police officer's trust and/or diminish the chance of a negative punishment?

There were a couple of strategies that could be notified in order to win the police officer's trust. These strategies mostly involved the intention and/or the consequence of a lighter punishment, no prosecution or even the dropping of fines.

Cooperation

One distinct strategy in police-juvenile interactions was cooperation. Cooperation was often mentioned as a successful strategy in the cases of a variety of respondents, including Harry, Raymond, Jorden and Jordi. It cannot always be stated with absolute confidence whether this strategy was consciously or unconsciously applied, but in some cases it was evident that a respondent consciously chose to cooperate in order to diminish the severity of the punishment.

"(...) after that, I realized, no matter what, just cooperate. And... even if you think you haven't done anything wrong, even if you're not the only one doing something wrong. And it's better just to cooperate, the more you fight it or beat it, the more trouble you will probably get into," (Harry).

In this following case, cooperation seemed more like a strategy which was natural for the respondent to apply, which implies that it might be an unconscious strategy: *"(...) In a case like that, which occurs more often, I deal with them calm and all that (...) it would be very stupid if I, if I would not listen to them,"* (Jorden).

Most police officers did mention cooperation as a strategy juveniles use, but it

did not always occur whether it led to less heavy punishments. For example, during traffic controls, cooperation with the police officers at least helped prevent a situation from escalating.

"Yeah, and we don't always have to have a long discussion or anything. Often they [offenders] *don't agree with me and I don't agree with them, so be it. (...) You know, sometimes after 10 seconds they say 'go ahead' and 'I don't have anything' and you continue just like that,"* (Police officer Marley)

Empathizing

In a couple of cases, empathizing was a strategy which was unconsciously applied along with cooperation. In the cases in which empathizing was applied, this seemed to be suc- cessful in gaining trust from the police:

"(...) But they [the police officers] *arrested me and it was just so fucking pleasant* [gezellig]*, we really had a long conversation and laughed about life and and… it was really pleasant. (...) And that guy also said, like, 'yo, you know, I really like it man! Even if you get a fine, it is one of the nicest arrests I've ever made,' (...) 'Even though I have to pay a lot, fuck it man, I'm having a good time'. And they actually dropped everything but that phone shit*[1]*, because that was just new,"* (Oscar).

Explaining the situation

It appeared that, at least when they were given the opportunity, some respondents including Shanti, Harry, Mikolaj, Alex and Damian reported to use explanation as a strategy to ensure that the interaction would be positive. For example, when confronted with a bicycle theft: *"It took us a while to explain to them that we weren't involved in this* [bicycle theft] *and that it was really astonishing that we were still standing there,"* (Mikolaj).

Speaking up

Another strategy which was applied by Bastiano, Jordi, Lisa, Raymond and Anil, was speaking up about the situation. This could include starting a discussion, standing up for yourself (or another) and withholding. Speaking up involves a certain degree of risk,

[1] Since July 1, 2019, people are not allowed anymore to hold electronic devices while cycling.

since it can possibly lead to being considered more deviant or a more severe penalty (Weenink, 2009). Despite this fact, the majority of the interactions in which juveniles spoke up about the situation ended up lightly.

For example, Bastiano stated that he would not blindly obey rules if a police officer does not approach him in a polite way:

"Sure, when those cops come in like 'yeah, get out of here,', you're gonna obstruct on purpose, you know? Like, hey, I'm not your dog. (...) I also try to make it clear to him that he can talk differently. Not like, you're a cop, so I have to behave. (...) Then it must get really violent when he goes into action. (...) that he wants to search all of a sudden. But not really arrest me".

When Jordi had to call an ambulance for his manager, he felt like he was not being taken seriously, which he solved by standing up for himself:

"'You need to get normal', and blah blah blah. I say yeah, 'act normal', I say, 'yeah, just get an ambulance' (...) And then eventually an ambulance came and then first the police were there, and they talked like, 'Yeah, that's not how you're supposed to deal with 112', and 'that's not how you're supposed to call' and blah, blah, blah (...) But there hasn't been a swear word, there hasn't been a raise of voice".

According to a number of police officers, including Marley, Anja, Leroy and Tom, speaking up was mostly positively received as long as it was not combined with verbal assault. When juveniles would question the action taken by a police officer or would start a discussion, most of the police officers reported that it would be positively received. *"There are also juveniles who say 'yeah, this is already the 5th time I've been pulled over' yes, then you go into conversation about that. At least I will go into a conversation with them,"* (Police officer Anja).

Sub-question 2:
What reciprocal images about both juveniles and police officers exist which are associated with (negative) stereotypes?

Juveniles' stereotypes of police

Leiber, Nalla & Farnworth (1998) state that not only experiences with the police, but also a certain (delinquent) subculture and personal characteristics, e.g.

socio-economic status and level of education, contribute to juveniles' image about the police. A number of respondents, including Shanti, Jordi, Dennis and Alex mentioned that the stories they heard about the police in their (direct) surroundings contributed to their image of the police.

"(...) I think that in general it is positive that the police exist and I think that they do a lot of good stuff. But… I've heard too many stories and I've seen too many things to assign a positive score to them, you know what I mean?," (Dennis).

Moreover, the majority of the police officers reported that they assume that the general image of juveniles about the police is based on images and stereotypes they share with their peers. *"And then you get the effect that they tell their uh... friends, so then you have that group of friends against you, so to speak,"* (Police officer Chris).

As described by Pettigrew & Tropp (2006), an interaction with someone belonging to a stereotyped group can stimulate the awareness that someone is not different, but similar to you. A number of respondents, including Stacy, Sharon, Elias, Harry and Anil reported that an increase in experiences often lead to a more positive image about the police. *"No, it was a really special case actually. Because after that, my experiences with other cops really weren't at all like that guy was. I even laughed sometimes with some cops, so…,"* (Elias).

