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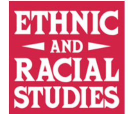

Effects of racial profiling: the subjectivation of discriminatory police practices

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the effects and consequences of police checks in Swiss cities. In our participatory and collaborative research, we focus on the perspectives of those for whom racial profiling is part of everyday life. Using a theoretical perspective of subjectivation, we draw on thirty qualitative interviews with members of racialized minorities. We analyse not only the immediate effects of stop and searches such as feelings of humiliation, powerlessness and self-accusation but also long-term consequences such as the restriction of one's own movement in public spaces, fear of police, social withdrawal and loss of trust in state authorities. Ultimately, we examine the tactics and forms of resistance comprising elements of specific subjectivities that individuals use to deal with racial profiling.

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Introduction

Over the last three decades, "racial profiling" has become both an analytical concept and a mobilizing term in social and political debates. It is now widely used in anti-discriminatory research and reports. While initial studies, carried out mainly in the US, Canada and the UK, concentrated on stop and search practices (e.g. Harris 1997; Spitzer 1999; Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss 2007; Bowling and Phillips 2007; Ridgeway 2007), current research has broadened its focus to include a range of practices related to migration policing, surveillance in the context of the so-called War on Terror and War on Drugs, and policing in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods (for an overview see Engel, Calnon, and Bernard 2002; Tator and Henry 2006; Davis 2017; Hargreaves 2018; Delsol and Shiner 2015; Schclarek Mulinari and Keskinen 2020). In recent years a growing body of research in continental Europe has examined how institutionalized racism and racial prejudice shape

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policing in their respective national and regional contexts (France: Open Society Justice Initiative 2009; Jobard et al. 2012; Fassin 2013. Germany: KOP 2016; Netzwerk 2017; Loick 2018a; Thompson 2021a, 2022. Finland and Sweden: Keskinen et al. 2018; Schclarek Mulinari 2017; Schclarek Mulinari and Keskinen 2020. Bulgaria, Hungary and Spain: Open Society Institute 2007. Switzerland: Wa Baile et al. 2019).

Racial profiling refers to policing activities such as identity checks, surveillance and interrogation targeting people because of their skin colour or alleged ethnic or religious identities, and thus not based on something they have done but on how they are perceived by others (Glover 2009, 11; Open Society Foundation 2020, 4).[1]

In Switzerland, racial profiling and its consequences have not yet been studied quantitatively or qualitatively. As members of the collaborative research group (Kollaborative Forschungsgruppe),[2] we initiated an interview study in 2016, in which we conducted thirty interviews with people affected by police stop and searches.[3] In this paper, we analyse the effects of racial profiling based on the experiences of people who regularly face stop and searches in their everyday lives. We focus on the situational consequences and long-term effects that arise from these police practices, and on the different tactics and forms of resistance these practices provoke.

In the following we explain our theoretical and analytical approach, provide background information on the interview study and present research results on a) the experiences of "othering" through police practices; b) the immediate effects of forced interactions with police; c) the long-term consequences of these interactions and d) the ways people address these situations, especially through tactics to avoid and resist racial profiling.

Modes of subjectivation

Analytically, we base our approach on processes of subjectivation to gain a better understanding of the effects of racial profiling. We start with Louis Althusser's proposal that a subject is formed as a result of "ideological interpellation". Using the metaphor of the police officer's interpellation "Hey, you there!" (Althusser 2001, 174), to which the person addressed reacts, Althusser envisions the constant formation of subjects in powerful and ideologically permeated social interactions. Building on this idea, Michel Foucault develops a slightly modified analysis of subjectivation. Foucault refers to an understanding derived from the Latin origin of the term "subject" (*iacere* = to prostrate, to be situated) in its dual meaning: "subjected to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a consciousness or self-knowledge" (1982, 212). To follow Foucault: being a subject in the emphatic sense of the Enlightenment is based on submission to powerful social institutions (of which the police is only one). Such subordination is at

once the source of one's self-assurance and an ability to take action – including against the subjectivizing power. It is important to note here that subjectifications do not produce a general subject, but rather must be seen as relational, as "differential subjectifications" (Loick 2018b, 29; Thompson 2018; Browne 2015). While some experience the police primarily as a guarantor of security, others experience them primarily as a risk and have to subject themselves to the constant threat of stops. Thus, subjectivation and interpellation serve here as concepts to understand and analyze effects that are not only subjugating but also action-enabling, which are not only repressive but also productively enforced by power.

