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Embodying Experiences of (In)Security: Exploring Ethnic Minority Youth's Encounters with the Police and Policing Practices in Oslo

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Declaration

I, Ixchel A. León Hernández, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

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Abstract

The police are a state institution with the power to coerce and maintain “order” within a society so that individuals feel safe. The moment in which an individual encounters the police, is the moment in which the individual makes contact with the state. This encounter is also the moment that the state’s ability, embodied by a police officer, to coerce is put to the test. A practice in which this situation happens is through the exercise of police stops. This policing practice nevertheless is not equally applied across all inhabitants. Studies have showcased that this practice is disproportionately applied to ethnic minority groups than the rest of the majority of a society, as ethnic minority groups are depicted as a “social problem”. This disproportionate practice raises the question of safety for who and at whose expense is being “order” practiced and materialized within a society. Drawing from feminists’ perspectives within International Relations and applying interpretive research, in this thesis I explore the experiences of ethnic minority youth’s encounters with the police and policing practices in Oslo. How do their embodied experiences of unwarranted police stops influence how they understand (in)security and how do their understandings of these experiences contribute to our understanding (in)security? By attempting to understand, what security is, what violence is and how it manifests, and the role of the body in these encounters and policing practice, I argue that order/security is practiced on bodies that exist within specific discourses, such as the foreign/Norwegian dichotomy, and that (in)security is experienced as a discursive contextual practice.

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Any errors are mine alone.

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1.0 Introduction

The police are supposed to be “value-neutral protectors of public safety” (Vitale, 2017, pg.197). They are the state actor with the legitimate power to maintain the rule of law and order within a society (Sollund, 2007b, p.11). Police stops are one of the practices in which the state, through the police invoke their legitimate and coercive power to establish “order”. It is a practice that aims to prevent crime and confront ‘disorder’ “by the police who interdict, question and search people in public spaces” (Bradford, 2017, pg.1). It is also the moment when the legitimacy of the police and the state is tested and reaffirmed. From an International Relations (IR) perspective, this is also the moment in which security through order and authority is re-affirmed by the sovereign state. Nevertheless, as Bradford (2017) argues this practice is one of the most problematic for two reasons.

First, because it involves contestation. Encounters between individuals and the police are characterized by possible disputes, the assessment between public/private interests, and the extent to which the state can coerce people. Secondly, these stops are exercised more frequently on individuals of ethnic minority background, which showcase a disproportionate application of this practice within the society (Bradford, 2017, pg.2). While more dramatic and violent encounters based on racial disparities are well known in the United States, this issue is not confined to this part of the world. For instance, although not as dramatic, the issue of disproportionate stops of ethnic minorities is also not unfamiliar to the Norwegian context.

In the case of Norway, the discussion about the mistreatment of ethnic minorities has been previously acknowledged. The probability of discrimination among the police was recognized in a government action plan against racism and discrimination from 2002-2006 (Sollund, 2007b, pg.11). Concerns for the disproportionate treatment have continued since then. In 2018, media coverage regarding the stop and search of two individuals mistaken for two others at a McDonald’s sparked outraged about random stops ethnic minorities experience and led to a demonstration in front of the Parliament (Babic & Ogre, 2018). In the same year, Muna Jibril (2018) wrote a chronicle regarding the relationship between the youth and the police in Groruddalen, which is an area that is often stigmatized. Jibril wrote that the police do not build trust and expressed the constant confirmation of the police as an actor from which one must protect oneself from. In recent months, the Norwegian media has covered concerns regarding the random stops of youths in neighborhoods like Tøyen, and the mistrust and hate it is generating towards the police among the youth (Acharki, 2019; TV2, 2019).

The issue of disproportionate stops of ethnic minorities raises the question of security/safety for who and at whose expense is “order” being practiced and materialized across states. Hence, presenting an obvious case to review from an IR perspective within the sub-field of critical security studies, as it encourages us to continue challenging the notion of the sovereign state as a security provider. Furthermore, as a multicultural society, it is essential to understand how the police and policing practices, such as police stops, affect ethnic minorities. Because the interaction between the police and individuals is where the power and relationship between the state (through the police as a state agent) and its citizens and/or non-citizen materializes (Weber & Bowling, 2011, pg.353). In addition, while research on this matter exists, work on the Norwegian context is still much unexplored¹, and as I will demonstrate, the disproportionate mistreatment of ethnic minorities in connection to our understandings of security/insecurity is yet to be studied.

Departing from the discipline of IR, in this thesis, I aim to contribute to the continuing research on ethnic minorities and their experiences with the police and policing practices within the Norwegian context. In addition, taking a feminist approach, I aim to connect the experiences of ethnic minority youth and their encounters with the police and policing practices, such as police stops, to a broader discussion on (in)security, where body politics also matters to understand these practices. Hence, this thesis explores;

How is (in)security understood by young individuals of ethnic minorities, who have experienced unwarranted police stops? And how do these embodied experiences contribute to our understanding of (in)security?

To answer the research questions presented above, we must answer the following three sub-research questions, as they will help us create a framework to understand security, violence (insecurity), and policing practices from a corporal perspective.

What is security?

What is violence and how does it manifest?

What role does the body play in practices of (in)security?

¹ With the exception of the recent work presented by some Nordic researchers that are part of the European “Police stops” research project (forskning.no, 2018).

Drawing from feminist contributions to security studies, I look at how ethnic minority youth in Oslo experience police stops. Police stops in the sense of different encounters with the police in which the individuals are approached for control without given any stated reason or by being wrongly accused. During December and January, I conducted individual and group interviews with a total of 18 young individuals of ethnic minorities from different neighborhoods of Eastern Oslo. It is important to note that I refer to ethnic minorities and racial minorities in section 2.0 to map some of the studies done on this issue. However, for the rest of the text, I will refer to ethnic minorities. This to encompass individuals of racial minorities, but also cultural and religious minorities.

1.1 Thesis Outline

This thesis will investigate the linking policing practices and the experiences of ethnic minorities with the police in western states in section 2.0. In this section, I present some existent studies on the factors that may influence the disproportionate mistreatment of ethnic and racial minorities in western states by the police, the role of racial profiling as a tactic, but also as the cause of why some individuals of ethnic and racial minorities face more police stops than the majority of the society. I also explore the effects and consequences these practices have and present some research on this issue within the Scandinavian context and how this thesis fits within this and contributes to understanding this issue in relation to (in)security. In section 3.0, I situate myself within standpoint and post-structuralist feminists' perspectives regarding security within IR. Thereafter I move to discuss how violence can manifest through various forms, this is followed by a review of literature that focuses on the role of the body in regard to power and performativity, and in relation to security practices and violence. This section is followed by a section on methodology and the methods used for the data gathered and interpreted for this thesis. This will lead into the section on findings and analysis, where I will present which role the body plays in practices of policing and in encounters with the police, the manifestations of violence in the experiences of the individuals that were interviewed. Finally, I will explore and discuss how their experiences and their understandings of security in relation to the police and policing practices, contribute to our understandings of (in)security.

2.0 Linking Police Practices and the Experiences of Ethnic Minorities

Police practices are experienced differently depending on the social-economic features of a person. Marginalized communities are criminalized, depicted as a social problem, and prone to a different type of police control and treatment than that of privileged communities in a society. As a result, individuals within a society face different treatment and may be approached by different policing practices based on their social features (Haller, Solhjell, Saarikkomäki, Kolind, Hunt & Wästerfors, 2018, pg.2). Studies show that racial/ethnic minorities are more likely to experience at disproportionate rates various forms of police violence (Dukes & Kahn, 2017, pg.691). They are also a group that is portrayed as a social problem in western states and stigmatized as the debate regarding immigration and integration becomes more heated (Haller et al., 2018, pg.3). Hence, the relationship between minority groups and the police in these states is often one of tension. This tension nonetheless is an issue that manifests itself differently depending on the context of the state (Brunson and Miller in Pettersson, 2013, pg.418). States like the United States have a long history with police violence as the dehumanization of black people, and other minorities have been part of its history and legitimacy for specific laws that allow violence against them (Owusu-Bempah, 2017, pg.26-8). This can create a different condition and relationship between the police and minorities in comparison to states where societies have been “homogenous” until recent waves of migration². There is also a difference regarding how the United States and Europe use armed violence (Kauff, Wölfer, & Hewstone, 2017, pg.834).

Weber & Bowling (2011) note that control and constant surveillance of minorities within a society have always been part of the work police do, nevertheless in our present time these practices are being applied under a period of constant global change and evolving narratives fed by fear of “othered” groups/populations. For instance, police stop, and searches have developed over time by different laws and purposes but always targeting those perceived as “outsiders”. In our current global era, police practices, policies, and technologies are being shared, and police cooperate globally, similarly, events that happen in one locality affect and shape events at another and vice-versa (Weber & Bowling, 2011, pg.353). Weber & Bowling, write that the globalization processes manifest itself locally and, therefore, should be studied at a local level. This is because globalization does not necessarily manifest itself at a global scale, but it can encompass “transboundary networks and entities connecting multiple local or

² In the case of Nordic countries like Norway, it is important to mention and keep in mind that, there were laws that also legitimized state violence towards minorities even before recent waves of migration. A prime example of this were the forced assimilation practices which groups like the Sami peoples were forced to undergo by the Norwegian state.

“national” processes and actors, or the recurrence of particular issues or dynamics in growing number of countries or localities” (Sassen in Weber & Bowling, 2011, pg.354).

The existing literature regarding the experiences of individuals of minority backgrounds with the police in western states varies depending on their approach. Some focus on explaining the disproportionate maltreatment of minorities by the police from structural, institutional, or individual perspectives, as they could be factors influencing police behavior (Hydén and Lundberg in Uhnö, 2015, pg.131). Others focus on detailing the effects bad experiences with law enforcement has in regard to trust, legitimacy and psychological harm (Sharp & Atherton, 2007; Pettersson, 2013; Tyler, 2014; Dukes & Kahn, 2017). Finally, most research particularly focuses on studying the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States and United Kingdom (Sharp & Atherton, 2007; Miller, 2007; Tyler, 2014; Legewie, 2016). Although new research is beginning to emerge to map experiences of ethnic minorities in relation to the police regarding the experiences of this in the Nordic context (Haller et al., 2018) more research is still needed (Solhjell, Saarikkomäki, Haller, Wästerfors & Kolind, 2018).

In this section, I will lay out some of the existent research on the experiences of people with minority backgrounds and their relation to the police in western states. This will provide an overview of the contributions and limitations that exist in regard to this topic, creating a ground for insight on the issue and space for where this thesis contributes.

2.1 What Causes Police Violence Towards Ethnic Minorities?

Before I can lay some of the literature that discusses what causes the disproportionate maltreatment of minorities by the police, it is important to define what police violence is. Dukes & Kahn (2017), define police violence as encompassing casualties as a result of physical violence, and non-physical violence such as negligence, maltreatment, psychological injuries. Police violence may be conveyed be during policing practices such as police stop and search and use of racial profiling, which this thesis focuses on. For this sub-section and the rest of the paper, I will, therefore, refer to police violence using Dukes & Kahn’s (2017) contribution to the concept.

As mentioned above there are different factors that can influence how the police treat individuals of racial/ethnic minority backgrounds. Some explanations given to the disproportionate experiences of maltreatment by the police have been approached from an individual perspective. For instance, policymakers and police officers tend to view racial

profiling as an issue that arises due to individuals who are unprofessional and racist (Miller, 2007, pg.251). This is an approach that is often referred to as a “rotten/bad apples” perspective. It isolates racist bias tendencies to an issue that presents itself due to the behavior of a police officer. As a result, if individuals who have a bias towards ethnic minority groups are on duty, it may result in disproportionate cases of experiences of racial profiling (Warren & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009, pg.347).

Other explanations focus on the way police may be used by some dominant groups to maintain control over subordinate groups. This approach explains police behavior and their practices as part of a reflection of the existent social division within a society that reproduces the separation of groups into one dominant and one subordinate. A component of this perspective is that of the minority threat hypothesis. This is a hypothesis that supposes that the size of minority communities in a given space influences how the majority perceives the level of economic and political threat. The level of perceived threat influences how much leeway the police has in their use of control and force towards minorities (Legewie, 2016, pg.384). Furthermore, surroundings may also lead to different types of treatment and police behavior. The characteristics of a neighborhood may contribute to how the police decide to approach and behave. Legewie (2016) highlights however that these approaches of minority threat miss to incorporate how events may also trigger certain police behavior against minority groups. Legewie argues that studying when discrimination takes place is important as they can showcase how events affect perceptions of threat, can stimulate intergroup conflict and lead to discriminatory behavior. According to him, events can trigger perceptions and assumptions, and strengthen stereotypes of the black youth evoking concerns for personal safety within the police. For instance, if a police officer is shot by a black individual, such events awaken anger and emotions among fellow police officers. It also maintains the assumption of “police versus black youth” (Legewie, 2016, pg.385), in other words “us” vs. “them”.

The recognition and self-identification which is processed through the “us”, is one institutional factor that may influence how the police treat racial/ethnic minorities. Explaining police behavior from this point view would suggest that their culture develops a social divide in which the police identify through “Us” vs “Them” terms (Uhnnoo, 2015, pg. 131). However, Waddington (1999), states that when researchers focus on researching police sub-culture, they reduce the term to oral culture. This means that research highlights only what the police say within their “private” space, and hence assume that there is a correlation between that “private” space into the public, where the police perform their duties in the streets (Waddington, 1999,

pg.288). For him, this approach does not explain police behavior as it does not focus on what they actually do. Waddington, argues that what officers say in their private setting, does not necessarily mean that it transcends into their agency in the streets, as they mostly use “unarticulated practices (in contrast to the excessive articulation of canteen banter)” (Waddington, 1999, pg.302). Nevertheless, how much agency do police officers have in public spaces in relation to the state and its institutions?

Ward (2015) states that the approaches taken to understand, and control crime are shaped by the type of political culture and institutions that in turn influence criminal social control (Ward, 2015, pg.299). In the case of the United States, race and crime have been interlinked to create and maintain inequality in the administration of justice. From this perspective then the state becomes an organizer of race crime and violence. Ward argues that there is a long historical legacy of historical violence that has led to a “durable inequality” in which “experiences of advantage and disadvantage compound as differential accumulation over time” (Ward, 2015, pg.302). For him, state organized race crime materializes as slow violence, a type of violence that goes unseen and which happens gradually across time and space, normally unseen as violence (Nixon in Ward, 2015, pg.304). As a result, what we see as racial violence in the form of more dramatic and brutal events, is only a small part of the violence that is taking and has been taking place. In this way, incidents that are produced by structural violence may be connected to a collective experience of slow violence.

For Siegel (2017), focusing on practices such as racial profiling from an individual approach overshadows “the workings of institutional or structural racism and violence” (Seigel, 2017, pg.476). Siegel discredits trying to understand cases of racial bias as a result of individual factors for it assumes that the issue at hand can be solved with a reform. For her, it is important that we study deeper the relation that exists between race/ethnicity and the police as well as the relation between race/ethnicity and the state. Hence, Seigel deconstructs the history of the police in the United States to showcase how racist practices are embedded in police organization and its purpose. Similarly, Owusu-Bempah (2017) encourages scholars to always look at the issues of race from a critical stance, for race is not an ahistorical factor. The process of racialization that allowed for slavery to take place created narratives of enslaved black individuals as being dangerous, violent, aggressive and animalistic (Fishman in Owusu-Bempah, 2017, pg.26). These narratives did not end when slavery came to an end. They re-emergence during the war on drugs and crime. Gender and race were weaved together to feed the pre-existing stereotype of young black men as potential “rapist” and “thieves” to the

narrative of “criminal predator” (Owusu-Bempah, 2017, pg.26). For Owusu-Bempah (2017), an important factor to understand the racialization of black people is dehumanization. Black people were historically denied to being equal to white individuals, they were placed under a “sub-human” status and considered not righteous of many things among them legal protection. These narratives, as a result, may affect how security and policing are perceived, legitimized and therefore practiced. Hence it also normalizes practices that involve police violence, while also it reproduces pre-existing assumptions of black individuals.

Judith Butler (1993a), takes the narrative upon which the notion of the black man is created to explain how white individuals may feel threatened by the body of a black man, prior to the man doing anything. Butler analysis how the killing of Rodney King was done and later legitimized from the reading of his body as an agent of violence that had to be controlled. Using Fanon’s description of a black man being pointed by a child in an excerpt of his *Black Skin; White Masks* book, she explains how the simple presence of a black man is read by whites as dangerous even when it has not moved. This means that the presence of the body is acting upon preexisting assumptions, the same assumptions that allowed bystanders to do nothing but watch as the police beat King, for instance. The same ones that legitimized their notion of assuming that they were being protected by the violence of the police perpetrated towards the “dangerous” body. For Butler (1993a), the police are an actor that are assumed to enforce the law and are seen as a provider of security, but in essence the assurance of the order and security of whiteness. This is because, as in the case of King, when the police were referring to him and his body as a threat, vulnerability was transferred not to the black body but to being white. When vulnerability is reinforced by white individuals, it allows for a recognition of the black body as a threat, in other words, white insecurity is created through that of the black body’s (Butler, 1993a, pg.18-19).

2.1.1 In Relation to Racial Profiling

A discussion about what racial profiling is, and what may influence it, is important to mention for it may cause the execution of police stops and searches. The practice of profiling when stopping someone to make sure everything is in “order”, can explain the disproportionate mistreatment of ethnic minorities.

