



"WHAT'S GOING ON?"

Experiences of young racialised
people of Policing in Wales



No Justice, No Peace.



DEDICATION

To the families of Mohamud Hassan (died aged 24), Mouayed Bashir (died aged 29), Christopher Kapessa (died aged 13), Siyanda Mngaza (jailed aged 21), whose spiritual nobility and quiet dignity in their refusal to accept anything less than justice from this society remain a guiding North Star for all of us who strive for a better world.

“

**Mother, mother
There's too many of you crying
Brother, brother, brother
There's far too many of you dying
You know we've got to find a way
To bring some lovin' here today ”**

(Marvin Gaye, What's Going on? , 1971)

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RACE ALLIANCE WALES

Race Alliance Wales established in December 2018, aims to provide a self-directed space where racialised¹ organisations and individuals can come together to discuss experiences as racialised people in Wales, share information, and develop new ideas and solutions to the growing challenge of racism in Wales.

Through collaborative work, the group seeks to contribute to a more equal, globally responsible Wales with cohesive communities to make Wales a welcoming place of safety where rights are enjoyed and racialised people can thrive. The group also aims to act as a supportive space for racialised individuals who may face a range of personal and professional challenges. The group commits to always act in the best interest of racially minoritized people and communities in Wales, to ensure that our resources are used to best effect, and to speak with a coherent and strong voice on policies and practices affecting minority ethnic people in Wales. The current membership consists of 55 organisations and 181 individuals and this is growing.

For more information please visit:
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This research was conducted by Race Alliance Wales (RAW), approached collaboratively and passionately by a team of primary researchers.

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Thank you to the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust who fund the development work, including this research paper, of Race Alliance Wales. Without this funding RAW would be unable to carry out research in a truly non-extractive and independent fashion, enabling those in racialised communities to conduct research with and for those facing similar lived experiences.

We would also like to thank Ethnic Youth and Minorities Support Team for hosting staff members Leila Usmani, Jami Abramson and Assia Kayoueche, without whom the infrastructure, operational and managerial support would not have existed.

It is important to note the context in which this research was conducted. Each one of us navigated through the last 2 years in our own way and we truly appreciate the willingness to collaborate, connect and share during such traumatic times. We will honour these contributions throughout our continued work and hope to see action and change reflected in future policy work regarding policing in Wales.

Finally, this paper is dedicated to all the people before us, around us, and ahead of us, who have fought and continue to fight against racism. With a special remembrance to those who have died at the hands of it. This is about real people, real lives. To our ancestors, and to our future generations, this is for you.

If you have any queries in relation to this report, please contact **info@racealliance.wales**

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INTRODUCTION

This research by Race Alliance Wales (RAW) aims to address the gap in existing evidence in how racialised young people experience and feel about the police.

There is growing concern in Wales, particularly in recent years, about the treatment of racialised young people, and their families, by police and the criminal justice system. Furthermore, as part of our commitment to decolonising research approaches, we have adopted a peer research methodology foregrounding the voices of racialised young people – as research subjects and agents to share their first-hand experiences of policing in Wales.

More than two decades have passed since the Stephen Lawrence case, after which the Macpherson report into police conduct cited institutional racism as a key driver to obstructing justice for Stephen's friends and family. The Macpherson report called for it to be a Ministerial Priority that all police services "increase trust and confidence in policing amongst minority ethnic communities." However, in 2021 a Home Affairs select committee report stated that:

"twenty-two years on, evidence to our inquiry shows that there is a significant problem with confidence in the police within Black communities, particularly among young people³."

Here in Wales, there are many contemporary accounts of racialised individuals receiving unjust, racist, and sometimes violent treatment from the police in Wales. These stories are receiving more widespread attention, thrust into the limelight through campaigning from youth activists and movements, including the Black Lives Matter movement. These include the cases of Christopher Kapessa⁴ and Siyanda Mngaza⁵ – which have been long campaigns led by their families with significant public support. Even during period in which this research was conducted, two young Black men, Moyied Bashir⁶ and Mohamud Hassan⁷, died following police contact and over a year later, there are still many outstanding questions from friends, family, and communities.

Key Research Questions

Unfortunately, the above named cases are just some of the cases of apparent injustice which serve to reinforce our report's titular question of 'What's going on in the criminal justice system for racialised communities in Wales?'

It is in this context of considerable mistrust and questioning that Race Alliance Wales has conducted research which aims to explore the experiences and perceptions of trust in the Welsh Police force and its impact on racialised young people in Wales. The research has three objectives which are:

- 1) sharing racialised young people's experiences and perceptions of the police in Wales;
- 2) exploring the short and longer term impact of said experiences and perceptions; and
- 3) exploring grassroots ideas and solutions to address the issues raised

It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of racialised young people's experiences in Wales as most research is 'England' or 'England and Wales' based, meaning there is a lack of data and qualitative research focused on this area. In addition, when reviewing available literature there is a limited amount of Welsh specific sources, with a small growth of literature in recent years. Beyond data, the main discernible policy areas which have received more focus which are:

- Hate crime – experiences, reporting and statistics
- Stop & Search rates and community trust
- Over representation of Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority individuals in the criminal justice system

Therefore, the current scant evidence base exploring racialised young people's experiences of policing in Wales is the key driver for the research undertaken by Race Alliance Wales.

Policing in Wales

The criminal justice system in Wales has a somewhat complex policy context, as legislative powers are non-devolved and remain with the UK Government.

Criminal justice, namely the police, probation, prisons, the courts and 'most areas of substantive law', does not fall under the devolved powers of the Welsh Government.

(Roberts, 2021: 6-7)

In contrast to other policy areas which RAW has previously researched, namely education and representation in public and political life, criminal justice is not a devolved power in the Welsh Government. Despite this challenge, Welsh Government can still utilise its 'soft powers' to address race inequalities relating to policing and the criminal justice system. In addition, Wales also has other avenues for the public to engage with policing, providing feedback to contribute to evidence for change.

Police and Crime Commissioners can afford a useful opportunity for members of the public to shape services provided by the police in their area. There are four Police and Crime Commissioners in Wales covering four regions: Dyfed Powys, Gwent, North Wales, and South Wales.

The Commissioner is the 'voice of the public' and aims to ensure that the policing and safety concerns of our diverse communities are heard and addressed.

(South Wales Commissioner, 2021)

Like our political representatives in the Senedd and Parliament, Police and Crime Commissioners are elected into power by members of the public every 4-5 years. However, unlike the Senedd, which lowered its voting age in 2021, 16 and 17 year olds still cannot vote in PCC elections.

Another key body is the Independent Office of Police Conduct (IOPC), a national body which seeks to oversee the police complaints system in England and Wales. They aim to investigate serious misconduct in the police, including deaths following police conduct. In recent years the IOPC have sought to build further engagement in Wales in particular, to build confidence in complaining about poor policing in Wales.

So, even though crime and justice is not a devolved power to Welsh Government there are avenues to enact positive changes within policing in Wales. The question remains, how effective are these mechanisms?

Defining Racism

Before we review the available literature, it is important to understand and differentiate between different forms of racism, including direct, indirect, and institutional racism, and we will offer definitions of these now:

Direct racism is when 'someone treats you worse than another person in a similar situation because of your race' (EHRC, 2020). Under the law, such direct, and often verbal and physical instances, can be classed as 'hate crimes'. Responding to hate crime falls under police responsibility to respond to and arrest perpetrators of such acts. According to 2019/20 hate crime figures, out of 2,634 recorded hate crimes in Wales, the majority (65%) of offences were race hate crimes (Home Office, 2020).

Despite high rates of hate crimes in Wales, racialised individuals lack confidence in reporting incidents, and our own study further illustrates what appears to be the eroding relationship of racialised communities with the police in Wales.

Indirect racism can be less tangible. Increasingly, indirect racism is felt to be expressed through 'microaggressions,' which have been described as:

The everyday slights, indignities, put downs and insults that people of colour, women, LGBT populations or those who are marginalised experiences in their day-to-day interactions with people.

(Sue, 2020)

Microaggressions are increasingly experienced by young people as an indirect and covert form of racism. They can be expressed through attaching stereotypes to particular racial groups, which are often perpetuated by media representations.

Lastly, **institutional racism** denotes failings towards Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities at an institutional level, driven by discrimination and ignorance. The clearest definition of institutional racism came following the police failings in the historical Stephen Lawrence case. In the subsequent independent Macpherson report, institutional racism was found as one of the key barriers in obtaining justice for Stephen Lawrence's killers. According to the Macpherson report, institutional racism can be defined as:

The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their, colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination, through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.

(1999: 33)

As this report will illustrate, there is growing concern amongst racialised communities in Wales regarding potential institutional failings in recent cases involving racialised individuals in Wales.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Racial Profiling; Stop and Search, Covid Powers, and Rights

Literature shows that many racialised individuals feel unjustly targeted and profiled due to their race, ethnicity, or religion. EYST Wales have found many instances of young people being targeted by police, when they have not been perpetrators of crime, with some feeling a lack of humanity in treatment:

Police to be honest treat us like dogs; as soon as they know we are a Gypsy we are treated badly and like we are all criminals. They think its ok for us to get treated that way because [they think] we have got to have done something wrong.

(EYST Wales, 2021: 10)

Many of these recorded negative experiences can be seen as contravening human rights, particularly for young people, up to the age of 18, who may have their Children's Rights disregarded in some instances.

Article 40 (juvenile justice)

A child accused or guilty of breaking the law must be treated with dignity and respect. They have the right to legal assistance and a fair trial that takes account of their age. Governments must set a minimum age for children to be tried in a criminal court and manage a justice system that enables children who have been in conflict with the law to reintegrate into society.

(UNCRC)

One well documented and concerning example of racial profiling is racialised young people's experiences with policing powers, particularly 'Stop and Search'. There is clear evidence of racialised young people being 'Stop and Searched' at disproportionate rates compared with their white counterparts. Black people in South Wales were searched at almost **seven times the rate** of White people, with people from Mixed backgrounds searched at **just over twice the rate** of White people, Asians were searched at almost two and a half times the rate of White people (Stop Watch, 2020). In addition, Stop and Search rates do not necessarily result in arrests, with only 2% of enforcements of this power resulting in arrests (Stop Watch, 2020). Similarly, since police powers pertaining

to COVID legislation have come into force, a recent study found that young ethnic minority men aged 18-34 are twice as likely to be fined as young white males in England and Wales (National Police Chiefs' Council, 2020). In both examples, the disproportionate rates of police powers utilised against racialised individuals shows a worrying trend.

Complaints about the Police

In cases of alleged police misconduct the Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC) becomes involved. The IOPC oversees the police complaints system in England and Wales. They aim to investigate serious misconduct in the police, including deaths following police conduct. These complaints are handled independently of the police.

