

## Tilburg University

### From conflict to cooperation

Stronks, Sara

*Publication date:*  
2017

*Document Version*  
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in Tilburg University Research Portal](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*  
Stronks, S. (2017). *From conflict to cooperation: Exploring post-conflict interactions between police and citizens.* [s.n.].

#### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

#### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.


A stylized illustration of a hand holding a flower, rendered in shades of red and orange against a yellow background. The hand is positioned at the top, with the fingers gently cupping a flower. The background is a gradient of yellow and orange, with a large, dark red shape that resembles a hand or a flower at the top. The overall style is modern and graphic.

Sara Stronks

# FROM CONFLICT TO COOPERATION

---

*Exploring post-conflict interactions  
between police and citizens*

A stylized illustration of a staircase, rendered in shades of red and orange against a yellow background. The staircase is composed of several steps, with the top step being a dark red color. The background is a gradient of yellow and orange, with a large, dark red shape that resembles a hand or a flower at the top. The overall style is modern and graphic.

Sara Stronks

# FROM CONFLICT TO COOPERATION

---

*Exploring post-conflict interactions  
between police and citizens*

This research was funded by, and conducted under the auspices of the Policeacademy of The Netherlands.

Cover design: Imago Mediabuilders  
Layout and printing: Imago Mediabuilders

ISBN 978 94 028 0662 5

© Sara Stronks, 2017

All rights reserved. No parts of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission in writing from the proprietor(s).

# FROM CONFLICT TO COOPERATION

---

*Exploring post-conflict interactions  
between police and citizens*

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan Tilburg University op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. E.H.L. Aarts, in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie in de aula van de Universiteit op vrijdag 2 juni 2017 om 10.00 uur door Sara Stronks, geboren te Amersfoort.

Promotores:

Prof. (Em.) Dr. G.J.M. van den Brink

Prof. Dr. O.M.J. Adang

Overige commissieleden:

Prof. Dr. Ir. J.B. Terpstra

Prof. Dr. P.E.W.M. Tops

Prof. Dr. P. Verbeek

## Table of contents

	<i>Lexicon</i>	7
	<i>Prologue</i>	13
<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>Police and Citizens in conflict: exploring post-confrontation interaction from a relational perspective.</b>	<b>41</b>
	Chapter 2 has been published as: van de Klomp, M., Stronks, S., Adang, O.M.J. & Van den Brink, G.J.M (2014): Police and Citizens in conflict: exploring post-confrontation interaction from a relational perspective. <i>Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy</i> , 24(4): 459-478.	
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>Critical Moments in Police-Citizen reconciliation.</b>	<b>63</b>
	Chapter 3 has been published as: Stronks, S. & Adang, O.M.J. (2015): Critical Moments in Police-Citizen reconciliation. <i>Policing: an International Journal of Police Strategies &amp; Management</i> , 38(2): 366-380.	
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>Exploring police-citizen conflict and reconciliation through a relational model.</b>	<b>79</b>
	Chapter 4 has been published as Stronks, S. (2015). 'Exploring police-citizen conflict and reconciliation through a relational model.' <i>European Journal of Policing Studies</i> 3(1): 342-366.	
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>Community police officers and self-involved conflict; an explorative study on reconciliation with citizens.</b>	<b>101</b>
	Chapter 5 has been published as Stronks, S. (2016): Community police officers and self-involved conflict; an explorative study on reconciliation with citizens. <i>Policing: A Journal Of Policy And Practice</i> 10(3): 206-221.	
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>119</b>
	<i>Epilogue</i>	147
	<i>References</i>	149
	<i>Summary</i>	165
	<i>Samenvatting</i>	175
	<i>Dankwoord</i>	189
	<i>About the author</i>	194







# Lexicon



**Agression:** the display of behavioural and vocal threat displays that are objectively determinable aimed at causing physical injury or to warn of impending actions of this nature.

**Avoidance:** a method of conflict management through which a party chooses to cease or limit, either temporarily or permanently, any contacts with the conflicting actor(s) that relate to the conflict.

**Conflict:** a parties' experience of a conflict of interests, goals or actions, encountered relative to another party. An experience of conflict does not necessary involve aggressive interaction with the other party.

**Confrontation:** see overt conflict.

**Conflict management:** actions or adherence to conventions that settle conflict. Methods of conflict management such as submission or the use of force do not necessarily end the conflict of interest/goals/actions underlying the conflictive interaction (after Aureli & De Waal 2000: 387).

**Conflict resolution:** post overt conflict direct interaction between former opponents that serves to restore the relational interaction (after Aureli & De Waal 2000: 387).

**Community Oriented Policing:** a proactive policing strategy that focuses the prevention of crime through problem solving tactics and relationships with the community.

**Compatibility:** see relationship compatibility.

**Group-level:** see meso-level.

**Group-level reconciliation:** a process in which police and citizens were objectively determinable involved in overt conflict over a particular resource at point A and were cooperating over that same resource at a point B further in time.

**Individual-level:** see micro-level.

**Institutional-level:** see macro-level.

**Legitimacy:** the process through which formal authority given to a state body such as the police, is justified morally. Through legitimacy, a sense of the a state body representatives duty to obey the law, regardless of personal motives and interests, is evoked (Weber, 1972 [1922]).

**Overt conflict:** objectively determinable aggressive interaction between (at least two representatives of) the police and the citizen, based on incompatible goals, interests or actions.

**Macro-level:** institutional and legal systems. A macro-level of analysis and understanding concerns analysis and understanding of the police as an institute and the debates and

decision making on issues that affect the institutional dimension of the police-citizen relationship fundamentally.

**Meso-level:** operational structures, practices and procedures of the police and citizen as agency (Benyon, 1994). A meso-level of analysis and understanding concerns the analysis and understanding of interactions between the police and citizens as parties in a specific case of group level overt conflict.

**Micro-level:** interactions between individuals or small groups of individuals. In this thesis, micro-level analysis and understanding concerns the analysis and understanding of interactions between individuals and small groups in the context of police involved overt conflict with citizens and the management thereof.

**Modern Western democracy:** a term that is used to refer to most European countries, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States.

**Natural Conflict Resolution:** a term that is used to refer to studies in which the principles of the Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) are explored and tested.

**Police-citizen relationship:** an analytical construct with which the interdependency between the police, police groups or police workers and citizens citizen groups or citizen actors is defined. Police-citizen relationship have an institutionally constructed dimension and a social dimension. Police-citizen relationships can be analysed on the micro- meso- and macro-levels of interaction.

**Problem Oriented Policing:** a policing strategy that focuses on the cooperation between police, community and other relevant partners in identifying and analysing integrated problems in a community or area and developing customised responses to them. Problem Oriented Policing is commonly viewed as the main strategy of community policing.

**Reassurance policing:** a strategy of policing that focuses on the cooperation between the police and the community in understanding local problems and prioritizing responses relative to certain signal crimes that have a disproportionate effect on a community's sense of security.

**Reconciliation:** cooperative post conflict interaction between former (representatives of) opponent parties, that serves to restore damage that is inflicted on the relationship by an overt conflict. Reconciliation is vital to social animals in order to maintain in-group living and group survival.

**Relational Model:** an ethological model of conflict analysis that assumes that for group living animals such as humans, the closely aligned processes of cooperation, overt conflict and reconciliation, are crucial positive social tendencies through which the terms of relationships are negotiated and group cohesion is maintained (Aureli & De Waal, 2000).

**Relationship-compatibility:** a quality of relationships that refers to the general tenor of

social interactions in a dyad, which results from the temperament of the parties and their shared history of social exchanges (Cords & Aureli, 2000). The results from this thesis suggest that compatibility also refers to the social identification between the parties.

**Relational perspective:** a perspective on the analysis of conflict interaction in which the principles of the Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) and importance of the nature of relationships (described in terms of their value, security and combatibility, after Cords and Aureli, 2000) in understanding and explaining interactions, are assumed.

**Relationship-security:** a quality of relationships that refers to the predictability of interactions between parties as well as to the perceived probability that the nature of these interactions will change in terms of their aggressiveness or friendliness.

**Relationship-value:** the prominent quality of relationships that refers to what the parties have to offer, how willing they are to offer it and the extent to which they are accessible to one another.

**Social identification:** the cognitive process of defining oneself and others into social groups. Social identification is essential in human perception and cognition, and hence, functioning and behaviour.

**Toleration:** a method of conflict management in which a party chooses to ignore the issue causing the conflict of interest, and continues the relationship with the other. Toleration immediately mitigates stress and anxiety caused by the conflict, but it does not end the conflict.





# Prologue

*In observing and interviewing police workers during my master's thesis research, I, so to say, fell in scientific love with the police. During my six months of participant observation, I gradually discovered that the police organization and culture have so many characteristics that can make as well as break effective, valuable and satisfying police work. I learned to appreciate police workers for the complex tasks and duties they perform, and for the constant struggles they face in overcoming the cumbersome systems in which they operate in order to deliver. I promised myself that I would pursue a career in which I could contribute, at least somehow, to better and more satisfying jobs in public institutions, and ideally in police institutions of course. I was, therefore, so happy and grateful when I was accepted for a PhD position at the Policeacademy. By conducting research on conflict and reconciliation between the police and citizens, I was again able to perform useful and potentially valuable research...*







# Chapter 1

**Introduction**



In the Netherlands and other modern Western democracies, cooperation between the police and citizens in maintaining social order, safety and security is strongly encouraged. Citizens are regarded as important sources of information in the development of local security policies (e.g., Lundman, 1980; Crawford, 1997). Cooperation leads to bonds of trust that increase spontaneous compliance (Adang et al., forthcoming in 2017). The preventive function of cooperative police-citizen relationships is emphasised in a variety of works on effective policing (e.g., Della Porta & Reiter, 1998; Otten et al., 2001; Fielding, 2005). Citizens are recognised as the ‘eyes and ears’ of the police, implying that citizens have the ability to offer help in the detection and prevention of crime (e.g., Washnis, 1976; Innes, 2005; Van Calster & Schuilenburg, 2009; Bullock, 2013). In the Netherlands, this is also reflected in reports in which the citizen is positioned as a valuable ‘ketenpartner’ [link in the chain] in the governance of public-private cooperation (e.g., Hoogenboom & Muller, 2002) and in preventing public unrest from escalating (e.g., Commissie Project X Haren, 2013).

In modern policing in western countries, such as the Netherlands, an orientation towards the community is always a subject given attention (e.g. Van den Vijver & Gunther Moor, 2012). However, underlying all attempts at peacekeeping and cooperation, there remains the potential or actual use of force because central to the concept of policing is the option to maintain order through surveillance and the threat of sanctioning (Reiner, 2000). While the police frequently use various means to keep the peace without initiating legal proceedings (Adang et al., forthcoming in 2017), the performance of police tasks from time to time inevitably results in (sometimes physical) overt conflict between citizens and police officers (Bittner, 1980; Fassin, 2013). Examples are the autumn 2005 riots that occurred in the suburbs of Paris and other French cities after two youths died from electrocution in a power station where they were hiding from the police<sup>1</sup>, and the 2011 London riots that occurred after a local resident was shot dead by the police<sup>2</sup>. Likewise, the August 2014 shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri (USA)<sup>3</sup> and the death of an Aruban tourist who died in the hands of police officers in the Netherlands (June 2015)<sup>4</sup> led to an aftermath of citizen protests that escalated into violence. In such cases, the legitimacy of policing is publically debated (e.g., Tyler 2003; Schaible, De Angelis, Wolf & Rosenthal, 2012).

Both the pursuit of cooperation and the possibility of violent conflict are inherent in police-citizen relationships and this creates tension (e.g., Fassin, 2013). This thesis focuses on how overt conflict affects relationships and vice versa in the context of overt conflicts that involve the police, and the management thereof<sup>5</sup>. Here, *conflict* is defined as a situation in which the police and citizens (or their representatives) have incompatible goals, interests or actions. The term ‘overt’ is used to emphasise that the police and citizens are engaged

1 For instance, see <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/22/nothings-changed-10-years-after-french-riots-banlieues-remain-in-crisis>

2 Kawalerowitz, J. & Biggs, M. (2015): Anarchy in the UK: Economic Deprivation, Social Disorganization, and Political Grievances in the London Riot of 2011, *Social Forces* 94 (2): 673-698.

3 See, for instance, [http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/08/13/us/ferguson-missouri-town-under-siege-after-police-shooting.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/08/13/us/ferguson-missouri-town-under-siege-after-police-shooting.html?_r=0)

4 For instance, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/03/the-hague-arrests-protest-death-police-custody-mitch-henriquez>

5 Conflict management involves actions or adherence to conventions that settle conflict. Methods of conflict management do not necessarily end the conflict of interest/goals/actions that underlie overt conflict.

in objectively determinable conflictive interaction<sup>6</sup> based on these incompatible goals, interests or actions (Aureli & De Waal, 2000).

In this thesis, an analytical distinction is made between three interrelated levels: the *macro-*, *meso-* and *micro-levels* (Benyon, 1994). The *macro-level*<sup>7</sup> refers to institutional and legal systems, the analysis of the police as an institute, and to decision-making on issues that affect the institutional system in the context of police involvement in overt conflict. The *meso-level*<sup>8</sup> relates to the operational structures, practices and procedures of the police and citizens as the authority and an agency respectively (Benyon, 1994). Meso-level analysis concerns interactions between the police and citizens as distinct actors in specific cases of group-level overt conflict. The *micro-level*<sup>9</sup> relates to interactions between individuals, or small groups of individuals, and involves an analysis of interpersonal behaviours and interactions that function as obstacles or catalysts in conflict management.

In Sections 1.1 and 1.2 of this introduction, the macro-level system where the police-citizen tension between cooperation and violent conflict is established, as well as the institutional solutions to police involvement in overt conflicts, are described and explained. Section 1.3 explains why this thesis focuses on the social dimension of the police-citizen relationship, the meso- and micro-levels of interaction and on conflict resolution. Section 1.4 outlines the choice to explore the explanatory value of the Relational Model. In sections 1.5 and 1.6 the research aim, main question and research questions are presented. To conclude this chapter, the core of the research design and the outline of the thesis are laid out in sections 1.7 and 1.8 respectively.

## 1.1 The fundamentals of the Dutch police-citizen relationship

In the Netherlands, the relationship between the police and citizens and the tension between cooperation and overt conflict are inextricably linked to the general emergence of modern Western democracies<sup>10</sup> and the construction of a peace morality and a state monopoly on violence. According to Elias, the slow crystallization of monopoly structures took place from around the eleventh century in the Frankish Empire area (Elias, 1978, 1982; Linklater & Mannell, 2010). Uneven patterns of urbanisation, monetarisation and marketisation led to extended systems of interconnectedness between people. To people who were part of such interconnected systems, it became clear that, within a shared territory, internal peace (domestic pacification), stabilisation and integration, security and safety were worth striving after (Elias, 1978)<sup>11</sup>. Such processes were seen as best organised through centralised and stable power institutions and this is how the first nation states emerged. With those external to the territory and in order to expand, violent conflict and warfare were needed.

6 Such as shouting, focal threat attack, physical harm, other forms of aggressive display.

7 In this thesis also referred to as the 'institutional level' or 'institutional perspective'.

8 In this thesis also referred to as 'group level' or 'group perspective'.

9 In this thesis also referred to as the 'individual level', 'interpersonal level' or 'individual/interpersonal perspective'.

10 A term that is used to cover most European countries, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States.

11 Goudsblom (2001: 104) refers to this contradiction as "*the paradox of pacification*"

Patterns of power centralisation, domestic pacification and external belligerence (Linklater & Mannell, 2010) emerged along with what Elias (1978, 1982) called a '*process of civilising*'. Institutionalisation, centralisation and organisation within the emerging nation states, evoked increasing thresholds of shame, repugnance and legal etiquette. Violence and aggression, especially when aimed at those who were part of the nation, were openly rejected as uncivilised in that they were perceived as irrational, illegal and brutal. The people became 'citizens', and 'the State' became the 'civilised' political power institute that was able and allowed to use 'legitimate' force in ensuring compliance with the laws, rules and regulations that were established and administered by that same state (Weber, 1972 [1922]). As such, a modern Western consensus on peace gradually emerged: in a modern Western democracy, those who are part of it ought to pursue peace and reject violence (Bittner, 1980: 28).

### 1.1.1 *The paradox of policing*

In the Netherlands and other modern Western countries, one bureaucratic institute, was particularly constructed in order to ensure and enforce peace, security and safety within the nation: the police. Policing is thus, by definition, paradoxical: in order to ensure and maintain peace, the police may use violence (more commonly referred to as 'the use of force'). Whenever the police use force, this is applied "in the name of the law" and ought, as such, to be accepted by citizens. The police, thus, were constructed to have a monopoly of applying force in order to ensure peace. This monopoly is also referred to as the monopoly on violence (e.g., Van Reenen & Verton, 1979)

In assigning a monopoly on violence to the police, a relational imbalance was created that has the potential to affect police-citizen interactions on the meso- and micro-levels. In a given situation, a citizen may choose to accept or reject the monopoly on violence reserved for police officers, but the choice the citizen makes, does not affect the monopoly. If, during police-citizen contact, the monopoly on violence is rejected by the citizen, the police are allowed to enforce compliance through the use of force. In essence thus, the monopoly on violence of the police makes the police-citizen relationship an unbalanced one "... of *unidirectional power*' in which the capacity to make and carry out decisions is the exclusive, or nearly exclusive, property of one of the groups." (Lipsky, 1980: 59).

The fact that the police were and are allowed to use force through a unilateral decision conflicts strongly with the Western democratic and civilised peace mores (Bittner, 1970; 1980). In order to counterbalance the power monopoly of the police and the potential threat of misuse therefore, in the Netherlands and other modern Western democratic civilisations, the principle of *legitimacy* and *accountability* emerged. *Legitimacy* refers to the process through which power is given a moral grounding. According to Weber, the formal authority given to the police has to be justified. Through legitimacy, a sense of the police's duty to obey the law, regardless of personal motives and interests, is evoked (Weber, 1972 [1922]). Legitimacy is strongly linked to *accountability*: the police should "prove" their legitimacy as an institutional actor through behaviour that is regarded as just (i.e. legal) as

well as morally right (in that it promotes social justice) (Van den Brink, 2010). Thus, individual police officers should conduct their work lawfully as well as respectful to citizens.

In the Netherlands at least, gaining and maintaining *legitimacy* was and still is regarded crucial in counterbalancing the power monopoly of the police and the paradox between peace and violence: only when citizens assess the police as legitimate will they obey the police. If the citizens obey, the police will not have to call upon their power monopoly and more peaceful forms of interaction suffice. Thus, in order to be *accepted* as a legitimate formal authority by citizens in social interactions, the police should therefore strive *not* to be associated with brutal force (Van Reenen & Verton, 1979). The absence of violence fits the peace consensus as it allows for peaceful coexistence and cooperation, i.e. a stable and legitimate power relationship between the police and citizens (Van Reenen & Verton, 1979).

In order to secure the *accountability* of the police and in avoiding ambiguous interpretations of the police's goals and duties as far as possible, the duties and powers of modern Western democratic police forces have become highly institutionalised in national police or security acts. These acts differ in terms of their content and desired outcomes, but are all similarly characterised by complex systems of rules, regulations and policies (Black, 1980). In line with the image of the state as a legitimate and moral-free power institution, through the forming of these acts, the police were designed, institutionalised and framed as an actor that is free of a baser human egocentric morality that centres the individual (i.e. personal) moral and acts based thereupon.

### 1.1.2 *Police-citizen cooperation and conflict in the Netherlands before the crisis of legitimacy*

In line with the image of the state as a legitimate and moral-free power institution, until the late 1960's of the twentieth century, cooperation between the police and citizens based on equal power positions was effectively ruled out: keeping the peace, ensuring safety and security and preventing crime were generally regarded as independent institutional tasks and unsuitable for citizen-subjects. Only if required or requested by the police, a citizen could contribute to peace, safety, security or crime prevention.

Given that the police were designed, institutionalised and framed as an actor that is free of human egocentric morality, the Dutch State basically ignored that any police involvement in overt conflict could have a human, social dimension. Consequently, any case in which the police or a police officer did become involved in overt conflict with a citizen or citizens, was addressed as an interpersonal (human!) matter. Traditionally, the institutional system manages interpersonal engagement in overt conflict through criminal proceedings<sup>12</sup>.

---

<sup>12</sup> In criminal proceedings, the opposing parties hire or are assigned a specialist with profound knowledge of the norms (i.e. lawyers) who will advocate on their behalf (Yarn, 2000: 56). Through a public and formal criminal trial, it is determined whether laws were broken and by whom. An objective third party (judge) has the exclusive power to impose

## 1.2 The crisis of legitimacy

From the late 1960s onwards, and mirroring trends in other modern Western democracies, Dutch citizens started to question traditional power relationships, called attention to their own ideas and wanted to influence interactions (Harris, 1976; Furedi, 2009; Van den Brink, 2010). According to Van den Brink (2010), it was increasingly recognised during the decades that followed that the traditional concept of legitimacy, with its institutionally constructed legal and moral core, no longer sufficed. In response, the concept of legitimacy was gradually complemented with a layer that recognised that law and order, and the associated institutions, are only legitimate and accountable if they are assessed credible; if citizens recognise themselves as being part thereof (Van den Brink, 2010: 169). The emerging thought became that establishing laws and policies is not solely the task of State institutions. Citizens should also be involved in establishing laws and policies (Boutellier et al., 2011). That is, the concept of legitimacy developed a social relational dimension. In public administration, this shift is often seen as a shift from *government* to *governance* (e.g., Van Gunsteren, 1998). In governance, public actors recognise network forms of cooperation with many parties (so called *ketenpartners*) with whom they cooperate on the basis of mutual interdependence (e.g., De Vries, 2014). Gradually, citizens became viewed as important partners in these network forms of cooperation.

### 1.2.1 *The crisis of police authority and the decline of police trust*

A decline of legitimacy was also noticed in the Dutch police-citizen relationship (e.g., Van Reenen & Verton, 1979). From the late 1990s onwards, this was more commonly referred to as a 'crisis of authority' or 'the decline of police trust' (e.g., Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tops, 2010; Jackson et al., 2013). Here, the integrity, legitimacy, trustworthiness, justness and/or impartiality of the police-citizen relationship, and of the police's monopoly on violence, became subject to extensive debate in a variety of social disciplines such as law, public administration, international relations, sociology, social psychology and anthropology. Against this background, and permeated with the notion that ensuring peace, safety and security was no longer solely a task for the police, a gradual shift was made, from the legitimisation of the police-citizen relationship through lawful and legitimate police authority, towards legitimisation of the police-citizen relationship through cooperation with the citizen (e.g., Van den Brink, 2010).

Paralleling the shift from government to governance, politicians and public administrators came to recognise that individuals and organisations that are themselves not part of the police can be involved in public surveillance and the maintenance of social order (e.g., Terpstra & Kouwenhove, 2004; Boutellier et al., 2011). As in other Western democracies where the police force developed into more of a service provider, rather than operated as a law enforcer<sup>13</sup>, the Dutch came to recognise that the police depend on citizens for executing their job effectively (e.g., Tyler & Huo, 2002). Permeated with this notion of inter-

---

a solution or binding decision that the opponents have to obey. The outcome of a criminal trial is an institutionally established binding decision on the offender, the victim, the wrongdoing and the punishment (Yarn, 2000).

13 Such as in the United Kingdom, or Scandinavian countries.

dependence, various policing strategies through which cooperative public-private relationships could be built, secured and maintained were developed. Examples of such strategies are Community-Oriented Policing (e.g., Friedmann, 1992; Skogan, 2006), Problem-Oriented Policing (e.g., Goldstein, 1979; Reisig, 2010), Reassurance Policing (e.g., Fleming, 2005; Fielding & Innes, 2006) and Private Policing (e.g., Johnson, 1992).

### 1.3 A focus on the social dimension of police-citizen relationships

This thesis focuses on the social dimension of police-citizen relationships. Today, and against the background of the shift to governance, the social dimension of the state-public relationship and the influence thereof, is prudently acknowledged in law, critical legal theory and public administration. In the anthropology of law and in critical legal theory, it is acknowledged that law is, besides an institutionally constructed framework, also a social process and that this should be taken into account. Since the social practice of law differs from the ideal, rules cannot always be obeyed (e.g., Harris, 1996).

The importance of the social dimension of the state-citizen relationship is also recognised in the field of public administration. There is a growing interest in researching and theorising on the social dimension of public-private relationships in a variety of contexts (e.g., Koppenjan & Klein, 2004; Uslaner, 2004; Van Ark, 2005; De Vries, 2015). Relative to this thesis, two themes are of particular interest. First and as described above, there is an extensive debate on gaining, establishing, maintaining and preserving legitimate authority. Here, it is gradually acknowledged that legitimate authority is a specific social act (e.g., Rhodes, 1996) that is generated through interaction (with citizens). Legitimate authority is therefore seen as a relational enactment: *“Authority is not about submission, not about acquiescence ... it is achieved through communication; it is about the development of a way of seeing things that can be, and indeed is, taken up by others”* (Hajer, 2009: 22). In the context of attaining authority, Van Reenen (2012: 115) notes:

*It is the strength or the weakness of the relationship that is of importance, and that is determined by a measure of acceptance. The stronger the relationship, the more an authority – in this case the police – will be able to impose its will on others without cost or exertion.*

Legitimacy, authority and cooperation are thus closely linked and established on the micro- and meso-levels of interaction. In a policing context, this assumption is supported by several studies that have shown that the perceived legitimacy of police action determines compliance and the willingness to contribute to police tasks (e.g., Tyler, 1990; Mastrofski et al., 1996; Skogan, 2004; Tyler, 2004). However, the main focus in this field of interest is on the individual and on how individual interaction affects the (perceived) legitimacy or authority. How such processes relate to group-level interaction is far less debated. This thesis contributes to this field by providing insights into the interrelationships between the micro- and meso-levels of interaction in a context of overt conflict.



A second field of interest in public administration that is concerned with the importance of the social dimension of the state-citizen relationship, focuses on research and theorising on actions and decision-making by street-level bureaucrats. Street-level bureaucrats<sup>14</sup> are “public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work” (Lipsky, 1980: 3), a description that clearly fits the police. This discretion means that street-level bureaucrats have a certain autonomy in practicing their work (Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). Discretion is viewed as the solution to the fact that many encounters between street-level bureaucrats and citizens do not perfectly fit the institutional design, i.e. the rules that have to be implemented (Lipsky, 1980). From the perspective of the street-level bureaucrat, an encounter with a citizen always evokes three normative questions (Tops, 2013):

- 1) What is the context of the encounter?
- 2) Given the particular situation, what behaviour is deemed to be ‘professional’?
- 3) What happens in the interaction between the street-level-bureaucrat and the citizen?

The attitude and general approach of a street-level bureaucrat towards their client may significantly affect the client, making it an interaction (Lipsky, 1969: 2). In the interaction, obedience to institutionally implied rules becomes a social normative matter rather than a formal normative matter.

Currently, there is a broad strand of research that focuses on how street-level bureaucrats practice their working methods and decide to act despite of, as well as through, the institutional system (Yanow, 1996; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Van Hulst, De Graaf & Van den Brink, 2012). Here, the main focus is on the individual decision-maker and on how their decisions affect policy design and vice versa (e.g., Freidson, 2001). In comparison, not much has been written on how such decision-making is negotiated in terms of the interdependent relationship with citizens or citizen groups, let alone in the context of conflict management.

### 1.3.1 Current conflict management in case of overt conflict that involves police actors

Modern Western democracies differ in the ways their police forces are organised. All, however, have to deal, at least to some extent, with the paradox between cooperation and peace on the one hand, and violence and overt conflict on the other hand. The importance of the socially negotiated micro- and meso-levels of the police-citizen relationship in the dynamics of conflict is reflected in various studies on policing in general (e.g., Fielding, 2005; Van den Brink & Bruinsma, 2010; Palmiotto, 2011); and more specifically with respect to community policing (e.g., Friedman, 1992), the prevention and repression of confrontations in the context of large-scale public events (e.g., Reicher, 1996; Della Porta & Reiter, 1998; Commission Project X Haren, 2013) and protests and other escalating confrontations (e.g., Kerner, 1968; Scarman, 1982; Waddington *et al.*, 2009; Adang *et al.*, 2010; King, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> In the Netherlands also referred to as “Frontlinie werkers”, “Frontlijnsturing” or “Werken in de frontlinie” (e.g., Tops, 2013).

In the Netherlands, the gradual scientific acknowledgement that the social dimension of state-public relationships is important in understanding and explaining governance processes such as policing, does not appear to affect the current practice of police involvement in overt conflict and the management thereof— the central theme of this thesis. Here, the institutional system seems to largely bypass the social dimension of police-citizen relationships. The traditional institutional method of managing situations of overt conflict involving the police, i.e. criminal proceedings, is nowadays combined with or replaced by two other methods of conflict management: complaint management and public inquiry.

Complaint management firstly, is largely concerned with cases where police behaviour cannot objectively be determined as law breaking although there is a suspicion of misconduct (e.g., Schaible et al., 2012). The principles of complaint management do not deviate much from criminal proceedings: a citizen files a complaint at the police department where the defendant is working, the complaint is (usually) handled by a representative of the internal affairs department of that same department, the complaint worker starts an investigation, hears both the complainer and the complainant separately, and then rules whether the complaint is grounded or not. Contrary to in criminal proceedings, and in line with the view that the police constitute a rational institutional actor, only citizens can file complaints against police officers. The outcome of a complaint management process is a decision on the soundness of the complaint and, in principle, an opportunity for the police officer or the police organisation as a whole to learn (Liederbach et al., 2007).<sup>15</sup> As in legal proceedings, complaint management addresses the dichotomy between a suspected wrongdoer (a police representative) and a proclaimed victim (a citizen actor).

When observing complaint management processes and legal proceedings from the perspective that the social dimension in the police-citizen relationship is important, it is questionable whether such processes increase the likelihood of reaching a satisfactory outcome regarding the enduring relationship between the police and citizens. In legal proceedings and complaint management processes, overt conflicts are reduced to a good versus bad dichotomy between offenders/perpetrators and victims and between right and wrong (Yarn, 2000). Perpetrators/wrongdoers are punished; victims are reimbursed for the damage suffered. However, in practice, overt conflicts can rarely be reduced to a clear case of perpetrator versus victim. An overt conflict is a behavioural consequence of an underlying and more complex conflictive relationship in which oftentimes, both parties are offenders as well as victims (Zehr, 1990). In law, it is commonly accepted, as an undeniable truism, that the criminal proceedings process has an undesirable effect in that it “... *promotes adversarialism, increases hostility and animosity and destroys any semblance of a relationship between the litigants*” (Yarn, 2000: 57). Another downside of these procedures is their cost in terms of money and time, which lowers perceived satisfaction (e.g., Waters & Brown, 2000; Liederbach, Taylor & Kawucha, 2007), especially in overt conflicts involving many actors.

---

<sup>15</sup> All modern western democracies provide independent state-related statutory bodies that can be enabled if a complainant judges the outcome decision unsatisfactory. In the Netherlands, the Nationale Ombudsman (see [www.nationaleombudsman.nl](http://www.nationaleombudsman.nl)) is such an example.

Holding a public inquiry is the second institutionally acknowledged method of managing overt conflicts involving the police. Public inquiries are commonly held in cases where the overt conflict has a high profile<sup>16</sup>. In a public inquiry, representatives of all parties that were, directly or indirectly, involved in the development of the overt conflict are subjected to scrutiny by a commission of researchers and experts. Such a commission aims to ensure that data are collected and analysed in an objective, thorough and fair manner. Common research questions are (Blom-Cooper, 1996; Schulz, 2010):

- How and why did the overt conflict emerge?
- To what extent did the behaviour displayed by members of the parties involved conform to legal norms?
- What advice can be offered to prevent the emergence and development of such overt conflicts in the future?
- Which formal institutional or organisational actors are accountable and liable and in what way?

The outcome of a public inquiry is a report in which gaps in legislation, regulations, organisation and/or operations that may have contributed to the emergence and development of the overt conflict, and its direct aftermath, are exposed and advice offered to improve the situation in the future (Schulz, 2010).

It has been argued that the aim of any well-founded public inquiry into an overt conflict involving the police should never be to blame, shame or name (Elliot & Mc Guinness, 2002). However, a general search of internet fora and newspaper article headlines regarding inquiry results in high-profile cases would seem to suggest differently. The societal translation of public inquiry outcomes appears to reflect strongly the institutional system and its constructed rationale of defining right and wrong, accountability and liability, and punishment or reprimand.

Overall, the institutional system appears to split police involvement in overt conflict into only two plausible roles: law-enforcer or peacekeeper (Fassin, 2013). The law-enforcing police officer is a rational, civilised institutional representative who may use force against citizens who break the law or disrupt public order. In line with a police or security act, a law-enforcing police officer only applies this mandate as the ultimate means of serving democratically established norms of law and order (Black, 1980). The counterpart of the law-enforcing officer is the peacekeeper officer (Bittner, 1990). Peacekeeper officers engage in cooperation, they are involved as a third party in a law-defying violent conflict between other parties as a pro-social attempt to seek cooperation and offer encouragement to those who fail to cooperate.

In reality, since legitimacy is something that is negotiated, and because citizens have become more assertive, police actions that were once regarded as rational and civilised are today readily discussed, questioned and even openly contested. From the late 1960s onwards, the police appear increasingly, and often unwillingly, observed, presented and

<sup>16</sup> The intensity and the number of actors involved in a public inquiry both depend heavily on the type of force used by a police officer and the consequences for the actors involved in an incident.

criticised as a party that is actively involved in an overt conflict with citizens, particularly in the context of the use of police violence (e.g., Tyler & Huo, 2002). In the Netherlands, contacts between the police and immigrant-citizens proceed with difficulty (Van den Brink, 2007). Verbal warnings and reprimands, which were generally unproblematic up to the early 1980s, today easily lead to violent confrontations with citizens (Van Os & Van den Brink, 2007). Nowadays, violent interactions between the police and citizens during national festivities (e.g., Adang & Van der Torre, 2007, Adang et al., 2010) and, on an international level, in the context of mass football events (e.g., Stott et al., 2008) appear normal rather than exceptional. Despite attempts to portray the police's role as a peaceful one with terminology such as *neighbourhood policing* or *community care*, and to frame the police-citizen relationship in terms of cooperation, the fact that the police are allowed to use violence remains ambiguous and is therefore a common source of public attention, tension and overt conflict<sup>17</sup> (e.g., Reiner, 2000; Van Reenen, 2013).

### 1.3.2 From conflict management to conflict resolution

In direct interactions, the police and citizens do not always have similar goals or expectations. From time to time, this results in overt conflict. In spite of all the rules and regulations, the police are, like citizens, social human beings that have thoughts, feelings and relationships that undeniably colour the tenor of their interactions (Black, 1980). Police-citizen interactions are thus more than contact between rational and objective state-body objects and human subjects. The social dimension to the police-citizen relationship cannot be ruled out. It appears that any method of conflict management in which the institutionally established dichotomy between offender and victim is articulated will not address the effects of overt conflict on the social relationship between the opponents (Yarn, 2000: 56).

In order to manage conflict while addressing the enduring relationship between opponents, conflict resolution, i.e. methods of conflict management that serve to restore the relational interaction between opponents (Aureli & De Waal, 2000), are needed. Since an overt conflict between police and citizens is a process that develops in social interaction, the focus in this thesis is on the micro- and meso-levels of interaction. According to Den Boer (1999), there is considerable comparative research on formal arrangements and legal structures related to international police cooperation (i.e. the macro-level). However, there is less research on the actual functioning of police cooperation and conflict with other network partners (the micro- and meso-levels) or into the effects thereof. An understanding of the dynamics of overt conflicts between the police and citizens, and their resolution, on the micro- and meso-levels, and insights into the ways these two levels relate to each other, could offer important clues in understanding the functioning of modern Western democracy and the role of public services generally, and the police in particular (Adang et al., forthcoming in 2017).

<sup>17</sup> There are generally only three formal limitations on the power of the police to use force. First, in most jurisdictions, the use of deadly force is limited. Second, the police may use force only by the line of duty and, third, the police may not use force maliciously or frivolously (Bittner 1980: 29-30). However, the practical implications of these restrictions are themselves ambiguous and lead to conflict and discussion: "In sum, the frequently heard talk about the lawful use of force by the police is practically meaningless and, because no one knows what is meant by it, so is the talk about the use of minimum force" (Bittner, 1980: 30).

## 1.4 Natural conflict resolution

The nature and effectiveness of conflict resolution and the damaging effects of unresolved overt conflicts on micro-, meso- as well as macro-level relationships receive attention in social sciences. On the micro-level for instance, in the context of victim-offender reconciliation (e.g., Umbreit, Coates & Kalanj, 1994; Marshall, 1999), mediation or alternative dispute resolution practices (e.g., Zariski, 2010; Kuttner, 2012), child psychology (e.g., Verbeek, Hartup & Collins, 2000) and human needs (e.g., Nadler & Schnabel, 2008; Schnabel et al., 2009). The importance of conflict resolution in group-level contexts is stressed generally (e.g., Pruitt & Kim, 2004; Malloy, 2008; Dovidio et al., 2011) and more specifically, for example, in the context of restorative justice practices (e.g., Van Ness & Heetderks Strong, 2008; Walgrave, 2008)<sup>18</sup>. On the macro-level, the entire field of peace studies and studies on intractable conflicts are built around the theories of conflict resolution (e.g., Deutsch & Coleman, 2000; Rusbult et al., 2005). However, studies on the nature of intractable conflicts require a more elaborate focus on historical analysis due to the complexity of long-lasting conflicts. Other macro-level models on conflict resolution and reconciliation do not allow analysis at the micro- and meso-levels that is important in understanding the dynamics of police–citizen conflict resolution. Conversely, psychological studies of conflict resolution are highly detailed but are generally focused on singling out specific intrapersonal variables such as empathy or trust, and thus lack a focus on the engagement within the police–citizen context.

In the context of this thesis, a perspective on conflict is needed that allows analysis of socially embedded relational interactions in an institutionalised context and thereby helps to understand the ongoing dynamics between the effect of overt conflict on relationships and vice versa. Therefore, in this thesis, the Relational Model, derived from the field of ethology, the comparative study of animal behaviours, functions as the theoretical point of departure. In this field, conflict resolution emerged as a topic of interest at the end of the 1970s. Until then, the display of aggression was assumed to be disruptive and destructive due to its assumed incompatibility with the assumption that, among group-living animals such as humans, social cohesion needed to be maintained (De Waal, 2000: 20). In analysing post-conflict interaction in a colony of captive chimpanzees in Burgers Zoo (Arnhem, the Netherlands), De Waal and Van Roosmalen (1979) found that the chimpanzees engaged in both aggressive confrontation as well as cooperative interaction on a daily basis. In the

<sup>18</sup> Micro-level victim-offender reconciliation practices and meso-level restorative practices deserve further attention here because both have their origins in restorative justice, which may be interpreted as closely related to the institutional fundaments of the police. Victim-offender reconciliation and restorative practices, such as mediation, victim-offender reconciliation, healing circles or peace committees, address cooperation, interdependence and needs, and focus on less formal processes of restoration to achieve resolution (e.g., van Ness & Heetderks Strong, 2008). However, in line with institutional principles, victims and offenders are seen as morally involved and state actors are assumed to be morally neutral (Walgrave, 2008). Police involvement in restorative practices is thus limited to the role of intervening as a supportive or mediating peacekeeper-officer (See, for instance, *Journal of Police Studies* special issue on restorative policing 2009–2012). An exception to this stance is seen in a small body of research on the effects of mediation in complaint management programmes (Walker et al., 2002; Hill et al., 2003; Bartels & Silverman, 2005). Complaint mediation (i.e., the intervention of a neutral mediator in the complaint management process) seems highly effective in fostering an informal process of mutual understanding and resolution through dialogue leading to resolving police complaints and ensuring officer and complainant satisfaction (Schaible et al., 2012). However, research on this aspect is rather rare. As Bartels and Silverman (2005: 621) note, this is likely due to the low number of police complaint mediation programmes, which in turn might be an effect of police reluctance to become involved issues as a non-neutral actor.

aftermath of an aggressive confrontation between two or more individuals, certain specific patterns of cooperative behaviour (e.g., kissing, holding hands, embracing) were common. Along with the notions of “*an arousal-reducing and stability promoting function of grooming and affiliative contact*” and a “*distinction between social interactions and long-term relationships, including recognition of the latter’s value*” (De Waal, 2000: 20), these behavioural patterns, labelled as reconciliation, laid the groundwork for ethological studies on conflict resolution generally, and specifically on the form and function of reconciliation.

In the 1980s and 1990s, reconciliation, conflict management and conflict resolution were studied intensively by ethologists. In the volume *Natural Conflict Resolution* (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) that was based on evidence of the crucial function of conflict resolution in ethology and a number of related fields of interest, Aureli and De Waal (2000: 26-28) proposed the, micro-level focussed, Relational Model. The theory of the Relational Model, as it relates to this thesis, is synthesised as five basic principles (also, see table 1.1).

**Table 1.1 Basic principles of the Relational Model (after Aureli and De Waal, 2000)<sup>19</sup>**

<b>Interdependency</b>	Humans are a group-living species. In order to survive, they must cooperate with other group members with whom they build social relationships.
<b>Overt conflict as management</b>	In the event of a conflict of interests/actions/goals, three basic management methods exist: tolerance, avoidance and overt conflict.
<b>Social repair</b>	Overt conflict may be worth the risk but it may also cause damage to a relationship. As a consequence of human interdependency, there is a natural need to repair such damage: we reconcile.
<b>Reconciliation</b>	Reconciliation (defined as friendly restorative interaction following aggressive encounters) restores tolerance, reduces post-conflict incompatibility and insecurity and has the potential to strengthen the value of relationships.
<b>Relationship maintenance and group cohesion</b>	Reconciliation, overt conflict and cooperation are closely aligned positive social tendencies through which the terms of relationships are negotiated and group cohesion maintained.

The first principle of the relational model concerns the *interdependency* within social and group-living species. Individuals in group-living species, such as humans, are interdependent on each other for survival, security and safety. Consequently, sociality, peace and cooperation are effective processes in the interaction between in-group members (Aureli & De Waal, 2000).

The second principle, *overt conflict as management*, implies that in groups, and simultaneously with processes of in-group cooperation, peace and cohesion, individuals encounter

<sup>19</sup> This table is used in Chapters 3 and 5 in a slightly different form but the contents are consistent.

many situations in which they experience a conflict of interests, actions or goals relative to another group member, or members, for short referred to as conflict<sup>20</sup>. Conflict can, for instance, emerge over food, space, attention or sexual decision-making. The Relational Model presupposes that, in order to maintain the benefits of group-living (security, safety, survival), individuals need to reduce its costs by mitigating competition and managing conflicts. Conflict management is thus critical to the social life of all group-living species (Aureli & de Waal, 2000: 4).

In this management, an individual can essentially apply three methods: tolerance, avoidance and confrontation/overt conflict (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: 27). By tolerating, an individual chooses to simply ignore the issue causing the conflict, and continues the relationship with the other (Fry, 2000: 336). Tolerating is a quick fix in that it immediately mitigates the experienced stress and anxiety caused by the conflict of interest. Tolerating does not, however, affect the basic experience of conflict. If an individual chooses to tolerate and give in to the opponent, this does not mitigate the possibility of a future experienced conflict and the accompanying stress and anxiety (Fry, 2000).

The second option that an individual has is avoidance. Through avoidance, contact with the conflicting actor is ceased or limited, either temporarily or permanently (Fry in Aureli & De Waal, 2000: 335). Again, the stress and anxiety caused by the conflict are not mitigated. For humans, the type of group in which someone is involved has a strong influence on whether avoidance is an option: the more that interdependence is experienced, the harder avoidance becomes. In the third management option, the individual chooses to openly address the conflict and initiate aggression through behavioural, facial or vocal threats (Aureli & De Waal, 2000). In this thesis, the adoption of this third option is seen as constituting an overt conflict<sup>21</sup>.

With its third principle, *social repair*, the Relational Model further focuses on the option/tendency to initiate an overt conflict, and the function of so doing. Here, the Relational Model views individuals in a conflict as commodities with different values.

*If two individuals compete over, say, a food source or a mate, they need to compare the resource value not only with the risk of injury in a possible fight, but also with the damage the fight may cause to the relationship with the opponent and the advantages derived from this relationship. The better armed and stronger the opponent, or the more valuable the relationship between the competitors, the greater the resource value needs to be to make a fight worth the risk. Conversely, if damage to the relationship can easily be reduced through post-conflict interaction [...] open conflict becomes more likely. (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: 27)*

<sup>20</sup> In ethologic work on conflict resolution, this is also commonly referred to as 'competition'.

<sup>21</sup> In ethologic work on conflict resolution (also defined as natural conflict resolution), this is also commonly referred to as 'confrontation'.

As such, the choice to engage in overt conflict with a fellow group member does not only depend on the resource value, the number of opportunities for competition and the risk of injury, but also on the value and reparability of the relationship between the individual and the other party. An individual can decide to engage, or not, in overt conflict and ‘fight’ for their own individual interest. As a consequence of an individual’s dependency on the in-group and their inherent need for sociality, peace and cooperation with other in-group members (i.e. satisfying the first principle), an individual who has opted for overt conflict will feel the need to repair (or resolve) the damage the overt conflict inflicts on the relationship with the opponent (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: 27).

Once an overt conflict is initiated, the consequences relate to the choices made by both partners as the interaction is played out. Here, and dependent on their relative positions, attempts to engage in various scenarios (such as fighting, coercion/submission, ignoring or negotiation) can be made. The Relational Model assumes that, provided both partners have some value to each other (which is almost always the case in observations of small groups of non-human animals), alongside the overt conflict, methods that repair the damage inflicted on the relationship between the opponents are of crucial importance. Such actions (such as compromising, sharing, agreeing to disagree<sup>22</sup>, reconciliation) are labelled as methods of conflict resolution. Conflict resolution is achieved through direct and friendly interaction between former opponents (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: 28) and group-living animals are seen as having developed a wide range of methods that depend on the species and the contexts.

The fourth principle of the Relational Model, *reconciliation*, focuses on a conflict resolution method that is seen as particularly worthy in relationship maintenance: the friendly interaction between former opponents that restores the relationship that was disturbed by an overt conflict (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: 387). The more valuable the relationship between the two opponents, and the stronger one’s opponent, the greater the potential loss for an actor resulting from a violent confrontation and hence the stronger the desire for reconciliation (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: 28).

*If aggression does occur, it depends on the nature of the relationship whether repair attempts will be made. If there is a strong mutual interest in maintenance of the relationship, reconciliation is likely.*

*(Aureli & De Waal 2000: 27)*

By repairing the relationship between former opponents, reconciliation mitigates the direct tension and anxiety that the experienced conflict causes, as well as the likelihood of renewed overt conflict (e.g., Aureli & Van Schaik, 1991, Silk *et al.*, 1996).

---

<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that agreeing to disagree is not the same as toleration. When two opponents agree to disagree, the conflict of interest still exists but the opponents have agreed explicitly to disagree. In comparison, dropping the conflict does not involve direct communication.



With the fifth principle, *relationship maintenance and group cohesion*, the Relational Model assumes that an individual's decision to engage in overt conflict is weighed against the benefits of the source of the conflict as well as the general benefit of group living. In many instances, an individual will choose not to engage in overt conflict for the sake of peace but, if one opts for overt conflict, the fact that one is part of a group and that the opponent is also part of that same group, calls for strategies to diminish the damage that the overt conflict inflicts on the relationship: i.e. there is a need for reconciliation. Overt conflict should thus not be viewed as a zero-sum game. Going through cycles of overt conflict and resolution contributes to

*[...] a fine-tuning of expectations between partners, a building of trust despite occasional disagreement, hence a more productive and closer relationship than would be possible if conflict were fully suppressed.*

*(Aureli & De Waal 2000:29)*

In essence, group living leads to overt conflicts. However, for the sake of harmonious group-living, the relational damage caused by overt conflicts is then mitigated by reconciliation. As such, group-living is balanced by ongoing cycles of overt conflict and reconciliation (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: 27).

To date, over 60 studies covering close to 40 group-living species including humans (e.g., Verbeek & De Waal, 2001; Fusijawa *et al.*, 2005; Wittig & Boesch, 2005; Kempes *et al.* 2013), non-human primates (e.g., Palagi *et al.*, 2004), other mammals (e.g., Cordoni & Norscia, 2014) and even birds (Fraser & Bugnyar, 2010) demonstrate that reconciliation has a function in reducing the costs of overt conflict, in the maintenance and strengthening of relationships specifically and in the maintenance of group-living generally. Although the Relational Model was originally aimed at explaining interpersonal or triadic conflict, its analytical value seems worth exploring. In the Relational Model, the institutional and hierarchic character of police-citizen relationships, are not viewed as base restrictive factors, influencing interactions. In the Relational Model, laws and policies and hierarchy, as well as any other construct that parties define as determining desired behaviour (i.e. an economic contract, a rule, a value, a norm) are viewed as characteristics of a socially enacted relationship. Such interactions are studied as an integrated process rather than a set of variables, while retaining attention to its specific forms and functions. In the context of police-citizen relationships, the first and second principles of the relational model, *interdependency* and *overt conflict management* refer to our modern Western democratic peace mores, the consequential rejection of violence and the fact that, despite these democratic values, conflicts of interests, goals or actions between the police and citizens occur.

In the event of a conflict, whether the general methods of conflict management available in social life, i.e. toleration, avoidance and overt conflict, are options for the police depend heavily on how the concepts of discretion and legitimacy are interpreted and contextualised in each specific case. In the interactions that follow conflict, many other factors may

also play a role. However, given the third and fourth principles of the Relational Model, *social repair and reconciliation*, and accepting that the police-citizen relationship has a social dimension, it can be assumed, in the context of police-citizen conflict, that mechanisms of reconciliation also exist.

In studies on natural conflict resolution, reconciliation is commonly defined and observed as a process – as the first post-conflict contact and one that ought to take place immediately after an overt confrontation. Since human adults are able to reflect on their own and others' behaviour, and have the ability to express and share these attitudes and feelings regardless of space and time, a broader interpretation of reconciliation is adopted. It is therefore assumed that, in a police-citizen context, reconciliation can take place at a later time and in another location and does not need to occur seconds to minutes after an overt confrontation. This does not rule out the assumed function of reconciliation processes in the maintenance and maybe even strengthening of police-citizen relationships at the micro- and meso-levels. Reconciliation might even play a role in rebalancing (or maintaining the balance within) the institutionally constructed tension between peace-keeping and law-enforcing. This relates to the fifth principle of the Relational Model, *relationship maintenance and group cohesion*, but it has to be explored whether this could be the case.