During the war against drugs in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the United States, profiling was developed as a strategic practice that would help apprehend drug traffickers entering the country through airports. Profiling allowed authorities to stop and search individuals that fit the

profile of drug couriers. This practice, however, did not stay within airports. In the early 1990s, profiling was transferred to highways, where local and state police officers began using profiling as a preventive mechanism to stop potential criminals. Profiling someone based on their race/ethnicity became legitimized and accepted as a normal policing strategy practice to counter drug couriers. This resulted in black and individuals of Latin-American background to be pulled over by officers in significant rates. The experiences of being stopped while driving based on the characteristics of race and/or ethnicity led to the popular expression “Driving while Black/Brown” which is based on the offense *Driving While Intoxicated* (Warren & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009, pg.346 ;Mulinari, 2017, pg.7).

According to Miller (2007), there is no clear meaning of racial/ethnic profiling. As an academic concept it aims to capture “racial disparities in traffic stop patterns” (Miller, 2007, pg.249). From a community perspective it is related to racial biases that may influence decision making which would result in an influence on whether a police officer decides to make a traffic stop or not. In addition, there is a different perception in the meaning of racial profiling in regard to the importance of race as a principal factor in decision making, this depends however on who is defining it. Miller draws on other studies on the meaning of racial profiling, that the police tend to have a narrow understanding of what profiling entails in contrasts to the public who may have a broader understanding of it. This means that individuals may see profiling as being part of any decision in which race/ethnicity is seen as the primer influencer, whereas the police may see it as influencing a particular and unique decision (Fridell and Scott in Miller, 2007, pg.250).

Mulinari (2017), identifies it as an academic perspective, in which racial/ethnic profiling is meant to refer to the categorization made by the police of individuals based on their looks and assumptions regarding their background. For Mulinari, it is important to keep in mind that this measure can be understood under different factors such as, the criminalization process of a particular group, effect of structural discrimination, an effect of racism, and assumptions that derive from stereotypes, but also as a measure that may be an essential part of police work to counter criminal activities (Mulinari, 2017, pg.8).

According to Robinson (2017) racial/ethnic profiling is a policing approach that disproportionately is aimed at individuals on the basis of their ethnicity or race, and not necessarily on criminal activity. Furthermore, for him it is, “...treating people differently based on race and marginalization” (Robinson, 2017, pg.558), and a it is a practice that is not limited to airports, the highway or pavement, but that is experienced in different circumstances and

spaces. This practice which expands into the everyday of individuals' lives has created mistrust in the police among African Americans and other minorities (Robinson, 2017, pg. 558). Robinson also points out that this approach by the police does not exist in a vacuum. He reminds us that both the experiences of being profiled by a police authority due to race/ethnicity and suspected of being a criminal based on the color of the skin, is an experience that has historical roots. In the case of the United States, black individuals have been heavily monitored by the police since slavery (Robinson, 2017, pg.558). In the case of Britain, differential treatment of racial/ethnic minorities can be traced back to immigration policies of the 1940s and 50s that reproduced narratives of black people as dangerous and a threat to British culture (Antonopoulos, 2003, pg.222).

2.2 The Effects and Consequences

Police officers may become hostile in certain situations to obtain and maintain power as well as control. Their actions are however often associated with objectifying racial/ethnic minorities, and stereotyping and dehumanizing them (Bryant-Davis, Adams, Alejandre, & Gray, 2017, pg.866). These associations may lead to outcomes that affect law enforcement's legitimacy, their ability to obtain cooperation, and have an impact on the well-being of individuals within racial/ethnic minority groups.

There many reasons among why there should be a focus on the relationship police and minority groups build. For instance, police behavior informs "status of democratic belonging and social identity" (Tyler, 2014, pg.57) to citizens which in turn influences the level of cooperation between the law enforcement and citizens. According to Tyler (2014) the way a police officer behaves is crucial as their behavior may affect their legitimacy. Tyler highlights the importance of legitimacy, as it is a key component that affects cooperation and tendencies for criminal behavior. He also argues how important it is for the public that the police follow an appropriate procedure when subjugating someone to a stop. Their approach is important, for bad experiences with the police can lead to the development of negative feelings and undermine the police's legitimacy and their work. Furthermore, as Sharp and Atherton (2007) point out, bad experiences with the police, embodied especially by individuals who are already in a disadvantage position in a society, can lead them to see the police as an institution that does not serve them or their communities. Hence challenging even more, the police of the possibility of bettering their relations with minority groups. Sharp and Atherton (2007) also note that negative experiences also affect individual's ability to report crimes to the police, allowing them to come with alternative means to solve problems themselves. The exclusion bad experiences with the

police generate, also influences minorities and their feelings of belonging in a society. Police officers have the power to convey “what and who becomes excluded and included in the context of a given encounter” (Pettersson, 2013, pg. 428). Pettersson (2013), finds in her own study that ethnicity and masculinity are constructed in encounters between the police and young ethnic minority boys as markers that convey a feeling of (un)belonging. Another consequence negative experiences can lead to a deeper effect on the personal health of the individual who suffers the experience. According to Dukes & Kahn (2017), there are plenty of studies that have documented how incidents, in which high levels of racial discrimination is experienced or perceived, can affect an individual’s physical health. Such type of experiences can manifest themselves afterwards through hypertension and heart related complications. It can also lead to risk health behavior and can influence and increase levels of psychological distress, and depression. Similarly, also affect an individual’s perceptions of happiness and life satisfaction. (Dukes & Kahn, 2017, pg.693-4).

With the exception of Pettersson (2013), most of the contributions presented so far are focused on studies of the experiences of racial/ethnic minorities in the United States and United Kingdom. As mentioned, though tension between law enforcement and minorities exist in western states, these materialize differently depending on the context. Given that this thesis focuses on the experiences of minorities within a Nordic country, I will now focus my attention to some of the contributions on the topic within the context of Nordic states, characterized often also as welfare states.

2.3 In the Context of Welfare States

People in Nordic states tend to generally have a solid trust in their police. According to Kääriäinen & Niemi (2014), this trust relies on the efficiency public institutions and administrations provide their inhabitants. The absence of high amounts of corruption and the assumed fairness that is exercised, are some of the main reasons people trust in public administration. In addition, Nordic states, in comparison to other countries, are often distinguished by their almost equal income distribution, with goods perceived as being evenly distributed within the society. Resulting therefore, in low social tension for possible conflict as well as expectations in relation to the police’s activities. People in these countries are also actively engaged in social issues and genuinely trust each other (Kääriäinen & Niemi, 2014, pg.5). Kääriäinen & Niemi point out therefore, that trust towards the police can be connected to the existing amount of fairness and equality in a society, hence issues regarding security and inequality are solved through social policy which is often approved by the public in these

countries. This is constant to places where these conditions lack. Kääriäinen & Niemi use this to understand the lack of trust in the Finnish police by Somalians and Russians living in Helsinki. In their study they note that from these two minority groups Somalians tended to trust less in the police in comparison to Russians. However, both groups tended to mistrust the police the longer they had lived in Finland. For the researchers, one explanation of mistrust, could lie in the absence of personal positive experiences with police behavior towards individuals of Somali background when they were subjected to stops. However, another explanation, could be the experience's people have with the context in which they live. As Kääriäinen & Niemi note, Somalians within Finland are a minority group that often faces discrimination in various forms. As a result, their own interpretations of their experiences and social-economic position can also deteriorate their trust in public institutions such as the police, especially over a long period of time.

Sollund (2006) explores how ethnic minorities' assumptions can shape perceptions of the police and vice versa. She studies both the experiences of ethnic minority men and police officers in Norway, and how these affects their perception of each other. In her research Sollund finds that men of ethnic minority background perceive police as racist as an effect of experienced encounters with the police. Similarly, police officers view ethnic minorities, as "harder to handle" and as often being disrespectful in contrast to ethnic Norwegians, comes from perceptions and experiences. She concludes by drawing from her own observations of police work, that there are other factors that influence whether a police officer decides to stop someone. According to Sollund, their physical appearance alone does not influence this decision. Factors such as time and place may influence the decision to stop someone regardless of their ethnicity (Sollund, 2006, pg.288). However, how this is perceived by a person of minority background depends on the meaning that is constructed at the time of the encounter. In this sense both actors, the individual stopped and the police, have existing assumptions of each other that at a time of an encounter they can either confirmed or discarded them.

As mentioned earlier, there is an institutional approach that attempts to understand why there may be discriminatory behavior by part of the police. One factor of this perspective draws from the social divide that manifests through the notions of "us" and "them", which can create "an in-group isolation and solidarity among the group members (the police)" (Uhnö, 2015, pg.131). In *Canteen Banter or Racism: is there a Relationship between Oslo Police's Use of Derogatory Terms and their Attitudes and Conduct towards Ethnic Minorities?* (2007a) Sollund, explores whether the possibility of the internal language and attitude police have

towards ethnic minorities can influence or lead to racist behavior towards them. Her research is conducted as part of project that arises as a result of accusations made by different reports on the Norwegian police. Sollund (2007a) finds confirmation in that derogatory language was not unusual among Norwegian police officers. Despite observing no racial biases nor discriminatory behavior by the police in encounters with ethnic minorities during her field with the police on duties. Sollund (2007a) concludes, however, in contrast to Waddington (1999), that there might be a possibility that derogatory language can influence how the police reconstitutes their role in society and their identity, and thus how they treat ethnic minorities in the streets. In her completed research *Mistaken for someone else: A field study of relations between ethnic minorities and the police* (2007b), Sollund states, again that there are many factors that influence a decision of whether a person is stopped, and that ethnicity is not the only reason. A police officer makes a decision to stop someone based on markers that indicate that something is “out of place” or is “suspicious”, a tactic that develops over time within their work. She writes that often someone can be mistaken by someone and treated as a suspicious individual due to the shared flawed and unprecise information of the person they are actually looking for.

In a similar approach to that of Sollund (2006; 2007a, 2007b) and Waddington (1999), Uhnö (2015) attempts to find whether the private and the public influence police work. Uhnö (2015) uses, “Tin Bubble” as a concept to establish an idea on whether the use of derogatory language among police officers regarding minorities, which is part of their internal culture/ “bubble”, can be something that materializes in practice outside of their “bubble”, and hence affect how they interact and treat ethnic minority groups. Her focus is divided into three parts; first, understand how police talk among themselves about ethnic minorities. Then study what happens outside of their internal environment, how do they engage with ethnic minorities. Finally, examine how Swedish police officers with an ethnic minority background make sense of their fellow coworker’s attitude and behavior towards ethnic minorities. Uhnö, finds that Swedish police use derogatory language when referring to ethnic minorities, creating a ‘joking’ workspace environment that reproduces stereotypes about ethnic groups as well as fosters generalizing ideas about these groups as a social issue (Uhnö, 2015, pg.145). The police officers who she interviews however, attempt to approach this use of language and attitudes from perspectives that legitimized them, nevertheless this did not mean that they would legitimize these types of attitudes if they were to be produced outside of their organization. She writes that most of them saw it as part of “...good-hearted humour; suggested that it merely reflected ‘facts’ and recurrent real-life experience of professionals like the police that showed immigrants to be more

prone to criminality” (Uhnoo, 2015, pg.145). Furthermore, they saw it as a condition of the “us” and “them” divide, however they also saw at being confined within their own culture and not interfering in their work. Uhnoo’s study also showcases that police officers with an ethnic minority background responded to their co-workers either by normalizing their behavior, finding it as not an issue, and saying nothing or retreating from these settings where such language and attitude may arise (Uhnoo, 2015, pg.147).

Other studies such as the study Mulinari (2017) reports for, suggests that racial/ethnic profiling is a phenomenon that is experienced in peoples every day and is therefore most noticeable there. He states that the informants that participated in the study, highlighted that they had experienced a continuity of several stops and controls, which for many had started already at an early age. Many expressed being stopped several times within a month, others being stop multiple times within a day. These experiences and encounters with the police were interpreted as situations that were not exceptional. Mulinari, highlights that perceptions and understandings of encounters with the police are built on an accumulation of experiences where questions, comments, and gestures regarding race/ethnicity remain. This accumulation of experiences is what makes them make sense of their encounters (Mulinari, 2017, pg.33).

In more recent studies Solhjell et al. (2018), explore the experiences of young ethnic minorities in Nordic states, that have experienced police stops without any given specific reason. Solhjell et al., approach the study from a framework of intersectionality and (un)belonging. In their research they find that the youth of ethnic minority backgrounds expressed that they were prone to experience control based on “a combination of ethnic and sociocultural expressions” (Solhjell et al., 2018). The interviewees expressed that ethnicity, neighborhood, gender, being in groups and clothing were some of the reasons for why they had experienced police stops. These experiences affected how they felt in regard to law enforcement within their respective country and themselves. Their experiences left a perception that police officers are racist, hence affecting their trust in the police. They also made sense of their experiences by internalizing that they were seen as “threats” and therefore stopped (Solhjell et al., 2018). Their interactions with police also reflected their feelings of (un)belonging to the majority society, as making sense of their identities also lead to personal reflections of their inclusion in their local society.

Haller et al. (2018) points out, that structural exclusion of ethnic minority groups can also be found in Nordic states, and that over the last years this exclusion has been fueled by the rise of narratives that discriminates and undermines these groups. These narratives and assumptions

of the minority groups may begin to influence the everyday practices of policing. Haller et al., contribute to researching the relationship and experience of young minority individuals with the police by focusing on what they call “minor harassments”. They use minor harassments to understand how young people with minority backgrounds experience this, how these experiences shape their perception of ethnic discrimination, and how these experiences are part of the language that manifests itself everyday between police and ethnic minority youth. Haller et al. (2018) conclude that discrimination and social exclusion is experienced in the everyday experiences of ethnic minority youths when encountering police officers. In their study minor harassments were associated to cases in where the police’s intension was not made clear, such as experiences of being stop without any justification. Situations in which individuals were subjected to humiliation and distress in public spaces. For Haller et al., understanding these situations and their effects can lead to create a foundation to understand how and why some communities may have different perceptions of the police and behave as a result differently (Haller et al., 2018, pg.13).

2.4 This Thesis

As presented, most research focuses on trying to explain the factors that lead to a disproportionate treatment of racial/ethnic minority groups in western states. Others focus on how these experiences by ethnic minority groups can affect their well-being, lead to certain perceptions of themselves vis-à-vis their local society, perceptions of the police that can result in mistrust, reduce their desire to cooperation hence affecting the legitimacy that is given to law enforcement. All of the literature is important as it creates a base to understand the importance of the issue and its different academic approaches and contributions. Nevertheless, despite all of them discussing a topic that connects to (in)security and how security is practiced and materialized, none take the time to engage with the concept. There are some studies like those of Haller et al. (2018) and Mulinari (2017), that bring forth experiences of insecurity and fear in encounters with the police, but the focus of the study does not lay in understanding how these experiences are also part of how the subjects understand security and as such what security is. For instance, seeking to understand how these experiences affect how they feel in regard to the police, a state agent that is supposed to ensure and reproduce the notion of the state as a security provider. As introduced earlier, it is within this gap this thesis aims to contribute, and for that, we need a framework that will give us the lenses to explore the embodied experiences of ethnic minority youth in Oslo and their notion of (in)security in relation to their encounters with the police and policing practices.

3.0 Situating Security, Violence, and Bodies

In this section, I will explore some feminist contributions to security studies. Feminists have different approaches within this sub-field, as they draw from different ontological and epistemological questions. In this thesis, I focus mostly on contributions by standpoint feminists and post-structuralist feminists to security studies. Feminists focus on individuals and their everyday experiences as this is their point of departure to understanding security. As I will demonstrate, feminist work within security studies highlights the connection between structural inequalities and individuals' insecurities, unraveling that the personal is also political and as a result allows us to challenge the assumption of the state as a security provider. After that, I will explore the notion of violence from different academic fields to develop a broader understanding of it. In sub-section 3.3 I will focus on the role of the body within security practices.

3.1 Security

3.1.1 The Traditional Narrative

IR has traditionally had a military and state-centric perspective when focusing on security, violence, and power. Influenced by the experiences of the Cold War, positivism, and the dominance of realist theories, IR scholars, focusing on security, have referred to violence often as direct force or war, and as an inevitable consequence of the international realm. From this assumption of violence, security is therefore seen as a necessary mechanism to prevent it and as a means for survival (Tickner, 1992, pg.29; Wibben, 2011, pg.66). Security, under realist perspectives, is defined "in political/military terms, as the protection of the boundaries and integrity of the state and its values against the danger of a hostile international environment" (Tickner, 1997, pg.624). The unpredictable environment in which states exist, under this definition and understanding of security, becomes the main provider of insecurity to the state, its values, and its inhabitants (Wibben, 2011, pg.67). This approach lays on the assumption of a divide between the inside and outside, where the inside is characterized by order and the outside, as a place of anarchy with no overarching power above all states. This assumption enforces the notion that the outside is dangerous, chaotic and a place where violence is unsanctioned. While "security" and "order" prevail within the inside, the threat of violence that exists outside must be controlled and secured against (Tickner, 1992, pg.133). Traditional IR security studies, therefore, see the state as the only unitary actor of importance, as it is "both the agent and referent object of security" (Stern, 2006, pg.177). The state is assumed to be the main entity to enforce order and the highest governing body in the international system (Buzan in Shepherd, 2008, pg.29). From this traditional approach to security, it is assumed that the

security of the individuals within a given state depends on the security of the state and its existence (Shepherd, 2008, pg.29). This relationship between the state and its populations, along with the assumption that individuals' experiences of (in)security are captured by the threats the state faces, is problematic. As security from a state-centric and military, perspective fails to see how states can *also* be a threat to its own citizens as opposed to being the main provider of security (Tickner, 1992, p.52). Hence, the traditional approach to security studies is too limited and narrow to understand how insecurities may be produced through social relations and through state institutions, like the police. As Stern (2001) points out, security from this traditional approach assumes that security is something fixed, gender neutral and universal, relying upon the notion of the sovereign state. It is therefore that I turn now to feminists' contributions to security studies which redefine how we can understand security, violence and the individual within the state.