However, following recent cases in Wales there has been criticism of the way that the IOPC has responded to complaints about police action. Many who do complain have been unsatisfied with the progress and outcomes.

Participants expressed anger that in cases of racially motivated excessive force, harm or death, police are more concerned with "covering their backs" than in properly investigating events. They felt that South Wales Police and IOPC are neither impartial nor transparent.

(EYST Wales, 2021: 11)

Longer term impact; Mental health & well-being, Trust & confidence

It is apparent that negative interactions with the police can result in both short- and longer-term impact upon racialised individuals living in Wales. What the evidence doesn't always show is the **long-term impact** upon racialised individuals after undergoing a Stop and Search, without grounds for doing so.

While there has been little academic engagement with the deeper impact upon young racialised people who have experienced negative interactions with the police, there have been some recent Welsh news articles which recognise this phenomenon:

It's never just the hassle of being stopped and searched - it's the emotional weight afterwards...It really is draining.

(Wilks, 2021)

Similarly, EYST's recent report 'Underprotected and Overpoliced' began to unpack the complex relationship between the police and racialised individuals living in Wales. It recounts how many can feel an initial impact, such as feeling 'awkward' or unsafe in their own area due to being 'targeted' for enacting their culture and/or religion through hairstyles, clothing and so on. (EYST Wales, 2021: 10). This fraught relationship has also impacted young people in the longer term, with feelings of a lack of belonging in Wales, as well as a negative impact upon their long-term wellbeing being reported.

Experiences of direct and indirect incidents with the police in Wales can also be passed down the generations and shared amongst families and friends, impacting **trust** between the police and communities.

The police will just look at my skin and know where I live and judge me. I don't trust Police.

(EYST Wales, 2021: 10)

Across the UK there has been a downwards trend in confidence in policing across a wide spectrum of society, as shown in Government figures between 2013-2020. In particular, some ethnic groups have a much lower rate of confidence in policing, with Black people – aged 16 and over across the UK – showing much lower rates of trust in policing (63%) compared with White people (74%). Lower rates of trust can result in racialised people engaging less with the police when they are victims of a crime.

Police image and Representation

In addition, trust is not only dismantled after negative interactions with the police, trust is also eroded for many young people even before any interactions, in large part due to the image of policing as covert, unfair, and lacking in racial diversity.

Historical examples of police brutality towards racialised individuals in the UK can be told and retold through the generations. Examples include the 'Mangrove Nine'⁸ in early 70s London, and Welsh examples such as the wrongful imprisonment of five racialised men in Cardiff for the murder of Lynette White, known as the 'Cardiff Five'⁹. These examples not only impacted the lives of the individual, and their friends and families, but also eroded trust in the police for future generations growing up in Wales.

Such historical examples form a backdrop of distrust between racialised communities and the police in Wales, which are further reinforced by some of the issues outlined above. Take some recent examples in Wales, such as the recent case of the young, BLM campaigner, Lowri Davies, in Swansea, who alleged that she was the subject of targeted covert policing.

If the police are so against racism, like they say that they are, then why are they trying to get informants from groups that are saying that racism is bad?

(Lowri Davies in *The Guardian*, 2021)

Such instances of covert policing can reinforce an already volatile relationship between racialised young people and the police, denoting a lack of transparency as a key driver to mistrust the police. Stories such as these can further damage the reputation of the police in Wales. Stories such as Lowri's are felt and experienced by racialised individuals on a regular basis.

The police are untrustworthy because they are racist. The Cardiff police are notoriously racist, and they show biases to people who act a certain way. There are many previous high-profile cases marred by allegations of racism, such as the Cardiff 3 and Cardiff 5. In these cases, police were more interested in covering their own backs than in investigating allegations of racism. With the recent case of Mohamud Hassan, Police have proven time and time again that they are completely untrustworthy.

(Respondent cited in EYST Wales, 2021: 9)

Many sources cite the **lack of racialised representation** in the police, including public bodies such as the IOPC as symptomatic of deeper, systemic issues. Of 6,999 officers serving in Wales, only 128 (1.82%) identify as Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic or mixed race (Home Office, 2020). The police are in positions of power and authority, and with this lack of racialised representation, power and authority can be coupled with a lack of understanding of communities in which they aim to serve. A recent report from the IOPC youth panel stated that the lack of racial diversity within policing can mean that racialised young people are "*on the receiving end of stigma, suspicion and unwarranted attention*". They go on to say that there is "*a perception that the police workforce is still predominantly White, which has a negative impact on trust and confidence*." (IOPC, 2021:15)

A lack of cultural awareness and racial literacy, can, if left unchallenged, result in some of the issues outlined above – such as higher Stop and Search rates for Black people living in Wales, causing both short-term and long-term negative impacts on the relationship between racialised communities and the police.

Emerging Solutions and Recommendations

With each evidence-based study into policing and experiences with racialised communities, there have been strong and consistent recommendations to address issues of trust, lack of representation, overrepresentation in the criminal justice system, and reporting negative experiences. Below are some of the recurrent proposed solutions and recommendations from Welsh Government, Public Bodies and voluntary groups who have produced evidence-based reports in recent years.



While there is a lack of Welsh specific research in this area, particularly exploring racialised young people’s experiences, it is important to acknowledge the momentum driven by many young people in Wales, particularly during 2020. Such grassroots calls to action resulted in the Welsh Government embarking on its Race Equality Action Plan (REAP) which included specific goals around improving justice for racialised communities in Wales.

We will work with the Criminal Justice in Wales Delivery Group to develop a Race Equality Delivery Plan which will address the over representation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people in the criminal justice system, the under representation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people working within it, and strengthen relationships between the criminal justice system, including the police and CPS, and Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities in Wales.

(Welsh Government, 2021, 113)

Despite dedicating a section in REAP towards Crime, justice, hateful attitudes and community cohesion, the goals outlined are fairly limited in comparison with other areas such as education, health, housing, which are devolved to the Welsh Government. Regardless of devolved powers, the Welsh Government can continue to build upon this vision to add more specificity and depth to the area of Justice. Our hope is that this research can further highlight the urgent need to address some serious problems in policing in Wales with specific action.

This research aims to plug some of the gaps in the literature with a focus on racialised young people’s perceptions and experiences of policing in Wales, providing powerful accounts to support the statistics already in the public domain, such as the overrepresentation of Black people in Stop and Search. In particular, the research will show the longer-term impact of negative perceptions and experiences upon racialised young people, exacerbating a historically eroded relationship with the police in Wales. Some of our proposed solutions and recommendations will echo what the literature is already saying, with a clear sense of urgency in this post-BLM world to do better.

METHODOLOGY

This research study was carried out through a combination of desk-based research, peer-led research and online survey. This mixed methods approach is an iterative one, enabling us to shape, define and refine the research questions along the way. Crucially, **the use of peer-led research enables racialised young people to be not only the subjects, but the agents of this research.** This is one of the only, community-based research projects into the racialised experience in Wales to be presented to Welsh governments and relevant institutional bodies.

Peer Research

Peer research is a participatory and co-productive approach to design, delivery, and analysis of research, led by those with lived experiences of issues explored through the research itself.

Our goal through this research, as well as foregrounding racialised young people's voices, is to address the power imbalances that exist between researchers and communities. Our mission when collecting research is clear: to decolonise research practices which have historically perpetuated white dominant hegemonies. All research collected by Race Alliance Wales (RAW) is a collaborative effort to evidence, measure and challenge existing structures in society which do not serve the communities which they claim to serve. Peer research provides an exciting platform to counter exploitative practices in relation to collecting research.

Recruitment

RAW recruited six volunteer peer researchers to research racialised young people's experiences of policing in Wales – Adeyanju, Fateha, Nula, Rizwan, Sabiha and Palesa. The recruitment was through an open call process, utilising email marketing, social media and word of mouth to recruit six peer researchers across Wales. Due to the ongoing restrictions concerning COVID-19, all volunteering took place online via Zoom, using Google Drive to share files collaboratively.

Training and support

In order to ensure peer researchers felt prepared for the role, as well as equipped with the knowledge to carry out research utilising best practice, they attended a series of training sessions. Kellet (2011) explains that researchers have a responsibility to conduct high quality, reliable and valid research.¹⁰ The balance between supporting volunteers to enable them to practically carry out the research, as well as protecting them from any anticipated emotional distress due to the research topic, was paramount within the volunteer programme design.

The peer researchers committed to over 15 hours of training for their roles which included:

- **Volunteer Peer Researcher Induction (2 hours)** – introduction to volunteer peer researcher role including rights, responsibilities, expectations, and support. Delivered by Jami Abramson and supported by Robyn Scharaga.
- **Researching Racism in Wales** - Context Training (3 hours) – Leila Usmani delivered training around systems of oppression and intercultural sensitivity.
- **Social Research Methods Training (6 hours)** – exploring the entire research cycle including design, sample sizes, methods, ethics, analysis, and dissemination. Delivered by Jami Abramson and supported by Robyn Scharaga.
- **Analysis Training (3 hours)** – exploring methods of cooperative decision making and ways of interpreting data. Delivered by Jami Abramson and supported by Robyn Scharaga.

Adeyanju, Fateha, Nula, Rizwan, Sabiha and Palesa collectively committed nearly 300 hours of volunteering during the peer research process.

The peer researchers, after receiving training around social research methods, decided the approach they wanted to take. The approach was mainly informed by the research scope and most importantly the ethical aspects of the research. The peer researchers felt strongly that they wanted to make the research design inclusive and accessible to all participants, regardless of background.

From research design to analysis, the active research project took four months to complete and aimed to explore the following:

- Racialised young people's experiences with/perceptions of police in Wales.
- Impact (short and long-term) of racialised young people's experiences with/perceptions of police in Wales.
- Potential solutions for positive change within policing in Wales.

The broad aim of the research was to explore the experiences and perceptions of trust in the Welsh Police force and its impact on racialised young people in Wales.

Outreach

We decided that our target audience would be racialised young people aged 18-30. The peer researchers utilised their networks through friends, fellow students, and their families to ensure racialised young people could find out about the opportunity. In addition, peer researchers utilised social media, such as Twitter and Facebook, to further promote this unique opportunity.



Data collection

The peer researchers decided to utilise a mixed methods approach, to collect quantitative and qualitative data. They designed a survey, to be distributed online, as well as interviews to be conducted via Zoom. Due to government COVID-19 restrictions the option of face-to-face interviews was untenable during the active research phase.