Moreover, focusing on another aspect of someone instead of the stereotyped attribution, can facilitate the inhibition of stereotypes (Dunn & Spellman, 2003). Some police officers, particularly Bob, Chris and Anja, reported that experiences can lead to a more positive attitude towards the police. Police officer Bob explains how conversations impact stereotypes, despite the characteristics he thinks are different from the juveniles he interacts with:

"Uhm, I think at first, look, I'm, uh, white myself, short shaved hair, uh, so, at first if you're talking about prejudice, uh... then I'm just the policeman who's standing far away from them. (...) But as soon as I manage to really talk to them, I think that image can change very quickly. (...) you know, the police aren't here just to fuck you up".

In contrast, some respondents reported that an increase in experiences led to a less positive image about the police, as in the case of Mila:

"Because I actually have more negative experiences with the police than positive experiences. And that one positive experience was more like, that it raised surprise, and

it was not that I thought like, oh, amazing".

Police officers' stereotypes of juveniles

First, juveniles thought that the police maintained stereotypes about them as well. These stereotypes are divided into various categories. Juveniles recurrently mentioned that (their) allochthonous cultural backgrounds were an important reason to be stereotyped, as well as being part of a (delinquent) subculture, i.e. house squatting (Rijksoverheid, n.d.) or graffiti painting (Lachman, 1988) and being a juvenile in general. This can be due to the face that juveniles are being considered rebellious and they are more often in the public space, which logically leads to more police encounters (Watkins & Maume, 2012). Moreover, modern juveniles tend to more often question power and authority (Thomson & Holland, 2002).

Ethnic stereotypes

Ethnic profiling plays an important role in the activation of stereotypes (Çankaya, 2015). A number of respondents, including Raymond, Lisa, Wesley and Damian who reported to be native Dutch and/or white themselves, noticed that ethnic profiling occurs within police practices. Raymond illustrated his experience as follows:

"(...) Ethnic profiling is definitely something that occurs a lot, in my opinion. Uhm… yeah, I am just a white uh… young man, who looks just average. And I never get arrested. (...) but I know friends from other [cultural] *backgrounds who are arrested a lot more often, whether in the car or on the street, you know".*

Other respondents, including Mila, Elias, Mikolaj and Anil reported that their (visibly) allochthonous cultural backgrounds were grounds of suspicion for the police. Juveniles from non-autochthonous Dutch cultural backgrounds are often generalized as part of a deviant group instead of a single case (Muller, 2016.

"Well... I've been a suspect in a robbery once. And yes... the alert was: we're looking for a Moroccan. (...) And I happened to be there. But I didn't see anything happen, but I was just in the wrong place, wrong time (...) but it felt a little... strange that they saw me as a suspect. There was also just CCTV footage and that's what I was constantly saying to them, but yeah... they didn't really want to listen to it," (Elias).

A number of police officers also reported that juvenile suspects accused them of discrimination based on cultural background or skin colour. Most police officers did not

explicitly admit that they were practicing ethnic profiling, but they reported to maintain certain images and/or prejudices about minority juveniles.

"And we're talking about ethnic profiling again. A big fat BMW and then those guys get out of the car, often of immigrant descent, with their bags and caps and expensive brand clothing and yes, that's something else than just a student on a bicycle with his sneakers and his jeans," (Police officer Anja).

Hanging around

Some respondents, including Jordi, Dennis, Wesley Oscar and Harry, experienced that hanging around was at the center of prejudices about juveniles. It is interesting that hanging around has recently been redefined as criminal and, as such, is associated with nuisance, criminal activities and gang membership (Muller, 2016). Jordi was aware of this association and illustrated it as follows:

"(...) back in the days when you were chilling out on the street together, you're wearing a cap, this and that. You dress a little tough, you know. Of course, that creates an image (...) that you're doing criminal activity, or that you're no good, that you're just a crook".

(Delinquent) subcultures

The final reported stereotype concerns juveniles' identification with certain (delinquent) (sub)cultures. According to Sharon, Raymond and Oscar, belonging to such (sub) cultures increased suspicion among police officers. Certain subcultures have been associated with delinquency, since the exploration and resistance of the social order raises the perception of deviance (Blackman, 2014). Sharon said: *"I think the police were prepared to meet a bunch of squatters[2] (...) Who they might have to arrest,".*

Being a student was also reported as a possible reason for suspicion, according to Harry and Alex. One possible explanation is the overrepresentation of (heavy) drinking among students, which can cause trouble and more encounters with the police (Vic, Carrello, Tate & Field, 2000). *"So maybe the police officer expected for us, me and my housemates to be in the wrong, because maybe we were troublesome students, he*

[2] According to the Rijksoverheid (n.d.), squatting is prohibited in The Netherlands since the 1st of October, 2010.

might've thought at first," (Harry).

Sub-question 3:
What is the role of cultural capital in the application and outcome of strategies in police-juvenile interactions?

In order to investigate whether cultural capital plays a role in interactions and in the severity of penalties, the notion of cultural capital which predominantly refers to (nation)wide shared attitudes, (formal) knowledge and behavior is the most obvious one (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Subsequently, the embodied dimension of cultural capital can emerge, for example, simultaneously with the institutional and the objectified dimension (Holt, 1998; Kraaykamp & Van Eijk, 2010). It is not always particularly apparent whether behavior could be defined as cultural capital. Therefore, cultural capital has been analyzed according to the previously mentioned definition.

Embodied cultural capital

Habitus, the embodied form of cultural capital, seemed to play a role in the strategies juveniles applied in interactions with the police. Habitus was interpreted as juveniles' 'natural' behavior and attitudes that they considered appropriate during interactions with the police. Habitus also emerged in implicit skills and practical knowledge which are recognized as capital in an interaction (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). A number of respondents, like Jorden, Alex, Oscar and Sharon pointed out that they found themselves easy to communicate with and that they were able to estimate a situation, which could give them the tools to know and act upon a specific interaction with a police officer. Some respondents pointed out that they acquired their cultural knowledge at home or that they learned it within an educational context.

"What kind of things they [police officers] *say, uhm, but you know, what kind of police officer it is. And that you just have to go along with it. (...) I've learned that in school, some teachers have it too, and... if you argue about it, you mess with their ego and then you fuck it up even more,"* (Oscar).

Several respondents, like Elias, Wesley, Raymond and Dennis pointed out that they knew how to interact with the police, which did not always have a clear cause but rather seemed to be a consequence of socialization with the concept of the police. For

instance, Dennis said: *"(...) you know, you're already in uniform, we really do understand that when you approach us, we've done something we shouldn't have"*.