3.1.2 Redefining Security: Feminists' Contributions

By questioning what we take for granted and assume to be normal, feminists have since the 1980s challenged core concepts and assumptions in IR, and since the 1990s contributed to a rethinking of security (Wibben, 2011, pg.4). In *Gender in International Relations* (1992), Tickner provides one of the first feminist frameworks to begin revising the notion of national security through the use of gender as a category of analysis. Tickner argues that individuals face multiple forms of insecurities such as poverty, ethnic violence, environmental disasters and even intra-family violence. By taking into consideration these other forms of insecurity, she expands insecurity beyond military terms to economic and ecological insecurities. For her, these insecurities can all be linked to the international system but are lost and overseen by the traditional understanding of security, an understanding that is constructed, practiced, and reproduced by unequal gender relations (Tickner, 1992, pg.128). These are overseen, however, because the assumptions and explanations upon which the field of IR has been built on, draws predominantly from the experiences of men and traditional perceptions of masculinity. For example, the use of force has been perceived as a behavior that conveys masculine power, seen as rational and as a behavior that serves a country's interests for it acts as a defender of its territory (Tickner, 1992, pg.6). Hence, the state is depicted as a rational male warrior defending the home from the threats of the anarchic outside order. The construction of this inside/outside dichotomy draws from binary oppositions which are used to construct hierarchical relations that are based on assumptions of unequal gender relations and power. Tickner, therefore, encourages scholars to use gender as a category of analysis in order to uncover gendered assumptions that have an influence on how we understand international politics and economics. For gender as a

category of analysis allows us to understand how hierarchies are produced and reproduced. It allows us to uncover hierarchies and challenge assumptions which we normalized as a natural (Tickner, 1992, pg.9.; Tickner, 1997, pg.621). Thus, also to rethink our understandings of security and violence.

In You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists (1997) Tickner, refers to security as being “multidimensional and multilevel terms – as the diminution of all forms of violence, including physical, structural, and ecological” (Tickner, 1997, pg.624). From this perspective, security is a process that is “elusive and partial and involves struggle and contention” (Tickner, 1997, pg.624). Security as a process is highlighted when it is studied from an individual or community perspective as opposed to the state or the international system. Focusing on an individual and their everyday, can unravel how security policies, executed by a state, affects what we understand as security (Tickner, 1997, pg.624; Wibben, 2011, pg.21). Studying how policies impact an individual and their everyday, can lead to a rethinking of the state as a security provider, for it can uncover how “rather than offering security for all their citizens, states often threaten their own populations, whether through direct violence or thorough the structural violence that is reflected in its war fighting priorities and embedder in its institutions” (Wibben, 2011, pg.21). Ignoring to focus on individual and their experiences with security, can therefore, result in being unable to capture the limitations the modern state has as a security provider and legitimizing or honoring state violence (Tickner, 1997, pg.625). In addition, it challenges the idea that there is a disconnect between danger, traditionally located on the outside, and the order/security which is supposed to be found within the state (Tickner, 1997, pg.625).

When focusing on the experiences of individuals, feminist IR theories turn to build their understanding of global politics and security from the perspectives of those who are marginalized (Tickner, 1997, pg.623). Feminists have traditionally turned to women as their main subjects of analysis in their research, for women are among the individuals who have been marginalized and neglected by the patriarchal structures that are reproduced within the state and throughout the production of Western knowledge (Tickner, 1997, pg.624). By simply asking “where are the women?”, feminist can uncover how women’s experiences play a part in weaving global politics and economy. It also allows to unravel how social hierarchies are present among societies and history (Tickner, 1997, pg.624). Enloe’s *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (2014), is a prime example of this approach. For instance, exploring the everyday life experiences of women who work as

seamstresses under low wages for big corporal companies such as Nike and Puma, can expose interlinked relations between global politics, economy, and hierarchies. Enloe (2014), explores how global politics, economy, and gender hierarchies are interlinked and present in the everyday practices of the seamstresses that work for the big corporal companies to the people drafting memos for loans and investments that private banks and international banks profit from (Enloe, 2014, pg.275-6). Focusing on the women who are behind the garments that are part of the global economic system showcases the relationship and dependency between feminized work places and the masculinized spaces where deals take place. In this case, such interlink relationship of politics and economics would not be visible unless we turn our attention to women.

Focusing on the everyday experiences of women, also means that we need to turn our attention to spaces that have been traditionally viewed as “private”, “local” or “domestic” by experts within the field (Enloe, 2014, pg.3). Thus, also challenging the dominant approaches regarding knowledge within IR. Till this day, the philosophy developed during the Enlightenment era influences ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies within the IR field and many other disciplines. The type of thinking produced during this era did not only contribute to producing arguments that legitimized and normalized superiority, hence allowing for practices of “othering” to take place (Tickner, 1997, pg.617), it also produced the notion that there were two spheres of life that do not interlink (Tickner, 1997, pg.614). On the one side, the public sphere which has been constructed as the space where knowledge takes place and on the other side a private sphere, where “natural” activities and emotions are produced. This binary approach to what the public and the private is ought to be, has influenced what is considered to be politics that matter (high politics), what is assumed to be normal/unpolitical and who is the dominant subject that is worth to be studied to produce valid knowledge (Tickner, 1997, pg.622). Security from a traditional sense focuses on the public sphere, where the experiences of men within an elite and with the power over material capabilities, matter (Wibben, 2011, pg.5). This is where taking a point of departure from the everyday experiences of those who are marginalized is also of relevance for feminists. For the experiences of those excluded by dominant discourses are often found in the spaces that are considered the private sphere (Enloe, 2014, pg.3). Hence, exposing how the personal is also a political matter and vice versa (Enloe, 2014, pg.348). Further, it also highlights the personal as an important focal point to understand how power is represented and interlinked with politics. Enloe (2014), argues that focusing on the personal is essential to challenge what we assume to be normal, as it leads us to question how something has come about, consequently exposing that someone with power has been

behind this (Enloe, 2014, pg.12). Further, by taking into consideration the everyday experiences of those who are marginalized by unequal power structures, feminists contribute also to challenging the notion that there is a shared understanding of the world (Wibben, 2011, pg.12).

Paying attention to everyday experiences exposes that there are “more than one point of view and more than one story to be told” (Wibben, 2011, pg.2). For when we begin taking into consideration the experiences of women with (in)security, for instance, it changes how we conceptualize violence. When we approach violence from a traditional perspective, we turn a blind eye to the experiences some women can have with violence, which can manifest within their own households through domestic abuse, as part of the aftermath of war, and/or as an effect of prioritized policies by militarized societies (Tickner, 1992, pg.30). However, in this case which experiences of women are the ones that give us a clear notion of experiences with (in)security and violence? For, even though women may be discriminated by the unequal gender relations, not all of them are at a disadvantage position or experience insecurity because of this. As bell hooks (2015) noted, non-white women in the United States have more in common with men of their own racial and/or class background than with white women because black women and men share common struggles and resistance against racial oppression. Hence, when we speak of violence, we must take into consideration how violence, as an experience, depends on other factors of identity like that of economic status and race/ethnicity (Crenshaw, 1991, pg.1242). Crenshaw (1991), argues that the experiences of black women cannot be fully captured without taking into consideration how racism and sexism interact and influence their life experiences. As a result, intersectionality becomes an important concept to approach their experiences so that factors such as race, gender, and class are not overlooked as separate dimensions.

One example that highlights the importance of intersectionality is Maria Stern’s (2001) research on Maya women and security. Stern’s (2001) work showcased how experiences with (in)security are dynamic, temporal and dependent on the multiplicity of identities individuals have. She focused on the multiple identities of Maya women and their dynamic relation to security at the end of the Guatemalan civil war. For Stern (2006), it was essential to find out how Mayan women talked about their experiences in relation to insecurity and about their struggles for security, in other words, research *their* perspective of (in)security (Stern, 2006, pg.175). By doing so, Stern unravels how the indigenous women’s experiences with (in)security were influenced by their position in relation to the men within their own communities, the non-indigenous community and the state. Stern’s work challenges the traditional assumption of

security by showcasing how identity and security are not exclusive from one another, as some identities privilege off security more than others (Wibben, 2011, pg. 91). Thus, illustrating how there are many forms of violence and exclusion.

The stories of the Mayan women challenge the assumed relationships between the domestic/foreign, inside/outside, the us/them, the protector/the protected, citizen/enemy that have been dominant in the practices and understandings of security that we have accepted and taken for granted. Thus, meaning that “their (in)security cannot be reduced to a location, level, or category ultimately determined by the logic of the state sovereignty” (Stern, 2006, pg.195). Further, the relationship between (in)security to identity in Stern’s study highlights “the complexity, hybridity, and contingency of security (as an ontological condition of identity) and draws attention to the often violent conflict and marginalization that occur at the intersection of identities and in attempts at security identity positions” (Stern, 2006, pg.195-6). In other words, studying identity and security showcases the conflicts that derive from the boundaries between inclusion and exclusion (the us and them), which also resound within the subaltern spaces (Stern, 2006, pg.196). Security in this sense is hybrid and found within a discourse (Stern, 2001, pg.277).

All in all, Stern’s work and that of other feminists’ highlights security as multidimensional and that people’s security reality crosscuts analytical levels of international, the state, and sub-state. They also unravel how violence is experienced in different forms depending on the position of an individual in relation to others who may experience more privileged experiences of security. In other words, from a feminist perspective analytical attention is directed at how individuals in social hierarchies affect their experiences and subjectivity. By exploring the everyday experiences of individuals in marginalized positions in communities, feminists disrupt the notion that there is a universal and generalized narrative of security. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that although most feminists’ studies depart from the experiences of women, they are not exclusive to them (Hoogensen & Stuvøy, 2006, pg.211). As Hoogensen & Stuvøy (2006) argue, gender is not equivalent to women. Relations of power manifest between the identities that perform what it is to be a “man” and a “woman”, and “It informs security theory about structural relations that go largely unrecognized, relations of dominance and non-dominance.” (Hoogensen & Stuvøy, 2006, pg.216). In this sense, feminist security studies are therefore essential to keep revising “the politics and meanings of security as we know them” (Wibben, 2011, pg.114) also in relation to individuals that do not necessarily perform a “woman” identity. Furthermore, as Stern states, this type of approach to security studies, is a

way to keep contesting “the authority of those who purport to know what security means for all peoples in all contexts, without ever asking many of them” (Stern, 2006, pg.197). All of these are essential observations for this thesis.

Because this thesis aims to explore an issue that challenges the notion of a state institution with a monopoly of violence and power to execute “order” within the “inside”, as a security provider, exploring standpoint feminists’ perspectives such as those of Tickner (1992; 1997) and Enloe (2014) regarding the sovereign state and the connections between the personal and the political, is essential. Their contributions provide a framework to detach and problematize the general notion that the police within the Norwegian context serves as a general provider of security and protector of public safety. It is within the experiences of ethnic minorities that we observe how the public interacts and manifests within the private. However, because this thesis also aims to explore how ethnic minority youth make sense of their encounters with the police and policing practices, and how these influence their understandings of security, we need a framework that also allows us to engage with the production of meaning that departs from certain discourses found within the Norwegian society of inclusion/exclusion. Hence, Stern’s (2001) work, which departs from a feminist post-structuralist and intersectional approach, provides important insights for understanding how multiple identities inform our understandings of (in)security and how these manifests themselves within lived experiences.

3.2 Violence

At the center of security lies violence as the prime cause of insecurity and as a means to achieve security. The relationship of violence and the state is often assumed from Weber’s conceptualization of the state in where violence is a legitimate instrument upon which the state has monopoly over. Thomas (2011), observes that the word violence has rarely been directly used in traditional IR and its theories, this despite violence in itself being the issue under inquiry (Thomas, 2011, pg.1818). The infrequency of the use of violence for Thomas comes naturally as the attention of traditional scholars relied on the state and their legitimate role and use of it. Violence has been traditionally disguised as “direct action/ direct force”, a legitimate and rationalized practice among states and also a normalized behavior of these. Violence as a term was rather usually evoked to refer to “non-state actors, or those the author does not approve of” (Thomas, 2011, pg.1820). However, although the use of violence as a means by the state is legitimate in theory, in practice this may be a problematic understanding of violence. For this allows a state to commit actions of violence, that we think is a prerogative right, hence not allowing us to challenge these “legitimate” actions (Thomas, 2011, pg.1821). As Thomas later

expresses, the concept of legitimacy and violence together is complicated for groups fighting for self-determination, their use of force may later change to be legitimate and the state's use of violence put under scrutiny. Legitimacy and violence, as a result, becomes a "political tool" (Thomas, 2011, pg.1825). Scholars that follow a critical tradition in the field and use the term of violence under broader terms, connect it to social injustices, however, for Thomas this makes violence "unclear" (Thomas, 2011, pg.1816). For her, violence should be defined as a mean, as an instrument. An instrument of a complex dynamic between agency and structure. She, therefore, purposes to define violence as "an intentional act designed to cause harm, which is direct and physical or psychological. It is instrumental, a tool in order to achieve a particular aim.... applicable to any actor" (Thomas, 2011, pg.1834). Her definition nevertheless falls under an instrumentalist and rational understanding of violence, which does not allow us to explore the various effects that violence produces, and which result from violent acts no matter their intent and instrumental use. Violence can also be a force and condition which may influence how individuals recognize themselves as political actors (Wilcox, 2015, pg.3). As a result, broadening violence allows to uncover how violence is often productive and embedded in relations of power. In this sub-section, I will, therefore, present different contributions to our understanding of violence as something more than just a legitimate, intentional, physical and an immediate harmful phenomenon. Providing a ground for how we can understand the effects of violence that manifests in the everyday encounters of ethnic minority youth and their encounters with the police and policing practices such as police stops.

3.2.1 Structural Violence

The emergence of peace studies after World War II, brought forth a new understanding and meaning to violence which departed from the traditional sense of violence as a direct force and cause of immediate harm. Peace researcher Johan Galtung introduced the concept of structural violence by broadening our understandings of both violence and peace. For Galtung (1969), the absence of direct violence did not mean that peace has been established/achieved and that there is no violence causing suffering in a society. Violence does not necessarily have to be visible or committed by one identified perpetrator (Galtung, 1969, pg.171). Galtung (1969) argues, for instance that the existence of different life expectancies in a country between classes leads to the suffering of the group found in a lower economic status. In this case there is no active actor directly killing another group through the use of direct force, as in the traditional sense of our understanding of violence. There is however, a structural form of violence that is caused by the unequal distribution of resources that reproduces unequal class relations. As a result, structural violence is therefore a form of violence that perpetrates social injustice

(Galtung, 1969, pg.171). It is a slow and unintended form of violence reproduced by unequal, repressive, and exploitative economic and political structures (Galtung, 2012, pg.75) Thus, for Galtung (2012) the notion of peace needs to incorporate the relations that exists between, race, class, gender, as well as structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 2012, pg.75). The introduction of structural violence is an important concept of violence that allows us to incorporate unjust treatment reproduced by structural factors as a form of violence that can cause suffering and cause disadvantage groups to experience the absence of peace.

Structural violence is a concept that is also essential for feminists. The way protector/protected has been constructed allows for the reproduction of hierarchies to be reproduced by the state, hence perpetuating structural violence (Tickner, 1995, pg.50). For instance, given the way the state and societies reproduce gender hierarchies through their notion of what it is to be a protector, women's position is produced as a subordinate one from the role of the protector. This structural violence perpetuates women's position as unequal. A further example of this is their role and their treatment within the labor force of multinational corporations or within the "informal" sector. In contrast to men who are often seen as the breadwinners, women are constructed as housewives. This socio-economic identity is constructed on the notion that they are not the main source of income of their families, thus they do not deserve to be paid the same amount men do, nor have access to the same services. In this way feminists use structural violence to study it as an effect of gendered practices and assumptions that draw different experiences of violence and security (Tickner, 1995, pg.55).

As mentioned in the beginning of section 2.0, ethnic minorities are often depicted as part of a social problem, and in recent political narratives some groups such as individuals of Muslim backgrounds are presented as a "threat" (Haller et al., 2018, pg2). They are also often found in disadvantage neighborhoods (Solhjell et al., 2018). Thus, the construction of ethnic minorities as "social problems" and "threats" reproduces a hierarchy in which the state, through the police and policing practices, assumes the role of protector. While the rest of the population are the ones to be protected from the individuals who are a "social problem". These narratives are not unfamiliar to Norway as they are also reproduced by political parties with position within the government, such as the Progress party. This would suggest that structural relations are in place within the Norwegian society which would produce the manifestation of structural violence in the everyday experiences of ethnic minorities. Hence, making it an essential concept to understand how insecurity through structural violence may manifest in their everyday encounters with the police and policing practices.

3.2.2 Symbolic Violence

Bourdieu introduces the notion of symbolic violence as an effect of symbolic power, which is a form of power that enables the construction of a certain reality from encounters with the social order (Bourdieu, 1979, pg.79). In *Symbolic Power* (1979), symbolic violence is referred to as an unseen and neglected form of violence that allows a dominance of one class over another, allowing the dominant group in power to maintain its position and control (Bourdieu, 1979, pg.80). It is an invisible violence that is practiced and allowed by an individual through their own complicity, a prime example of this is gender domination. Gender domination is for the French sociologist the prime example of symbolic violence as it disguises this form of domination as a natural explanation through biological understandings of “sex” and through the reproduction of this dominant structures through practice of embodied politics based on the knowledge constructed through a “biological sense” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pgs. 167-172). This is what Bourdieu sets under the notion of misrecognition, the perceived notion of something as natural and taken for granted from an individual’s own acceptance of the social world upon which they are born (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pg.168). This means that symbolic violence is achieved through the accepted social perception of reality and of misrecognition “that lies beyond-or beneath- the controls of consciousness and will” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pg.171). Symbolic violence is an important concept to understand what we mean with violence, as it allows to recognize it as an invisible form, that reproduces and transforms structures of domination. A violence that results of relations of power between groups and which allows the negligence of these, influencing the perception of violence as not violence but as a normal effect of an accepted social reality.