The peer researchers designed a survey to mainly explore racialised young people's perceptions of policing in Wales. The survey received 73 responses in total. The interviews were designed to gain deeper insight from racialised young people¹¹, about their experiences with police in Wales, including themes such as racism, trust, impact and potential solutions to improve the service. Research participants were asked to draw a family tree to reflect upon their family and friends' experiences of policing, over different time periods. The family tree was utilised as visual stimuli to prompt research participants to consider recurring identified problems with the police, such as trust and racism, and whether these perceptions and experiences have changed over time. This type of elicitation used in interviews is also helpful to establish a research participant led approach to sharing stories and experiences, countering researcher bias and positionality.

The main aim concerned the collection of first-hand experiences of policing in Wales. We utilised a Grounded Theory¹² approach, valuing the richness and diversity of individual experiences to build a bigger picture of what is happening in Wales. The participants experiences, stories, and words generated concepts and theory in which to analyse the data.

Ethical considerations

Informed consent

Informed consent was a driving factor for the peer researchers to ensure all participants received a great deal of transparency with regards to what they were trying to achieve. Many of the peer researchers have lived experience of being a research subject when, even though they gave full consent via consent forms, they did not know the degree to which the information would be shared. The peer researchers adamantly wanted to correct this lack of clarity and transparency in the way their stories had been extracted in the past. Now, these peer researchers were in the trusted position as a researcher, responsible for people's stories and experiences. Instead of simply ticking boxes and getting signatures, they wanted buy-in from the participants into what the research study was trying to achieve.

Minimise risk of harm

The peer researchers spent time thinking about potential risks to participants when taking part in the study. A main concern was due to the nature of conducting interviews online. If someone had relayed an experience that was difficult and traumatic through video chat, it is difficult to know what to do after the interview to ensure participants receive the appropriate support. The peer researchers clearly outlined the range of perceived risks that could occur due to taking part in the study in the information sheet provided to participants. They also took time to talk through the boundaries of what could and could not be discussed. Due to the nature of this study, it was very important to also consider the peer researchers wellbeing as they may share the difficult lived experiences expressed by participants. Peer researchers could utilise support from each other as well as the two RAW development workers in the event of triggers arising from difficult topics discussed.¹³ One of the RAW workers, Robyn Scharaga, had taken part in RAW's peer research as a volunteer in 2020. Building upon feedback from previous peer researchers, Robyn was tasked with specific one-to-one wellbeing and supervisory support for these volunteers.

Right to privacy; protect anonymity and confidentiality

The peer researchers stored all data relating to the research study in line with General Data Protection Regulation (2016). All data was stored in a password-protected account whereby only the RAW team could access. All data, including transcripts and survey information, were anonymised using codes for each participant. All interviews were delivered between researcher(s) and participants only, via Zoom. All content of interviews adhered to confidentially unless something of concern which could endanger someone's safety was raised. In line with All Wales Safeguarding procedures, following the Social Services and Wellbeing Act (2014), the degree of confidentiality was explained to all participants on the information sheet and in-person prior to starting the interviews.

As referenced earlier, in an attempt to decolonise the practices in this research project, all contributors to interviews, and the survey, were given the explicit opportunity to opt-in to having their names added to the research paper as contributors, and if they so wished, to be explicitly pertained to in relation to quotes used. This offer was considered again in regard to breaking down the perpetuation of researchers owning stories and contributions, and not recognising that these are owned by the people to whom they pertain. None of the contributors however decided to opt into this offer, as such, their confidentiality has been maintained through the usage of pseudonyms.

Avoid deceptive practices

All participants received an information sheet to ensure they were aware of the purpose of the research study, the expectations and what would happen with the information they shared. This aspect is particularly important due to the nature of utilising a peer research approach; some peer researchers interviewed people they already knew, meaning clarity and transparency of process was vital to maintain boundaries.

Right to withdraw

All participants received an information sheet detailing the purpose of the study, the expectations of participants, and how information would be used and shared. The participants could choose to leave the research study at any time and the peer researchers explained the right to withdraw at the start of all interviews and focus groups.

The peer researchers also extensively considered additional ethical issues that could arise, particularly around bias, perceived power imbalances between participant/researcher, and intercultural sensitivities.



COVID-19

With the ongoing restrictions due to COVID-19 taking place in 2021, this research study has taken place in one of the most challenging times to ensure accessibility and participation for participants. On the one hand, utilising technology such as video chat software allowed greater engagement with a broader demographic across Wales. On the other hand, the research would undoubtedly benefit from a larger sample size and a longer timeframe to generate a more comprehensive study of the racialised population across Wales.

Online Survey

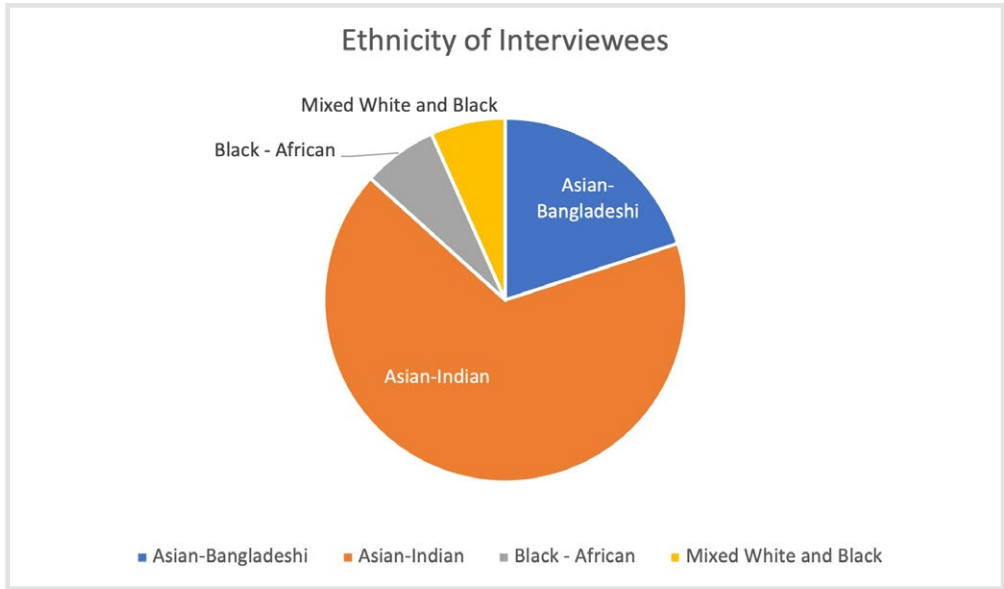
The online survey was designed to reach a large audience in order to help validate the findings of the interviews. The questions were designed to echo the themes of the questions of the Interviews, but in a more structured way. The Online Survey went live from July 2021 to September 2021- and was circulated via the Peer Researcher's networks and via the Race Alliance Wales Membership and their wider networks, eventually receiving 73 responses.



Interview participants

There were 10 interview participants, of whom 6 of these shared demographic information with us. Of these:

- 50% were aged 18-24 years old; 50% were 25-30 years old
- 83.5% were Male; 16.7% were Female
- 50% were Asian/Asian British/Welsh – Bangladeshi; 16.7% were Asian/Asian British/Welsh – Indian ; 16.7% were Black/Black British/Welsh – African; and 16.7% were Mixed White and Black
- 50% were Muslim; 16.7% were Hindu; 16.7% were Non-religious and 16.7% preferred not to say
- 50% lived in Cardiff; 33.3% lived in Neath Port Talbot, and 16.7% lived in Swansea

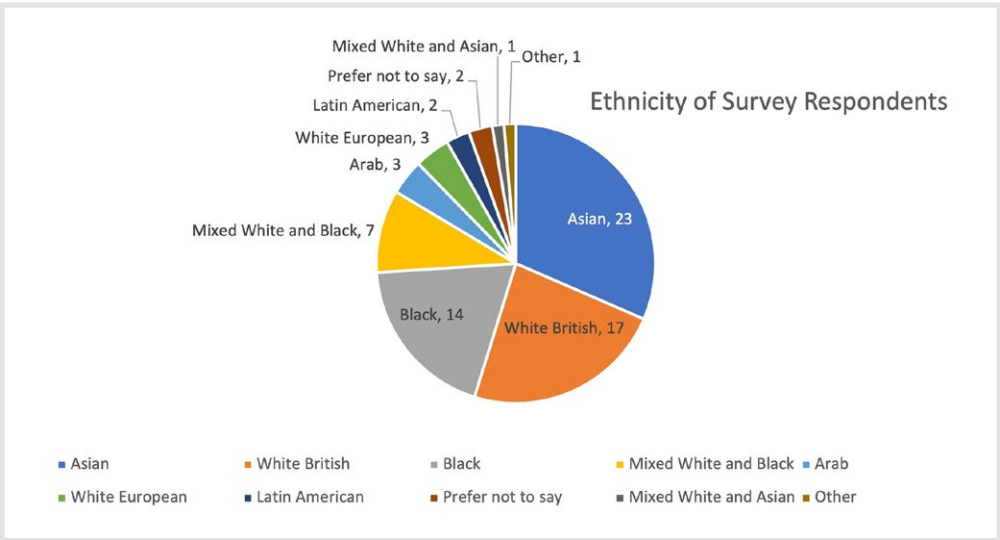


Survey participants

Out of the 73 survey respondents who shared demographic information with us:

- 52% were aged 18-24 years old; 45% were aged 25-30; 2% preferred not to say
- 61% were Male; 37% were Female; 1% were Other
- 31% were Asian; 23% were White British; 19% were Black; 10% were Mixed White and Black; 4% were Arab; 4% were White European; 3% were Latin American, 3% Preferred not to say; 1% were Mixed White and Asian; 1% were Other

- 68% lived in Cardiff, 10% lived in Neath Port Talbot, 5% lived in Vale of Glamorgan, 4% lived in Newport, 4% lived in Swansea, 1% lived in Caerphilly, 1% in Rhonda Cynon Taff; 1% in Wrexham; 1% in Blaenau Gwent; and 3% preferred not to say



Although the majority of people who contributed to the research¹⁴ were based in the main cities of Cardiff, ,Swansea and Newport, we were also pleased to receive contributions from those outside of the major cities including from Neath Port Talbot, Wrexham and Blaenau Gwent.

In addition, we had contributions from a variety of different racial groups, including Asian, Black, Arab and Latin American, as well as White British young people.

The gender divide was a predominantly male with a 61/37 male-female divide. Due to the low number of contributors in total however, and the lack of time and capacity, it was not possible to disaggregate the results and compare between different groups to try and understand an intersectional picture beyond that reported directly in verbatim comments. As always, it may be worth considering how to engage with those in areas which were less represented than others in future.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S TESTIMONIES

The following section presents the testimonies of the young people who responded to our call to contribute to this research, collected through interviews conducted by the RAW Peer Researchers. We present their powerful testimonies in three sections: Experiences of Interactions with the police; Impacts of Interactions with the police; and Proposed Solutions

Experiences of Interactions with the Police

Interviewees shared a range of perceptions about the Police with the Police, which covered a wide spectrum from wholly negative, to much more positive, albeit the latter were in a minority. These were backed up in some cases by their own direct experience of interacting with the police, including experiences from their own youth or childhood which had stayed with them. Most interviewees also based a large part of their opinion about the police from what they heard from other people's experiences or stories. Interestingly, the more positive experiences of and perceptions of the police were clearly linked to higher wealth and social class. There were also clear intersections with religion and gender, where being male and Muslim was implicitly felt to attract more negative police attention. In addition, the killing of George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter Movement during 2020 was referenced repeatedly as being a 'wake up' moment in the respondents' young lives.