That respondents knew how to act in front of police officers often became apparent during the interviews when they shared their thoughts about the interaction without acting upon them. This is in line with the strategy of the Saints: even though they might have considered engaging with aggressive behavior, they did not act upon it and remained polite towards the police (Chambliss, 1973). Respondent Lisa portrayed a similar tactic:

"Well, look, the first interaction I had, I was just angry, but the interaction that he, that the chief came here at the door, then, I just stayed very friendly. I find that difficult, I would still, I wish I would, well, just say what I think. But I wouldn't dare, because I'd also feel... Yeah, that's what you feel as a woman. I mean, sometimes I'm afraid to walk all over a man like that. (...) I've actually stayed very friendly at that point and just thanked him for apologizing".

Institutional cultural capital

It is not always clear whether capital concerns institutionalized cultural capital, since, as Holt (1988) argues, cultural capital is institutionalized once its embodied form is institutionally certified. Embodied cultural capital is thus institutional in implicit formal knowledge, described as knowledge of the "rules of the game," (Lareau, 2015, p. 2). Juveniles with high cultural capital have knowledge about the working of institutions and how to take advantage of them. As described in the former part, many respondents knew how to act in front of police officers, which was often positively acknowledged and valued by police officers. For this form of capital, knowledge about institutions, police work and the law was analyzed in order to grasp to what extent institutional capital could be distinguished from the other forms. A number of respondents, including Oscar, Shanti, Sharon, Raymond, Mikolaj and Lisa, illustrated how their knowledge of institutions and the police in particular facilitated the interaction. For example, Oscar was arrested for stealing beer from the supermarket:

"Sure, it sucks that you get arrested, but, yeah, maybe you shouldn't do something illegal or something (...) I thought it sucked that I uh... that I ended up getting a Halt penalty. That was pretty stupid. You'd have to fill out all these papers

with questionnaires, which, I don't know... it was just a lot of work".

The respondents further stressed that even though they did not necessarily agree with the statement of a police officer or the punishment, it is recommended to just cooperate or remain silent. This can also be considered embodied cultural capital, since respondents' knowledge about the workings of the police resulted in a certain use of language and behavior. However, this behavior has to be valued, acknowledged and verified in a certain institutional environment (Kraaykamp & Van Eijk, 2010).

Objectified cultural capital

Certain goods, artifacts and other consumable goods were moderately mentioned by respondents as an occasion to have an interaction with the police. In these cases, the goods were recognized as objectified cultural capital by police officers, but were not necessarily associated with high-brow cultural goods. Instead, these goods sometimes 'lacked' cultural capital. Jordi, Harry and Dennis presented the examples of public drinking or possession of liquor in public:

"Um, before, when I had to go to Halt once, I turned 16 or so. And then, I was standing around the mall with a can of Baco[3]. Well, then I got fined for it and, um... I either had to pay that fine or go to Halt. And then, I thought, fuck that fine, I'll go to Halt," (Jordi).

Other goods of objectified capital were goods that were associated with certain (delinquent) subcultures, such as spray-painting cans, a squatted house and (the culture of) skateboards. Even though skateboarding is not officially prohibited[4], its culture is associated with being hazardous since its manifestation in public space and being threatening for the public order (Németh, 2006). It was often mentioned by respondents that they thought that these objects made interactions more complicated.

Certain goods can be appreciated and valued as cultural capital in one (sub)culture, but rejected in another (Holt, 1998). This was mentioned several times by a number of respondents, including Damian, Sharon, Jordi, Oscar and Raymond. An interesting example in particular is that of Raymond, who was arrested with spray-painting cans. The particularity of graffiti artists is that they are simultaneously

[3] Bacardi-Cola.
[4] According to the Rijksoverheid (n.d.), skateboarders are allowed as long as they respect the traffic regulations for pedestrians.

part of an artistic subculture as well as, at least perceived by law enforcement, a deviant subculture (Lachmann, 1988). This respondent's objectified cultural capital complicated the strategies he could apply to diminish formal punishment in this interaction, since he was immediately considered as deviant.

"(...) 'can we, can we look in your bag, because we suspect that you're carrying things that are not allowed'. So I said, 'well, no, not really, what's the reason,' (...). Of course, it was full of spray cans. And... that cop who, he kicked my bag so I heard, of course, you heard those cans ringing. (...) And then he said, 'okay, you're under arrest on suspicion of graffiti'. I said 'okay, nice, that's fine'. So yeah, I'll just go with you (laughs). (...) I grabbed the phone out of my pocket, pressed the off button. And the cop says, 'Yeah, turn in your phone now'. I say, 'uh, I turn it off, then you can have it'. (...) and when I say that, I get a huge slap on my nose (...) I got angry right away. I said, 'what the fuck is this for?' (...) Especially since I was already in the van, you know," (Raymond).

In many instances in which the importance of objectified cultural capital was apparent, it seemed difficult to apply interactional strategies. These goods were not always valued as capital by police officers and associated with deviant and/or delinquent subcultures. The way objectified cultural capital played a role in interactions according to the police was not always explicitly mentioned. However, some police officers mentioned that certain vehicles or other expensive belongings were reason to suspect juveniles or associate them with deviance and/or delinquency. According to police officer Chris, objects were associated with a lack of willingness to cooperate:

" (...) I don't have to ask you what kind of work they're doing, or what they'll be doing tomorrow, or how they got that expensive coat and those expensive shoes. 'Cause we're not gonna get an answer to that anyway".

Other forms of cultural capital

Important about all forms of cultural capital is that it depends on the social context whether it is recognized as cultural capital and thus acted upon (Bourdieu, 1986). Lareau & Horvat (1999) argue that researchers should not only pay attention to the given definition of cultural capital as assessed by Bourdieu but also reflect on social

contexts, since cultural capital derives its value in relation to the specific field of interaction.