Our analysis relies on previous research on the harmful effects on people's mental and physical health that come from practices of racial profiling (Carter and Mazzula 2006; Birzer 2013; Sewell, Jefferson, and Lee 2016; Laurencin and Walker 2020). These studies show racial profiling leads to emotional and psychological distress, anxiety, alienation and a weakened sense of belonging (Ontario Human Rights Commission 2003; Geller et al. 2014; Louw, Trabold, and Mohrfeldt 2016; Sewell, Jefferson, and Lee 2016; Thompson 2021a). Discriminatory police practices can lead to mistrust in public institutions and legal authorities (Harris 2002; Brunson 2007; Sharp and Atherton 2007; Tyler, Fagan, and Geller 2014), an increase in crime (Open Society Justice Initiative 2012; Glaser 2014) and the loss of jobs or public benefits (Center for Constitutional Rights 2012). Studies indicate that racial profiling also affects peoples' families and communities in negative ways, as well as uninvolved observers and even police officers themselves (Open Society Justice Initiative 2009; Ross 2016; Sewell, Jefferson, and Lee 2016; Bradford 2015; Harris 2017; Thompson 2022).

Collaborative research on racial profiling in Switzerland

Our analysis draws on interview data that documents the experiences of people who encounter racial profiling. The interdisciplinary research group was established out of a necessity for empirical evidence that racial profiling exists in Switzerland. It consisted of social scientists and activists, some of whom themselves experience discrimination and are directly affected by racial profiling. We chose a collaborative (Niewöhner 2016) and participatory research setting (Unger 2014; Aldridge 2015) to integrate a large diversity of perspectives into the research process. It should be noted that this approach did not suit institutionalized funding schemes; due to the activist engagement of most of the group members we conducted the study voluntarily without institutional funding.

The research was designed, conducted, and implemented in a process of collective knowledge production (Collins 2000), in which the various steps, as well as the preliminary results, were discussed with the interviewees during

several feedback sessions. These discussions were intensive and often discursively complex or shaped by interview participants' own interpretations, which we added to our analysis.

The thirty interview participants define themselves as Black, Persons of Colour, Yenish, Sinto/Sintezza, Rom/ni, Muslim, Asian or migrant.[4] They were between 21–66 years old. Twenty were men and ten were women. Many of the research participants had or still have a precarious residence status such as refugee, temporary or rejected asylum status (11). Other participants have a Swiss passport or a permanent, long-term residence status (19). Contact with the interviewees was established through public appeals via various social media platforms, personal networks, activist events and referrals from former interview participants.[5]

Using the method of theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss 2009), we aimed to represent a wide, heterogeneous range of experiences of people.[6] We did not intend for the study to account for *all* forms of racial profiling. The analysis of the interviewees' experiences points to "intersectional modalities" (Crenshaw 1991; Combahee River Collective 1982; Thompson 2021b; Plümecke and Wilopo 2019) and illustrates how police stops impose different forms of violence depending on the subject and body of the targeted individual. In this paper, we focus on the similarities that many of the interviewees reported and which have not been extensively analysed in international research.

The interviews were conducted using qualitative, semi-structured and in-depth techniques (Helfferich 2011).[7] For the analysis, we used a case-comparative and case-contrast procedure following Kelle and Kluge (2010). We compared the experiences and narratives of the interviewees according to categories developed both deductively and inductively, and we used counter-examples to undertake a case-contrast.[8] The interviews lasted one to three hours and were conducted in (Swiss) German, English or French.[9] We asked all interviewees to describe their encounters with racial profiling, the controls' effects on them at the time, their feelings about the experiences and the long-term consequences of these encounters. We also inquired about how the interviewees reacted to the police stops and searches and how their experiences with police affect their everyday lives. Approaching racial profiling as a structural and institutionalized form of racism (Tator and Henry 2006; KOP 2016, 10), we consider the interviews as a form of "counter-storytelling" (Delgado and Stefancic 2017, 42; Martinez 2020): the individual voices provide insights into the everyday experiences of those affected and counteract the trivialization or even denial of racial profiling in public perception and hegemonic representations.