Given that the police use and produce symbolic power through their policing practices such as police stops (Bradford, 2017, pg.1), the effects of this type of power and violence would most likely appear in the experiences of ethnic minorities and is therefore important to include when analyzing the manifestations of violence in their encounters with the police and policing practices.

3.2.3 Slow Violence

Slow Violence is a concept of violence introduced by Rob Nixon in his work *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (2011), in it he attempts to build further on structural violence from the perspective of violence as being understood as a slow and long-lasting effect, often invisible to the eye of corporate media. Nixon interprets violence as phenomenon that is

connected to time, especially in regard to environmental violence. For him, slow violence is a type of violence that takes place at a slower rate and which is also unnoticeable. A type of violence “...of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space...that is typically not viewed as violence at all...that is neither spectacular nor instantaneous, but rather incremental and accretive, its calamitous repercussions playing out across a range of temporal scales” (Nixon, 2011, pg.2). In addition, according to Nixon, slow violence is a better understanding of violence than structural violence as it allows to “foreground questions of time, movement, and change, however gradual” (Nixon, 2011, pg.11), changing the notion of violence as deterministic and static, which is his underlined understanding of structural violence. Under this perception of violence time therefore becomes another factor which influences how violence is comprehended. As this form of violence is also associated to the “spectacular and unspectacular time” given to casualties (Nixon, 2011, pg.6). The traditional understanding of violence, as an immediate, spectacular, and physical form of violence like that of war, which is also mostly presented by mainstream media, allows to oversee and define how we perceive casualties. As a result, from the standpoint of slow violence, the casualties resulted from this form of violence are likely to go unseen and uncounted. They become what Nixon calls “light-weight, disposable casualties” (Nixon, 2011, pg.13). Furthermore, it is also important to connect it to an economic perspective as it is the individuals with lower economic resources that experience this type of violence, as they are the main casualties of slow violence (Nixon, 2011, pg.4).

Nixon’s contribution of slow violence allows us to interpret violence as an enduring and invisible phenomenon that can travel over time and space, contributing to how we understand the effects of embodied experiences of (in)security which can often go unseen because they lack dramatic effects. For this thesis, this form of violence, can help us open up a discussion about the effects that policing practices cause individuals of ethnic minorities, their coping mechanisms and what they see happening as a result of these type of accumulated experiences. For even though, a negative experience of a police stop, and perceived unfair treatment can be experienced shortly, as mention in sub-section 2.2 they can have consequences and effects that can stay and affect the individual’s well-being, for instance.

3.3 Bodies

Feminist contribution to critical security studies have focused and contributed to understand the role of the human body in relation to (in)security (Mutlu, 2013, pg.139). In general bodies are often viewed as only bodies, despite being the ones the state aims to protect, the ones that are

affected by violence through direct or indirect means, or the ones that are killed (Wilcox, 2015, pg. 2). They are often approached as material and natural entities that should be studied from a scientific perspective using objectivity and impersonality to do so (Fraser & Greco, 2005, pg.43). As a result, they have been, for instance, neglected over the mind by philosophers in their field (Davis, 1997, pg.3), and in IR, they have been ignored due to the traditional lack of focus on the individual. In addition, because the body has been understood as a natural entity, it is assumed that bodies are not political entities (Shepherd, 2014, pg.6). Nevertheless, bodies play a central role to our understanding of (in)security practices. For example, when violence in the form of war is experienced, it is experienced through the body (Sylvester, 2013, pg.5). They therefore can be important points of departure for understanding relations of power, violence and security and in this case, the body's role in encounters with the police and policing practices.

3.3.1 Bodies and Power

Before exploring the role of bodies in relation to violence and security it is important to understand bodies in relation to power. Foucault and Butler have been important contributors to feminist inquiry of bodies in relation to (in)security (Salter, 2013, pg.7). It is therefore important to take some time to understand some of their contributions to bodies in relation to power, resistance and performativity because these are some core concepts that will help us understand how the body plays a role in the experiences of ethnic minorities and their encounters with the police and policing practices where control is exercised.

Foucault has focused on history to understand, how the body has been constructed in a way that allows for regimes of domination. For him, the body is the primary entity in where different modern forms of power operate (Davis, 1997, pg.3). Foucault sees the body as being "...directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs" (Foucault, 1991, pg.25). In *Discipline and Punish* (1991) Foucault, deconstructs the modern penal system and practices of modern punishment exposing how the body was essential for the construction of the carceral system, "disciplinary normalization", and modern knowledge. Despite the modern organization of punishment being more lenient and private, Foucault observes that "even when they use 'lenient' methods involving confinement or correction, it is always the body that is at the issue – the body and its forces, their utility and their docility, their distribution and their submission" (Foucault, 1991, pg.25). Hence, for him the body is without

a doubt “invested with relations of power and domination” (Foucault, 1991, pg.26). However, according to him, this can only happen if the body is turned into a docile body.

Through the development of political anatomy, the body has been transformed into an entity that can be coerced so that it itself can increase its utility. Resulting in a development of a form for discipline, a discipline that is produced within each individual as opposed to applied to the general society at once. This discipline allows the body to increase its utilization for economic purposes and also maintain its submission (Foucault, 1991, pg.137-8). In this analysis of the body and its relation to discipline we see how the body is needed in order to apply a form of power relation, that allows its exploitation and reduces at the same its ability to contest this. The type of forces that produce these types of bodies, and which allows for these circumstances, lie in the development of political technologies over the body (Foucault, 1991, pg.26). Furthermore, for Foucault these technologies and instruments produce information, which turn into power through the knowledge acquired of individuals, which these individuals later also depended upon. “The modelling of the body produces a knowledge of the individual, the apprenticeship of the techniques induces modes of behavior and the acquisition of skills is inextricably linked with the establishment of power relations” (Foucault, 1991, pg.294). As a result, the disciplinary practices that is practiced upon the body “had a double effect: a ‘soul’ to be known and a subjection to be maintained” (Foucault, 1991, pg.295). The body in Foucault’s analyses here is of it being an entity that is able to be formed and produced by the power that regulates it.

In a collection of lectures that make up *Society Must Be Defended* (2003), Foucault once more refers to the body, however, only to showcase the transition to a new technology of power. In these lectures, Foucault refers to “power’s hold over life”. He revisits the classic relationship of the state’s sovereignty with its inhabitants and its right over “life and death”. In the classical relationship between the state’s sovereign power over individuals, the sovereign had the right to life and death, as it had the right to kill (and as a result power over life). This meant that whenever the sovereign killed, then it was practicing its right over life. However, during the 19th century there was a transformation in this political right. The sovereign had replaced its right, with “a new one which does not erase the old right but which does penetrate it, permeate it” (Foucault, Bertani, Fontana, Ewald & Macey, 2003, pg.241). The right the sovereign had was no longer that of “take life or let live” but that of “make live and let die” (Foucault et al., 2003, pg.241). This new technology no longer centered itself on the body but moved to practices upon “the living man, to man as living being” (Foucault et al., 2003, pg.242). Hence,

resulting into a shift from the political anatomy to biopolitics, a shift from the body of the individual to the “human race” (Foucault et al., 2003, pg.243). Biopolitics is then a technology of power, that allows for practices such as “the ratio of births to deaths, the rate of reproduction, the fertility of a population, and so on” (Foucault et al., 2003, pg.243). Further, it is a process that sees the “population as a political problem, as a problem that is at once scientific and political, as a biological problem and as power’s problem” (Foucault et al., 2003, pg.245). Foucault’s deconstruction of the sovereign’s right over life and death and the managing of populations through the use of biopolitics is useful, for if we look closely, it is still the body that continues to be a site of power and management of this new form of power. To this we must also add another Foucauldian term which will be useful to understand how power and management are present in everyday life. The state cannot directly govern and coerce each individual within a population, hence self-governance, is a condition that derives from “conduct of conduct” which allows individuals to willingly “act upon the self” (Dean, 2010, pg.20). This means we engage in self-regulating practices based on what Foucault calls “regimes of truth”, in other words the discourses we accept as true (Foucault, Senellart, Ewald, & Fontana, 2008, pg.19). However, to this we must also add resistance. Resistance is a natural condition that exists in all relations of power, in other words, resistance manifests anywhere power is (Foucault & Gordon, 1980, pg.142).

In *Gender Trouble* (1990), Butler introduces performativity as a concept to explain how gender through a process of repetitive acts materializes on the body and becomes what we associate as being either “male” or “female”. The repetitive acts of gender reproduce, maintains and naturalizes what we assume by gender (Butler, 1990, pg.33). In *Bodies that Matter* (1993b) Butler expands on this and challenges the notion of materiality, in the form of sex, as a natural preconceived factor of the body. Butler (1993b) calls for the return of the material, however, not as “site or surface”, rather “as a process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface we call matter” (Butler, 1993b, pg.xviii). Butler aims to understand not how gender comes to be understood from a certain understanding of sex, but “through what regulatory norms is sex itself materialized?” (Butler, 1993b, pg.xix). As a result of a reformulated question which questions the materialization of sex, Butler also highlights the role of norms in consolidating this materiality, which in this case fixes itself on the body. The body plays a central role for Butler’s deconstruction of ‘sex’ as material concept. For it is through the body that this concept is materialized and performed. Deconstructing this materiality of ‘sex’ leads to a rethinking of the material in relation to the effect of power. Butler, therefore calls for the materiality of the body to be thought “as the effect of a dynamic of power”

(Butler, 1993b, pg.xii). Understanding the body under the effect of power allows us to capture its fixed materiality in relation to the regulatory norms that rule the bodies' process of materialization and the meaning of the effects of that process. This leads to an uncovering of the material as a fixed entity that is able to become stable through the action of performativity. Actions of performativity that are derived from a certain discourse that has the power to "produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains." (Butler, 1993b, pg.xii).

In this sense the material association attached to 'sex' can come to be understood as a constructed cultural norm that regulates the assumed materiality of an individual's body resulting in the formation of the subject during the process where it assumes its sex. Furthermore, for the subject to assume its identity in relation to sex, it needs "abject beings", which are beings that stand outside and who are not given the same status as the main subject within, what Butler calls, the heterosexual imperative. In other words, the subject exist as a result of the exclusion and misery of the "abjected outside" (Butler, 1993b, pg.xiii). As a result, the abjected beings becomes the bodies that "that fail to count as 'bodies'... the excluded and delegitimated 'sex'" (Butler, 1993b, pg.xxiv). Butler, therefore encourages to think about how and to what end bodies are constructed at the same time as how and to what end they are not. Also think about how the bodies that fail to materialize under the dominant norms creates the conditions for the "outside" and hence the support for the bodies, that do materialize the norms, as "bodies that matter" (Butler, 1993b, pg.xxiv).

3.3.2 *In Relation to Violence and Security*

Elizabeth Grosz in *Volatile Bodies* (1994), challenges the notion that subjectivity can be thought and discussed in terms of dualism, the notion that influences the idea that there is a cultural and natural aspect to the body. Her work is an attempt to rethink how we perceive the body from a feminist perspective and highlight that the body "cannot be adequately understood as ahistorical, precultural, or natural objects in any simple way" (Grosz, 1994, pg.x). For Grosz focusing on the body can help ask new questions. Questions such as "which kinds of bodies, what their differences are, and what their products and consequences might be" (Grosz, 1994, pg.vii-viii). Further, a refocus on the body also helps to problematize the notion of "universalist and universalizing assumptions of humanism, through which women's- and all other groups'-specificities, positions, and histories are rendered irrelevant or redundant" (Grosz, 1994, pg.ix). The binary approach which has influenced how the body has been constructed, is based on the binary opposition attributed to male/female. Where mind and man become synonyms of each

other while woman and body become representative of each other (Grosz, 1994, pg.4). Deconstructing this binary approach, allows us to think of the body in a different perspective.

For instance, in *War as Experience* (2013), Sylvester attempts to rethink how we study war by approaching it as an experience. For her, to understand war “physical, emotional, and social experiences” are essential to consider (Sylvester, 2013, pg.2). In this rethinking of war, the body becomes a central focal point. This is because “war is experienced through the body, a unit that has agency to target and injure others in war and is also a target of war’s capabilities” (Sylvester, 2013, pg.5). In addition, bodies are biopolitical factors and are also entities where factors such as gender, class, and race/ethnicity affect as well as are affected by social experiences. In war, bodies are “a physical factor of war, a performative arena, and imagined presence in war, and a key target and site of collective violence” (Sylvester, 2013, pg.66). The body is where war is experienced physically, as it is the body that becomes wounded, flees, or falls ill as it is also the place where emotions are felt and made sense of. Hence, taking into consideration how bodies experience war, means that we also take into consideration the mind. For Sylvester, both the body and mind are interlinked, as both are part of co-creating experiences (Sylvester, 2013, pg.6).

Another example is that of *Guilty Bodies, Productive Bodies, Destructive Bodies: Crossing Biometric Borders* (2007) by Epstein. Epstein (2007), draws from Foucault to explore the body as the arena where power is felt, but also where power through control is exerted by being known. Biometric technologies are presented as technologies that are put into place to protect “us” from threats. These new types of technology are put in place to control bodies and read them as either “right” bodies that are okay to go or as “wrong” bodies which are destructive and must be detained. In this way this type of technology is designed to control bodies, measure them and produce knowledge on the subject to decide whether the body is “productive” or “destructive” (Epstein, 2007, pg.153). If the body is considered to be a productive/ “right” body, then it regains its rights and is allowed to continue with its path. If it is found to be a destructive/ “wrong” body, then the body receives a different treatment and its rights are revoked from it (Epstein, 2007, pg.157).

Wilcox (2015) builds upon Butler’s notion of “gender performativity” to understand how bodies are generally constituted as political subjects. In *Bodies of Violence* (2015), Wilcox focuses on how bodies can be produced through a multitude of practices like those of political violence, and by various discourses such as race, gender, sexuality, religion, and civilization.

Hence, constituting them as subjects that are able to be “torturable or killable, lives that must be protected or lives that are expendable” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.11). For her bodies are entities that can be produced and at the same time can be productive, but they can also be the point of departure upon which practices are formed. Wilcox understands bodies as being material as much as they are also cultural and as a result for her “bodies are not fixed entities, but are always unstable and in the process of becoming...existing only in virtue of certain material/political conditions that allow them to be intelligible to others” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.11).

Wilcox (2015) attempts to bring her focus and understanding of bodies into the field of IR by highlighting how bodies are not natural entities in and within our notions of security, violence and power. Bodies are subjects of politicization in these core concepts of the field, hence a refocus on bodies would help us broaden our understandings of these concepts. For instance, for Wilcox, practices of violence are directed at bodies, bodies that have been heavily politicized. These political attributions to certain bodies, have been established by “historical political conditions” that are still relevant to our understanding of these referent objects today. If bodies are taken as a point of departure in our understanding of violence, we can see how violence is beyond just a rational tactic by rationalized actors or a breach of a common law and accepted norm. Violence can be understood “as a creative force for shaping the limits of how we understand ourselves as political subjects, as well as forming the boundaries of our bodies and political communities” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.3). An example of this would be how war interacts with bodies, not only as the objects of injuries and/or death but also how they are “formed, re-formed, gendered, and racialized...how bodies are enabling and generative of war and practices of political violence” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.3). It would also mean understanding which conditions exist for understanding some bodies as “killable” and eventually how we come to legitimize these practices by associating violence as being “disembodied”, especially when new technologies for warfare are developed like drones (Wilcox, 2015, pg.6). Furthermore, focusing on bodies and its relation to violence, can allow us to discover how bodies can be “constituted in and through violence” allowing us to see “the body as a space for engaging in politics” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.6). One of Wilcox focuses, that highlights this, is the security practices at airports that can produce insecurity to bodies that do not conform to the notion of “natural sex” upon which these security practices are built on. These practices reinforce “certain normative ways of living in a body as safe and others as risky or dangerous” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.7). This also unravels how bodies can be an unstable referent object of security practices, thus leading bodies to be seen “not only as objects to be defended from injury

or as signifiers or ultimate truth, but as sites of tension and paradox that call into question the operations of security itself” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.7).

Wilcox brings into her analysis of violence biopolitics as an important concept of power to understand the process upon which bodies are made into individuals and populations “that must be killed, or must be made to live” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.17). Under biopower we can examine how bodies are constituted into “objects of protection” but also as “objects of active intervention” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.17). For Wilcox, this is important for Foucault’s analysis of power relations through biopolitics emphasizes that the body needs to be understood to research how an individual becomes a valid subject of protection and the implications bodies contribute with in practices of resistance (Wilcox, 2015, pg.24). Because as mentioned, resistance is also a condition of relations of power (Foucault in Wilcox, 2015, pg.23). As a result, incorporating biopolitics and its application through security practices allows to uncover how a certain body becomes the object of intervention as it is constituted as a “threat” and through the process of constructing a body as a “threat”, it becomes “unnatural” enough to be dealt with only through the use of violence. “Violence against these deviant bodies is made necessary in order to preserve these naturalized bodies” (Wilcox, 2015, pg.26-7). To this Wilcox adds Butler’s contribution of bodily vulnerability, which allows us to understand the body as not only vulnerable to physical injuries but also to the way it is socially constructed. In other words, whether one survives depends also on “how they body is socially constituted” and not only on biological factors (Wilcox, 2015, pg.47). In addition, because of this vulnerability to violence, bodies are not completely autonomous, they are always depended on others, that it is they are always in relation with others (Wilcox, 2015, pg.47).