## 1.5 Research aim and main research question

Given the acknowledged importance of police-citizen relationships, their undeniable social character and the costly, time-consuming and often unsatisfactory methods of managing overt conflicts that have police involvement, remarkably little attention has been paid to understanding the social interactions that follow overt conflict and conflict resolution. This thesis constitutes an initial attempt to address that gap as is expressed in the aim formulated below:

*To explore to what extent police-citizen interactions after an overt conflict depend on the nature of the relationship between the police and citizens.*

An empirical ethological perspective sees post-conflict interaction as an integrated process rather than as a set of independent activities. While the empirical ethological perspective focusses on observable social interactions, the influence of institutional factors is not ignored. On this basis, this thesis explores the analytical applicability of the Relational Model to the problem at hand. It is predicted that the kind of post conflict interaction shown by police and citizens following an overt conflict between them, depends on the nature of their relationship. It is also predicted that this dependency applies to conflict interactions that develop on micro- as well as group-level. In cases of overt conflict between police and citizens, the micro-, meso- as well as the macro-level, are involved. However, given that an overt conflict amounts to a relational process that develops through social interaction, and that the influence of the social dimension of the police-citizen relationship is at the centre

of this thesis, a micro- to meso-level perspective that focuses on police-citizen interactions is applied<sup>23</sup>. The main question set out to answer is:

*To what extent can the relational model explain the interrelationship between the social (micro- to meso-level) dimension of police-citizen interactions and the behaviour of the police and citizens following an overt conflict?*

## 1.6 Research questions

In order to explore the explanatory power of the Relational Model and analyse whether police-citizen interactions in a post-overt conflict situation depend on the nature of relationships between the police and citizens, the following research questions are posed:

RQ1.

*“To what extent is the Relational Model helpful in defining and understanding meso-level police-citizen reconciliation?”*

RQ2.

*“To what extent and how are interactions in the developing reconciliation process after overt police-citizen group conflicts, affected by relationship assessments by those involved?”*

RQ3.

*“What is the explanatory power of the Relational Model in analysing and explaining police-citizen interactions after an overt group conflict?”*

RQ4.

*“Is the Relational Model helpful in defining and understanding micro-level police-citizen reconciliation?”*

Analyses related to the above four research questions have been published as stand-alone papers in four scientific journals that focus on police research and theorising. In these publications, included in this thesis as Chapters 2 to 5, the objective formulations of the research questions posed above differ slightly but their essence does not.

<sup>23</sup> As a complement to a micro-meso-level analysis, it is also valuable to focus on the interrelationship between meso-level police-citizen relationships and conflict interactions and the influence of the institutional framework and (local) policies, rules and regulations (an approach taken by Van de Klomp, Adang & Van den Brink, 2014).

## 1.7 Research design

The principles of the Relational Model have been previously tested and empirically proven among many social animals (see, for example, *Natural Conflict Resolution*, the 2000 edited volume devoted to the Relational Model) including young and adolescent humans (e.g., Verbeek & De Waal, 2001; Fusijawa *et al.*, 2005; Ljungberg *et al.*, 2005; Kempes *et al.*, 2013). Children cannot be generalised to primitive versions of human adults and the model has not been tested among adult humans. Given that this thesis explores the natural human adult world, and because police involvement in overt conflicts is a complex and sensitive issue to those involved (Van Stokkom *et al.*, 2011), an exploratory research design was the appropriate choice (Lewis & Ritchie, 2012). The Dutch police force is known for its focus on being more like a service provider than a law enforcement agency (Adang *et al.*, 2016). As such, the Dutch policing climate is one in which the importance of the police-citizen relationship is stressed, the Dutch policing climate was an appropriate subject on which to explore the Relational Model.

### 1.7.1 Relationship qualities

In exploring the value of the Relational Model, a more detailed conceptualisation of the “relationship” concept was needed. Consequently, the concepts of relationship nature and relationship qualities, as proposed by Cords and Aureli (2000: 178), were identified. In line with the principles of the Relational Model and research on natural conflict resolution, Cords and Aureli argued that the nature of the relationship between opponents is central when actors evaluate the benefits and costs of reconciliation and then decide whether to engage in a reconciliatory attempt. Social animals have developed a wide range of tricks and strategies in order to determine the value of a potential opponent, the value of the relationship and the way the other values the relationship (Cords & Aureli, 2000: 179). Based on pioneering work by Hinde (1979) and Kummer (1978) on social relationships, Cords and Aureli define three qualities of social relationships.

*Relationship Qualities that may influence conciliatory tendency:*

*Value: what the subject gains from their relationship with a partner, which depends on what the partner has to offer, how willing they are to offer it, and how accessible a partner they are.*

*Security: the perceived probability that the relationship with the partner will change, which relates to the consistency of the partner’s behavioural responses. A relationship is considered secure if the partner’s behavioural tendencies are predictable.*

*Compatibility: the general tenor of social interactions in a dyad which may result from both the temperament of the partners and their shared history of social exchanges*

(Cords & Aureli, 2000: 178)

In ethological studies, it is generally assumed that value, compatibility and security are unique qualities of relationships but, their integrated existence has scarcely been tested<sup>24</sup> or demonstrated due to methodological complexities. The results that are available do at least indicate the significance of the individual qualities (e.g., Cooper *et al.*, 2005; Fraser *et al.*, 2008; Bonaventura *et al.*, 2009). That is, humans base many of their actions and reactions on predictions and interpretations of the other, and also on predictions of how the other perceives themselves, the other and the relationship. This fits the theoretical claim of Cords and Aureli (2000) that interpretations concerning the relationships between self and other, the identity of the other and the subgroup that the others is part of, are essential in analysing conflict interaction. In the analyses carried out to answer *Research Questions 2, 3 and 4*, the descriptive value of the relationship qualities is explored.

### 1.7.2 Methodology

In considering what methodology to adopt, a combination of methods was chosen that fitted the exploratory character of the study but one that is rather unusual given previous work on the Relational Model. In studies on natural conflict resolution (that is, studies in which the Relational Model is explored and tested), both the in-group interactions and the research setting are clearly observable and demarcated,<sup>25</sup> and fit well with the preferred 'standard' methods for data collection, namely *observation* and *experimentation*. Applying the analytically and ethologically validated principles of the Relational Model in trying to understand police-citizen post-conflict interaction seemed logical and worth exploring. However, *exploratory observation* was ruled out as too time consuming and costly, and also complex due to logistical constraints. Similarly, *exploratory experimentation* was ruled out since this requires clear objective indicators, which were not available. Moreover, this thesis does not, as in studies on natural conflict resolution, explore the analytical generalisability of the Relational Model through analysis of observable dyadic or triadic overt conflict interactions within clearly demarcated groups. Rather, this thesis explores the analytical generalisability of the Relational Model in large, institutionally labelled groups ('police' and 'citizens') that are part of an overarching group ('Dutch Society'). These institutionally labelled groups are somewhat difficult to define, distinguish and, hence, observe objectively because of their size and dispersion across public and private spaces, and because humans are able to identify themselves with multiple groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1987).

<sup>24</sup> Principal components analysis (PCA) was the main method used to test for the existence of value, compatibility and security. This statistical technique is commonly used to identify underlying factors that explain a pattern of correlations within sets of variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> In these studies, groups of children that were familiar with each other 'played' in observation rooms, in schoolyards or in classrooms, while observed by experimenters/researchers.

The main aim of the research project was to explore to what extent police-citizen interactions after an overt conflict depend on the nature of the relationship between the police and citizens. Given this aim, coupled with the desire to address police-citizen relationships along two distinct analytical dimensions (the micro- and the meso-levels), in answering research questions 1, 2 and 3 a qualitative case study was chosen as the appropriate research method. Case study research allows for the development of theoretical propositions to guide the data collection process and has the flexibility to adjust for the unexpected (Yin, 2003). Case study research is also particularly applicable in analysing the development of relationships between the police and citizens in their real-life surroundings by allowing contextual factors to be considered (Ritchie & Lewis, 2012).

Given the first three research questions (RQs), the following criteria were applied in selecting 5 cases of overt group conflict between police and citizens:

- there had to be an overt confrontation between police and citizens that was of sufficient impact to be reported in the media;
- the overt conflict had to have taken place within the previous five years;
- the overt conflict had to have been followed by a determinable group conflict, defined as public unrest between police and civilians (also referred to as having a high profile).

To answer the first two RQs (*“To what extent is the Relational Model helpful in defining and understanding meso-level police-citizen reconciliation?”* and *“To what extent and how are interactions in the developing reconciliation process affected by relationship assessments by those involved in overt police-citizen group conflicts?”*), group-level cases were also selected based on the criterion that police and citizens were objectively determinable being involved in overt conflict over a particular resource at a particular time but were cooperating over that same resource at a later time<sup>26</sup>. For answering RQ1, a single case of a group-level overt conflict formed the unit of analysis. For RQ2, five critical moments (CM) that were crucial in the transformation from conflict to cooperation were identified from three cases and formed the units of analysis. In exploring RQ 3 (*“What is the explanatory power of the Relational Model in analysing and explaining police-citizen interactions after overt group conflict?”*), the three group cases selected for answering RQ2 were subjected to a second analysis in which the focus was no longer on critical moments, but on a comparison of the post-conflict processes. Two other cases of overt group conflict, but ones where a reconciliation process between the police and citizens did not take place, were also selected. Having various cases (see Table 1.2 or an overview) helps in conducting a systematic comparison of the mechanisms that are identified across the various unique cases (Yin, 2003).

---

<sup>26</sup> Labelled as group-level reconciliation

**Table 1.2 Cases studies related to the individual research questions 1, 2 and 3**

Case	RQ	Overt confrontation	CM
Tiel	1	2008: on New Year's Eve 2007/08 the Moluccan neighbourhood of the small city* in the rural eastern part of the Netherlands, is disrupted by riots between Dutch youths of Moluccan descent and the police.	2
Oranje-feesten festival	2,3	2006: the closure of the annual 'Oranjefeesten' festival causes a confrontation between regional police officers and revellers in a village* in the rural western part of the Netherlands.	1
Shooting Incident	2,3	2009: in an infamous area* in a central large city* of the Netherlands, police officers fire at a minor considered to be armed and dangerous. The gun turns out to be fake and the suspect a Moroccan minor.	3
Stabbing Incident	2,3	2007: in an infamous area* in a central large city* of the Netherlands, a young Moroccan man jumps over the service desk of a district police station and stabs two officers. He is then shot dead by a police officer.	1
Football Riots	3	2009: in a provincial city* in the northern part of the Netherlands, a visiting football team wins a crucial football match. Confrontations between the riot police and 'supporters' of the home team, which is known for a specific group of violent football fans, result in severe damage in the surrounding neighbourhood.	-
Student Protests	3	2008: in a small city* in the rural southwestern part of the Netherlands, about 500 high school students organise a spontaneous and disruptive protest march in the neighbourhood of their schools. In breaking up the demonstration, the local police uses batons.	1

\* large city >300,000 inhabitants; city >50,000 < 100,000 inhabitants; small city >20,000 < 50,000 inhabitants, village, <20,000 inhabitants, infamous area >40,000 inhabitants.

Given RQ 4 ("Is the Relational Model helpful in defining and understanding micro-level police-citizen reconciliation?"), the focus shifted from high-profile overt group-conflict to low-profile overt interpersonal conflicts in day-to-day interactions. Community-oriented policing relies heavily on building strong relationships between the police and citizens for effective police work (e.g., Kappeler & Gaines, 2011; Palmiotto, 2011). Therefore, inter-individual overt conflicts between citizens and police officers involved in community policing were central to the analysis related to answering the RQ 4. Here, 46 conflict stories by community police officers constituted the units of analysis<sup>27</sup>. The combination of case study micro- and meso- level analysis in investigating the first three RQs coupled with the micro-level analysis of 46 story-cases on interpersonal overt conflict for RQ 4 provided a detailed, holistic view on the subjects analysed (Patton, 1987).

<sup>27</sup> Along with their general reflections on reconciliation and overt conflict.

### 1.7.3 Methods

The main method used in data collection was semi-structured interviewing since this suits an exploratory research design. A semi-structured interview consists of several key questions that help to define the areas to be explored, while allowing the interviewer and interviewee to diverge in order to pursue an idea or respond in greater detail (Ritchie & Lewis, 2012). For this research, a total of 78 interviews with 77 respondents were conducted.

A total of 63 interviews with 62 respondents were conducted to provide preliminary information for answering the RQs 1, 2 and 3 (see Table 1.3) and these are reported upon in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively. These interviews were conducted either by another researcher, who was investigating the meso-level and the influence of institutional aspects (N= 29), or by myself (N= 29) or by both of us (N=5)<sup>28</sup>. The respondents were selected using a key-informant methodology, a technique that is generally used to gain high-quality data within a short period of time (Marshall, 1996). Tremblay (1957, p.692) suggested specific criteria for informant-selection, focusing on their role in the community, knowledge, willingness to cooperate, communicability and impartiality. Our respondents were actively involved in the PCI-process and met most of these criteria, with the possible exception of 'impartiality'. However, since we were specifically interested in group attitudes towards one another, a certain measure of subjectivity was required.

**Table 1.3 Research Questions: interviews, interviewers and respondents**

Conducted by	Case 1 (RQ* 1)	Case 2 (RQ 2, 3)	Case 3 (RQ 2, 3)	Case 4 (RQ 2, 3)	Case 5 (RQ 3)	Case 6 (RQ3)	N
<b>W**</b>	5	7	6	7	4	14	29
<b>P***</b>	4	2	2	-	7	-	29
<b>Both</b>	1	-	1	-	3	-	5
<b>N</b>	10	9	9	7	14	14	

*RQ\*: research Question addressed*

*W\*\*: writer of this thesis*

*P\*\*\*: peer researcher using the meso-perspective*

Data gathering with regard to the first three RQs took place between May 2009 and December 2011. The data were collected by the author in cooperation with another researcher who later analysed the meso-level data and the influence of institutional aspects. Between November 2011 and February 2012, we jointly analysed the data on all the cases that were relevant to RQs 1, 2 and 3<sup>29</sup>. Between September 2012 and May 2013, I individually analysed the data to explore the descriptive applicability of the relationship qualities.

Between November 2011 and February 2012, 15 semi-structured interviews with 15 respondents were conducted related to RQ 4. In establishing a sample of Dutch community police officers to be interviewed, considerable attention was given to ensuring it was repre-

<sup>28</sup> The method sections of Chapters 2, 3 and 4 provide detailed information on the interviewing relative to the case-specific research questions.

<sup>29</sup> Detailed information on the shared analytical strategy is provided in Chapter 2.



sentative of the Dutch police population<sup>30</sup>. These data were analysed between September 2012 and May 2013<sup>31</sup>.

In order to check the content validity of the respondents' statements, all respondents were encouraged during the interviews to provide examples – thereby validating their own statements (Ritchie & Lewis, 2013). After the interviews, the validity of respondents' statements was further checked as follows. First, all the interviews related to the RQs had been recorded, and these were then transcribed with each respondent receiving by email their own transcript and asked to read it and confirm its accuracy<sup>32</sup>. All the respondents formally replied indicating they agreed with the contents. Where, as was generally the case, a single researcher had conducted the interview, the respondents were also asked if it was acceptable to share their interview transcript with one other researcher for analytical purposes.

As a further check on the reliability of the data used in answering RQs 1, 2 and 3, the sequence of conflict group interactions and meso-level (local) police-citizen relationships deduced from the interviews, were crosschecked through media scans and the analysis of relevant policy documents. Further, in the qualitative analyses, we checked for discrepancies between respondents' perceptions of relevant intergroup relationships and interactions, and none were found.

Throughout the data collection and analysis period, every attempt was made to observe the empirical perspective that is common in research on the Relational Model: the focus was on unravelling objective interactions. Relative to the study of reconciliation, the first interactions between (members of) opposing parties after an overt conflict were analysed. The analysis of respondents' reflections on the relationships involved enabled the exploration of value, compatibility and security as possible indicators of the nature of police-citizen relationships.

## 1.8 Outline of the thesis

The individual studies that constitute Chapters 2 to 5 of this thesis explore whether the nature of police-citizen relationships is an explanatory factor in post-conflict interaction and reconciliation between the two groups. In each chapter, the focus is on a different aspect of the main question (each formulated as a distinct research question). The four chapters have been published as papers in four scientific journals that focus on research and theorising related to the police. As such, the chapters can also be read as standalone documents. Consequently, there is some content overlap between the chapters. Although the formulations of the research questions posed in the chapters differ from the wording used in this introduction, they do not differ in terms of the essence of their content.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 5, Section 5.2 'Methodology' for detailed information concerning the selection process.

<sup>31</sup> In conjunction with the individual analysis relative to RQs 2 and 3.

<sup>32</sup> In 5 cases relative to RQ3 and 3 cases relative to RQ4, the interviewer(s) asked and received additional clarification. The clarifications removed ambiguities from the data but did not affect the content of what was said.

Chapter 2 concerns an initial exploration of the Relational Model in the context of police-citizen relationships. In this chapter, an assumed instance of relational repair, a reconciliation process after riots between police and youths in a Dutch town, is reconstructed and analysed. The chapter is written in the plural since it is based on research that involved collaboration with others. The first author and I conducted the analysis and together wrote the substantive parts of the manuscript.

In Chapter 3 it is discussed whether, and to what extent, assessments of the value, security and compatibility of the relationship have influenced interactions between police and citizens both during conflicts and at moments that were critical in the transformation from conflict to cooperation. Chapter 3 is again written in the plural because it is based on work done in collaboration with another author. In this instance, I conducted the research and took the lead in writing.

Chapter 4 explores the descriptive relevance of value, security and compatibility in understanding and explaining post-conflict interactions between police and citizens. In the research, given the need for comparative analysis, I analysed five media-salient police-citizen conflicts that differ in terms of their context, type and scope, and in the development of post-conflict interactions. In order to explore the value of applying the Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) and adapting the relationship qualities proposed by Cords and Aureli (2000), post-overt conflict interactions and respondents' quotations on the relationship between the police and citizens were analysed qualitatively.

In Chapter 5 there is a shift towards considering the individual level of interaction. In this chapter, the reflections of 15 community police officers on 46 cases of interpersonal involvement in overt conflict and reconciliation with citizens are analysed by means of a structural narrative analysis (e.g., Riessman, 2008). Their general reflections on reconciliation are analysed qualitatively. As in the studies described in Chapters 3 and 4, the Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) and the relationship qualities adapted from Cords and Aureli (2000), form the theoretical basis upon which the research and analysis are constructed.

In the concluding chapter, Chapter 6, the insights gained from the four research projects are pulled together and analysed in the context of the main research question. Further, the chapter highlights practical and theoretical implications of the research.



# Chapter 2

## **Police and Citizens in conflict: exploring post-confrontation interaction from a relational perspective**

### **Abstract**

*This paper introduces a relational perspective to the analysis of the interaction process from confrontation to cooperation between police and civilians. By exploring a single case study on riots between Dutch youths of Moluccan descent and the police during New Year's Eve 2007, followed by a peaceful celebration a year later in 2008, the process of reconciliation between the two groups is reconstructed and analysed. By means of a comparison of the relationship nature before and after the confrontation and an in-depth analysis of post-conflict interaction, it is shown how institutional, group and individual interactions affected the change from confrontation to cooperation.*

Keywords: conflict resolution; inter-group relations; police–civilian interaction; reconciliation

Chapter 2 has been published as: Van de Klomp, M., Stronks, S., Adang, O.M.J. and Van den Brink, G.J.M (2014): Police and Citizens in conflict: exploring post-confrontation interaction from a relational perspective. *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy*, 24(4): 459-478. DOI: 10.1080/10439463.2013.878342



## 2.1 Introduction

During the celebration of New Year's Eve (NYE) 2007–2008, the Moluccan neighbourhood<sup>33</sup> in the Dutch city of Tiel<sup>34</sup>, a small town in the centre of the Netherlands, was the stage of a confrontation between police and local youths, centred around the lighting of a celebratory bonfire. Although the neighbourhood was generally very quiet, it had become something of a yearly tradition for the police riot squad and fire department to be deployed to intervene against local youths lighting bonfires during NYE<sup>35</sup>, which is prohibited under municipal regulations. This time around, however, the youths wore protective padding and had prepared fire-bombs and other projectiles, which they threw at a manned police vehicle. The riot squad had to retreat from the neighbourhood and it took several hours before they could disperse the youths and restore public order; they were unable to make any arrests. At least two officers and one civilian were injured. Damage to public and private property, amounted to approximately 25,000 euros throughout the city (De Gelderlander 2008), but the subjective impact was much greater for the police officers at the scene, who had feared for their lives. Just one year later, Moluccans, police and the municipality cooperated to organise a peaceful and festive NYE celebration. The question is: what happened between these two opposites to change the situation?

The police hold a central position in society maintaining public order and dealing with the prevention and repression of crime. In some cases violent confrontations with the public may occur. However, in contrast to civilians who are involved in confrontations and who may choose to deny, forgive or ignore that something happened (Pruitt and Kim 2004), police are expected to deal with confrontations in a professional manner. As such, the management of confrontations is an essential element in police–citizen contact. Analysing riots in Ondiep, a neighbourhood in the Dutch city of Utrecht, van de Klomp *et al.* (2011) argued that these riots were prevented from spreading as a result of the use of a strategy combining empathy and enforcement, building on the relationship that existed with the local population. They showed that the way in which conflicts unfold is partly influenced

33 Moluccans are a minority population within the Netherlands, originally hailing from the eastern part of what is now Indonesia. After the end of Dutch colonisation and the independence of Indonesia in 1949, a large number of Moluccans, most of whom had served in the Royal Dutch Indonesian Army (Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger, KNIL), were forced to demobilise in the Netherlands. Their stay was supposed to be of a temporary nature, and for a long time Moluccans were treated as second-rate citizens, which caused strong tension and conflict between the government and the Moluccan community. When it became clear that the Moluccans would not be returning to their native homes, the government tried to integrate them within Dutch society. Several small neighbourhoods, of which the neighbourhood in this case is one, were built for Moluccans: these became important focal points to their community (Smeets and Steijlen 2006).

34 The municipality of Tiel (consisting of the town of Tiel and four smaller villages) had 41,132 inhabitants on 1 January 2008. Seven hundred and fifty inhabitants of the municipality were of Moluccan origin, of which approximately 200 (68 households) live in the Moluccan neighbourhood of Tiel (municipal administration, Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie Persoonsgegevens, GBA). The Moluccan neighbourhood in Tiel consists of four streets, a church and a community centre, which is run by Buah Hati, a Moluccan association which organises cultural activities for the community, employs one community worker and several volunteers, and is presided over by three board members. Under the supervision of the Mayor of Tiel, the public prosecutor and the chief inspector, the police team of Tiel is responsible for public order maintenance and law enforcement of Tiel's inhabitants. The town is located in 'Gelderland-Zuid', one of the 25 independent legal police regions in which The Netherlands was divided until 2012. It was subdivided in three districts. The district in question, De Waarden, was split in two teams, of which Team Tiel (approximately 30 police officers, led by a chief inspector) is the subject of the present research.

35 According to the police, the Moluccan group maintains a high level of intra-group social control throughout the year; during NYE, however, social control wanes when relatives and friends from outside the neighbourhood come to visit.

by pre-existing relations between the actors in question. The importance of relationships on the dynamics of conflict is also reflected in various other studies on policing (e.g., Otten *et al.* 2001, Fielding 2005, Adang and van der Torre 2007, Adang *et al.* 2010, van den Brink and Bruinsma 2010), and in other disciplines, such as social psychology and sociology, as well (e.g., Rusbult *et al.* 2005, Malloy 2008, Dovidio *et al.* 2011). Moreover, Della Porta and Reiter (1998), King (2013) and Waddington *et al.* (2009) stress the function of police–civilian relationships in the prevention and repression of confrontations in the case of large-scale public events. Kappeler and Gaines (2011), Marshall (1992) and Palmiotto (2011) also emphasise the importance of community policing in this respect, a point of view the Dutch police traditionally share (e.g., van den Vijver and Zoomer 2004, van Steden *et al.* 2011).

While the importance of police–civilian relationships in the management of conflict becomes apparent from these studies, their analysis generally stops when overt confrontation ends. This is somewhat puzzling considering the fact that police–civilian relationships do carry on beyond this point. Often, the effects of confrontation call for further resolution beyond the cessation of violence. This is fairly obvious in well-known cases, such as the riots in London (2011) and France (2005), that had a strong impact at a societal level; but less pervasive incidents may also have rather disruptive effects on the relationships between the actors involved. The need for a more systematic empirical analysis of the social and institutional processes in post-conflict police–civilian relationships seems apparent. Why should the police invest so much time, attention and money in the prevention and repression of confrontations, but treat their aftermath and resolution as an afterthought?

Of course, conflict resolution and reconciliation have received more extensive coverage in other fields of study, both with regard to seemingly intractable conflict at the national and international level (e.g., Deutsch and Coleman 2000, Hewstone *et al.* 2008, Kriesberg 2009) and at the interpersonal level (e.g., Gottman 1993, Worthington and Drinkard 2000, Aquino *et al.* 2001). However, the first category of studies does not normally offer the type of detailed analysis of social and institutional interaction at an individual and (smaller) group level that is important in understanding the dynamics of police–civilian conflict resolution. Rather, the nature of intractable conflicts requires a more elaborate focus on historical analysis due to the complexity of long-lasting conflicts. Cases often take place in varying degrees of institutional breakdown, which makes generalisation of their findings to less-extreme conflict situations problematic. While more stable political climates may also feature a form of institutional breakdown with diminishing trust from civilians (Economist Intelligence Unit 2013), this is incomparable to the breakdown of institutional functionality in situations of (civil) war. Psychological studies of conflict resolution, on the other hand, are highly detailed but generally focused on singling out specific variables such as empathy, trust, guilt and shame (e.g., Nadler *et al.* 2008), rather than painting a bigger picture. As such, they tend to lack a conflict narrative that helps to understand the ongoing dynamic between the effect of conflict on the relationship and vice versa.

### 2.1.1 An integrated approach

One area which does focus on these different elements, is the scientific discipline of ethology. In their book *Natural Conflict Resolution*, Aureli and de Waal (2000) introduce a way of looking at conflicts from a relational and highly empirical perspective. They introduce the Relational Model, in which the analysis of post-conflict interaction (PCI) between parties is not only central to the understanding of conflict resolution, but also highly reliant on the nature of the relationship in general. They argue that PCI, just like the confrontation itself, holds meaning for the relationship between two (or more) parties:

*The first implication of the Relational Model, then, is that it allows for the full integration of competition and cooperation. This integration is not just an alternation between the two, or an uneasy coexistence; conflict and its resolution may actually contribute to a fine-tuning of expectations between parties, a building of trust despite occasional disagreement, hence a more productive and closer relationship than would be possible if conflict were fully suppressed. The reparability of relationships permits aggression to have a testing quality*

*(De Waal 2000, p. 29)*

In line with this assertion Aureli and de Waal (2000) predict that the tendency to initiate aggression increases with the number of opportunities for competition, the value of contested resources and the reparability of the relationship; aggression is said to decrease with higher risk of injury and higher relationship value. When the mechanisms of conflict resolution between two opponents are more developed, individuals will be less reluctant to engage in open conflict.

The idea of reconciliation and the reparability of relationships is the result of several decades of research, replicated consistently among over 30 different social species, including a small number of studies on humans (Koyama 2001, Fujisawa and Kutsukake 2005, Wittig and Boesch 2005). Research on the likelihood of forgiveness among humans has also been positively linked to relational repair, but it should be noted that these findings were obtained in experimental settings (e.g., Karremans and Van Lange 2008, Burnette *et al.* 2012). More generally in the social sciences, notions of equal status contact, group cooperation and institutional support are linked to the construction and restoration of group relations (e.g., Allport 1954, Rusbult *et al.* 2005, p. 193, Hewstone *et al.* 2008, p. 203, Janoff-Bulman and Werther 2008, p. 161). As these authors also point out, however, it is not entirely clear under which circumstances inter-group contact improves the relationship and what types of behaviour are most beneficial. This is where the added value of an ethological perspective lies, in which (post-)conflict interaction is studied as an integrated process rather than a set of variables, while retaining attention to its specific forms and functions.

The Relational Model is a general approach which may be relevant and applicable for various types of conflict management and theory. Because at times the very nature of police work will bring police in conflict with citizens, it would be specifically interesting to see how the nature of relationships between police and citizens affect these conflicts. There is little knowledge as to how institutional and social factors influence PCIs between police and civilians. It would be relevant to gain insight in such factors, since it may help us to understand why future confrontations might cause less to no trouble in the one case and escalation and enduring conflict in the other (see also Neufeld Redekop and Paré 2010, p. 133, who indicate that there may be a need for reconciliation processes in cases where there has been a history of violent confrontations between police and protestors).

Coming back to the case of Tiel then, we will attempt to see whether a relational perspective offers greater insight into the social processes that take place after a conflict between police and civilians and if there is something going on that could be called reconciliation. For this purpose, we use Yarn and Jones' (2009, p. 65) working definition of reconciliation:

*Reconciliation refers to the establishment of cooperative relations between persons, either individuals or groups, who have been at variance without regard to whether they have had a prior cooperative relationship.*

This definition explicitly mentions the different levels at which relationships can exist. While our study is mainly focused on interaction at the group level, we will also pay attention to the interplay between the individual- and group-level PCI, including the institutional side of these interactions. Inspired by the Relational Model, we will address these issues and attempt to answer the following questions:

*1. Was the relationship between the police and civilians of at least the same strength or quality as before the confrontation, after cooperation was (re)established, as predicted by the Relational Model?*

*2. How did the change in behaviour from violent confrontation to peaceful cooperation come about and how did individual and institutional forms of interaction between the parties affect this change?*

## **2.2 Methodology**

Since it is the aim of this study to analyse the development of the relationship between two parties in their real-life surroundings, it is very important to take contextual factors in consideration, but it is impossible to control for the multitude of variables. Therefore, the case study is the most appropriate method since it allows for the development of theoretical propositions to guide the data collection process and has the flexibility to adjust for the unexpected. In this case, media reports indicated that there was a stark contrast between



the two sequential NYE celebrations, which would suggest that a form of reconciliation was likely to have taken place in the meantime, making this a likely candidate for a representative, that is, typical case of relational repair (Yin 2003, p. 41). This is a single case study and our aim is not to come to any sort of statistical generalisation. We will, however, attempt to explore the analytical generalizability (Yin 2003, pp. 10–11) of the Relational Model in a social scientific study of an institutionalised conflict between police and civilians.

Three main parties were distinguished that played a role in the PCI process: the police, the Moluccan community and the municipality. Our respondents were selected from these groups, on the basis of their active participation in this process. Furthermore, the selection was made along the lines of key-informant methodology, a technique that is generally used to gain high-quality data over a short period of time (Marshall 1996). Tremblay (cited by Marshall 1996, p. 92) suggested specific criteria for informant selection, focusing on their role in the community, knowledge, willingness to cooperate, communicability and impartiality. We conducted in-depth, unstructured interviews with 11 key-informants.

Some of whom were interviewed on multiple occasions when new questions presented themselves<sup>36</sup>; four police (two neighbourhood officers, the chief inspector and the district chief), one municipal worker (responsible for the local security programme), the mayor and five civilians, three of whom were of Moluccan descent (two board members of Moluccan association and an external security adviser to the Moluccan association) and two of Moroccan origin (both key members of the Moroccan community)<sup>37</sup>. Our respondents were actively involved in the PCI process and met most of these criteria, with the possible exception of 'impartiality'. However, since we were specifically interested in group attitudes towards one another, a certain measure of subjectivity was required. Moreover, factual information was checked through media and document scans. Willingness to cooperate was only an issue with regard to the Moluccan youths who did not respond to our request to participate in the research. While this is regrettable due to the fact that they had started the conflict in the first place, their role in the PCI process appears to have been marginal since they did not interact directly with the police after the NYE confrontation. Considering the fact that the PCI process, rather than the conflict itself, is the main focus of this article, we did not see this as an insurmountable obstacle to the case study. Nevertheless, the lack of cooperation by the youths could be interpreted as a signal of their attitude towards the police, since the researchers are aligned to the Dutch Policeacademy.

The limited number of respondents should certainly be taken into account when interpreting the outcomes of this study. However, Pauwels and Hardyns (2009, p. 403) suggest that the knowledge of well-chosen key-informants about the social climate of an area is superior to the knowledge of the average inhabitant of that area. Moreover, Raudenbush and Sampson (1999, p. 9) show that, using key-informant methodology, a modest sample size (N = 20) may still achieve 'reasonably high interrater reliabilities at the neighbourhood

<sup>36</sup> The interviews were conducted between half a year and one year after NYE 2008–2009.

<sup>37</sup> Moroccan respondents were involved in the PCI process due to the alleged participation of Moroccan youths in the riots and the fear that the conflict could spread to their neighbourhood. Their contribution as respondents was essential in the triangulation of our data, but their influence on the interaction between the police and the Moluccan community was negligible for the purposes of this case study.

level'. Considering our smaller sample size, we made use of a pooling technique, suggested by Krannich and Humphrey (1986, pp. 483–484), to create a shared measure between respondents (see the following section) in order to reduce the impact of interrater variability. To prevent possible informant bias related to their position (Kumar *et al.* 1993), we selected respondents from various ranks within the police and municipality. We could not control for other possible sources of error such as memory failure or distortion (Kumar *et al.* 1993), but did not find any large discrepancies in perceptual agreement between our respondents in the qualitative analysis, which also functioned to interpret and verify the results of our quantitative analysis. Nevertheless, while the respondents were asked to describe their relationship before the confrontation, all interviews were conducted in retrospect and their responses may have been influenced by it.

A large body of work exists concerning the subjective nature of account narratives such as those provided by our respondents<sup>38</sup>. While the scope of this paper does not allow for an in-depth discussion of this literature, it should be noted that our respondents were regularly prompted to give examples to illustrate the points they made, which forced them to attempt to validate their own statements. Nevertheless, it remains possible that a positive or negative development of the conflict may have altered their perception of the relationship prior to the conflict. This should be considered when interpreting our findings.

During the interviews respondents were left free to choose when and where to begin describing the conflict at hand. The interviews lasted between one and two-and-a-half hours. They were recorded and transcribed verbatim afterwards. For the purpose of data triangulation in the case of the more factual statements, a media scan of national, regional and local newspapers, as well as local and regional news websites, was performed to gather relevant reports that were written about the confrontation and its aftermath (e.g., the resulting criminal investigation) and about local police–community relations in general. The interview data were analysed using the qualitative software program ATLAS.ti. This process was performed by two researchers<sup>39</sup> simultaneously, who set up shared rules of analysis, but performed the analysis separately (see Sections 2.1 and 2.2).

### 2.2.1 *Measuring relationship nature (RN)*

In order to answer the first research question, the researchers established a measure of the RN between police and Moluccans. First, the researchers selected statements<sup>40</sup>, which they believed to give an indication of RN before or after the confrontation. During several meetings they narrowed the selection down to those statements which they both considered to be relevant. Subsequently, four categories were established within which the RN statements could be placed: 'group', 'individual', 'policy' and 'law'. These categories are reflections of the micro- and meso-levels at which the RN was evaluated by the respondents. Both researchers analysed the categories 'group' and 'law'; in addition the first researcher

<sup>38</sup> See Kohler Riessman (2008) for a recent overview.

<sup>39</sup> The first two authors.

<sup>40</sup> Ranging from approximately 2 to 10 lines of text.

analysed statements in the 'policy' category, while the second researcher focused on the 'individual' category. Statements were divided between the situation before the confrontation and after cooperation had been re-established. Statements referring to the period in between were excluded from the analysis of RN and reserved for the subsequent PCI analysis (see Section 2.2). In nearly all cases, researchers agreed on the assessment of the categorisation 'before/after' between the researchers (Cohen's Kappa = .969 with  $p$  value < .001).

Second, the selected statements were categorised as either reflecting a 'negative', 'ambivalent' or 'positive' RN. To minimise conceptual confusion, the researchers reported back to each other on several occasions and compared a selection of statements to fine-tune the way in which they attributed these labels. However, it should be noted that there was still a clear discrepancy between the sentences on which they based their evaluations: in 55% of all cases both researchers had selected the exact same fragments, in 45% they had selected other fragments from the statements identified earlier<sup>41</sup>.<sup>9</sup> For the statements that were selected and assessed by both ( $N = 129$ ), there was a high correspondence rate (Cohen's Kappa = .754;  $p$  value < .001). Zooming in on the specific distribution of the assessments (see Table 1), two things stand out. First, the highest discrepancy between the researchers was found in the statements assessed to be 'ambivalent' in nature by researcher one, which were seen as 'negative' by researcher two ( $N = 12$ ). This incongruity may reflect a slight difference in their interpretation of the categories. Second, there is no such discrepancy visible between the two extremes of the assessment scale (positive/negative).

**Table 2.1. Assessment researcher 1 × assessment researcher 2 crosstabulation.**

Assesement Researcher 1 * Assesement Reseaacher 2 Crosstabulation					
		Assesement Researcher 2			Total
		Negative	Ambivalent	Positive	
Assesement Researcher 1	Negative	61	3	0	64
	Ambivalent	12	31	2	45
	Positive	0	2	18	20
Total		73	36	20	129

### 2.2.2. Qualitative analysis

In order to answer the second research question and chart the changes from confrontational to cooperative behaviour, the two researchers analysed the data pertaining to the period between the two NYE's and produced an overview of the PCI. The data were analysed for the presence or absence of cooperative and confrontational behaviour. The following three stages within the PCI process were conceptualised on the basis of this anal-

<sup>41</sup> This difference is largely due to the fact that the text fragments which were initially chosen for assessment were rather sizeable, which led the authors to evaluate the fragments on the basis of different sentences contained within. In retrospect, it would have been prudent to start with a more refined selection of text fragments to be able to compare the assessments between authors more closely.

ysis, and fact-checked with the aforementioned document and media scans: confrontation followed by avoidance; cooperation at the institutional (but not at the operational) level; and full-fledged cooperation, both at the institutional and operational level. Subsequently, for each of these stages, the researchers conducted a qualitative analysis of the meso- and micro-levels of interaction, respectively, and of the interplay between these levels.

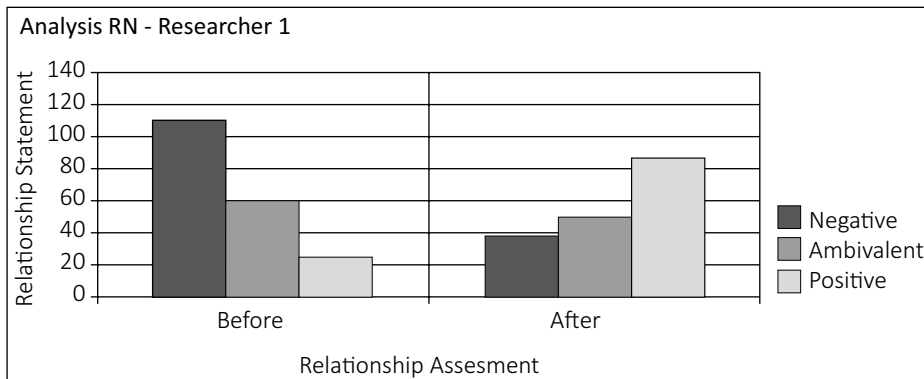
### 2.3. Results: RN

The outcome of the quantitative analysis described above is represented in Figures 1 and 2, which clearly show a shift from a negatively experienced RN before the confrontation and a positive perception of RN after cooperation<sup>42</sup>.

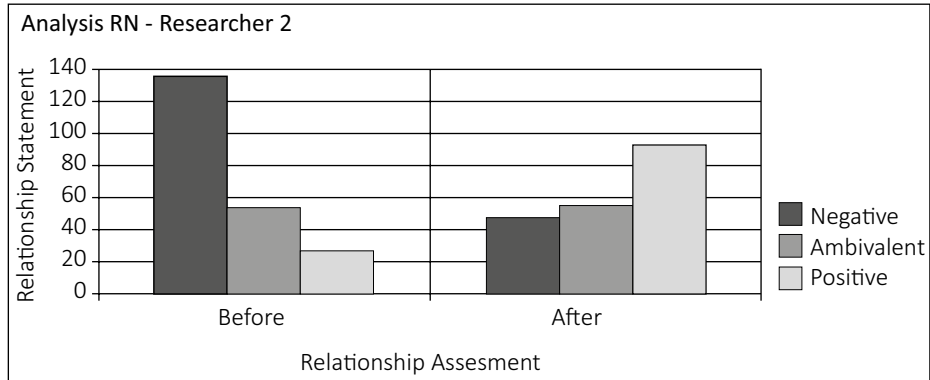
The individual analysis by the first researcher (N = 262), which contains ‘group’, ‘law’ and ‘policy’, shows that there is a significantly more positive evaluation of the RN after cooperation started than before the confrontation occurred (chi-square 17,590,  $p < .001$  with two degrees of freedom). The analysis by the second researcher (N = 310), which includes ‘individual’, ‘group’ and ‘law’, also shows a more positively experienced RN after cooperation had been established (chi-square 73,563,  $p < .001$  and two degrees of freedom).

The measurements of RN before the conflict and after the establishment of cooperation, one year later, indicate that there is a notable change in the way that the respondents speak about their relationship. This is reflected in the statements of all respondents, not only respondents from one group, for example, police. In order to find out how this change occurred, we conducted a qualitative analysis.

**Figure 2.1. Analysis RN – researcher 1.**



<sup>42</sup> In order to create a general comparison of RN between the researchers the categories ‘individual’ and ‘policy’ were included in both data-sets at this point.

**Figure 2.2. Analysis RN – researcher 2.**

## 2.4 Results: Qualitative analysis

In the following section of the paper, we will first give a brief overview of the PCI between the relevant parties; the police, Moluccans and municipality. This is followed with an in-depth analysis of the three stages, identified in the PCI process<sup>43</sup>. The analysis concludes by a section concerning the trial run for the newly constructed cooperative bonds; NYE 2008–2009. In the analysis of the stages, special attention is paid to the ways in which contact between the parties evolved on both micro- and meso-levels of interaction.

### 2.4.1. Overview of events

Authorities are shocked by the excessively violent nature of the confrontation in the Moluccan neighbourhood of Tiel. Several police officers indicated to have feared for their lives. Within 12 hours after the riot, mental and physical health care services are offered to the police officers who were present at the scene. The public prosecutor is informed of the events and asks to start a criminal investigation into the violence against public servants and the destruction of public property. The chief inspector and the mayor have a closed meeting on 2 January, during which they decide to address the events in the Moluccan neighbourhood as an example of the way in which public order is disturbed during NYE. Before the mayor addresses the issue in his New Year's speech on the 8th of January, the board of the local Moluccan association contacts his office and a local newspaper in order to make a public statement attributing partial responsibility for the events to the parents of the youths in question. The mayor not only mentions their initiative in his speech as a positive step forward, but also condemns the actions as 'planned and extreme riots' in a contribution to a regional newspaper the following day<sup>44</sup>. Several days later, the chief in-

<sup>43</sup> As mentioned before, the stages were inferred by means of the presence or absence of cooperative and confrontational behaviour.

<sup>44</sup> 9 januari 2008, 'Jeugd was uit op rellen', De Gelderlander.

spector calls for charges of attempted manslaughter in a public meeting with the municipal council, which is reported by the same newspaper<sup>45</sup>.

On the 30th of January the police start an investigation in the neighbourhood. The chief inspector informs the mayor that the police will not be attending a meeting with the board of the Moluccan association on the 31st of January because the police are too deeply invested in the criminal investigation. Prior to the official meeting however, the mayor and chief inspector do have a separate and informal meeting with the chair of the Moluccan association, during which they ask him to assist the authorities in their search for the offenders. Neither of these meetings, nor a subsequent meeting in February, have the desired effect. It becomes clear that the Moluccan board has been put under pressure by the community to distance themselves from the authorities due to their insistence on severe punishments.

During the following months, the minimal contact between both parties consists of the police's attempts to gather information for the criminal investigation. This is actively obstructed by members of the Moluccan community who, allegedly, threatened an eyewitness. At a meeting in May, the municipal council informs the mayor of their worries concerning the cumbersome nature of the criminal investigation. They let him know that, in their perception, time is of the essence in the prevention of renewed escalations during the next NYE. The Working Group for NYE, which is led by the municipality and is used to start NYE preparations well in advance, on the 21st of May writes up a number of possible scenarios and measures that can be taken. These scenarios rule out an increased number of police or heavier use of force due to fears of further escalation and constraints in manpower.

On the 13th of June, two Moluccan youths are arrested for suspected participation in the confrontation. The arrests are made at their school for fear of resistance and public disturbances if they had been taken from their homes. On 3 July, the first formal meeting between the Moluccan board, the municipality and the chief inspector takes place at the offices of the municipality. At this meeting the parties explain their actions and confront each other with their behaviour over the past few months. It is decided that a scenario which is aimed at a shared organisation of festivities in the neighbourhood to prevent renewed escalations, is the best way forward.

After a series of meetings between municipal representatives of the Working Group NYE and board members of the Moluccan association, an agreement is reached concerning the division of labour, costs and responsibilities in organising NYE festivities for the Moluccan community. In exchange for municipal subsidies the Moluccan representatives agree to take up responsibility for social control for the duration of the festivities. This includes the organisation of a Moluccan safety patrol to keep watch over the neighbourhood.

On the 24th of November, the two police officers who join the NYE Working Group, a municipal representative and the Moluccan representatives, meet for the first time and make their first agreements on cooperation during NYE 2008–2009. During subsequent meetings, which

---

45 26 januari 2008, 'Politie: "Geweld oud en nieuw poging tot moord"', De Gelderlander.

have a sudden increase in frequency, the plans are fine-tuned and written up in the form of a covenant, which is signed by the chief inspector and the chair of the Moluccan association.

With the exception of a small fire, which is immediately reported and extinguished by the Moluccan security coordinator, NYE 2008–2009 in the Moluccan neighbourhood unfolds peacefully. In his New Year's speech, the mayor mentions the cooperation between the various parties as an excellent example of collaboration between government and civilians, and gives special thanks to the Moluccan association.

#### 2.4.2. Stage one: confrontation followed by avoidance

The relationship between the police and the Moluccan community was characterised by the police relying on social control within the Moluccan group, rather than actively policing their neighbourhood. The email to the mayor and public statement by the Moluccan association were mainly focused on the prevention of future incidents; the police and the mayor, on the other hand, were primarily concerned with the consequences of the recent past. The chief inspector explained:

*As chief inspector there are two things you can do. You can say: 'I'm going to take my responsibility as a police official and invest in that relationship with an eye toward the future'. But there were colleagues who had feared for their lives, and there could have been casualties. So I decided, together with the mayor, to be outraged and angry. [...] In my opinion, that didn't leave a lot of space to say 'let's get in touch with these people'. No, first I'm going to really let them have it, [...] so that they know they've crossed the line.*

From an analytical perspective, the words of the chief inspector give a clear indication of the conflicting concerns that arose immediately after the confrontation and indicate that he was negotiating multiple social identities in making his decision. He identified most strongly with the police, having just been attacked by the Moluccan group, and he felt the need to defend his group-identity. This behaviour is in line with Social Identity Theory as described by Tajfel and Turner (1986), which states that people hold multiple social identities which become prevalent in accordance with their situation and their perceived membership of relevant social groups.

Analysing the events from a meso-level perspective, the police were intent on restoring the order and balance of power in the relationship as they imagined it should be. First, because working in such conditions had been very dangerous and damaging both in a physical and an emotional way; second, because they had been forced to retreat and failed to maintain public order. Since the events happened in the public eye, the police wanted to send a clear message that such behaviour could not be tolerated. Therefore, a thorough and uncompromising criminal investigation became their strategy. Their confrontational message was

made public when the chief inspector called for charges of attempted manslaughter while addressing the municipal council in a public forum. As such, the authorities approached the first meeting with the Moluccan association as a way to send their message to the Moluccan community. This created a situation in which wholly incompatible goals between the two groups made cooperation impossible.

A focus on the micro interactions during the meeting offers further insight into the situation. Going into the meeting, the board members of the Moluccan community were prepared to accept responsibility for the events as representatives of their community in order to prevent future disturbances and possible repercussions. According to representatives, a large part of the community, especially the older generations, were unhappy with the way in which the youths behaved. The board members did take the actions by the youths seriously not only because they were afraid of losing control over the group<sup>46</sup>, but also because they felt a sense of shame over the fact that their community was associated with such events. They wanted to prevent further escalations because the association relies, to a large extent, on funding by the municipality. The representatives also indicated, however, that they believed the police had provoked their youths into behaving in a violent manner and that they had not been heard when they previously requested subsidies to organise activities for the youths during NYE. They were surprised to find that the authorities would not admit to what they perceived to be their share of the blame. Rather than entering into a discussion concerning preventative action, they felt pressured to cooperate in the investigation against their own people and felt offended by the way in which their chairman was treated:

*[The mayor] had underestimated our chairman and really put him under pressure, saying something like 'you'd better make sure we catch those youths' [...]. He was really only interested in getting our assistance in apprehending those youths. Well, in that case, you're barking up the wrong tree.*

Looking at the meeting from a relational perspective, it becomes clear that the lack of consistent contact between the two groups led to a certain unpredictability of behaviour. When the authorities became aware of the fact that the actions of the board members were being questioned by their own community, they started to question their trustworthiness as reliable representatives with influence over the Moluccan group. Again, the police were confronted with a discrepancy between their expectations and the reality of their relationship with the Moluccan community. In order to maintain their position in their own community, the board members could not align themselves with the authorities. A move towards cooperative relations was out of the question, with retribution weighing heavily on the minds of the authorities and self-protection being a priority to the Moluccans.

The unsuccessful meetings that took place in January and February were followed by a period of avoidance on both individual and group level. Contact was limited to a focus on the criminal investigation by the police. The Moluccan response was very tight-lipped,

<sup>46</sup> Their own chairman, after all, had also been hit by a projectile during NYE and it was not clear whether this was an accident.



impeding the attempts by the police to come to a quick resolution of the case. Throughout these months, there was a stand-off centred around the progression of the investigation, which did very little to change the interests, goals and behaviour of either group. Nevertheless, the police maintained their efforts in the investigation. The chief inspector comments: 'I don't think penal law really solves all of these problems, but in this case there was no other option, we had to re-establish the norms'. Re-establishing the norms, therefore, became dependent on the outcome of the investigation.