For example, language is an embodied form of cultural capital (Lamont & Lareau, 1988) but is also situated within a certain social and institutional context. A respondent who was not fully familiar with the Dutch language used his lack of knowledge about the language as a strategy to ensure a lighter punishment:

"I was able to defend myself by saying: I have a Polish nationality and I only live here for 3 years and in Tilburg as well, I come here to explore. (...) I was able to keep out of it because I had a thick accent. So one word from me and they were like oh, you only partially understand what is happening," (Mikolaj).

An interesting addition from a police officer's perspective, is that of police officer Bob. He actually stated that he expected some juveniles to be unfamiliar with legal knowledge and language. Mikolaj adhered to this expectation, despite his somewhat limited familiarity with the Dutch language. Bob said:

"(...) you have to be a little formal as a, uh, policeman and you, uh... speak ABN[5] *nicely and that sort of thing, uh, yeah, hey, when I talk to a guy like that about uh... uh... no, 'you're apprehended now'. Yeah, he doesn't get it 9 times out of 10".*

In order to interpret the strategies elaborated in the first sub-question and the stereotypes of the second sub-question incorporated in cultural capital, the following figures have to provide a more accessible understanding. The figures are a simplified display of the findings and can be considered a guide to interpret the discussion.

[5] Abbreviation for 'General Civilized Dutch', a manner of speaking which is considered neutral.

Figure 3: The role of cultural capital in the application of strategies

Type of strategy	**Cooperation**	**Empathizing**	**Explaining the situation**	**Speaking up**
Embodied cultural capital	A natural way of acting, implying socialization and active embodiment through learning	A natural way of acting, implying socialization	The 'proper' usage of words allowed to explain the situation	The way of speaking up or discussing did not include rudeness
Institutional cultural capital	Knowledge of how to play the game, cooperation helps to de-escalate	Knowing that a law has been violated but empathize might diminish punishment	Being allowed to explain, since the words being used are positively received	The belief of being in your right, implying institutional knowledge
Objectified cultural capital	It is better to cooperate since the objects are being considered deviant/delinquent	It is better to empathize since the objects are being associated with deviance/delinquency	Objectified capital can play a role prior to the necessity to explain	This was not applicable on all occasions, i.e. this has not been elaborated

Figure 4: The role of cultural capital in reciprocal images

Type of image	**(Ethnic) minority**	**Hanging around/hanging youth**	**Delinquent subculture**	**Image of the police**
Embodied cultural capital	Not being allowed to exhibit embodied cultural capital	Not necessarily negatively related; embodied cultural capital facilitates interaction of this group	Not necessarily negatively related; embodied cultural capital facilitates interaction of this group	Despite positive or negative images of the police, behaviour, implicit formal norms and language use were important
Institutional cultural capital	More often being considered deviant according to institutional norms	Considered delinquent in institutionalized context; juveniles are aware of this	Considered delinquent in institutionalized context; juveniles are aware of this	Despite positive or negative images about the police, the knowledge about the police was more important than the image of the police
Objectified cultural capital	Objects combined with being ethnic minority were more often suspected	Objects associated with hanging youth complicates interactions	Objects clearly linked to delinquency, which complicated prior to the interactions	Objects of youth played a negative role in the image of the police, since these objects often led to negative interactions
Other cultural capital	Using (ethnic) minority status to smoothen interaction	Not relevant	Not relevant	Not relevant

Discussion and conclusion

Previous research has pointed out that cultural capital plays a role in the knowledge of and ability to take advantage of institutions (Lareau, 2015). Furthermore, research has been conducted into the role of institutionalized stereotypes within the police (Çankaya, 2015) and the consequence of these stereotypes for formal punishment (Muller, 2016; Weenink, 2009). However, the lack of research into juveniles' and police officers' experiences with actual interactions is problematic, because it provides a limited understanding of the role of cultural capital in said experiences and its consequences for formal punishment. The present study fills this gap and adds to previous research by delving into interactions between juveniles and the police. Its focus on strategies used by individuals with higher levels of cultural capital also offers a new perspective compared to previous research. This research has strived to clarify how a symbolic theoretical notion such as cultural capital emerges within micro-sociological processes.

The first sub-question was as follows: *What conscious and unconscious strategies are being used by juveniles during interactions to either win the police officer's trust and/or diminish the chance of a formal punishment?* In finding an answer to this, a number of strategies could be identified. The respondents mentioned that they decided to cooperatie, empathize, explain their situation and to speak up for themselves. Especially in the cases of cooperation and empathizing, it seemed like a natural manner of behavior for the respondents instead of a strategy which they consciously deployed, whereas explaining the situation and speaking up seemed to be a more conscious strategy in an interaction. The strategies deployed by the juveniles often led to a rather positive outcome of the interaction, i.e. a punishment that was at least experienced as fair or less severe than appropriate for the violation. Especially speaking up can be regarded as a strategy associated with deviance (Weenink, 2009). In many cases, speaking up was not considered a trigger for deviance according to the police officers. This could be due to the fact that the respondents included in this research were predominantly higher educated, which suggests that they have higher levels of cultural capital and thus are more familiar with the "rules of the game" (Lareau & Weiniger, 2003, Lareau, 2015, p. 2). This might have manipulated the interaction in a positive way.

The second the sub-question was: *What reciprocal images about both juveniles and police officers exist which are associated with (negative) stereotypes?* Various reciprocal images were identified. It appeared that juveniles' experiences with the police played a

significant role in the development of images about the police. Even though juveniles reported to maintain a negative image or to be suspicious about the police previously, satisfactory experiences with police officers did in most cases have positive consequences for trust in the police and for a more favorable image of the police more generally (Sønderskov & Dinesen, 2016). When experiences with the police did not account for a more positive image of the police, this could appear to be an effect of the negative stereotypes the police uphold about certain social groups. The groups the juveniles identified themselves with, such as (delinquent) subcultures, certain ethnic/cultural backgrounds, students and juveniles in general were mentioned to be stereotyped by police officers. This is not surprising, since these groups tend to be perceived as more deviant (Muller, 2016; Weenink, 2009) and are associated with social resistance, prohibited practices and disorder (Blackman, 2014; Lachmann, 1988; Németh, 2006; Watkins & Maume, 2012). However, these images eventually did not seem to lead to more negative interactions and severe punishments than appropriate.