Racialized othering and the nexus with criminalisation

"Every day when I leave the house, I realize that I have a different skin colour and that this fact does not simplify my life here." Akosua Casely-Hayford, a twenty-one-year-old Black Swiss woman, describes her everyday experience of othering, through which she is singled out because of her non-white skin colour.[10] She explains that the visibility of her skin colour is a "problem" that only becomes "noticeable" to her in public.

W. E. B. Du Bois (1903, 1) discusses the problematization of the self through the reduction of one's personhood to their skin pigmentation by asking the question "How does it feel to be a problem?" Using this question as a starting point for analysing how US society divides people along the colour line, he addresses how black skin is turned into a consequential "stigma", to which further assumptions about illegality and criminality are attached. Through the racializing gaze of the police and society at large, humans are made into "others" in public because of an externally visible feature. This goes hand in hand with the denial that these othered people are "from here" and with the suspicion that they pose a special danger.

One of the common experiences among our interviewees is of constantly being addressed by the police as a "stranger", and therefore as forever "just arriving" regardless of whether they have lived in Switzerland for eight years or for generations (see El-Tayeb 2011, XXV). Being continuously racialized and "othered" is a recurring experience in this context. Ebony Amer, a Black woman, describes her encounters with police authorities exactly in this sense: "I am considered first and foremost a foreigner." In addition to the suspicion of being in the country illegally, many interviewees, such as Phil Stevard, a Black Swiss man, report accusations that they are involved in criminal activities. He remarks: "It is not normal that you always have to feel like a criminal in the country you live in. I keep feeling like I'm a bad person."

Immediate effects of interactions with the police

The experiences of racial profiling can have various psychological, social and economic impacts on people. When asked about the effects of their encounters with police, the majority of our interviewees report negative emotions such as fear, shame, anger and self-accusation. To better understand the meaning of the often emotionally charged reports, we analysed the impact beyond isolated stops by the police, relying on Althusser's and Foucault's conceptions of subjectivation. To grasp the different forms of subjectivation and the specificities of intersectional interpellations and attributions, we further draw on elaborations of interpellation by Frantz Fanon and his analysis of colonial subjectivity (2008 [French 1952]). Fanon shows how the interpellation of colonial subjects is painfully embedded in their bodies,

producing subjectivities with an alienated consciousness. In this regard, we first highlight statements from the interviewees that describe the immediate effects of a police encounter.

Humiliation and devaluation

"What happened to my dignity?" With this rhetorical question Chandra Macasche, a refugee, describes an identity check he experienced on the bus. He was the only passenger forced by the police to get off the bus and show his ID at the next stop. Macasche reports: "They took my identity card, […] checked whether the ID was okay or not. In the meantime, two or three persons checked my bag, while people around were looking at me." After the check the police let Macasche go without any explanation. Like Macasche, many interviewees explains that during police stops they were humiliated and deprived of their dignity and rights. Consequently, the interviewees describe the checks as "very formative" (Mara Samatar), "degrading" (Mamadu Abdallam) or "shameful" (Walter Schmecker), as "a great humiliation" (Omar Zallman) or "actually an assault" (San Stiefan).

As Jamal Hessaini, a refugee, explains, the moment he is stopped by the police he no longer feels human: "I am nothing when the police stop me." This experience of devaluation is also reported by Mamadu Abdallam. The Swiss Black man describes his experience of being stopped and searched in public after stepping out of a supermarket with two full grocery bags: "I felt very small. After the police stopped and checked me, I felt completely depressed for two days. [Before the encounter with the police] I went shopping and I wanted to cook at home and prepare something. I had bought flowers for my wife because we had our five-year anniversary. But [after the stop] I threw them into the trash can. All I could do was cry." Such feelings are especially powerful because the stop and search practices usually occur very suddenly, as Mara Samatar, a Black social worker, explains: "You have a nice evening, are walking around the city […], and then you're just picked out and […] frisked – that's humiliating." Feelings of humiliation and loss of dignity are shared experiences among those affected by racial profiling.

Self-accusation and shame

Several interviewees recount that during and after a police stop and search they felt confused and asked themselves if they had done something wrong. Many question their behaviour and become burdened with self-doubt. Jay Anderson, a Black man explains that even after being treated aggressively during several identity checks, he faced self-doubt: "I was

asking myself […] am I making problems? Does this only happen to me?" Only when he realized that other people also experience racial profiling did his self-doubt end: "I realised that each person I met had a story to tell." These statements demonstrate how police encounters reduce the self-esteem of the people inspected and often lead to feelings of self-accusation.