Meanwhile, the municipal council started to ask questions concerning the length of the investigation and the lack of contact between the groups. Looking ahead to the next NYE, the council expressed their concerns regarding the adopted strategy. At this point, however, the main concern for the police was not to establish a more cooperative relationship. Judging from the words of the chief inspector, inter-group contact was perceived to be a threat to the effective and decisive continuation of the investigation. Nevertheless, half a year had passed and while there had not been any appeasing contact between the parties, the immediacy of the anger that was initially displayed by the police appeared to be receding. The chief inspector comments:

*At a certain moment it becomes tricky, because on the one hand, you're dealing with a criminal investigation in which you'd like to grab a hold of all of them... On the other hand, you will also need to cooperate with those same people, from the same community. That's what I've come to realise, you have to return to a decent work-relationship. A contact-relationship. The trick is then to make a distinction between the two. You can hold on to that anger and be persistent about pursuing and punishing the suspects, but you can do so internally. [...] you'll come to realise you won't be able to apprehend everyone that assaulted you and you'll have to tone it down.*

The decision to try and invest in the relationship with the Moluccans appeared to come from a rational and professional point of view, rather than from an intrinsic readiness to move on. The nature of their work demanded that the police should invest in more cooperative relations with the Moluccan community because they had long since recognised the threat that taking a strongly repressive approach could lead to an even more dire situation.

Overall, the first stage was characterised by a heavy emphasis on confrontation between the groups at the institutional level. The criminal investigation took place at a safe distance and caused a lack of interpersonal interaction between police and Moluccans. Interpersonal interaction did take place between the authorities. The municipality was the first to reinitiate contact with the Moluccans and restart the conversation<sup>47</sup>.<sup>15</sup> From a functional as well as a relational perspective, this is not entirely surprising since they were most fre-

<sup>47</sup> At this point, municipal workers were discussing the possibility and negotiating the financial side of NYE festivities with the Moluccan representatives.

quently engaged in working relations before the confrontation as well. The barriers that were previously in place were removed by ending the criminal investigation at a strategic level. This allowed for inter-group contact in theory, but it would take some time before such contact became a reality.

#### 2.4.3 *Stage two: institutional cooperation*

For the first time since the meeting in February, which had failed to bring the parties closer together, a new meeting between the party representatives was planned on 3 July. It was aimed at finding a solution for the underlying tension between the parties. Recalling the micro interactions, respondents described the first part of the meeting as a rather tense affair. The past incidents were discussed as well as the kind of emotional impact they had had on the individuals involved. Only after this exchange, the mayor steered the meeting towards a point of transition in which the parties could express their desire to move forward and put what had happened behind them. The actors came to an agreement that there was indeed a necessity to work together towards a peaceful NYE. They proposed to unite their efforts in the organisation of a party by the Moluccan association with the financial backing of the municipality.

Respondents attending the meeting describe it as one where cooperation was more easily negotiable than during the last official meetings in January and February. Analysed from a micro perspective, then, the meeting was a critical moment in stimulating the subsequent process of cooperation regarding the preparations of the planned NYE festivities. However, while cooperation was being established, this resulted in increased contact but only via the municipality as an intermediary. After the meeting, the chief inspector did ask the two police officers who participated in the NYE Working Group to join the talks between the municipality and Moluccan association, but this was deemed premature as long as the plans regarding the division of labour, organisation, costs and responsibilities in organising NYE festivities had not yet been negotiated. As such, since cooperation between individual members of the police and Moluccan community was seen to be untimely by the municipality and police, micro-level interaction between the police and the Moluccans was postponed for as long as possible.

#### 2.4.4 *Stage three: institutional and operational cooperation*

The third stage of the PCI process is characterised by increased micro-level contact between the police and the Moluccans. It was not until 24 November that the first face-to-face meeting between Moluccan board members and the two previously appointed police officers took place at the Moluccan community centre. The officers indicated that they were quite anxious for this meeting to go well, but did not know what to expect:

*We went to the lion's den, that how we experienced it. We said to each other, 'if only we can make it back home alive', so to speak. It's just to give an indication of how tense things got with regard to that meeting: will we score or will we be even farther from home?*

*(Neighbourhood police officers)*

From a relational perspective their uncertainty and feelings of insecurity, which even made the officers question whether they should wear their uniforms to the meeting or not<sup>48</sup>, gives a strong indication of how unnerving it can be to re-establish contact after a confrontation. During the first minutes, a verbal confrontation regarding the riots took place and both parties vented their frustrations. On the side of the Moluccans this meant expressing their opinion that the police had provoked the youths in question and neglected to acknowledge their concerns regarding a lack of activities for the youths during NYE. For the police, on the other side, it was an opportunity to give voice to the anger and fear they had experienced due to the way in which they had been treated. Although the confrontation was one of harsh words, it did serve to clarify the positions of those around the table. One of the neighbourhood officers explains:

*Well, the police finally got a face when we sat down at that table. When we told them that our wives weren't too happy about us fighting, visors down, in the middle of the night for a handful of euros. So yes, that definitely helped to ease the tension.*

*(Neighbourhood police officer)*

The November meeting had a similar sequence of interactions as the one on 3 July; after an expression of anger and frustration, the attendants switched to a negotiation of their planned cooperation for the upcoming NYE. From a micro perspective, the personal nature of the way in which these experiences were shared seems to have generated more empathy for the other group amongst the individuals involved. The police officers had an especially strong conviction in their working relationship with the Moluccan security adviser and coordinator. They called him 'the security guy' and he had access to an extensive network of contacts inside and outside of the Moluccan community. He was, as the officers noted, 'obviously an informal leader'. The 'security guy' empathised with the police and showed a certain no-nonsense attitude that meshed well with the attitude of the police officers. The relationship between one of the officers and the adviser was a very important factor in building confidence regarding the merit of the plans they were creating.

The first meeting had gone well and gave rise to a number of subsequent meetings, a development about which one of the officers stated, 'If you talk to people six times in a

---

48 They decided to wear their uniforms rather than civilian clothing.

row, you're also building trust'. Nevertheless, they also remembered the backlash that the board of the Moluccan association had to endure the first time they tried to cooperate with the authorities back in January. This made the influence of the board members in their own community and their reliability as effective partners in the cooperation a somewhat questionable factor in the eyes of the police. As such, this stage of micro-level interactions became very important: fruitful cooperation depended on the trustworthiness and persuasiveness of the individuals around the table.

The movement to promote cooperation between the police and the Moluccans, did not incorporate the Moluccan youths. They were warned through the local municipal newsletter that the police were aware of the identity of the offenders and would be vigilant towards their behaviour. This message was affirmed by the Moluccan Association:

*We told them: if you try to do that again, you'll be sorry, because the police will find out [...]. If you cross the line here, we'll air your dirty laundry in public [...]. You won't be tossing Molotov cocktails around anymore.*

The police officers in question also realised that trust did not yet extend to the group level in their own organisation. Colleagues still expressed their concerns regarding the plans for the upcoming NYE and warned them of the allegedly treacherous nature of the Moluccan group. From a relational perspective, although the fact that representatives of both parties were willing to proceed with the plans for NYE was in itself a sign of good faith, the trust that had grown between them was still built on untested foundations. To counteract this uncertainty, the parties in question felt that the rules for their cooperation needed to be formalised and to do so, a covenant was formulated. This was indicative of a certain distrust between the groups, but it also served to symbolise their commitment to the plans they had made. For the police, one of the main points of concern was the fact that they would have to rely on social control from within the Moluccan group to prevent possible disturbances. Both parties had agreed that the presence of riot police could potentially lead to another escalation, and while their units would be prepared to act, they would remain out of the direct proximity of the neighbourhood unless the youths would attempt to start another bonfire or cause other public disturbances. However, this also meant that they would have to count on the Moluccan representatives to be open and communicative regarding any possible infractions of the rules.

For the Moluccans, the covenant symbolised a formal assurance that they would be given room to regulate their own festivities, which resonated with their need for respect and autonomy in their own neighbourhood. Although the police had rejected the proposal by the Moluccan board to start their own civil watch for the duration of the events, they did give them some leeway in controlling their own youths<sup>49</sup>.

---

49 The Moluccan safety patrol was visibly present by means of the orange safety jackets the members wore. They were responsible to hold an eye on public order and reprimand undesirable behaviour but were not allowed to use force.

### 2.4.5 *The proof of the pudding*

Despite the fact that both groups were now looking towards the upcoming NYE with increased optimism, trust between the parties was still an untested quality of the relationship. PCI ends with the successful and festive 2008–2009 NYE celebrations, which was the real trial run for the newly forged union between the police and the Moluccan representatives. The peaceful nature of the celebration of NYE in the Moluccan neighbourhood seemed even greater due to the fact that disturbances did occur in other neighbourhoods<sup>50</sup>. The Moluccan organisers were commended for this by the mayor, who mentioned the cooperation with the Moluccan neighbourhood as a shining example for the future of the town in his New Year's speech.

From a relational perspective, the actual NYE celebration was an affirmation of the trust that was built in the previous weeks. What was based on faith had now been strengthened by practical experience. It reinforced the interpersonal bonds between the representatives of the parties involved, but more importantly, it also allowed for the larger groups to experience the same trust that had been building between their individual representatives. On a micro-level, then, it can be argued that the positive experience in the joint organisation and regulation of NYE was also a step forward in the perception of the other as a trustworthy and cooperative partner. At the meso-level, the agreements between the police and the Moluccans had proven to be reliable and had allowed the parties to go forward despite a lingering mistrust. However, the fact that this process had taken place between a limited number of representatives of both groups, and did not include the youths that were at the heart of the previous disturbances during NYE, does beg the question whether the process will hold at the group level. In that regard, only time will tell but representatives from both groups are hopeful. Up until 2013–2014, NYE celebrations in the Moluccan neighbourhood have gone by without significant incidents.

## 2.5 Conclusions

Even though the Relational Model is based on a wealth of previous research, this is the first attempt to apply these ideas on an institutional case study in the social sciences. Being a single case study, any conclusions are in need of critical examination and further replication. Nevertheless, this study provides some interesting preliminary answers to the research questions that were posed. First: was there a change in the way the relationship between the police and civilians was experienced before the confrontation and after cooperation was (re)established? While our analysis of the data may require some fine-tuning, especially regarding the comparability of the evaluations, it was clear that the experience of the RN by both parties took a positive turn after cooperative relations were established. Both the quantitative and the qualitative data show a more positive outlook on the relationship between the police and the Moluccan group. To be clear, this is the difference between the situation before the confrontation and after cooperation, not a comparison with

<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, overall there was approximately 10,000 euros less damage than in the previous year (source: Evaluation Working Group, 6 January 2009).

the phase of PCI in between. While generally the experience of a relationship will certainly be influenced by factors other than direct interaction between two parties, the qualitative analysis did not point towards any alternative explanations for the positive development of the relationship between the police and the Moluccan group.

The Moluccans and the police in Tiel used to have a somewhat distant and formal relationship: as long as they did not bother each other they implicitly agreed to ignore each other. However, because the moments where there was contact were particularly negative, it translated into a negatively experienced RN. Because larger groups usually feature subgroups, however, there were also Moluccans who had similar interests as the police. The measure of social control that the older generations could exert over their close-knit community, and their desire for a peaceful community and willingness to cooperate with the police ultimately became one of the factors that allowed for a move towards more positive relations.

In line with the Relational Model, therefore, this case study suggests that relationships between police and civilians are not necessarily weakened by confrontations. When the aftermath is handled with care, confrontations may even have a constructive effect, as these preliminary findings imply. This adds weight to seeing a move from confrontational to cooperative relations as a process of reconciliation and is in line with the definitions of the Relational Model and Yarn and Jones (2009). The case also shows that reconciliation may be a long-term process with ebbs and flows rather than beginnings and endings (see also Neufeld Redekop and Paré 2010, p. 133). Furthermore, on the basis of this paper and the previously mentioned study of the riots in Ondiep (van de Klomp *et al.* 2011), we might even argue that adopting a relational perspective allows for a more constructive way of dealing with conflict, but that remains to be explored more fully.

To answer the second question, how the change in behaviour from violent confrontation to peaceful cooperation came about and how individual and institutional forms of interaction between the parties affected this change, it is important to recall the other assertion of the Relational Model. It is predicted that the nature of a relationship between parties should influence the social process that follows after a confrontation. A more positive RN should make (re-)establishing cooperative relations easier. However, the model does not delineate exactly how RN is established. Its measure appears to be relative by definition. Relative to the wishes of the parties to the relationship: what type of relationship is desired? But also relative to other relationships: is this relationship more or less likely to achieve a process of reconciliation than others? Therefore, it remains to be seen to what extent a negatively experienced RN may hinder a move towards cooperative relations. It will be important in future research to establish the factors that influence the experience of the RN.

Another point of consideration that merits further exploration is the way in which the barriers to reconciliation are dealt with during PCI. How are the costs and benefits of reconciliation negotiated and when can reconciliation be successfully initiated? As was mentioned in the beginning, Aureli and de Waal (2000) suggested that the tendency to initiate aggression increases with the resource value and decreases with the risk of injury (among

other factors). The same tendency may also apply during PCI: it could be argued that the Moluccan youths and the police were fighting over the same resource: control over the progression of NYE. Specifically, the confrontation was centred around the lighting of a bonfire. More generally, it was an issue of control and public order; who is in charge in the Moluccan neighbourhood? This issue was not fully resolved in favour of either party, but it was circumvented by the alternative celebration, which also served as a bargaining tool between the parties. Furthermore, the risk of injury had become greater in the perception of the police, who had been surprised by the violent display during NYE, but were now fully aware of the danger.

Nevertheless, they also believed that an increased use of force would only lead to escalation of the conflict. The Moluccan representatives wanted to prevent further damage to their reputation and feared for legal and financial repercussions from the authorities. However, it was only under a certain amount of pressure from the municipality and the certainty of a rapidly approaching NYE, that these concerns influenced the parties to seek cooperation more rapidly and simultaneously. The timing of conflict resolution is more commonly discussed in 'Ripeness Theory' (e.g., Zartman 2001), which suggests that conflicts can only be resolved when the timing is right. In the field of ethology, an alternative theory of 'Benign Intent' (Silk 2002) has also been suggested in order to give more weight to the importance of short-term objectives, such as access to desirable resources, over the long-term motivation for relational repair. Neither Ripeness Theory nor Benign Intent contradict the Relational Model, but they do indicate a need to develop the motivational side of conflict resolution more clearly in future studies.

Distinguishing between individual and institutional forms of interaction in the PCI process, the case shows a clear difference between the roles both forms play. The meso- form of interaction starts as a formalised method of confrontation in an attempt to re- establish power relations from the side of the authorities. What appeared as a first attempt at reconciliation by the Moluccan representatives, was repelled by this approach. However, meso-level interaction also served as a guarantee for cooperation in the absence of trust at the group level by way of a formal covenant. It seems that the distance that is created between the parties by such formal proceedings helps to prevent further escalations, but it would be interesting to explore whether it thereby serves to pre-empt reconciliation or promote it in the long run.

On the micro-side of the PCI, in this case trust between the parties was only formed and brought to fruition when individuals from both sides of the conflict interacted on a face-to-face basis. Both the meetings on 3 July and 24 November were, in that sense, critical moments of interaction after which cooperation was established. Direct personal contact became the engine of cooperation between the parties. Which forms of contact, and which specific kinds of behaviour are necessary to achieve cooperation after confrontation will have to be established over more than a single case study. However, looking at the outcome of confrontational interaction at the individual level, it would be questionable to say that only positive forms of interaction may lead to cooperation. Both critical meetings started by venting emotions and frustrations that were felt by the individuals around the

table and only slowly progressed towards more friendly forms of interaction. Was this a micro-expression of the process that also took place on the meso- side: a setting of boundaries to let each other know where the limits are and how interaction may proceed? Or was this more of an emotional discharge and a moment to express empathy? Again, this is something to be explored in future research, along with the possibility of adopting other theoretical perspectives such as that of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986).

We conclude that a relational perspective offers important clues in understanding the interactional shift from confrontation to cooperation. Moreover, approaching the subject from this perspective also allows for the possibility that different forms of interaction may be part of the same social process, which, in this case, constitutes a process of reconciliation. Throughout the analysis of this case study, we have come to find that reconciliation can be a lengthy process with specific moments of contact that mark the change from confrontation to cooperation. It is yet to be established if such moments follow set patterns and if factors like emotion and identity play a similar role in different cases. We have found that there is a distinction in the role of institutional, group and interpersonal interactions and are curious to find out whether this is the same in other cases. To answer the questions that remain and to explore the explanatory power of the Relational Model, we eagerly call for more case studies and comparative research.



# Chapter 3

## Critical Moments in Police-Citizen reconciliation

### Abstract

*In this paper, the interaction of police- and citizen representatives during Critical Moments in reconciliation processes, are analysed through a Relational Model. It is one of very few studies that analyses police-involved post conflict interactions with a relational Model. Based on 26 in-depth interviews with key actors in three different cases of media-salient police-citizen group conflict, the interactions in the run-up to, during and after five moments that were critical in the transformation from conflict to cooperation, were analysed. In focusing on the role of the intergroup relationship in conflict interaction, the applicability of relationship-value, -compatibility and -security in defining this relationship, were explored. Although interactions during critical moments differed along the specific conflict contexts, three chronological stages could be deduced. In the first stage, interactions were tensed and emotional. During the second stage, repressing this insecurity through the exchange of value- and compatibility signals was important. In the third stage, the transformation towards friendlier, cooperative dialogue and a less tensed atmosphere, was made. Emotional expression, information sharing and emphasizing compatibility seemed particularly important in (re)defining and negotiating police-citizen relationships. With regard to the importance of strong police-citizen relationships, the results should be of value to any operational police worker and specifically those who are involved in operational or strategic conflict management and -communication.*

Keywords: police, conflict, conflict transformation, reconciliation, restoration, cooperation, relationship, conflict communication

Chapter 3 has been published as: Stronks, S. & Adang, O.M.J. (2015): Critical Moments in Police-Citizen reconciliation. *Policing: an International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 38(2): 366-380. DOI: 10.1108/PIJPSM-12-2014-0136

This article is © Emerald Group Publishing and permission has been granted for this version to appear here (<https://pure.wvt.nl/portal/>). Emerald does not grant permission for this article to be further copied/distributed or hosted elsewhere without the express permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

### 3.1 Introduction

On Saturday, August 9, 2014, in Ferguson, Missouri, a white police officer shot and killed an 18 year old black man. The shooting -which attracted the attention of (inter)national media-, led to immediate social unrest and massive protests concerning the mistreatment of black people at the hands of law enforcement. Aware of the necessity of strong community relationships, local leaders from a variety of religions and races publically called for peace and reconciliation<sup>51</sup>.

From a policing perspective, calling for reconciliation is valid and understandable. Several researchers have advocated investing in peaceful and strong relationships between police and citizens, such that escalated conflict can be prevented (e.g., Fielding 2005; Adang 2010). Moreover, in most Western countries, it is acknowledged that the relationship between police and citizens is on-going and that cooperation with citizens is crucial and unavoidable for effective and legitimate police work (e.g., Tyler and Huo 2002; Skogan 2005). A variety of policing strategies, such as Community Oriented Policing (e.g., Skogan 2006; Friedmann 1992), Problem Oriented Policing (e.g., Goldstein 1979; Reisig 2010) and Reassurance Policing (e.g., Fleming 2005; Fielding and Innes 2006) strongly advocate building, securing and maintaining good police-citizen relationships.

Both Ferguson-like, large scale overt conflicts, as well as smaller scale incidents that do not make it to (inter)national media, can have a damaging effect on relationships. Repairing such relational damage may be of great importance to maintain strong police-community relationships. However, the dominant ways to deal with police-involved group-conflict seem litigation and external auditing which do not address the effect of overt conflict on the relationship and future contact (Yarn 2000: 56). We are aware of the broad strand or research and theorizing on reconciliation and restorative practices, originating from restorative justice (e.g., Van Ness and Heetderks Strong 2008). However, in this perspective, victims and offenders are supposed to be morally involved and state actors are supposed to be a morally neutral third party (Walgrave 2008). Police involvement in this type of reconciliation is as an intervening, supportive or mediating actor (see for example the Journal of Police Studies' special issue on restorative policing 2009-2). This leaves us with a gap with regard to the behavioural patterns and function of reconciliation in police-citizen conflicts.

A first attempt to start addressing that gap was made by Van de Klomp *et al.* (2014), who analysed a group reconciliation process following a riot in a small Dutch town . In doing this, they made use of the Relational Model (table 1) developed by ethologists (Aureli and De Waal 2000) and is useful in explaining socially embedded methods of conflict resolution. The model acknowledges the influence of the context of a conflict and the social and physical situation of the opponents on conflict interactions, but centres the (ongoing) relationship as the main explanatory factor for post conflict behaviour (Aureli and De Waal 2000).

<sup>51</sup> The-run up to the- incident and its aftermath was widely reported in local, national as well as international media. A basic digital key-word search [e.g., Ferguson AND Reconciliation] will provide a large amount of information concerning the incident and its context.

**Table 3.1 Basic principles of the Relational Model (after Aureli and De Waal 2000: 25-28, 287-288)**

<b>Interdependence</b>	Humans are a group living species. In order to survive, they must cooperate with other group members with whom they build social relationships.
<b>Overt conflict as resolution</b>	In case of a conflict of interests/actions/goals three basic options of resolution exist: tolerance, avoidance and overt conflict.
<b>Social repair</b>	Overt conflict may be worth the risk but it may also cause damage to a relationship. As a consequence of human interdependency, there is a natural need to repair such damage; we reconcile.
<b>Conciliatory effect</b>	Reconciliation -defined as friendly restorative interaction following aggressive encounters- restores tolerance, reduces the occurrence of post conflict incompatibility and insecurity and has the potential to strengthen the value of relationships.
<b>Conflict as negotiation</b>	Reconciliation, overt conflict and cooperation are closely aligned positive social tendencies through which the terms of relationships are negotiated.

By now, a large body of research on reconciliation in animals and humans that confirms the principles of the Relational Model, exists (e.g., Koyama 2001; Fusijawa *et al.* 2005; Wittig and Boesch 2005; Fraser *et al.* 2010). In line with the model, Van de Klomp *et al.* (2014) suggested that the interactions that occurred after the police-citizen riot they studied, were influenced heavily by (assumptions concerning) the nature of the relationship between the opponents. Furthermore, they found two meetings between group representatives critical in reaching reconciliation. Before these meetings, intergroup contact was scarce. Contacts that did occur were discordant and tense. After the meetings, contact between group representatives increased in frequency and intensity and were more relaxed. In negotiation theory, such moments are referred to as 'Critical Moments'; fundamental process shifts that alter the meaning of events and transform or redefine the relations and interactions of the actors involved (e.g., Putnam 2004; Winslade 2009). Direct contact between party representatives is generally assumed a crucial factor in fostering a positive critical moment (e.g., Druckman 2004; Winship 2004). Unfortunately, the concept of Critical Moments (hereafter referred to as CMs) mainly receives attention in the form of a theoretical debate concerning its meaning and there is no systematic analysis of what happens during CMs and how they transform or redefine relations. An exploration of the interactions during CMs appears to be of value in exploring the function and patterns of group-reconciliation in policing contexts more thoroughly. Moreover, in our aim to continue exploring the applicability of the Relational Model, we have elaborated on the notions on relationship nature and qualities. Cords and Aureli (2000) conceptualize relationships as interdependencies with a certain nature, composed of at least three qualities; value, security and compatibility (Table 2.).

**Table 3.2. Relationship qualities (after Cords and Aureli 2000: 177-198)**

<b>Value</b>	The value of a relationship is the prominent component. It refers to what the parties have to offer, how willing they are to offer it and the extent to which they are accessible for each other.
<b>Security</b>	The security of a relationship refers to (confidence in) the predictability of interactions between parties.
<b>Compatibility</b>	Compatibility refers to the general tenor of social interactions in a dyad, which results from the temperament of the partners and their shared history of social exchanges.

In theorizing, it is generally assumed that value, compatibility and security are unique qualities of relationships but so far, their integrated existence has only scarcely been tested<sup>52</sup> and demonstrated, due to methodological complexities. However, results that are available indicate their significance (e.g., Cooper *et al.* 2005; Fraser *et al.* 2008; Bonaventura *et al.* 2009). Due to their ostensible clarity, value, compatibility and security seem enlightening concepts in seeking for the influence of (assessments on) relationships in restorative interaction. But it remains to be seen if this really is the case. This paper focuses on both themes by means of an analysis of three cases of police-citizen group reconciliation, along the lines of the following question:

*To what extent do (perceptions of) relationship-value, -security and -compatibility influence the interactions between police and citizens during critical moments and how does this relate to the development of reconciliation?*

### 3.2 Methodology

Following Van de Klomp *et al.* (2014), police-citizen group reconciliation was defined as an objectively determinable process from conflictive to cooperative interaction by meaningful group representatives. We selected three cases of media salient confrontations between police and citizen groups, that were characterized by the occurrence of a group reconciliation but differed with regard to their local context, type of confrontation and actors involved. Between May 2010 and December 2011, a total of 25 in-depth, semistructured interviews with 26 respondents from both police- and citizen parties, were conducted across the cases<sup>53</sup>. Respondents were selected by means of key-informant methodology (e.g., Marshall, 1996) in which information from and contact with carefully chosen respondents who played a key role in a matter, are considered main sources of data and main means of contacting other key-informant respondents due to their in-depth knowledge (Pauwel and Hardyns, 2009). To prevent informant bias related to their position (Kumar *et al.*, 1993), we selected respondents from various ranks within the parties involved. Nevertheless, the

<sup>52</sup> The main method applied to test the existence of value, compatibility and security, was principal components analysis (PCA), a statistical technique that is used to identify underlying factors which explain the pattern of correlations within sets of variables (Tabachnick and Fidell 2007)

<sup>53</sup> Case 1: 9, Case 2: 10, Case 3: 6.

limited number of respondents should be taken into account when interpreting the results. Willingness to cooperate was only an issue with regard to Case 3, where two key informants refused to participate due to a general disinterest or lack of time.

During the interviews –which lasted between one and three hours and were recorded and transcribed verbatim afterwards-, respondents were asked to provide a description of events and (reasons for) interactions after the overt conflict. They were encouraged to reflect on relevant relationships and their attitudes and feelings. It should be noted that interviewers did not specifically ask about value, compatibility and security in those words. It was difficult to check for sources of error resulting from the retrospective nature of the study<sup>54</sup>, such as memory failure or distortion (Kumar *et al.*, 1993). We are aware of their possible influence on (inter-respondent) reliability. In addition, the reliability of what respondents said about relationships should be considered, since they had plenty of time to evaluate them in retrospect (Babbie, 2012: 324). However, in general, across the cases, respondents defined and evaluated the dominant relationships and interactions similarly. In order to validate accounts on the sequence of interactions, articles from local, regional and national papers and websites, and relevant public policy documents were consulted.

For each case an interaction track was constructed of post-conflict interactions that could be objectively related to the confrontation. For analytical purposes and along the propositions of the Relational Model, a two opposing party perspective, -a police party and a civilian party- was adopted. Following negotiation theorists (e.g., Winship 2004), it was assumed that a group reconciliation process is characterized by at least one CM between influential party representatives. Following Van de Klomp *et al.* (2014), a CM was defined as an objectively determinable meeting between party representatives before which interactions were conflictive and after which interactions were cooperative. By means of analysis of the interaction tracks, five CMs (Case 1, 1; Case 2, 3; Case 3, 1) could be identified.

All fragments (quotations) that referred to the relationship between the police and citizens generally and the CM's specifically were coded in ATLAS.ti<sup>55</sup>. Each quotation that referred to the relationship between the police and citizens generally was analysed to explore the applicability of relationship qualities as adapted from Cords and Aureli (2000). If possible, a quotation received a 'value', 'compatibility', 'security' or 'other' code, each divided into several subcomponents (table 3.3). During this process, it soon became clear that it was fairly easy to assign a relationship code to each quotation (and that the "other" code was hardly needed), but that compatibility appeared visible through more than Cords and Aureli's (2000) assumed temperament and shared history of social exchanges. When reflecting on relationships with (members of) the other party, our respondents clearly added an identification aspect; they described (interactions of) themselves and others and relationships in terms of similarities and differences to the other (group). This corresponds with Social Identity Theory (e.g., Tajfel and Turner 1979; Burke and Stets 2009;), which presupposes that the interaction between people is strongly influenced by the extent to

54 In Case 1, the interviews were held 4 to 4.5 years after the overt conflict. In Case 2, 1.5 to 2 years, and in Case 3, 3 to 4 years after the overt conflict.

55 Software program for the systematic processing of qualitative research data. See [www.atlasti.com](http://www.atlasti.com)

which individuals see themselves as members of their group, how they characterize their group and how they link this to the character of, and the relationship with (members of) other groups. Consequently, all quotations referring to such processes of social identification were coded as reflections of compatibility.

Each quotation that referred to CM behaviour received codes indicating its tendency (positive, negative or neutral as assessed by the coder), its behaviour (e.g., questioning, expressing emotions, sharing information) and the actor(s)/stakeholder(s) involved. Each quotation that referred to CM-related relationship assessments, received codes indicating its tendency, its relationship quality (this was done as described above) and the actor(s)/stakeholder(s) involved. Finally, similar behaviours/interactions/relationship assessments were grouped, counted and analysed separately and across the CMs. For analytical purposes, meaningful results were processed in tables (table 3.5 to 3.9).

**Table 3.3 Iterative coding scheme**

<b>1. Quality</b>	<b>2. Sub-components</b>
<b>Value</b>	What either one or both parties have to offer each other
	The willingness of either one or both parties to offer their share
	The accessibility of either one or both parties, with regard to each other
<b>Security</b>	The consistency of either one or both parties behavioural responses
	Perceived probability that the nature of the own/others interactions will change
<b>Compatibility</b>	Temperament (positive/negative) of the partners
	History of social exchanges (positive/negative)
	The normative social/formal conformity between both partners*

\* *Except from the normative social/formal conformity between both partners -which was derived with reference to prior data analysis- each category was derived from Cordts and Aureli's notions on relationship qualities (2000).*

### 3.3 Analysis

In table 3.4, a concise overview of the cases is presented to illustrate the different contexts in which the CMs occurred. In spite of the differences, some interesting similarities existed between the cases.

**Table 3.4. Case overview**

	<b>Case 1</b>	<b>Case 2</b>	<b>Case 3</b>
<b>Overt conflict</b>	In a quiet rural community, a violent confrontation between revelers and riot police took place after the final evening of the annual 'Oranjefeesten' festival.	In an infamous neighborhood of a big Dutch city, police officers fired at and arrested two suspects that were considered armed and dangerous. The suspects turned out to be minors. One carried a fake gun.	A Moroccan youth jumped over the service desk of a district police station in an infamous city district. He was shot dead after he stabbed two police officers.
<b>Aftermath</b>	Within a day, there were clear signs of indignation and anger among the local community, directed at the police and mayor.	Within a few hours there were clear signs of indignation and anger among the local community, directed at the police; why did they shoot at a minor with a fake gun? Why did they shoot near a playing yard with children playing?	Immediately, there were clear signs of indignation and anger -why did the among the local community, directed at the police; why did the police shoot him, weren't there other options?
<b>CMs</b>	One CM (CM1) -between police representatives, a representative of the municipality and the board of the festive committee- , occurred 8 months after the overt conflict/ confrontation and 4 months before the next Oranjefeesten festival.	The first CM (CM2) concerned the meeting between a chief inspector and the fathers of the boys arrested, which occurred within eight hours after the overt conflict. The second CM (CM3) –between police workers, and nine key-residents- occurred the evening after the shooting. For the third CM (CM4), that occurred 4 days after the shooting, the mayor and police invited a group of 18 key-residents.	The CM occurred during the neighborhood meeting held in the community center a day after the incident (CM5). Approximately 300 residents/workers, important municipality representatives and the deputy neighborhood team chief attended the meeting.



In all three cases, respondents indicated that the overt conflicts caused feelings of uncertainty and insecurity to members of both parties, resulting in stress, nervousness and a tendency to avoid (members of) the other party. This was particularly visible in CM 1, where the CM attendants waited until the last moment (several months after the overt conflict), before deciding to meet and discuss the preparations for the upcoming Oranjefeesten-festival. Attendants of all CMs said that they did not feel secure after the confrontation and before the CM. In all CMs, the authorities (police and municipality in the first and second case, municipality in the third case) took the first step to organize the meeting and invite citizen representatives. Having said that, these meetings could only take place because the invitees considered the invitation important enough to reach some shared goal. In CM1, this shared goal was to organize a peaceful and joyful Oranjefeesten-festival. In the other CMs, it was both the shared wish to live/work in a peaceful and safe neighbourhood and the awareness of the need for information-exchange concerning the actions and attitudes of (actors within) the parties involved.

In analysing the CMs, three chronologic stages could be distinguished: tension, transformation and dialogue, each typified by specific interactions. The CMs started with a tensed stage; a formal welcome by a representative of the authorities (a police representative in CM 1, 2 and 3; a representative from the municipality in CM 4 and 5), an explicit thanks to all attendants for putting effort in showing up, a planning of the meeting and a reflection on the incident and its current state of affairs. Respondents of both the citizens and authorities parties indicated that the atmosphere was awkward and tense at start of the meeting. A CM 1 police respondent expresses: *“It was a bit emotional, ..... the disbelief that things could go so badly, the anger that things went so badly.”*

**Table 3.5. Behaviour at start of the CMs by authorities (A), citizens (C) or both (B)**

Behavior	CM1	CM2	CM3	CM4	CM5
Questioning	C	C	C	C	C
Negative emotional expressions*	B		C	C	B
Expression of disappointment**	B	A	A	C	B
Sharing information		A	A	A	A
Reassurance		A	A	A	A

\* Verbal and nonverbal expressions of fear, anger, aggression, distrust

\*\* Verbal and nonverbal expressions of sadness, disbelief

Table 3.5 shows that, except for CM 1, in the first stage, authority representatives were mainly concerned with reassuring, explaining and justifying behaviour (a CM5 community representative reflects: *“It was really a matter of calming things down in the community”*). Compared to the interactions in the other stages, the expression of negative attitudes, feelings, emotions and disappointment by both parties, also appeared to be highest in frequency. Some actions through which attendants attempted to signal a positive relationship value or compatibility (see below) were recorded, but at this point in the meeting there are no records of positive reactions to such signals. Most statements pertaining to the nature of the relationship had to do with feelings of (in)security. Feelings of distrust, hesitation, nervousity and unpredictability were dominant

**Table 3.6 Tension stage: assessments of insecurity during by police (P), citizens (C) or both (B)**

Assessment	CM1	CM2	CM3	CM4	CM5
Distrust of other	B	C	C	C	B
Assessing other unpredictable	B	C	B	C	B
Nervosity	B	P	P	B	P
Hesitation	B		C	C	P

In the second stage, transformation, the actual transition to more cooperative interactions was made. According to police respondents, in both CM4 and CM5 a specific breakthrough enabled this transformation. In CM4, to clarify the police's decision to shoot, the Chief Superintendent showed photos of the fake gun, which could not be distinguished from a real one. Police networker: *"And then everything went quiet in the room, as if everyone was thinking 'So ... that's not the super soaker we all had in mind'."* In CM5, it was the decision of the deputy neighbourhood team chief to intervene into an ongoing discussion between residents and the urban district chairman. He stressed that it was a terrible shame that the Moroccan community had to lose a brother, he reported on the condition of the (police) victims and explained why shooting had been the only option. Tempers calmed after that statement.

Specific breakthroughs could not be determined in the other CMs. This could be due to our lack of contemporaneous data. Moreover, because of the various conflict contexts and social/physical situations of the people attending the CMs, the intensity and frequency of the mentioned behaviours appeared to differ along the cases. This leaves open the question what behaviour at what point in time contributed to the transformation. It may, for instance, also have been a collection of increasing behavioural signs and positive responses instead of a specific breakthrough. What we could determine from our respondent's responses however, were that behavioural signals related to value and compatibility contributed to circumstances in which positive and cooperative interaction was encouraged. Firstly, with regard to relationship value, several explicit signals through which the positive value of (the relationship with) the other party was communicated, could be deduced (e.g., the CM2 police networker: *"The underlying idea is to share what we can with them. So that they at least know what happened"*). Recipients of value signals (Table 3.7) - particularly the citizens in case 2-, indicated that they felt important and valued during and after the CM and that they would perhaps have been more angry if they had not been treated this way. A CM3 citizen representative:

*"It was smart what the police did. They invited me and explained things to me – that's smart. If they'd done nothing, I'd have thought 'They're all the same'. [...] That's why it was good. That's why it was organized so quickly, to prevent misunderstandings. It meant that the mayor could say a few words. That REALLY had an effect at that moment."*

**Table 3.7. Transformation stage: behavioural signs of value by police (P), citizens (C) or both (B)**

<b>Verbal</b>	<b>CM1</b>	<b>CM2</b>	<b>CM3</b>	<b>CM4</b>	<b>CM5</b>
Explain the importance of (the relationship with) the other	B	P	P	B	
Ask for help/cooperation	B	P	P	B	P
Emphasize the importance of successive contact with other	B	P	B	B	
Provide information	P	B	B	P	P
Emphasize understanding of other	B		P		P
<b>Non-Verbal</b>					
Being open to criticism		P		B	P
Listening to other	B	B	B	B	B
Openness, motivated attitude	B	B	B	B	B
Authority figure present at contact moment		B	P	B	B
Friendly behavior (facial expressions, eye contact)	B	B	P	B	B

Secondly, compatibility of the partners (and especially the identification aspect of compatibility) also proved to be a recurring theme at this stage of the interaction during CMs (Table 8)

**Table 3.8. Transformation stage: behavioural signs of compatibility police (P), citizens (C) or both (B)**

<b>Verbal</b>	<b>CM1</b>	<b>CM2</b>	<b>CM3</b>	<b>CM4</b>	<b>CM5</b>
Emphasize shared interests / goals	B	P		P	P
Refer to humanity as a common denominator in explaining behavior of self or other.		P	P	P	P
Talking in terms of 'we' instead of 'us/them'	B	B		B	B
Ingroup/outgroup construction in which the ingroup refers to representatives of both parties and the outgroup becomes those people who do not have opposing interests/goals.	C	P		P	B

With regard to this second stage, respondents did not talk about (in)security in direct terms (not to the researcher, neither during CMs). Lacking contemporaneous data, it was impossible to track down if, when, what and by whom security signals/interactions were exchanged during the second stage. It was possible, however, to deduce that the provision of information (about the atmosphere within one's own and the other group, about confidential matters in criminal investigations) and the initiative to do so, played a role in fostering assessments of CM-relationship security.

The third stage, dialogue, was recorded mostly near the end of all CMs, and is characterized by more friendlier, cooperative interactions. In line with negotiation theorists (e.g., Putnam 2004) and based on the reflections of our respondents, it is assumed that at this stage of

interaction, the transformation from conflict to cooperation -from debating and arguing styles, conflict spirals and negative reframing-, to listening and responding spirals, positive reframing, and new understandings- was most visible (e.g., Wilber *et al.* 1986; Putnam 2004). Respondents of both parties report that during dialogue, the insecure, uneasy tension was gone and interactions were more positive and future oriented. The respondents also mentioned that dialogue interactions were characterized by several negotiation-techniques (table 3.9). Most statements concerning the nature of the relationship during the dialogue stage, pertained to the increase of the sense value, security and compatibility, relative to the start of the CM.

**Table 3.9. Dialogue stage: signs of negotiation**

	CM1	CM2	CM3	CM4	CM5
Joint determination of shared goals	+		+	+	+
Joint determination of a shared communication strategy		+	+	+	+
Making verbal agreements on future cooperation	+	+			+
Exchanging information through which future cooperation is fostered		+	+	+	+

The interactions after the CMs were characterized by cooperative contacts between CM-attendants. The nature of these contacts depended on the context of the overt conflict. Respondents stressed that during direct face to face interactions, receiving visible proof that (representatives of) the other parties were committed to repairing the harm inflicted (e.g., remained committed, kept to agreements, kept being friendly) was important in continuing the CM transformation to cooperative interactions.

### 3.4 Discussion

This study explored what happens during Critical Moments in police-citizen group reconciliation processes and whether (perceptions of) relationship-value, -security and -compatibility (Cords and Aureli 2000) influence such interactions. With regard to CM-interactions, we deduced three different stages: tension, transformation, and dialogue. In all of the five CMs, these stages follow each other up in chronological order (i.e., tension first, then transformation after which dialogue developed. This could be an indication that roughly, CMs develop in such an order. At the same time, it cannot be assumed that all CM-interactions fit this pattern and that CMs that emerge in a non-institutional context develop likewise. Conversely, we assume that (repeated)switching between different stages during the CMs is highly likely. Moreover, we acknowledge the influence of the context (intensity and source of conflict) and social/physical situation of the party representatives (e.g., what are their attitudes and feelings?) on CM development. Because we had to rely on limited and retrospective accounts of interactions and feelings, our results are in need of critical examination and more case studies are needed. Methodologically, contemporaneous research including real time observations is highly recommended.

The basic assumption of the relational model -that relationships can be repaired or even strengthened through reconciliation- (Aureli and De Waal 2000: 27) is supported through our analysis of the run-up to and aftermath of CMs. In all cases, (renewed) group cooperation –reconciliation-, was achieved (the cases were selected on this basis) and contact between those present increased in frequency, intensified and improved after CMs. Our assumption that a group-level reconciliation process is preceded by one or more CMs was validated in the three cases we studied. We cannot conclude however, that the presence of a CM necessarily precedes a group-level reconciliation process. Further comparative studies on group-interaction after police citizen conflict, including examples of failed reconciliation, are highly recommended. Obviously, social scientific literature on factors that shape relationships between people (e.g., social identification, trust, power) and insights from fields of conflict resolution (e.g., negotiation- and conflict studies) are important sources of knowledge here.

Although we did not ask our respondents specifically to assess the value, security and compatibility of the relations they reflected on, identifying these qualities in their language was surprisingly easy. With regard to relationship-value, the relational model (Aureli and De Waal 2000) assumes value to be the primary quality and predictor of the occurrence or non-occurrence of reconciliation. This hypothesis was tested and proved valid in ethologic studies (e.g., Bonaventura *et al.* 2009) as well as in research on the form and function of forgiveness (e.g., McCullough *et al.* 2010). Our CM analysis supports this hypothesis: during the CMs, awareness of relationship-value seemed to contribute to an atmosphere in which attendants were at least open to change and prepared to adopt a vulnerable stance. Value-signals were important in fostering the actual transformation to cooperative behaviour. We dare to assume the crucial importance of shared relationship value in fostering a CM and CM transformations to cooperative interaction. Because police-citizen relationships are institutionally embedded, we also presume that there will be differences in the assessed value of police-citizen relationships on an institutional and personal level (a citizen for instance, may assess a police officer's attainability of greater importance than the fact that he or she is a good listener. The latter will probably be of greater importance in friendships). With regard to the generally assumed importance of valuable relationships between the police and citizens (e.g., Tyler and Huo 2002; Skogan 2005) it would be of great interest to investigate and determine the general -institutionally determined- and contextual indicators that define police-citizen relationship-value. If value-assessment is indeed important, the police would benefit from insights on how to build and maintain valuable relationships. Moreover, in the case of overt conflict, knowledge of the (importance of) effectively expressing relationship value in crisis communication would be useful.

In ethological research, compatibility is mainly used to explain and predict whether two parties will behave aggressively or cooperatively during direct contact (e.g., Fraser and Bugnyar 2010). Our respondents' CM reflections and their capability to explain their thoughts and feelings, surprised us with interesting insights on the social construction of compatibility. As far as our analysis indicates, assessments of (group) compatibility are inferred by shared history, temperament and social identification. During the CMs analysed, compatibility signals were important in fostering the actual transformation to cooperative

behaviour (in addition to value signals). The positive effect of behaviours that emphasize commonalities, is endorsed by social scientific research on the Common Ingroup Identity Model (e.g., Gaertner *et al.* 1993). Interactions which encourage identification with (members of) other groups, such as cooperation or the creation of a common enemy, can be used effectively in assuaging, preventing or reducing conflicts because the psychologically perceived distance and differences between parties are experienced as less severe or are even neutralized (e.g., Kramer and Brewer 1984; Gaertner *et al.* 1993; Ashmore *et al.* 2001; Pruitt and Kim 2003).

Ethologists (e.g., Fraser and Bugnyar 2010) and social psychologists (Burnette *et al.* 2011: 347) have investigated the functions of security usually in concurrence with value and compatibility. Independent measurement of security figures more prominently in studies of attachment theory, but measurement and indicators are subject of debate (e.g., Van Ryzin and Leve 2011). The reflections of our respondents indicated that, in contrast to value and compatibility, direct appeals to relationship security (e.g., statements in which trustworthiness or predictability of the other or self is discussed) are rare. But in the run-up to and during the CMs, feelings of insecurity clearly had to be overcome before the transformation to cooperation could be made. The initial overt conflict gave rise to a conflict (Case 1) or exposed a conflict (Case 2 and 3), which put tension on the inter-group relationship. According to respondents and in line with the assumptions of the Relational Model (e.g., Schaffner *et al.* 2005), this created feelings of distrust and unpredictability, which caused varying degrees of stress along the (run-up to) CMs.

Assessments of relationship insecurity may well explain respondents' accounts on the intensity of CM meetings: the initial overt conflict invariably caused stress and increased feelings of risking a dismissive or aggressive reaction to any attempt at contact. This resulted in an atmosphere in which interactions that would be taken for granted in non-conflict situations (e.g., shaking hands, looking the other in the eye, a visit to another's property) carried more meaning and were considered, expressed and observed more intensely. This was particularly prevalent in CM1, where those involved avoided contact regarding the conflict for about eight months. Consequently, taking the initiative, through which one expresses that the situation/other is safe enough to show vulnerability, and that one is trusting the other in not acting aggressively, seems an important prerequisite in fostering a transformation. This resembles the notions of negotiation theorists, who describe the uneasy feeling that actors may experience before or during negotiations as insecurity or anxiety (e.g., Wheeler 2004) and is supported by several conflict studies which demonstrated that (members of) parties embroiled in a conflict have a natural tendency not to show that they have an interest in resolving this together or looking for compromises because there is then a chance that this will be interpreted as a sign of weakness, possibly leading to loss of face and the perception that one's position vis-à-vis the other is weaker (Pruitt and Kim 2003).

All these acts of public disclosure, such as sharing information, showing emotions or asking for cooperation may sound at odds with the usual image of police. Generally, in police cultures expression/sharing of emotions is seen as a weakness. Citizen's emotions should

be recognized and acknowledged, but “*you don’t let the mask slip*” (Van Reenen 1998, pp. 28-29; Berkhout 2009). In literature about managing public conflicts, the expression and sharing of –negative- emotions is usually advised against because of anxiety with regard to their possible stagnating and escalating effect (Fineman 2003). Concealing information is the rule rather than an exception; disclosure of information may disrupt criminal investigations. The police officer is institutionally designed as a professional that ought to have knowledge of both his own and citizens’ rights and obligations and has the mandate to coerce compliance and to use force (Black 1980). In a culture and organization that is expected to be rational, decisive and neutral and in which the phrases “*You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say or do may be used against you in a court of law*” are of weight, hesitation to share information and to express uncertainty or emotions are the default.

However, the accounts of our respondents indicate that the display of emotions by police officers reduced the perceived distance between them and citizens. The importance of sharing and naming emotions in conflicts between people is confirmed in research and theories about third-party mediation, conflict transformation, transitional justice and reconciliation among children (e.g., Shapiro 2002; Fisher and Sharp 2004; Jameson *et al.* 2009; Brounéus 2010; Verbeek and De Waal 2001). Thus, by venting stress and negative emotions absent of physical aggression, the police expressed vulnerability. Moreover, such expression seemed to reinforce notions of compatibility: the police got a human face, which made it easier to identify with them. Likewise, the exchange of information and expressions of the unity of the parties (i.e., referring to compatibility) seemed to contribute to a secure atmosphere during CMs.

While we acknowledge the potential dangers of information sharing and the expression of emotions in particular (e.g., Pruitt and Kim 2003; Lindner 2006), our results indicate that in times of conflict, a certain degree of disclosure gave our citizen respondents the feeling that they were trusted and appreciated. This led to an increase of perceived trustworthiness of the police. Insights on the specifics of (indicators of) relationship security and the ways through which it is assessed, will add knowledge to current notions on (the effectiveness of) the police and policing.

### 3.5 Conclusion

Unfortunately, with these first and as yet limited results from our analysis of Critical Moments, concrete and best-practice advice to the police leaders of Ferguson cannot be formulated. At the same time, it proved possible to draw some interesting preliminary conclusions on reconciliatory behaviour that point to the influence of (assessments on) the nature of the relationship between opponents on police – citizen conflicts. CM interactions differed in the specific conflict contexts, but three stages could be deduced, from tension, to transformation, to dialogue. During CMs, notions on relationship value and compatibility are exchanged both verbally and non-verbally. When value- and compatibility signals are sent and endorsed, feelings of insecurity are reduced even further and dialogue is on

its way. In this way, the relationship between police and citizens can be repaired and cooperation can be (re)established.

Direct explicit face to face verbal and non-verbal communication seems to be an essential part of these critical moments: this makes it possible to assess the status of the relationships and to determine the other's intentions. Emotional expression, information sharing and emphasizing compatibility seemed particularly important in (re)defining and negotiating police-citizen relationships . As far as insecurity is concerned: that needs to be remedied first. If everyone feels too insecure to initiate contact, reconciliation fails.

The application of a relational perspective to police – citizen confrontations is still in its infancy and many questions remain. For example, who takes the initiative during a CM, and when and why? How can we improve the analytical distinction between relationship-value, -compatibility and -security and objectify, apply and analyse them more systematically in intergroup research on conflict and reconciliation? Comparative empirical research is very important in answering such questions. But despite the practical and theoretical barriers which still need to be overcome, the possibilities and potential of a relational perspective are, in our opinion, beyond question.





# Chapter 4

## Exploring police-citizen conflict and reconciliation through a relational model

### Abstract

*In this paper, the function of reconciliation in five different Dutch cases of media-salient police-citizen group conflict is explored through a Relational Model. Based on 53 interviews with key-actors, the ratio between assessments on the value, security and compatibility of police-citizen relationships and conflict interaction is analysed. The results indicate that respondents actively describe police-citizen relationships in terms of their value, security and compatibility. Assessments on the security and compatibility of a relationship seem directly negatively affected by overt conflict. Individual negative intergroup interaction and relationship assessment can be transformed –reconciled- through critical moments of direct contact and reconciliation appears an important and effective strategy of relationship maintenance in mutually assessed valuable relationships that are challenged by overt conflict. A group reconciliation however, seems only possible when key-actor party representatives commit to the reconciliation process.*

Keywords: conflict management, reconciliation, relationship value, relationship compatibility, relationship security

Chapter 4 has been published as: Stronks, S. (2015). 'Exploring police-citizen conflict and reconciliation through a relational model.' *European Journal of Policing Studies* 3(1): 342-366.