This phenomenon may be explained by answering the last sub-question. This question was as follows: *What is the role of cultural capital in the application and outcome of strategies in police-juvenile interactions?* The juveniles' reported experiences in this research predominantly corresponded with the notion of cultural capital as assessed in the theoretical framework. Based on the respondents' experiences, cultural capital first seemed to play a role in the strategies deployed by juveniles. This can be specifically applied to the embodied and institutional form of cultural capital, since the findings suggest that the implicit attitudes, (formal) knowledge and behavior of these respondents was acknowledged and valued by police officers. This corresponds with the literature (Bourdieu, 1986; Kraaykamp & Van Eijk, 2016; Lamont & Lareau, 1988)

However, (negative) associations with delinquency and stereotypes about certain physical objects complicated the interactions. Objectified cultural capital played a significant role prior to the interaction, since certain goods were associated with delinquency, a deviant subculture or youth in general. Eventually, the habitus of juveniles seemed to play the most significant role in deploying strategies, since juveniles were able to inhibit stereotypes about themselves or the social group they belonged to. These strategies assured in most cases that the outcome of the interaction was beneficial for them, i.e. more lenient punishment.

Limitations

As mentioned before, the absence of non-participatory observation data is an important limitation of this research project. This research is focused on interactional processes, which means that non-participatory observations would have been an important data collection method. It is unlikely that the juveniles' reports about juvenile-police interactions involved the police officers who were included in this research and vice versa, which signifies that the stories might be rather one-sided. Furthermore, although the respondents live in Rotterdam, not all interactions included in this research concern the Rotterdam police. In addition, this research has included 18 interviews with juveniles against 6 police officers, which does not thoroughly do justice to the interactional character of this research. Future research on police-juvenile interactions would be well advised to include (non-)participatory observations in order to be able to observe interactions with police officers and juveniles.

Additionally, I would like to address the limitations on the somewhat narrow notion of cultural capital included in this research as assessed by Bourdieu. According to Lareau & Horvat (1999), some individuals might possess cultural capital, but 'lack' the resources to activate it. In addressing inequality in formal punishment (Boon, Van Dorp & De Boer, 2018; Van Eijk, 2006), cultural capital could be studied from a different perspective than Bourdieu's approach. Yosso (2005) argues that the traditional notion of cultural capital assumes that people who do not meet the (white) middle-class standards of society, have limited cultural capital compared to their advantaged counterparts. The notion of cultural capital could be appreciated in alternative forms rather than solely the high-brow conception of it as assessed by Bourdieu (Yosso, 2005).

The results of the present study can be of use for the reformation of educational policies with regards to regular (secondary) education and the police academy. Although cultural capital, habitus in particular, is based on lifelong processes of socialization in specific social and cultural contexts rather than school-taught skills (Bourdieu, 1986), educational institutions may influence attitudes and behaviors of juveniles and police officers. Educational policies aimed at empowering those juveniles with less cultural capital can inform them of the strategies as assessed in the present study. In addition, the variety of cultural 'capitals' could be addressed in policies regarding the police academy in order to do justice to the plurality of cultural capital as well as provide implications about the classical assumption of cultural capital in (ethnic) inequality in the juvenile justice system.

Conclusion

The answer to the main research question, *How does the cultural capital of Rotterdam youth affect their willingness and/or ability to gain trust among police officers during an interaction in order to reduce the risk of formal punishment?* is twofold. On the one hand, it can be concluded that cultural capital, in particular the embodied form/habitus affects juveniles' willingness to gain trust among police officers in order to reduce the risk of formal punishment. Juveniles are willing to actively deploy certain strategies in an interaction to win a police officer's trust, since they possess the knowledge that the strategies will most likely diminish the risk and the severity of the punishments. The ability to gain the trust of police officers is sometimes impeded by their objectified cultural capital, since this may be stereotyped as and associated with deviance and delinquency. However, even by the presence of the complication of objectified cultural capital, *habitus* remained an important factor in both the willingness as well as the ability to gain police officer's trust.

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Appendix

Appendix A– topic list youths

This interview is about the way you are treated by the police in Rotterdam and your thoughts about it. I'm not interested whether you have violated the law or anything, the purpose of this research is to investigate how youths feel about their interactions with the police. This research is collaborative with a promotion research and is shared with other students of the Erasmus University Rotterdam. Not all questions are mandatory; if you don't feel like answering a particular question, please tell me. We will skip the question and move on to the next one. This interview is of course completely anonymous, I will make sure your name and other personal details cannot be traced back to you. We want to offer you 15 euros for your contribution to this research project.

Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?
- Age
- Neighborhood
- Study/school
- Hobbies

- What do you think about the police in Rotterdam?
- What mark would you assign to your trust in the police?
- Would you call the police if necessary?
- If a police officer would approach you, how confident are you that he will treat you right?
- Why?
- What mark would the police give you, based on their trust in you as a citizen?
- Have you ever had a negative experience with the police?
- What happened?
- Where did it happen? Who was involved, what time of the day was it?
- What did you think about the attitude of the police officer? (unreasonable, authoritative appearance, friendly, calm)
- Was this police officer typical for other police officers in this neighbourhood?
- What could the police officer have done differently for this interaction to be positive?

- How should an interaction like this ideally go? What were initially your expectations of this interaction?
- Did you undertake any actions to make sure this interaction would go according to your expectations?
- What do you think that the expectations of this police officer were?
- What did you do to make sure you'd fulfill the expectations of the police officer?

- What would you do differently if this interaction would happen again?
- Did this experience change your opinion about the police? How?
- Did you ever feel like a police officer has been prejudiced about you?
- Did you ever consider to submit a complaint about a police officer?

Have you ever had a positive interaction with the police?
insert same questions as negative interaction

- Do you think the police functions well? Are they good at what they do?
- What makes a police officer a good one? What is needed for that?
- How should the police treat youth? Should it differ from adults?
- Do you think the Dutch police receive enough respect? Why?
- Can you identify with the police, do you think they are persons as you are or are they different? Would you consider working for the police for example?
- What can the police do to improve the mark you gave them at the beginning of the interview?