Du Bois' question "How does it feel to be a problem?" and Fanon's (2008) approach are analytically applicable here. Fanon elaborates on how experiences of insecurity turn into self-accusations and feelings of despair in a lived materiality of blackness. He points out the importance of aspects of recognition: "I am given no chance. I am overdetermined from without. I am the slave not of the 'idea' that others have of me but of my own appearance" (Fanon 2008, 87). Fanon used this experiences with the white gaze to work out what forms of recognition were possible in a white world. Unlike Althusser, he is not concerned with the production of the subject as such, but with the specific relationship between the interpellation by white power and his visible body. Specifically, the surface of his skin in public space exists in what he calls a "historico-racial" and a "racial epidermal schema", which structures the experience of Black people in the form of a disassociation of the self and the world, of an "internalization – or, better the epidermalization – of […] inferiority" (Fanon 2008, 4, 83; see also Browne 2010, 97). Stuart Hall summarises Fanon's work in this regard as an elaboration on the imperative of a "fragmented and shattered" self-image of Black people that from his analytical perspective only exists through a process of alienation by the white paction of Black people (1996, 17, 18). As Hall points out: this is not only an externally imposed process but also one that works powerfully through "inner compulsion and subjective con-formation to the norm" (1993, 395). Fanon aims to understand precisely this process of becoming a subject as a process of personal alienation, caused by "[a]ll this whiteness that burns me" (2008, 86; see also Kilomba 2008). Beyond Althusser and Foucault, it is Fanon's engagement with interpellation and subjectivation that enables us here to look at differential and intersectional dimensions of subjectivation (see here Macherey 2012; Ahmed 2006, 140; Browne 2015, 17; Thompson 2022).

Various interviewees told us about the reactions of bystanders during a police stop they experienced and described an inner compulsion. Du Bois's question becomes clear once again: it is not the question of *what* problems a police stop creates, but that the police stop itself creates a personification of a problem. This personification is based on the perception of a racialized person as being considered a problem (Yancy 2005, 237). This makes whiteness appear to be the unmarked, unquestioned and unraced norm, which is always implicated in the presence of the black body through ontological assumptions about it. Police stops often occur in public, which can lead to increased humiliation for those targeted. This leads to a reinforcement of

"the public perception that certain groups are more prone to crime than others" (Harcourt 2004, 1375), but the gazes from bystanders also produce effects on those observed. Several interviewees describe how the stares from onlookers during police stops are unpleasant and hurtful and further reinforce their feelings of self-accusation and shame. Omar Zallman recounts how he "was extremely ashamed that this was happening" to him "and all the people saw it and didn't react". Wakur Bari, a Black man in his twenties, reports that he felt like he was "killed by the looks of the other passengers" during a stop and search. Especially concerning for him is that he cannot explain himself to those around him: from the outside, it looks like the police are interacting with a criminal person.

Eben Louw, Lisa Trabold, and Johanna Mohrfeldt state that "the more bystanders remain inactive, the stronger the effect of humiliation and the feeling of being left alone" (2016, 41). Thom Davies and colleagues (2017) show that passivity and lack of reaction can be seen as "violent inaction". The descriptions of the interview participants confirm these claims. Many report that the humiliating interaction with the police and the failure of bystanders to offer help or to intervene are particularly painful.

Long-term effects of discriminatory police practices

Long-term effects of recurring police stop and searches include psychological distress, mistrust of legal authorities and feeling unprotected by police (Ontario Human Rights Commission 2003; Geller et al. 2014; Tyler, Fagan, and Geller 2014; Louw, Trabold, and Mohrfeldt 2016; Sewell, Jefferson, and Lee 2016; Keskinen et al. 2018; Thompson 2021a). The stops impact not only people directly affected but also their family members and larger communities (see also the introduction for references on these findings).

To capture the long-term impacts of the constant and repeated threat of police stops, we refer to the concept of "slow violence" proposed by Robert Nixon (2011) and further developed for the analysis of racial profiling by Vanessa Thompson (2021a, 2022). We aim to understand the consequences that are not immediately visible and that are often socially invisible, fragmented and inconspicuous (Thompson 2022, 94). Such long-term effects are more difficult to assess than reports of particular discriminatory situations. Nevertheless, we were able to obtain evidence from the interviewees through various in-depth questions. We would like to point out that not only direct stop and search situations have an impact, as Phil Stevard explained: "Even if the police don't stop me, I always see them watching me." The permanent risk of being stopped by the police can lead to persistent feelings of insecurity and having to be on the alert.