Police Crash the Party

"A police car. Unmarked. Plain clothes police officers. One of them ran out at us and he goes, Get over here now and we're ... And I'm just thinking, who is this random guy? He didn't say he was police not one time. So we turned around to run and ... while we turned round. Five police officers. Four or Five. Got out of one car with tasers pointed at us. Two came out of an alley. Pointed at us ... And yeah, it was just like ... What's going on?"

April 2019. Interviewee "A" is then seventeen. Mixed race. White/ Ghanaian. He and a White friend get dropped off in a car at a house party in Splott, a "lower income area" of Cardiff "so police activity around there is a lot more higher". They get out of the car and say "Hello," to two other friends. They are about to join the party.

Suddenly they are rushed,

"A police car. Unmarked. Plain clothes police officers. One of them ran out at us and he goes, Get over here now and we're ... And I'm just thinking, who is this random guy? He didn't say he was police not one time. So we turned around to run and ... while we turned round. Five police officers. Four or Five. Got out of one car with tasers pointed at us. Two came out of an alley. Pointed at us... And yeah, it was just like ... What's going on?"

Young people often enjoy going to parties and meeting with other young people, but not all teenagers are...

Threatened by police officers with tasers,

"At first I was confused. I was like why is a random guy running at me. But then as soon as I seen the tasers I was like whoa, like I could actually get shot here. I've never been tasered. I don't know what it's like. I could have a heart attack or something. I was so scared at that point."

Pushed to the ground and put in handcuffs,

"They put us on the ground. Handcuff us. Say, We're going to search you. And me and my friend. The one that is white. We were exactly in the same position. And he sat up in handcuffs and I'm on the floor getting a knee in my back. Pinned down by one or two police officers. And then me and A, person A, that is also black. Got taken to a police station and strip-searched at the age of seventeen".

Bundled into a police van,

"Once everything had calmed down. They put us in the police van. I was like whoa, I know I'm fine. There's nothing to hide here. But at the same time, I feel like this is completely racist and ... My mate, the white one, he literally got patted on the jeans. Like they just went on the outside. They didn't even go in his pockets or nothing. That's all they done to him"

Taken to a police station, and made to stand naked in front of police officers,

"A very like weird experience because at the age of seventeen. I'm having to get fully naked in front of two police officers. In a cell. Where I've done nothing wrong. Apart from get out of a car and say hello to my mate. They knew that I was seventeen, so ... They did consent but they basically put a camera in my face while I'm in a cell. And there's three police officers now and they say, Do you consent to this? And I'm standing there like, Well I can't say no? Can I because you've brought me down here. I'm in handcuffs. Like what can I say? So I had to say yes".

End result,

"They searched me. Found absolutely nothing. And then just dropped me back to the party like nothing happened."

Justification,

"They said it's like a low-income area, you know this type of stuff happens all the time, I was like, well no it clearly doesn't because this is like the second time it's happened to me in a year, so ..."

Experience afterwards of making a complaint to the police about the police,

"All four of us reported it and only my mate that, the white one, the police went to his house and apologised to him, all other three of us just got completely ignored, even though we all put it in about the same time as well"

"We're Going To Get You"

"Every single person at that party was white. Apart from me, yeah, and probably like one other girl. And the main people that were actually making the noise and being the loudest. None of them got searched. I don't think there was a reason to search me at all"

This wasn't the first time that year our interviewee would experience the police crashing the party,

"First time I got stopped by the police. Well got searched by the police. Was at a party. Which is completely legal. It was non-Covid times. And yeah, the police turned up because they had a call from someone saying that we broke in. We were having a party. Even though the house is known for being rented out. And the police came in and searched me because I was one of the first person they seen. But a lot of people walked past many officers. And never got searched".

Or the first time he had been searched by the police,

"At the time I was seventeen. So, it was completely illegal to even search me. But they didn't ask for my age. They didn't ask for my name at the ... Oh they asked my name, but they looked at me and just go, Yeah, we're going to search you. Even though you have to be eighteen."

"In the room they searched me in had weed in there. Like on the desk but it had nothing to do with me. And they tried to blame it on me. Saying, Oh is this yours? Like we're going to take it in. We're going to scan the fingerprints. If it comes back you. Then, We're going to get you. But I was like, It's nothing to do with me. And it never came back to have anything to do with me They even tried to pin it on me"

Or the first time singled out for unequal treatment,

"Every single person at that party was white. Apart from me, yeah, and probably like one other girl. And the main people that were actually making the noise and being the loudest. None of them got searched. I don't think there was a reason to search me at all"

Older now, police harassment is still a feature of life,

"Stop and search hasn't really happened to me after this. But I've definitely been stopped and asked, What my name is, Where I'm going, What I'm doing. And that's happened a few times, yeah. I'd say that's happened about three times in the past like year and a half."

"Could Get Stopped At Any Time"

Later he would witness friends too singled out by the police,

"We recently moved into our house here for uni. And one of the first days. I think it might have been the second day we were here. One of my mates that I live with is also black. He's Nigerian. He got stopped by the police outside our house for riding a scooter. Which is completely legal. And they wanted to see ID. It's just so much more of an occurrence to get stopped when you're around a bigger group of black males. Yeah, but even on my own I feel like there is a chance I could get stopped at any time".

Asked for an answer 'Out of Ten' if he agrees with our statement,

"So some data argues that black, Asian and other ethnic minority groups are racially profiled, therefore stopped and searched more frequently", interviewee tells us, "Out of ten? I'd give it a solid nine".

"Never See Any Type Of Ethnic Minority Police"

Interviewee "B" tells us he only sees White police policing their area,

"I don't know if there is any relationship with ethnic minority to be honest with you. Because anything that I've seen. Anytime I've seen police walking around, it's always white. Usually white males. I mean sometimes females. But I've never seen any type of ethnic minority police man or woman here. But I know in Newport, I have 3 cousins, all Bangladeshi, who are part of the police force. So I know somewhere in Wales there are. But in my local area in Neath there's nothing I know of".

He tells us about his family being in a car accident, and it was the other individual's fault, who admitted to this, but the police officer ignored this and framed it as his family at fault and was surprised when his mother spoke English. Additionally, his family were wearing headscarves.

Two of his friends locally were stopped by the police, the driver was White and passenger was Black, the police aimed all questions at the passenger, despite this not being the passenger's car. The driver attempted to intervene numerous times, but the police officers did not take notice of this.

He feels racialised individuals are always depicted as 'criminal' by the Police force in Wales, that the police are biased against racialised young people and this leads to a negative perception of the police. Furthermore that too often, assumptions are made about racialised community members not speaking English or Welsh, which are then taken advantage of by the police.

"Ethnic Minorities And The Police Don't Have A Close Relationship"

"I used to think the police were all good. There's no issues with the police. They do their job properly. However growing up, you know, doing a bit more research. After watching a few documentaries. Everything's on social media. I feel as if a lot of work does need to be done."

While he has little direct experience of the police, his view shifted from positive to negative based on his own research and hearing experiences of others. 'A bit distant' is how he describes the relationship of racialised communities to the police,

"Ethnic minorities and the police don't have a close relationship...I haven't seen anything where they try to reach out to ethnic minorities".

"Colour Of Someone's Skin"

Asked about stop and search he talks about racial profiling,

"Yeah. I do know a few people who have been stopped and searched. I haven't myself. But I think it is. It is down to someone. I think it is down to the colour of someone's skin".

He feels the older generation talked about being stopped and search, and in the past ten or twenty years,

"A lot more ethnic minorities have been you know stopped. Stopped and searched. Yeah".

Police Lottery

Our interviewee expressed anxiety about the police,

"You don't know whether the police. The police officer you're going to get is going to be like a nice, normal police officer doing their job properly. Or somebody's who's going to be. You know. Prejudiced."

The police were seen as frequently abusing their powers,

"A lot of police officers feel like they have more power than what they actually have. And they try to enforce that power."

Injustice increased antipathy towards the police,

"A lot of the people who been stopped and searched for no reason. Been put in handcuffs. Been detained. And then obviously once they done the stop to search. They didn't find anything. It just made them feel like a victim really. And just you know they didn't have a good view on the police after that. Any police officer".

Young people facing police racism were not allowed to be hot headed or respond in kind to aggressive treatment,

"If they do come across as aggressive and the young person who's. You know. Hot-headed. They're just going to clash."

Questioned on awareness of any situations of police brutality in his community or local area. He mentions Mohamud Hassan,

"Yeah. So basically, I know he was arrested. And I think he was brutally beat up by the police. And he came home the next day. And I think he died in his sleep. And then what's happened after that is quite a bad response from the police investigating this."

"Before...I Was...They're the Good Guys"

"There's a lot of. A lot of like problems with the police worldwide. Especially in like places like America or you know things like that. So, it's interesting when to like compare it to the police in Wales. Because obviously you know it's not as busy as, the job probably isn't as demanding as somewhere in like a big city."

Interviewee "C" relates to being stopped by police when 9 or 10 years old, with his white 9-year-old cousin, the young person stated that they were white passing as a child and was unsure what had motivated the incident and whether it was a racial bias. Describes himself as a biracial individual; looked white passing as a child but this changed as he went through puberty and looked more visibly black.

"I was only about nine or ten and me and my cousin were just walking around Neath like in town. Like you do. When you're young. And we were buying whatever. And we got stopped by the police. And they were asking my cousins loads of questions about like, Where he'd been today. What he was doing. And like my cousin, he's a really nice guy, he's really polite you know he wouldn't hurt a fly, so he was you know obviously just being normal and letting them know what he was doing. And I think the more they asked, like he got a little bit scared obviously".

"And he, and everybody at the time. Was really like taken back when it happened. But he like, he referred to the officer as Sir. He just went, Oh no Sir when he was answering him. And the officer looked at him and went, Don't call me Sir. And like. We were both a bit like, Whoa? What did he say?"

It turns out there was another group of boys somewhere in Neath causing problems, throwing stuff and one of them had the same T-shirt as the cousin, "Looking back, it very much felt like there wasn't an attempt to like try and see if it was actually him. Like the office was going in with the mindset of this is like the guy". When they ran and found their parents in the car park they tell them what happened, who were surprised the police were angry at being called 'Sir'. The interviewee says it made them question their view of the police, "Before that I was just very much like, you know, they're the good guys, do nothing wrong, they're the ones protecting everyone".