The literature presented above showcase how analyzing the role of bodies in relation to security and violence can help us understand how security practices are enacted and how insecurity informs individuals of their subjectivity but also of what security is. Using these perspectives can help us understand, for instance, how are the ethnic minority youth in this study making sense of their everyday encounters with the police, which identity and social factors are being affected by police stops, and which bodies must be intervened and known to police officers, so that “order” can be sustained or re-affirmed. In other words, which role is the body playing in these policing practices that ethnic minority youth experience in their everyday?

3.4 Situating Security, Violence and Bodies: A Summary

Feminist research is political, as feminist researchers aim to uncover and expose social hierarchies and challenge their normalization in our everyday life and practices. It allows us to deconstruct notions surrounding our understanding of private/public, inside/outside, and protector/protected, challenging how we traditionally understand security and the role of the state within it. Further, it gives us the possibility to explore how (in)security is perceived by individuals in marginalized positions whose experiences are often unheard and overseen. Similarly, intersectionality within the feminist perspectives highlights how gender, age, ethnicity influence how security is experienced. Feminists approaches also allow us to look at violence under broader terms. It allows to take a critical stance to how we conceptualize violence and understand it within individuals' experiences with security. Finally, because feminists' inquiries allow to deconstruct the myth of the body as an apolitical and ahistorical entity, it will enable us to take into consideration its experiences so that we can understand violence not only through its physical experiences but also through its felt emotional experiences at the same time. Equally, it allows us to approach bodies as subjects where power relations through security practices are felt, performed and produced. In other words, if we politicize the body, we open up to understand security practices as not just "normal" "legitimate" and "common" routines, but as practices that are embedded with power, and which are exercised on politicized bodies. All of these perspectives create a unique framework that can be used to understand how (in)security is understood by ethnic minority youth in their encounters with the police and police stops, and how do these experiences contribute to our understanding of (in)security.

4.0 Methodology

What type of approaches and methods are used to collect and analyze data have implications for the research and its findings, and it is therefore important to highlight. Hence, in this section I will outline the methodology and research design used for this thesis. I will also provide insight into the limitations and strengths met during fieldwork and for this paper. I will follow this with a reflection around own my position in the research, detail the ethical considerations taken during field work and finally the approaches taken to analyze and interpret the gathered experiences.

4.1 Research Design

The type of approach that is chosen for a study to collect and analyze data is important to take into consideration, for it highlights what type of decisions were made during the research (Bryman, 2016, pg.40). This thesis sets out to find how embodied experiences define (in)security by exploring how experiences with the police shapes how (in)security is experienced and understood by individuals of minority backgrounds. Thus, a research framework that allows us to understand what experiences of (in)security mean in relation to bodies is essential. As a result, because of the nature of the study, this thesis draws from a critical paradigm and feminist epistemological perspectives.

4.1.1 A Critical Approach: “Doing Feminism”

Critical approaches allow a researcher to not take what they see for granted. It provides a backbone to go beyond and “consider the larger social structures and distribution of power behind them” (Nygaard, 2017, pg.27). Similarly, despite not having one standard way of doing research, feminists have a set of different methodological perspectives that allows them to deconstruct gender biases and challenge traditional assumptions of knowledge within disciplines. Feminists take a critical stand to the assumption that knowledge can be universal and objective, as individuals have different experiences which can provide different insights to the way we approach it. As mentioned in sub-section 3.1.2, feminist focus on the experiences of individuals and the social hierarchies upon which they are situated in. Furthermore, they are also the ones who have contributed with a refocus on the body. Although there is no consensus on how to approach bodies or a research design dedicated only to corporal research, most feminist researches that have focused on bodies have approached them as somatic entities. This means studying how things relate to the body (Mutlu, 2013, pg.138). Inspired by Foucault and Butler, feminist study the body as a site of politics and resistance, self-making and performativity. In addition, because feminist focus “on the role of gendered practices of security

and externalities of these practices on marginalized or silenced groups” (Mutlu, 2013, pg.142), they can highlight the interlink relation between the personal and the political. Showcasing how the body can also be affected by various practices of (in)security (Mutlu, 2013, pg. 142). Even though most feminist security studies depart from a focus on women and their role within security practices, this approach does not mean that the focus needs to be exclusively on women (Hoogensen & Stuvøy, 2006, pg.211). Finally, feminist research is also political. They seek to unravel power structures so that these can be changed (Tickner, 2006, pg.25). These standpoints influence which questions are being asked and how a research is executed.

Given that the focus of the thesis is to understand how experiences with the police are made sense of, an approach that allows for these experiences to come through is needed and is therefore that an interpretative qualitative approach was chosen. Qualitative approaches allow the researcher to have a better understanding of the individual’s perspectives, this is because it is the assumptions and interpretations of the person through their own words that is the focus of the study (Bryman, 2016, pg.33). In addition, from an interpretative research approach, the researcher focuses on exploring the meaning making that individuals make, in other words how they make sense of something (Schwartz-Shea, 2006, pg.92). This type of research can incorporate several research methods. The collection of data for this thesis draws from in depth interviews, which were based off a semi-structured interview guide.

Since this study centers around the perspectives and experiences of ethnic minorities with (in)security, interviews are a method that can allow insight to these perceptions and embodied experiences. As Jacoby (2006) points out, interviews are a way to have contact with people and thus enhance our understandings of their perspectives regarding security and politics. Interviews for this type of research, tend to be designed in a way that allows for perspectives, feelings and notions of everyday life of the interviewee to come forward. They are also a flexible method, and the flexibility of this method allows for conversations to be open so that many things can be taken up, which may actually later show to be relevant for the study. Similarly, interviews allow for other questions to be raised which may not necessarily have been part of the research’s interview guide, but which may be relevant anyways for the study (Bryman, 2016, p.466). As mentioned, this study relied on semi-structure interviews. This type of interviews allows the researcher to have a fairly fixed script of questions to go over with the interviewee. However, this method also allows the interviewee the liberty to answer as they wish and raise other important issues within the issue being discussed (Bryman, 2016, p.468) This means that there is both the liberty to allow for other issues to be raised that may be of

importance, as well as the certainty to maintain the interview on a specific topic. Bryman (2016) suggests that questions on an interview guide should be formulated in way that allows the researcher to get a glimpse of the interviewee's social world, as well as leave room for flexibility. The questions formulated for the interviews conducted for this thesis, were open questions that would allow the interviewees to tell of their experiences with the police, make sense of these and convey their feelings and thoughts regarding these. The questions were formulated after reading extensively through multiple studies on the experiences of minorities with the police and their relation. Further, the questions were reviewed by my supervisor and evaluated by some of my peers to ensure that they were as open as possible.

4.2 Data Collection

This thesis builds itself from the collection of primary data. Primary data is the data collected by the researcher herself. This as opposed to secondary data, which is the use of existing data gathered by other researchers (Bryman, 2016, pg.11). The use of secondary data, such as existing research and news articles, were used in this thesis to build a foundation for it, to create an overview on the topic, and as mentioned above, to create the interview guide used during the interviews executed for this paper.

In order to gather the primary data purpose sampling was initially applied for this thesis. Purpose sampling is a type of sampling that allows the recruitment of individuals that are relevant for the study's research question (Bryman, 2016, pg.410). However, although at first the focus was on finding participants who had experiences of police stops and perceptions of having experienced ethnic profiling, I became open to the possibility of having interviews with individuals of ethnic minorities who may have had a different experience with the police. This as, their personal experiences could provide a different insight on the issue and on how they make sense of security practices. During field work, I interviewed two individuals who had not experienced any police control, but who were nevertheless willing to participate to give their perspectives and opinions surrounding the issue. Further, in one of the group interviews there was an individual who was referred to as "Norsk" (Norwegian)³, his experiences with the police and particularly his experiences together with his friends of ethnic minority background were taken into consideration for this thesis.

³ Norwegian in the sense of being of ethnic Norwegian background as opposed to holding legal status of being a Norwegian citizen.

Overall, there was a total of ten interviews conducted with a total of 18 participants. Four were group interviews and six were individual interviews. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. With the exception of one group interview that was accidentally deleted. Notes from this interview will therefore be used in the findings and analysis section. One individual interview was repeated twice as the recording device failed to record all of the interview the first time around. All interviews were executed in Norwegian and between December and January at different locations of the city. Taking place either at youth clubs, libraries, and cafes. As the thesis was conducted independently and as a part of a requirement to complete a master's degree, interviewees were rewarded with a humble but significant gift for their time either through a bag of sweets or coffee after the interview was over.

Feminists aim to understand (in)security from the experiences of individuals and “the hierarchical social relations in which their lives are situated” (Tickner, 2006, pg.25). Because this study focuses on how experiences of individual's shapes their understanding of security, it is only natural that it is *their* understanding and experiences of (in)security that is a focus and not the understanding and experiences of (in)security from a state-level perspective. As Tickner writes “the perspectives of “outsiders” or marginalized people may reveal aspects of reality obscured by more orthodox approaches to knowledge-building” (Tickner, 2006, pg.26). It is therefore that the findings of this thesis are based on the experiences of individuals of ethnic minorities, a group that is often characterized as a social problem (Haller et al., 2018, pg.2), as opposed to those of police officers, the Police Department or the Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

All the interviewees were male individuals of ethnic minority background with the exception of one, from the ages of 16 up to 28. They all came from different neighborhoods across the inner, north and south eastern part of Oslo, which are areas that are stigmatized and where most ethnic minorities in the city reside. The participants within this study were approached by contacting youth workers in youth clubs and through mutual friends. Even though there was neutrality regarding gender in e-mails sent to establish contact with possible informants for the study, as mentioned, all the participants of this study ended up being male. No participants that identify as another gender were part of this study. In one occasion, a comment by a youth worker was made regarding how he felt like it was only boys who had experiences with the police and therefore would introduce me to a couple of them. This is an accurate assumption, as studies have shown that it is young men of ethnic minority backgrounds who are the ones

that are often disproportionately stopped and questioned by the police in western states (Solhjell, 2018).

An attempt to have a snowball sampling mechanism with the interviewees was attempted but was not successful at the beginning. In one of the cases, time was a limitation for the interviewee. In one of the last interviews the snowball mechanism was offered by the interviewee, however given the lack of time I had on my part for more fieldwork, I decided not to follow up on this offer.

4.3 Checking for Validity

Triangulation is used to check the validity of our findings (Nygaard, 2017, pg.147). According to Schwartz-Shea (2006), it can also be used to highlight inconsistencies and sometimes bring forth conflicting results. There are different ways to do triangulation. For instance, it can be assured through the inclusion of multiple data sources by incorporating different time, persons and places, through the use of various methods like interviews, documents, and observations, by including other researchers, and/or theories in the study (Schwartz-Shea, 2006, pg.102). Triangulation for this thesis was ensured through the use of multiple data by interviewing different individuals from different parts of the city. In addition, many of the experiences shared for this study are similar to those found in Sharp & Atherton (2007), Mulinari (2017), Solhjell et al. (2018), and Haller et al. (2018), for instance.

Applying another method than that of interviewing was limited by the amount of time and the sensitivity of the topic. Participant observation would therefore not be possible to apply besides the interviews. Nevertheless, Nygaard (2017), suggest that “member-checking” can also be a way to triangulate. This entails sending the transcriptions to the participants of the study or allowing them to review the draft of your work. Member-checking allows participants to see whether the researcher was able to represent them in an accurate manner in their work (Nygaard, 2017, pg.148). To ensure that I was able to capture the interviewee’s experiences properly, the final draft section of analysis and findings was sent back to two participants. The rest were offered to see the draft but there was no response to this.

4.4 Strengths and Limitations

Given the sensitivity of the topic the first attempts to recruit people for the study were challenging. Many key individuals who were contacted felt that the topic was too sensitive to expose young adults to interviews. Other’s replied that a similar research had been conducted

previously, and that they did not want to overexpose the youth at their clubs. Some individuals who were contacted through mutual friends or key contact, responded that they did not want unwanted attention despite the assurance of anonymity. All the reasons to decline access for interviews are understandable. It is very important to take into consideration the needs and safety of the people that are approached, therefore all declination to participate was met with respect and acknowledgment. The slow start during the first stages of field work to recruit participants did however affect the variety of how many individuals of different ages participated in this study. More time could have been made to the recruitment of informants and more effort could have been made to even out the representation of individuals of older age, as there is an overrepresentation of 16-year-olds. However, this overrepresentation of experiences can still provide with a lot of insight on the everyday experiences of young ethnic minorities and their encounters with the police. The embodied experiences at their age can provide with other perspectives of (in)security.

Interviewing teenagers however demanded a different type of attention and approach that, I had no prior experience with. This thesis bases itself on embodied experiences with (in)security and how these are made sense of, how much reflexivity was conveyed in some interviews were in some occasions limited. Further, in some cases influenced by a strong personality that would make a joke of a situation which would influence the dynamic in the room. This was however, a situation that would arise in group interviews where there were more than four individuals. After a group interview with more than four participants, I learned that having group interviews with teenagers could be challenging if there are too many individuals participating.

My age could have played a factor in some cases where I may not have been taken seriously as an adult. My ethnicity may have also allowed for a more lay back feeling. As a result, I had to learn to be firm and serious in some cases to be effective during the interviews and bring back the attention to the conversation, while at the same time attempt not to influence nor ruin the feeling of the atmosphere as a place where they could talk. Agreeing to a time for an interview also proved not to be an efficient approach and showing up prepared to have interviews to the places where I was allowed to do fieldwork became a regular practice. This was an exception however with one interview conducted in late December and one in late January. Not being able to schedule interviews also affected the possibility of having focus groups as opposed to group interviews.

In addition, given that I was an outsider in their setting, the topic of this thesis in some cases was met with skepticism at first. Nevertheless, being transparent in my explanation to why I was there and my personal interest in the topic allowed me to be welcomed and be heard as well. Assuring them that I was not part of the media nor the police, allowed them to appreciate what this thesis seeks to answer. Many expressed their support for the topic and the approach of the thesis. I was also encouraged to keep working on the topic, something that made me feel overwhelmed.

4.5 Reflexivity

The position of the researcher influences how the study is conducted and how the results are analyzed (Salter, 2013, pg.20). Therefore, research cannot be assumed to be objective. However, addressing one's own subjective element and position can increase the objectivity within a study (Tickner, 2006, pg.27). When a researcher addresses their own position, it examines how their own gender, ethnicity, class and socio-cultural background can influence their research (Kunz, 2013, pg.64). This is a distinctive part of doing feminist research as reflexivity "encourages the researcher to re-interrogate continually her own scholarship" (Ackerly, Stern & True, 2006, pg.4). It is important to therefore start this section by acknowledging that what was shared with me during interviews are narratives that were definitely influenced by my presence. Stern (2006) highlights that what people include and exclude in what they share is influenced by who they believe the researcher is, what they want to share with her, what they want the researcher to share with the public (who the public also is), and what they do not want her to know. As a result, we cannot say that the researcher is passive or an objective recipient (Stern, 2006, pg.185).

Throughout the process of finding a topic for a master thesis, I was well aware I wanted to do something that reminded us that traditional notions of state security needed to continue to be challenged. Further, as a brown foreigner in Norway, I was aware of the issue beforehand as it is part of our everyday conversations and frustrations among friends. However, I grew up in a different part of the city which did not give me the same direct experiences of frequently encountering the police, nor feeling any tension between the youth and police officers. Both these factors, along with engagement with activism, influenced my curiosity and interest in researching how experiences with the police can shape how security is understood. As an activist, topics that impact the lives of people every day are of major importance to me. Further, being an immigrant during a time when narratives have gotten harsher towards us, increases

my desire to unravel how the systems and hierarchies in place shape our experiences with (in)security.

All of who I am and what I do, besides being a master student, allowed me to introduce my research to interviewees in an honest manner, conveying that I was interested in what they had to say, that I was there to listen to their experiences, perspectives and opinions. It also made me more open to what they were sharing, leading me to feel upset, anger, sadness and frustration during the research process. There were instances in which my face showed emotion, and I could tell this influenced the response of the individual I was interviewing. I attempted to become less readable through my facial expressions at times, however it was hard to do so. There were many instances where the experiences that were being shared made me realize how little I know of all the everyday experiences that are lived, and how much we continue to take for granted.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

The research was approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data. All informants were presented with an information letter prior to the interview and given consent forms to sign. They were informed of their rights and reminded at the beginning and at the end of the interview that they were free to take contact with me if they wished to retrieve themselves from the research. I was also clear on the research being voluntarily and they were in no way pressure to participate. Notice was also given to the youth workers about the participants rights and noted that at any moment they could contact me if there were any issues, concerns or further questions.

The participants were encouraged to speak solemnly from their own experiences. Informants were noted to not give any information regarding other individuals who had not consented to the interview taking place and were not present. This meant that names or stories regarding another person had to be limited. Given that the issue may contract sensitive information, extra consideration to anonymizing as much as possible was taken during the process of transcribing and processing the collected data. All the data was stored in the University's data base and encrypted. All recordings, fieldwork notes/diary, transcriptions were erased as soon as the thesis was finalized.