Self-restrained movement, social withdrawal and isolation

Jay Anderson talked about the effects of an identity check in which the officers responded with physical violence to his question about why he was stopped. After that, he hardly left his house for a month. "Because I realized: when I go out, I should be prepared [to be stopped by police]." His experience with the police led to not only short-term physical wounds but also longer-term self-isolation and thus exclusion from public space.

In addition to anxiety and psychological distress, previous studies highlight how those impacted by police stops may react by changing clothing or hairstyles, altering their routes or always carrying an ID (e.g. Harris 2002; Center for Constitutional Rights 2012). Our interviewees also reported that the threat of everyday police stops has a severe impact on the way they move and behave in public. Similar to reports in other studies (Center for Constitutional Rights 2012; Carter and Mazzula 2006; Keskinen et al. 2018), some of our interview participants avoid specific places or streets to reduce the risk of being stopped. San Stefan, a Rom who has been living in Switzerland for over thirty years, said that he still avoids places "known for having many foreign residents". Mamadu Abdallam reported that he even moved to a different city because of the constant stop and searches. Because he did not want to burden his children with these situations anymore, he and his family finally moved.

Social withdrawal, loneliness and isolation among those experiencing racial profiling can be exacerbated if their friends or family members do not take them seriously. Akosua Casely-Hayford reported that apart from her mother, who as a Black Swiss woman, can understand her experiences and feelings, she receives little support from her white friends because they just say: "It's not all about you and your skin colour." She remarks: "This is like another fist in the face!" Perceived physical differences thus take on an extreme significance not only in the context of police practices but also in human relations and the self-image of the person concerned. For a subject in these relationships, often no truly safe place exists, even in spaces free of the danger of discriminatory police action.

Loss of confidence in the police

"I hate them!" exclaimed Tahar Baznani, a refugee whose asylum process is still in progress, when speaking about the police. Chisu Chilongo, a Black man, used words like "war" or "combat" in describing how he feels when the police interact with him. Other interviewees said that they do not trust law enforcement authorities and would therefore not call the police if they were victims of a crime. Mara Samatar said: "The trust is totally destroyed, it is no longer there. So, I don't know […] if I would call the police if I had

a problem." While the average Swiss citizen places a high degree of trust in the police (Szvircsev Tresch et al. 2016), the opposite is true of those interviewed in our study. Most do not see police officers as guarantors of rights and freedoms, but rather as a cause of uncertainty, risk or threat.

Studies about citizens' trust in the police show how frequent involuntary police contact and poor treatment can erode public confidence in the justice system (Ontario Human Rights Commission 2003; Batton and Kadleck 2004; Brunson 2007; Sharp and Atherton 2007; Tyler, Fagan, and Geller 2014; Keskinen et al. 2018). Often a large gap exists between the perceptions of those who experience racial profiling and those who do not (Harris 2002). We observed similar tendencies in our study. Several interviewees stress how the police do not recognize them as people with rights. Critical questions are often either ignored by the police or dismissed with the flimsy excuse "routine check". Tato Sino, a Thai-Swiss man was repeatedly told that he was just randomly targeted in a "normal identity check". He comments in the interview: "For me, this is not normal – this happens just because I am a Person of Colour." A consequence of this is a shattered relationship with the police: "Well, I no longer have any trust. No matter what I do, I am treated unfairly." Froggy Bayo, a Black researcher from Nigeria, puts it in a nutshell when he points out, in response to a question about his trust in the work of the police: "I think the most important thing is that it is very obvious that they don't trust me."

Dealing with the everyday danger of discriminatory police practices

The interviewees do not fully yield to the discriminatory actions of the police, but rather resist in a variety of ways. If we follow Althusser and Foucault, the restrictive, exclusionary and disciplinary effects of power can be expanded to include the productive effects it exerts on subjects, on their bodies and psyches. This approach makes it possible not only to highlight people's submission to racializing and criminalising police practices but also to critically examine how people who are targeted by racial profiling create ways to escape the police or at least symbolically resist their discriminatory practices.