## 4.1 Introduction

According to Reiner (2000) policing is aimed at securing social order. In its essence, policing is aimed at maintaining security through surveillance and the threat of sanctioning (either immediately or in terms of the initiation of penal processes or both). The police may invoke legal powers to achieve their aims, but more often they use a variety of ways and means to keep the peace without initiating legal proceedings (Reiner, 2000). Ultimately, under all attempts at peacekeeping lies the potential or actual use of legitimate force (Skogan, 2004).

There is by now an impressive literature on police and policing, including on the use of force by police. Countries differ in the way police are organized, and some police forces, such as the Dutch, are more service providers than law enforcers (Adang *et al.*, 2010). In spite of these differences, everywhere, conflict with citizens is built into the relationship between police and civilians. Citizens often accept controlling, mandatory and/or enforcing behaviour of the police, but sometimes they may resist or act violently. On occasion, police – citizen altercations and police use of force lead to public debate concerning the integrity, trustworthiness, justice and impartiality of police actions. Sometimes, public disorder results and a breakdown in police – citizen relations becomes visible. The 2005 riots in France, the 2011 riots in London and other UK cities and the 2014 riots in Ferguson (USA) give clear illustrations.

The importance of relationships for the dynamics of conflict is reflected in various studies on policing (e.g., Fielding, 2005; Van den Brink & Bruinsma, 2010; Palmiotto, 2011) and in the prevention and repression of confrontations in case of large-scale public events (e.g., Della Porta & Reiter, 1998; Waddington *et al.*, 2009; King, 2013). The role of negotiation and relational repair in the aftermath of police-citizen conflict however, is underexplored. Restorative Justice is an exception in that it provides an alternative perspective on crime and punishment and relational repair in the aftermath of conflict (e.g., Van Ness & Heetderks Strong, 2008). However, in restorative justice practices, state actors are supposed to be morally neutral bystanders (Walgrave, 2008). Research on Restorative Justice leads to interesting insights on third-party police involvement in Restorative Justice Practices (see for example the 2009 Journal of Police Studies' special issue on restorative policing) but it does not fill the gap with regard to relational repair after overt conflict in which the police itself is involved as a party to the conflict<sup>56</sup>.

In this paper, that gap is addressed using the Relational Model, a theoretical model to help understand socially embedded methods of conflict resolution (Aureli & De Waal, 2000). In analysing and understanding post conflict behaviour, the model centres on the nature of relationships, instead of on the details of the conflict. Its premise is that individuals living in social groups prefer harmony, due to their interdependence. If conflict escalates into an aggressive confrontation between disputants that are in some way mutually depend-

<sup>56</sup> On interpersonal level, an exception is formed by a small body of research on the effects of mediation in complaint management programs (see for example Walker *et al.* 2002; Hill *et al.*, 2003; Bartels & Silverman, 2005). Despite its proven effectiveness (e.g., Schaible *et al.*, 2012), research on the matter is rather rare. As Bartels and Silverman (2005: 621) note, this is likely due to the low number of police complaint mediation programs, which in turn might be the effect of the police's reluctance to be involved in ways other than by neutrality.

ent on one another, conflict resolution, i.e. action that serves to restore non aggressive interaction, becomes necessary (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: p. 387). Social animals have developed a wide range of behavioural mechanisms for conflict resolution. Reconciliation, which is defined as friendly restorative interaction following aggressive encounters (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: p. 25), has proven consistently to be a powerful mechanism of relational repair among several species including humans (e.g., Wittig & Boesch, 2005). Reconciliation reduces the occurrence of further aggression (e.g., Bonaventura *et al.*, 2009; Fraser *et al.*, 2010), reduces anxiety caused by the conflict (e.g., Koski *et al.*, 2007) and has the potential to strengthen relationships (Fusijawa *et al.*, 2005). The Relational Model has applied relevance in the context of policing strategies that acknowledge the central role of relationship building and maintenance, such as Problem Oriented Policing (e.g., Goldstein, 1979; Reisig, 2010) and Community Oriented Policing (e.g., Friedmann, 1992; Skogan, 2006).

A pioneering attempt to analyse a police-citizen conflict through a relational perspective was undertaken by Van de Klomp *et al.* (2014). They analysed a reconciliation process after a riot concerning the lighting of a celebratory fire on New Year's Eve in a neighbourhood of a small Dutch town. Their case study provided initial support for the thesis that reconciliation restores relational damage, reduces post conflict anxiety and has the potential to strengthen relationships (Aureli & De Waal, 2000). Moreover, they found that two moments of post conflict interaction between representatives of the opposing parties were particular turning points in the reconciliatory process in this case: before these moments interactions between party representatives were mainly conflictive, after these moments they were cooperative (Van de Klomp *et al.*, 2014: p. 465).

Stronks and Adang (2015) elaborated on the study of Van de Klomp *et al.* (2014) by an analysis of five such critical turning points of interaction<sup>57</sup>. Inspired by negotiation theorists, they referred to them as Critical Moments (CMs): fundamental process shifts that alter the meaning of events and transform the relations of the actors involved (e.g., Putnam, 2004; Winslade, 2009). In their aim to continue exploring the applicability of the Relational Model, they applied Cords and Aureli's (2000) notions on relationship-nature and -qualities. Cords and Aureli (2000) conceptualize relationships as interdependencies with a certain nature, composed of at least three qualities; value, security and compatibility. 'Value' is held to be the primary quality predicting conflict resolution (Cords & Aureli 2000: p. 182). It refers to what the parties have to offer each other, how willing they are to offer it as well as their accessibility. The second quality, 'security', refers to (confidence in) the predictability of interactions between parties. Security is believed to be a secondary quality; it is of importance only in valuable relationships. The third –subsidiary- quality, 'compatibility', describes the general tenor of a relationship in terms of positive or negative social interactions in a dyad. Compatibility, describe Cords and Aureli, results from the temperament of the partners and their shared history of social exchanges. It indicates the degree of tolerance between them. Ethological empirical testing of value, security and compatibility brings methodological complexities. As a result, only few studies attempted to test<sup>58</sup> and

57 In three cases of police-citizen conflict.

58 The main method applied to test the existence of value, compatibility and security, was principal components analysis

demonstrate the existence of value, compatibility and security, but the findings do indicate the significance of these qualities (e.g., Fraser *et al.*, 2010; Fraser & Bugnyar, 2010).

In analysing respondents' reflections on the relationship in the run-up to, during and after CMs, Stronks and Adang (2015) noticed that respondents described themselves and others in terms of similarities and differences with the other (group). Consequently, Stronks and Adang added a "fit" component to compatibility, referring to processes of social identification with a group. Stronks and Adang's study (2015) indicated that the interactions in the run up, during and after the CMs analysed, were heavily influenced by interactants' assessments of the value, security and compatibility of (partners involved in the) relationships.

Drawing on the results of Van de Klomp *et al.* (2014) and Stronks and Adang (2015), the current study adds to our understanding of police-citizen interactions in two ways. Firstly, through a detailed analysis of five new conflict cases in The Netherlands using the Relational Model, it is illustrated how insight in the form and function of post conflict interactions can help us to understand why some confrontations lead to enduring conflict and others do not. The Dutch policing style is known for their 'soft focus' on both community oriented policing (e.g., Terpstra, 2010) and the prevention of crime and conflict (Ministry of Intern Affairs and Kingdom Relations, 2009). However, seen from a relational perspective, in case conflict does occur, methods of conflict management –criminal proceedings, complaint management<sup>59</sup> and internal auditing- appear more aimed towards retribution instead of resolution. By means of criminal proceedings, complaint management and internal auditing conflict is typically articulated through a dichotomy between offenders violating the norms and -public or private- victims that suffer from this violation (Yarn, 2000). Consequently, the focus is on what happened in terms of who is 'guilty' or 'not guilty'. A suitable illustration forms the practice of internal audit; the more violent a conflict is (i.e., high profile), the greater the chance that it is subjected to media attention or precise and detailed research on its causes and consequences. Invariably, after high-profile events, politicians, experts and others stress the need for improved police – community relationships in order to prevent future escalations (e.g., Kerner, 1968; Scarman, 1982; Adang *et al.*, 2010; Commission Project X Haren, 2013). Public interpretations of the results however, appear highly driven by the need to define responsibility and blame those responsible. Whilst reconciliation might be of major benefit, especially in cases of a violent history between police and citizens (Neufeld Redekop and Paré, 2010), it is highly doubtful that in such instances the effects of overt conflict on the relationship and future contact, are addressed (Yarn, 2000: p. 56).

---

(PCA), a statistical technique that is used to identify underlying factors which explain the pattern of correlations within sets of variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

59 In criminal proceedings, it is determined whether and what laws were broken and by whom, through a public and formal criminal/civil trial. In criminal proceedings, (repetition of) aggression may be controlled through punishment, but underlying conflicts of interest are not addressed (Yarn 2000, p. 56). Cases of police behaviour that were objectively determinable not law breaking but do appeal to a suspicion of misconduct, are typically dealt with by means of complaint management. Since investigations are conducted internally and are, as well as criminal proceedings time consuming (e.g., Waters & Brown, 2000; Liederbach *et al.*, 2007), complaint management generally has a doubtful reputation as a biased, unsatisfactory process through which concerns from both sides are not taken seriously (e.g. De Guzman, 2008; Schaible *et al.*, 2012).

Secondly, the results provide new insights in the ways through which (interpretations of) the social relationship in terms of relationship-value, -security and –compatibility (Stronks & Adang, 2015) between the police and citizens effects conflict interactions. This paper addresses the following question:

*How are assessments on the value, compatibility and security of police-citizen relationships related to police-citizen interactions after overt conflict generally and the function of reconciliation specifically?*

## 4.2 Case Selection

In exploring the function of relationship –assessment- in police-citizen group conflict interaction with respect to the development of reconciliatory processes, a multiple case study analysis was chosen as the most appropriate methodology. A case study allows for the development of theoretical propositions to guide the data-collection process (Yin, 2003). Because of their focus on relationship maintenance in their policing styles (Terpstra 2010), Dutch cases are suitable in exploring reconciliation<sup>60</sup>. With respect to the need of comparative research (Stronks & Adang 2015), multiple cases that differ with regard to their context, type scope and development of post conflict interactions, had to be selected. The following criteria were applied in selecting the cases (note that the occurrence of reconciliation was not a selection criterion):

- there had to be an overt confrontation between police and citizens that was of sufficient impact and was reported about in media;
- the overt conflict had to have taken place at some point in the previous five years;
- the overt conflict was followed by a determinable group conflict, defined as public unrest between police and civilians.

---

60 At the time all conflicts occurred and the data was gathered, the Dutch police was subdivided into 25 regional forces. Each regional force was subdivided into several districts and neighbourhood teams respectively (Ministry of Intern Affairs and Kingdom Relations, 2009: 12). At a local level, the mayor has authority over the police in the context of – decision making regarding- local public order. The mayor also has the authority over the use of the riot police. The riot police can be used in case of serious disruption of public order. In the Netherlands, it is composed of ordinary police officers who have received special training.

Five cases were selected (see table 4.1 for a brief overview of the cases).

**Table 4.1 Cases: confrontation and context**

Name	Overt confrontation
<b>1</b> <b>Oranjefeesten festival</b>	2006: The closure of the annually celebrated 'Oranjefeesten' festival causes a confrontation between (regional) police officers, and revellers in a village* in the rural western part of The Netherlands.
<b>2</b> <b>Shooting Incident</b>	2009: Police officers fire at a minor considered armed and dangerous (infamous neighbourhood* in central big city* of The Netherlands). The gun turns out to be fake and the suspect a Moroccan minor.
<b>3</b> <b>Stabbing Incident</b>	2007: A young Moroccan man jumps over the service desk of a district police station (infamous neighbourhood* in central big city* of The Netherlands) and stabs two officers. He is shot dead by a police officer.
<b>4</b> <b>Football Riots</b>	2009: A visiting football team wins a decisive football match. Riots between the riot police and 'supporters' of the home team which is known for a specific group of violent football supporters, cause severe damage in the surrounding neighbourhood of the football stadium (provincial capital city* in the Northern part of The Netherlands).
<b>5</b> <b>Student Protests</b>	2008: About 500 high school students (small city* in rural south western part of The Netherlands) organize a spontaneous and disruptive protest march in the neighbourhood encompassing their schools. While drifting them apart, the local police uses batons.

\* *big city, >300.000 inhabitants; city, >50.000 < 100.000 inhabitants; small city, >20.000 < 50.000 inhabitants, village, <20.000 inhabitants in municipality, infamous neighbourhood, >40.00 inhabitants.*

### 4.3 Methods

A total of 53 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 51 respondents (table 4.2). They were selected by means of key-informant methodology (e.g., Marshall, 1996), according to which information from and contact with respondents who played a key role in the matter analysed, are considered as the main source of data and the main means of contacting other key-informant respondents respectively. The method is used to gain high-quality data over a short period of time (Marshall 1996). The limited number of respondents should be taken into account when interpreting the results. Willingness to cooperate was an issue with four respondents<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> In Case 3, two citizens did not respond to the request to participate due to respective disinterest and lack of time. In Case 5, two police respondents declared not to be interested in participation.

**Table 4.2 Respondents**

<b>C*</b>	<b>I*</b>	<b>Police</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>Citizens</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>Public Administration</b>
<b>1.</b>	2 1 1	Chief of Conflict & Crisis department of police region. Mobile Unit Commander Neighbourhood Police Officer	1 1 1	Oranjefeesten committee member (x2) Party reveller Editor of local newspaper	1 1	Mayor Civil Servant Public Order, Safety & Security (POSS)
<b>T1*</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>2.</b>	1 2 1 2	Police district commander Local police team commander Neighbourhood police officer Networker 'diversity' of the district	1	Neighbourhood residents (x2)	1 1	Mayor and senior advisor POSS Municipal area manager POSS
<b>T2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>3.</b>	1 1 2 1	Police district commander Local police team commander Substitute police team commander Neighbourhood police officer	1	Neighbourhood resident	1	City District Chairman
<b>T3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>4.</b>	1 2 2 1 1 1	Chief Constable Police district commander Riot police officers (x2) Officers Criminal Investigations (x2) Neighbourhood Police Officer Networker 'Football' of the district	1 1	Chairman Supporters Club Manager football stadium	2 1 1	Mayor Public Prosecutor Senior advisor POSS
<b>T4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>5.</b>	1 1 1 3	Chief Constable Mayor** Police district commander Police officers (x3)	4 2 1	High school students (x4) School board member Member city council	1 1	Public prosecutor
<b>T5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>

\* C = Case number, I = Number of in interviews, T = Total frequency

\*\* In the Dutch system, the mayor has authority over the police with regard to local public order. In case 5 (The Students Protests) the mayor's involvement was related to this authority. Therefore, he was categorized as member of the police party.



During the interviews –which lasted between one and three hours and were recorded and transcribed verbatim afterwards-, respondents were asked to provide a description of events and (reasons for) interactions after the overt conflict. They were encouraged to reflect on relevant relationships and their attitudes and feelings but the interviewers did not specifically ask them to reflect on value, compatibility or security. In order to validate respondents' accounts on the sequence of interactions, articles from local, regional and national papers and websites, and relevant public policy documents were analysed. Checking for sources of error resulting from the retrospective nature of the study<sup>62</sup>, such as hindsight bias through which the recollection and reconstruction of content can lead to false theoretical outcomes (Roese & Vohs 2012), remained difficult. Respondents had had much time to evaluate their attitudes. This could have affected the reliability of their reflections. Despite the fact that respondents across all cases defined and evaluated the dominant relationships and interactions similarly, this factor should be taken into account in interpreting the results.

#### 4.4 Analytical Strategy

For each case an interaction track (IT) was constructed. Each IT contained a chronological listing of post-confrontation interactions that could be objectively related to the conflict. In each IT, it was carefully listed which main subgroups and –key- actors were involved in those interactions. For conceptual clarity, all actors were categorized to be 'part of' either the police-category, citizens-category or 'public administration' category.

Subsequently, for each case it was determined whether a police-citizen reconciliation process had taken place. Following Stronks and Adang (2015), it was assumed that a group reconciliation process is characterized by at least one CM between influential party representatives - an objectively determinable meeting between party representatives before which interactions are conflictive and after which interactions are cooperative-. By means of analysis of the ITs, six CMs (Case 1, 1; Case 2, 3; Case 3, 1; case 5, 1) were identified. In case 4 there were no CMs determined.

In order to explore the influence of (interpretations of) the police-citizen relationship on post conflict interaction, and along the propositions of the Relational Model, a two opposing party perspective, -a police party and a civilian party- was adopted. All fragments (quotations) that referred to (interpretations of) the nature of the relationship between police and citizens (N=1828), were coded in ATLAS.ti<sup>63</sup>. This was done in two steps. Firstly and similar to the method used by van de Klomp *et al.* (2014), each quotation received an 'individual-level' or 'group-level' code, a code referring to the parties assessment of the relationship (positive, +, negative - or neutral 0) and a code referring to its stage (either before the overt conflict, or after cooperation had again been achieved, or, in case 4 where

62 In Case 1, the interviews were held 4 to 4.5 years after the period analysed. Case 2: 1.5 to 2 years after years after the period analysed. Case 3: 3 to 5 years after the period analysed. Case 4: 0 to 1,5 years after the period analysed. Case 5: 3 to 4 years after the period analysed.

63 Software program for the systematic processing of qualitative research data. See [www.atlasti.com](http://www.atlasti.com)

this did not happen, to the situation one year after the overt conflict; quotations referring to the period in between these stages were excluded from analysis). A sample of 263 quotations were coded by a second coder to determine Cohen's Kappa, which turned out to be .896 ( $p < .05$ ).

For the second step, quotations were (similar to Stronks and Adang, 2015), in as far as possible, assigned a relationship-quality component (see table 4.3)<sup>64</sup>. When the researcher was not able to assign a quality-component to a quotation, the quotation received an 'other' code. Similar to what Stronks and Adang encountered, it was fairly easy to assign a relationship code to each quotation; only nine times the researcher was not able to assign a quality. Due to this small number, the quotations assigned to the 'other' category, were excluded from further analysis. The number of scores for each component were determined, both at individual and group level and compared with a qualitative analysis of the ITs and contexts.

**Table 4.3 Components of Relationship Qualities\***

Quality	Sub component
<b>Value</b>	What parties have to offer each other
	Parties willingness to offer their share
	Perceived accessibility (psychological distance) between both parties
<b>Security</b>	The consistency of the others behavioural responses (predictability)
	Perceived probability that the nature of interactions will change
<b>Compatibility</b>	Temperament (positive/negative) of the parties
	History of (the positive/negative) nature of social exchanges (tenor)
	The normative social/formal conformity between both parties

\* Source: After Stronks & Adang (2015: p. 368)

In principle, each quotation received only one quality component code. However, 21 quotations, that referred to both a positive predictability and negative temperament (e.g., "*Well, you know there's gonna be some trouble with those guys. When the football team loses, they [Hooligans] will fight the supporters of the other team. When the football team wins, they fight the police*") were coded with both these components because of the contradiction contained in them. This should be taken in account when interpreting the results.

## 4.5 Analysis

In this section, for each case, a brief analysis of the post conflict interactions is presented. Subsequently, the distributions of quotations per relationship quality component and case are displayed and analysed.

<sup>64</sup> Because of their small numbers (N=88), quotations that had received a 'neutral assessment code' were excluded from further analysis.

#### 4.5.1 *Case 1 Oranjefeesten Festival*

In case 1, (the annual Oranjefeesten festival), the confrontation caused a major conflict concerning the legitimacy of the police's actions, between the local and regional police on the one hand and the local community on the other. The local and regional police and the revellers (supported by the local community and media) underscored the licentious behaviour of members of the other party, and became involved in costly and prolonged criminal investigation. The mayor was criticized by both parties for his attitude, first backing the police, then backing the community. In the months following the overt conflict, it became clear that contacts between all sub-groups were disturbed. Only four months before the celebration of the next Oranjefeesten festival, a CM occurred between board members of the organizing committee and representatives of the local police and municipality. The common goal of this meeting was to achieve a peaceful and secure outcome of the next Oranjefeesten festival, planned four months later. The attendants looked back on a successful meeting and started to cooperate after the CM. Although the nature of their contacts was more formal, it was as easy and friendly as it was before the confrontation. As such, the individual relationships of the CM attendants can be considered to be reconciled after the successful organization of the festival. From a more encompassing group-perspective however, the conflict endured. The local community still regards the then officiating commanding officers and management of the regional police force as the main culprit and judges their behaviour to be too formal, impersonal and disinterested with regard to the conflict. Until recently, local police-citizen relationships (both individually and inter-group) suffer from this regional tension.

#### 4.5.2 *Case 2 Shooting Incident*

In case 2, the shooting incident caused immediate tension between the (mostly Moroccan) neighbourhood community -which did not understand why an under aged minor of their community should be shot- and the local police force. The local police had to let the immediately started criminal investigation run its course, was obliged to maintain public security but also wanted to share their side of the story. A group of juvenile delinquents who seized every incident as an excuse to riot, provided a lot of pressure. Three CMs occurred within a week. The first CM occurred the evening after the incident, between the deputy chief of police and the fathers of the arrested boys. In their meeting, the deputy chief explained how and why their sons were arrested. He acknowledged the unwanted situation both the fathers and the police got involved in and gave his cell phone number. In the weeks after the CM, there was intense contact between the fathers and the neighbourhood officer and the deputy chief of police. The police's goal to demonstrate their human caring character, resonated in efforts of both fathers to cooperate in preventing the occurrence of riots and the spread of negative rumours. The intensified relationships between the police and one of the fathers, eventually led him to volunteer in a local community program. The cooperation of both fathers was, according to police respondents, also important from a group perspective; in cases of conflict with a strong collective such as the Moroccan community. Key persons (such as the fathers) who receive and distribute correct information, are crucial in preventing social unrest from escalation.

The police initiated the second CM at the day of the shooting. They informed the key persons about the shooting and the police actions, and gave them the opportunity to express emotions and ask questions. Respondents said that the common goal made explicit during the CM – to maintain peace in the neighbourhood – strengthened their motivation to cooperate. This was of major importance because of the group of juvenile delinquents which seized every incident as an excuse to riot. The third CM occurred five days later, after the police received signals of persistent incomprehension among the community. Again -and this time, in cooperation with municipality representatives- the police invited network partners (persons that they identified as having formal or informal power in the local community) on both occasions. In the weeks following the incident, there was more contact between key persons and the police in the joint effort to maintain peace in the neighbourhood. Thus, during this phase, the effort that was put in building relevant one-on-one between group relationships before the confrontation, paid off. Although the incident caused immediate tension in the local police-citizen relationship, respondents from both parties declared that cooperation between the police and key-persons in the neighbourhood, successfully prevented the unrest from escalation.

#### 4.5.3 *Case 3 Stabbing Incident*

The stabbing incident shocked both the community (again of Moroccan descent), which questioned publically why their brother could not have been dealt with in another way, and the police, who were attacked and injured in their own territory and felt betrayed and threatened by the community, for whom they had made so many efforts in trying to maintain and increase public safety. As in case 2, a group of juvenile delinquents who seized every incident as an excuse to riot, were a particular pressure group. Nobody was surprised to learn that stones had been thrown at the police station that same evening. One CM occurred; a neighbourhood meeting held in the community centre the day after the incident, presided over by the city district chairman, during which the neighbourhood team chief attended. As in case 2, the meeting was geared towards the exchange of (correct) information, with an emphasis on the importance of good relations and prevention of social unrest. During the weeks following the stabbing incident, there was intensified contact between key persons from the police and community, whom jointly and successfully appealed for calm, communication and tolerance. However, their effort did not affect the juvenile delinquents, who set several cars on fire in the months after the incident.

#### 4.5.4 *Case 4 Football Riots*

In case 4, there was immediate anger among the local authorities, whose representatives (chief of police, mayor, public prosecutor) publically condemned the riots as a disproportionate incident in an already disruptive supporters – authorities relationship and jointly disapproved of the behaviour of the rioters. Besides a few 'regular supporters' and non-football affiliated thrill seekers, the main part of the suspects were identified as member of a group infamous alleged/ known hooligans. According to the authorities, this spe-

cific group of supporters is inaccessible; they avoid contact with authorities. The police started an intensive criminal investigation, which took four months. The policy concerning the use of alcohol in and around the stadium tightened up. That next football season passed without conflicts, but the relation between the authorities and supporters, who considered themselves the victims of the behaviour of a small group –alleged hooligans-, became more and more arduous. So did the relation between the authorities and the supporters club, of which the latter felt denied as a full partner in cooperation. Chairman: “Because they do not trust us. It feels a bit like a hunt [ed. On the supporters] regardless of whether they are good ones or bad ones.” The infamous group of alleged hooligans remains unapproachable and remain causing problems during and after football matches.

4

#### 4.5.5 *Case 5 Student Protests*

In the quiet municipality in which the student protests took place, the incident was the immediate talk of the town. Both the local community and the media condemned the actions of the police. In an official press statement, three days later, the chief constable, the public prosecutor and the mayor declared that the actions of the police seemed to be appropriate and just (but would be investigated). In advance, apologies were made for those individual situations in which inappropriate behaviour had been shown. The public council meeting, which took place four days after the incident, can be established as a CM between the mayor, chief constable, public council and the local community. The mayor and chief constable had to defend themselves in a firm discussion, but shortly after this the school boards lent their cooperation again. Moreover, together with representatives from the council, the school boards succeeded in persuading a delegation of eight students to cancel the demonstration against police violence that was to be held three days later. After the CM, the community still did not approve of the behaviour shown in stopping the protests. But for them, the issue was publically closed with the offered apologies. Judiciary investigation of two individual officers would show in due course whether or not the actions were lawful. The police force, felt publically ridiculed. The fact that the mayor and chief constable did not support their actions publically, violated their general assessment of internal trust. The manner in which the chief constable had acted was one of the motives to officially revoke the trust in him, eight months later.

#### 4.5.6 *Relationship Qualities*

Table 4.4 shows the absolute number of positively and negatively scored quotations per relationship quality. Table 4.4 shows relative high scores on value and compatibility components, compared to security components (819 compatibility quotations, 602 value quotations, 289 security quotations).

**Table 4.4 Overview of the total distribution of respondents' assessments on relationship-value, -security and -compatibility.**

	Individual		Group		N
	+*	-*	+	-	
<b>Value</b>	238	66	144	154	602
<b>Security</b>	46	73	45	125	289
<b>Compatibility</b>	140	148	81	450	819
<b>N</b>	424	287	281	729	1710

\* + refers to positively assessed relationship quotations, - refers to negatively assessed relationship quotations.

Table 4.5 shows the absolute number of positively and negatively scored quotations per case, level, stage, and quality respectively. The first thing that draws attention is the majority of positively scored quotations on individual level and the majority of negatively scored quotations on group level. This difference is mainly due to the relative high amount of positively scored individual-level value quotations and negatively scored group-level compatibility quotations. In other words: when characterizing positive aspects of individual intergroup dyads, respondents mostly referred to the accessibility of (members) of both groups, to what members in an intergroup dyad have to offer each other or to the preparedness to offer a share. When characterizing negative aspects of the group relation, respondents mostly referred to the normative social or formal fit between their group and (members of) the other group, the conflictive temperament of either one of the parties and/or the negative history of interaction between them.

**Table 4.5 Overview of the total distribution of respondents' assessments on relationship-value, -security and -compatibility before the overt confrontation (<) and after cooperation had again been achieved or – in case 4 where this did not happen, to the situation one year after the overt conflict (>).**

Case	Level	<>	Value		Security		Compatibility	
			+*	-*	+	-	+	-
<b>1.Oranjeferien Festival</b>	<b>Individual</b>	<	24	9	6	1	16	8
		>	23	14	3	5	19	34
	<b>Group</b>	<	5	5	12	6	10	26
		>	7	12	4	6	7	69
<b>2. Shooting Incident</b>	<b>Individual</b>	<	27	2	2	3	12	7
		>	34	2	2	3	9	12
	<b>Group</b>	<	25	14	4	10	5	36
		>	20	12	5	11	7	34
<b>3. Stabbing Incident</b>	<b>Individual</b>	<	41	6	9	10	15	6
		>	44	3	9	11	13	8
	<b>Group</b>	<	26	27	2	21	7	48
		>	35	17	3	18	10	42

<b>4. Football Riots</b>	<b>Individual</b>	<	11	8	3	10	13	17
		>	10	9	4	15	14	22
	<b>Group</b>	<	6	23	5	14	5	78
		>	6	24	2	18	9	76
<b>5. Student Protests</b>	<b>Individual</b>	<	11	2	5	4	10	10
		>	13	11	3	11	19	24
	<b>Group</b>	<	12	8	3	9	9	18
		>	13	12	5	12	12	23

\* + refers to positively assessed relationship quotations, - refers to negatively assessed relationship quotations.

With regard to Case 1 (Oranjeveesten Festival), the damage the Oranjeveesten conflict inflicted on both individual and group level, is illustrated most vividly in an increase of the number of incompatibility quotations (individual before 8, after 34; group: before 26, after 69). On the individual dimension, there are relatively many quotations that refer to positive value of the group relationship (before 24, after 23). Analysis of those quotations reveals that half of them (before 12; after 11), concern the relationship between the organizing committee of the Oranjeveesten festival and the local police. This was the only relationship in which a CM and post conflict cooperation could be established.

In Case 2 (Shooting Incident), the absolute displays are also a reflection of the qualitative analysis. Relative to the tangible relationship between the police and citizens and the group of juvenile delinquents, there is a relatively high amount of quotations referring to the incompatibility of the police and citizens both before (36) and after the reconciliation (34). There are however, also relatively high scores on positive value in both before and after the overt conflict in both levels. In other words: despite the worrying relationship between the police and a specific subgroup, there are some meaningful and influential between group relationships that were beneficial in reaching the mutually assessed goal to prevent social unrest from escalating.

The ways respondents assess the nature of the intergroup relationship on both individual and group level in Case 3 (Stabbing Incident), are again, a reflection of the qualitative analysis. As in case 2, there is a relatively high amount of positive value assessments that concern mostly the relationships the local police has built with certain key actors. There seems an improvement of positively assessed value (before 26, after 35) and a decrease of negatively assessed value (before 27, after 17) on group level. However, the police and community have a history of insecurity and conflict, reflected in the high amount of incompatibility- and insecurity quotations.

In Case 4 (Football Riots), in line with the assumptions of the Relational Model, the absolute displays also appear to reflect the qualitative analysis of post conflict interaction. The group- and individual dimension of the scores police-citizen relationship-quality quotations are and remain, worst off, compared to the other cases (table 4.5). There are no striking differences between the assessed relationship qualities in the before and after-situation. There are no CMs and the authorities keep on cooperating in their joint effort to

fight illegitimate behaviour. There is no attempt to seek cooperation with the stake holding citizen parties (supporters club, supporters, alleged hooligans), which causes tension. This is visible in the relatively high amount of scored incompatibility quotations in which respondents predominantly refer to a specific group of alleged hooligans (before: 33 out of the 78; after 31 out of the 76). There is also a relatively high amount of negatively assessed value in the group dimension (before: 23, after: 34).

In Case 5 (Students Protests) and also in line with the assumptions of the Relational Model, on group level, the relationship police-citizens appears restored. But the occurrence of a CM did not seem to constitute restoration in the individual-dimension of the police-citizen relationship. Table 4.5 shows that this is mainly due to a high amount of assessed negative value quotations (before:2, after 11) and insecurity quotations (before: 4, after: 11). These quotations were expressed by student respondents who assessed the value of their relationship with the police as declined after the incident, and a school board respondent that felt that the relationship between the school boards and the mayor (as the one responsible for the regional police force) was damaged after the incident: "It is fundamental. With the mayor. We have never asked the mayor for his attendance or presence again".

## 4.6 Discussion

In contrast to the observational and quantifiable data ethologists collect in order to test the assumptions of the Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) and relationship qualities (Cords & Aureli, 2000), the data of this comparative study consist of limited and retrospective accounts on interactions and feelings. The data gathered can only be compared to a certain extent, which limits the ability to draw firm conclusions. The exploratory nature of this study makes further replication by means of contemporaneous observational research desirable. Nevertheless, some interesting preliminary conclusions can be drawn on basis of the current analysis.

Firstly, with regard to reconciliation processes, it should be noted that up till now, the Relational Model was designed, tested and validated solely in dyadic and triadic conflicts. Congruently, the current analysis indicates that the assumed importance of reconciliation in repairing and even strengthening relationships (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) appears to hold for the meaningful individual and small -group intergroup relationships analysed. Thus, in all cases in which a CM could be determined (1,2,3,5) cooperative interaction between at least some party representatives who attended the CM –defined as reconciliation-, could be determined. Moreover, respondents that attended the CMs indicated that the relation between themselves and representatives of the other party, was repaired after the CM. It should be stressed here that this does not mean that all CM attendant's contacts and other group relationship assessments were positive after the CM. It means that the between-attendant tension that was caused by overt conflict, was resolved and was, according to the respondents, no longer influencing post CM interactions in a negative way.



Concluding that the occurrence of a CM predicts the occurrence of a fully-fledged group-level cooperation however, would be overgeneralizing. The current two-opposing-party-perspective adopted in the case analysis may have cleared matters for analytical purposes, but in the context of larger intergroup relationships analysed, the complexity and influence of the group and groups dynamics should be taken into account. A group can be defined as the sum of the social dyads within a group and the heterogeneity between those dyads (Kutsukake, 2009: p. 522). Analysis of the relationship quality quotations indicated that respondents rarely defined the nature of a given police citizen relationship generally. A large part of the quotations referred to specific between-group dyads, subgroup-intergroup relationships or key-persons or -groups, which respondents identified as illustrative in their general assessment of the police-citizen relationship. Thus, specific intergroup dyads may be more meaningful to the general picture of a given police-citizen relationship than others. This is clearly visible in the cases analysed. For example, in case 4 (Football Riots), the majority of the incompatibility quotations in the after situation (46 out of 76) refer to incompatibility between parties from the public domain -notably the police- and the group of infamous alleged hooligans<sup>65</sup>. In other situations, a specific intergroup dyad or dyads appeared to be far less influential. In case 1 (Oranjefeesten Festival) for example, CM attendants declared that the intergroup dyads between CM attendants were reconciled. But since these dyads were only a fragment of the sum of other meaningful inter-individual relationships and since this sum seemed unaffected, until today, respondents describe the local police-citizen relationships as a relationship that suffers from an unrepaired overt conflict. In continued research on the Relational Model, it is thus of crucial importance to draw on existing knowledge on factors that shape human relationships (e.g., social identification, trust, power) and elaborate on the complexity of groups and group dynamics in reconciliatory behaviour.

Secondly and relative to exploring relationship qualities, by all means, the influence and importance of insights on the context of conflicts and the social/physical situation of opponents (e.g., what are their attitudes and feelings?) on conflict interactions are acknowledged. Moreover, the retrospective nature of the research and the possible influence on the reliability of what respondents said about relationships, should be considered in drawing conclusions on the basis of the current case analysis. Nevertheless, some interesting preliminary conclusions that point to an influence of relationship assessment on conflict interaction (Cords & Aureli, 2000), can be drawn. The fact that the researcher was able to assess almost all respondents' relationship quotations to a quality without asking respondents about them directly during the interviews, is in itself a modest signal that group- and individual relationships can at least be described and assessed in terms of value, compatibility and security.

With regard to relationship value, in ethology the existence and importance of relationship value was tested and validated in a diverse range of social species such as macaques (e.g., Kutsukake & Castles, 2001), chimpanzees (e.g., Koski *et al.*, 2007) and ravens (Fraser & Bugnyar, 2010). Through both experimental and behavioural research it was demonstrated

<sup>65</sup> The other incompatibility quotations were distributed among 10 other case-relevant relationships.

that restoring amicable relationships is less important with partners of little value (e.g., Watts, 2006; Bonaventura *et al.*, 2010). Moreover, the existence and importance of relationship value is tested and validated on humans in research on the form and function of a cognitive process that is oftentimes associated with reconciliation; forgiveness (e.g., McCullough *et al.*, 2010). The current case analysis indicated the importance of relationship value mostly in revealing what its absence in terms of negative assessment caused in times of conflict. This is best illustrated in case 4 (Football Riots), in which the majority of negatively scored value quotations concerned the relationship with a specific group of alleged hooligans. The authorities judged them to be mainly responsible for the start of the incident. According to the police, a mutually assessed valuable relationship was out of the question. A police officer: “Drug-users. Pointless to convince them to participate in a dialogue. We do not even try it. The time to talk is of course already passed”. That is: according to the police, reconciliation and cooperation with this group was not an option. The authorities resort to the only other tested method of conflict management, which they consider to be effective: repressive action (i.e., tighter policies and judicial measures).

The appearing influence of value and effects of asymmetry in value assessment with a troublesome subgroup are also prominent in case two (shooting incident) and three (stabbing incident). In both cases this subgroup can be characterized as “troublesome criminal youth” with whom the local police has a history of confrontation (thus, a history of incompatibility). In both cases, signals that angry youth will attempt to seek confrontation with the police, arise within a few hours after the incident. In case 2, valuable members of the community (members that, according to the respondents have a grip on the youth) prevent angry youngsters from seeking a confrontation with the police; the valuable relationship between in-group members prevented further escalation with an out-group. In case 3, respondents indicated that the relationship between the neighbourhood community and the criminal youth was problematic, since the first was not able to control and reach the latter anymore. I.e. the criminal youth was inaccessible for both the police and the neighbourhood community. This led to an incident of stone throwing and cases of arson in the weeks following the incident. The neighbourhood community however, distanced itself publicly from the behaviour of these youngsters. This was, according to respondents, crucial in preventing social unrest from spreading. In the case that van de Klomp *et al.* (2014) analysed, getting in touch with the group with which the police had its initial confrontation (Moluccan youngsters), was also problematic. As in our case 2 and 3, the police sought contact and cooperation with other members of the citizen party (Moluccan parents and elderly), in order to prevent them from supporting the inaccessible group, hoping that these proxies could possibly influence the inaccessible group in a way compatible to the desires of the police. This strategy proved fruitful.

In case 5 (student protests), the apparent importance of strong and valuable within-group police relationships is indicated. In this case, the chief constable and mayor (who has the formal authority over the regional police force) were able to foster a public group reconciliation, but till today, members of the police force disagree with their decisions to offer apologies, and feel unsupported by their formal leaders. Eight months after the overt conflict, the police forces’ works council proclaimed publically that they had lost confidence in

the chief constable. His behaviour, attitude and decisions concerning the students protests were among the reasons for the loss of confidence.

With regard to *relationship security*, in policing studies, it is stressed that the chances that citizens cooperate voluntarily with police decline when they consider their relationship with the police weak and insecure (e.g., Lasthuizen *et al.*, 2005). Indeed, in being the institution responsible for safeguarding security, an emphasis on creating relational security, seems obvious. Logically, a flux of police reports emphasize trust of the population in the police as the key factor for long lasting and legitimate police action (e.g., Goldsmith, 2005; Halpern, 2005). Goldsmith (2005: p. 444) for example, notes ‘When the public views police as legitimate (or trustworthy), public co-operation with police in ways that assist effectiveness is more likely’. To Goldsmith, legitimacy and trustworthiness are similar aspects. This contrasts however, to the assumptions of Cords and Aureli (2000) and other ethologists, who propose that trustworthiness –a security aspect- only becomes of importance in relationships that are assessed to be legitimate –a value aspect<sup>66</sup>. Relationship security is not only assumed to be a secondary quality in ethological studies (e.g., Fraser & Bugnyar, 2010; Rebbecchini *et al.*, 2011), but also in psychological studies on attachment theory (e.g., Van Ryzin & Leve, 2011) and forgiveness (e.g., Burnette *et al.*, 2011<sup>67</sup>) These authors claim security is of importance only in relationships that are valuable by definition. The quantitative results of the current analysis appear to support this claim: a relatively small amount of respondents’ quotations were assigned a relationship security label (table 4). This could be a sign that there is a smaller importance of (assessments on) relationship security in relationship maintenance; stressing relationship security may have less to no impact in relationships that are not assessed mutually valuable. Due to the lack of comparative and quantifiable data however, such assumptions, cannot yet be validated or refuted. Future research should reveal if they indeed make sense.

It should also be stressed, that the assigned relationship quotations only concerned the situation before the overt conflict and the situation after the last interaction that could be related to the overt conflict objectively. The analysis of the post conflict interactions in the cases, indicated a direct effect of the overt confrontations on actors’ sense of relationship-security. Moreover, when actors actually had to meet their opponents after the overt conflict, feelings of relationship insecurity appeared particularly strong. This is in line with both general notions on the arousal of stress and insecurity in case of conflict (e.g., Pruitt & Kim 2003; Burnette *et al.*, 2011) and van de Klomp *et al.* (2014), who noticed respondents’ fear and tension in anticipation of intergroup contact. Respondents that attended CM’s, indicated that they felt more relaxed afterwards, and that the CM meeting made them feel more secure about the other party in general and the good intentions of those party members attending the CM, specifically. Thus, relationship security may play a secondary role in general police-citizen relationship maintenance. Restoring and emphasizing relationship

<sup>66</sup> Legitimacy was scored as a value aspect, since it is tied to the worthiness of a party. Trustworthiness was scored as a security aspect since it is tied to the perceived predictability.

<sup>67</sup> Studies on human forgiveness, indicate that besides relationship value, exploitation risk - defined as the probability that Other will impose costs on Self in the future- (Burnette *et al.*, 2011: p. 347) explains the occurrence of forgiveness. The definition of exploitation risk bears a striking resemblance with relationship security.

security in times of conflict however, may be of crucial importance. But again, future research should reveal whether this is indeed the case.

In ethological research, relationship compatibility is mainly used to explain and predict the tenor of interaction during encounters (e.g., Preuschoft *et al.*, 2002). Its independent existence was tested and validated (e.g., Fraser & Bugnyar, 2010) but solely in concurrence with value and security, and solely in dyadic relationships. Generally, compatibility is assumed to be the third quality, somewhat subsidiary to value and security. Due to their capability to explain their thoughts and feelings however, the respondents' reflections in the current study surprised us with interesting insights on the social construction of compatibility. As far as the analysis indicates, assessments on (group) compatibility are inferred not only by the shared history of social exchanges and temperament of the parties (Cords & Aureli, 2000), but also by assessments on the normative social and or formal conformity between both parties (i.e., their fit). This paints another picture with respect to the role of compatibility: in the current cases analysed, (assessed) compatibility, appeared to play a powerful role in (post) conflict relationship assessment and behaviour. Firstly, the respondents told their conflict narratives typically in terms of fit, temperament and past events (table 2). It has been known for some time, that parties in conflict readily reflect on violent events by telling stories in which the features that are of interest for the storyteller, are accentuated and transmitted (e.g., van Hulst 2013). Given this fact, the relatively high amount of -mainly negative- quotations that were assigned to 'tenor' or 'temperament' (table 3) is in itself not surprising. A relatively high amount of -mainly negative- quotations could be linked to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In times of (unreconciled) conflict, parties tend to describe themselves in terms of differences with (members of) the other party -i.e. negative fit. This is commonly described as "in-group out-group thinking" (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 24). This was most visible in case 4 (Football Riots), in which respondents of the opposing parties tended to refer to themselves and (members of) the other party more in terms of 'we' and 'us' when they talked about the post conflict interactions. This also corresponds to the findings of van de Klomp *et al.* (2014).

The results of case 1 and 4 are the most convincing signals that a single confrontation can have a huge impact on group level if a (broadly supported) CM fails. A non-reconciled overt conflict on group level may not injure a given interpersonal relationship between an officer and a civilian per se. However, the results indicate that it does affect assessed relationship incompatibility at group level, which, in its turn may contribute to enduring conflict. The situation in case 4 on group level (no CM, most negatively scored quotations on all qualities and compatibility in particular) indicates that the relationship clearly suffers from many non-reconciled confrontations and a lack of cooperation. This notion is confirmed in the Relational Model, which postulates that interactions that are mainly discordant, may harm a relation on the long run (Aureli & De Waal, 2000).

## 4.7 Conclusions

Reconciliation has consistently proven to be a powerful mechanism of relational repair among several species, including humans (e.g., Verbeek & De Waal, 2001; Fusijawa *et al.*, 2005) but the application of the Relational Model to police – citizen conflict is still in its infancy. In this study it was explored whether assessments on the value, compatibility and security of police-citizen relationships are related to police-citizen interactions after overt conflict generally and the function of reconciliation specifically. Despite its reliance on limited post hoc and one-sided reflections, some interesting insights could be gained that underscore the value of further study and replication, especially with regard to the relationship qualities that influence whether or not reconciliation will occur.

Reconciliation appears an attractive method of conflict resolution to parties that assess the relationship with their opponent as valuable. Without mutually assessed value, reconciliation seems problematic, if not impossible. From a group perspective on conflict however, a sense of relationship value of all stake holding subgroups and actors within a party, is unrealistic. In reality, there will always be pressure groups and single actors who assess the relationship with 'the other' as less valuable. In times of overt conflict then, it appears fruitful to consider carefully between whom exactly a conflict exists and which actors and or pressure groups should be contacted when one aims for resolution of the conflict. Consequently, in aiming for group supported reconciliation, a focus on those other key-actors that value you, instead of those that certainly do not value you, seems constructive.

Emphasizing compatibility could be another strategy in approaching (key-actors of) the other party after overt confrontation. The analysis of compatibility quotations learned that unless members of both parties attempt to manage a conflict effectively, a conflict can be a potential source in the constitution of negatively assessed relationships.

The analysis shows that overt confrontations have a negative impact on the assessment of security. This becomes especially salient when actors actually have to meet their opponents after a confrontation. Given the energy it takes to overcome such feelings and (re) establish cooperation, and given the fact that the police is by duty and mandate unable to avoid conflict and contact with citizens, a focus on secure and trustworthy relationships seems logical. However, when police is not assessed as valuable by a citizen party, a focus on restoring and building trust post conflict, appears fruitless. The willingness to reconcile –and restore post conflict anxiety- appears only interesting when a citizen party assesses the relationship with the police as being of value. From a value-perspective, a focus on community policing and building and maintaining strong (local) police-citizen relationships, is of crucial strategic importance. After all, overt conflict between the police and citizens is always lurking.

Without doubt, the applicability of the Relational Model generally and the analytical distinction between the relationship qualities specifically, are in need of systematic elaboration and improvement. The current study has further emphasised the potential value of analysing police-citizen conflict from a relational perspective and the importance to effective

policing of understanding police-citizen relationships. An analysis of police-citizen conflict interaction through a relational model can help us to understand why some confrontations lead to enduring conflict and others do not. Altogether, the findings suggest that reconciliation could be an important and effective strategy of relationship maintenance in case of mutually assessed valuable relationships that are challenged by overt conflict.



# Chapter 5

## **Community police officers and self-involved conflict; an exploratory study on reconciliation with citizens**

### **Abstract**

*In this article, community police officers' reflections on self-involved interpersonal conflict and reconciliation with citizens are explored through a relational perspective. Besides the social/physical state of the opponents and the context of the conflict, the assessed nature of their relationship—expressed by the value, security, and compatibility of the relationship—appears to influence the interactions that follow a confrontation and the occurrence of reconciliation. The relationship assessment appears to be motivated by socially as well as institutionally embedded considerations. With respect to the pivotal, yet lonely role community police officers assess themselves to have in relationship management, reconciliation is regarded an important means in building, maintaining, and even strengthening relationships with actors that are valuable to successful community policing.*

Chapter 5 has been published as: Stronks, S. (2016): Community police officers and self-involved conflict; an explorative study on reconciliation with citizens. *Policing: A Journal Of Policy And Practice* 10(3): 206-221. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pav032>





## 5.1 Introduction

In Western democracies, it is commonly acknowledged that cooperation with citizens is crucial and unavoidable for effective and legitimate police work (e.g., Tyler and Huo, 2002; Skogan, 2005). Various policing strategies through which cooperative relationships between police and citizens should be built, secured, and maintained have been developed, such as Community Oriented Policing (e.g., Friedmann, 1992; Skogan, 2006), Problem Oriented Policing (e.g., Goldstein, 1979; Reisig, 2010), or Reassurance Policing (e.g., Fleming, 2005; Fielding and Innes, 2006). At the same time, the nature of police work will sometimes bring police and citizens into overt conflict; a situation in which either one or both of the parties assess to have a conflict (of interest, goals, or actions) with each other and act on behalf of this assessment, which results in observable aggressive interaction.

It is acknowledged that the police gets involved in overt conflict with citizens on a regular basis by duty and by mandate. Given their crucial function with regard to security, police involvement in overt conflict is a sensitive topic. It appeals immediately to attitudes concerning the integrity, trustworthiness, justice, and impartiality of the behaviour displayed by partakers (e.g., Tyler, 2003; Schaible *et al.*, 2012). Consequently, some cases of overt conflict between the police and citizens that arise on the individual level of interactions spread over to the group level. Oftentimes such development is accompanied by a great share of public debate and (media) attention. The Dutch protests and overt confrontations that followed after the death of the Aruban tourist Mitch Henriquez, who died at the hands of police officers in June 2015, and the ongoing protests and escalations that emerged in the aftermath of the August 2014 shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri (USA), give clear illustrations.

The relevance of explaining and understanding the (run-up to) extreme cases of group conflict between the police and (group of) citizens is fully acknowledged and has led to valuable accounts on police–citizen group conflict dynamics, notably in the context of riot and crowd policing (e.g., Reicher, 1996; Waddington *et al.*, 2009; Baudains *et al.*, 2013). However, what happens between opponents after those intense moments of violent interaction remains underexplored. Existing literature lacks crucial understanding of how the aftermath of overt conflict is managed.

From a formal rational perspective, in case of police-involved overt conflict, Western democracies provide in two legally motivated, institutionally embedded methods of management; litigation<sup>68</sup> and complaint management<sup>69</sup>. There is a large body of research and theorizing on these formal manners of handling police-involved overt conflict. Viewed from

68 Through a process of public and formal criminal trial or civil litigation, it is determined what laws were broken by whom. Opponents hire/are assigned to a specialist with profound knowledge of the norms (lawyers) who will advocate on their behalf. To prevent future conflict, much effort is put in eliminating the factors that initially provoked the overt conflict.

69 Police–citizen conflict concerning police behaviour that is objectively determinable not law breaking but does appeal to a suspicion of misconduct, is typically dealt with by means of complaint management. Although complaint management is not legally based, its theoretic principles do not deviate much from litigation. Since investigations are conducted internally and are, as well as legal proceeding time consuming (e.g. Waters and Brown, 2000; Liederbach *et al.*, 2007), complaint management generally has a doubtfully reputation as a biased, unsatisfactory process in which concerns from both sides are not taken seriously (e.g. De Guzman, 2008; Schaible *et al.*, 2012).

a social-interactive perspective, however, litigation and complaint management function on the premise of an objective offender and a victim. In case of litigation in particular, the effect of overt conflict on the relationship and future contact, is not addressed (Yarn, 2000, p. 56). This may be particularly influential in the context of community oriented policing because relationships with communities typically carry on after conflict. Thus, both litigation and complaint management do not address the issue of ‘getting along after getting all wrong’.