4.7 Understanding Embodied Experiences as Narratives

This thesis will look at experiences as narratives and security as a discursive practice. As Wibben (2011) explains, we humans make sense of the world through our interpretations of it

and tell also stories of “who we are or want to be, and what we believe” (Wibben, 2011, pg.43) based on these. As a result, narratives are the way experiences become meaningful to us. Approaching experiences as narrative will then allow us to see experiences as meaning constructing activities. These narratives are also affected and shaped by discourse. This is because the meaning we give our experiences is always constructed and reconstructed within different discourses (Stern, 2006, pg.185). We create ourselves within discourses. Therefore, reading the experiences as narrations also allows us to see “reproductions of discourses through which the subject position...was created” (Stern, 2006, pg.191). This also includes how we understand the role of the body in certain practices. Similarly, approaching security as a narrative change how we understand and how we see it. Further, giving space to personal narratives about security can not only challenge traditional notions of how we understand and view security, they can highlight how conflicts are understood, the various strategies that may exist to address these, “and the multiplicity of perspectives that exist in relation to them” (Wibben, 2011, pg.86).

5.0 Findings and Analysis

In order to understand how (in)security is understood by young ethnic minorities who have experienced unwarranted police stops and how these experiences contribute to our understanding of (in)security, in this section I will present some narratives of (in)security shared by some young individuals of ethnic minority backgrounds in relation to their experiences and encounters with the police. I will look at their feelings and perspectives regarding experienced police practices and of the police as a state agent, which its role is to ensure order and provide security. These findings will be discussed on the basis of the framework provided in section 3.0 as well as on some of the observations made by some of the literature presented in section 2.0.

This section is divided into four sub-sections. In the first sub-section, the aim is to try to understand, what role is the body is playing in practices of (in)security. I will therefore explore how the interviewees experience police stops, and how they make sense of these. Thereafter, I will explore these experiences in relation to violence, thus attempting to understand how violence is manifested in their everyday encounters with the police and life. This will be followed by a sub-section on the individuals' perspectives regarding security in relation to the police and their practices. In here I will look at their own narratives of security and their own perceptions of the police as a security provider. In the final sub-section, I will focus on discussing what the previous sub-sections can tell us on what ethnic minorities and their embodied experiences mean for our understanding of (in)security and policing practices such as police stops.

5.1 The Role of The Body in Police Encounters and Policing Practices

In this sub-section, I focus on understanding the role of the body in the police practices experienced by young men of ethnic minority background. As discussed in 3.3, bodies are not apolitical, they are entities where power is invested and where dominant discourses are performed and materialized. Therefore, focusing on the individual's bodily experiences regarding everyday policing practices such as police stops, can display the role of the body in relation to power, as a target of (in)security practices, as well as the internalization of these experiences, in which individuals understand themselves as political subjects. Following the literature presented in 3.3 regarding bodies and their relation to power, resistance, performativity, security and violence, I review some of the findings of this thesis on questions that ask; Which role is the body playing in these policing practices manifested in their everyday? How do the young men make sense of their encounters with the police and what kind

of feelings and emotions do they show? Which social features such as ethnicity, gender, and class, are affected by these embodied experiences? Which bodies are being allowed to be productive/favored/secured contra which bodies must be known to police officers?

“...without reason, they are biking and so they see [us], they get out of their bikes and so they say ‘hei!, come here you three, come here’, they check me [checking movements] find nothing, check my cousin they find nothing, check my friend they find nothing.”

(Group Interview 2, 06. Dec. 2018)

“...Maybe you are on your way home, but something has happened in the area no matter what, as long as you are on your way, as long as they see you, they log you”.

(Group interview 2, 06. Dec. 2018)

In these two accounts, the interviewees tell that being seen is what leads them to being stopped. Sollund (2007b) states that something “being out of place” is what creates the condition for the police execute control. She indicates that ethnicity alone is not the only reason why the police may approach an individual, that other factors also influence police stops like when and where the individual is seen. For instance, places that are heavily criminally charged, are naturally places where the police would conduct control as individual’s would be not so much out of place but “within place” for the police (Sollund, 2007b, pg.73). Further, if it is late at night then the individual that is seen walking by becomes an object of suspicion. However, the context upon which the person is seen becomes a place that must be re-secured or maintain secured when a certain body enters the scene. In other words, time and/or place are markers that inform that something is “out of place”/ “in place”, when an individual is seen. For instance, in the former encounter, a fight is the marker that informs insecurity is taking place within the area. When an individual is seen within this context, then they become a body that must be intervened and controlled so that order can be restored. The same can be said about the following account.

“I was stopped when I went out of the house of my cousin, I was on my way, and there had been a fight here. They stopped me...I see the police is coming, I stop, wait for them to continue. He [police officer] comes, he takes me, he puts me in handcuffs.”

(Group Interview 2, 06. Dec. 2018)

In this story, the police also had information that some individuals were causing trouble in the home area of the interviewee. The visible body of the teenager making his way from the house

of his cousin, becomes the body that must be controlled so that order can be restored. Him being seen was the starting point for an encounter to take place, and for commencing an experience in which he had to be controlled and also subjugated to a form of discipline, as he was assumed to be one of the individuals causing trouble in the area.

Another example of exercised control is that of the story of an interviewee who was stopped with three Norwegian friends in area that is heavily policed but that is at the same time his home neighborhood. Upon the police coming across the car in which he was in, they were asked to get out. The car was searched, they were searched, asked many questions and he was accused of selling drugs to his friends, because the police believed he was another person. He and his friends were not let go until they were clear.

“When the police was able to confirm, [is] that they began to believe me, and I said to the police officer ‘you do not need to suspect me just because I am a foreigner and is hanging with three Norwegians’, and we started to discuss about this, and he said ‘sorry’ and many things like that, ‘there was a misunderstanding’, until the end they did not let us go, until they found absolutely nothing on us they let us go”

(Interview 5, 14. Dec. 2018)

The type of practices which are being applied to ethnic minority youth in these stories are practices that aim to control the body, and which are similar to the binary logic of productive/right vs. destructive/wrong bodies that Epstein (2007) mentions. However, in contrast to biometric technologies, that do not inherently suggest the body being controlled is guilty, in the two previous stories that were told, the policing practices that were exercised on the individuals, were executed upon an accusation. Upon a pre-assumption that the body being detained was already a “guilty” body. As touched upon in section 2.0, Butler (1993a) argues that certain bodies, which have been constructed within a racialized discourse, are seen as dangerous bodies, even before they make a move. This is an implication of the presumptions that are created through the body. These presumptions preexist any of the body’s movements and legitimize certain actions, such as those of violence, towards these. In the story above, the police were looking for someone, this is a reason to begin to control and surveille the area. However, why is this individual particularly accused and approached? What made the police officers read the interviewee as being a drug dealer to three Norwegians, as opposed to being just another guy hanging out with his friends? What actions were his body performing to legitimize the officers’ accusations and practices?

From the quote above we can observe that the interviewee understands that being “a foreigner” within Norway exists within a given discourse that derives from the binary opposition of foreign/Norwegian. It is this discourse that is creating an assumption of his persona to the police at that moment that legitimizes the police’s need to control him. However, being a foreigner is not the only identity marker that re-enforces this discourse, as Solhjell et al. (2018) also highlighted gender is also a marker that influences stops. When I asked the interviewee, why as a foreigner myself was I unlikely to experience such type of control in the streets? He replied the following:

“Girls are nice though like how often do you find a girl that sells weed? That is not – I have seen many but that is not so normal like boys, right?...you see a tall, dark, boy that walks with tracksuit that is making a lot of noise. I understand – I understand to a degree why the police actually stop them because most of them that sell [weed] have that look...but girls normally don’t, like it is not as often as boys, right? One can see that you are a nice girl [laughs] ...but if you look at me you can think many weird things. I can be someone that works with kids and youth, a criminal, for instance. So, I feel that girls get away with that there, and I understand. Meanwhile for the boys with dark skin – there we struggle, I think in the society, and one is not Norwegian, one is dark like that is also obvious...”

(Interview 5, 14. Dec. 2018)

Thus, being of an ethnic minority and being read as “male” creates a different discourse than that of being an individual of an ethnic minority and being identified as “female”. Being female in this case is existing within a narrative that indicates that females are “naturally” well behaved and is unlikely they would engage in activities that are deemed criminal. Meanwhile being “male”, and being of an ethnic minority background, in connection to criminality is perceived as being “more likely” and almost “natural”, hence a “normal” reason to why one gets stopped. Because as the interviewee states, young men of ethnic minority backgrounds can be read differently depending upon which discourse they are being re-imagined at the moment. Hence, gender assumptions of young individuals of an ethnic minority, in this case, exists upon different gender relations that contribute to experiencing security practices through police stops differently.

Further as already mentioned, he was stopped in a place that is heavily policed. The presence of the police is often in areas that are known to be areas where a lot of criminality takes place.

Given the frequency of crime cases, for the police it is natural that they are present and exercise police control in these places. Further, there has been a rise in criminal activities among the youth in Oslo (TV2, 2019). This may also influence who gets stop in these surveilled areas. The police's 2017 report has shown an increase in physical violence through fights among the youth in Oslo, and an increase in networks associated with various criminal activities such as robbery and drug dealing. According, to the report this type of activities are more present on the Eastern part of the city, and the recent spike is similar to one that was recorded in 2007 (Stolt-Nielsen & Foss, 2018; Sætre, Hofseth & Kjenn, 2018). This means that young individuals are the group that continue to be an object of intervention, as statistics of reported crimes are reinforcing the previous constructed discourse that present them as possibly "threats" to the "order" of the society. This is something they themselves note.

"Interviewee 1: ...it is meant that they [police] will protect people, not allow things to happen, but

Interviewee 2: Or discriminate

Interviewee 1: but the police they have become like, they have started to be against us more instead of helping us. They have started to be against us"

(Group interview 1, 29. Nov. 2018)

Biopolitical practices in relation to security practices, allow for the intervention of certain bodies, as these are constructed as a "threat". Furthermore, the construction of certain bodies as "threat" legitimizes certain practices, because the body no longer is a "natural" human body when it becomes a "threat" (Wilcox, 2015, pg.26-7). This may explain why these young men perceive the police as being "though" on them, as they embody a representation of a static that the police may be influenced by in their everyday police practices. However, this "though" approach is once more not perceived as being applied equally across all youth in Oslo.

"They log youth like me. That – like I do not think they log Norwegians that go with nice clothes and stuff. I do not think so."

(Interview 1, 07. Dec. 2018)

In this account and in the previous one, we can see that these teenagers understand themselves as not apolitical subjects. Their experiences inform how they see themselves within their

communities and society. They understand that individuals like them are perceived differently and are also approached differently in contrast to regular youth of ethnic Norwegian backgrounds, understanding themselves and the application of these practices again through the binary opposition of foreign/Norwegian.

“Interviewee 2: Had it been some Norwegian youth, in let us say in the West side of town, that had [gotten police attention], [and] had done something bad. The only thing they [the police] had done [is said] ‘it is okay we will call home, goodbye’ that is what they would have done. I know it, but with us

Interviewee 1: they are harder with us”

(Group interview 1, 29. Nov. 2018)

In this statement the young men are creating a divide between “us” and “them”, establishing a distinction between the “self” and “other” which is based once again on the foreign/Norwegian dichotomy. In this statement this dichotomy is being informed by their perception of how they believe the police approaches the youth on the other side of Oslo, contra how they have experienced it within their own home areas. Norwegians in this context are the white people who reside on the other part of town, which is generally known to be an upper-class area. Their identity marker as ethnic minorities and the neighborhood they are from, which is one that is often stigmatized and which they often see badly represented in the media (Group Interview 1), along with the experience of being approach in a “hard” manner informs their subjectivity and of others creating this distinction.

Similarly, when I asked another interviewee why he thought civil police officers often stopped him, he stated the following;

“They check me because I live here”

(Group Interview 2, 06. Dec. 2018)

As mentioned earlier, for the police it is natural to be in areas that have high criminal activities and control individuals. It is important, however, to stress that practices of police stop happen within neighborhoods with a majority percentage of individuals of ethnic minority backgrounds (Solhjell et al., 2018). Areas where some neighborhoods have inhabitants with low economic

income, weak relations to the labor market, and poor health. Neighborhoods that are also stigmatized and depicted to the outside as examples of “foreign ghettos” (Rosten, 2017).

The young man who was accused of selling drugs, also made sense that his age, neighborhood, and ethnicity intersected and conveyed assumptions of him as a young criminal that led the police to control him and his friends. However, this is not the only feature that created the notion that he was a young criminal, it was also other socio-economic factors that are present from the beginning and during the narration of his story.

“...Do you know what social housing apartments are?...It is for those that do not have a lot of money. ...I have friends that live in just social housing apartments, it is with them I have grown up with. I have played in these social housing apartments since I was a little kid....it was in the summer actually...something really, really bothersome happened. I was in one of the social housing apartments...and I was with a friend of mine and I was going to meet three friends. These three friends are ethnic Norwegian, and one friend, he had a car. So, I was in the apartment and they were outside in the car. One of them says on the phone ‘I am coming out, I am coming down, I am coming in.’ He waits for me in the corridors while I was changing. I changed so I went out. That day I had on me an adidas track suit, the red one. I had on me an adidas tracksuit, an adidas bag, a golden watch and this chain you see here [shows chain]. That is the style I had on me that day, it is the [style] I grew up with, it is like the clothes you have on you...that is more your style, but it is you, right? And adidas is more me, adidas track suits that is what I have grown up with...I know I looked very shiny and one can think that I sell this or that when one sees me in those clothes. Nevertheless, I went out of the apartment sat, in the car with my friends...we drove literally five hundred meters away from where we were, and the car was stopped by three police cars...and then I was wondering what happened...we were four persons in the car. Three Norwegians and then there was me. And these guys I know from middle school because I went one year at [school name] and there were only Norwegians there. During russ⁴ I was with them on the bus actually, so we had a good relation. So, the police stop us and asks for us to come out. They check and also ransack everyone, check the car, get a dog, they find nothing. And so, the police say ‘you have nice clothes on you’ to me. I say ‘Ok. Has that something to say?’ He is like ‘no, but it is very weird that your friends do not’ and there he meant the Norwegians. So, I say to him ‘you think it is weird that I dress differently, because my friends who are Norwegian do not dress like this? Because I have grown up in a different

⁴ A Norwegian celebration marking the end of high school for seniors.

place?’ He was like ‘No. Now you’re trying to make me look racist’ and many things like that and I was like ‘that is what you are saying to me, you say that I have nice clothes and your friends do not, what the fuck is that supposed to mean?’ So, we begin to discuss with the police, and he says to me ‘what do you have in your bag?’ I took my bag ‘You can check it...’ ...they [police] meant that I sell drugs to them [Norwegians]. That is what they meant...They began asking us how we knew each other because they meant that I had absolutely sold drugs to them...they found later that they had taken the wrong person. It was not me, I had nothing to do with that, but I was perfectly profiled to be a young foreign criminal.”

(Interview 5, 14. Dec. 2018).

The interviewee, who is a 19-year-old, understood from his encounter with the police, that his style/the clothes on his body, created presumptions of his persona in a certain way. This notion of him as a young criminal exists before he and his friends are search and is maintained after they are searched. The practices the police execute, informs his perspectives of the police, of others, and of himself. The incident is bothersome for him, he is an area where he grew up and is accused of being someone he is not because of his style. Further, he is not seen as capable of being a friend of three ethnic Norwegians. His friendship is put into questioning, because his body does “not fit” into what the police would consider being within “place/order”. His body, the clothes on him, and the area where he was, perform and materialize a different narrative to the police of his persona, which he contests by challenging the officer’s observation and assumption of the “truth” of his own self and his style. In his questioning, we see resistance being conveyed to counter the relation of power being established by the police officers and of the legitimacy of their policing practices.

According to Solhjell et al. (2018) clothing style appears as one of the markers that is perceived among ethnic minority youth to attract police stops in Nordic countries. They find that individuals of ethnic minority backgrounds perceive that if they wore more “common” clothes that it made them more invisible to potential police stops as opposed to “gangster” style type of clothing. Clothing and ethnicity were markings that ethnic minorities perceived as making them look “scary” (Solhjell et al., 2018). Thus, ethnicity and clothing perform together notions that reinforce assumptions of “disorder” and must be therefore “controlled”. This is expressed also in the following interview, in where the interviewee introduces high end clothes/brand clothing as another type of clothing and factor that attracts police stops.

“From 14, 15, up to 17, you get stopped a lot if you go with “hood” clothing, what is that called? Track suit. To go with jogging suits like that, you get stopped a lot, but when you’re a young man when you are 18, 19, 20 and you start going with nice clothes in the neighborhood, believe you get stopped.

So, it changes?

Yes. When you are young, you are, in a way supposed, to be fast, you know, jogging pants on in case the police come, you are going to have to be fast so you can run. When you are older there is more finesse, more class. The police maybe conclude with ‘ok, this one has started to earn money, maybe he has started to sell drugs, maybe he has started with that, we must find out’ but that is sad because what message are they sending to the youth? That the only way you can afford fine clothes is if you are a criminal.”

(Interview 4, 12. Dec. 2018)

“I remember, around a year ago I went around with brand clothing. I had a Gucci belt or Louis Vuitton shoes, stopped. ‘How can you afford that?’ and what do they know? I started working in [place], when I was in six/seventh grade...Or what do they know maybe my parents became rich through inheritance? But constantly and I have never experienced that my Norwegian friends have been stopped when they walk with expensive clothes and they maybe do not even work! [the clothes were] Bought by their parents. So that has influenced that I limit what I buy if I buy brand clothing. When I buy, I buy something that is not flashy [laughs]. I have to buy something simple”

(Interview 6, 26. Jan. 2019)

Butler (1993b) suggests that subjects exist because there is an “abjected outside”. We therefore have to take into consideration how bodies are constructed and similarly at what end they are not. Which bodies are failing to materialize under dominant norms? Because this are the bodies that create the conditions for the “outside”, the ones that support the bodies that materialize these dominant norms, in other words those bodies that do matter (Butler, 1993b, pg.xxiv). From the perspectives of this interviewee, being stopped based on fancy clothing, conveys that the body wearing the fancy clothes are “unnatural” to do so because their economic background and the socio-economic status of the place in which he is in, contradicts what would be “natural” for him to wear. By him wearing high end clothing he is failing to materialize and perform the dominant narrative, hence being “out of place”. The ethnicity of the person who is wearing

these clothes informs that the “wrong” body has them on. In addition, the control he has been subjected to, reinforces the dominant narrative of the “reality” for that area he lives in and for him. This discourse is reproduced when he has to think of potential stops when choosing clothing while shopping. For him wearing something “simple” is a strategy to avoid being controlled, it is also an impact of his experiences with the police as he self-governs himself. Hence, these experiences impact and influence the type of identity these young men associate themselves with and want to reproduce through their own bodies.