Appendix B– topic list police officers

Introduction
This interview is about dealing with youths and about the strategies you use to make this contact run as smoothly as possible. You are not obliged to answer all the questions, if there is something you would rather not talk about, please let us know. These interviews will be used for a scientific article on interactions between youths and police officers in Rotterdam. This interview is completely anonymous; names, contact details, addresses or other personal information will never be disclosed. We do not write about you as an individual in this article, but we put together all the stories we hear from all (about 80) interviews to under-

stand the most common obstacles and possible solutions for interactions between youths and police officers.

We'll start with a few introductory questions about yourself

- Why did you choose to work for the police?
- How long have you worked for the police?
- What is your job at the moment?
- Are you still satisfied with your job at the moment?
- What do you think is the most fun and least fun aspect of your job?
- If your colleagues would describe you, what kind of policeman would they say you are?

Now we are going to talk about interactions with youths

- What kind of image do you think youths in this neighborhood have of the police? (Why?)
- And what kind of image do you have of youths in this neighborhood? (Different image of different groups?)
- In addition to your work as a policeman, do you have contact with youths in this neighborhood in any other way?-
- Do you interact differently with youths than with adults in your work? (In what way?)
- Are there any strategies you use to improve contact with youths?
- Ask for an example where such a strategy had a positive effect.
- For clarification: possible strategies include stepping out of your role as an agent, showing interest, listening to young people's stories, explaining rules.
- Keep asking: (think of concepts of code switching, emotional intelligence, meeting the needs of young people, procedural justice)
- How do you decide when to use such a strategy?
- Do you feel that youths trust you more because of this kind of strategies?
- Are there other ways you use to gain more trust from youths?
- What do you think a youth expects or needs when interacting with a police officer?
- Examples for clarification: a policeman who is honest, who explains things, who abides by the rules, who is humane, shows understanding.
- Do you think you can always meet these expectations? Why or not?
- What are your own expectations of a youth when you have contact during your work?
- Example: that they listen, show respect.
- How do you deal with a youth that does not meet these expectations?
- If you notice that a youth has a disrespectful attitude, how do you react to that?

- Are there certain signals you pay attention to that influence whether or not you find a youth trustworthy?
- Has it ever happened that youths feels personally attacked or thinks they are being discriminated against? (What do you do in such cases?) do you manage to convince the youth that you do not discriminate?
- Do youths sometimes show that they do not feel heard or understood? How do you deal with this?
- Can you remember an example of interaction with a young person that turned out to be very negative?
- Why did it go wrong and could you think of something afterwards that would have improved this interaction?

Now a few final questions:

- Would you like to change things in the work you do? Or to the way the police are organized?
- Do you have a picture of what would be the perfect police officer? And what would that look like?
- If you had to rate the trust between the police and young people, what would that be? (Is one person's trust in another higher or lower?) Why this grade? How could this grade be improved?
- That was the last question, do you want to say anything else about this subject?

Appendix C - Original quotations in Dutch[6]

Sub-question 1:

Jorden: "Omdat uh... als ie, als ik... uh... in zo'n geval als wel vaker voorkomt rustig en alles met hun om ga en het ook nog eens uh... dan... een, in werkgebied is, uh... uiteindelijk beide... uh... het zou heel dom zijn als ik, als ik er niet naar zou luisteren".

Police officer Marly: "Ja en het hoeft we hoeven ook niet altijd met een lange discussie ofzo. Vaak wordt je het niet eens en dan wordt je het niet eens. En dan jammer dan. weet je wel. soms is het na 10 seconden al gedaan zeggen ze van ga je gang en ik heb niks en ik ga zo weer verder".

Oscar: "Maar ze hielden me aan en het was gewoon zo fucking gezellig, we hebben echt

[6] The interview with Harry was already conducted in English.

heel erg lang staan praten en gelachen over het leven en en... het was echt heel gezellig. (...) En die gast zei ook zo van, yo ja weet je, ik vind het echt heel gezellig man! Ook al krijg je een boete, het is gewoon echt een van de leukste aanhoudingen die ooit heb gehad. Ik zei, ja, weet je? Ook al moet ik veel betalen, fuck it man, ik heb het naar m'n zin. En ze hebben eigenlijk alles laten vallen behalve die telefoonshit, omdat dat net nieuw was".

Mikolaj: Het heeft even geduurd voordat wij ze goed konden uitleggen dat wij niet waren betrokken bij dit en dat dit echt meer verbazingwekkend was dat wij daar stonden van

Bastiano: "Tuurlijk, als die agenten aankomen van 'ja weg hier', dan ga je ook expres een beetje dwars liggen, snap je? Van hee, ik ben je hond niet. (...) Probeer ik hem ook duidelijk te maken dat hij ook anders kan praten. Niet zo van, jij bent agent, dus ik moet me gedragen jij hoeft dat niet. (...) Dan moet het wel heel bont worden als ie overgaat op actie. (...) Wel dat ie gaat fouilleren, dat ie ineens wil fouilleren. Maar niet echt arresteren of meenemen".

Jordi: "Je moet even normaal doen, en bla bla. Ik zeg ja, "normaal doen", ik zeg," ja er moet gewoon een ambulance komen" (...) "En toen uiteindelijk is er een ambulance gekomen en toen was eerst de politie eerder aanwezig, en die praatten gelijk van, ja zo hoor je niet om te gaan met 112, en zo hoor je niet te bellen, en bla bla… (...) . Maar er is geen scheldwoord geweest, er is geen stemverheffing geweest".

Police officer Anja: "Er zijn ook jongeren die zeggen ' ja dit is al de 5e keer dat ik aan de kant ben gezet' ja dan ga je daarmee in gesprek. tenminste ik ga daarmee in gesprek".

Sub-question 2:

Oscar: "Wat voor dingen ze zeggen, uhm maar dan weet je eigenlijk al precies, gelijk wat voor politieagent het is. En dat je daar gewoon lekker in mee moet gaan". (...) Op school heb ik dat geleerd, sommige docenten hebben dat ook, en... als je er dan tegen in gaat, mess je met hun ego en dan fuck je het alleen maar erger op".