Since legal litigation and complaint management are time consuming and costly ways of dealing with overt conflict (e.g., Schaible *et al.*, 2005), we might expect that—the analysis of—alternative, non-judicial processes of police-involved post-conflict management, and resolution generate great interest from practitioners and researchers, especially among those allied to community policing. However, remarkably little attention has been paid to alternative methods of the resolution of police-involved overt conflict<sup>70</sup>. This article aims to address this knowledge gap. In doing this, it draws on pioneering research in which police–citizen post-conflict dynamics are analysed through a Relational Model (Aureli and De Waal, 2000), an ethologic theoretical model that is useful in understanding socially embedded methods of conflict resolution.

The Relational Model (Table 5.1) assumes powerful constraints on conflict for the need of the enhancement of cooperative social relationships (De Waal, 2000, p. 30). It proposes that social animals have developed a wide range of methods of conflict resolution; processes of direct interaction through which the incompatibility of attitudes and goals that were caused by a conflict of interests, are eliminated (Aureli and De Waal, 2000, p. 387)<sup>71</sup>. Reconciliation, which is referred to as friendly restorative interaction following aggressive encounters (Aureli and De Waal, 2000, p. 25), is one of such methods<sup>72</sup>. Reconciliation processes have been documented systematically among many species of primates (e.g., Wittig and Boesch, 2005) including humans (e.g., Verbeek and De Waal, 2001; Fujisawa *et al.*, 2005), non-human primates (e.g., Palagi *et al.*, 2004), other mammals (e.g., Cordoni and Norscia, 2014), and birds (Fraser and Bugnyar, 2010).

70 There exists a broad strand of research and theorizing on restorative practices, originating from restorative justice, an alternative perspective on crime and punishment (e.g. van Ness and Heetderks Strong, 2008). Restorative practices, such as mediation, victim–offender reconciliation, healing circles or peace committees, centre cooperation, interdependence and needs, and focus on (less formal processes of) restoration, to reach resolution. However, in this perspective, victims and offenders are supposed to be morally involved and state actors are supposed to be morally neutral (Walgrave, 2008) and police involvement in restorative practices is generally expected to be limited to the role intervening, supportive or mediating actor (e.g. the *Journal of Police Studies*’ special issue on restorative policing 2009–2012). An exception is formed by a small body of research on the effects of mediation in complaint management programs (Walker *et al.*, 2002; Hill *et al.*, 2003;

Bartels and Silverman, 2005). Complaint mediation (i.e., the intervention of a neutral mediator in the complaint management process) seems highly effective in fostering an informal process of mutual understanding and resolution through dialogue, resolving police complaints, and ensuring officer and complainant satisfaction (Schaible *et al.*, 2012). Research on the matter is rather rare. As Bartels and Silverman (2005: 621) note, this is likely due to the low number of police complaint mediation programmes, which in turn might be the effect of the polices reluctance to be involved in ways other than by neutrality.

71 Examples include sharing, compromising, or agreeing to disagree (Aureli and De Waal, 2000, p. 387).

72 Compromising, sharing, and ‘agreeing to disagree’ are other processes of conflict resolution. It should be noted that agreeing to disagree is not the same as dropping the conflict (Aureli and De Waal, 2000, p. 387) because it does involve direct interaction between the former opponents. Conflict resolution always implies direct interaction between former opponents.

**Table 5.1 Basic principles of the Relational Model (after Aureli & De Waal 2000: 26-28, 287-288)**

<b>Interdependence</b>	Humans are a group living species. In order to survive, they must cooperate with other group members with whom they build social relationships.
<b>Overt conflict as resolution</b>	In case of a conflict of interests/actions/goals, basically, three options of resolution exist: tolerance, avoidance and overt conflict
<b>Social repair</b>	Overt conflict may be worth the risk but it may also cause damage on a relationship. Consequential of human interdependency, naturally, we feel the need to repair such damage: we reconcile
<b>Conciliatory effect</b>	Reconciliation -referred to as friendly restorative interaction following aggressive encounters (Aureli & De Waal 2000: 25)- restores tolerance, reduces the occurrence of post conflict incompatibility and insecurity and has the potential to strengthen the value of relationships.
<b>Conflict as negotiation</b>	Reconciliation, overt conflict and cooperation are two closely aligned positive social tendencies through which the terms of relationships are negotiated.

In the Relational Model, a relationship is defined as an interdependency with a certain nature, composed of at least three independent qualities: value, security, and compatibility. The value of a relationship (Cords and Aureli, 2000, p. 182) is the prominent component. It refers to what the parties have to offer, how willing they are to offer it, and the extent to which they are accessible for the other. The security of a relationship refers to (confidence in) the predictability of interactions between parties and compatibility refers to the general tenor of social interactions in a dyad, which results from the temperament of the partners and their shared history of social exchanges (Ibid.). The nature of a relationship is regarded to be an explaining factor in understanding the ways social beings deal with conflicts of interest, goals, or actions (Cords and Aureli, 2000).

So far, only three studies have been conducted in which the Relational Model is used for analysing police-citizen conflict. Van de Klomp *et al.* (2014) unravelled how a transformation from conflictive to cooperative group interaction developed after an overt conflict in a neighbourhood of a small Dutch town. They have shown how this transformation functioned to restore the relational damage caused by the conflict, and could even pave the way for a strengthening of the group relationship. Stronks and Adang (2015) elaborated on these findings. They analysed three cases of police-citizen group conflict and explored the applicability of the concepts of relationship- value, -compatibility, and -security in explaining the interactions in the run-up to, during and after five critical moments in the transformation from conflict to cooperation. Although these authors did not ask their respondents specifically to assess the value, security, and compatibility of the relations they reflected on, identifying these qualities in their language was surprisingly easy. Stronks and Adang added a social identification aspect to the compatibility quality, referring to the ways in which respondents described (interactions of) themselves and others and relationships in terms of similarities and differences to the other (group).

In a third study by Stronks (2015), the post-conflict interactions and occurrence of reconciliatory processes were analysed and compared by means of the Relational Model in five media-salient Dutch cases of police–citizen group conflict. The findings suggest that reconciliation can be an important and effective strategy of relationship maintenance in case of mutually assessed valuable relationships that are challenged by overt conflict. Respondents actively described police–citizen relationships in terms of value, security, and compatibility. Also, post-conflict interactions appeared to be influenced by actors’ assessments on the value, security, and compatibility of the relationships involved.

To explore the relevance of the Relational Model and the function of reconciliation more in depth, a shift is made in this article, from the analysis of group interaction to the analysis of individual interaction. The focus will be on inter-individual overt conflicts between the police and citizens in day-to-day interactions that are far more common and do not escalate into media-reported group conflict (e.g., a skirmish in an arrest, an escalated attempt to report speed driving, disturbance on a public playground). Community-oriented policing, in particular, relies on building strong relationships between the police and citizens for effective police work (e.g., Kappeler and Gaines, 2011; Palmiotto, 2011). Therefore, an analysis of inter-individual overt conflicts between citizens and police officers that are involved in community policing<sup>73</sup> is assumed to be relevant in exploring the function of the relationship and reconciliation in police–citizen conflict dynamics.

Following the Relational Model, reconciliation (a post-overt conflict transformation from conflictive interaction to cooperation and/or friendly interaction) is expected to be a ‘normal’ part of exemplary community police officers’ interactions with citizens. Notions on the value, security, and compatibility of relationships are expected to influence a community police officers’ behaviour in situations of overt conflict. At the same time, factors related to the institutional context, such as professional norms and rules concerning the general profession or community policing, may also influence post-conflict interaction. It is unclear whether and to what extent they catalyse or obstruct reconciliation. In this article, we will explore these matters by addressing the following question:

*Do interpersonal reconciliations between community police officers and citizens occur, and if so, how do they develop and how does the context of police-citizen relationships influence these processes?*

---

73 van Caem *et al.* (2013, p. 265) note duly that police workers responsible for community-oriented policing, were originally introduced as community police officers (ed. wijkagenten) in the 1970s and 1980s. With the constitution of the 1993 National Police Law, formally they were called ‘area-bound police officers’ (ed. gebiedsgebonden politiefunctie-narissen). Approximately 10 years later, with the turn of the century, the title was transformed into ‘neighbourhood coordinator’. However, with respect to the continued and widespread use of ‘Community Police Officer’ in the (inter) national discourse of police science, policymakers as well as practitioners, in this article, when referring to police workers responsible for community-oriented policing, the title ‘Community Police Officer’ is applied.

## 5.2 Methodology

Reconciliation is assumed to be a vital social process in meaningful relationships (Aureli and

De Waal, 2000). Building and maintaining meaningful relationships with citizens is considered a core task of community police officers (e.g., Fielding, 2005). The Netherlands is well known for its emphasis on community oriented policing (e.g., van den Vijver & Zoomer, 2004; Terpstra, 2010). For this reason, Dutch exemplary community police officers are suitable research units in exploring reconciliation. It should be noted that countries differ in the way police are organized. Some police forces, such as the Dutch, are more service providers than law enforcers (Adang *et al.*, 2010). This means that the results should not be over generalized. Given the explorative design of the study, in-depth interviewing is the most appropriate method because it allows the researcher to explore and understand complex and likely private processes such as reconciliation and its related issues (e.g., motivations, decisions, impacts, and outcomes) in depth and detail (Ritchie *et al.*, 2013).

In searching for exemplary officers to interview, inquiry meetings with four Dutch police leaders<sup>74</sup> and 23 members of the national working group on community policing<sup>75</sup> were arranged. They were asked to nominate one or two community police officers whom they considered to be exemplary practitioners of community oriented policing. This resulted in a list of 31 potential 'exemplary' respondents<sup>76</sup>. Fifteen of those were contacted. The selection was a representative number of experienced male and female officers, as well as officers from different parts of the Netherlands, including ones working in urban and more rural areas. The selection consisted of 13 community police officers, an officer who was specialized in contact with, local, youth in a city district<sup>77</sup>, and an officer who was specialized in contact with local Antilleans<sup>78</sup> in a large city district<sup>79</sup> (Table 5.2). A limitation of this exploratory design was that only police officers— not the citizens—involved in overt conflict, were interviewed.

74 One chief constable, a chief superintendent, and two chief inspectors.

75 The national working group of community policing was founded in the 90s of the last century. At that time the Dutch police was divided in 25 independent geographic regions. From each region, a police policy official with practical and theoretical knowledge of community policing and a strong position in the community police officers network of his/her region, joined the working group. The group gathers four to six times a year and talks over important issues, debates, and developments concerning community policing. In 2013, the police was centralized and reorganized in 11 dependent geographic units. The working group remained and the original amount of members (25) was kept unchanged.

76 To be clear: none of the candidates was member of the national working group of community policing.

77 In some cities or geographic areas, the Dutch police has problems (high crime and offend rates, conflictive contact with the police) with specific subgroups or -communities (e.g. local youth, Moroccan community, trailer park residents). In such cases, the police may decide to appoint a 'special policing agent' who can focus on building and maintaining relationships with (members of) those subgroups specifically.

78 Antilleans are a small minority population (<1%) within the Netherlands, originally hailing from the former Netherlands Antilles, a group of six islands in the Caribbean Sea (Bos, 2008). Although a large part of the group is doing well, in some cities and area's (groups of oftentimes young) Antilleans are causing crime-related troubles.

79 Except from the officer that was specified in contact with Antilleans, all respondents were fulfilling positions related to community oriented policing for four years or longer.

**Table 5.2 Respondents**

R	M/F	Area*	Region	Age	Duration Interview Hour.Min	Conflict Stories			
						N	+	-	0
1	m	Big4	Urban	54	2.21	5	4	1	
2	m	City	South	50	2.49	3	1	2	
3	f	Big4	Urban	37	2.01	4	3	1	
4	f	Rural	East	36	1.01	4	3	1	
5	m	Big4	Urban	54	1.16	3	2	1	
6	m	L.City	North	59	1.30	2	2		
7	m	L.City	East	44	1.10	2	1	1	
8	m	Rural	North	44	1.13	3	2	1	
9	m	Town	South	36	1.10	6	4	1	1
10	m	City	South	53	1.10	2	2		
11	f	City	Urban	55	1.01	2	1	1	
12	f	Big4	Urban	37	1.03	2	1	1	
13	f	Big4	Urban	37	1.16	2	1	1	
14	m	City	North	49	2.08	3	1		2
15	f	L.City	East	37***	1.21**	3	1	2	
S						46	29	14	3

\* Big4 city: >300.000 inhabitants; large city; 150.000-300.000 inhabitants; city 50.000-150.000 inhabitants, town 20.000 - 50.000 inhabitants; rural area; area with settlements that have less than 20.000 inhabitants

\*\* The average duration of an interview was one hour and 30 minutes.

\*\*\* The average age of the respondents was 45 ½ years.

Interviews were held between February and August 2011. All were conducted by one and the same interviewer. In preparation for the interviews background information concerning the research project was provided to the respondents by email. Arrangements were made by phone. The participants were left to choose the venue of the interview. In all cases, the respondents preferred to take the interview at their work station. The interviewer explicitly requested respondents to avoid interviewing in an interrogation room and to reserve a meeting room or a private office. While an interrogation room provides the privacy and tranquillity required for an in-depth interview (Ritchie *et al.*, 2013, p. 166), the original function of the space may inflict feelings of discomfort and hence negatively affect the quality of the data obtained.

To ease the interviewee down and collect contextual information, at the beginning of each interview, respondents were asked to provide details concerning their years of service and functions at the police (Ritchie *et al.*, 2013). Thereafter, the interview -which had a semi-structured design (Bryman, 2004)- was taken to a reflexive and generative level by completing a prepared topic list. Respondents were asked to provide typical stories of self-involved overt conflict with members of their focus community (including run-up and aftermath), and the ways in which they had dealt with the conflict. In addition, respondents were asked

to reflect on the nature of the relationship with (members of ) their community of focus and on the value of reconciliation as a method of conflict resolution in terms of reasons, feelings, opinions, and beliefs. The topic list covered all themes that, corresponding to the theoretical framework, were important in exploring reconciliation. The interviewer covered all themes in each interview, but the time at which a certain theme was raised was left dependent on the context of the interview and reflexivity of the respondent.

During the interviews, it soon became clear that reconciliation is an unusual concept in community police officers' language. Due to associations with emotional involvement, the concept was generally only used to emphasize the community police officers' involvement as a mediating third party in overt conflict between others, such as citizens or colleagues and citizens. This did not mean, however, that reconciliation does not occur in police-citizen interaction, but that it goes by other names instead (see 'Attempt to reconcile'). To ensure construct validity and be sure that the respondents reflected on reconciled and non-reconciled overt conflicts in which they were involved themselves, from the third interview onwards, a brief introduction of the concept as defined by the Relational Model (Aureli and De Waal, 2000) was provided in the first part of the interview. This made it easier to focus on the role and function of reconciliation and related processes. The researcher determined whether the stories concerned reconciliation (as defined by the Relational Model) or not. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that the provided definition may have orientated respondents' narrative in the interviews. This possibility should be taken into account while interpreting the results.

Each interview was recorded and transcribed verbatim afterwards. It was difficult to check for sources of error resulting from the retrospective nature of the study, such as memory failure or distortion (Kumar *et al.*, 1993). To ensure reliability as much as possible, a copy of the transcript was sent to each respondent. In three transcripts, the interviewer asked for some additional clarifications<sup>80</sup>. She received all requested clarifications from the respective respondents. The clarifications removed ambiguities from the data, but did not affect the content of what was said. All respondents were asked to read the received transcript and to agree with the content formally through a reply by email. All respondents agreed formally.

Each respondent provided at least one and at most six conflict stories. Following van de Klomp *et al.* (2014), stories in which the researcher could determine that the conflict was followed by restorative interaction at some point in time (i.e., a post overt conflict transformation from conflictive interaction into cooperative and/or friendly interaction) were assessed as having been reconciled. Stories in which restorative interaction could not be established (unilateral attempts to restore interaction, subsequent conflictive interaction), were assessed as not having been reconciled. Stories that could not be coded as either reconciled or non-reconciled, were assessed as being open ended. Numbers per category are provided hereafter, under 'Conflict'.

<sup>80</sup> Regarding (i) specification of 'we' in sentences in which it was not clear who were meant with 'we'; (ii) clarification of text that could not be transcribed well due to the quality of the sound recording; or (iii) the meaning of abbreviations used.

By telling a story to a listener, emphasizing specific details and/or roles and leaving others out, actors are able to communicate aspects of life that they interpret as meaningful (van Hulst, 2008, p. 43). With the aim of exploring community policing officers' views on reconciliation and general behavioural structures that underlie reconciliation processes, each story was analysed by means of a basic structural narrative analysis (e.g., Riessman, 2008)<sup>81</sup> and reconstructed in terms of its settings (general background and time frame), events (plotline), and entities (elements that are emphasized) (Czarniawska, 2004). Subsequently, they were analysed in terms of their similarities and differences.

In an attempt to explore the applicability of the relationship qualities (Cords and Aureli, 2000), story elements which were assessed to refer to relationship-value, -compatibility, or -security, were also coded and analysed. Following the method Stronks and Adang (2015) applied, fragments (quotations) that referred to the relationship between the community police officer and the opponent or opponents were coded in ATLAS.ti<sup>82</sup> and received a 'value', 'compatibility', 'security', or 'other' code, a collective noun code (Table 5.3) and a code indicating the tendency of the quotation as assessed by the coder (positive, negative, or neutral). If a respondents quotation referred to interaction in a certain relationship, the quotation also received a 'behaviour code' indicating the form of (inter)action that was mentioned (e.g., accepting an apology, denying an attempt to shake hands).

**Table 5.3 Iterative coding scheme**

1. Quality	2. Sub-components	3. Collective noun
Value	What either one or both parties have to offer each other	Gain
	The willingness of either one or both parties to offer their share	Preparedness
	The accessibility of either one or both parties, with regard to each other	Accessibility
Security	The consistency of either one or both parties behavioural responses	Predictability
	Perceived probability that the nature of the own/others interactions will change	Trustworthiness
Compatibility	Temperament (positive/negative) of the partners	Temperament
	History of social exchanges (positive/negative)	Tenor
	The normative social/formal conformity between both partners*	Fit

\* Except from the Fit category -which was derived with reference to prior data analysis- each category was derived from Cords and Aureli's notions on relationship qualities (2000).

81 There is also a small body of literature on police narratives. See e.g. Waddington (1999), Fletcher (1999), Van Hulst (2013).

82 Software program for the systematic processing of qualitative research data. See [www.atlasti.com](http://www.atlasti.com)



Thirdly, non-story interview data were coded and analysed. Data that referred to an assessment of the relationship between the respondent and other parties (e.g., citizens, colleagues, and police leaders) received a code specifying the actor(s) and the relationship (as described above). Data that referred to institutional factors influencing reconciliation (positive, negative, or neutral) were also coded and analysed.

In interpreting the results, it should be taken into account that the data consists of one-sided, post hoc accounts on interactions that may not reflect objective reality and should not be interpreted as such (Johnson and Sacket, 1998). Moreover, Lyman and Scott (1968, p. 53) note that accounts of professionals on their own behaviour in particular, are unreliable because humans have the natural need to communicate a good, professional, impression of themselves. Sources of error resulting from the retrospective nature of the study, such as hindsight bias through which the recollection and reconstruction of content can lead to false theoretical outcomes (Roese and Vohs, 2012), were not checked. This limits the ability to draw firm conclusions from the data.

### 5.3 Overt conflict

The 15 respondents provided 46 stories of overt conflict (i.e., aggressive interaction between the community police officer and a citizen or citizens, following a conflict of interests or goals). In 43 conflict stories, the citizens involved were neighbourhood inhabitants. In two cases, it concerned overt conflict between the respondent and a neighbourhood retailer. One case concerned overt conflict between a respondent and a community network partner. In 29 cases, the former opponents reconciled (the conflict was eliminated by a post overt conflict transformation from conflictive interaction into cooperative and/or friendly interaction, as determined by the researcher). Fourteen stories were assessed as non-reconciled (a lack of, or unilateral attempts to restore interaction and subsequent aggressive interaction, as determined by the researcher). Three stories could not be determined as having been either reconciled or non-reconciled.

Most stories concerned an overt conflict with one citizen<sup>83</sup>. The sources leading to the overt conflicts, varied widely, dependent on the context. Oftentimes (N= 39) the cases came down to conflicting views on the lawfulness, the (in)appropriateness of the behaviour displayed by either one of the opponents or by the groups the opponents belong to (e.g., behaviour of a citizens family members; behaviour of a community police officers colleague). Without reflective accounts of the citizen parties, not much can be said about

<sup>83</sup> 16 Of the 46 conflict stories, 36 cases concerned stories of overt conflict with an individual (seven of them were female). Three cases concerned overt conflict between the respondent and two citizens with a kinship (two brothers, two sisters, and a mother and a daughter). In one case, it concerned a story of overt conflict between the respondent and two neighbour couples (two of them were female). In six cases, the overt conflict emerged as a process between the respondent and one or two citizens (in one of the cases, a female was involved) but developed to a group level conflict in which one or more social subgroups in the neighbourhood—e.g. a youth gang—were involved. It is not documented whether there were females involved on group level of interaction.

the intensity of the overt conflict. Generally, the intensity appeared to be highly dependent on the context of the conflict, the actors involved, and their relationship.

#### 5.4 Consideration

In general, respondents were well aware that overt conflict with citizens is inescapable. Not only because the police's duties and mandate may demand use of force, but also because people simply do not get along at all times. R2: *'It is impossible to be friends all the time.'* On the other hand, without exception, respondents regarded themselves pivotal in building and maintaining strong relationships between the police and citizens. Thus, conflict management and professional management of self-involvement in overt conflict are seen to be the community police officers' responsibility.

**Table 5.4 Factors in considering reconciliation**

<b>Factor</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
<b>Value of Other</b>	Importance of other with respect to successful and professional employment of community policing (e.g. an opponents' influence in the community of focus or an opponents' network)
<b>Personal considerations</b>	Personal moral/professional value that a community police officer attaches to the source of conflict. (for example, a respondent mentioned that repeated aggressive threats towards her family - <i>"We'll find them and demolish them"</i> - restrained her ability to view reconciliation as an option; <i>"I'm off then"</i> )
<b>Opportunities for competition</b>	Chance that a respondent meets Opponent(s) again soon and/or frequently
<b>Predictability</b>	Chance that Opponent(s) will act aggressively due to unresolved conflict, during other contact moments
<b>Trustworthiness</b>	Chance that Opponent(s) are able to injure a community police officer or his/her colleagues physically/psychologically.

Various factors of consideration were mentioned that influence the necessity and feasibility of reconciliation (Table 5.4)<sup>84</sup>. The value of the relationship with the opponent (with respect to successful and professional employment of community policing) was mentioned most frequently as a reason to consider reconciliation. Moreover, the effort a community police officer puts in seeking contact through which options can be considered also seems connected to relationship value. Sometimes, contact is actively sought (R1: *'When the domiciliary visit of X [red. notorious resident] ended up as a cage fight, I knew I had to ring that doorbell as soon as he got out, for he'd be an even bigger pain in the ass otherwise'*). At other times, respondents simply consider their options when they run into a former opponent spontaneously (R3: *'Well, the next time I run into a person I've had a sort of confrontation with, I'll definitely try to contact him and see whether we're clear or whether we're in*

<sup>84</sup> It should be stressed here that this list is by no means considered to be exclusive nor conclusive.

*need of some sorting out*'). These considerations play a role during direct interaction after the overt conflict. As respondents explain, being face-to-face to the former opponent once again, enables them to use their '*feelers*' (ed. *voelsprietten*) and '*thermometer*' (*thermometeren*) the tension between themselves and a former opponent and the damage the overt confrontation inflicted on the relationship.

## 5.5 Attempts at reconciliation

Each of the 46 self-involved conflict stories was characterized by at least one restorative attempt by one of the former opponents. Respondents commonly describe relations that require reconciliation as situations in which there is a need to '*clear the air*', '*straighten things out*', or '*level*' the situation. Respondents mentioned a wide diversity of friendly, cooperative behaviour in describing what they assessed as attempts to restore (e.g., an outstretched hand, an email with a contact request, a cordial hello, a visit). The form and effectiveness of the restorative attempts seem to depend on the context of the overt conflict (e.g., how intense was the conflict, what is the source of the conflict), the social and physical situation of the opponent (e.g., what are the attitudes and feelings of both opponents?), and the perceived nature of the relationship (assessments concerning the value, compatibility, and security). Most respondents (N= 13) thought that most citizens hardly recognize the importance of a cooperative relationship with the police<sup>85</sup>. Because other police officers are considered to be generally unable to focus on relationship management due to their core task obligations, respondents assess themselves mostly responsible for restorative attempts. As derived from the conflict stories, community police officers appeared to undertake restorative attempt far more than citizens: in 36 of the 46 cases the community police officer undertook the initiative, in seven cases the citizen initiated. In three cases, both parties took the initiative at approximately the same time. However, since the involved citizens were not interviewed, the reliability of this finding is not certain.

## 5.6 Reconciliation

Respondents described reconciliation as a '*steering towards the future*'; a transition from a negative (at worst violent) tenor of interactions to a repaired tenor of interactions. The nature of the interactions during the transformation as well the length and impact of a reconciliation seem to be highly dependent on the context of the overt conflict, the social and physical situation of the opponents, and their relationship assessment. However, based on the reflections of the respondents, two behavioural similarities could be deduced.

<sup>85</sup> Three respondents did mention situations in which citizens sought contact to the community police officer after an overt conflict. According to the respondents, these contacts were initiated because citizens wanted to emphasize and have acknowledged that they have been wronged. Thus, satisfaction of personal needs was, according to respondents, the main motive of such initiatives. Since the main motive of an attempt to reconcile ought to be relationship repair, such initiatives were not assessed as true attempts by the researcher.

**Table 5.5 Examples of value- and compatibility signals**

Value	Compatibility
Expression of dependency /value	Refer to common interests and or goals
Expression of interest in Other's feelings/identity	Communicate in terms of we instead of you-me
Emphasize (mutual) understanding	Refer to past positive interactions
Request for cooperation	Expression of genuine (personal) compatibility with other

First, reconciliation seems motivated by a mutual assessment of relational value and displayed by cooperative interaction. According to respondents' reflections, verbal emphases of the value or compatibility (Table 5.5) seem effective signals in promoting friendly cooperative interaction. Conversely, failed reconciliations (14 out of the 46 conflict stories were assessed as non-reconciled by the researcher) were characterized by behavioural signals through which either incompatibility or a lack of assessed relationship value was communicated. Thus, a community police officer may assess reconciliation worthwhile and may initiate many friendly attempts, but as long as a citizen does not attach some value to his/her relationship with the community police officer, the chances that verbal expression or non-verbal behaviour (e.g., a smile, positive attitude, seeking eye contact, active listening, question, excuse), will be confirmed and rewarded, seem small. This is reflected in R9' story on an attempt to reconcile with two brothers:

*And I told both: I want to continue contact with you. Because . . . they're trustworthy boys-. But also because, when I cycle by, well you do not have to like me, but I think I should be able to ask you how things go. I wouldn't want you to serve me with this "I-am-going-out-to-get-you-posture" So . . .well, the younger brother was benevolent. He said "Come in", so we sat down to talk. But the older brother did not. He refused to shake my hand. He kept on seeking confrontation, whatever I tried. What can you do? He's a lost case.*

Respondents underscore that a successful reconciliation with citizen, may not be observed through friendly interaction per se. A conflict being reconciled simply means that the tension caused by overt conflict is resolved and will not influence future (inter)action. Reconciliation is, however, more than a general restoration of tolerance, since it is only obtained through direct contact. Direct contact is not necessary in restoring tolerance, which rules 'restoring tolerance' out as a method of conflict resolution. Respondents are not really interested in pinpointing the observable 'end' of a reconciliation process. More interesting to them is the possible effect of a reconciliation on the enduring and on-going relationship with that citizen specifically, and the context of community-police relationships more generally.

Secondly, reconciliation is characterized by interactions that function to overcome anxiety and relationship insecurity caused by the overt conflict. Examples of such interactions

are joking, sharing information, or making appointments, and their nature seems heavily influenced by the degree of anxiety and insecurity felt by both stakeholders<sup>86</sup>. It implies that reconciliation may not be marked by friendly, cooperative interaction alone. R14 comments: *'Things can get nasty but you've got to look through it. It helps to pinpoint the real problem and how to react to it.'* Analysis suggests that the more a conflict seems to affect personal values and norms, that is the greater the personal value of the conflict, the greater the chances that post-conflict anxiety -sensed through the arousal of negative feelings and emotions- exists. By expressing such anxiety verbally and non-verbally, opponents seem able to communicate the impact an overt confrontation has had on both the independent parties as well as their dyad. Thus, through such communication, relational boundaries are set which, as R22 comments, *'clears up matters'*.

In line with professional values, community police officers tend to assign post-conflict anxiety and insecurity (expressed as aggressive display like shouting and crying or avoidance displays like a defensive attitude or avoidance of eye contact) to exist predominantly among citizens (e.g., R6: *'For them, it's always a private matter, you know. For us, to a large part, it's just our job'*). Consequently, respondents assess that a restorative attempt is to be made by the community police officer because he/she is the professionals that should be able to keep his/her act together. In rare cases of emotional involvement by the community police officer himself/herself (in 9 out of the 46 conflict stories this was the case), citizens are seen as okay to express and appoint negative feelings. As R12 comments, this might even help in fostering a positive turn: *'Telling her what her behaviour evoked –cos she's not the only one with feelings. I am like hurt too-, definitely helped us getting to terms.'*, provided that this is expressed predominantly verbally and without physical aggression. To respondents, feeling and the expression of too much anxiety and insecurity by community police officers is regarded an obstacle to reconciliation because such *'emotional involvement'* may hinder *'professional behaviour'*. Consequently, reconciliation processes in case of personally involved post-conflict anxiety and relationship insecurity costs more in terms of effort and risk. But, as respondents indicated, such cases particularly evoked feelings of satisfaction and relationship improvement afterwards (R4: *'The more you may lose, the more you may gain'*).

## 5.7 Reconciliation in an institutional context

Above all, respondents seem to assess the nature of their relationship with citizens predominantly with regard to their functionality in the institutional context (R12: *'It doesn't matter whether I like X or not, if he seems a key-actor in my community, he's important to me'*). This context certainly has the potential to obstruct *'natural reconciliation'*. For instance, several respondents believe that the duties and mandate that characterize the police can hinder citizens as well as themselves from being as open and transparent as might be the case in everyday social relationships. Such believes may obstruct overcoming anxiety and relationship insecurity. Moreover, some respondents believe that the institu-

<sup>86</sup> In case of conflict with two familiar persons, for example, not much may be needed to overcome negative feelings and attitudes related to past incidents. When there is not much of a friendly history, this may be a daunting task.

tional context influences images of relationship incompatibility; crime fighters and offenders are assumed to be antagonistic instead of cooperative. Images of such incompatibility may hinder a focus on each other's value.

The skewed appreciation of police-citizen relationships between the respondents and both citizens and colleagues was also mentioned to be an obstacle to reconciliation. According to respondents, community police officers are held responsible for relationship maintenance because they get paid for relationship maintenance. But relationship management is as communication; both channels ought to be motivated and needed in fostering positive outcomes. (R9: '*If other parties are not accessible and willing, it is a hopeless case*'). At times, this may cause feelings of despondency and exhaustion. R6:

*And then I run, again, into this juvenile repeat offender who causes me loads of trouble, cannot carry on a normal conversation and calls me a \*\*\* behind my back. I see the problems causing his behaviour, and acknowledge the need to cooperate with other institutes in order to help the guy. . . We're [ed. Partners in the safety-chain] not unwilling. No. We're lacking money and professional cooperation and get lost in way too many daily issues occupying the agenda's . . . it's . . . what can you do?*

However, the institutional context does not seem to obstruct reconciliation only. The analysis of respondents' reflections shows that, particularly in the context of post-conflict anxiety and relationship security, their conceptions of themselves as a professional, help them to:

- a) act professionally. Through training and experience, community police officers develop their communicative skills which are reported to help them keeping professional distance to conflict-communication, and prevent them from over-involvement and aggressive escalation;
- b) prevent them from an assessment of personal attack (R12: '*It is against the uniform you know, it is not against me*'), which is reported to reduce feelings of anxiety and respective negative behaviour resulting (e.g., aggression, avoidance).

In conclusion, despite the potential social costs of, and institutional barriers to reconciliation, the respondents univocally view reconciliation as a method to maintain and strengthen contact between themselves, and those valuable in relationship maintenance. R10:

*Reconciliation is not the end, it is a beginning. It is not 'We are reconciled, the contact ends here'. No! Oftentimes, reconciliation is a starting point after which a true relationship with a citizen is established. Because after having dealt with conflict successfully, you know each other. You say 'Hi', have a reason to initiate small talk. And who knows what this relationship may bring you in the future.*

## 5.8 Conclusions

In ethology, it is clear cut: overt conflict may be worth a risk, but consequential of human interdependency, naturally, we desire to eliminate goal/action/interest incompatibility and restore interaction; we need to reconcile (Aureli and DeWaal, 2000, p. 387). Relative to other methods of conflict resolution, such as avoidance, reconciliation -referred to as friendly restorative interaction following aggressive encounters (Aureli and De Waal, 2000, p. 25)- is a method of conflict resolution that has proven consistently to be a powerful mechanism of relational repair among several species, including humans (e.g., Verbeek *et al.*, 2001; Fusijawa and Kutsukake, 2005). Reconciliation reduces the occurrence of post-conflict incompatibility, (e.g., Bonaventura *et al.*, 2009; Fraser *et al.*, 2010), and insecurity (e.g., Koski *et al.*, 2007) and has the potential to strengthen the value of relationships (Fujisawa and Kutsukake, 2005). In this study, it was explored whether and to what extend the assumptions of the relational model (Aureli and De Waal, 2000) and relationship qualities (Cords and Aureli, 2000) are reflected in post-conflict interaction between community police officers and citizens. Relying on limited and one-sided accounts of interaction, the results are certainly in need of more critical examination and further replication. Nevertheless, they provide interesting preliminary answers to the research question.

With regard to the first part of the research question, *do interpersonal reconciliations between community police officers and citizens occur, if so, how do they develop*, it may be assumed that, to Dutch community police officers, reconciliation is an important process in building, maintaining, and even enhancing relationships with those valuable to successful community policing. Since the possible benefits of reconciling and disadvantages of non-reconciling are self-evident to them, 'natural' and in accordance with their ideas on professional behaviour, they attempt to overcome stress, communicate value and compatibility, and pursue a repair with those valuable in ensuring effective and appropriate community policing. Because life goes on after conflict and after litigation. Because it is better to build cooperative relations with those who may help you reach your own goals. And despite the fact that others may not share this view. In line with the assumption of the Relational Model, the results indicate that the assessed nature of a relationship between parties influences the social process that follows after a confrontation. Notwithstanding the need for scientific elaboration, the assumed existence of value, security, and compatibility in defining this nature, suggests to be at least suitable in describing and analysing police-citizen interaction.

The second part of the research question concerned the influence of the institutional context of police-citizen relationships on reconciliation. At first sight, (the motives for and importance of) reconciliation by community police officers and citizens, as reflected upon by the respondents, does not seem to differ much from reconciliation between partners with a social bond, such as friends or married couples. In all cases, reconciliation is a social interactive process with social characteristics that requires effort and dedication from both opponents. This does not mean, however, that the institutional context is meaningless of the result of reconciliation processes. Relationship assessment, hence reconciliation, appears to be influenced by both social and institutional factors. Relative to what van Caem

*et al.* (2013, p. 256) call the 'internal paradox of police work', which requires proximity and empathy on the one hand, and a certain distance for professional maintenance, on the other hand, it would be of great interest to establish (the interplay between) these factors and their role in police–citizen interaction more thoroughly. Furthermore, the results point out that the conflicting awareness of a gap between police forces and citizens and an emphasis on core tasks that limit space for community policing (Cachet and Marks, 2009) seem to force community police officers in a rather lonely role of relationship manager. It is questionable whether community police officers are able to fulfil this task on their own; relationship management, the findings point out, requires effort and dedication of all actors involved. All research and theorizing that contributes to this appeared problem is more than welcome.

With regard to the strength and applicability of reconciliation as an alternative method of conflict resolution specifically, an (observational) investigation of all parties involved in conflict, would be an obvious step. The results of this study cannot be generalized to other contexts in which community policing is less well established, or in which the conditions for it are harsher. At the same time, it is not refuted that the same principles apply in other contexts. Neufeld-Redekop and Pare' (2010, p. 193), for example, indicate the necessity of reconciliation in cases where there has been a history of violent confrontations between police and protestors. Adang *et al.* (forthcoming in 2017) refer to the importance of maintaining good relationships for effective peacekeeping operations in a variety of non-western countries. By no means, comparative research in settings that appear to depend less on the maintenance of relationships (e.g., with police officers working in emergency help or with police forces in countries that, like the UK or The Netherlands, are not characterized by their reliance on discretionary space) would contribute to unravelling the power and limitations, catalysts of and obstacles to police–citizen reconciliation.





# Chapter 6

**Conclusions**



In this thesis, the influence on post-conflict interactions of relationships between the police and citizens was analysed using the ethologic Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000). In the previous chapters, four analyses of police-citizen conflicts were presented. Each analysis focused on the explanatory power of the Relational Model in police-citizen post-conflict interactions in general and, more specifically, the function of reconciliation. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 analysed cases of overt group conflict between the police and citizens and identified Critical Moments (CMs) in their interactions. In Chapter 5, in order to give more attention to reconciliatory behaviour in daily police-citizen interactions, a shift in focus was made towards the individual level of interaction. In that chapter, community police officers' stories and reflections on their low-profile conflicts and reconciliation with citizens were analysed. In this final chapter, first, the main conclusions of the research are drawn in Section 6.1. Then, Section 6.2 discusses the methodological limitations of this study. Section 6.3 reflects on the scientific implications of this thesis, and this is followed by suggestions for further research in Section 6.4. In Section 6.5, I conclude with recommendations on how to deal with police-citizen relationships generally. More specifically, I will provide recommendations on how the police can best deal with overt meso- and micro-level conflicts in which they become involved.

## 6.1 Conclusions

Below, conclusions with regard to the individual research questions are drawn. Building on these, an answer is then formulated to the main research question. (RQs)

**RQ1:** *To what extent is the Relational Model helpful in defining and understanding meso-level police-citizen reconciliation?*

The reconstruction and analysis of a reconciliation process following the 2008 New Year's Eve's riots between the police and Moluccan-Dutch youths in a Dutch town (Chapter 2) illustrated how the Relational Model could be helpful in understanding the interactional shift from confrontation to cooperation. The analysis showed that trust between the parties was only formed and brought to fruition when individuals from both sides of the conflict interacted on a face-to-face basis. Two moments of direct contact between party representatives were critical in fostering the shift from confrontation to cooperation. Before these moments, contact between the groups, or group representatives, was difficult and conflictive. Following these contact moments, group representatives started to cooperate. In negotiation theory, such moments are referred to as 'Critical Moments' (CMs): process shifts that alter the meaning of events and transform or redefine the relations and interactions of the actors involved (e.g., Putnam, 2004; Winslade, 2009). Cooperative contacts between certain significant party representatives increased and intensified after these moments, thereby fostering the shift from conflict to cooperation on the meso-level. The analysis showed that, by focusing on the ongoing relationship between the police and the citizens involved in the overt conflict, the Relational Model is sensitive to the influence of both micro- as well as meso-level factors on police-citizen relationships.

**RQ2:** *To what extent and how are interactions in the developing reconciliation process after overt police-citizen group conflicts, affected by relationship assessments by those involved?*

The analysis of the interactions in the run-up to, during and after five CMs in three high-profile police-citizen overt group conflicts (Chapter 3) suggested that the development of these CMs was influenced by the parties' perceptions of the value, security and compatibility of the relationship. Three different stages of interaction were identified during the CMs analysed: tension, transformation and dialogue. Views on relationship value and compatibility were exchanged both verbally and non-verbally during the transformation and dialogue stages. During CMs, assessments of the relationship's value contributed to an atmosphere in which those present were at least open to change and willing to adopt a vulnerable stance. Value signals (see Table 3.7) were important in fostering the actual transformation to cooperative behaviour. Assessments of group compatibility appeared not only to be inferred from the temperaments of the party representatives, or their shared history of interaction (as conceptualised by Cords and Aureli, 2000), but also through means of social identification (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979)<sup>87</sup>. Compatibility signals were important, in addition to value signals, in fostering the actual transformation to cooperative behaviour.

The results of this research show that, in contrast to value and compatibility, direct appeals to relationship security, such as statements in which the trustworthiness or predictability of the other or oneself is discussed, were rare during the CMs. However, in the run-up to and during the CMs, the feelings of insecurity had to be overcome before the transformation to cooperation could be made. The venting of emotions, if present, appeared particularly important in fostering this transformation. Moreover, if the attendees were too insecure to initiate contact, reconciliation failed. Also, and in line with Cords and Aureli's (2000) predictions, there seemed to be a positive relationship between perceived relationship-value, -compatibility and -security. When value signals and compatibility signals were sent and endorsed, the feelings of insecurity were further reduced, thus accelerating the development of dialogue. Reconciliation only appears to be an effective method of conflict resolution when representatives of both opposing parties assign value to the relationship between them.

**RQ3:** *What is the explanatory power of the Relational Model in analysing and explaining police-citizen interactions after an overt group conflict?*

The analysis of five different high profile cases of police-citizen overt group conflicts in Chapter 4 corroborates the Relational Model's proposition that direct interaction between members of opposing parties is needed for reconciliation to take place. In the cases where a CM could be determined, cooperative interaction between at least two representatives of the opposing parties occurred. Moreover, respondents who attended the CMs indicated that their relationships with representatives of the other party were repaired after the CM.

The importance of relationship value (after Cords & Aureli, 2000) was mostly revealed in terms of what its absence led to in times of conflict. When prominent members of either

<sup>87</sup> In chapter 3, 4 and 5, the social identification aspect was also referred to as 'the normative social/formal conformity between both partners' or 'fit'.

or both the opposing groups or subgroups did not assess a relationship to be of some value, i.e. if there was asymmetry in relationship assessments and/or they were unwilling to communicate a relationship value in interactions, between-group reconciliation appeared problematic, if not impossible.

In terms of relationship security, the analysis suggested possible support for Cords and Aureli's (2000) claim that relationship security is of secondary importance, behind relationship value. Security only appears to be important in relationships that are assessed as valuable. The analysis of the post-conflict interactions indicated a direct effect of overt confrontations on actors' assessment of relationship security. The feelings of relationship insecurity appeared particularly strong when actors first met their opponents after an overt conflict. Respondents who were present at CMs indicated that they felt more relaxed afterwards, and that the CM meeting made them feel more secure about the other party in general and particularly about the good intentions of those party members attending the CM.

It seems that relationship compatibility is inferred from a shared history, the temperament of the partners (as conceptualised by Cords and Aureli, 2000), as well as the social identification between both parties. In addition, and contrary to the subsidiary role that Cords and Aureli (2000) assign to compatibility, in this thesis, compatibility was observed as playing a powerful role in post-conflict relationship assessment and behaviour.

**RQ4:** *Is the Relational Model helpful in defining and understanding micro-level police-citizen reconciliation?*

Dutch community police officers view reconciliatory processes as important in building, maintaining and enhancing relationships with those others who are valuable to successful community policing. The analysis of community police officers' stories and reflections on their own involvement in conflict and reconciliation with citizens (Chapter 5) showed that, to community police officers, the potential benefits of reconciliation in cases of overt conflict and the possible disadvantages of not reconciling are self-evident. Because life goes on after a conflict and legal proceedings, and in accordance with their ideas on professional behaviour, community police officers attempt to overcome tensions, to communicate value and compatibility and to repair their relationships with those citizens who are seen as valuable in achieving effective and appropriate community policing. In addition, despite the fact that others might not share this view, they believe it is better to build cooperative relationships with those who can help you achieve your goals. The respondents' motives for seeking reconciliation with citizens did not seem to differ that much from those of actors involved in private relationships (e.g., married couples) (Schneewind & Gerhard, 2002). Reconciliation is a social process in which effort and dedication from both parties are required. However, this does not mean that the institutional context is irrelevant to the resulting reconciliation process. The institutional context can serve as an obstacle to or as a catalyst for reconciliation. For instance, several respondents believed that the duties and mandate that characterize the police can hinder citizens as well as themselves from being as open and transparent as might be the case in everyday social relationships. On the

other hand, the analysis of respondents' reflections shows, for instance, that respondents' conceptions of themselves as a professional, help them in keeping a professional distance to conflict-communication, and prevented them from over-involvement and aggressive escalation. As such, relationship assessment, and hence reconciliation, appears to be influenced by both social and institutional factors.

**Main question:** *To what extent can the Relational Model explain the interrelationship between the social (micro- to meso-level) dimension of police-citizen interactions and the behaviour of the police and citizens following an overt conflict?*

In the analysis of conflict interactions, the Relational Model centres on the social relationship rather than the conflict or the individual opponents. Conflict and the management thereof are seen as crucial social processes that serve to maintain group living and that can be used to explain interactions. The model assumes that reconciliation and cooperative post-conflict interactions, that serve to restore the damage inflicted on a social relationship by an overt conflict, are crucial in maintaining cooperation and group living.

In applying the Relational Model, this study explored the analytical generalisability of certain qualities of a relationship (after Cords & Aureli, 2000) to the study of policing. The conclusion drawn is that relationship value, compatibility and security have at least descriptive significance in the relationships between police officers and citizens. Although respondents were not specifically asked to assess the value, security and compatibility of the relationships on which they reflected during data collection, it was possible to attribute almost all of the respondents' relationship quotations to a specific quality. Given the exploratory design of the study, it is not possible to say to what extent the Relational Model applies. However, it was evident that the theoretical principles of the Relational Model do have explanatory potential when analysing overt police-citizen conflicts. In concentrating on the value, security and compatibility of the social relationship involved, rather than details of the overt conflict, the Relational Model is able to identify processes of moving on and factors that influence such processes. In line with the Relational Model, *relationship value* was found to be the prominent quality of relationships. When prominent members of either or both the opposing groups or subgroups did not assess and expressed a relationship to be of some value reconciliation appeared problematic, if not impossible. *Relationship security* appears to be of secondary importance, behind relationship value. Security is only important in relationships that are assessed as valuable. It seems that *relationship compatibility* is inferred from a shared history, the temperament of the partners (as conceptualised by Cords and Aureli, 2000), as well as the social identification between both parties. In addition, compatibility was observed as playing a powerful role in post-conflict relationship assessment and behaviour. In applying the Relational Model, this study has highlighted the importance of reconciliation as an effective strategy for maintaining police-citizen relationships that are assessed by both parties as valuable but threatened by overt conflict.

## 6.2 Methodological discussion

Data were gathered by means of in-depth interviewing, document analysis and storytelling analysis. In line with the exploratory nature of this study, this methodology allowed a detailed holistic view of the cases analysed to be gained (Patton, 1987). In line with ethological studies, an empirical perspective was adopted. The focus was thus on unravelling interactions: the first interactions between opposing parties after an overt conflict were analysed to define and explain the occurrence of police-citizen reconciliation. In addition, the analysis of respondents' reflections on the relationships involved enabled an exploration of whether the concepts of relationship value, compatibility and security could be used as possible indicators of the nature of police-citizen relationships.

Several measures were taken to improve the quality of the data that were analysed. Data concerning the sequence of group interactions in all group conflicts were checked through media scans and the analysis of relevant documents. In all the qualitative analyses, discrepancies between respondents' perceptions of relevant intergroup relations and interactions were looked for but none were found. In order to ensure the content validity of respondents' statements during the interviews, respondents were encouraged to provide examples, thereby forcing them to validate their own statements (Ritchie & Lewis, 2013). After the interviews, the respondents' statements were also member-checked by the interviewees: each respondent received a transcript and formally agreed that the content was accurate<sup>88</sup>. In Subsections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, the limitations as well as the added-value of the qualitative, exploratory methodology chosen are discussed.

### 6.2.1 Reliability, objectivity

The design of this study had several limitations that relate to the reliability and objectivity of the data. Human perceptions on interactions and relationships are coloured through personal characteristics such as attitudes, personality, motives, interests and expectations (Robbins & Judge, 2015: 110). Although checks were performed on interactions and the content validity of respondents' stories in this study, these have not and could not have prevented subjectivity in the data. Compared to the observational approaches common to ethological research and the child psychology studies in which the principles of the Relational Model are tested (also referred to as studies on *natural conflict resolution*), the interview method is relatively unreliable in pursuing an empirical perspective: various statements concerning personal as well as (inter- and intra-)group interactions could not be validated using an alternative resource. In this respect, the analysis of community police officers' accounts of low-profile conflicts with citizens relative to research question (RQ) 4 (Chapter 5) was particularly one-sided. The statements and stories of the Neighbourhood Police Officers concerning their conflicts with citizens were not checked with any of the citizens involved.

<sup>88</sup> In 5 cases relative to RQ3 and 3 cases relative to RQ4, the interviewer(s) asked and received additional clarification. The clarifications removed ambiguities from the data but did not affect the content of what was said.

Since all the statements on the nature of relationships were also subjective, and because an objective measure of the nature of relationships (in terms of value, compatibility and security) was lacking, it is impossible to check the reliability of statements related to the quality of relationships. The accounts of professionals related to their own behaviour are, in particular, not seen as fully credible. The respondents gave permission to conduct an interview. In a context of informed consent professionals have the natural desire to communicate a good, professional impression of themselves (Lyman & Scott, 1968). As such, the data may not reflect objective reality and should not be interpreted as such (Johnson & Sacket, 1998).

Moreover, the methodology did not allow any control over the multitude of variables involved: post-conflict interactions are undeniably also influenced by the context of conflicts (e.g., their time and place) and the social/physical situation of opponents (such as their attitudes and feelings). The influence of such variables could not be objectively determined, nor controlled for. The fact that all the interviews were retrospective<sup>89</sup> adds further concerns in terms of objectivity<sup>90</sup>. Given the retrospective character of the study, the data on relationships could not be checked for sources of possible error such as memory failure (Kumar et al., 1993). Neither could the data be checked for distortions related to the fact that respondents had plenty of time to retrospectively re-evaluate their reflections and attitudes (Babbie, 2012: 324), potentially leading to confirmation bias (Hart et al., 2009) or hindsight bias (Guilbault et al., 2004). In all the cases and accounts included in this study, emotions, feelings and attitudes about the overt conflict may have influenced respondents' retrospective assessments of the nature of the relationship both before the overt conflict and after reconciliation. This limits the reliability and objectivity of the data that were obtained. These limitations are acknowledged and addressed in the relevant chapters.