We approach the diversity of experiences through the lens of subjectivation, but we suggest extending the analytic power of the concept by including theories of differential power and subversive tactics. To do this, we refer to Judith Butler (1997) and Sara Ahmed (2014) and their elaborations on the inclusion of resistant practices as part of the process of subjectivation. Butler's attention – building on Foucault, among others – is directed at resistances as an effect of power and processes of subjectivation. She argues that processes of subjectivation have to be continually reiterated and that it is precisely through the reiterative requirements of power that resistance becomes

possible, since the effects produced by power always exceeding that power (Butler 1997). Here we locate forms of resistance not only in the realm of direct confrontation, of conscious resistance, but also in more subtle and obstinate ways, such as those described by Sarah Ahmed. As she argues, a mere persisting or a "keep going" can itself also be an act of disobedience (Ahmed 2014, 2).

Thus, the possibilities of responding to subjectivizing interpellations are ambiguous, uncertain and never all-encompassing, as understood by Althusser. Only a few of the interviewees describe their reactions to racial profiling as a clear and visible act of resistance against the police. However, many report a variety of what Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos (2008) call imperceptible ways of dealing with the police. Often the existing order is not openly challenged, but avoided and thus silently ruptured. Therefore, it becomes necessary to investigate the blurred line between submission, subversive tactics and resistance. Terms such as wilfulness, stubbornness and defiance (see here Negt and Kluge 2001; Ahmed 2014) are thus more suitable to grasp the interviewees' understanding of their reaction toward discriminatory police practices.[11]

The analysis of the interviews shows that specific police actions – the selection of people for police stops, their frequency, the degrading effects – provoke a counter-reaction. These diverse tactics and strategies can be understood as a "plurality of resistances" (Foucault 1978, 96).[12] Although the police actions are designed to instil obedience in the targeted individuals, paradoxically they create, *nolens volens*, diverse kinds of insubordination. The interviews reported how they sometimes react not only with clear, strategic goals, but also with subtle, barely perceptible tactics, which are at times spontaneous and emotional. They described how even the smallest manoeuvres, such as changing the side of the street, can counteract the feeling of helplessness and minimize the humiliation associated with police encounters.

The fact that such forms of subversive tactics, wilfulness and resistance are always in an ambivalent position to the police's act of subjectivation becomes clear when we examine demonstrative over-adaptation as a transitional field between (self-)disciplining and subversive behaviour.

White masks and (over-)adaptation to the norm

In his study on the psychological effects of racist conditions, Fanon (2008) describes how Black people in white-dominated societies are forced to become as white as possible. He illustrates how conditions of surveillance, racism or racializing interpellations can lead to a neurotic situation within dominant, white societal structures. Fanon contends that those under surveillance are not considered individuals, but rather as the "other", the counterpart of white sovereignty. As a consequence, they are forced to wear

"white masks" and subjugate themselves to the "white norm". Previous studies have highlighted how people who encounter racial discrimination attempt to attract as little police attention as possible by adapting to the white norm in different ways, such as planning travel routes in advance, living in a predominately white neighbourhood or wearing inconspicuous clothing (e.g. Harris 2002; Pampel 2004; Center for Constitutional Rights 2012; Louw, Trabold, and Mohrfeldt 2016). Similarly, several interviewees reported that they feel compelled to constantly monitor their behaviour to be seen as "good citizens" to prevent unwanted interactions with the police. These include refraining from jaywalking, loitering and lingering in public places, as well as avoiding places that are associated with drug consumption.

This adaptation to "white norms" is expressed in the adoption of certain gestures and appearances. Some interviewees mention loudly speaking a Swiss German dialect or visibly holding one's passport to avoid checks at airports. Other adaptation practices include intentionally wearing a work uniform or dressing elegantly. The latter can be seen as a practice of veiling, to be less hypervisible and passing in public as "harmless". Tahar Baznani called this act "camouflage": "When I have an important meeting […] I wear a nice classic suit with a hat, just to be unnoticed by the police." Akosua Casely-Hayford explained that she tries to avoid being perceived as a sex worker by the police by "stay[ing] in line", meaning she usually wears black rather than colourful clothes, short skirts or high heels. In her opinion, the kind of camouflage she adopts allows her to manoeuvre through public spaces more freely with a smaller likelihood of experiencing racial discrimination. To understand this ambivalence of resistance and internalized submission in the attempt to camouflage oneself, it is necessary to expand Fanon's approach (focusing on adaptation and subjugation) with Homi Bhabha's (1985) concept of mimicry. Bhabha's concept describes the imitation of the colonizers by the colonized. He sees mimicry not necessarily as a conscious resistance strategy, but nevertheless as a possibility for the dominated to overcome their attested inferiority to some extent.