Dennis: "Weet je wel, je hebt het uniform al aan, we begrijpen echt wel dat als je naar ons toekomt dat we iets hebben gedaan wat niet mag,".

Lisa: "Nee, dat denk ik niet, want ik... nou, kijk die eerste interactie was ik gewoon boos,

maar die interactie dat ie, dat die chef hier voor de deur kwam, dan, dan blijf ik wel gewoon heel vriendelijk. Ik vind dat moeilijk, ik zou dat nog, ik wens meer dat ik dan, nou, gewoon zeg wat ik vind. Maar dat durf ik dan ook niet, omdat ik me ook dan bij... ja, dat heb je toch als vrouw. Ik bedoel, ik ben dat toch soms bang om keihard over zo'n man heen te walsen. (...), ik ben dus toen eigenlijk heel vriendelijk gebleven en heb gewoon bedankt voor de excuses".

Oscar: "Tuurlijk is het kut dat je dan wordt opgepakt, maar ja, misschien moet je niet iets illegaals doen of zo (...) Ik vond het wel kut dat ik uh... dat ik uiteindelijk een Halt-straf kreeg. Dat was wel stom. Dan moest je allemaal papieren invullen met vragenlijsten wat, ik weet niet... het was gewoon heel veel werk.

Jordi: "Uhm, eerder, toen ik een keer naar Halt moest, toen werd ik 16 of zo. En toen, stond ik met een blikje Baco, stond ik met een blikje Baco bij het winkelcentrum. Nou, toen heb ik daar een boete voor gekregen en uhm... ik moest of die boete betalen of naar Halt. En toen, dacht ik, fuck die boete, dan ga ik wel naar Halt".

Raymond: "'mogen we, mogen we in je tas kijken, want we hebben het vermoeden dat jullie, dat je dingen bij je hebt die niet mogen'. (...) Dus ik zei, 'nou ja, nee, eigenlijk niet, wat is de reden daarvoor'. Ehm... en toen zei ik, 'je mag niet in m'n tas kijken, dat heb ik liever niet'. Hij zat natuurlijk helemaal vol met spuitbussen. Enne... die agent die, hij schopte zeg maar tegen m'n tas aan dus ik hoorde natuurlijk, je hoorde natuurlijk die bussen ringelen. (...) En toen zei die, 'ja oke bij dezen ben je aangehouden op verdenking van graffi- ti'. Ik zeg van 'oke, leuk en aardig, is goed' (lacht). Dus ja, ik gewoon mee. (...) Dus uhm... ik, ik, pakte de telefoon uit m'n zak, drukte op die uitknop. En die agent zegt, 'ja, nu je telefoon inleveren'. Ik zeg 'uh, ik zet hem even uit, dan mag je hem hebben'. (...) en op dat moment dat ik dat zeg krijg ik een enorme klap op m'n neus. (...) Dus ik uh, ik werd meteen kwaad. Ik zeg, 'waar de fuck is dit voor nodig?' (...) Zeker omdat ik al in het busje zat weet je wel".

Police officer Chris: "(...) ik hoef jou niet te vragen wat voor werk jij gaat doen, of morgen gaat doen overdag, of hoe je, hoe je aan die dure jas en die dure schoenen komt. Want daar gaan we toch geen antwoord op krijgen, dan gaan we dat gewoon op een andere manier achterhalen".

Mikolaj: " Ik heb me kunnen verdedigen door te zeggen: ik heb een Poolse nationaliteit en ik woon hier maar 3 jaar en in Tilburg ook nog, ik kom hier verkennen. (...) Ik kon me een bé- tje erbuiten houden want ik had een dik accent. Dus 1 woord van mij en ze hadden zoiets van oh, je snapt maar half wat er gebeurt".

Police officer Bob: "(...) waar je als, uh, ja politieagent nog enigszins formeel moet zijn

en dat ben je dan ook in je taalgebruik en uh... het uh... keurig ABN spreken en dat soort dingen, uh, ja, hey, als ik tegen uh... zo'n jongen ga praten over uh... uh... nee, je bent nu staande gehouden. Ja, dat snapt ie 9 van de 10 keer niet".

Sub-question 3:

Dennis: "ik denk dat het over het algemeen is het positief dat de politie er is, en ik denk dat ze heel veel goeds doen. Maar... ik heb te veel verhalen gehoord en dingen gezien om echt een positieve score te kunnen geven, snap je wat ik bedoel?"

Police officer Chris: "En dan krijg het effect dat zij weer vertellen aan hun uh... vrienden, dus dan heb je die vriendengroep ook weer een beetje, een beetje tegen je, om het zo maar te zeggen".

Elias: "Nee, het was echt een aparte geval eigenlijk. Want daarna, m'n ervaringen daarna met andere agenten was echt totaal niet zoals die man was. Weleens zelfs gelachen met bepaalde agenten, dus".

Police officer Bob: "Uhm, ik denk in eerste instantie, kijk ik ben zelf uh, blank, kort opgeschoren haar, uhm, dus, in eerste instantie als je het hebt over vooroordelen, uh... dan ben ik juist die politieagent die heel ver van hun afstaat (...) Maar zodra ik het voor mekaar krijg om echt met ze in gesprek te gaan, denk dat dat beeld heel snel kan laten veranderen. (...) weet je, de politie is er niet alleen maar om jou te naaien".

Mila: "Want ik heb eigenlijk meer negatieve ervaringen met de politie dan positieve ervarin- gen. En die ene positieve ervaring was nog steeds meer dat het verbazing bij me opwekte, en niet dat ik dacht, oh, geweldig".

Raymond: "Uhm... bijvoorbeeld uhm... etnisch profileren is zeker iets wat in mijn ogen veel voorkomt. Uhm... ja, ik ben gewoon een blanke uh... jongeman, die er gewoon normaal uit ziet. En ik word nooit aangehouden. (...) Maar ik ken vrienden die andere achtergronden hebben die veel vaker worden aangehouden, of het nou in de auto is, of op straat, weet je wel.