From a qualitative perspective on knowledge and meaning, using the Relational Model in a police-citizen context by analysing retrospective interview data is viewed as a methodology that, although limited in terms of generalisability, is rich in terms of in-depth exploration (Yin, 2003: 10–11) because it allows for detailed analysis of police-citizen post-conflict interaction and exploration of the analytical generalisability of the Relational Model. In a qualitative research perspective, explanations of behaviour and of the nature of relationships are seen as being derived at the level of *'meaning'* rather than of *'cause'* (Lewis & Ritchie, 2012: 4). Rather than in an absolute sense, independent reality is acknowledged to be measurable only in a consensual way. As such, the emphasis is on credibility and the social construction of *'truth'*, rather than on reliability, objectivity and validity (Shapin, 1999). In a qualitative analysis, the fact that respondents from opposing camps, in all the cases studied, largely defined and evaluated the dominant relationships and interactions in a similar way is interpreted as an acceptable indicator of a meaningful interaction – which is crucial in the construction of social reality (Lewis & Ritchie, 2012). From a qualitative perspective, the conflict stories and reflections of the neighbourhood police officers that

89 This applies in particular to the “Oranjefeesten” case in which the process of data collection started approximately four and a half years after the initial incident and to some of the conflict stories offered by the neighbourhood police officers.

90 Especially compared to the observational and experimental data that are acquired in the vast majority of descriptive and explanatory research on the Relational Model and relationship qualities.



were interviewed relative to research question four (chapter 5), may be interpreted as meaningful constructions of ‘truth’. Moreover, from a qualitative perspective, the fact that the researcher was able to assign a quality to almost all of the respondents’ relationship quotations, without asking the respondents directly, can be interpreted as a modest signal that the socially constructed reality of human relationships can at least be described and assessed in terms of value, compatibility and security. As such, the preliminary conclusions drawn in this thesis should not be seen as an attempt to statistically prove or verify the Relational Model. This ‘failure’ does not conflict with the aim of this thesis, which was to *explore to what extent police-citizen interactions after an overt conflict depend on the nature of the relationship between the police and citizens*.

The qualitative perspective adopted was particularly relevant when exploring the value, compatibility and security of relationships. At this exploratory stage, using the rather fixed behavioural indicators (value, compatibility and security) that are applied in ethological research would have generated little in-depth knowledge on police-citizen conflict interactions and relationships. Given that the respondents were given the freedom to describe relationships and post-conflict interactions in their own terms, they were able to provide detailed data on what they considered ‘true’ - as a representation of a socially constructed reality (Lewis & Ritchie, 2012: 14). If respondents had not been given that freedom, the findings would have missed the social identification aspects that influence interaction in relationships.

### 6.2.2 Validity

From a qualitative perspective, it is very important to address the quantity and credibility of respondents because of the impact on the validity of the research. For this thesis, a total of 78 interviews with 77 respondents were conducted. The respondents in the cases (relative to RQs 1,2, and 3) were selected using the key-informant methodology, a technique that is used when one wants to gain high-quality data over a short period of time (Marshall, 1996). Although the knowledge of well-chosen key-informants about the social climate in an area of interest is superior to the knowledge of the average inhabitant of that area (Pauwels & Hardyns, 2009), the limited number of respondents should not be overlooked when interpreting the outcomes of this thesis. This is especially so in the case studies analysed in seeking answers to the first three research questions (discussed sequentially in Chapters 2 to 4). In preparing for these analyses, a total of six, presumed key, actors<sup>91</sup> declined or did not respond to the researchers’ interview requests. Although there are no discrepancies in the respondents’ perceptions of the relevant intergroup relations and interactions, the failure to have the views of six potentially important respondents affects the credibility of the sample, hence, influences the generalisability of the conclusions. This is especially so in “the stabbing incident” case, where two identified key informants from the citizen’s side, refused to participate claiming general disinterest or lack of time. This limitation should be taken into account when acting on the results of the study.

<sup>91</sup> Two of these were in the case study related to RQ1 (Chapter 2) and four in the case studies related to the RQ3 (Chapter 4).

### 6.3 Discussion

Given the interdisciplinary nature of this research, the results allude to many issues and themes worthy of further discussion in the context of a broader scientific debate. The discussion below is limited to those issues that particularly relate to research and theorising on natural conflict resolution, current policing and/or public administration. Subsection 6.3.1 discusses the importance of the findings with regard to qualities of the relationship in the context of research and theory-building on natural conflict resolution. Following this, Subsection 6.3.2 discusses the role of social identification in conflict interaction. Section 6.3.3 reflects and elaborates on the findings in relation to current thinking on public-private relationships.

#### 6.3.1 *Reconciliation and relationship qualities*

Ethologists generally define and view reconciliation as a process that ought to take place seconds or minutes after an overt confrontation (e.g., Aureli & De Waal, 2000). However, human adults are able to reflect on their own and others' behaviours, and have the ability to express and share these attitudes and feelings regardless of space and time. Therefore, in this thesis, an approach was adopted in which reconciliation was not strictly defined or constrained in terms of space and time. In line with this premise, the results show that the reconciliation processes identified in the analyses of this study, especially those that took place on the meso-level, are indeed long-term processes (see also Neufeld-Redekop & Paré, 2010). The results also show that this human ability to remain involved in lengthy reconciliation processes, does not conflict with the proposition that reconciliation has a function in the maintenance of relationships. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that space and time do *not* influence the occurrence, likelihood and effect of human reconciliation processes. This is, for example, discussed in the context of conflict resolution and 'Ripeness Theory' (Zartman, 2000, 2006).

In the social sciences, it is unusual for a researcher to focus on the concept of a *social relationship* as an independent phenomenon that helps in understanding and explaining any kind of social behaviour. Here, the definition of a social relationship appears to depend solely on the social phenomenon that a researcher is interested in: if *power-distance* is the subject of interest, one only looks for indicators of power-distance in a relationship; if *legitimacy* is the subject of interest, one observes indicators of assumed legitimacy, and so on. This thesis takes a different approach in focussing on the social dimension in relationships while defining and understanding conflict interactions in a police-citizen context. In so doing, the relationship qualities (value, compatibility and security) proposed by Cords and Aureli (2000) were used. The research subjects in this study were encouraged to share their reflections on their earlier thoughts and attitudes. While this led to a number of limitations in terms of reliability and objectivity (see Section 6.2), it did allow the relationship qualities to be explored as descriptive concepts. This exploration has provided valuable insights.

First, *relationship value*. In the Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000), the *value* of a relationship is assumed the primary quality. Relationship value refers to what the police and citizens (or, in case of meso-level relationships, representatives thereof) have to offer each other, how willing they are to offer it and the extent to which they are accessible to one another. With regard to value, this thesis appears to support the view that value is the primary quality of a relationship (e.g., Koski et al., 2007; Bonaventura et al., 2009; Fraser & Bugnyar, 2010). This is indicated in terms of the negative consequences that are apparent when such assessed value is lacking from a relationship. If any party involved in overt conflict fails to assess their relationship as valuable, or are unwilling to communicate this value in interactions, reconciliation seems problematic, if not impossible. In such a situation, conflict management is likely to involve passive-aggressive methods such as avoidance, coercion/submission or continued aggression and overt conflict: in other words, the initial conflict is not mitigated. Second, the analyses also indicated, in line with the principles of the Relational Model, that when both parties involved in a conflict assess the relationship as having value and manage to convey this in interactions, overt conflict and the consequential assessments of relationship insecurity (i.e., post-conflict anxiousness) are not necessarily detrimental to the relationship. In such situations, conflict management is likely to involve conflict resolution methods such as reconciliation.

The third assertion on relationship value that is supported in this thesis is the presumed influence of asymmetry in relationship assessment. In studies on natural conflict resolution, asymmetry is considered a factor (e.g., Cords & Aureli, 2000: 181; Kutsukake, 2009; Bonaventura et al., 2010: 736) but it is difficult to prove and validate the role of asymmetry since non-human animals can only be observed and are not able to share their reflections on thoughts, attitudes and feelings. This thesis supports the assumed occurrence of value asymmetry, and the influence thereof on conflict interaction. When one of the parties (or important representatives thereof) fails to assess a relationship as valuable, or is unwilling to communicate a perceived value in the interaction, post-conflict interactions appear more likely to result in passive-aggressive/aggressive methods of conflict management rather than of conflict resolution<sup>92</sup>. The results suggest that the accessibility component of a relationship's value is of critical importance here. When a party does not assess the "other" as valuable, they are unlikely to make themselves accessible for interaction and will ignore the "other". Given that relationship assessment is subjective by definition, it seems reasonable to assume that this is also the case for assessments of security and compatibility.

In this thesis, the social significance of certain in-group members in fostering group reconciliation is considered an aspect of relationship-value. The results of this thesis research indicate that certain group members appear more valuable than others in fostering group reconciliation because their contact with representatives of the other party appears to positively influence others' assessments of the group relationship (and hence interactions). In research on natural conflict resolution, such social significance is referred to as status or dominance (e.g. Butovskaya et al., 1996). This thesis suggests that the fact that humans are able to categorise themselves and others in a variety of reference groups (e.g.

<sup>92</sup> As seen in the case study of a football riot. Also reflected in the accounts of the community police officers on value-asymmetry and the assessed passive-aggressive/aggressive consequences.

Tajfel & Turner, 1987) might have an effect on the assessed value of police-citizen relationships on both institutional and personal levels. A citizen, for instance, may assess a police officer's accessibility or hierarchical position to be of greater importance than the fact that the officer is a good listener. This perhaps reflects that the latter is probably also of greater importance in friendships. Overall, and in accordance with research on natural conflict resolution (Cords & Aureli, 2000), this study indicates that 'relationship-value' can be defined as a quality that refers to the deeper, stable character of a relationship. That is, assessments of the value of a relationship define the 'need' to reconcile.

With regard to *relationship security*, first, this thesis highlights that there is a difference between security as it is defined institutionally and security as it is defined socially (following the principles of the Relational Model). In centring the social dimension of the relationship, security is defined as a quality of relationships that refers to the predictability of interactions between parties as well as to the perceived probability that the nature of these interactions will change in terms of their aggressiveness or friendliness. This thesis indicated that relationship security is a quality whose assessment is more influenced by the interactional dynamics in a relationship. In research on natural conflict resolution, restoring and emphasising relationship security is of crucial importance in times of conflict, but only in relationships that are regarded as valuable (e.g., Fraser & Bugnyar, 2010; Rebbecchini et al., 2011). Fitting this assumption, the analyses in this thesis indicate that confrontations have a direct impact on the assessment of relationship security: confrontations cause negative emotional arousal, fear, tension and distrust. Mitigating the damage caused in terms of security was critical in the first contacts after an overt confrontation. During these critical situations, interactions that would not have been critical in non-conflict situations (e.g., shaking hands, looking the other in the eye, visiting another's property) carried more meaning and were considered, expressed and observed more intensely. This resembles the ideas advanced by negotiation theorists, who describe the uneasy feeling that actors may experience before or during negotiations as insecurity or anxiety (e.g., Wheeler, 2004).

The occurrence of post-conflict stress and anxiety is supported by several conflict studies that have demonstrated that people who are embroiled in a conflict have a tendency not to show that they have an interest in resolution or a compromise, because there is then a chance that this will be interpreted as a sign of weakness, possibly leading to loss of face and the perception that one's position vis-à-vis the other is weaker (Pruitt & Kim, 2003). Given this situation, a degree of information disclosure by the authority representatives in our cases appeared particularly fruitful in giving citizen respondents the feeling that they were trusted and appreciated. However, only when the relationship was assessed as of value by representatives of both parties, reparation and the mitigation of fear/tension/distrust, became important and that effort was consequently applied, thereby boosting the chances of success. This finding is in line with the proposition of Cords and Aureli (2000) that relationship security is only important in relationships that are valuable.

The finding that relationship security is apparently of secondary importance contrasts with studies in the fields of organisational theory (e.g., Hosmer, 1995), social psychology (Dovidio et al., 2008), peace studies (e.g., Rusbult et al., 2005) and public administration (e.g.,

Braithwaite & Levi, 2003) where relationship security is often viewed as the crucial factor in predicting conflict interactions. From an institutional perspective, security is not defined as socially constructed quality, but as a resource that the police are obliged to provide and that citizens are entitled to receive. In research and theory building on policing, therefore, both relationship security and trust in the police are regularly stressed as key factors for durable and legitimate police action (e.g., Goldsmith, 2005; Halpern, 2005). In these studies, considerable attention is given to building, maintaining and benefitting from trust or security in fostering cooperation and managing relationships: distrust signals that the police are not able to fulfil their tasks conform the institutional design. Conversely, a lack of trust or security in a relationship is often seen as the main cause of aggression, conflict and difficult relationships.

Researchers that focus on the social dimension of the police-citizen relationships and adopt the Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) would probably contest the claim or assumption that a lack of trust is the main cause of conflict and tension. To Cords and Aureli (2000), and other ethologists, trustworthiness is only important in relationships that are assessed as valuable from the start. In the Relational Model, distrust more refers to an effect instead of to a cause. From a relational perspective, most police-citizen relationships are rather insecure by definition since, in many police-citizen encounters, representatives of both parties do not know each other, and this makes it hard to predict the other's behaviour and propensity to engage in violent behaviour. The absence of assessed trust then, could be either determined as an indication that the two parties are not familiar with each other (resulting in insecurity), an indication of a recent overt conflict (directly resulting in a decrease in assessed relationship security) or an indication of a 'dynamic surface consequence' (i.e. of damage to assessments of the deeper, stable layer of the relationship: its value). Therefore, viewing a 'conflictive relationship' from a natural perspective on conflict resolution, would imply a focus on the deeper value-related causes of distrust or insecurity: which unresolved overt conflict and what behaviour could have led to distrust and insecurity? Conversely, fostering cooperation or relationship management will only effectuate if the root behaviours that caused the distrust/insecurity are addressed by the parties involved. In line with this hypothesis, the analyses in this study indicate that behavioural expressions in which the importance of the deeper, stable character of the relationship (i.e., its value or compatibility) is emphasised, are particularly effective in fostering a shift towards cooperation. A sense of trust is built by the behavioural exchange of value signals and/or symbols.

If relationship security is indeed a quality that is important only in relationships that are assessed as valuable, any assertions that distrust or insecurity are the root cause of overt conflict or that the building of trust is the main factor in conflict resolution should be submitted to critical re-examination. Elaborated observational research should be able to reveal whether the assumption that relationship value -not security- underlies most overt conflict, can be more convincingly 'proven' and also whether behaviours in which the value of the relationship is stressed are relevant in the context of relationship building and maintenance more generally. The prospects appear to be positive. In cultural anthropology, a focus on behaviour rather than on assessments of one's own and others' feelings (e.g., Fry,

2013) is already emphasised. Many programmes and methodologies that claim to be able to foster peace-making and/or the strengthening of relationships in private, public and business contexts already stress the crucial importance of addressing the value of the relationship in terms of, for instance, respect, needs, importance, worthiness, interest, closeness or affection (e.g., Van de Vliert et al., 1999; Engel & Korf, 2005; Nadler & Schnabel, 2008; Pratto & Glasford, 2008), rather than addressing the conflict *per se*.

This thesis also suggests that the expression of stress and negative emotions, accompanied by a lack of physical aggression, following a conflict reinforce notions of *relationship compatibility*: the police do have a human face, which makes it easier to identify with them. Similarly, the exchange of information and expressions of unity by the parties, thereby signalling compatibility, seem to contribute to a secure atmosphere in post-conflict interaction. In ethology, behavioural indicators of compatibility are mainly explored in order to explain/predict the tenor of interactions during encounters (e.g., Preuschoft et al., 2002) and appear particularly prone to ambiguous interpretation<sup>93</sup>. Unlike value and security, compatibility is assumed to be a quality that is, in an absolute sense, similar for both parties because it relates directly to the shared social history of the parties (Cords & Aureli, 2000). In contrast to that assumption, this study suggests that human assessments of compatibility are not likely to be symmetrical. Humans make sense of an interaction through reflection and, in reflecting, context, feelings and attitudes influence the interpretation of a given situation and relationship. This was found to be the case not only when assessing the original sub-components of compatibility as defined by Cords and Aureli (2000) to respondents' relationship quotations, but also for the added component that refers to social identification<sup>94</sup>.

Also contrasting to research on natural conflict resolution, the analyses in this study indicate that compatibility is a more prominent quality in human assessments of social relationships. The respondents in the cases reflected on relationships and interactions mostly in terms of compatibility<sup>95</sup>. They reflected not only in terms of the temperament of the other and the tenor of past interactions (the indicators adopted by Cords and Aureli, 2000) but also in terms of the normative social/formal conformity between the two partners that is motivated through processes of social identification. The relatively high number of compatibility-related quotation in our study can be linked to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979): humans tend to describe themselves in terms of similarities and differences relative to others and to other parties. In human research that draws on Social Identity Theory and categorisation theory, this process is commonly described as in-group out-group thinking (e.g., Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 24) or in-group out-group perceptions (e.g., Brewer & Hewstone, 2004).

Relative to the role of relationship compatibility in post-conflict interaction and in line with the proposition of Aureli and De Waal (2000) and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the analyses indicate that interactions that are assessed as primarily discordant may

93 The existence of compatibility has been tested and validated (e.g., Fraser & Bugnyar, 2010) but only alongside value and security.

94 In chapter 3, 4 and 5, the social identification aspect was also referred to as '*the normative social/formal conformity between both partners*' or '*fit*'.

95 819 compatibility quotations, compared to 289 security quotations and 613 value quotations.

harm the tenor of interaction and the long-term quality of the relationship. The analyses also indicate that interactions in which a positive light is shed on the shared history or temperament of the partners or in which identification between (members of) both parties is encouraged, appear to foster a shift from overt conflict to cooperation between the parties. The positive effect of such behaviour in assuaging, preventing or reducing escalation is emphasised in studies on conflict management (e.g., Pruitt & Kim, 2003; Dovidio et al., 2008).

### 6.3.2 *The importance of social identification in (group) interactions*

The analyses related to research questions 2, 3, and 4 all indicated the importance of social identification in (group) interactions in the context of a police-citizen conflict. As a cognitive solution to dealing with the enormous complexity of the world, humans extract meaning from their perceptions and develop heuristics and other simplifying principles to ease thinking about important elements in our environment (Dovidio et al., 2008). Humans are group living animals. Group membership therefore, provides us with a sense of social belonging. In order to increase self-images of social belonging, humans tend to enhance the status of the group to which they belong (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identification, that is the cognitive process of social categorising oneself and others into ingroups and outgroups, is generally assumed to be an essential and uniquely human process for perception and cognition and hence, human functioning and behaviour (Dovidio et al., 2008). Social Identity Theory (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979) elaborates on this assumption by presupposing that the interaction between people is strongly influenced by the extent to which individuals see themselves as members of their group, how they characterise their *ingroup* and how they link this to the character of, and the relationship with, (members of) other *outgroups*. The tendency to categorise yourself and others as part of in- and out-groups, i.e. social identification, is a normal process in making sense of the world (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). An individuals' assessed level of group membership can vary widely and is highly dependent on the degree of social identification with that group (Burke & Stets, 2009). This study supports the claim that social identification is important in understanding and explaining post-conflict interaction. That is, when reflecting on relationships with (members of) another party, respondents clearly included an identification aspect: they described interactions between themselves and others and relationships in terms of similarities and differences to the other (group).

The Relational Model assumes that, in conflict situations, the opposing partners can be identified with relative ease (Aureli & De Waal, 2000). The human groups in this study – police officers and citizens – were, however, hard to define and observe. It seemed as if what a group is, depends largely on how the observer and the observed define a group in terms of *what it is* and *what it is not*. Given this situation, when applying the Relational Model in a human context, social identification should be taken into account. As a consequence, the concepts of a relationship's value, security and compatibility, as defined in line with the Relational Model by Cords and Aureli (2000), were found to be insufficient when analysing and explaining human interaction in a conflict situation. Our research showed that compatibility had an additional component that referred to such processes of social identification.

Another area where the Relational Model was found lacking again relates to social identification and concerns the human ability to identify oneself as a member of *multiple* social groups at the same time (Tajfel, 1978). Ethological research based on the relational model views reconciliation as an interpersonal or triadic in-group process (Verbeek, 2013) that is vital to social animals that have enduring relationships in order to maintain in-group living and group survival (Aureli & De Waal, 2000). Humans apply flexible cognitive schemes to group living (Burke & Stets, 2009) and, because of their ability to cognitively define themselves and others as members of social in- and out-groups, assign themselves to, and are part of, multiple, kin-related groups as well as socially and institutionally constructed groups that may change. In acknowledging this, during the research and analysis phases, detailed attention was paid to clarifying respondents' in- and out-group definitions. The human ability to identify with and distinguish oneself from others includes flexibility that allows us to vary our in- and out-group perspectives. This ability appeared to enable members of the human groups analysed in our research to reconcile themselves with members of other parties that were before and/or during the overt conflict considered part of an out-group. While social identification can have a negative effect in overt conflict with those who are identified as *other*, it can, at the same time, allow for cooperative interaction, closeness and the growth of valuable relationships with those recognised as *us*. In relation to the Relational Model, it could be proposed that, contrary to many if not all social-group-living species, reconciliation among humans is not only vital for the maintenance of in-group living, but also for between-group living.

In policing studies on public unrest and crowd behaviour, the importance of addressing the police-citizen relationship and processes of social identification when considering the breeding ground for public unrest has been acknowledged (e.g., Adang et al., 2010; Van der Torre, 2010; Rusbridger et al., 2011). Social identification can be an important factor in the escalation of violence. At the same time, and in line with research on policing crowds (e.g., Adang, 2005; Stott, 2007), this thesis indicates that addressing social identification can also be successful in fostering processes of cooperation following an overt conflict. Research and theory building based on the Elaborated Social Identity Model and related to public order policing and the prevention of crowd violence (e.g., Reicher et al., 2007; Stott, 2009) suggests that:

*“While some groups within the crowd may intend to act in ways that the police cannot permit, and members of these groups may be prepared to confront the police in order to achieve their aims, the majority of participants generally will identify with groups that have entirely legal aims and intentions. By facilitating these, the police will not only avoid violence from these participants, they will also gain their cooperation in dealing with the minority of others.” (Reicher et al., 2007: 409)*

In recognising the importance of social identification, this thesis suggest that a strong emphasis placed on the community police officer as the one responsible for networking and enhancing police-citizen relationships (e.g., Stichting Maatschappij en Veiligheid Politie,



2015) is a questionable approach. The results suggest that solely connecting relationship management to community policing contexts is problematic. Due to social identification, police-citizen interactions that occur in specific contexts, such as emergency help or criminal investigations, will cement notions of the other as representative of a larger 'group'. As such, strong in-group images (e.g., the police are my best friend) as well as out-group images (e.g., the police are racists) may develop. On a meso-level thus, the ways in which the police position themselves towards the public and the media affects the attitudes that citizens have about the identity and behaviour of the police as a group. Despite many police-citizen encounters being more about peace keeping than law enforcing, it is nevertheless important to maintain and communicate a relational perspective in all policing contexts. As such, this thesis openly challenges policing models that put only the community police officer central in reconciliation and relationship management. A focus on the police-citizen relationship and cooperation appears unlikely to succeed if the police do not address the relationship and social identification in a broad range of contact contexts with non-criminal citizens (e.g., public order policing, victim investigations, emergency help and public representation in media). If it are only community police officers who address the relationship and social identification in a positive way, the chances are that this will be outweighed by situations in which colleagues in other contexts communicate otherwise.

The Relational Model aims to explain interpersonal micro-level interactions. The cases and stories analysed in this thesis indicate that interpersonal reconciliatory interactions between party representatives lead to the relationship being assessed as repaired or strengthened with enhanced cooperation. On a micro-level of analysis, this thesis thus affirms the basic principles of the Relational Model. Interpersonal reconciliation between group representatives does not, however, seem to ensure meso-level reconciliation. Within the groups analysed, the influence of certain members on group interaction varied depending on the extent to which they appeared to be representative of, and meaningful to, 'the group' by other group members (e.g., Cremer & Tyler, 2005). As a result, specific inter-group dyads or group members appeared more significant in the assessment of in- and out-groups, and had a greater influence on the group relationship/interaction. Here again, this thesis suggests the importance of social identification in police-citizen contact (see also Tajfel, 1987). Through social identification, reconciliatory interactions between significant group representatives could be interpreted as amounting to group reconciliation, with inter-group cooperation as a positive result. Conversely, reconciliatory interactions between individuals who were not seen as a significant representative of the group, were not seen as amounting to group reconciliation, with overt conflict, avoidance or neglect as potential negative consequences. The analyses undertaken suggest that the concept of '*significance of group membership*' could be, but was not necessarily, linked to formal authority. That reconciliatory actions or statements by a mayor or chief constable would be assessed as significant, in terms of group membership and interactions, seemed as likely as the possibility that actions or statements by a neighbourhood police officer or citizen would be assessed as significant. As an example, in the Tiel case (Chapter 2), it was a single police officer and an informal leader of the Moluccan community that were assessed as being crucial in fostering a shift towards group cooperation.

### 6.3.3 Public-private relationships

This thesis indicates that methods that are currently available for managing conflicts involving the police, do not reflect the principles of the Relational Model. Criminal proceedings, complaint management nor public inquiries require the forms of direct contact between opposing parties that is needed to repair previous interactions and re-establish a relationship. The likelihood of resolving an overt conflict through any of these methods appears slim. Especially in the context of highly salient meso-level overt conflicts, the dichotomy between right and wrong that is especially inherent to criminal proceedings and complaint management (e.g., Yarn, 2000; Carpenter & Kennedy, 2001) appears to force the actors involved, either willingly or unwillingly, into single inflexible positions. In such a situation, the opportunities to seek contact, address the relationship, address the conflict or negotiate, and hence foster a shift towards cooperation, appear extremely limited. Moreover, the analyses indicate that criminal trials and complaint management might even constitute an obstacle to the development of reconciliatory processes. For instance, in the Tiel case (Chapter 2), the respondents stressed that a Critical Moment could only occur once the criminal trials were concluded. Similarly, the analyses of the Student Protests and the Oranjefeesten situations (Chapter 4) also indicate that direct contact between party representatives while involved in criminal trials, complaint management processes or public inquiries, was problematic.

The fact that the institutional methods of conflict resolution do not address the social dimension of the police-citizen relationship, as part of conflict resolution, is especially problematic in contemporary governance context such as the Dutch, in which public institutions such as the police have to increasingly rely on cooperation and mutual interdependency with other partners, including citizens. This thesis suggests that when relational interdependence is not addressed when managing overt conflicts with institutional involvement, the public-private relationship at hand can be seriously damaged. Particularly on the meso-level, a damaged public-private relationship can threaten effective governance and networked cooperation. In line with the fifth principle of the Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) – that conflict reconciliation has a function in *relationship maintenance and group cohesion* – the results in this thesis suggest that the shift from government to governance (e.g., Van Gunsteren, 1998), and a reliance on effective cooperation alone, cannot meet the desired expectations if effort is not also put into the governance of overt conflict. Public overt conflicts involve a mixture of “*relationships and substance, even though the dispute may appear to be a simple disagreement over a technical question*” (Carpenter & Kennedy, 2001: 57). As such, an overt conflict, as is stressed in one of the few publications that advocate conflict resolution in a public context, is more than a combination of procedures that can be managed through another set of procedures. For the effective governance of overt conflicts between state representatives and citizens, the focus should be on the mutually interdependent relationship and conflict resolution.

This analysis shows that the concept of discretion (Lipsky, 1980) is of crucial importance in the work of state representatives such as police officers. This thesis suggests that, despite the institutional system ignoring the social dimension of the police-citizen relationship in

overt conflicts, and despite the fact that the institutional system does not require the social relationship to be addressed in times of overt conflict, the police do become involved in conflict resolution with those they regard as important to effective policing. Conflict resolution is practiced on the micro- as well as meso-level, in concurrence with and, so it seems, at times also despite the institutional system in which it operates. On the same note, this thesis also calls for an institutional acknowledgement of the social dimension of state-citizen relationships. Although policies, rules and regulations form an institutional framework for state-citizen relationships, it is in micro- and meso-interactions that the state-citizen relationship is truly established. In analysing the effectiveness of policies, rules and regulations, the Relational Model and an empirical focus on what is actually done and said (rather than what ought to be done and said, or interpretations thereof) could offer crucial insights into why a certain policy or regulation might work in the one instance but not in another.

The results of this thesis also have implications when thinking about legitimacy and about how to maintain and enhance this legitimacy. Viewed from an institutional perspective, the police should not become involved in situations of tension and insecurity, as their main task constitutes of providing that same security. In centring the social dimension of police-citizen relationships, this thesis focuses on legitimacy as it becomes perceived through social interaction. Here, legitimacy is viewed as a relational enactment that can only be obtained through interaction or at least some form of communication (e.g., Hajer, 2009). In policing, perceived legitimacy is closely connected to co-opting and cooperation (e.g., Tyler, 1990; Mastrofski et al., 1996; Skogan, 2004; Tyler, 2004).

In the Relational Model, perceived legitimacy is one of several factors influencing citizens' assessment of the nature of a relationship. In the Relational Model, the emphasis is on (the importance of) legitimacy as a construct that is not only defined by the lawfulness of police actions in terms of "according to the formal rules", but also, in terms of, as Van den Brink (2010) and others have indicated, the socially constructed, moral norms. In this line, this thesis suggest that on the meso-level, police attention to cooperation and keeping the peace is not enough to ensure legitimacy because, at times, overt conflicts involving institutional representatives will occur. As long as no attention is paid to carefully dealing with the aftermath of overt conflict, conflict interactions can become subject to extensive public attention, which can become a direct threat to citizens' perceptions of legitimacy.

Viewed from a relational perspective, a post-conflict decline in perceived legitimacy merely reflects the stress and anxiety (i.e. assessments of relationship insecurity) that are typical following overt conflicts. In the longer term however, perceived legitimacy appears to depend more on the ways in which the aftermath of an overt conflict is dealt with. The Relational Model suggests that negative emotions, feelings and attitudes caused by conflict can be mitigated through engagement in restorative interaction. If the aftermath is well handled, and respects the underlying value of the public-private relationship, an overt conflict does not have to be a threat to perceived legitimacy. From a relational perspective, overt conflict is an opportunity to move on to conflict resolution, direct interaction and cooperation, which can strengthen perceived moral legitimacy.

The findings presented in this thesis question the effectiveness and value of continuously framing the police-citizen relationship as an ambiguous relationship in which the police have to deal with a problematic internal paradox that requires proximity, empathy and cooperation on the one hand, and a certain distance (to maintain professionalism), conflict and force on the other (e.g., Reiner, 2000; Van Caem et al., 2012). While this ambiguity in the police-citizen relationship cannot be denied, the results of this thesis suggest that it would be wrong to approach or interpret this situation as a zero-sum dichotomy. Although the police-citizen relationship is unbalanced in terms of power and status, the same is true for many, if not all, relationships in human social life (between parents and children, between friends, within groups of friends, families etc.). In the context of private, social relationships, these imbalances do not restrain partners from engaging in cooperation, conflict and conflict resolution. Peace and violence, cooperation and conflict, the use of force and peacekeeping, are all undeniable integrated parts of all police-citizen interactions. This integration is more than alternating between the two modes, or an uneasy co-existence. Dichotomous thinking separates social styles and tasks of policing that cognitively fit the reconciliatory, peaceful and restorative interactions (i.e. community policing, peacekeeping, emergency help) from the institutional styles and tasks that cognitively fit conflictual, violent and legal interactions (i.e. riot policing, law-enforcing, security protection). While some situations undoubtedly require behaviour that is more 'social' than 'institutional', all interactions are to an extent influenced by both dimensions.

The principles reflected in the Relational Model link effective policing to the virtue of a continuous police-citizen relationship. In this relationship, cooperation is balanced, refined and strengthened by ongoing cycles of overt conflict and reconciliation (Aureli & De Waal, 2000: 4). This balancing may cause stresses and anxieties but is worthwhile given the positive long-term effects. Policing is, as Van den Brink (2010) puts it, not about empathy or enforcement. It is, at all times, about empathy *and* enforcement. In following the Relational Model, this thesis suggests that empathy and enforcement can be mutually reinforcing.

#### 6.4 Suggestions for further research

The discussion in the previous section has shown that the principles of the Relational Model are helpful in defining, understanding and explaining human adult behaviour in a citizen-police conflict. In its application, this model is focussed on the relationship (in terms of its value, security and compatibility) involved, rather than on the conflict itself. As such the principles of the Relational Model should apply in any social context and are therefore of potential relevance to other social scientific disciplines. Further comparative research in other contexts (on the micro-, meso- as well as international levels) could reveal whether and to what extent the principles of the Relational Model are indeed useful in understanding and explaining post-conflict interactions. Since relationships are established through direct interaction, observational studies in which human interactions are studied in real-life conflict situations are strongly encouraged.

A thorough exploration of the Relational Model, and through this the complexity of groups and group dynamics and the role of social identification, is relevant to research on micro-, meso- as well as the macro-levels. More research and theory building on the influence of asymmetry is also needed. On the meso-level, further comparative studies on post-conflict group interactions in a variety of social as well as institutional contexts could identify the events, tendencies, effects and factors that influence human reconciliation and conflict interactions. Here, the apparent positive relationship between strong and valuable within-group relationships and the impact that a CM (viewed as a micro-level reconciliation) has on the group level would be worth exploring in detail. In doing so, it will be important to draw on insights on factors (such as trust and social identification) and processes that shape human relationships and interactions on both the interpersonal (micro-) level, as well as the group (meso- and macro-) levels of interaction.

In further research on the explanatory power of the Relational Model in human contexts, it is suggested that the focus should also include further clarifying, distinguishing and defining the value, compatibility and security of a relationship as potential indicators of the quality of a relationship in a range of settings. Viewed from a micro-perspective, it would be very relevant to explore the motivational aspect of relationship assessment, and the function of social identification therein, in further detail. Viewed from a meso-perspective, it would be interesting to shed light on issues that, for example, challenge the relationship between assessed in-group compatibility and between group- reconciliation. It will also be important for future researchers to establish which institutional factors influence how the nature of a relationship is experienced and explore the extent to which these overlap with or are distinguishable from those qualities that Cords and Aureli (2000) defined.

Specifically in the context of policing, it seems fruitful to invest in more research and theorising on mechanisms that lead to effective police-citizen conflict resolution, because these mechanisms appear important in preventing overt conflicts from escalating further. Here, it would be beneficial to draw on theory and knowledge in other scientific fields that consider the social and relational aspects of human conflict and conflict resolution, such as negotiation theory (e.g., Kuttner, 2012; Sing-Toomey, 2015), mediation theory (e.g., Zariski, 2010) alternative dispute resolution (e.g., Deutsch & Coleman, 2010) and peace studies (e.g., Kelman, 2004).

In order to determine the broader relevance of the Relational Model to conflict resolution, and a relational policing model more generally, comparative observational research needs to be undertaken in a variety of policing contexts. In order to gain more insight into restorative micro-level interactions between the police and citizens, observing actual interactions would be a logical next step. Real-time observation on the meso-level is difficult due to time, money and space constraints. Here, in order to understand and explain the form and function of restorative interaction in public contexts, it would be helpful to closely follow one or more contemporary cases of group conflicts with police involvement, and identify, observe and interview larger samples that include not only key actors (as in this study) but also representatives of the silent majority. Given the Dutch emphasis on networked governance and nodal governance (e.g., Van Calster & Schuilenburg, 2009), it would be

worth also giving careful consideration to the function and influence of other public and private actors on police-citizen relationship management generally, and the management of public-private overt conflicts in particular. On the micro- as well as the meso-levels, consideration should be given to the inclusion of a relational perspective in decision-making on policing and police strategy, and more specifically on the applied value of relationship (network) analyses. In this context, effort should be put into the development of methods and instruments that would make it easier to assess the nature of group relations on meso- and macro-levels.

Macro-level comparative research between countries that adopt policing styles in which the police are largely presented as a law enforcer (such as Italy and France) and countries (such as the Netherlands, Great Britain and New Zealand) that adopt policing styles in which the police are rather presented as peacekeepers, as well as theoretical exploration of the Relational Model in specific policing theories, would help in understanding the applied value of the Relational Model and adopting a relational perspective in policing.

Relative to what van Caem et al. (2013: 256) call the '*internal paradox of police work*', which requires proximity and empathy on the one hand, and a certain distance for professional maintenance on the other, this thesis suggests that dichotomous thinking is not beneficial to and does not perform a useful function in the practice of building, maintaining and strengthening police-citizen relationships. What would happen to public-private relationships, and the processes that rely on these relationships (e.g., governance, nodal orientation), if we were to stop thinking and acting in paradoxes and dichotomies, and start thinking and acting in terms of integration rather than separation? In this respect, it would be interesting to establish more thoroughly the forms, functions and interplays between the institutional and social dimensions of public-private relationships in a range of public-private contexts.

## 6.5 Recommendations

In modern Western democracies, public institutions such as the police have to rely increasingly on cooperation and mutual interdependency with other partners. Public-private relationships, such as between the police and citizens, thus have an institutionally constructed base value: citizens and the police need each other in order to secure and safeguard private and public spaces effectively. In the Netherlands, citizens and citizen groups are generally acknowledged as being important in effective policing. Therefore, traditionally, the Dutch police invest in cooperative relationships with the community. This thesis suggests that also, in order to do so effectively, the police should adopt a *relational perspective on policing*. Through this approach, attention is paid to the social dimension of police-citizen relationships and it is, as such, assumed that the base value of this public-private relationship does not lead to fixed police and citizen roles and behaviours. Each police-citizen relationship is contextual and socially negotiated in direct interaction on the micro- and meso-levels. Consequently, all situations of police-citizen contact differ with regard to their context, the local institutional context and the nature of the relationships involved. As

such, it is hard to define exclusive, custom-made behavioural protocols, methods or (not-) to-do's in adopting a relational perspective on policing. This thesis does attempt to offer some practical guidelines. Here, an analytical distinction is made between the relational perspective as a general approach in policing, and a relational perspective on policing conflict situations.

### 6.5.1 *A relational perspective on policing: a general approach*

Police officers that adopt a relational perspective recognise that the relationship between themselves, as police representatives, and citizens is ongoing. They know that if the police only consider their relationship with citizen groups, or representatives thereof, as important in times of conflict, conflict resolution and post-conflict relationships will probably develop with difficulties. As a consequence, police officers that adopt a relational perspective on policing, actively invest in the building and maintenance of relationships in times of peace. In such building and maintenance, they are aware of the role of social identification in police citizen interactions. On the micro-level, therefore, police officers that adopt a relational perspective pay attention to the fact that their individual actions (both verbal and nonverbal) affect citizens' assessments of the police as a group as well as their relationship with that group. On the meso-level, police leaders that adopt a relational perspective, pay attention to the fact that meso-level communication to the public (e.g., in press conferences or on other forms of public meetings) affect citizens' attitudes and behaviour towards individual police officers. Through social identification, strong in-group images (e.g., the police are my best friend) as well as out-group images (e.g., the police are racists) may develop. These images influence citizens' attitudes and actions, hence, police-citizen interactions, on micro-level and meso-level. Therefore, police officers that adopt a relational perspective on policing, recognize that community police officers cannot be and should not be the only ones responsible for networking and enhancing police-citizen relationships. In all police-citizen contacts they attempt to emphasize positive social identification as much as possible and regardless of the fact that some police tasks and functions require a greater use of force and other aggressive displays than others.

In adopting a relational perspective on policing, police officers consider the nature of relationships carefully (insofar as the context permits) in performing police work. The nature of relationships can be expressed in terms of three interrelated qualities. First, the *value* of a relationship is its primary quality and refers to what the police and citizens (or, in case of meso-level relationships, representatives thereof) have to offer each other, how willing they are to offer it and the extent to which they are accessible to one another. If a citizen or citizen group does not assign some value to having a cooperative relationship with the police, investing in that relationship appears irrelevant to that citizen or citizen group: the police have no value to me, so why bother? Contrary to co-optation, cooperation cannot be enforced. Consequently, citizens or citizen groups that, for whatever reason, "do not bother" will be inaccessible and unwilling to cooperate, regardless of the institutionally constructed base value that is inherent to police-citizen relationships and the police's monopoly on power.

In order to build the desired cooperative relationships with citizens, and other actors that are regarded as valuable in effective policing, it is therefore crucial that the police invest in building and maintaining relationships that are deemed valuable. Moreover, a relational perspective on policing implies that police officers need to accept that, in policing relationships, the desire to 'control' should be renounced. Strong cooperative relationships cannot be established and maintained by the police alone. The partner, whether it is a citizen, a public partner or a private partner, plays an equal role and is able to influence the course of interactions as well.

A relational perspective on policing assumes that building, maintaining and strengthening valuable relationships occurs through direct micro-level interactions. Here, showing and doing speak louder than words. In such investing, behavioural expressions through which the importance of the relationship is emphasised, such as explaining the importance of contact with each other, asking for help or cooperation, listening to the other, adopting an open attitude or friendly behaviour (e.g. facial expressions, eye contact) and, most importantly, genuine cooperation appear particularly beneficial.

Relationship *security* is the second quality with which the nature of a given relationship can be expressed. The security of a relationship refers to the predictability of interactions between the police and citizens as well as to the perceived probability (i.e. trust) that the nature of the interactions will change in terms of their aggressiveness or friendliness. Here, it is tempting to assign a base security to police-citizen relationships since the duties, tasks and powers of the police are highly institutionalised, by rules, regulations and policies, which implies at least a certain predictability in police actions. Further, because the police as an institution are designed to serve us all in ensuring security and safety, police officers should be trusted in their actions and interactions as having good intentions. Because the police are formally responsible for security, it is also tempting to emphasise the crucial importance of security in police-citizen relationships. A relational perspective on policing assumes that relationships are enacted in social interactions on the micro- and meso-levels. Given the police monopoly on legitimate violence and the fact that, in most contacts, the police worker and the citizens involved are not familiar with each other, the base security of most police-citizen contacts is actually rather low.

In adopting a relational perspective on policing, it is recognised that this base *insecurity* of most police-citizen relationships may result in initial police-citizen contacts having a rather uneasy character. In micro-level contacts with an unfamiliar party, it is inherently difficult to predict the other's behaviour and inclinations. This may cause stress and feelings of unease, anxiety even, to both the police as well as the citizens. Therefore, it is beneficial to ensure that the police and police actions, when in contact with citizens, are as predictable as possible. This is especially the case in relation to citizen parties that are not familiar. A calm demeanour, verbal explanation of actions taken or providing information about intended actions can, for example, have an immediate and positive effect on the assessed security in police-citizen contacts.



A relational perspective on policing also acknowledges that a genuine mutually assessed secure relationship will only be developed through direct, repeated, cooperative, micro-level interaction. Especially here, showing and doing appear to speak louder than words: simply saying that you/the police are reliable, and can be trusted for good intentions, will have little effect if this is not demonstrated through action.

In maintaining, building and strengthening relationships with citizens and other actors that are regarded as valuable in effective policing, relationship *compatibility* also plays a powerful role. The compatibility of a relationship refers to the general tenor of police and citizen actors and their shared history of social exchanges in a given police-citizen relationship, as well as to the extent to which the police and citizen partners view themselves and the other as part of the same or of different social groups and act accordingly. Here, it is tempting to focus on the base *incompatibility* of police-citizen relationships: police actors are objectively determinable institutional representatives that have a monopoly on legalised violence over citizens; and citizens and police are therefore easily categorised as clearly demarcated groups with opposing desires, values and norms. This thesis suggests that dichotomous thinking is not beneficial to, and does not perform a useful function in building, maintaining and strengthening police-citizen relationships. Public-private relationships, and the processes that rely on them (e.g., governance, nodal orientation), could benefit if we avoid thinking and acting in terms of paradoxes and dichotomies, and start thinking and acting in terms of integration rather than separation. Adopting a relational perspective when policing the public therefore requires an ability to *positively* assign oneself and others to groups. Further, one has to refrain from the temptation to apply a rigid, 'police versus citizens' perspective and instead emphasise positive social identification rather than negative social *dis*-identification. In essence, this means that police and citizen actors are imaged as belonging to one overarching group, 'Dutch society', in which, in the end, they need each other. Then, in contact with those regarded as ingroup members, the emphasis is not on differences, but on similarities, shared goals and shared needs, and on compatible norms and values. In contact with those regarded as ingroup members, the police will then talk in terms of 'we' instead of 'us and them', and focus on the option of cooperation, rather than of conflict. Police officers that adopt a relational perspective on policing will know that, at times, it may be beneficial to show and explain emotions (because this reflects the humanity of police officers) or explicitly refer to humanity as a shared denominator in explaining actions.

A relational perspective on policing acknowledges that the police are limited in terms of financial and human resources and, hence, capacity. Further, this perspective also recognises that there are citizens and citizen groups that, for whatever reason, "do not bother" and that building cooperative relationships with such inaccessible and unwilling subjects is costly in terms of both capacity and time. Given that it is impossible to equally invest unlimited effort in all public-private relationships, policing with a relational perspective requires careful consideration of micro- and meso- *public relations* and of the current and future urgency of building, maintaining or strengthening them. Such considerations should be based on strategically set, achievable and clear targets that relate to general police tasks and duties and define the desired effects of investing in relationships in terms of value,

security and compatibility. Such consideration should also take into account that, relative to the targets, the building and strengthening of cooperative relationships with some representatives is more valuable than with others. Further, given that the significance of key-group representatives is defined by formal as well as informal authority, police officers that adopt a relational perspective on policing should not refrain from using their colleagues' knowledge about, and relations with, the defined target groups in identifying key-group representatives. To paraphrase, in times of peace, police officers that adopt a relational perspective, consider the following three questions in any policing context:

1. *"With whom am I/are we dealing?"* What micro-level relationship(s) or meso-level relationship(s) with which citizens can be identified in a given policing context?
2. *"What is the nature of the police-citizen relationships involved?"* This should be considered in terms of value, security and compatibility.
3. *"Which of the involved parties (or representatives thereof) are possible allies in effective policing?"*

#### 6.5.2 *A relational perspective on policing conflict situations*

Police officers that adopt a relational perspective on policing, are able to make a distinction between situations of conflict or (public) unrest (in which it is objectively determinable that the police and citizen parties, or representatives thereof, have conflicting interests, goals or actions) and overt conflict (in which the police and citizen parties, or representatives thereof, *act* based on conflicting interests, goals or actions). The Dutch police force acknowledges the general importance of cooperative relationships with those parties that are regarded as valuable in effective policing. Therefore, they consider the relationship or relationships with citizen actors, or representatives thereof, that are regarded important in preventing situations of unrest from escalating. Relative to those actors, direct contact and cooperation are actively sought. In direct contact with those actors that are important in the prevention of escalation, value, compatibility and security of the relationship are emphasised.

Police officers that adopt a relational perspective also recognize that, at times, overt conflict does arise. In such occasions, overt conflict should not be viewed as a zero-sum game, but as a social process that, if the aftermath is carefully dealt with, has a role in maintaining, building and even strengthening relationships with the public. Consequently, in an inevitable situation of overt conflict between the police and citizens, police officers that adopt a relational perspective carefully deal with the aftermath. Here, reconciliation is seen as a powerful strategy for conflict resolution.

In adopting a relational perspective in both policing public unrest, as well as the aftermath of overt conflict, police officers will be aware of the potential impact that micro-level overt conflicts can have on meso-level relations between the police and citizens. In making strategic decisions that prevent an aftermath of overt conflict from further escalation, or micro-level overt conflicts from further escalating to meso- or macro-level events and social unrest, police officers that adopt a relational perspective will consider the nature of the

relationships in which they are involved. In short, the following questions are considered in situations of conflict.

1. *“With whom are we/ am I dealing?”* What relationships with which citizens can be identified in a given conflict situation? This concerns micro- and meso-level relationships with individuals as well as with group representatives.
2. *“What is the nature of the police-citizen relationship(s) involved?”* This should be considered in terms of value, security and compatibility.
3. *“Which of the involved parties (or representatives thereof) are possible allies in preventing this conflict situation from further escalating/reconciliation and which of the involved parties (or representatives thereof) are possible catalysts for (further) escalating?”*
4. *“How and by who should/can those parties (or representatives thereof) that are identified as possible allies, be approached in fostering a shift from conflict to cooperation?”*

This thesis suggests that in all contexts, direct contact between the police and citizens is critical in fostering the shift from conflict to cooperation. However, given that all conflictive situations between the police and citizens differ with regard to their (institutional) context and the nature of the relationships that are involved, it is hard to define exclusive, custom-made behavioural protocols, methods or (not-) to-do's. Nevertheless, this thesis does provide the police with some practical guidelines.

With regard to relationship *value*, a relational perspective on policing in times of public unrest and/or after overt conflict, assumes that it is important to identify individual representatives of the parties involved with whom valuable relationships need to be built. With actors who are important in effective policing, one should actively strive for cooperation and conflict resolution. Since relationships are only maintained and developed through direct contact, a relational perspective on policing conflictive situations assumes that withdrawal and refraining from further comments or contact provides an unsatisfactory basis for damage control.

It is likely that there will also be important actors with whom the current relationship is assessed as rather weak. As already noted, a relational perspective on policing recognises that there are citizens or citizen groups that “do not bother” for whatever reason, and that building cooperative relationships with such inaccessible and unwilling subjects is costly in terms of capacity and time. Nevertheless, investing in building cooperative relationships with such unwilling subjects, if they seem to be key to building and maintaining general group relations, may prove to be of long-term value since situations of conflict and tension do appear to function as a starting point for building relationships.

In terms of relationship *compatibility*, police officers who adopt a relational perspective on policing meso-level conflictive situations will recognise that only a minority of citizen representatives are explicitly violent towards or fully cooperative with the police. Between these two extremes, the police can expect to encounter a majority of ‘worried’ citizens who might not have a positive attitude towards the police per se, but will nevertheless identify with a group that has legal aims and intentions. In communicating with the public,

it therefore seems fruitful to explicitly address those citizens or citizen groups who are assessed as potential proponents of de-escalation as part of the *ingroup*, or 'we'. With those who are assessed as potentially cooperative and tolerant members of the ingroup, a strategy of cooperation (by virtue of their value and compatibility) should be employed. Ingroup members, so to say, encounter the 'peace-keeper cop' (Fassin, 2013). In contacts with ingroup members, the exchange of value and compatibility signals, such as mentioned in the previous section, appears fruitful in fostering resolution rather than escalation of conflicts. When it comes to members of the potentially violent *outgroup* ('they'), a strategy of public distancing appears more fruitful. Outgroup members, so to say, encounter the 'law-enforcer cop' (Fassin, 2013). In contacts with outgroup members, the exchange of value and compatibility signals is not recommended because it is likely that such exchanges cost more than they yield in terms of fostering reconciliation.