Questioning the police and connecting with bystanders

Our research participants use a variety of strategies to challenge police during discriminatory stop and searches. One approach is to ask the police if other (white) people are also being controlled. Ebony Amer describes an ID check at a train station where two police officers stopped her for identification. Amer asked the police officers very directly: "Why, why, why me? Why not all those people standing around?" Chisu Chilongo's tactic is to engage police officers in a discussion: "I always ask, 'Why are you stopping me? What is the first instinct that makes you stop me?' Of course, they

never say: 'Because you are black.' Often, I say: 'Look into my eyes and tell me the truth.' And they never look into my eyes." During another stop and search, he handed the police a flyer for his art show instead of his passport, saying: "This is me on the flyer, and please come to my performance next weekend. I'm inviting you." Although Chilongo still has to show his ID most of the time, he believes his actions are still effective: "I don't lose, because I still leave something in their minds."

Wakur Bari's counter-reaction to discriminatory police practices is to involve bystanders. He questions the police, raises his voice and draws attention to his situation. He explains his thinking as follows: "You have to make people aware of it." The situation can be "undermined to a certain extent if you involve others and thus create awareness" even while complying with a stop and search. Thus, asking the police questions, engaging in a conversation about your life (as Chilongo did with his art show) and connecting with bystanders to raise attention are examples of more active but often also effective practices.

Using one's own bare body

The police's racializing gaze makes the body the primary object. However, the body or, more specifically, its visible surface can also be used to express protest. It is then not only a site of attributive and repressive attacks but also a tool for active resistance. Ebony Amer was stopped by the police and asked to show her ID and open her bag. She remembers: "So I just put my backpack into their hands […] and then I started taking off my jacket and started to take off my shoes." She handed both over to the officers with the words: "Go ahead and examine me!" The officers were so taken aback by this reaction that they let Amer go without conducting further questioning. Such tactics are used not only during police encounters but also during everyday confrontations with racism. After Chandra Macasche was accused of stealing, he was told by a supermarket employee to follow the employee into a back room for a search of his backpack and jacket. In this situation, Macasche reacted with an escalation using his bare body: "I took off my shirt and immediately opened my pants and everything and was completely naked." Macasche made it clear to the employee how shamefully stereotypical this false accusation was, and the employee apologized several times. Both Macasche and Amer used the vulnerability of their bare black bodies as means to literally uncover the heart of the problem: their black skin. By removing their clothes, they inverted the situation: they exposed themselves even more, thus also exposing the racist act of the officers. At the same time, they unmasked the hegemonic power structures: the dressed police and supermarket employee on one side and the exposed body on the other.

Conclusion

Our analysis identified patterns in the humiliation and devaluation experienced by those subject to racial profiling, in their feelings of powerlessness, frustration, shame and self-accusation, and in the long-term consequences of fear of the police, social isolation and self-constraint in their freedom of movement. Because a key finding of our analysis was that those profiled are not stuck within a victim status, we also analysed the strategies and tactics they use to deal with the constant risk of being targeted by the police. Nevertheless, although we do not consider state power to be total, we do not want to dismiss its violent character. In this sense, our analysis revealed that recurring identity checks and body searches are experienced by many as disciplining assaults on their person, body and identity. We do not consider the stories of our interviewees as portrayals of exceptional cases but as accounts of everyday experiences that bring to light the structured pattern of discriminatory police practices and their harmful, exclusionary and segregating societal consequences.