"Police Can be Abusive"

Interviewee "D" has had both direct and indirect experience with the police however the positive outweigh the negative. Has seen police in his area, however, feels comfortable around them. He knows friends that have been stopped and searched, some of them white, he does not believe stop and search is racialised but linked to how people dress, such as tracksuits.

Nevertheless, even he believes that the *"police can be abusive within their power and have a lot of leeway in getting away with it as well", "it's not as simple as they catch bad guys and put them in prison! It's a bit more complex than that!"*

He describes the police killing of George Floyd in the United States and how it resonated even on our side of the Atlantic, *"There was a lot of anger and there was a lot of distress. I'm never going to forget that video when I first saw it and I still think about it now. And I'm sure a lot of people do."*

The video has global ripples, *"It reignited a lot of people's you know deep mistrust and the failings of the police in America, but also of injustice globally in lots of other areas as well I think, yeah. I think if I was in America, I would be absolutely terrified of the situation there and I wouldn't like I wouldn't know what I would do in that kind of circumstances. Being there. But like yeah. So, it's just a lot of anger and upset."*

"Never Really Warmed to The Police"

Interviewee "E" calls herself, 'lucky' for not facing stop and search.

Much of her view of the police was passed on from her father, one of the first Black Welsh rugby players. As a result of success, he had money but still lived in a low-income area in Cardiff that was once Western Europe's largest council housing estate. But wealth didn't stop him from being stopped and searched on countless occasions, especially when in his high-end car.

During one incident he was taken to a police station, his car taken off him, his credentials were taken, and he was given a fine. Possibly to justify the use of section 60.

She also experienced the police first-hand when out with her father's side of the family, all women, when the police stopped them and asked where they were going. She believes her father was racially profiled by the police's suggestion that the car was stolen.

She tells us, *"I've never really warmed to the police"*

"My Opinion On The Police Is Very Positive"

Interviewee "F" wears 'Islamic clothing', but has had little experience of the police racially profiling him, perhaps because he lives in a leafier part of Cardiff,

"I feel like because I live in a white area. The truth is that there isn't a lot of crime or trouble in my area. No noise. No crime. No trouble at all. But I feel like because there's a lot of white people here, the police aren't around very much."

His take on the police at first appears markedly different from others we speak to,

"My opinion on the police is very positive. That's why I want to join them."

He elaborates,

"I feel like they're good for the community. I feel like if anyone's in trouble, they go to the police. Even those who talk bad about them. The police obviously are there to keep us safe. So you don't necessarily have to be in apparent danger to be able to speak to the police or go to the police."

While having a different take on the police to other interviewees, he still highlights similar issues. For example, he believes racialised individuals and a largely white police force have little rapport,

"In terms of the relationship. It doesn't really exist I feel like. It's quite empty. It's very bland. I feel like they don't really interact too much unless it's in a formal manner really. Like unless they need to. There's no interaction between them".

Later he goes further and says,

"The relationship between ethnic minorities and the police I feel is terrible. I feel like because they don't know each other. They have both - the police have perception of that, you know, that group. And that group have perception of the police."

Misunderstanding?

He frames the problem as misunderstanding on both sides. One individual having one bad experience can create a domino effect across the community,

"In the sense that 'oh it's affected me, so I'm going to tell my friend and he's going to dislike them'. Then he's going to tell his friend, he's going to dislike them. Or he's going to be like... And then they'll speak about it, 'Oh I experienced that too, I experienced that too'. And it builds like this idea that, Oh the police are like this and they pass. And what tends to happen with Asians especially, as you know is that they talk amongst themselves a lot... And they pass views and they have a lot to say... And those opinions and those views are passed... Passed on to their kids, to their families, their nephews, uncles".

He argues there is a feeling that the police can abuse their power with impunity,

"Non-white people definitely are more worried because they sort of have that feeling that, OK, well the police can do a lot more than they're allowed to do."

His own experiences of the police are limited, but he feels like their job forces them to act in certain ways, *"I feel like they try to be as nice as they can. But of course, with the job they have. They're very direct, aren't they? So, they come, they're, What are doing here? Why are you here?"*

He agrees racial profiling happens, but,

"It's natural at the end of the day. I feel like other people do it as well. And obviously the police are people at the end of the day. And they can only go off what they feel and what they think. If white boys - if they were stopped as frequently as brown or black minorities were stopped, then they'd be treated in the same way and they'd be asked the same questions."

He admits that members of his own family have been racially profiled,

"Was just with my cousin last night who lives in Splott. And he was telling me... We were just talking about driving just generally. And he was telling me he gets stopped all the time. If he was a white boy - a white man, A 23-year-old white man with a professional job, working for the government in an executive car - he drives an executive car, and he is very well spoken - I feel like he would never, ever be stopped by the police. I feel it's more as though they have a perception of brown boys, black boys".

"If he was a white boy - a white man, A 23-year-old white man with a professional job, working for the government in an executive car - he drives an executive car, and he is very well spoken - I feel like he would never, ever be stopped by the police. I feel it's more as though they have a perception of brown boys, black boys".

"Dress Up"

The most positive takes on the police we heard appeared to come from interviewees more networked to the middle class. For example, living in a more middle-class or an interviewee who described herself as having attended a posh private girl's school.

Our interviewee "G" also used the motif of misunderstanding on both sides, feeling there was a distrust, tension and both sides, including the police, would like to see an improvement.

She had no direct experience of stop and search, but agreed racial profiling existed and that racialised men were disproportionately stopped, but low-income white men were not stopped and searched so much.

In her own dealings with the police she found them helpful, but lacking in empathy, due to lack of direct experience of racism, sometimes she had a feeling of not being taken seriously due to this.

Female officers empathise with her more – maybe because she is a woman too, therefore she felt more comfortable and supported by them

She feels people of colour have to "dress up" to compensate so they do not look like "trouble" to police.

She feels like if she did not compensate by dressing up like a middle class or higher status individual she would be treated differently.

"These Guys Marginalise Black People, Ethnic People Everywhere"

For many interviewees, the global rebellion following the police killing of George Floyd made them conscious of their situation in society and the necessity of refusing to accept as normal everyday racism, interviewee "G" told us,

"The more I dig deep and understand Black Lives Matter and the injustices of the police in different parts of the world, I have to say my respect for them has significantly gone down because I know because there are things that I didn't understand, like especially when the Black Lives Matter started, there are things that I didn't understand. But then the more I understood that no, these guys actually marginalise black people, ethnic people everywhere, I actually understood"

"They've Got Too Much Power"

A recurring theme was that the police had too much power, abused that power and needed to be made accountable,

"A lot of people, once they see police they feel like you know whatever the police say, whatever they say goes, even if the police officer's not right, they might be just abusing their power, but because they have that certain ... they have a certain reputation, people won't say anything, won't question it."

"And as more stories come out ... because even if someone is a criminal or they've stolen, they still need to be treated right. So my respect for them has gone down, when I feel like at times they've got way too much power"

"These guys are definitely not here to help you in any shape or form"

Interviewee "H" had his first experience with the police was when he was just five years old. He would learn from an early age that the police were not there to help him. His uncle had come to the UK from Somalia for work and was racially profiled by the police who suspected he was dealing drugs. The house was raided.

"So, they came into our home, right, and they literally ripped it upside down. And I just remember as a kid, just watching just white men inside our home and just like literally tearing everything upside down, like literally there was like a cupboard, right, and they literally just ripped the door off its frame, they did not care. And we couldn't say anything, we didn't, couldn't do anything and ... and I just remember my mum being like super upset, not crying but just being super upset."

The police did not apologise for this unfair raid and the family was left to pick up the pieces, physically and emotionally.

"This Western Society it's Inherently Racist, You Know."

For this interviewee the George Floyd rebellion was a fiery baptism, that made him aware of his society and his place in it, and the role of the police in policing his place in it.

"Black Lives Matter, all the whole June 2020, I don't think I'd call it Black Lives Matter, I like to call it by the date, June 2020 just removed the wool from my eyes and just made me see things for what they are, period."

He described how during the pandemic, being more isolated from community and friends, made him realise he and others had been living in denial over living in a racist society, and he could no longer tune out, or hide from, "a cold, harsh reality that was in your face"

"So that just made me just almost like accept the truth that OK we're living in this sort of society, this Western society it's inherently racist, you know."

He realised that his world wasn't so different to that the older generation had to fight and fight for their place at the table,

"And you know I've got to understand that and I've got to embrace that, the same way my parents have embraced it. Like I felt there was like a disconnect between me and my parents because like my parents always look at like people like the police as like some sort of bogey man, like you know that they can just like destroy your life in a fraction of a second, and growing up I'd be like, no you're overreacting, you know yada yada, you know that's the old school sort of mentality, but the reality is they were very right, they just understood the reality of it, we were just a bit fortunate the fact that life is a bit sugar coated for us and you know ... up until that point we weren't made to think about it."

The protest movement changed him

"So I do things like I would not have done before, if you were to ask me to go to a rally or a protest, prior to June 2020 I'd be like ... no thank you! That's not my scene, right, that's not the kind of thing I do, right. But after June 2020, I felt like there was an obligation as a black person, as a human being to like make sure that at least I spend a bit of time just to be at as many as I can be, right? "

He describes joining the protests after the death of Mohamud Hassan, following police contact, and seeing, *"there was zero empathy from the police about the situation. if me and you worked together, right, and I saw you do something bad, right, that affected other people, I would call you out about it... that's just me being a basic human being, that's nothing special".*

Impact of Interactions with the Police

What impact might a racist police force have on those feeling neither served nor protected? Many interviewees spoke of having to exercise caution, taking care to avoid danger or mistakes when around them, or of changing their behaviour to counteract negative expectations of them. Others went further to describe the distrust, humiliation and long term impact on their mental health which certain experiences had elicited.

"I'm Extra, Extra Cautious"

"Say if I'm with my friends from ethnic background. They're a bit more cautious around police. Even though they have nothing to hide."

"After that happened, I was definitely a lot more cautious going to parties, thinking like oh I could get stopped, I could get searched, like even though I didn't have anything on me, I still felt it was a pressure on me at some point, do you know what I mean? I wouldn't say my mental health decreased but I'd say it definitely made me more cautious, even just going out to see my friends, and I don't want to be cautious around my friends, I want to just have fun"

"After the George Floyd case, my mum was grilling me saying how you know UK police can be just as racist and things like that. Because at first, I was kind of just like, no it's the US thing, you know we don't really have it that bad here, but then she would tell me you know you have to be cautious in front of them"

"if I'm driving, I see a police car you know behind me, I will just make sure I'm extra, extra cautious, even though I don't really drive dangerous or anything like that, I don't really speed, I just make sure I'm extra, extra cautious so I don't give them a reason to call me over or anything."