Elias: "Nou... ik ben weleens verdachte geweest van een overval. En ja... de signalering was: we zoeken een Marokkaan. (...) En ik was toevallig daar aanwezig. Maar ik heb niks zien gebeuren, maar ik was gewoon op de verkeerde plek, verkeerde tijd. (...) maar het voelde een beetje... apart dat ze mij als verdachte zagen. Er waren ook gewoon camerabeelden en dat was ook wat ik constant tegen ze zei, maar ja... daar wilden ze niet echt naar luisteren".

Police officer Anja: “En dan hebben we het weer over etnisch profileren. Dikke vette BMW en dan stappen er van die mannen uit vaak toch van allochtone afkomst en met van die tasjes en petjes en dure merkkleding en ja dat is toch iets anders dan gewoon een student die gewoon met z’n sneakers en z’n spijkerbroek op de fiets uitziet”.

Jordi: “(...) vroeger als je dan op straat aan het chillen was met z’n allen dan, je hebt een petje op, dit en dat. Je kleedt je een beetje stoer, weet je wel. Dat schept natuurlijk gelijk een beeld. (...) dat je dus criminele activiteiten doet, of dat je niet deugt, dat je gewoon een boefje bent”.

Sharon: “Ik denk dat de politie er wel op was voorbereid dat ze een stelletje krakers tegen zouden komen. (...) Die ze misschien zouden moeten oppakken”.

ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Jennifer A. Holland, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: In search of trust: Understanding and improving youth-police interactions in superdiverse societies.

Name, email of student:

Name, email of supervisor:

Start date and duration:

Is the research study conducted within DPAS
YES If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?
(e.g. internship organization)

PART II: TYPE OF RESEARCH STUDY

Please indicate the type of research study by circling the appropriate answer:

1. Research involving human participants. YES

If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research? NO

Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act (WMO) must first be submitted to an accredited medical research ethics committee or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (CCMO).

2. Field observations without manipulations that will not involve identification of participants.
NO

3. Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary data that has been anonymized by someone else). NO

PART III: PARTICIPANTS

(Complete this section only if your study involves human participants)

Where will you collect your data?

Respondents will be interviewed through phone- or videocall.

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

A total number of around 80 interviews will be conducted among Rotterdam police officers and with adolescents living in Rotterdam who have experienced police interactions.

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

The Rotterdam police force contains around 6000 people. How many of those exactly are patrol officers is unclear. There are around 77.000 people living in Rotterdam between the ages of 16 – 25.

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

1. Will information about the nature of the study and about what participants can expect during the study be withheld from them? NO

2. Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study? NO

3. Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants? NO

4. Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants? NO
Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).

5. Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants? NO

6. Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual orientation)?

   NO

7. Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent?

   YES

8. Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study? NO

9. Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured? NO

10. Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study? NO

If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below why this issue is unavoidable in this study.

Respondents between the ages of 16 and 25 will be interviewed, so the sample may include minors. However, people from the age of 16 and up are deemed to be capable to give informed consent.

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

Each respondent is informed about issues surrounding data protection, voluntary participation and the way the data will be used by the researchers. The interviewers ensure before the interview starts whether the respondent understands these issues.

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

The topic of the interviews revolve around police interactions with youth. We anticipate that some respondents may have had negative or even traumatic experiences. Recounting these events may cause distress.

Please attach your informed consent form in Appendix I, if applicable.

Part IV: Data storage and backup

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

De recordings of the interviews and the transcripts will be kept in the data vault of the Erasmus University Rotterdam. The recordings will be kept until October 2020. The transcripts will be preserved until December 2022.

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

Willemijn Bezemer

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

The Erasmus data vault is automatically backed up.

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

All the names of respondents are anonymised in addition to other identifiable information such as street names and detailed descriptions of specific people.

Note: It is advisable to keep directly identifying personal details separated from the rest of the data. Personal details are then replaced by a key/ code. Only the code is part of the database with data and the list of respondents/research subjects is kept separate.

PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student:	Name (EUR) supervisor: Willemijn  Bezemer
Date:	Date: 21-06-2020

APPENDIX I: Informed Consent Form (if applicable)

Since all interviews will be conducted through phone or videocall. The informed consent will be discussed verbally.

Interviews with youth:

Introductie

- Onderwerp: Dit interview gaat over de manier waarop politieagenten met jou omgaan en wat je daarvan vindt.
- Ik ben niet geïnteresseerd in of en wat je misdaan hebt. Je hoeft niks te vertellen over het breken van de wet als je dat niet wilt. Het gaat mij alleen om de manier waarop de agent met jou omging.
- Je bent niet verplicht om alle vragen te beantwoorden, als er iets is waar je liever niet over praat, geeft dat gerust aan.
- Deze interviews worden gebruikt voor een wetenschappelijk artikel over interacties tussen jongeren en agenten in Rotterdam.
- Dit interview is volledig anoniem, je naam, contactgegevens, adres of andere persoonlijke gegevens worden nooit vrijgegeven.
- We schrijven in dit artikel niet over jou als individu, maar we voegen alle verhalen die we horen uit alle (ongeveer 80) interviews samen om te begrijpen wat de meest voorkomende obstakels zijn in de interactie tussen jongeren en agenten.
- Als dank voor je tijd willen we je graag een tegemoetkoming van 15 euro aanbieden aan het einde van dit interview.

Interviews with police officers:

Aan het begin van elk interview wordt er een introductie gegeven waar de volgende onderwerpen aan bod komen:

Introductie

- Onderwerp: Dit interview gaat over de omgang met jongeren en over de strategieën die u gebruikt om dit contact zo soepel mogelijk te laten verlopen.
- U bent niet verplicht om alle vragen te beantwoorden, als er iets is waar u liever niet over praat, geeft dat gerust aan.
- Deze interviews worden gebruikt voor een wetenschappelijk artikel over interacties tussen jongeren en agenten in Rotterdam.
- Dit interview is volledig anoniem, namen, contactgegevens, adressen of andere persoonlijke gegevens worden nooit vrijgegeven.
- We schrijven in dit artikel niet over u als individu, maar we voegen alle verhalen die we horen uit alle (ongeveer 80) interviews samen om te begrijpen wat de meest voorkomende obstakels zijn en wat mogelijke oplossingen zijn voor interacties tussen jongeren en agenten.