The concept of subjectivation was particularly useful for our study for three reasons. First, it helps us examine the effects of racial profiling beyond purely psychological approaches to the issue. Second, it serves to identify long-term effects from a critical perspective and elucidates the social impacts of the police's subjugation of people, in particular, their racialized othering and criminalization. And third, the concept also reveals not only the repressive or disciplinary effects of discriminatory police actions but also various forms of agency and ways of countering these police practices. From this perspective, it seems appropriate to include forms of resistance in the analysis which are not usually recognized as such. Actions of masking, camouflage, demonstrative (over-)adaptation and questioning, as well as the exposing of one's social vulnerability by displaying the bare body, are regarded here within the spectrum of wilfulness, impulsive subversion and well-considered tactics, all of which are aimed at undermining police officers' control of the situation. This research shows clearly that comprehensive knowledge and analysis of the effects of racial profiling is an important element for effective criticism of racism, political interventions and further societal transformations.

Notes

1. The terms "ethnic profiling" or "racial/ethnic profiling" are also used in the European context (e.g., Espahangizi et al. 2016). Terms such as "biased-based policing" (Birzer 2013), "racially biased policing" (Harris 2017, 117), "origin-based personal profiles" (*herkunftsbasierte Personenprofile*) (Herrnkind 2014, 36) or "racist search patterns" (*rassistische Fahndungsmuster*) (Amnesty International 2014, 3) are not widely established.

2. Further members of the research group are Sarah Schilliger, Daniel Egli, Ellen Höhne, Rea Jurcevic, Florian Vock and Mohamed Wa Baile, whom we would like to thank for their collaboration and support on this paper. The full research report was published by the Kollaborative Forschungsgruppe (2019). Further work was published focusing on an intersectional analysis of the people's individuals racial profiling experiences (Plümecke and Wilopo 2019), the solidarity infrastructure used to contest racial profiling (Schilliger 2020) and the spatial aspects of racial profiling (Jurcevic et al. 2018).
3. We began this study during the court case of Mohamed Wa Baile in 2016 to bring attention to racial profiling as a social and political issue. Wa Baile resisted a police control at the Zurich train station and was consequently fined for failing to comply with an official order. During the court case that followed, a solidarity movement emerged for Wa Baile with the support of the Kollaborative Forschungsgruppe Racial Profiling.
4. In Switzerland besides Black people and people of colour other visible minorities, such as the Sinto/Sintezza and Yenish communities, are also affected. The Sinto/Sintezza are Romani people who are traditionally itinerant, with approximately 200,000 members living predominantly in German-speaking countries. The term Yenish is the designation of a transnational group whose main unifying feature is a shared language. Of the estimated 100,000 Yenish people in central Europe, around 30,000 live in Switzerland of which about 3,000 are similarly itinerant. Between 1926 and 1973, hundreds of Yenish children in Switzerland were separated from their families, placed in institutions and forced into child labour (Huonker 2009).
5. Our recruitment information mentioned the term racial profiling, which leads to a selection of people who were already critical of police stops and searches. However, such a selection was intended with the aim of making the voices of people affected by racial profiling heard.
6. The method of theoretical sampling entails different rounds of collecting and analysing data and recruiting new research participants based on emerging findings and evolving theoretical concepts. After each round of interview analysis, key concepts were identified to carefully develop a theory.
7. We developed an interview guide with twenty questions focusing on three main aspects: experiences, effects and resistance. Interviewees were asked to fill out a short questionnaire to obtain their data such as their gender identity, nationality, residence permit, age, place of residence, job/occupation and language skills. The interview recordings were complemented with interview reports containing immediate impressions after the interview.
8. For further explanations of the methodological approach, see Kollaborative Forschungsgruppe 2019; Plümecke and Wilopo 2019.
9. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. If they were carried out with non-native speakers they were also translated and adjusted grammatically. The interview transcripts and personal statements were anonymized and pseudonyms were used. All interviewees signed an informed consent. Permission from a university ethics review board was not obtained as the study was conducted independently of a university setting. Nevertheless, the high criteria of the professional ethos of qualitative participatory research were applied.
10. All interviewees were given a pseudonym of their choice. We decided to use full first and last names so that there would be no additional difference between

the scientific authors and the interviewees in the publication, and to avoid the danger of infantilization by using only first names.

11. To consider subversive tactics and wilfulness as an effect of racial profiling may seem counterintuitive, since in Western thought resistance is strongly bound to an emphatic understanding of the subject. However, the concept of subjectivation referred to here also implies that the very act of subjugation also creates potential for agency.
12. This juxtaposition of power and resistance does not imply that the forces on the two sides are equal. As Foucault states, "the struggle, of course, is not symmetrical, the power situation is not the same" (1997, 167).

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