Sylvester (2013), argues that because the body has feature such as gender, class, ethnicity that these “affect and are affected by social experiences” (Sylvester, 2013, pg.5). From the stories and thoughts shared while interviewing many of the young men, we are able to understand how the body and their bodies within a context plays a role in their experiences with their encounters with the police. At the same time, we notice how their embodied experiences also inform who they are, how they see themselves, their subjectivity in relation to the police and the majority of the society. These also inform their perspectives of the police, their practices, and society. As it was mentioned earlier, Wilcox (2015) like Sylvester (2013) sees bodies as an important point of departure to understand violence in studies of security. This is because by seeing bodies in connection to violence, we understand how it can act as a “creative force”, see how they enable certain practices (Wilcox, 2015, pg.3). In the next section, we therefore turn to understanding how violence manifests in their embodied everyday experiences and encounters with the police.

5.2 The Manifestation of Violence in Police Encounters and Policing Practices

From the previous section we understood that bodies are not apolitical entities in encounters with the police and police stops. When we focus on them, we can understand how certain “guilty” bodies are produced and legitimized through police practices, which discourses of police work and control are maintained, and which bodies must be subjugated to control, so that “order” can be maintain. In this sub-section I focus on the various forms of violence discussed in 3.2 that manifest in these body politics as violence is the prime cause of insecurity, the way security is achieved and contested.

Haller et al. (2018) notes that institutional racism and structural exclusion can enhance disproportionate policing practices. This is something that falls in line with some of the literature presented in 2.1 like Ward (2015) and Siegel (2017), that challenge the assumption that we can understand this issue as only a cause of individual factors. Police stops that intend

to control people within these neighborhoods are caused by broader structural inequalities within the Norwegian society, something that some of the young men interviewed also observe as a result of personal experiences as young ethnic minorities in the country.

“...there is a thing you should write about, if it is a discussion about the police, it is automatically to talk about politicians too. That you cannot deny it, right? Because one has to also see, you know it is wrong to say ‘police, police, police’ because they too have limited power, right? The problem is that now Norway is moving towards a society that is more, more, and more segregated. You see a little clearer [the difference between] rich and poor...For example, me, I had an average of two in middle school and I wanted to go high school, I wanted to take general studies in hard sciences. You know what my advisor said to me? [the advisor is ethnic Norwegian] ...I can tell you, I had two in average, I had low self-esteem. I did not know what I was going to do, but I knew that I just wanted to study because I wanted to do something with my life. You know what she said to me? You cannot aim here [raises hand], when you are here [lowers hand]. That is the answer I got from her, my teachers stood in front of me when she said that, and no one did something. How do they think it is to be a foreigner in the Norwegian society? They tell you that you are Norwegian, but you are not Norwegian [laughs] you know what I mean?! You will never be Norwegian, you will never be white, you will never be blond. You are who you are, and you will never be accepted, but as soon as you win an Olympic game, make a good song that goes around the world [snaps finger] Norwegian. That is how it is.”

(Interview 5, 14. Dec. 2018)

In other cases, this reflection of structural inequalities is experienced and observed through the experiences of family members, stories that are told among ethnic minorities, the violence that breaks out in some neighborhoods and the news. As told in the following statement:

“...for example, I have a eh [family member], ehm she had an average of 5,9 in high school, the same in university. She applied for jobs, was more qualified, had better grades than those that applied to the same job, but still when she met up to an interview just because of her hijab three/four years unemployed and like it was clear, there was no question about it. Over 180 applications sent and every time, every time [the same thing happened]. Ehm you know all the stories of foreigners that do not get housing, ehm get treated generally [like that] and that racism is not just in the police, it is spread around in the whole society, whether it is everyday racism or a deeper [form of] racism. And of course, one loses trust, one loses trust one has for the state and in many occasions then, you see how many areas like [place] that it has gone so long that

sometimes there are wild conditions, [place where] there are shootings, why? Because one is not taken care of...

...The problem is not the police, it is society in general, we go around and carry prejudices, we have the media and all that, and that infects of course the police. It even gets to me sometimes, sometimes I become skeptic of foreigners [laughs] like, so that is how it has become..."

(Interview 6, 26. Jan. 2019)

Galtung's (1969) structural violence, can help us to understand how these young men make sense of their experiences by connecting the issue of disproportionate treatment by the police to something bigger, to structural inequalities embedded within the society. Structural violence is a type of violence that manifests as a result of social injustices that are reproduced within a society by structural factors. These structural factors cause suffering to people in disadvantage groups and to experience life in Oslo differently. For instance, they manifest in school as was the case of the interviewee in interview 5 and in the attempts of getting a job after finalizing a higher education degree, as was the case of the family member of the interviewee in interview 6.

This suggests that the experiences of disproportionate policing practices are made sense by these young men as a result of a structural inequalities that are reproduced by the society, and state in general. Ethnic minorities experience a reflection of the unequal structures and hierarchies that are already being reproduced in other areas of their everyday lives. Their experience of violence and treatment by the police in contrast to the majority of the population is not embodied in the same way. The ethnic minorities that are also citizens of the Norwegian state, and part of the Norwegian society, are in practice not the citizens that are to be protected by the state and its institutions. In the following story this is also brought forth.

"Those times that you guys were stopped were you given a reason?"

Interviewee 2: The worst was when he and I [referring to Interviewee 3] were stopped. It was in [place], after a fight

Interviewee 3: fight

Interviewee 2: yes, and the worst was that we were not even involved, and they came to us, they came with three cars and they asked for our names and I did not want to give my name. I

get it, I made a mistake, but I am a young person, I am a kid, I can make mistakes. So, I gave the wrong name and when I did, they took me in handcuffs, and they put me in the car. Then I understood I made a mistake, so I said my real name and the police officer he became a little aggressive, he began to shout and scold at me and then he asked my friend [interviewee 3], since he is Norwegian, he was like ‘where are you from?’, he was like ‘Norway’, he [police officer] was like to him [interviewee 3] ‘why do you hang with monkeys like him?’

Interviewee 1: [shocked voice] Seriously?!

Interviewee 2: I swear...He was like ‘why do you hang with monkeys like him’ right in front of me...

...So, you experienced a different treatment?

Interviewee 2: Yes, I experienced that. He was nicer to him than he was with me. I was not allowed to ask a single question. To him he spoke normally to. I asked ‘Where are we going? What is happening now?’ He was like ‘You have no, you do not have – how do you say that?’

Interviewee 3: Eh? You have no right to speak

Interviewee 2: You have no right to speak. He was like ‘Shut up and sit back there!’ Just like that, and then I thought, fuck the police, just like that.”

(Group Interview 1, 29. Nov. 2018)

The officer in this story, produces various forms of violence. The first one, is clearly through verbal discrimination, the interviewee in this situation has experienced verbal violence based on his ethnicity. The second one, is a type of violence that comes as result of non-knowledge, where he is sanctioned for not knowing a duty which is required all individuals do when they meet the police. He realizes this is an offense when he is handcuffed and put into the police car. The third form of violence that manifests is connected to the disproportionate treatment he observed and experienced in that encounter. The officer aims to sustain the notion that one group is above the other but interviewee 2 does not accept this, he develops a negative assumption of the police. However, his resistance is internal and is not put into practice in other encounters with the police. He accepts he is on a different position when he meets them. According to the interviewee, he does this because he has experience that if he resists, he might

be physically hurt. He follows this by noting how he has noticed that at one of the police stations in the city, officers have hung a poster where they state that the youth have rights, and that the police listens to them. The interviewee says that this is not what happens in practice, that they do not have rights and the police does not listen to them, he follows this by stating the following;

“...when the police come, I do not know my rights. The only thing I know is that I have to stay still, if I do not stay still, they become physical. That is the only thing I know.”

(Group interview 1, 29. Nov. 2018)

From this statement we can see that this young man has developed a strategy to limit the amount of violence he experiences. The manifestation of physical violence in this case can be prevented by standing still. Thus, the interviewee has developed a strategy through his everyday encounters with the police, a strategy that can be seen as a type of practical knowledge that results from the experiences of not resisting the authority of the police and from not being heard. The experience of not being heard by the police was stated among other interviews (Group Interview 2, Group Interview 3).

“You cannot answer the police in the moment, they say ‘we have the word now, you take the word later’.”

(Group interview 2, 06. Dec. 2018)

The police having an upper hand in a situation is a mechanism of symbolic power that establishes a relation of dominance between the police and ethnic minorities at the moment of their encounters. This has consequences as it internalizes the notion that they are not of the same worth as those who they perceive are treating them unfairly. When they perceive they are being treated unfairly they state that they cannot do anything about it (Group Interview 2, 06. Dec. 2018). Their perceived position within the society is confirmed when their attempt to report what they believe is a case of injustice by the police, is challenged by being reminded of who has the legitimacy and trust within the society.

“Interviewee 4: ...we are going to report the case, and he said to us ‘who do you think they are going believe you or me?’

Interviewee 1: They meant that they have more power than us. He is more important than us because he is a police officer.”

(Group Interview 2, 06. Dec. 2018).

The police are presented as a state institution, who serves to maintain “order” and ensure security. Bradford (2017), explains that the police’s role within establishing order can be explained through two different lenses. The first sees the police involved in a establishing a social order that derives from common shared values and norms, protecting individuals from crime and behaviors that disrupt these shared norms and values. The other takes a critical stand in which it sees social order as being imbedded with power and domination. From this stance the role of the police is to protect the established order and make sure that the current relational structures within the society stay intact (Bradford, 2017, pg.36). Being reminded of the position youth like those interviewees in Group 2 have vis-à-vis the police, is being reminded of their place within the society in which they live. It establishes an order that reproduces hierarchies, and which aims to sustain current relational structures.

For instance, for one interviewee being stopped with his friends had become so common that they started making bets about being stopped every time the police were near. Betting that they were going to be stopped, can be seen as a creating a way to cope with this everyday experience, but also as internalizing a social reality. (Mis)recognizing the issue as, that is how it is, which can lead to feeling surprised when they are not stopped (Interview 4, 12. Dec.2018). This is an example, like those above, of the manifestation of symbolic violence.

This manifestation of violence also re-enforces specific discourses of their subjectivity. All of the interviewees encounter with the police happened in open spaces, this is because it is within the public space that policing practices such as stops are applied. Most interviewees discussed how this happening in open spaces lead to a feeling of humiliation as people passing by may (mis)recognize what was happening (Group Interview 1, Group interview 2, Interview 4, Interview 5). Their identity is being formed in that moment to the individuals that pass by. This can re-enforce already negative views of young ethnic minorities and reinforce their position as “trouble groups”. At the same time, it informs their own identity and their position. For example, if we return to the control of individuals due to their clothes, an interviewee expresses how this constant control ensures not only domination and establishes power relations, but also may lead to the individuals becoming the subjects they are stigmatized and (mis)recognized to be.

“...clothes are an important way to develop, how one feels, how you want people to look at you, and when you are limited when you are young- ‘No, you cannot’ - Ah! I was stopped yesterday, [I was] getting stopped all the time, and I think people choose to go a different way in their life afterwards too. When you get picked on for so long that in the end if one gets treated like a criminal then you might as well become one.”

(Interview 6, 26. Jan.2019).

Similarly, questions about their whereabouts, how they can afford certain things, being handcuffed, searched, logged, when they are doing nothing wrong can be interpreted as symbols imbedded with power that inform them of “their place” in society and in relation to the police. It can also be seen as leading to an amounted collection of experiences that may develop harms/injuries across time and space, where these are spread, hidden, or attritional.

Nixon (2011) developed the concept of slow violence to illustrate how violence can be a form of violence that is invisible and of a long-lasting effect, that travels over time and space at a slower rate (Nixon, 2011, pg.2). For Nixon this includes, structural violence and other forms of violence that enact at a slower pace (Nixon, 2011, pg.11). A form of violence that sometimes may not even be seen or categorized as violence, because it lacks dramatic effects or is not immediate. As written above in sub-section 2.2, disproportional mistreatment of ethnic minorities may lead to consequences that affect the legitimacy of law enforcement, as it affects their ability to cooperate with the police, may lead to poor health among these individuals, and influence their feeling of belonging in a society. While conducting interviews I asked individual’s what coping mechanisms they had developed as a result of their experiences with the police, and how they were navigating their lives differently. This was to observe how their experiences of police stops can manifests in their daily life as a long-lasting effect. Many stated that they attempt to avoid meeting the police in the streets. If they meet them, and were stopped and search, they might try to joke around to lighten up the situation, if this does not work and the police officer responds with aggression, they mirror the aggression back. If there may be civil officers around, they are careful, and if the police suddenly come, they go other places where they know they feel safe. It may be too early to determine how slow violence is manifesting, however it does not mean it is not there and developing. Many of the youth are developing strategies of self-governance as a consequence of their experience, which demand that they understand what is happening at the movement of an encounter so that they can “know” how to behave and navigate the police stop. Furthermore, for one interviewee distancing himself even if he was to need help, was for him how he saw himself and others

dealing with the issue, he reflected however, over how this may in the long run lead to a danger and more dramatic issue for the society as a whole.

“If the youth today does not trust the police, in 15 years the police will meet, a gang, a group of individuals with guns, weapons, and anger- because when they were young, they experienced this, and this, and this, and this. Like, how often does a Somalian go to the police, and say I need help?”

(Interview 5, 14. Dec. 2018)

Another interviewee, who experienced his first police stop at the age of 12 with his brother who at that time was only 16, reflected upon how it also connects to other experiences of everyday life, and how you begin to understand things differently as time goes by. An observation that would fall into accord to that of Kääriäinen & Niemi (2014), who state that longer minorities live within a context, in which they experience neglect in various forms, the more it influences how they see their surroundings differently in comparison to the majority of the society.

“You begin to - one gives up. You give up on the system. You give up on the situation you are in, and it can lead to frustration in many other areas of life too. One begins to think - when you are young, when you are young, you have a picture of the world...The world is happy, nice, and there is no poverty and stuff, and so the police - when you are little, you want to be a police officer. When you are a young boy, I remember, you always wanted to be the police. However, slowly and surely during the years one lives- you have many negative experiences that you meet in the public spaces, people in public positions that should ensure your safety, but they are the ones that make you feel unsafe”.

(Interview 6, 26. Jan.2019)

In this sub-section I discussed how various forms of violence manifests in the policing practices within the experiences of the young ethnic minority men who were interviewed. I also discussed how these forms of violence affect and produce different strategies for them to navigate their everyday and their encounters with the police and stops. In the next section, I explore their experiences in relation to (in)security.

5.3 The Narratives of (In)Security in Encounters with The Police & Policing Practices

As it was discussed in sub-section 3.1, feminist IR scholars have contributed to a rethinking of security. They have challenged the notion of security as a condition that derives from the state

and that can be understood through binary assumptions such as inside/outside, private/public, protector/protected. Understanding how individuals in non-authoritative positions experience and embody (in)security challenges the notion that there is a shared and universalized narrative of security. Therefore, in order to understand how individuals of ethnic minorities in Oslo made sense of (in)security in relation to their experiences with the police, I had to first understand what security meant for them, how did they conceptualize security.

For many the question was so broad and open that they had to take a few seconds to answer. My impression was that no one had ever asked them what it meant to them and to define it. However, once they had a few seconds to reflect, security was defined in similar and at the same time different ways. For the majority the concept of security could be first narrowed down to mean safety and being safe (Group Interview 1, Group Interview 2, Group Interview 3, Interview 3, Interview 5, Interview 6). Nevertheless, it could also mean in addition, or just simply, the absence of physical violence and weapons in open spaces (Interview 5), no fear or anxiety (Interview 6), being protected (Group Interview 2, Interview 2), the absences of worries and being relaxed (Interview 1), being okay and being okay wherever you go, and getting help when help was needed (Group Interview 1). For some being safe encompassed themselves but also their love ones, the ones they cared about, and people in general (Group interview 3, Interview 6). Individuals carrying and sustaining their social duties (Interview 5).

Once their narrative of security was established, I asked if the police brought security to public spaces, to understand how these narratives of security may shift in relation to their experiences with the police and their policing practices.

The responses varied depending on the person's experiences with policing practices. Those that had no personal experience, or negative experience with the police responded that the police was a security provider for them (Interview 2, Interview 3). For one interviewee, security meant also that the police intervened when it was necessary (Interview 2). For the other interviewee, the police were necessary to establish security within the city, as he felt that Oslo had become insecure due to violence and criminality. For him the presence of the police was needed to ensure security and prevent the development he saw was happening in the city (Interview 3). The young men who had experience multiple stops by the police, which they felt were unjustified or for no reason, saw the police as both a provider of security and insecurity.

For them, the police are a security provider when they patrol around the city and hold an eye on surroundings (Group Interview 2, Interview 5). Also, when they are present in the city center as their presence, can prevent the possibility of terrorist attacks like those happening in Europe from happening in the city (Interview 6). However, the police as a security provider no longer performs this role when they get close, when the police patrol *their* neighborhood, and when the police become part of a personal experience in which they are perceived to be targeted and treated negatively.