When it comes to relationship *security*, the police, in adopting a relational perspective during post-overt-conflict contacts, will recognise that most police-citizen relationships have a base insecurity that, in times of conflict, will be accentuated, thereby creating extra stress, anxiety and other negative emotions. In trying to mitigate the public's immediate assessments of relationship insecurity, again, it is crucial that police officers, in adopting a relational perspective, attempt to establish direct and explicit face-to-face interpersonal or intergroup communications as soon as possible, and foster a transformation to more cooperative interactions. Given the relationship insecurity, the police, during the first moments of these contacts, should adopt behaviours that appear unimportant in everyday interactions, such as a handshake, a smile or eye contact, since these are observed and experienced more intensively. If there are any negative emotions present during these moments, an emotional release and explanation thereof appears beneficial because it is argued that this will be interpreted as a sign of relationship compatibility. In general, the police are encouraged to focus on the exchange of value and compatibility signals in easing tensions and restoring contact. Here, whether one conceals or provides information relating to specifics of the conflict's context or procedures appears to be a particularly significant value signal. Ingroup members will appreciate the disclosure of information on developments in, for example, the formal procedures that are taking place behind the scenes.

It is inevitable that, at times, overt conflicts between the police and citizens will occur. Police-citizen relationships are relevant in all contexts, not only during overt conflicts. If the police only consider their relationship with citizen groups, or representatives thereof, as important in times of conflict, conflict resolution and post-conflict relationships will probably develop with difficulties. Reconciliation and reducing post-conflict anxiety appears problematic when citizen parties (or their representatives) that do not assign value to their relationship with the police. The importance of strong relationships is accentuated through conflict. If handled with care, overt conflicts might even result in new or strengthened bonds. However, it is in times of peace, through friendly, cooperative contacts, that valuable relationships are established.



# Epilogue

*Working on my PhD research fundamentally changed the way I observe and approach the world. I still appreciate police work and police workers. But I am also worried. In the world around me, I observe the desire or compunction to frame life in dichotomies between, for instance, right and wrong, left and right, us and them. Such dichotomous thinking forces us, willingly or unwillingly, into distinct, inflexible and unnecessary positions. Through overly dichotomous thinking, face to face interaction, addressing relationships, addressing conflicts and negotiation, and fostering cooperation, become difficult and complex.*

*Humans do not exist in isolation or dichotomies. Our 'being', feelings and actions are only meaningful relative to the people we relate to and the groups we belong to. I am convinced that adopting a relational perspective on policing would contribute to a better, proactive, more effective and more satisfactory police organization, and police relations, for all involved.*





# References





- Adang, O.M.J. & van der Torre, E. (eds.) (2007): *Hoezo rustig?! Een onderzoek naar het verloop van jaarwisselingen in Nederland* [What do you mean 'quiet'?! Research into the progression of News Year's Eve in the Netherlands]. Apeldoorn: Politieacademie.
- Adang, O.M.J., van der Wal, R. & Quint, H. (2010): *Zijn wij anders? Waarom Nederland geen grootschalige etnische rellen heeft* [Are we different? Why the Netherlands have not had large-scale ethnic riots]. Apeldoorn: Stapel & de Koning/Politieacademie.
- Adang, O. M. J., Stronks, S., van den Brink, G. J. M., & Van de Klomp, M. (forthcoming in 2017), Keeping the peace or enforcing order? Overcoming social tension between police and civilians. In: P. Verbeek & B. Peters, (eds), *Behavioural Processes and Systems of Peace*. London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Allport, G.W.(1954): *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books.
- Aquino, K., Tripp, T.M., & Bies, R.M. (2001): How employees respond to personal offense: the effects of blame attribution, victim status, and offender status on revenge and reconciliation in the workplace. *Journal of applied psychology* 86 (1): 52–59.
- Ashmore, R.D., Jussim, L. & Wilder, D. (Eds.) (2001): *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict and Conflict Reduction*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Aureli, F. & de Waal, F.B.M. (eds.) (2000): *Natural conflict resolution*. London: University of California Press.
- Babbie, E. (2012): *The practice of social research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Bartels, E.C. & Silverman, E.B. (2005): An Exploratory Study of the New York City Civilian Complaint Review Board Mediation Program. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 28(4):619-630.
- Baudains, P., Braithwaite, A., & Johnson, S. D. (2013): 'Target Choice During Extreme Events: A Discrete Spatial Choice Model of the 2011 London Riots.' *Criminology* 51(2): 251–285.
- Berkhout, R. (Ed.) (2009): *Bejegenen bij handhaving* [Treatment in law enforcement]. Apeldoorn: Politieacademie.
- Bittner, E. (1970): *The Functions of Police in Modern Society*. Rockville: Centre of studies of crime and delinquency.
- Bittner, E. (1980): Legality and workmanship: introduction to control in the police organization, in R. J. Lundman (ed.), *Police behaviour: a sociological perspective*. New York (NJ): Oxford University Press.
- Bittner, E. (1990): *Aspects of Police Work*. Boston (MA): Northeastern University Press.
- Blom-Cooper, L. (1996): Some Reflections on Public Inquiries, in J. Peay (Ed.), *Inquiries after Homicide*. London: Duckworth.
- Bonaventura, M., Ventura, R., & Koyama, N.F. (2009): A Statistical Modelling Approach to the Occurrence and Timing of Reconciliation in Wild Japanese Macaques. *Ethology* 115: 152-166.
- Bonaventura, M., Ventura, R. & Schino, G. (2010). Asymmetry and dimensions of relationship quality in the Japanese Macaque. *Primateology* 31:736-750.
- Bos, R. P. (2008): *Antillianen crimineel of gewoon anders? Een verkenning van de Antilliaanse (straat) cultuur*. [Antilleans; Criminals or just Different? An Exploration of the Antillean -Street- Culture]. Zutphen: Walburg press.
- Boutellier, H. & Steden, R. van (2011): Governing nodal governance: The "anchoring" of local security networks', in: A. Crawford (red.), *International and comparative criminal*

- justice and urban governance: Convergences and divergences in global, national and local settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 461-482.
- Boutellier, H., Steden, van, R., Bakker, I., Mein, A. & Roeleveld, W. (2011): *De Positie van de Politie. Een Verkennende Studie voor de Strategische Onderzoekagenda Politie* [The position of the police. An exploratory study respective to the strategic research agenda of the Dutch Police]. Apeldoorn: Politieacademie.
- Braithwaite, M. & Levi, V. (2003): *Trust and Governance*. New-York (NY): Russel Sage Foundations.
- Brewer, M. B. & Kramer, R. M. (1986): Choice behaviour in social dilemmas: Effects of social identity, group size, and decision framing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50(3): 543-549.
- Brewer, M. B., & Hewstone, M. (Eds.), (2004): *Self and social identity*. Oxford (MA): Blackwell.
- Brounéus, K. (2010): The Trauma of Truth Telling: Effects of Witnessing in the Rwandan Gacaca Courts on Psychological Health. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(3): 408-437.
- Bryman, A. (2004) (2nd ed.): *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bullock, K. (2013): Community, intelligence-led policing and crime control. *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy* 23(2): 125-144.
- Burke, P.J. & Stets, J.E. (2009): *Identity Theory*. London: Oxford university Press.
- Burnette, J.L., McCullough, M.E., Tongeren, van, D.R. & Davis, D. E. (2012): Forgiveness results from integrating information about relationship value and exploitation risk. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 38 (3): 345-356.
- Butovskaya, M., Kozintsev, A. & Welker, C. (1996): Conflict and Reconciliation in two Groups of Crab-eating Monkeys Differing in Social Status by Birth. *Primates* 37(3): 261-270.
- Cachet, L. & Marks, P. (2009): Police Reform in the Netherlands: A Dance Between National Steering and Local Performing. *German Policy Studies* 5(2): 91–115.
- Carpenter, S.L & Kennedy, W.J.D. (2001): *Managing Public Disputes. A Practical Guide for Government, Business and Citizens' groups*. San Fransisco, CA: Jossey-Bass
- Commissie Project X Haren (2013): *Twee Werelden. You only Live Once. Hoofdrapport commissie 'Project X' Haren*. [Two Worlds. You only live once. Main report of commission 'Project X'] See <http://www.hetccv.nl/dossiers/evenementenbeleid/haren---eindrapportage?reference=dossiers/evenementenbeleid/index/index> for all reports published.
- Cooper, M.A., Bernstein, I.M., & Hemelrijk, C.K. (2005): Reconciliation and Relationship Quality in Assamese Macaques (*Macaca assamensis*). *American Journal of Primatology* 65: 269-282.
- Cordoni G. & Norscia, I. (2014): Peace-Making in Marsupials: The First Study in the Red-necked Wallaby (*Macropus rufogriseus*). *PLoS One* 9(1): e86859. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0086859.
- Cords, M. & Aureli, F. (2000): Reconciliation and Relationship Qualities. In: F. Aureli, & F.B.M. de Waal (eds.), *Natural Conflict Resolution*. London: University of California Press.
- Crawford, A. (1997): *The local governance of crime: Appeals to community and partnerships*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Czarniawska, B. (2004): *Narratives in Social Science Research*. London: Sage

- De Gelderlander* (2008): Politie: Geweld oud en nieuw poging tot moord [Police: New Year's Eve violence was attempted murder]. 25 Jan.
- de Cremer, D., & Tyler, T. R. (2005): Am I respected or not? Inclusion and reputation as issues in group membership. *Social Justice Research*, 18(2): 121-153.
- de Guzman, M. C. (2008): Perceptions of Civilian Review: Exploring the Differences in Reviewed and Non-reviewed Officers. *Justice Research and Policy* 10(1): 61-85.
- de Vries, J. R. (2015): *Understanding Trust. Longitudinal studies on trust dynamics in governance interactions*. PhD Thesis, Wageningen University, The Netherlands.
- Della Porta, D. & Reiter, H. (eds.) (1998): *Policing protest: the control of mass demonstrations in western democracies*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- den Boer, M. G. W. (1999): Internationale Politie Samenwerking, in C. Fijnaut, E. Muller, & U. Rosenthal, (eds.), *Politie Studies over haar werking en organisatie*. Alphen a/d Rijn: Samson, p. 577-617
- Deutsch, M. & Coleman, P.T.(eds.) (2000): *The handbook of conflict resolution: theory and practice*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- de Waal, F.B.M. & Van Roosmalen, A. (1979): Reconciliation and consolation among chimpanzees. *Behavioral Ecology and Sociobiology* 5: 55-66.
- de Waal, F.B.M.(1986): Integration of dominance and social bonding in primates, *Quarterly Review of Biology* 61: 459-479.
- de Waal, F.B.M. (2000): The first kiss: foundations of conflict resolution research in animals. In: F. Aureli & F.B.M. De Waal (eds.), *Natural conflict resolution*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 15–33.
- Dovidio, J.F. et al. (2008): Majority and Minority Perspectives in Intergroup Relations: The Role of Contact, group Representations, Threat, and Trust in Intergroup Conflict and Reconciliation. In A. Nadler, T.E. Malloy & J.D. Fisher (eds.): *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Dovidio, J.F., Eller, A., & Hewstone, M. (2011): Improving intergroup relations through direct, extended and other forms of indirect contact. *Group processes & intergroup relations* 14, 147–160.
- Druckman, D. (2004): Departures in Negotiation: Extensions and New Directions. *Negotiation Journal* 20(2): 185-203.
- Economist Intelligence Unit (2013): *Democracy index 2012: democracy at a standstill*. London: Economist Intelligence Unit.
- Elias, N. (1978): *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* [Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen] Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Elias, N. (1982): *Power and Civility: The Civilizing Process* [Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen, vol. 2.]. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Elliot, D. & Mc Guinness, M. (2002): Public Inquiry: Panacea or Placebo?, *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 10(1): 14-25
- Engel, A.E. & Korf, B. (2005): negotiation and mediation techniques for natural resource management. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Retrieved on august, 08 2016, on [http://innri.unuftp.is/short\\_courses/pp\\_samoa08a/FAO\\_Useful\\_Documents/FAO\\_Mediation\\_Techniques\\_for\\_Resource\\_Management.pdf](http://innri.unuftp.is/short_courses/pp_samoa08a/FAO_Useful_Documents/FAO_Mediation_Techniques_for_Resource_Management.pdf)

- Fassin, D. (2013): *Enforcing order. An ethnography of urban policing*. Cambridge: Policy Press.
- Fielding, N.G. (2005): *The police and social conflict*. London: Glass House.
- Fielding, N.G. & Innes, M. (2006): Reassurance Policing, Community Policing and Measuring Police Performance. *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy* 16(2): 127-145.
- Fineman, S. (2003): *Understanding Emotion at Work*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Fisher, E.A. & Sharp, S.W. (2004): *The Art of Managing Everyday Conflict: Understanding Emotions and Power Struggles*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Fleming, J. (2005): Working Together: Neighbourhood Watch, Reassurance Policing and the Potential of Partnerships. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice* 303: 1-6.
- Fletcher, C. (1999): Listening to Narratives: the Dynamics of Capturing Police Experience. *International Journal of Listening* 13: 46-61.
- Fraser, O.N., Schino, G. & Aureli, F. (2008): Components of relationship quality in chimpanzees. *Ethology* 114: 834-843.
- Fraser, O.N. & Bugnyar, T. (2010): The quality of social relationships in Ravens. *Animal Behaviour* 79: 927-933.
- Fraser, O.N., Stahl, D., & Aureli, F. (2010): The Function and Determinants of Reconciliation in Pan Troglodytes. *International Journal of Primatology* 31: 39-57.
- Friedmann, R.R. (1992): *Community Policing: Comparative Perspectives and Prospects*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Fry, D.P (2013): Cooperation for Survival: Creating a Global Peace System in D.P. Fry, (Ed.) *War, Peace and Human Nature. The Convergence of Evolutionary and Cultural views*. New York, NJ: Oxford University Press.
- Fujisawa, K.K., Kutsukake, N. & Hasegawa, T. (2005): Reconciliation pattern after aggression among Japanese preschool children. *Aggressive behaviour* 31: 138-152.
- Furedi, F. (2009): Why is authority always a problem?- Thomas Morus Lecture 11-11-2009 Retrieved 01-08-2016, from [http://www.ru.nl/sp/english/review/review/review\\_previous/reports-en-lectures/lecture\\_frank\\_furedi](http://www.ru.nl/sp/english/review/review/review_previous/reports-en-lectures/lecture_frank_furedi)
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio P. A., Bachman, B. A. & Rust, M. C. (1993): The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias. *European Review of Social Psychology* 4(1): 1-26.
- Goldsmith, A. (2005): Police reform and the problem of trust. *Theoretical Criminology*, 9: 443-470.
- Goldstein, H. (1979): Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach. *Crime and Delinquency* 25(2): 236-258.
- Gottman, N.J. (1993): The roles of conflict engagement, escalation, and avoidance in marital interaction: a longitudinal view of five types of couples. *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology* 61: 6-15
- Goudsblom, J. (2001): *Staf waar honger uit ontstond: over evolutie en sociale processen*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.
- Hart, D., et al. (2009): Feeling validated versus feeling correct. A meta-analysis of selective exposure to information, *Psychological Bulletin* 135: 163-178.

- Guilbault, R.L., Bryant, F.B., Brockway, J.H. & Posavac., E.H. (2004): A Meta-Analysis of research on Hindsight Bias, *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 26: 103-117.
- Habermas, J (1976) *Legitimation Crisis*. London: Heinemann Educational Books
- Hajer, M. (2009): *Authoritative governance: policy-making in the age of mediatization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halpern, D. (2005). *Social capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Harris, R. B. (1976). *Authority: a philosophical analysis*. University of Alabama: University of Alabama Press.
- Harris. O. (Ed.) (1996): *Inside and outside the law. Anthropological studies of authority and ambiguity*. London: Routledge.
- Hewstone, M., et al. (2008): Stepping stones to reconciliation in Northern Ireland: intergroup contact, forgiveness, and trust, in A. Nadler, T.E. Malloy, and J.D. Fisher (eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 199–226.
- Hill, R., Cooper, K., Young, R., & Hoyle, C. (2003): *Meeting Expectations: The application of Restorative Justice to the Police Complaints Process*. Oxford: University of Oxford Centre for Criminological Research and Probation Studies Unit.
- Hoogenboom, B. & Muller, E. (2002): 'Voorbij de dogmatiek: Publiek-private samenwerking in de veiligheidszorg' [Beyond dogma: Public-Private providing public security through public-private-partnerships]. Politie & Wetenschap, Zeist: Kerckebosch.
- Hosmer, L. T. (1995): Trust: The connecting link between organizational theory and philosophical ethics. *Academy of Management Review*, 20: 379-403.
- Innes, M., (2005): Why 'Soft' policing is hard: on the curious development of reassurance policing, how it became neighbourhood policing and what this signifies about the politics of police reform. *Journal of community applied social psychology* 15 (3): 156-169.
- Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Stanko, B & Hohl, K. (2013): *Just Authority? Trust in the police in England and Wales*. London: Routledge.
- Janoff-Bulman, R. & Werther, A.(2008): The social psychology of respect: implications for delegitimization and reconciliation, in A. Nadler, T.E. Malloy, and J.D. Fisher (eds), *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 145–170.
- Jameson, J.K., Bodtker, A.M., Porch, D.M. & Jordan, W.J. (2009): Exploring the role of emotion in conflict transformation. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 27(2): 167-192.
- Johnson, A. & Sackett, R. (1998): Direct Systematic Observation of Behaviour. In: H.R. Bernard (ed), *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. Beverly Hills, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Johnston, L. (1992): *The Rebirth of Private Policing*. London: Routledge.
- Kappeler, V.E. & Gaines, L.K. (2011): *Community policing: a contemporary perspective*. Waltham: Elsevier.
- Karremans, J.C. & Van Lange, P.A.M. (2008): *Forgiveness in personal relationships: its malleability and powerful consequences*. *European review of social psychology* 19: 202–241.
- Kelman, H.C. (2004): Reconciliation as Identity Change: a Social Psychological Perspective, in Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (ed.), *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Kempes, M., Sterck, L., Orobio de Castro, B. (2013): Conflict Resolution in nonhuman primates and Human Children, in D.P. Fry, (Ed.) *War, Peace and Human Nature. The Convergence of Evolutionary and Cultural views*. New York, NJ: Oxford University Press.
- Kerner, O. et al., (1968): *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*. New York, NY: Bantam.
- King, M.(2013): Birmingham revisited – causal differences between the riots of 2011 and 2005? *Policing and society* 23 (1): 26–45.
- Kohler Riessman, C. (2008): *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. London: Sage.
- Koppenjan, J. F. M. & Klijn, E. H. (2004): *Managing uncertainties in networks: a network approach to problem solving and decision making*. London: Routledge.
- Koski, S.E., Koops, K. & Sterck, E.H.M. (2007): Reconciliation, Relationship Quality and Post conflict Anxiety. Testing the integrated hypothesis in captive chimpanzees. *American Journal of Primatology* 69: 158-172.
- Koyama, N.F. (2001): The long-term effects of reconciliation in Japanese macaques *Macaca fuscata*. *Ethology* 107: 975–987.
- Krannich, R.S. & Humphrey, C.R. (1986): Using key informant data in comparative community research: an empirical assessment. *Sociological methods & research* 14 (4): 473–493.
- Kriesberg, L. (2009): Waging conflicts constructively, in D.J.D. Sandol et al. (eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. London: Routledge, 157–169.
- Kumar, N., Stern, L.W., & Anderson, J.C. (1993): Conducting interorganizational research using key informants. *Academy of management journal* 36 (6): 1633–1651.
- Kutsukake, N. & Castles, D.L. (2001): Reconciliation and variation in post-conflict stress in Japanese Macaques (*Macaca fuscata fuscata*): testing the integrated hypothesis. *Animal Cognition* 4: 259-268.
- Kutsukake, N. (2009): Complexity, dynamics and diversity of sociality in group-living mammals. *Ecological Research* 24: 521-531.
- Kuttner, R (2012): Cultivating Dialogue: From Fragmentation to Relationality in Conflict Interaction. *Negotiation Journal* 28 (3): 315-335.
- Lasthuizen, K., Van Eeuwijk, B.A.P. & Huberts, L.W.J.C. (2005): How Policing Can Reduce Feelings of Insecurity: Results from Survey Research in the Netherlands. *Police Practice and Research* 6(4): 375-390.
- Lindner, E. G. (2006): Emotion and conflict: Why it is important to understand how emotions affect conflict and how conflict affects emotions, in M. Deutch, P.T. Coleman & E.C. Marcus (Eds.) (2nd ed.), *The handbook of conflict resolution*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Liederbach, J., Taylor, R., & Kawucha, S. (2007): Is it an inside job? An Examination of Internal Affairs Complaint Investigation Files and the Production of Nonsustained Findings. *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 18: 353-377.
- Linklater, A. & Mennell, S. (2010): Norbert Elias: the Civilisation Process: sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations – an overview and assessment, *History and Theory* 49 (4): 384-411.
- Lipsky, M. (1969): *Toward a Theory of Street-Level Bureaucracy* (IRP Discussion Papers No. 48-69) (p. 2). Madison, WI: Institute for Research on Poverty (IRP), University of Wis-

- consin. Retrieved 01-08-2016, from <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/dps/pdfs/dp4869.pdf>
- Lipsky, M. (1980): *Street-Level Bureaucracy. Dilemmas of the individual in public services*. New-York (NY): Russel Sage Foundations.
- Lundman, R. J. (ed.): *Police behaviour: a sociological perspective*. New York (NJ): Oxford University Press.
- Lyman, S. M. & Scott, M. B. (1968): Accounts. *American Sociological Review* 33(1): 46–62.
- Malloy, T.E.I. (2008): Intergroup relations and reconciliation. Theoretical analysis and methodological implications, in A. Nadler, T. Malloy, & J. D. Fisher (eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 345–356.
- Marshall, M.N.(1996): The key informant technique. *Family practice* 13 (1): 92–97.
- Marshall, T.F. (ed.) (1992): *Community disorders and policing: conflict management in action*. London: Whiting & Birch Ltd.
- Mastrofski, S., Snipes, J. & Supina, A. (1996): Compliance on Demand: The Public's Response to Specific Police Requests, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 33 (3): 269-305.
- Mc. Cullough, M.E., Berry, J.W., Root Luna, L., Tabak, B.A & Bono, G. (2010): On the Form and Function of Forgiving: Modelling the Time-Forgiveness Relationship and Testing the Valuable Relationships Hypothesis. *Emotion* 10(3): 358-367.
- Meershoek, G. & Hoogenboom, B. (2013) (red.): *De Draagbare Van Reenen. Piet Van Reenen over politie en geweldsbeheersing*. Den Haag: Boom/Lemma.
- Ministry of Intern Affairs and Kingdom Relations (2009): *Policing in The Netherlands*. The Hague: OBT BV.
- Nadler, A., Malloy, T.E. & Fisher, J.D. (eds.) (2008): *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Nadler, A. & Schnabel, N. (2008): Instrumental and Socioemotional Paths to intergroup reconciliation and the needs-Based model of Socioemotional Reconciliation. In A. Nadler, T.E. Malloy & J.D. Fisher (eds.): *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Neufeld Redekop, V. & Paré, S. (2010): Beyond control. A mutual respect approach to protest crowd-police relations. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Otten, M.H.P., Boin, R.A., & Van der Torre, E.J. (2001): *Dynamics of disorder: lessons from two Dutch riots*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.
- Palagi, E., Paoli, T., & Borgognini T. S. (2004): Reconciliation and consolation in captive bonobos (*Pan paniscus*). *American Journal of Primatology* 62(1): 15–30.
- Palmiotto, M.J. (2011): *Community policing: a police-citizen partnership*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Patton, M.Q. (1987): *Qualitative Research and Evaluative Methods. Integrating Theory and Practice*. Thousand Oaks (CA): Sage Publications.
- Pauwels, L. & Hardyns, W.(2009): Measuring community (dis)organizational processes through key informant analysis. *European journal of criminology* 6 (5): 401–417.
- Pratto, F., & Glasford, D.E. (2008): How Needs can Motivate Intergroup Reconciliation in the Face of Intergroup Conflict. In A. Nadler, T.E. Malloy & J.D. Fisher (eds.): *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Preuschoft, S, Wang, X, Aureli F, & De Waal, F. B. M. (2002): Reconciliation in captive chimpanzees: a re-evaluation with controlled methods. *International Journal of Primatology* 23: 29-50.
- Pruitt, D.G. & Kim, S.H. (eds.) (3rd ed.) (2004): *Social conflict: escalation, stalemate, and settlement*. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Putnam, L. M. (2004): Transformations and Critical Moments in negotiation. *Negotiation Journal* 20(2): 275-293.
- Raudenbush, S.W. & Sampson, R.(1999): Ecometrics: toward a science of assessing ecological settings, with application to the systematic social observation of neighbourhoods. *Sociological methodology* 29: 1-41.
- Rebecchini, L., Schaffner, C. M., & Aureli, F. (2011): Security is a component of social relationships in spider monkeys. *Ethology* 117: 691-699.
- Reicher, S. D. (1996): The Battle of Westminster. Developing the Social Identity Model of Crowd Behaviour In Order To Explain the Initiation and Development of Collective Conflict. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 26: 115-134.
- Reicher, S. et al. (2007): Knowledge-Based Public Order Policing: Principles and Practice, *Policing* 1(4): 403-415.
- Reiner, R. (2000): *The Politics of the Police*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reisig, M.D. (2010): Community and Problem-Oriented Policing. *Crime and Justice* 39(1): 1-53.
- Rhodes, R.A.W. (1996): The new governance: governing without government, *Political Studies* (XLIV): 652-667.
- Riessman, C. K. (2008): *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. London: Sage.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Mc Naughton Nicholls, C., & Ormston, R. (eds.) (2013) (2nd ed.): *Qualitative Research Practice. A guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. London: Sage.
- Robbins, S.P & Judge, T.A. (2016) (13th Global ed.): *Essentials of Organizational Behavior*. New York, NJ: Pearson.
- Roese, N. J., & Vohs, K. D. (2012): Hindsight bias. *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 7: 411-426.
- Rusbridger, A. et al. (2011): *Reading the Riots. Investigating England's summer of disorder*. London: London School of Politics and Economics and The Guardian. Retrieved 11-08-2016 from [http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/46297/1/Reading%20the%20riots\(published\).pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/46297/1/Reading%20the%20riots(published).pdf)
- Rusbult, C.E., Hannon, P.A., Stocker, S.L. & Finkel E.J. (2005): Forgiveness and relational repair, in E.L. Worthington Jr. (ed.), *Handbook of forgiveness*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 185-205.
- Scarman, L. (Ed.) (1982): *The Scarman Report: The Brixton Disorder, 10-12 April 1981*. Harmondsworth: Pelican.
- Schaible, L.M., De Angelis, J., Wolf, B., & Rosenthal, R. (2012): Denver's Citizen/Police complaint Mediation Program: Officer and Complainant Satisfaction. *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 24(5): 626-650.
- Schaffner, C. M., Aureli, F., & Caine, N. G. (2005): Following the rules: why small groups of tamarins do not reconcile conflicts, *Folia Primatologica* 76, 67-76.
- Schneewind, K.A. & Gerhard, A. (2002): Relationship Personality, Conflict Resolution, and Marital Satisfaction in the First 5 Years of Marriage, *Family Relations* 51 (1): 63-71.



- Schulz, M. (2010): *De commissie. Over de politiek-bestuurlijke logica van een publiek geheim*. [The commission. On the political-public administrative logics of an open secret]. Den Haag: Boom/Lemma.
- Shapin, S. (1999): Rarely pure and never simple: talking about truth, *Configurations* 7(1): 1-14.
- Shapiro, D. L. (2002): Negotiating Emotions. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 20(1): 67–82.
- Sherif, M. (1966): *In common predicament: Social psychology of intergroup conflict and cooperation*. New York, NJ: Houghton Mifflin.
- Silk, J.B. (2002): The form and function of reconciliation in primates. *Annual review of anthropology* 31: 21–44.
- Skogan, W.G. (2004). *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing. The Evidence*. Washington D.C.: The National Academic Press.
- Skogan, W.G. (2005): Citizen Satisfaction with Police Encounters. *Police Quarterly* 8(3): 298-321.
- Skogan, W.G. (2006): Advocate: The Promise of Community Policing, in D. Weisburd and A.A. Braga, (Eds.), *Police Innovation. Contrasting Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smeets, H.M.A.G. & Steijlen, F. (2006): *In Nederland gebleven. De geschiedenis van Molukkers 1951–2006* [Residing in the Netherlands: the history of Moluccans 1951–2006]. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Spears, R. (2010): group rationale, collective sense: beyond intergroup bias. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 49: 1-20.
- Stichting Maatschappij en Veiligheid Politie (2015): *Een ideaalbeeld van de wijkagent als eerste lijn van de politie van wijk tot wereld* [A perfect picture of the community police officer as crucial factor relating police to society]. Den Haag: SMV. Retrieved 20-08-2016 from <http://www.maatschappijveiligheid.nl/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/wijkagenten-van-wijk-tot-wereld-mei-2015.pdf>
- Stott, C.J., Adang, O.M., Livingstone, A., & Schreiber, M. (2008): Tackling football hooliganism: a quantitative study of public order, policing and crowd psychology. *Psychology Public Policy and Law* 52 (2): 111-138.
- Stronks, S. & Adang, O.M.J. (2015): Critical Moments in Police-Citizen reconciliation. *Policing: an International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 38(2): 366-380.
- Stronks, S. (2015). 'Exploring police-citizen conflict and reconciliation through a relational model.' *European Journal of Policing Studies* 3(1): 342-366.
- Stronks, S. (2016): Community police officers and self-involved conflict; an explorative study on reconciliation with citizens. *Policing: A Journal Of Policy And Practice* 10(3): 206-221.
- Tabachnick, B. G. & Fidell, L. S. (2007): *Using Multivariate Statistics*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Tajfel, H. (1978): *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. Oxford, UK: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1979): An integrative theory of intergroup conflict, in W.G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Monterey: Brooks/Cole Pub. Co.

- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986): The social identity theory of inter-group behaviour, in S. Worchel & L.W. Austin (eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations*. Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall, 7–24.
- Terpstra, J. & Kouwenhove, R. (2004): *Samenwerking en netwerken in de locale veiligheidszorg*. Zeist: Kerckebosch.
- Terpstra, J. (2010): Community Policing: Ambitions and Realization. *Policing. A Journal of Policy and Practice* 4(1): 64–72.
- Sing-Toomey, S. (2015): Identity Negotiation Theory. The International Encyclopedia of Interpersonal Communication. Retrieved on September 27<sup>th</sup>, 2016 via DOI 10.1002/9781118540190.wbeic129.
- Tops, P. (2010): *Gezag en Gedrag. Over de gezagspolitie van de politie* [Authority and Behaviour. About the authority of the Dutch police]. Apeldoorn: Politieacademie.
- Tops, P. (2013): De Dynamiek van Frontlijnsturing [The dynamics of street-level governance]. In H. Moors en E. Bervoets (ed). *Frontlijnwerkers in de veiligheidszorg. Gevalsstudies, Patronen, Analyse* [Security, Safety and Street-level Bureaucrats. Cases, Patterns, Analysis]. Den Haag: Boom-Lemma.
- Tummers, L.G. & Bekkers, V.J.J.M. (2014): Policy implementation, street-level bureaucracy and the importance of discretion, *Public Management Review* 16(4): 527-547.
- Tyler, T.R. (1990) *Why People Obey the Law*. New Haven (CT): Yale University Press.
- Tyler, T.R. & Huo, Y.J. (2002): *Trust in the Law: Encouraging Public Cooperation with the Police and Courts*. New York, NY: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Tyler, T.R. (2003): Procedural justice, legitimacy, and the effective rule of law. In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and justice-A review of research*, 30: 431-505. Chicago (IL): University of Chicago Press.
- Tyler, T.R. (2004): Enhancing Police Legitimacy, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 593(1): 84-99.
- Umbreit, M.S., Coates, R.B. & Kalanj, B. (1994): *Victim Meets Offender. The impact of Restorative Justice and Mediation*. Monsey: Criminal Justice Press/Willow Tee Press
- Uslaner, E. (2004): Trust and Social Bonds: Faith in others and policy outcomes reconsidered. *Political Research Quarterly* 57(3): 501-507.
- van Ark, R. (2005): *Planning Contract en Commitment. Naar een relationeel perspectief op gebiedscontracten in de ruimtelijke planning*. [Planning, Contract and Commitment. Towards a relational perspective on regional contracts in spatial planning]. PhD Thesis, Wageningen University, The Netherlands.
- van Caem, B., Van Steden, R., Boutellier, H., & Van Stokkom, B. (2013): Community Policing ‘Light’: On Proximity and Distance in the Relationship between Neighbourhood Coordinators and Citizens. *Policing. A Journal of Policy and Practice* 7(3): 263–272.
- van Calster, P. & Schuilenburg, M.B. (2009): Burgernet vanuit een Nodal Governance Perspectief [Burgernet. A police-citizen network on crime-fighting viewed from a nodal governance perspective]. *Justitiële verkenningen* 35(1): 93-112.
- van de Klomp, M., Adang, O.M.J., & van den Brink, G.J.M. (2011): Riot management and community relations: policing public disturbances in a Dutch neighbourhood. *Policing and society: An International Journal of Research and Policy* 21 (3): 304–326.
- van de Klomp, M., Stronks, S., Adang, O.M.J. & van den Brink, G.J.M (2014): Police and Citizens in conflict: exploring post-confrontation interaction from a relational per-

- spective, *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy* 24(4): 459-478.
- van de Vliert, E. , Nauta, A., Giebels, E. & Janssen, O. (1999): Constructive conflict at work. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 20: 475-491.
- van den Brink, G. J.M. (Ed.) (2007): *Prachtwijken ?! Over mogelijkheden en beperkingen van Nederlandse probleemwijken* [Notorious!? About the possibilities and limitations of infamous Dutch neighbourhoods]. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- van den Brink, G.J.M. & Bruinsma, M.Y. (eds.) (2010): *Rellen in Ondiep. Ontstaan en afhandeling van grootschalige ordeverstoring in een Utrechtse achterstandswijk* [Riots in Ondiep: the onset and engagement of large-scale public disturbances in a disadvantaged neighbourhood of Utrecht]. Apeldoorn: Politie & Wetenschap.
- van den Brink, van G.J.M. (2010): *Empathie en Handhaving*. Apeldoorn: Politieacademie.
- van den Vijver, K. & Zoomer, O. (2004): Evaluating community policing in the Netherlands. *European journal of crime, criminal law and criminal justice* 12 (3): 251–267.
- van den Vijver, K. & Gunther-Moor (2012): Theories of Policing. In Tides and Currents of in Police Theories, *Cahiers Politiestudies* 2012-4 (25): 15-28.
- van der Torre (2010): *Op 't randje. Een onderzoek naar relpreventie op kritieke momenten*. [On the edge. A research on the prevention of public disorder during critical moments]. Den Haag: COT.
- van der Torre, E.J., Gieling, M. Dozy, M. & Akgul, A. (2011): *Op de agenda: en survey onder wijkagenten*. Apeldoorn: PolitieAcademie.
- van Gunsteren, H. (1998): *A Theory of Citizenship. Organizing plurality in contemporary democracies*. Boulder (CO): Westview Press.
- van Hulst, M. (2008): *Town Hall Tales. Culture As Storytelling in Local Government*. Delft: Eburon.
- van Hulst, M., De Graaf, L., & Van de Brink, G.J.M. (2012): The work of exemplary practitioners in neighborhood governance, *Critical Policy Studies* 6(4): 434-451.
- van Hulst, M. (2013): Storytelling at the police station. The canteen culture revised. *British Journal of Criminology* 53(4): 624-642.
- van Leiden, I. & Ferwerda, H. (2012): Niet zonder slag of stoot. Een impressie van de aard, omvang en afhandeling van geweld tegen politiemensen [Not without a fight. An impression of the nature, extent and settlement of violence against police officers]. *Cahiers Politiestudies* 23/2012-2: 57-70.
- van Ness, D. & Heetderks Strong, K. (eds.) (2010) (4<sup>th</sup> ed.): *Restoring Justice, an introduction to Restorative Justice*. New Providence, NJ: Matthew Bender and Company, Inc.
- van Os, G. & Van den Brink, G.J.M. (2007): Tweezijdige behoorlijkheid, in: *25 jaar Nationale Ombudsman*. Amsterdam: Boom, pp. 147-166.
- van Reenen, P. & Verton, P.C. (1974): Over de Legitimiteit van het Hedendaagse Politieoptreden [On legitimacy of police action], *Mens en Maatschappij* 49 (1): 72-87.
- van Reenen, P. (1998): *De Geest van Blauw* [The Spirit of Blue]. Deventer: Gouda Quint.
- van Ryzin, M.J. & Leve L.D. (2011): Validity evidence for the Security Scale as a measure of perceived attachment security in adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence* 35(2): 425-31.
- van Steden, R., van Caem, B., & Boutellier, H. (2011): The 'hidden strength' of active citizenship: the involvement of local residents in public safety projects. *Criminology and criminal justice* 11 (5): 433–450.

- van Stokkom, B., Terpstra, J. & Easton, M. (2011): Editorial. In: B. van Stokkom, J. Terpstra & M. Easton, (eds), *Social Disorder*. Cahiers Politiestudies 2011/1: 7-17.
- Verbeek, P. P., Willard, W., Hartup, W., & Collins, W. A. (2000). Conflict Management in Children and Adolescents. In: F. Aureli & F.B.M. de Waal (eds), *Natural Conflict Resolution*. London: University of California Press.
- Verbeek, P.P & De Waal, F.E.B. (2001): Peacemaking among Preschool Children. *Journal of PeacePsychology* 7(1): 5-28.
- Verbeek, P. (2013): An Ethological Perspective on War and Peace, in D.P. Fry, (Ed.) *War, Peace and Human Nature. The Convergence of Evolutionary and Cultural views*. New York, NJ: Oxford University Press.
- Verwee, E. (2012): De verwachting van de burger over het politionele geweldgebruik [the expectations of citizens on the polices use of violence], in *Cahiers Politiestudies* 23/2012-2: 177-200.
- Waddington, P. A. J. (1999): Police (Canteen) Sub-Culture: An Appreciation. *British Journal of Criminology* 39: 287–309.
- Waddington, D., Fabien, J., & King, M. (eds.)(2009): *Rioting in the UK and France: a comparative analysis*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.
- Walgrave, L. (2008): *Restorative Justice, Self-Interest and Responsible Citizenship*. Portland, OR: Willan Publishing.
- Walker, S., Archbold, C., & Herbst, L. (2002): *Mediating Citizen Complaints Against Police Officers: A Guide for Police and Community Leaders*. Washington, DC: Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing.
- Washnis, G.M. (1976): *Citizen involvement in crime prevention*. Lexington (MA): Lexington Books.
- Waters, I., & Brown, K. (2000). Police Complaints and the Complainants' Experience'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 40, 617-38.
- Watts, D. (2006): Conflict resolution in chimpanzees and the valuable-relationships hypothesis. *International Journal of Primatology* 27: 1337-1364.
- Weber, M. (1972 [1922]): *Gezag en bureaucratie* (onder redactie van A. van Braam). Rotterdam: Universitaire Pers.
- Westlund, K. & Clarke, C (2005): Communicative factors, conflict progression and use of reconciliatory strategies in pre-school boys. A series of random events or a sequential process? *Aggressive Behavior* 31: 303-323.
- Wheeler, M. (2004): Anxious Moments: openings in Negotiation. *Negotiation Journal* 20(2): 153-169.
- Wilber, K., Engler, J. & Brown, D. (Eds.) (1986): *Transformations of consciousness: Conventional and contemplative perspectives on development*. Boston, Ma: Shambala.
- Winship, C. (2004): Veneers and Underlayments: Critical Moments and Situational Redefinition. *Negotiation Journal* 22(2): 297-340.
- Winslade, J. (2009): The secret Knowledge of peacemaking. *Negotiation Journal* 25(4): pp. 559- 568.
- Wittig, R.M. & Boesch, C. (2005): How to repair relationships – reconciliation in wild chimpanzees (Pan troglodytes). *Ethology* 111: 736–763.

- Worthington, E.L. & Drinkard, D.T. (2000): Promoting reconciliation through psychoeducational and therapeutic interventions. *Journal of marital and family therapy* 26 (1): 93–101.
- Yanow, D. (1996). *How does a policy mean? Interpreting policy and organizational actions*. Washington (DC): Georgetown University Press.
- Yarn, D.H. (2000): Law, Love and Reconciliation, in F. Aureli & F.B.M. de Waal (Eds.), *Natural Conflict Resolution*. London: University of California Press.
- Yarn, D.H. & Jones, G.T. (2009): A biological approach to understanding resistance to apology, forgiveness, and reconciliation in group conflict. *Law and contemporary problems* 72: 63–81.
- Yin, R.K. (2003): *Case study research: design and methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Yarn, D. H. (2000): Law, Love and Reconciliation. In: F. Aureli & F.B.M. de Waal (eds), *Natural Conflict Resolution*. London: University of California Press.
- Zariski, A (2010): A Theory Matrix for Mediators. *Negotiation Journal* 26 (2): 203-235.
- Zartman, I.W. (2001): The timing of peace initiatives: hurting stalemates and ripe moments. *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1(1): 8-18.
- Zehr, H. (1990). *Changing lenses: A new Focus for Criminal Justice*. Scottsdale (AZ): Herald Press.





# Summary





**Chapter 1.** All modern Western democracies have to deal, at least to some extent, with balancing between cooperation and maintaining peace with citizens on the one hand, and violence and overt conflict with citizens on the other hand. The fact that the police are allowed to use violence is a common source of public attention, tension and overt conflict. This thesis focuses on the social dimension of police-citizen relationships in understanding and explaining conflict interactions in overt conflict between the (Dutch) police and citizens.

In direct (social) interactions, the police and citizens do not always have similar goals or expectations. In spite of all the rules and regulations, the police and citizens are social human beings that have thoughts, feelings and relationships that undeniably color the tenor of their interactions. Police-citizen interactions are more than contact between rational and objective state-body objects and human subjects. This may result in overt conflict. The focus in this thesis is on the micro- and meso-levels in which such social interaction develops. The *meso-level* relates to -analysis of- the operational structures, practices and procedures of the police and citizens as the authority and an agency respectively. The *micro-level* relates to interactions between individuals, or small groups of individuals, and involves an analysis of interpersonal behaviours and interactions that function as obstacles or catalysts in conflict management.

In this thesis, the Relational Model (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) functions as the theoretical point of departure. The Relational Model, is synthesised as five basic principles, as is paraphrased in the table below.

**Basic principles of the Relational Model (after Aureli and De Waal, 2000)**

<b>Interdependency</b>	Humans are a group-living species. In order to survive, they must cooperate with others. other group members with whom they build social relationships.
<b>Overt conflict as management</b>	In the event of a conflict of interests/actions/goals, three basic management methods exist: tolerance, avoidance and overt conflict. tolerance, avoidance and overt conflict.
<b>Social repair</b>	Overt conflict may be worth the risk but it may also cause damage to a relationship. As a consequence of human interdependency, there is a natural need to repair such damage: we reconcile.
<b>Reconciliation</b>	Reconciliation (defined as friendly restorative interaction following aggressive encounters) restores tolerance, reduces post-conflict incompatibility and insecurity and has the potential to strengthen the value of relationships.
<b>Relationship maintenance and group cohesion</b>	Reconciliation, overt conflict and cooperation are closely aligned positive social tendencies through which the terms of relationships are negotiated and group cohesion maintained.

The current institutionally constructed methods of managing overt conflicts that have police involvement (e.g., criminal proceeding, complaint management, public inquiry), are costly and time consuming. It is questionable whether such processes increase the likelihood of reaching a satisfactory outcome regarding the enduring relationship between the police and citizens. In this thesis it is assumed in the context of police-citizen conflict, that mechanisms of reconciliation also exist and have a function in the building, maintaining and strengthening of police-citizen relationships. Remarkably little attention has been paid to understanding the social interactions that follow overt conflict and conflict resolution in overt conflict between the police and citizens. This thesis constitutes an initial attempt to address that gap along the lines of the following main question:

*To what extent can the relational model explain the interrelationship between the social (micro- to meso-level) dimension of police-citizen interactions and the behaviour of the police and citizens following an overt conflict?*

The main question is set out in four research questions

1. To what extent is the Relational Model helpful in defining and understanding meso-level police-citizen reconciliation?
2. To what extent and how are interactions in the developing reconciliation process after overt police-citizen group conflicts, affected by relationship assessments by those involved?
3. What is the explanatory power of the Relational Model in analysing and explaining police-citizen interactions after an overt group conflict?
4. Is the Relational Model helpful in defining and understanding micro-level police-citizen reconciliation?

The main aim of the research project was to explore to what extent police-citizen interactions after an overt conflict depend on the nature of the relationship between the police and citizens. Research questions (RQs) 1, 2 and 3 focused on the meso-level exploration of the principles of the Relational Model through an analysis of various cases of police-citizen group-level conflict. In chapters 2, 3 and 4, the focus is on answering RQ 1, 2 and 3 respectively. Inter-individual overt conflicts between citizens and police officers involved in community policing were central to the analysis related to answering RQ 4 and chapter 5 respectively.

In **Chapter 2** (focused on answering RQ1), an assumed instance of a reconciliation process is reconstructed based on the events after riots between Dutch youths of Moluccan descent and the police at a New Year's eve celebration. The riots were followed by a peaceful celebration a year later. By means of a comparison of data gathered from (policy) documents and interviews with 11 key-informants, the relationship nature before and after the confrontation and post-conflict interactions were analysed. The in-depth analysis showed that trust between the parties was only formed and brought to fruition when individuals from both sides of the conflict interacted on a face-to-face basis. Two moments of direct contact between party representatives were critical in fostering the shift from confrontation to

cooperation. Before these Critical Moments (CMs), contact between the groups, or group representatives, was difficult and conflictive. Following these CMs, cooperative contacts between certain significant party representatives increased and intensified, thereby fostering the shift from conflict to cooperation. The analysis showed that the Relational Model was helpful in understanding the interactional shift from confrontation to cooperation.

In **Chapter 3** the focus lies on analysing interactions in the run-up to, during and after Critical Moments (CMs) in the transformation from conflict to cooperation. The analysis was based a comparison of data gathered from (policy) documents and interviews 26 key actors in three different cases of media-salient police-citizen group conflict. In the analysis the applicability of a more detailed conceptualisation of the concept “relationship” into three distinct ‘relationship qualities’ (after Cords & Aureli, 2000), was explored. Relationship *value* refers to what the parties have to offer, how willing they are to offer it and the extent to which they are accessible for each other. Relationship *security* refers to (confidence in) the predictability of interactions between parties. Relationship compatibility refers to the general tenor of social interactions in a relationship, which results from the temperament of the partners and their shared history of social exchanges.

In the analysis of the CMs, three chronological stages of interaction were identified: tension (characterized by the arousal of negative emotions), transformation, and dialogue (here, the transformation towards friendlier cooperative interaction was made). The analysis suggested that the development of these CMs was influenced by the parties’ perceptions of the value, security and compatibility of the relationship. Respondents’ assessments of group compatibility appeared not only to be inferred from the temperaments of the party representatives, or their shared history of interaction. Respondents also actively assess and describe themselves in terms of similarities and differences relative to others and to other parties. Such ‘social identification’ is important in understanding and explaining CM interactions.

During the transformation and dialogue stages of the CMs, assessments of the relationship’s value and compatibility contributed to an atmosphere in which the individuals present were at least open to change and willing to adopt a vulnerable stance. The exchange of value- and compatibility signals, such as emphasis on the importance of successive contact with the other, the exchange of information or the display of an open attitude, verbal emphasis on shared interests or goals, or talking in terms of ‘we’ instead of in terms of ‘us’ versus ‘other’, were important in fostering the actual transformation to cooperative behaviour. During the CMs, direct appeals to relationship security were found to be rare. In the run-up to and during the CMs, however, feelings of insecurity had to be overcome before the transformation to cooperation could be made. The venting of emotions appeared particularly important in fostering this transformation. If the attendees were too insecure to initiate contact, reconciliation failed. Moreover, there seemed to be a positive relationship between perceived relationship-value, -compatibility and -security. When value signals and compatibility signals were sent and endorsed, feelings of insecurity were further reduced, thus accelerating the development to dialogue.

In **Chapter 4**, the explanatory power of the Relational Model (RQ3) was explored through a comparative analysis of five different Dutch cases of media-salient overt group conflicts between police and citizens. The analysis was based on a comparison of data gathered from (policy) documents and 53 interviews with key-actor respondents. Again, the analysis indicated that police-citizen relationships are actively described in terms of their value, security and compatibility. Assessments on the security and compatibility of a relationship appeared directly negatively affected by overt conflict. Such negative relationship assessments could be transformed -reconciled- during Critical Moments. Group reconciliation however, appeared only possible when key-actor party representatives committed to the reconciliation process.

The importance of relationship value was mostly revealed in terms of what its absence led to in times of conflict. When prominent members of either or both the opposing groups or subgroups did not assess a relationship to be of some value, between-group reconciliation appeared problematic, if not impossible. Relationship security appeared only important in relationships that are assessed as valuable. The analysis also indicated a direct effect of overt confrontations on actors' assessment of relationship security. Assessments of relationship *in*security appeared particularly strong when actors first met their opponents after an overt conflict. Respondents who were present at CMs indicated that they felt more relaxed afterwards, and that the CM meeting made them feel more secure about the other party in general and particularly about the good intentions of those party members attending the CM. Compatibility assessments were identified as playing a powerful role in post-conflict relationship assessment and behaviour. The analyses supported the assumption that reconciliation is important and effective in mutually assessed valuable relationships that are challenged by overt conflict.

**Chapter 5** focuses on whether the Relational Model is helpful in defining and understanding micro-level police-citizen reconciliation (RQ4). In order to do so, interview data of 15 Dutch community police officers' stories and reflections on their own involvement in conflict and reconciliation with citizens, were analysed. The analysis indicated that reconciliation is a social process in which effort and dedication from both parties are required. Herein, the institutional context can serve as an obstacle to or as a catalyst for reconciliation. For instance, several respondents believed that the duties and mandate that characterize the police can hinder citizens as well as themselves from being as open and transparent as might be the case in everyday social relationships. On the other hand, respondents' conceptions of themselves as a professional, help them in keeping a professional distance to conflict-communication and aggressive escalation.

In line with the assumption of the Relational Model, the respondents viewed reconciliatory processes as important in building, maintaining and enhancing relationships with those others who are valuable to successful community policing. Despite the fact that others might not share this view. Respondents' assessments of the nature of relationships (defined in terms of value, security and compatibility) appeared to influence the social processes that followed confrontations.