Survival Techniques, "Yes Sir, Yes Sir"

"Sometimes if I'm ... if I'm driving past or walking past someone, I kind of feel as though maybe I have to like ... do something ... like kind of just whether it's a smile or whether it's some kind of just ? ... I feel like I'm kind of obligated to just go out of my way to show I'm... not... not making any trouble."

Many interviewees spoke of 'switching codes', having to unnaturally change their behaviour when police were around,

"Sometimes if I'm ... if I'm driving past or walking past someone, I kind of feel as though maybe I have to like ... do something ... like kind of just whether it's a smile or whether it's some kind of just ? ... I feel like I'm kind of obligated to just go out of my way to show I'm ... not ... not making any trouble."

One interviewee described themselves as posing as compliant, exaggerating politeness, he would say, "Yes Sir, Yes Sir" and would be quiet where others might get angry or annoyed,

"I just sit there quite quietly, obviously unless I'm asked a question. Whereas with a friend of mine you know it does get ... they do get a bit annoyed and they ask them like why have you ... why are you coming here, why are you stopping me, you didn't stop"

In casual encounters with the police there was a feeling of having to 'prove' to the police their innocence, despite not committing any offence,

"I am you know, I'm mixed race. Some are OK but like I said, sometimes I do feel the need to make a conscious effort to like try and let them know that you know whatever they're thinking of me, I'm not that, or whatever kind of box they're putting me in.. and just kind of walk past them."

Who You Gonna Call?

"Like I find it very hard and ... people always say like, oh well who are you going to call if you're in trouble and stuff but ... I don't know, I just ... I don't really ... like (laughs) I don't really like the police!"

During our interviews we met young people whose own experience, or experience of close friends and families had resulted in a total distrust of the police. Many felt uncomfortable calling the police unless an incident was very serious. One described having to assess all the variables – *"who she was with/ if it was day or night"* - before ever contacting the police.

"Like I find it very hard and ... people always say like, oh well who are you going to call if you're in trouble and stuff but ... I don't know, I just ... I don't really ... like (laughs) I don't really like the police!"

The logic that underpins these behavioural changes was laid out brutally by many interviewees, telling us why they were wary,

"If I was with a group of black people, they'd instantly put the blame on us for whatever it was that we've done ... or we shouldn't have been doing it or something stupid like that."

Someone else told us a similar story in different words,

"If I have to interact with them, I know that there's nothing wrong with me and I probably won't get arrested, but I know that at the same time, if I go there will be an issue, they're not likely to take it as seriously as they would if it was coming from a from a white person"

The police, ambulance and fire service are often described as the three emergency services, but many of our interviewees didn't seem to feel they were offered much of a service, many saying they would only go to them for help in exceptional circumstances

"I feel more reluctant to call the police if I do need help, maybe only if in an emergency situation"

Police Are Bad For Mental Health

People spoke of the need to fake smiles, change their behaviour if the police were around, of facing criminalisation when they had not done anything criminal, and lack of police accountability, often hinting at the psychological toll,

"Obviously someone who's been you know abused by the police it might cause them mental health problems, lack of trust, and also if you feel ... if someone feels like they've needed help and they've been neglected, then obviously they're going to lose ... lose the trust. "

"They definitely affect people in the longer term, you know if you had a bad experience where you feel like you had done everything right and that they were in the wrong but obviously I feel like a lot of the time they're very rarely held accountable"

Bad experiences circulate within communities, and a lack of accountability can lead to distrust in the police system overall, impacting on relationships with police.

"In Your Neighbourhood"

Interviewees highlighted how unjust police harassment humiliated them, and disempowered them, in front of others, in their community, in front of their neighbours,

"an undercover police car just pulls round the corner and two men and a woman jump out and they just start harassing me, interrogating me, pinned me onto the car, searched me, found nothing, then found a bunch of football shirts in my bag, asking me where's the receipt. By that time, I was quite irritated, I was quite upset, I was quite embarrassed, alright, because imagine you're in your neighbourhood and then a bunch of kids right who see you every single day just see you getting pinned on the car like some sort of criminal"

Proposed Solutions

For decades communities have sought to address racist policing through more race awareness training for white police officers and more black and brown faces in high places, yet these strategies have delivered little change in the policing of racialised young people. So, what is to be done? How can we minimise such negative experiences going forward? Young people most impacted by racism came up with a variety of ideas:

More Police Like Us

"It wouldn't hurt to see someone who looks like you on their force, so you know that there's someone on the other side who will understand"

A common theme was alienation from the police might be mended by building a more multiracial police force with a hope of a service more accessible and approachable that treated racialised individuals fairly,

"That would make us, that would make me, feel a lot more comfortable, just to see someone from your background in the police force, and maybe with a lot of people they might make the officer, or the police force feel more approachable"

Others added that the top of the police force had to be diversified,

"The only viable thing that I can see really making a big difference is senior staff of people from ethnic minority backgrounds in those positions. A more diverse workforce and representation will be better than what it is now and that's just a fact. If someone asked me what I want to see, I would want to see an ethnic minority chief constable or something like that, because I think that would make a huge difference between bringing people closer and you know mending some of the broken relationships that's there at present."

One interviewee argued that police recruitment should not be done on a tokenised basis, or simply to fill quotas, but there needed to be a culture change where diverse communities actually wished to join the police and were trained on the same basis as white police,

"Our parents for example, our grandparents, those people are afraid of the police. If they see black police officer, they will be much happier, but as long as a police officer is properly trained and qualified and they are not there because they are black".

Hopes were expressed that the future could be different to the present and the past,

"I hope that in the future my children, my nephews, nieces, my cousins, my younger siblings, that they can have a better relationship with the police, can be more involved in the police force and the police force can be more involved in our group, our community, our culture, they can understand it better".

However, not all interviewees were convinced that changing the makeup of the individual officers in a structurally racist police force would create change,

"More representation? I really don't know if that would make a difference. I feel like the whole police force has got its structure now, so bringing representations in is just like I don't feel like it would do anything, so I don't really think that would be a good idea."

More Training. More Outreach. More Awareness

"It's no point putting ten police officers, ten white guys in a room and getting another white woman or white guy delivering that information, no, I feel like they should get that information but how about going to a community centre and getting that information delivered by people of colour"

While some of our young people had come to see the police as an alien presence or enemy, others had hope that things might be improved if the police 'reached out more' to Wales's diverse communities

"A lot of work needs to be done from the police side just to reach out to ethnic minorities just to let them know what they're about. Obviously, they might have you know good police officers here and there, but I think as a whole I don't think they're doing enough."

Training to get a better understanding and awareness of different races, faiths and cultures was proposed,

"Every new police person when they're still in the academy or when they're still in training, there has to be a course on the importance of ethnic minorities, understanding all history, understanding all cultures, right. We as black people, we have learnt so much about white culture, they need to learn about our culture, because I feel that if they can learn and appreciate it or even have a little bit of understanding, they will see us as individuals".

It was suggested this would be best if there was regular mandatory training throughout an officer's career,

"I think police should really understand a lot more about different cultures, a lot more about different races. I'd even go as far as to say learn basic phrases in different languages. And then not just when they're in their training, I think there should be like throughout their journey in the force. Throughout they should have you know updating or just refreshing on you know cultural ... like seminars and things like that."

This theme of ongoing training was echoed by several interviewees,

"There's clearly still not enough that's been going on, there still definitely needs to be more, and I think a good way maybe of doing that is ... I don't know exactly how the police work, but I kind of feel like once you've done your course and once you've qualified, that's it, you're a policeman, I feel like there should be maybe every so many years you've got to go back and redo it"

One reason for ongoing training given was, "we could set rules now that we could think are pretty progressive and you know rotate in the right direction but then in ten, fifteen years' time" social attitudes could have shifted.

It was also proposed that we needed to think how training was delivered and by who,

"It's no point putting ten police officers, ten white guys in a room and getting another white woman or white guy delivering that information, no, I feel like they should get that information but how about going to a community centre and getting that information delivered by people of colour"

Some were unconvinced that a little bit more equality training could change a leopard's spots,

"You can do all this stuff but as soon as you let them out of the room and then they go out on the streets by themselves, it could be a completely different story, and all that information probably would go in one ear and out the other"

One poignant comment suggested the positive benefits a change of culture in policing might bring,

"I see them as like authority figures, I don't think that's how it should be, I think we should rather see them as like helpers, do you know what I mean, like people you go to when you need help."

Democratic Control Of The Police

"We need to make the police a lot more accountable with how they deal with people."

Repeatedly our young people argued the police as an institution had too much arbitrary power with a need for more social checks and balances to make them more democratically accountable to communities,

"I feel like at times they've got way too much power. And I think they need to be put in check, they need to be audited, they need to answer for all their actions. And I feel like they've got too much power and it's been ignored for way too long now. And they know that it's ignored, so they're going to do whatever they want."

Some felt that practical measures like police wearing body cameras and that footage being more accessible to bodies independent to the police might help,

"Obviously Mohamud Hassan's case, it's clear that they were using more force than they had to use. I think they need to be regulated a lot more heavily, and I think, yeah, for example like things like dashcam footage. I think everyone does have like a body cam, dashcam, I think it needs to be a bit more accessible."

Community-Based Policing

Historically the establishment has claimed the UK has 'policing by consent' because the power of the police is supposed to come from the common consent of the public, as opposed to the power of the state.

Some interviewees suggested if the police were more embedded in the communities where they worked, and if they talked more rather than resorting to other policing tactics, they might be more effective,

"You get a police officer who just goes there and has no idea what they're doing and just doesn't really try to speak to the people, I don't think that would be a very good idea because in some areas people if you just talk about it, then ... you'd probably get a lot more than using violence."

Though they told us this wasn't a full proof solution,

*"Getting people to work in areas that they're familiar with would definitely maybe change the way police deal with things, but you could get a person who's still an absolute d***head from that area! And they still wouldn't deal with it very well."*

It was suggested that a more multiracial police force with a variety of lived experiences would be better able to serve diverse communities, and a better police force might mean less racial profiling,

"When you start to have conversations about race and inequality, the more people from diverse backgrounds there, the more experiences, of lived experiences they can relate and understand each other better, and it has to reflect the community it's meant to serve"

One interviewee described meeting the police in a more relaxed community setting to suggest that they needed to become more integrated,

"It was a big deal for them to be even conversing with somebody like me or like the other people who were there because they've never been around a multi-cultural society, they've never been in spaces where you know they have had to speak to somebody who was black, brown, you know or anybody who just doesn't look like them."