“I think that for some people they bring security for some other people it awakes bad feelings and maybe fear. If you have negative experiences with the police from before then I do not think they awaken feelings of security” (Interview 6, 26. Jan. 2019)

This means that there is a shift from security to insecurity in relation to the police and their practices when consideration is taken to the experiences of their personal encounters with them.

“I do not feel safe when they - it has happened to me many times that they have stopped me and asked for my name and said that I have done stuff I have not done, then I do not feel safe...the police are here so they are visible so that people will feel safety. I do not feel safety when they do that” (Interview 1, 07. Dec. 2018).

The accumulation of experiences of being stopped and questioned by the police is an everyday practice that manifests in many of these young men’s lives. This type of policing practice causes many of them to see and feel the police in a negative way. Feelings such as anger, irritation, uncomfortableness, bothersome, and stress were said to be caused by these everyday encounters with the police, especially when they know that what they are being accused of is untrue (Group Interview 1; Group Interview 2; Group Interview 3). However, these feelings and perspectives do not always manifest in relation to all police officers and their applied approaches.

When asked if they had had good encounters with the police, some responded that they did but with officers that were also of ethnic minority backgrounds (Group Interview 1; Group Interview 2). For these young men, police officers of minority background brought something that ethnic Norwegian officers did not which was comprehension.

“They can understand us”
(Group interview 2, 06. Dec. 2018)

Incorporating individuals of ethnic minorities within the police has been suggested as a way to curb the disproportionate treatment of ethnic minorities. However, as Sharp & Atherton (2007) also showcase this may not always be true, as ethnic minorities may experience that officers of ethnic minority backgrounds may be equally unfair in their approach. This was also expressed by some interviewees (Group Interview 4, Interview 4), who are from other neighborhoods of East Oslo. For instance, in the case of Group Interview 4, according to the interviewees, police officers with minority backgrounds can be equally bad and sometimes even harsher because they wanted to prove their “Norwegianess”. In contrast to, the former two group interviews, individuals in group interviews 3 and 4 had not experienced what the others referred to as “kompis” (buddy) in encounters with police of ethnic minorities backgrounds. The feeling of encountering a police officer which is a “kompis”, for the individuals in group interview 2 is important as it can provide a sense of security.

“Interviewee 6: ...you get more contact with the police, you look at them as buddies
Interviewee 1: you do not look at it negative

To look at the police as buddies is way to feel...

Interviewee 6: safe

Interviewee 2: safe

Interviewee 1: that is true, that is very true”

(Group Interview 2, 06. Dec. 2018)

Here identity, but also the vibe that is being projected, plays an important role for these young men to feel secure and safe, especially when the police goes from being “far” in the distance to “personal”. When I asked group 3 if this was something they would have liked. One respondent in group interview 3 said, that would have been “nice” and “cool”. Interviewees in group 1 felt that those police officers, both female and male, with ethnic minority backgrounds that approached them in a “cool” manner was the way that the youth should be approached, the approach that should be used to gain their trust. Having the ability to talk and joke around with them was what made two police officers of ethnic minority background “dritt snille” (fucking kind) in contrast to ethnic Norwegians that approach them to interrogate them (Group Interview 1, 29. Nov. 2018). Similarly, when the question of what they thought was needed or needed to change in order to shift the impression of insecurity by the police, interviewees responded that they needed the police to change the way they treat and approach individuals.

“...the police come with the attitude into the society and are like ‘hei! we are the police’ [raises and darkens voice] like that irritates the youth extremely. However, if they had come humbled in civil clothes and shown their everydayness, their personal part, that they are just normal people that have a job, and [it involves] that [they] look after us not doing anything dumb. Things would be looked at completely different.”

(Interview 5, 14. Dec. 2018)

“I believe that they [police] should be in the picture in a different way, not just when it slams, but be there before it slams. Eh, build relations at least around the neighborhoods with local police. Send permanent people that can build relations, that the youth respects, that are real, that treat them like people and not like criminals, unless they are. One thing is to suppose that someone is someone, another thing is to know. I think they should do more preventing work instead of putting down the fire. They just come when the fire starts, but they should be there before the fire starts.”

(Interview 6, 26. Jan.2019)

Building a relationship is essential, because for many of the interviewees, especially the young ones, security is provided and performed by the people that take care of them, that take the time to talk to them, and that genuinely ask them how they are (Group Interview 1, 29. Nov.2018). For group interview 3 and 4 this is found within the work social workers do, as they are people that understand them. The disability to understand the youth is what made police officers “squared”, individuals who lack comprehension (Interview 5, 14. Dec. 2018).

The importance of how a police officer approaches someone when they stop them, has been highlighted by Tyler (2014). Negative experiences can lead to delegitimizing the police and their work. Further, as presented by Sharp & Atherton (2007), it can also contribute to construct the notion among ethnic minorities, that the police are an institution that does not serve them. The young men interviewed for this thesis, all understood what the role of the police was and the complexity behind their practices and their work. They however perceived that the approaches and the ways into which these practices are being put into practice, are practices that produce both security and insecurity. Practices that are not for the construction of security for the society as a whole, but only for a few (Group Interview 1, Interview 1, Group Interview 3, Interview 5). The police and their policing practices provide a sense of insecurity if individuals of ethnic minorities are exposed to an accumulation of negative experiences. The

accumulation of experiences through different situations such as when walking alone, with friends, for dressing a certain way, for being from where they are from, can lead to interpret policing practice as a practice that aims to create fear as opposed to safety (Group Interview 1, 29. Nov. 2018).

5.4 Policing Practices and the Production of (In)Security

Tickner (1997) refers to security as a process that is “elusive and partial and involves struggle and contention” (Tickner, 1997, pg.624). It is also multidimensional and multilevel, involving various forms of violence. In this sense security is not static, it is fluid. In addition, as Enloe (2014) has shown it is also a matter of the personal, and it cannot be reduced to the notion of sovereign state. Sovereignty is not the only confinement within which individuals and their experiences with security exist (Stern, 2006, pg.195). Policing practices such as stops are a form of power applied to exercise and materialize “social order”, they aim to prevent crime from happening and act on “disorder” (Bradford, 2017, pg.1). It is also one of the points in which individuals and the state meet (Weber & Bowling, 2011, pg.354). The disproportionate practices of police stop and searches on ethnic minorities across the western states, showcase that the practices which aim to establish “order”/ “security” in the modern state sense, is constructed on discourses that allow for skewed practices on these groups to be legitimized and practiced. Further, these practices of policing that aim to maintain order and security are practices that are of a personal matter, as they are practiced and produced based on body politics.

As I have presented above, the body is the main arena in which these practices are applied. “Security” is constructed on the notion that “order” must be established by “knowing” which bodies are walking by, driving by, in other words, existing. This is because bodies are the subjects in which power, in the form of control and sometimes discipline, can be exercised so the body can be known. While being controlled, the body becomes known to the sovereign power. This means the body must be distinct from either being “right” or “wrong” bodies, a binary assumption that derived from a binary understanding of productive/destructive. “Right” bodies, in this sense, are productive bodies for society and present no harm. While “Wrong” are destructive bodies from which we (society) and our bodies must be protected from (Epstein,2007, pg.153). Police stops are a form of power that perform and materialize order. The police work against disorder and to combat crime, and their tasks are manifested “by police who interdict, question and search people in public spaces” (Bradford, 2017, pg.1). Because it is people that are being subjected to police stops, it means that people’s bodies are the starting

point of these practices, and upon which order is exercised. For as Foucault observed confinement or correction always centers around the body (Foucault, 1991, pg.25). In many of the encounters, which young ethnic minorities experience in their everyday, they are assumed to be “guilty” bodies. Their bodies are not given the question of doubt. Their bodies exist within presumed assumptions of who they are and what they are doing. Their bodies must be therefore always be subjugated control, it must be reassured that they are not going to disrupt the “order” in place or maintain “disorder”. This also includes stopping them due to what they wear. If their clothing styles, go beyond what is “normal” then they are performing and becoming bodies that are no longer “natural”. The construction of their bodies as “guilty”, as “criminal”, allows the legitimacy to stop, interrogate them, search them, handcuff them, mistake them for someone. As Epstein (2007) states, this is because when bodies are not considered productive bodies, but bodies that present threat, they do not have the right to have rights. Until the body is known and then the body can regain its full human rights (Epstein, 2007, pg.157). This is presented for instance when the police do not listen to the youth when they attempt to speak, even though the police state that they listen to them. Further, ethnic minorities experience disproportionate stops given the discourses upon in which they exist within the Norwegian society which is frequently manifested through the foreign/Norwegian dichotomy. The manifestation of violence through structural factors and symbolic violence also highlights this.

The experience of being stopped is a reflection of other experiences of exclusion experienced within the Norwegian society. Being an individual of an ethnic minority in Norway is experiencing the everyday differently, this includes (in)security. These experiences also depend on which factors of identity are intersecting. For instance, as stated, policing practices in neighborhoods and in the streets of the city present a different manifestation of violence to male individuals ethnic minorities than those read as a female of ethnic minorities. In this study, it is men of ethnic individuals that have to develop mechanisms and strategies to deal with this part of their everydayness. As they said because I am “girl”, I do not have to deal with the issue. As a “girl” I do not have to think about being perceived or re-imagined as a criminal, as someone that possibly sells weed (Interview 5). Hence, ethnic minorities experiences of their encounters with the police and policing practices in relation to security highlight how gender and other factors of identity shape and inform experiences of (in)security. As Stern (2001) argues this is because our identities are always “being recreated; they shift and change, even instantaneously” (Stern, 2001, pg.35). In this sense, identity can be understood as an “expression of multiple and constantly changing relationships, orders, discourses: it a repository, a reflection, a product, as well as (re)creator of our surroundings” (Stern, 2001, pg.36). However, to this, we must also

add the role of power within the discourses in which these identities are being performed, because it is discourses that inform how we make sense of these (Stern, 2001, pg.36-7). For instance, the discourses that are (re)produced about the neighborhoods in the Eastern area of Oslo in contrast to other neighborhoods of the city on the other side, assign which political and social meanings we give the area and its inhabitants, because they are described through distinctions of “us” and “them”, foreign/Norwegian, which are embedded in producing hierarchies.

Security in relation to their experiences with the police and their practices depend on which experienced was created at the moment of the encounter. The ones that had no experiences with the police had no negative perceptions of the police as a security provider. Those that did have an accumulated account of negative experiences saw the police as a provider of insecurity while at the same time a provider of security. Their practices and their role were not of either insecurity or security but of both. Hence, security in relation to the police and their practices materializes and manifests itself depending on which experience is being lived and in relation to whom. So, the feeling of (in)security depends for many of these young men on whether they are approached by an officer of ethnic minority that is a “kompis”, or an officer of ethnic minority attempting to prove his “norwegianess”, or a Norwegian officer that lacks comprehension and is perceived as targeting the young boys. Further, their own understanding of what security is to them is established, what changes is when it must be applied in relation to someone. In this way, security is dynamic, hybrid and establishes at a certain given point and is experienced in different forms depending on who we are, as Stern (2001, 2006) has also pointed out. The experiences of (in)security are also in this case not experienced under the binary logic of anarchy vs. order/ inside vs. outside/ protected vs. protector upon which traditional narratives of security and the modern state have been built on. The state through the police and their practices can be a threat to the safety and feeling of well-being for some individuals like young ethnic minorities that are found in the periphery of the Norwegian society. From this sense some ethnic minorities especially youth and male in marginalized neighborhoods, experience a non-privileged experience of “social order”, that showcases how their everyday experience of (in)security crosscuts across the traditional notion of security attached to the state and the international.

6.0 Conclusion

The police are the state agents with the legitimacy to enforce the law and maintain order (Sollund, 2007b, pg.11). Order and the enforcement of law are practiced through policing practices embedded with power that aim to provide order and stability and also reproduce notions of “normality”, hence maintaining the reproduction of social hierarchies within a society (Bradford, 2017, pg.207). As a result, police practices such as police stops are the instances in where order is materialized and performed (Bradford, 2017, pg.1). However, these practices are experienced differently depending on social-economic features of the individual being subjected to a stop. As discussed in 2.0, marginalized communities and individuals found in disadvantaged spaces are often targeted as they are constructed as social problems and criminals. The discourses upon which these individuals are (re)imagined allow for a different type of police control and treatment than the one the rest of the majority experiences (Haller et al., 2018, pg.2) In the case of ethnic minorities in western states, studies show that they are the group that is most likely to experience disproportionate forms of police violence (Dukes & Kahn, 2017, pg.691).

There are different approaches to understand the disproportionate treatment of ethnic minorities in the West. In the same way that there are studies that focus on the effects and consequences of experiencing a different treatment by the police. Nevertheless, most of these studies are based on experiences of ethnic minorities in the United States and the United Kingdom⁵.

In this thesis I aimed to contribute to studying the experiences of ethnic minorities within a Nordic city, Oslo, by focusing on how these experiences connect to a broader discussion of (in)security. Situating myself within standpoint but mostly post-structuralist feminists’ contributions to security studies, different understandings of violence and the role of the body in relation to power and security practices, I explored how these embodied experiences contribute to our understanding of (in)security.

Based on interviews with young men of ethnic minority background from across different parts of Eastern Oslo who had experienced police stops, in this thesis I discussed the role of the body in policing practices and the establishment of “order”. I highlighted how something “out of place/within place” is unrecognizable to the police without a body performing certain discourses recognized and read within a context. By exploring the body as an arena where

⁵ With the notable exception of the recent work provided by Mulinari (2017), Solhjell et al. (2018), and Haller et al. (2018) who focus on the experiences of ethnic minorities within the Scandinavian context.

power, performativity and resistance reside, in this thesis, I argued that violence is productive and manifests through various forms. Violence can manifest through structural violence as a result of skewed structures found within the Norwegian society, through symbolic violence which changes and informs an individual's position in relation to the police and society, and lastly through their reflections on how these collective experiences can become part of a long-lasting effect form of violence through slow violence. All of these discussions led to a bigger one, discussing how the experiences of ethnic minorities fit within a discussion around (in)security.

Those that had an accumulative number of negative encounters with the police saw the police as a source of (in)security. Security was performed by the police when they were visible but far. Insecurity was performed when they came near and into the personal space of individuals. This, however, also depended on the approach that follows after executing a stop. For the young men of ethnic minorities police officers that presented and performed notions of being a "kompis", someone that cared for them, that was equal to them, were security providers. The same applied to social workers and everyday people that care about them and take the time to talk to them. This in contrast to police officers that approached them with preexisting assumptions of their personas and re-enforced the Norwegian/foreign dichotomy, officers that made them feel stressed, bothered, humiliated, irritation, anger, and fear. That made them perceive that the police were there to create fear as opposed to help them and make them feel safe. Those that did not have any negative experiences with the police associated them with security and safety. In this sense security is a discursive contextual practice. Security is a process that is influenced by the multiple identities that intersect and manifests depending on which encounter is being created and in relation to who.

For the future, a debate regarding the relationship between the police and the youth should be elevated to discuss how and what type of approaches are being put into practice. Who is benefiting of these practices and again at whose expense are these being applied? Further, future research on the issue within the Norwegian context should continue, especially surrounding how individuals of ethnic minorities are constructed and not constructed within the learning environment of police officers, which global narratives of the "othered" are being incorporated within local police practices. Finally, how individuals that identify as girls within ethnic minorities view the police and their practices in relation to security within their own neighborhoods.

For policy considerations, the young men interviewed for this thesis recommend a change in the police behavior that is applied when dealing with the youth. The interviewees suggest a change in attitude. They do not want to meet or deal with the police attitude; they want a more human-like approach and do not want to experience physical violence. They suggest the police focuses on building relations with them, where mutual trust can exist rather than treat them as suspicious individuals. Finally, they suggest the police allow the youth to breathe. I recommend that the suggestions raised by Haller et al. (2018) and Solhjell et al. (2018) regarding more professionalism by part of the police, communication, and information about why the person is being stopped, also be taken into consideration. As communication is also a factor observed to lack in the youths encounters with the police in this thesis. However, to this, I would also add a more radical suggestion. Vitale (2017) recommends a change of the police culture and their mentality. In a similar line, I would suggest a revision of policing/security practices because if legitimate use of violence by a state institution produces insecurity to individuals, then violence as a legitimate force by the state must always be revised and contested. Furthermore, I encourage the incorporation of self-reflexivity. The police have a political and symbolic position of power within a society, and at the moment of encountering someone they produce hierarchies and establish/produce certain discourses of dominance, a police officer should be aware of this and of which type of discourses they are at the moment repressing by their practices and approaches.

7.0 Reference List

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8.0 Appendix

8.1 Interviews

As mentioned, all participants were youth of an ethnic minority background who were born/grew up in Norway, with the exception of interviewee 3 in Group Interview 1, who was ethnically Norwegian.

<i>Interview</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Interviewees</i>
Group Interview 1	29. Nov.2018	4 participants all 16-year old
Group Interview 2	06. Dec.2018	7 participants all 16-year old*
Group Interview 3	07. Dec.2018	2 participants 17 and 18-year old
Group Interview 4	07. Dec. 2018	2 participants 16-year-old
Interview 1	07. Dec. 2018	Anonymous, 16 years old
Interview 2	07. Dec. 2018	Anonymous, 16 years old
Interview 3	07. Dec.2018	Anonymous, 16 years old
Interview 4 (part 1)	12. Dec.2018	Anonymous, 28 years old
Interview 5	14. Dec.2018	Anonymous, 19 years old
Interview 6 (part 2)	26. Jan.2019	Anonymous, 28 years old

*Two young men from Group Interview 1 also participated in Group Interview 2



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