In **Chapter 6**, first, the overall conclusions are drawn. Relative to the main question, “*To what extent can the Relational Model explain the interrelationship between the social (micro- to meso-level) dimension of police-citizen interactions and the behaviour of the police and citizens following an overt conflict?*” it is concluded the theoretical principles of the Relational Model have explanatory potential. This thesis highlights the importance of reconciliation as an effective strategy for maintaining police-citizen relationships that are assessed as valuable but that are threatened by overt conflict. In concentrating on the value, security and compatibility of the social relationship involved, rather than on details of the overt conflict, the Relational Model helps identifying processes of moving on and factors that influence post-conflict interactions.

The methodological discussion in Chapter 6 first reflects on the several limitations that relate to the reliability and objectivity of the data and then emphasises the qualitative perspective on knowledge and meaning of human perception. However, the ‘failure’ to statistically prove or verify the Relational Model, does not conflict with the aim of this thesis, which was *to explore to what extent police-citizen interactions after an overt conflict depend on the nature of the relationship between the police and citizens*. At this exploratory stage, using the rather fixed behavioural indicators (value, compatibility and security) that are applied in ethological research would have generated little in-depth knowledge on police-citizen conflict interactions and relationships.

The discussion highlights the results of the thesis to 1) research and theorising on natural conflict resolution and the relationship qualities; 2) the role of social identification in conflict interaction, and; 3) current thinking on public-private relationships.

Relative to research and theorising on natural conflict resolution and the relationship qualities (1), this thesis highlights the descriptive power of relationship value, security and compatibility as qualities of police-citizen relationships. Overall, and in accordance with research on natural conflict resolution (Cords & Aureli, 2000), this study indicates that ‘*relationship-value*’ can be defined as a quality that refers to the deeper, stable character of a relationship. That is, assessments of the value of a relationship define the ‘need’ to reconcile. This thesis indicates that ‘*relationship security*’ is a quality whose assessment is more influenced by the interactional dynamics in a relationship. Security or the attainment thereof, appears important only in relationships that are assessed as valuable. This finding contrasts with studies in other social scientific fields such as police studies in which security is commonly defined as a resource that the police are obliged to provide and that citizens are entitled to receive. Here, a lack of trust or security in a relationship is often seen as the main cause of aggression, conflict and difficult relationships.

Researchers on natural conflict resolution assume *relationship compatibility* to be a secondary quality that is similar for both parties because it relates directly to the shared social history of the parties. This study suggests that human assessments of compatibility are prominent and not likely to be symmetrical. Moreover, the research showed that compatibility had an additional component that referred to processes of social identification.

Relative to the role of social identification in conflict interaction (2) the thesis emphasises and stresses the human ability to identify oneself as a member of *multiple* social groups at the same time. This ability includes flexibility that allows us to vary our in- and out-group perspectives. Social identification may have a negative effect in overt conflict with those who are identified as *other*. It may allow, at the same time, for cooperative interaction, closeness and the growth of valuable relationships with those recognised as *us*. Through social identification, reconciliatory interactions between significant group representatives were interpreted as amounting to group reconciliation. As an extension to the Relational Model, reconciliation among humans appears not only to be vital for the maintenance of *in-group* living, but also for *between-group* living.

Relative to current thinking on public-private relationships (3) this thesis indicates that conflict resolution is practiced on the micro- as well as meso-level, in concurrence with and, so it seems, at times also despite the institutional system in which it operates. The methods that are currently available for managing conflicts involving the police (criminal proceedings, complaint management, public inquiries) do not require the forms of direct contact between opposing parties that is needed to repair previous interactions and re-establish a relationship. This is problematic in contemporary governance contexts such as the Dutch, in which public institutions have to increasingly rely on cooperation and mutual interdependency with other partners, including citizens. Here, reliance on effective cooperation alone cannot meet the desired expectations if effort is not also put into the governance of (unavoidable) overt conflict. As long as no attention is paid to carefully dealing with the aftermath of overt conflict, conflict interactions can result in a direct threat to citizens' perceptions of police legitimacy.

The findings presented in this thesis question the effectiveness and value of continuously framing the police-citizen relationship as an ambiguous and dichotomous relationship in which the police have to deal with a problematic internal paradox that requires proximity, empathy and cooperation on the one hand, and a certain distance and force on the other. Police-citizen relationships are unbalanced in terms of power and status but these imbalances do not necessarily restrain partners from engaging in cooperation, conflict and conflict resolution. The principles reflected in the Relational Model link effective policing to the virtue of a continuous police-citizen relationship. In this relationship, cooperation is balanced, refined and strengthened by ongoing cycles of overt conflict and reconciliation. This balancing may cause stresses and anxieties but is worthwhile given the positive long-term effects.

On the basis of the results of this thesis and the discussion, it is recommended to focus more in future research, on understanding and explaining potential of the Relational Model in comparative research in other post-conflict contexts (on the micro-, meso- as well as international levels). The value, compatibility and security of a relationship as potential indicators of the quality of a relationship should be clarified, distinguished and defined more precisely. Moreover, a thorough exploration of the Relational Model in the context of analysing comparative post-conflict group dynamics and social identification is needed.

Specifically in the context of policing, comparative (observational) research needs to be undertaken in order to determine the broader relevance of the Relational Model on micro-meso- as well as (inter) national levels or analysis. Research should focus on, for instance, the function and influence of other public and private actors on police-citizen relationship management, the inclusion of a relational perspective in police decision-making, the development of methods and instruments that make it easier to assess the nature of group relations and a more thorough establishment of the forms, functions and interplays between the institutional and social dimensions of the police-citizen relationship.

In the recommendations, first, it is advised to adopt a general relational perspective in policing. In adopting a relational perspective, police officers actively invest in the building and maintenance of relationships in times of peace, pay attention to the fact that individual and public actions (both verbal and nonverbal) affect citizens' assessments of the police, hence, (group) relations and consider the nature of relationships involved in police work insofar as the context permits. A relational perspective on policing assumes that building, maintaining and strengthening relationships occurs through direct micro-level interactions. In such investing, relationship security is built and maintained by expressions through which value of the relationship and the compatibility of the parties involved is emphasised. Here, showing and doing speak louder than words. In contact with those regarded as ingroup members, the emphasis is not on differences, but on similarities, shared goals and shared needs, and on compatible norms and values.

Given that it is impossible to equally invest unlimited effort in all public-private relationships, policing with a relational perspective requires careful consideration of micro- and meso- *public relations* and of the current and future urgency of building, maintaining or strengthening them. Police officers that adopt a relational perspective, consider the following three questions in any policing context:

1. *"With whom am I/are we dealing?"*
2. *"What is the nature of the police-citizen relationships involved?"*
3. *"Which of the involved parties (or representatives thereof) are possible allies in effective policing?"*

In times of conflict or public unrest, police officers that adopt a relational perspective on their policing strategy, acknowledge and consider the relationship or relationships with actors that are regarded important in preventing situations of unrest from escalating. Relative to those actors, direct contact and cooperation are actively sought. In direct contact with those actors the value, compatibility and security of the relationship are emphasised. Police officers that adopt a relational perspective also recognize that, overt conflict should not be viewed as a zero-sum game, but as a social process that, if the aftermath is carefully dealt with, has a role in maintaining, building and even strengthening relationships with the public. Here, they consider reconciliation as a powerful strategy for conflict resolution. In adopting a relational perspective in both policing public unrest, as well as the aftermath of overt conflict, the (nature of the relationships with the) parties involved are considered. Police officers who adopt a relational perspective on policing, explicitly approach, involve and address those parties who are assessed as potential proponents of de-escalation. With

them, a strategy of cooperation (by virtue of their value and compatibility) is employed. In trying to mitigate the public's immediate assessments of relationship insecurity and foster a transformation to more cooperative interactions, police officers that adopting a relational perspective, attempt to establish direct and explicit face-to-face interpersonal or intergroup communications as soon as possible. During such critical moments, the police are encouraged to focus on the exchange of value and compatibility signals in easing tensions and restoring contact.





# Samenvatting



**Hoofdstuk 1** is de introductie. In deze thesis ligt de focus op de relatie tussen de (Nederlandse) politie en burgers. Deze relatie is er één van wederzijdse afhankelijkheid. Burgers hebben de politie nodig om veilig en beveiligd te kunnen leven. De politie heeft burgers nodig bij het effectief bewaken van de openbare orde; het waarborgen van de publieke veiligheid en het toezien op individuele en collectieve naleving van de wet.

De relatie tussen politie en burgers bevat twee componenten, die het contact tussen beiden sterk beïnvloeden:

- een institutioneel component: de taken, rechten en plichten van politie en burgers ten opzichte van elkaar, zijn zorgvuldig en uitvoerig vastgelegd en geregeld;
- een sociaal component: politie én burgers zijn mensen en het handelen van mensen hangt af van de situatie én van (op dat moment) levende denkbeelden, verwachtingen en gevoelens.

In haar handelen mag de politie - bij uitzondering - geweld gebruiken om de orde te bewaken en de rust en vrede te herstellen. Politieoptreden roept, ondanks het feit dat burgers hier institutioneel beschouwd mee instemmen, niet altijd instemming op. Soms wel openlijke kritiek, frustraties, onvrede en verdere escalatie. Minder vaak uit ook de politie openlijk onvrede en kritiek over het handelen van burgers rond politieoptreden. In zulke situaties is de politie, of ze het nu wil of niet, partij in een openlijk conflict. Ons institutionele kader biedt in de basis geen ruimte voor zo'n politie-burgerconflict: de politie heeft immers de rol de vrede te bewaken en vanuit die rol is het onmogelijk zelf partij te worden in een openlijk conflict.

Ons institutionele kader biedt wél ruimte om politie-burgerconflicten te managen. Doorgaans worden drie verschillende methoden ingezet:

- juridische procedures
- klachtenmanagement
- (publiek) onderzoek en advisering door derde partijen.

Deze methoden zijn kostbaar en tijdrovend. Bovendien valt, gelet op de sociale component van politie-burgerrelaties, te betwijfelen of deze methodes effectief zijn in het onderhouden en versterken van politie-burgerrelaties. Daarvoor lijkt meer nodig dan inzet van methoden die ontwikkeld zijn vanuit het institutionele denken.

In deze thesis ligt de focus op de sociale component van politie-burgerrelaties in het analyseren, begrijpen en verklaren van de interacties bij openlijke conflicten waar de Nederlandse politie en burgers als partij bij betrokken zijn. Daarbij zijn de interacties geanalyseerd op twee niveaus:

- het mesoniveau: de operationele structuren, interacties en procedures van de politie en burgers als vertegenwoordigers van groepen;
- het microniveau: het gedrag van en de interactie tussen individuele of kleine groepen burgers en politievertegenwoordigers.

De doelstelling van deze thesis is: *inzicht krijgen in of en hoe de aard van de relatie tussen de betrokkenen zich verhoudt tot de interacties na een openlijk politie-burgerconflict.*

Het Relationale Model van conflict, samenwerking en verzoening (Aureli & De Waal, 2000) is in deze thesis gebruikt als theoretisch uitgangspunt. Dit model is ontwikkeld in de ethologie. Met oog op de doelstelling van deze thesis is het Relationale Model samengevat tot vijf basisprincipes.

1. *Onderlinge afhankelijkheid*: sociale dieren -zoals mensen- leven in groepen. Daarbinnen bouwen zij sociale relaties op met de groepsleden met wie zij moeten samenwerken om te kunnen (over)leven.
2. *Confrontatie als management-optie*: de doelen, acties en belangen van de individuen in een groep komen niet altijd overeen. Ervaart een individu zo'n conflict met een ander, dan zijn er in basis drie opties: tolerantie, vermindering en openlijk conflict.
3. *Reparatie*: de enige manier om de ervaring van een conflict op te lossen, is het aangaan van dat conflict. Een conflict aangaan kan het risico van het nemen waard zijn maar het kan ook de relatie met de ander beschadigen. Wordt ervoor gekozen om het conflict aan te gaan, dan bestaat, als gevolg van principe 1, de behoefte om de schade in de relatie te herstellen.
4. *Verzoening*: verzoening, het vriendelijk gedrag dat volgt op een verwijdering na een confrontatie, herstelt de wederzijdse tolerantie van partijen ten opzichte van elkaar. Verzoening vermindert de door het conflict ontstane onverenigbaarheid en onveiligheid en herstelt de relatie. Door verzoening worden relaties onderhouden én kunnen relaties worden verdiept en versterkt.
5. *Relatiebeheer en groepscohesie*: door de natuurlijke behoefte aan samenwerking met groepsleden, de onoverkomelijke confrontaties met diezelfde groepsleden en noodzakelijke verzoeningen daarna, worden relaties en de posities die partijen hebben ten opzichte van elkaar, gedefinieerd. Door sterke relaties binnen de groep wordt de cohesie binnen de groep geborgd. Samenwerking, openlijke conflicten en verzoening zijn dus positieve sociale processen.

Focussen we op de sociale component, dan is aannemelijk dat politie en burgers na openlijke conflicten verzoenen: er is immers sprake van wederzijdse afhankelijkheid. Verzoenende contacten na een openlijk conflict zouden dus wel eens van groot belang kunnen zijn in het bouwen, handhaven en versterken van politie-burgerrelaties. Om het Relationale Model verder te verkennen is de volgende probleemstelling geformuleerd:

*In hoeverre helpt het Relationale Model bij het begrijpen en verklaren van het verband tussen de sociale component van politie-burger relaties (op micro- en mesoniveau) en de interactie na openlijke politie-burger conflicten?*

De probleemstelling is verdeeld in vier onderzoeksvragen:

1. *In hoeverre helpt het Relationale Model bij het begrijpen en verklaren van een politie-burgerverzoeningsproces op mesoniveau?*
2. *Hoe verhouden de denkbeelden over de aard van de relaties van betrokkenen bij politie-burgerverzoeningsprocessen zich tot de interacties in verzoeningsprocessen?*
3. *In hoeverre kan met het Relationale Model de interactie na openlijke politie-burgerconflicten worden geanalyseerd, en verklaard?*
4. *In hoeverre is het Relationale Model van toepassing bij het begrijpen en verklaren van politie-burgerverzoeningsprocessen op microniveau?*

De eerste drie onderzoeksvragen richten zich op het verkennen van de principes van het Relationele Model in de context van verschillende politie-burgerconflictcasus op mesoniveau. De analyses en conclusies in relatie tot de onderzoeksvragen zijn in hoofdstuk 2, 3, en 4 uitgewerkt. Onderzoeksvraag 4 is gericht op microniveau: op openlijke conflicten tussen burgers en wijkagenten. De analyses en conclusies in relatie tot onderzoeksvraag 4 zijn uitgewerkt in hoofdstuk 5.

**Hoofdstuk 2** is gericht op onderzoeksvraag 1: *In hoeverre helpt het Relationele Model bij het begrijpen en verklaren van een politie-burgerverzoeningsproces op mesoniveau?* Om dit te onderzoeken is een conflictcasus geselecteerd waarbij vermoed werd dat iets had plaatsgevonden wat gedefinieerd kan worden als politie-burgerverzoening: ondanks een openlijk conflict dat ontstond na rellen tussen de politie en Molukse jeugd tijdens een jaarwisseling in Tiel, werkten de politie, lokale vertegenwoordigers van de Molukse gemeenschap én de gemeente samen in de succesvolle organisatie van de volgende jaarwisseling, die zich probleemloos voltrok.

Het Relationele Model bleek te helpen in het verkennen en inzicht krijgen in de wijze waarop de omslag van openlijk conflict tot samenwerking zich voltrok. Eerst werd, op basis van data uit (beleids)documenten en interviews met elf sleutelpersonen, het interactieproces tussen de partijen vanaf het conflict tot en met de samenwerking, gereconstrueerd. Daarna werden alle uitspraken over de aard van de relatie vóór het openlijke conflict en na de rustige jaarwisseling, met elkaar vergeleken.

De analyse leidde tot de conclusie dat wederzijds (hersteld) vertrouwen ontstond nádat vertegenwoordigers van conflicterende partijen direct (face-to-face) contact met elkaar hadden.

In het verzoeningsproces bleken twee van die momenten van direct contact cruciaal. Voorafgaand aan deze *Critical Moments* verliepen de contacten tussen (vertegenwoordigers van) de partijen moeizaam en conflictueus. Na deze *Critical Moments* was er sprake van meer, intensiever en vriendelijker contact tussen vertegenwoordigers van de partijen. Daardoor kon ook op mesoniveau, een omslag van conflict naar samenwerking worden bewerkstelligd: een politie-burgerverzoening.

**Hoofdstuk 3** is gericht op onderzoeksvraag 2: *Hoe verhouden de denkbeelden over de aard van de relaties van betrokkenen bij politie-burgerverzoeningsprocessen zich tot de interacties in verzoeningsprocessen?* In de analyse lag de focus op het begrijpen en verklaren van de interacties in de aanloop naar, tijdens en na *Critical Moments*. Nu werden drie casus geselecteerd: drie verzoeningsprocessen na een openlijk politie-burgerconflict. In totaal werden er vijf *Critical Moments* gedetecteerd.

Op basis van analyse van de data - diverse (beleids)documenten en interviews met 26 sleutelpersonen- kon worden vastgesteld dat de *Critical Moments* drie elkaar opvolgende stadia hadden:

1. *spanning*, een fase die wordt gekenmerkt door het ervaren en uiten van de negatieve emoties die ontstonden door het conflict.

2. *transformatie*, een moment waarop iemand iets zegt of doet waardoor de nadruk wordt gelegd op (toekomstige) samenwerking in plaats van conflict (en het uiten van gevoelens die in het verleden ontstonden).
3. *dialogoog*, een fase waarin de omslag naar vriendelijker en coöperatiever contacten tussen de betrokkenen ontstaan.

Aan de hand van een op het Relationele Model aansluitende theorie (Aureli en De Waal, 2000), verkend in hoeverre het definiëren van de aard van relaties in termen van drie aan elkaar gerelateerde kwaliteiten van toepassing zou kunnen zijn bij het verklaren van de interacties na openlijke politie-burger conflicten. Die drie kwaliteiten zijn:

- *waarde*: deze refereert aan wat partijen in hun relatie elkaar te bieden hebben, aan hoe bereid zij zijn om dit ook daadwerkelijk te bieden en aan hun relatieve toegankelijkheid ten opzichte van elkaar.
- *veiligheid*: deze refereert aan (het vertrouwen in) de voorspelbaarheid van de interacties tussen partijen.
- *compatibiliteit*: deze refereert aan de aard van de individuele partijen in relatie tot contact met anderen (is een partij van nature coöperatiever, vermijdend, confronterend, agressief? Anders?) en aan de aard van eerder contact tussen de partijen (meer coöperatief? Meer conflictueus? Vermijdend? Anders?).

Uit de analyse van uitspraken over de relaties door sleutelpersonen, bleek dat de contacten tijdens Critical Moments worden beïnvloed door hoe respondenten de waarde, veiligheid en compatibiliteit van relaties beleven. De geïnterviewde sleutelpersonen bleken daarnaast compatibiliteit niet alleen toe te schrijven aan percepties over de aard van de ander en/of de aard van contacten uit het verleden. De sleutelpersonen beschreven en beschouwden zichzelf en anderen ook in termen van -subjectief ervaren- overeenkomsten en verschillen. *Sociale identificatie*, het identificeren van jezelf en anderen in termen van sociale categorieën en groepen, lijkt belangrijk in het begrijpen en verklaren van het gedrag tijdens Critical Moments.

Uit de analyse bleek dat percepties over de waarde van de relatie van belang zijn in het aanzetten tot contact. Zonder een minimale perceptie over de waarde van een onderlinge relatie wordt contact niet gezocht en wordt er geen gehoor gegeven aan uitnodigingen tot contact. De omslag naar coöperatief contact - de stadia van transformatie en dialoog - bleek plaats te vinden na de uitwisseling van gedragssignalen die de waarde en compatibiliteit van de onderlinge relatie benadrukken. Gedragssignalen zoals zeggen dat goed contact met de ander belangrijk is; uitwisseling van (vertrouwelijke) informatie; tonen van een open houding; benoemen van gedeelde belangen of doelen; praten in termen van 'wij' in plaats van in termen van 'wij' versus 'jullie'.

Uit de analyse bleek daarnaast dat tijdens de *Critical Moments* de veiligheid van relaties zelden direct wordt benoemd of benadrukt. Maar tegelijkertijd bleek dat om de gewenste omslag naar meer coöperatief gedrag te kunnen maken, het noodzakelijk lijkt eerst de door het conflict veroorzaakte gevoelens van onveiligheid te overwinnen. Het uiten en benoemen van emoties bleek daarin van bijzonder belang: daardoor herstellen percepties over

de veiligheid van de relatie. Zolang tijdens contact een relatie als onvoldoende veilig wordt ervaren, lijkt transformatie naar coöperatie niet mogelijk.

Percepties over de waarde, veiligheid en comptabiliteit en daaraan gerelateerd gedrag, leken elkaar wederzijds te versterken. Als signalen van waarde van en compatibiliteit werden uitgewisseld en door de ontvangers werden bevestigd, namen de percepties van alle betrokkenen over onveiligheid af, en kon dialoog ontstaan.

**Hoofdstuk 4** is gericht op onderzoeksvraag 3: *In hoeverre kan met het Relationale Model de interactie na openlijke politie-burger conflicten worden geanalyseerd, en verklaard?* Geselecteerd werden vijf casus van openlijk conflict tussen de politie en burgers op mesoniveau. In vier daarvan konden *Critical Moments* en verzoeningsprocessen worden gedetecteerd. In één casus leek hiervan geen sprake.

Uit de analyse van de data - diverse (beleids)documenten en interviews met 53 sleutelpersonen - bleek andermaal dat de geïnterviewde sleutelpersonen politie-burgerrelaties actief beleefden en beschreven in termen van hun waarde, veiligheid en compatibiliteit. De verwikkeling in een openlijk conflict met (vertegenwoordigers van) een andere partij bleek direct negatief van invloed op hoe de geïnterviewde sleutelpersonen keken naar de veiligheid en compatibiliteit van de relatie met die ander die andere partij. Zulke negatieve percepties konden worden gemitigeerd tijdens momenten (*Critical Moments*) van direct contact waarbij de transformatie naar coöperatieve contacten -in elk geval tussen de aanwezigen- kon worden gemaakt. Van verzoening op mesoniveau leek echter alleen sprake te kunnen zijn op het moment dat prominente partijvertegenwoordigers met een formele of informele status, bij het verzoeningsproces betrokken waren. Als een prominent groepslid na een openlijk conflict geen waarde (meer) toekent aan de relatie met die groep(en) waarmee hij in conflict is, lijkt verzoening op mesoniveau problematisch, zo niet onmogelijk. Als (contact met) een andere partij door jou niet van belang wordt geacht en/of je denkt dat een ander contact met jou niet de moeite waard is, dan is de kans groot dat je niet bereid bent energie te stoppen in (direct contact met) die ander. Het bewerkstelligen van de veiligheid van relaties lijkt dan ook alleen van belang in relaties die voor beide partijen van waarde zijn.

De verwikkeling in een openlijk conflict met een andere partij (of vertegenwoordiger daarvan) leek direct negatief van invloed op percepties die de geïnterviewde sleutelpersonen hadden over de veiligheid van de relatie tijdens het *Critical Moment*. Dit was met name zo in verhouding tot de eerste contacten die betrokkenen hadden na de eerste confrontatie in een openlijk conflict. Met betrekking tot de veiligheid van relaties is het ook interessant dat de geïnterviewde sleutelfiguren aangaven zich ná contact tijdens een *Critical Moment* meer ontspannen te voelen. Door het contact werd het vertrouwen in de (goede intenties) van de (aanwezige vertegenwoordigers van de) andere partij hersteld.

Tot slot bleek ook dat de geïnterviewde sleutelpersonen de aard van de relaties tussen henzelf en anderen partijen of vertegenwoordigers daarvan, veelvuldig beschreven in ter-

men van compatibiliteit. De (perceptie op) de compatibiliteit van relaties in een conflict, lijkt van invloed te zijn op de interacties die volgen op micro- én op mesoniveau.

**Hoofdstuk 5** is gericht op onderzoeksvraag 4: *In hoeverre is het Relationele Model van toepassing bij het begrijpen en verklaren van politie-burgerverzoeningsprocessen op micro-niveau*. Om dit te onderzoeken zijn 15 diepte-interviews afgenomen bij 15 wijkagenten. In de interviews is wijkagenten gevraagd om te vertellen wat zij doen als ze zelf als partij verwickeld raken in een openlijk conflict met burgers. Ook is hen gevraagd om te vertellen over wat verzoenen voor hen betekent in het uitvoeren van hun werk.

Uit de analyse van de uitspraken van de wijkagenten bleek dat politie-burgerrelaties worden beleefd en beschreven in termen van hun waarde, veiligheid en compatibiliteit. Voor verzoenen worden doorgaans andere termen gebruikt, zoals “repareren”, “de lucht klaren” of “herstellen van de orde van de dag”. In overeenstemming met de principes van het Relationele Model beschouwden de geïnterviewde wijkagenten verzoenen van belang in het bouwen, onderhouden en versterken van relaties met alle anderen die van belang zijn in effectieve beoefening van het wijkagentschap. Ondanks het feit dat burgers, ketenpartners en/of collega’s deze overtuiging niet altijd delen. Verzoening is een relationeel proces dat inzet en toewijding vergt van beide partijen. Een wijkagent kan veel willen betekenen maar uiteindelijk moet de ander, of anderen ook de nut en de noodzaak zien van het herstellen en onderhouden van relaties. Is hiervan geen sprake, dan is en blijft contact, laat staan verzoenend of coöperatief contact, moeizaam.

De institutionele component van de politie-burgerrelatie lijkt een verzoeningsproces zowel te kunnen bevorderen als bemoeilijken. Zo is het voor wijkagenten niet altijd mogelijk om informatie te verstrekken over zaken of bepaalde politieacties omdat dit een politieonderzoek zou kunnen belemmeren. Beschouwd vanuit de sociale component, is het verstrekken van bepaalde informatie en een transparante en open opstelling juist positief van invloed op het bewerkstelligen van een verzoening. Verschillende wijkagenten geven ook aan dat zij door het feit dat zij een opgeleide politieprofessional zijn, beter in staat zijn hun verwikkeling in een openlijk conflict te objectiveren. De agressie die wordt ontvangen wordt niet verpersoonlijkt: niet opgevat als agressie gericht tegen jou als persoon, maar als agressie tegen een uniform. Het vermogen om te objectiveren is volgens wijkagenten positief van invloed op de wijze waarop de wijkagent in staat is om de-escalerend op te treden en verzoening te bewerkstelligen.

**Hoofdstuk 6** betreft als eerste de conclusies. De probleemstelling is: *In hoeverre helpt het Relationele Model bij het begrijpen en verklaren van het verband tussen de sociale component van politie-burger relaties (op micro- en meso niveau) en de interactie na openlijke politie-burger conflicten?*

Het antwoord op de probleemstelling kan worden samengevat in drie punten:

1. Op basis van deze thesis, dit verkennende onderzoek, kan worden geconcludeerd dat het Relationele Model helpt bij het begrijpen en verklaren van de wederzijds afhan-



- kelijkheid tussen percepties over politie-burgerrelaties én de interactie na openlijke politie-burgerconflicten.
2. Verzoening is een effectieve strategie in het onderhouden en versterken van waardevolle politie-burgerrelaties die door een openlijk conflict beschadigd zijn of dreigen te worden beschadigd. Door conflicten aan te gaan en op te lossen, worden relaties hersteld en samenwerking en samenhang geborgd, bedongen en bekrachtigd.
  3. Met het Relationele Model kunnen processen, factoren en gedragingen worden geïdentificeerd die de ontwikkeling van politie-burgerrelaties beïnvloeden. Het Relationele Model focust zich - in plaats van op de toedracht van een conflict, de institutioneel geconstrueerde rechten/plichten en de afzonderlijke handelingen/posities van betrokkenen - op (interpretaties over) de waarde, veiligheid en compatibiliteit van de sociale component van politie-burgerrelaties.

In de methodologische discussie wordt eerst gereflecteerd op verschillende beperkingen die gerelateerd zijn aan de betrouwbaarheid en validiteit van de kwalitatieve data en de methoden waarmee deze werden verzameld. De conclusie: met inachtneming van de methodologische beperkingen zijn waardevolle inzichten verkregen in, of en hoe de aard van de relatie tussen de betrokkenen, zich verhoudt tot de interacties na een openlijk politie-burgerconflict. Zonder een kwalitatief perspectief zou de rol van sociale identificatie in het bepalen van de compatibiliteit van relaties, waarschijnlijk niet zijn geïdentificeerd.

Vervolgens centreert de discussie zich rond de wetenschappelijke implicaties van deze thes in relatie tot onderzoek en theorievorming over drie thema's:

4. het Relationele Model en de relatiekwaliteiten;
5. de rol van sociale identificatie in conflicten;
6. publiek-private relaties.

In relatie tot onderzoek en theorievorming aangaande het Relationele Model en de relatiekwaliteiten (1), toont deze thesis allereerst de relevantie van het beschrijven van de aard van relaties in termen van waarde, veiligheid en compatibiliteit. In lijn met ethologische studies kan worden gesteld dat de *waarde* van relaties de primaire kwaliteit is. Waarde refereert aan een diepere, meer stabiele laag, aan het -soms weliswaar weggezakte- belang van een relatie. Percepties over de waarde van relaties verklaren of er überhaupt een behoefte tot coöperatief contact en voorts verzoening, bestaat.

In lijn met ethologische studies lijkt de *veiligheid* van een relatie pas belangrijk op het moment dat een relatie waardevol is: pas als je beseft dat een ander belangrijk voor je is, wordt contact met die ander belangrijk. Vervolgens wordt het belangrijk dat dat contact veilig (voorspelbaar en betrouwbaar) is. De *veiligheid* van een relatie lijkt een dynamische kwaliteit: percepties over de veiligheid worden direct beïnvloed door wat er gebeurt in contact met de ander. Deze bevinding contrasteert met studies in andere sociale velden. In politiewetenschappen bijvoorbeeld, wordt veiligheid in de politie-burgerrelatie gekarakteriseerd als een bron waarin de politie burgers dient te voorzien. Een gebrek aan een gevoel van veiligheid of vertrouwen wordt vaak gezien als de hoofdoorzaak van conflictueuze politie-burgerrelaties.

In ethologisch onderzoek naar de relatiekwaliteiten wordt *compatibiliteit* gedefinieerd als een secundaire kwaliteit die gelijk zou moeten worden gepercipieerd door de verschillende opponenten. Compatibiliteit refereert immers aan de natuurlijke aard van de individuele partijen en aan de aard van eerder contact tussen de partijen. Uit deze thesis blijkt echter dat het niet aannemelijk is dat de compatibiliteit van relaties door mensen gelijk wordt gepercipieerd. Persoonlijke omstandigheden, gevoelens en andere zaken kleuren de percepties over de aard van (eerdere contacten met) de ander. Voor compatibiliteit in menselijke relaties is een additionele component nodig. Deze verwijst naar *sociale identificatie*: de mate waarop partijen zichzelf beschouwen als overeenkomstig of verschillend in termen van groepslidmaatschap. Sociale identificatie lijkt voorwaarde voor compatibiliteit en daarmee dus ook voor samenwerking en verzoening.

Deze thesis belicht het belang van sociale identificatie (2). Mensen zijn flexibel in hun perceptie van wat nu wel of niet een groep is en wie daar wel of niet bij hoort. In tegenstelling tot wat we kunnen waarnemen bij dieren kunnen mensen zichzelf beschouwen als lid van meerdere sociale groepen. Sociale identificatie lijkt de interacties rond conflicten sterk te beïnvloeden. Negatief, als identificatie met de ander(en) uitblijft; als iemand een ander beschouwt als lid van een andere groep met andere kenmerken, doelen en belangen, verkleint dit de kans op vriendschappelijk, coöperatief contact. Maar uit deze thesis blijkt dat sociale identificatie de interacties rond conflicten ook zeer positief kan beïnvloeden: doordat mensen zich sociaal identificeren met anderen, zijn zij bereid om samen te werken, toenadering te zoeken, te onderhandelen en energie te steken in coöperatief contact.

Sociale identificatie lijkt, zo blijkt uit deze thesis, ook verzoening op mesoniveau bewerkstelligen. Als aanvulling op het Relationele Model, dat uitgaat van het positieve relatie tussen verzoening en de stabiliteit binnen groepen, kan dus worden verondersteld dat samenwerking en verzoening tussen mensen, door sociale identificatie, niet alleen vitaal is voor de cohesie binnen een groep, maar ook voor de stabiliteit tussen groepen.

Voor wat betreft onderzoek en theorievorming over publiek-private relaties (3) wijst deze thesis uit dat conflicten tussen politie en burgers kunnen worden opgelost door sociale interactie op micro- en mesoniveau. Bezien vanuit een sociaal perspectief op conflicten en politie- burgerrelaties, zijn de huidige (door het institutionele kader geboden) methoden van conflictmanagement - strafrechtelijke processen, klachtenmanagement en publieke onderzoeken - beperkt effectief. Bij geen van deze methoden worden die interacties gestimuleerd, die nodig zijn een dialoog te bewerkstelligen en de beschadigde relatie te herstellen en versterken. In het Nederlandse bestuursklimaat kun je dit zien als een problematisch gegeven. Bestuurders en vertegenwoordigers van publieke organisaties moeten zich immers meer en meer richten op de samenwerking met burgers en andere ketenpartners en hun onderlinge afhankelijkheid. Binnen deze sterke afhankelijkheid van netwerken is het weinig proactief om alleen aandacht te richten op het bewerkstelligen van samenwerking. Zo nu en dan zal er onvermijdelijk sprake zijn van conflict. Wanneer publieke partijen in de nasleep van zo'n conflict niet óók oog en zorg hebben voor de sociale impact op de betrokkenen en relaties, kunnen spanningen hoog oplopen. Op den duur zijn zulke

situaties negatief van invloed op de perceptie die burgers hebben over de legitimiteit van publieke dienstverleners.

In de context van politie-burgerrelaties wordt vaak de nadruk gelegd op de paradox van politiewerk: politiewerk vereist enerzijds nabijheid, samenwerking en empathie. Anderzijds draait politiewerk om professioneel (afstandelijk) handelen en om handhaving met het (eventueel) gebruik van geweld als optie daarin. Op basis van deze thesis wordt niet ontkend dat deze paradox bestaat. Op basis van deze thesis wordt wél in twijfel getrokken of en in hoeverre het gewenst en van nut is te focussen op het onderscheid tussen deze elementen en op de problemen en conflicten die daarmee gepaard gaan. In termen van macht en status is de politie-burgerrelatie inderdaad 'scheef', maar dit betekent níet dat alle contact tussen politie en burgers daarom per definitie ook scheef is of zal zijn. Politie-burgerrelaties hebben namelijk ook een onmiskenbare sociaal component. Daardoor is het mogelijk om samen te werken, daardoor ontstaan er soms toch conflicten, daardoor kunnen die conflicten ook worden opgelost én... daardoor kan effectieve samenwerking worden bewerkstelligd.

De principes van het Relationele Model linken effectief politiewerk aan de deugdelijkheid van de (continue) relatie tussen politie en burgers. Binnen die relatie worden samenwerking en samenhang geborgd, bedongen en bekrachtigd door cycli van openlijk conflict én verzoening. Dat borgen, bedingen en bekrachtigen van samenwerking en samenhang, kan weliswaar de nodige stress veroorzaken, maar lijkt gelet op de positieve effecten, lonend te zijn.

In de aanbevelingen voor verder onderzoek wordt als eerste gesteld dat er meer, verdiepend en vergelijkend onderzoek nodig is in de context van het Relationele Model en de toepassing daarvan. Dergelijk onderzoek zal moeten worden verricht in verschillende –ook niet bestuurlijke– conflict contexten en op micro-, meso- en internationaal niveau. Ook is meer en verdiepend onderzoek nodig zodat de definities, de samenhang, het onderscheid en de gedragsindicatoren van waarde, veiligheid en compatibiliteit, beter kunnen worden geoperationaliseerd en er dieper kan worden ingezoomd op de functie van sociale identificatie.

De politie wordt meer (en vergelijkend) observatieonderzoek aanbevolen. Onderzoek waardoor we de toepassing, het nut en de eventuele beperkingen van het Relationele Model verder kunnen ontdekken en uitwerken op micro-, meso- én internationaal niveau. Dergelijk onderzoek zou zich niet alleen moeten richten op het de-escaleren en oplossen van conflicten en het mitigeren van sociale onrust. Ook zou aandacht moeten zijn voor de toepassing, het nut en de eventuele beperkingen van het Relationele Model in het uitvoeren van effectief politiewerk in algemene zin. Gedacht kan worden aan onderzoek:

- naar de functie en invloed van andere publieke en private partijen op de wijze waarop politie burger relaties tot stand komen en worden onderhouden;
- naar de meerwaarde van een relationeel perspectief op besluitvorming bij de politie;
- naar de ontwikkeling van methodes en instrumenten die het gemakkelijker maken om de aard van relaties op mesoniveau vast te stellen;
- naar de vormen functies en wisselwerking tussen de institutionele en sociale component van politie-burgerrelaties.

In de praktische aanbevelingen wordt gesteld dat aandacht voor de sociale component van politie-burgerrelaties en het hanteren van een relationeel perspectief, positief van invloed kunnen zijn op de effectiviteit en duurzaamheid van politiewerk. Een politie die zich verbindt, heeft oog en aandacht voor relaties en investeert in tijden van relatieve rust (pro)actief in het bouwen, en onderhouden van relaties met alle partijen die positief van invloed zijn of zouden kunnen zijn bij het bewerkstelligen van effectief politiewerk. Een politie die een relationeel perspectief op politiewerk hanteert (h)erkent dat het opbouwen, onderhouden en versterken van relaties gebeurt in de dagdagelijkse interactie op micro- en mesoniveau.

Politie medewerkers die een relationeel perspectief op politiewerk hanteren zijn zich ervan bewust dat hun (verbale en nonverbale) individuele acties, van invloed zijn op de perceptie die burgers hebben over de politie als groep, instituut én relatie. Deze politie medewerkers weten: *“showing and doing speak louder than words”*. Daarom besteden politie medewerkers met een relationeel perspectief aandacht aan het onderhouden en leggen van contact(en) én aan het uitwisselen van signalen, waarmee de waarde en compatibiliteit van de onderlinge relatie wordt benadrukt. In communicatie met partijen die horen bij de *ingroep* wordt gepoogd om de nadruk niet te leggen op verschillen en wordt niet de suggestie gewekt dat politie-burger relaties bestaan in een dichotome wereld waarin ‘ik’ en ‘jij’ of ‘wij’ en ‘jullie’ onverenigbare tegenpolen zijn. In communicatie met partijen die horen bij de *ingroep* wordt nu de nadruk gelegd op gedeelde doelen en behoeften; op verenigbare normen en waarden én op wat ‘wij’ kunnen betekenen voor een veilige en beveiligde leefomgeving.

Omdat het onmogelijk is om op micro- en mesoniveau in gelijke mate te investeren in alle relaties met andere partijen, denken politie medewerkers die een relationeel perspectief op politiewerk hanteren - indien de situatie dat toelaat - na over de relaties met alle partners die van belang zijn bij effectief politiewerk én over of en hoe die relatie(s) effectief politiewerk kunnen beïnvloeden. Bij het maken van beslissingen over politiewerk worden daarom, afhankelijk van de uitgangspunten en doelen van (lokaal) politiebeleid, altijd de volgende vragen overwogen:

1. Met wie of welke groep(en) heb ik/hebben we te maken?
1. Wat is de aard van de relatie(s) met deze partij(en)?
2. In hoeverre is/zijn deze partij(en) van belang voor het bewerkstelligen van mijn/onze doelen en uitgangspunten?

In tijden van maatschappelijke onrust (h)erkennen politiewerkers die vanuit een relationeel perspectief naar hun werk kijken, dat de sociale component van politie-burgerrelaties de interacties beïnvloedt. Daarom overwegen deze bij het uitdenken van strategieën en het nemen van strategische beslissingen expliciet de sociale component en aard van de relaties met die ander. Met die (vertegenwoordigers van) groepen/partijen, die van belang worden geacht in het bewerkstelligen van de-escalatie. Met hen wordt direct contact en samenwerking gezocht. En worden waarde, veiligheid en compatibiliteit gecommuniceerd in woord en –vooral- daad.

Mocht er dan toch sprake blijven van een openlijk conflict, dan beschouwen politiemedewerkers die een relationeel perspectief hanteren, zo'n conflict niet als een *zero-sum game* waarbij je alleen maar kunt winnen of verliezen. Politiemedewerkers die een relationeel perspectief hanteren:

- erkennen dat openlijk conflicten onvermijdelijk zijn en beschouwen deze niet per definitie als een fundamentele bedreiging van de legitimiteit;
- besteden na openlijke conflicten aandacht en zorg aan het identificeren en herstellen van de sociale impact op de betrokken relaties;
- erkennen de functie van openlijke conflicten én het herstel daarvan, in het bouwen, onderhouden en zelfs versterken van coöperatieve relaties met partners die belangrijk zijn voor effectief politiewerk.

Verzoening is een potentieel krachtig middel voor het oplossen van conflicten en het bouwen en verstevigen van relaties. In het bewerkstelligen van verzoening en het voorkomen van verdere escalatie, overweegt een politie die vanuit een relationeel perspectief opereert daarom de sociale component en aard van de betrokken politie-burgerrelaties in het bepalen van een strategie. Een (communicatie)strategie, waarin de waarde van direct *face-to-face* contact expliciet wordt erkend. Als dit contact uitblijft of (te) lang op zich laat wachten - als de politie niets lijkt te doen of niets van zich laat horen - kán het haast niet anders dan dat dit geïnterpreteerd wordt, als een signaal dat de politie de relatie niet van belang vindt. En mensen zijn nu eenmaal mensen. Als de ander de relatie met jou niet van belang vindt en jij die relatie wel, schuurt dat op z'n minst. Als die ander dan ook nog eens de politie is, wordt dat schuren makkelijk onverdraagzaam. Hoe kan het immers dat de politie géén belang blijkt te stellen in de relatie met jou? De politie bestaat toch juist om jou te beschermen? Het is toch een instituut, waar je op moet kunnen rekenen? Waar je recht op hebt?

Al dan niet vermeende desinteresse van de politie na een conflict roept reacties op, die de politie-burgerrelatie op niet versterken. Openlijke conflicten blijven immers niet onopgemerkt. Via de (social) media worden ook burgers, die niet direct bij het conflict betrokken zijn, geïnformeerd en deelgenoot gemaakt. Het is aannemelijk dat dit de perceptie van burgers op hun relatie met de politie sterk beïnvloed. Met allerhande interacties als gevolg. Het is daarom zeer van belang dat de politie na een conflict, zo snel mogelijk contact zoekt met al die (bereikbare) partijen, die van belang zijn in het bewerkstelligen van verzoening en het voorkomen van verdere escalatie. Tijdens zulke *critical moments* kunnen de stress en negatieve gevoelens van onveiligheid, die het openlijke conflict veroorzaakte, worden gemitigeerd, door ruimte te geven aan emoties én signalen uit te wisselen van waarde en compatibiliteit. Zonder eerst de perceptie van veiligheid in direct contact te herstellen, lijkt de transformatie naar dialoog en samenwerking moeilijk of onmogelijk.

Een politie die er voor iedereen wil zijn, die actief wil samenwerken met burgers en andere ketenpartners, moet de relatie met diegenen serieus nemen. Een politie die in staat is om zichzelf te zien als (keten)partner wordt in staat om na een conflict samenwerking te bewerkstelligen en verdiepen.





# Dankwoord





Aan dit proefschrift heb ik acht jaar gewerkt. In die acht jaren schoot ik niet altijd even hard op. Soms waren er behoorlijk wat saboteurs aan het werk: kinderen die gebaard, gevoed en verzorgd moesten worden; vrienden en familieleden die van alles en nog wat organiseerden, ondergingen en ondernamen; projecten op het werk die niks met het proefschrift van doen hadden maar wel energie en aandacht nodig hadden, en noem al die zaken die horen bij volwassen/moeder/collega/partner/vriendin zijn, maar op. Maar gelukkig waren er in die acht jaar ook altijd mensen, óók saboteurs, die mij inspireerden, mij nieuwe inzichten gaven, mijn gedachtes scherpten, mij toejuichten, of steunden. Aan die mensen wijt ik dit dankwoord: aan mijn promotores, mijn (ex) collega's, mijn vrienden en aan mijn familie.

Ik begin bij het begin: bij mijn tijd op de Politieacademie, waar ik samen met collega AiO *Misja van de Klomp*, startte met het proefschriftavontuur. Misja, bedankt voor de samenwerking in relatie tot het verzamelen en analyseren van data en het schrijven van het eerste artikel! Vanaf mijn start bij de politieacademie waren daar ook mede AiO's *Alan Kabki* en *Else Pragt*. En later werden nog *Henk Sollie* en *Anne van Uden* toegevoegd aan dat clubje. Het is fijn om te werken naast en met mensen die 'in hetzelfde schuitje' verkeren. Ik dank mijn mede AiO's voor de steun in vorm van ruggenspraak, werkontwijking en kritische reflectie. Bedankt ook, lieve medewerkers van de mediatheek voor de koppen koffie en thee, kletspraat en natuurlijk ook voor het uitvoeren van mediascans (*Marije van den Bremen*) en het steeds opnieuw opzoeken en toezenden van de door mij opgevraagde bronnen (*Mea Heringa*). De betrokkenen bij het lectoraat Openbare Orde en Gevaarsbeheersing (enkele namen: *Wim van Oorschot*, *Carin Esman*, *Esther Schut*, *Gerard Olthoff* (†)) waren altijd geïnteresseerd in mijn onderzoek én voorzagen mij in enige afleiding met betrekking tot andere onderzoeksactiviteiten. Bedankt! Ook dank ik voor de vele inspirerende gesprekken met PA-collega's die bereid waren om inhoudelijk met mij van gedachten te wisselen. Enkele namen: *Ben van Eeuwijk*; *Mayke Gieling*; *Peter Gieling*; *Peter van Os*; *Annika Smit*; *Luuk van Spijk*; *Pieter Tops*.

In relatie tot de politieorganisatie als geheel, de andere partijen die ik betrok bij mijn onderzoek, en natuurlijk mijn respondenten, ben ik dankbaar voor het schenken van bergen aan rijke, 'data' en informatie. Daarnaast ontving ik de eerste vijf jaar de nodige academische steun, ruggenspraak en 'understanding' van verschillende mensen die betrokken waren bij de Tilburgse School voor Politiek en Bestuurskunde (TSPB), een bijzonder intensief seminar over *Obstacles and Catalysts of Peace* in Leiden (2013), het Netherlands Institute of Governance (NIG), in het bijzonder *Vicky Balsem* en het clubje mede-AiO's in de Openbare Orde en Crowd Science (*Nanda Wijermans*, *Elaine Brown*, *Martina Schreiber*). De TSPB wil ik bedanken voor de laatste (financiële) ondersteuning bij het afronden van zaken voor mijn proefschrift. Mijn TSPB vrienden, *Merlijn van Hulst* en *Niels Karsten* dank ik voor het lezen en becommentariëren verschillende versies van delen van mijn dissertatie. *Giles Stacey* from Englishworks, thank you so much for your excellent English editing!

Ook kan en wil ik natuurlijk niet langs mijn man, vrienden en familie heen. Ik ben zo trots en dankbaar dat er zo veel liefhebbenden zijn voor mij en ik er zoveel lief mag hebben! Het leven draait uiteindelijk immers niet om proefschriftschrijven, maar om goede rela-

ties. Mijn geweldige man, prachtige kinderen, bijzondere familie, supervrienden (ook bij Saxion Security Management) en lievelings Van Zanten bewezen -met name de laatste drie jaar- dat (on)bewuste sabotage niet altijd ongewenst is en hoeft te zijn. Dankjewel *Tobias, Dien!, Hans, Jannie, Douwe, Mied, Joop, Eric, Diana, Pien* en *Sjakko*, voor de vele extra kuikenzorgdiensten die jullie op je namen, zodat ik nog 'even' kon werken aan de eindeloze revisies van artikelen en hoofdstukken. In de allerlaatste maanden, waarin het regelen van logistieke en afrondende randvoorwaarden me echt wat te veel werd, kon ik (dank o dank!) bovendien wat zaken delegeren. *Tobias*, bedankt voor het fixen van *Chris van Imago mediabuilers* en het uiterst professioneel ontzorgen met betrekking tot drukken. *Siep, Sijmen* en *Tobias*, de borrel tijdens Lepeltje Lepeltje zal zonder twijfel en als vanouds, van een koninklijk niveau zijn; dank alvast! Bedankt *Niels, Ramon, Nanda, René*, en *Dien!*, voor de laatste kritische reflecties met betrekking tot schrijfwerk. *Niels* en *Eline*, mijn paranimfisch comité, bedankt voor jullie organisatorische support bij alle bovengenoemde zaken. Met jullie achter mij en bij mij, komt het goed.

En dan als '*last*', maar zeker '*not least*': mijn beide promotores.

*Gabriel van den Brink*, het was een eer om onder jouw vleugels te mogen promoveren. Bedankt voor de inhoudelijke adviezen en bedankt dat je op de achtergrond jouw rol als promotor bleef vervullen.

*Otto Adang*, acht jaar geleden nam jij de rol van dagelijks begeleider op je en dat bleef jij doen. Ook toen mijn contract bij de Politieacademie eindigde, toen ik een nieuwe baan kreeg, toen het weer eens tegenzat en toen de GO zich eindelijk aandiende. Ik ben zo dankbaar voor jouw vertrouwen (niet aflatend), jouw kritische reflectie (zonder meer) en jouw steun (ook op andere fronten). Wat fijn dat wij als leerling en begeleider, als wetenschappelijke vakbroeder en -broederin én als vrienden met elkaar om kunnen gaan. Hoe logisch, dat deze verschillende omgangsvormen elkaar wederzijds versterken in plaats van uitsluiten. Ik hoop dan ook in de toekomst met jou te mogen blijven sparren, samenwerken, (stilte)wandelen, discussiëren en neuzelen.



**About the author**

*Sara Stronks* (1982) studied Culture- Organization and Management studies at De Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Here, she developed a broad interest in the culture, organization and management of public institutions generally, and the police and policing specifically. In 2009 Sara started with her PhD research at the Policeacademy of The Netherlands. As a PhD student she was also affiliated to the Tilburg School of Politics and Public Administration (University of Tilburg). From 2015 onwards, Sara works as a lecturer and researcher Security Management on Saxion University of Applied Sciences. You can contact her at [sara.stronks@outlook.com](mailto:sara.stronks@outlook.com)