Greater community involvement might better inform police local priorities, and appropriate allocation of funding,

"The funding should be allocated appropriately and it should be checked over appropriately, none of this you know wasted money, it needs to be going towards what the community actually needs ... perhaps tailoring it per specific community, maybe you have knife crime in a specific area, so that's where the money should be allocated. If there's an area where domestic violence is higher, that's where the money should be allocated, and providing those support services and helping the police tackle that. I find that this kind of generic approach doesn't really work because each community has their own need"

Alternatives To Policing

During the Black Lives Matter protests of 2020 slogans such as 'Abolish the Police' and 'Defund the Police' crossed the Atlantic. These slogans mean different things to different people, but at a time of widespread austerity policies, one popular reading has yoked together defunding the police with refunding our communities.

This might involve a gradual shrinking of the role of the police with a corresponding expanding of the welfare state. We might, for example, fund more social housing instead of criminalise people on the streets. Instead of recruiting more police to deal with anti-social behaviour by young people, we might invest in youth workers and youth centres to give them something to do. Instead of increasingly using police to deal with people in mental health crisis, we would properly fund mental health services. Crime might also be reduced by creating a fairer, more equal society.

One interviewee commented, *"the police don't do anything like help the homelessness, if anything they just arrest them and stuff"*

Another interviewee argued the current policing and criminal model was inefficient and dated,

"Rules that applied ten years ago, twenty years ago, thirty years ago in some cases, right, is inadequate like in present day society. It's similar with education, like we're bringing practices that worked like many decades ago into a new completely different society."

He argued that there needed to be more experimentation with new approaches to policing and even reallocating resources and funding away from the police to other agencies,

"I do believe in defunding it, or maybe not even defunding it, reallocating resources into different ways, so it gets to different places or there's different approaches, different ways of educating. You know that pot of money that'll probably go to spend internally amongst the police, alright, how about using that money in a way where that delivery of information is delivered by somebody they've never worked with before but could do that job ten times better than they can."

A police force is a miniature of the society that produces it. It is unclear if the police can be radically reformed without radical reform in wider society. Or whether accountability of the police can be achieved without wider accountability in the wider society.

Despite many expressions towards the police of alienation, antipathy and antagonism, few of our interviewees could articulate the more structural or far-reaching solutions which might change things.

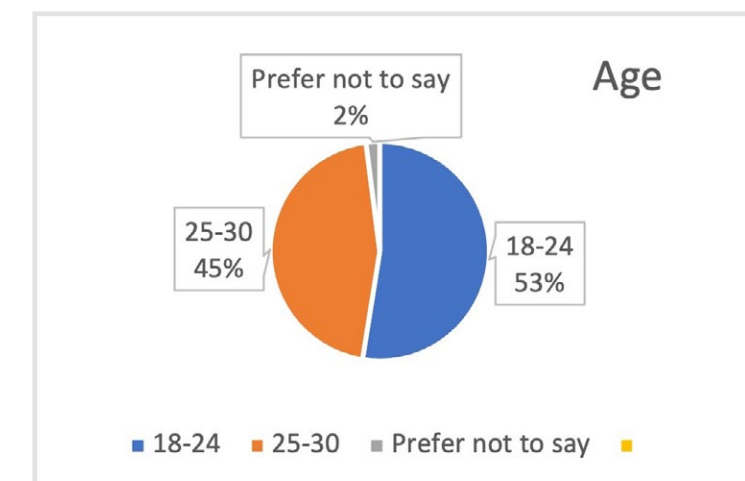
"There is room for discussion on how it should be restructured and now changes should be made but I think scrapping it altogether when the community's already quite vulnerable isn't a good idea"

Some also resisted the notion that the police should be abolished, defunded or defeated.

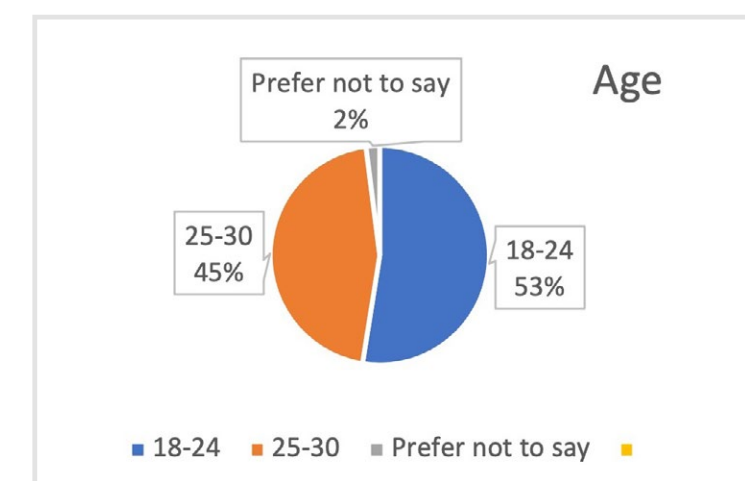
"You cannot defund something that has existed for like 200 years. These structures have been in place, they are traditions, there are generations of people who have relied on this police force, we cannot be funded for the benefit of the minority, because whether we like it or not, black people are a minority in the UK. We cannot defund it. But we can change some policies within it, we can put ourselves in those positions. Defunding it does nothing to help black people"

ONLINE SURVEY RESPONSES

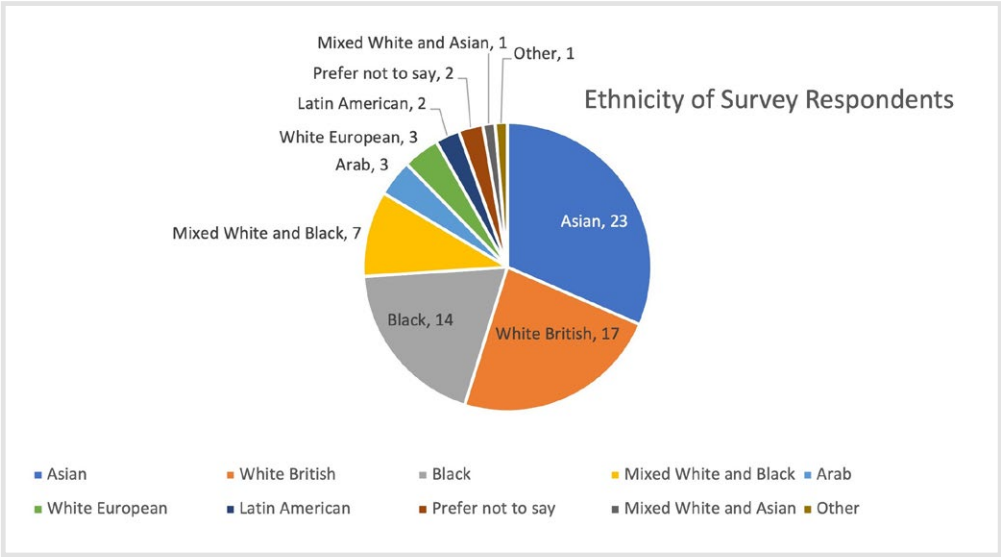
The Online Survey was titled 'Exploring experiences and perceptions of Trust in the Welsh Police Forces and its Impact on Racialised Young People in Wales'. The survey elicited 73 responses, of whom:



- 52% were aged 18-24 years old; 45% were aged 25-30
- 61% were Male; 37% were Female



- 31% were Asian; 23% were White British; 19% were Black; 10% were Mixed White and Black; 4% were Arab; 4% were White European; 3% were Latin American; 3% Preferred not to say; 1% were Mixed White and Asian; 1% were Other

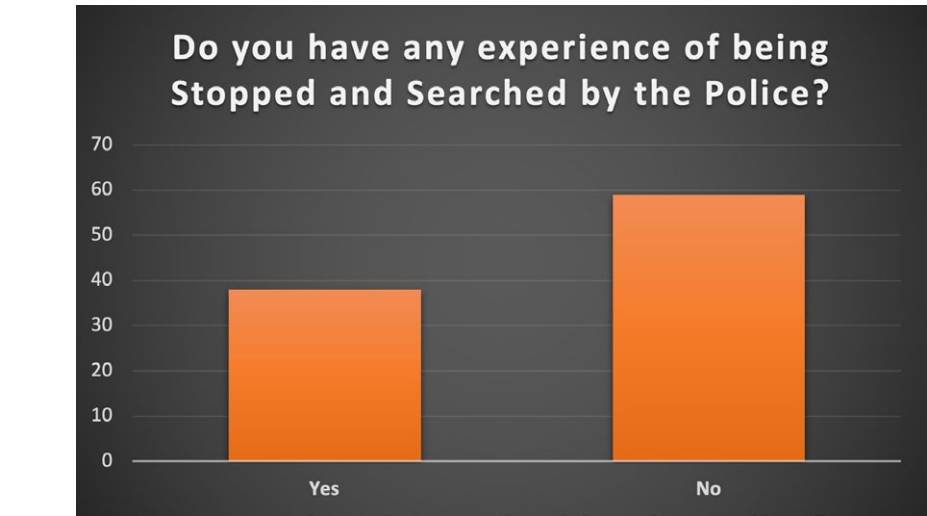


- 68% lived in Cardiff, 10% lived in Neath Port Talbot, 5% lived in Vale of Glamorgan, 4% lived in Newport, 4% lived in Swansea, 1% lived in Caerphilly, 1% in Rhonda Cynon Taff; 1% in Wrexham; 1% in Blaenau Gwent;

It is important to note who our respondents were and how this may impact on the survey findings. Nearly a quarter (23%) of responses identified as White British, and this may well impact our overall findings. 68% of respondents were also from Cardiff, which has the highest concentration of ethnic minority population in Wales, as well as being an urban city with greater overall interaction with Police than other areas of Wales.

Survey Questions

Stop and search is the policing practice of stopping a person briefly in order to search them for weapons or prohibited items. Do you have any experience of being stopped and searched by the police?



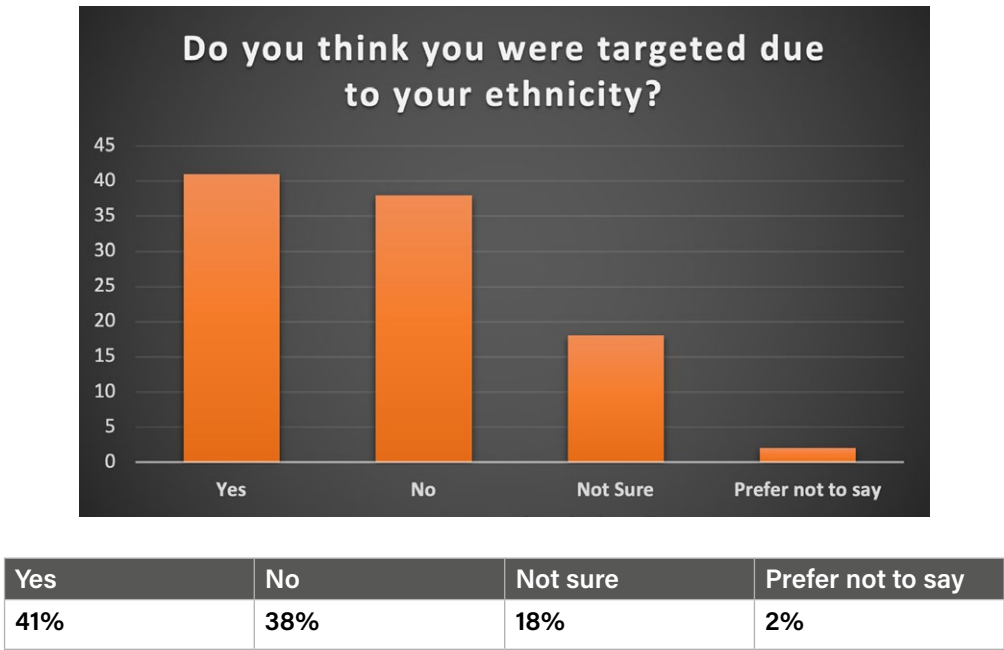
Yes	No	Not sure	Prefer not to say
38%	59%	1%	1%

If yes, how did this make you feel?

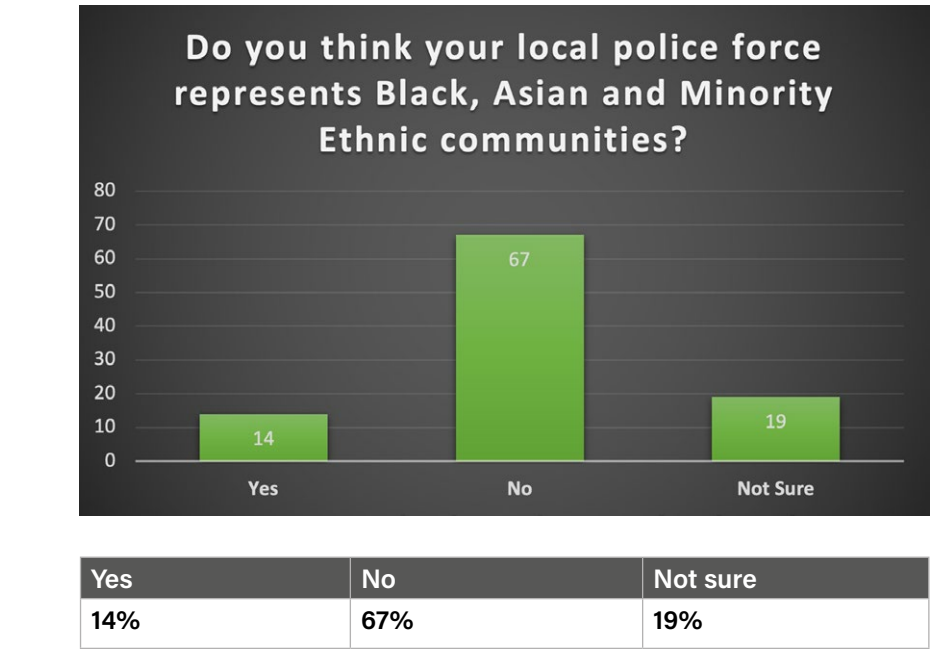


Fine	Safe	Scared	Sad	Angry	Worried	Excited
26%	10%	19%	6%	35%	32%	3%

Do think you were targeted because of your ethnicity or cultural identity (e.g. clothing)



Do you feel that the police force in your local area represents Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority communities?



Additional Comments:

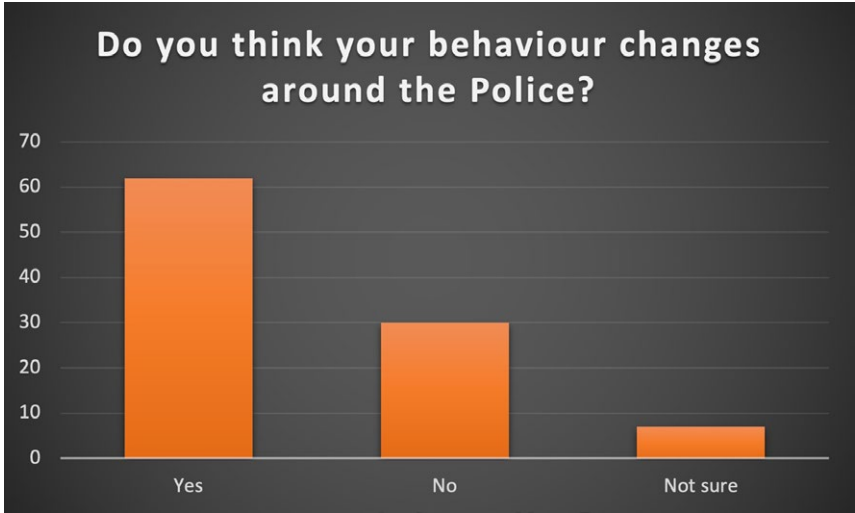
- There are 1 or 2 black officers working in Rhondda Cynon Taf, the officers that have to deal with racial complaints do not fully understand what it takes for a person to report a race crime. I believe it gets taken too lightly like a petty crime like stealing a chocolate bar from a superstore.
- Very few Black / Asian officers visible
- Also they do not seem to have a true perception of black / mixed young people males in particular their perceptions misrepresent our positive citizenship
- In the past 3 years I'd say I've seen one Asian PCSO walking around lower Newport road area, and one mixed race
- Not enough Black officers, but guess we don't apply
- Even though South Wales police are doing recruitment drives for BAME police officers I still feel there should be more to reflect the percentage of the BAME community in Cardiff/ Wales.

The survey response tells us that the majority (59%) of respondents had no direct experience of stop and search, however a sizeable minority of 38% had. Of those who had been stopped and searched, the most common feeling was of Anger (35%) and Worry (32%). Only 10% of those felt Safe.

Nearly half (41%) of those stopped and searched felt this was down to their ethnicity or cultural identity, and a further 18% weren't sure if this was the case.

Nearly 70% of respondents felt there is a lack of Black and Minority Ethnic representation in their local police, including some who noted that this was the case even in areas of higher BME population such as Cardiff and Newport.

Do you think your behaviour changes around the police?



Yes	No	Not sure	Prefer not to say
62%	30%	7%	1%

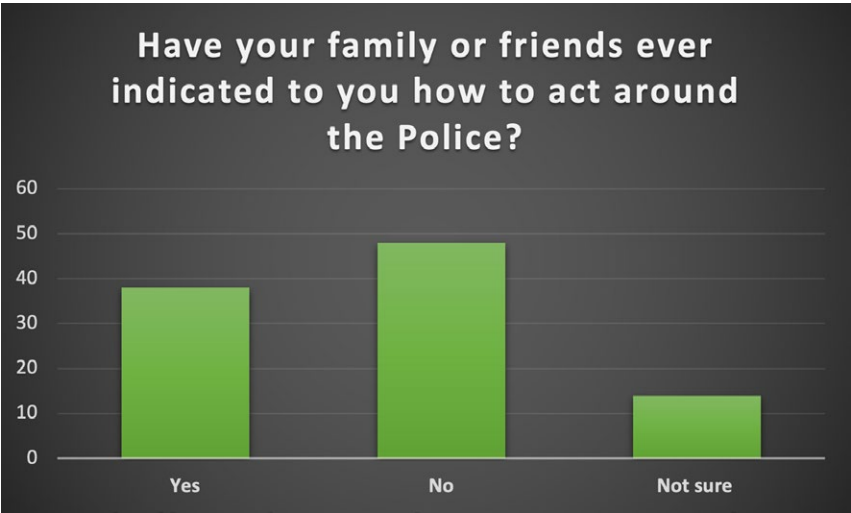
If yes, in what way does your behaviour change?

- You feel you stand out more , therefore everything you do is more memorable. There are not many people of diversity so you always feel like you have to be on your best behaviour.
- I try to keep my head down and not make any kind of contact with them, they perceive me as a criminal simply because of the attire I like to wear
- More vigilant of how my posture is and what I am doing at that moment, to make myself appear more formal.
- Paranoid when I have no reason to be
- I make sure the police are aware that I am I no way a threat

If yes, how does this change make you feel?

- Angry and helpless
- Uncomfortable
- Anxious
- Annoyed
- Paranoid
- Instant feeling of unease
- Disappointed

Have your family or friends ever indicated to you how to act around the police?

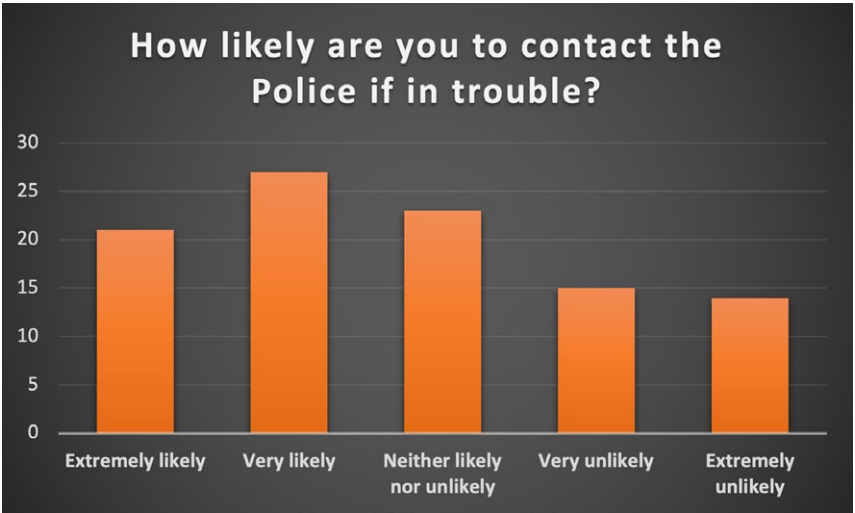


Yes	No	Not sure
38%	48%	14%

Tell us more about your answer.

- Always tell you not to argue back even when you’re not in the wrong in fear of what they might do
- I’ve been taught to be respectful around police
- Told to be respectful, and ask why they have stopped me.
- Parents taught me, Do as they say because they get their own way no matter what
- If you've done nothing wrong then there is no need to change the way you act or behave.
- Be cooperative and helpful to avoid problems as they can be hard work with you
- Told me to be polite, have my hands out of my pockets, do as they say and try to be calm.
- I have never been told how to act around police, as a white person I don’t feel the need to have a certain attitude towards police as white people generally aren’t discriminated against. (my opinion not fact)

How likely are you to contact the police if you are in trouble and need help?



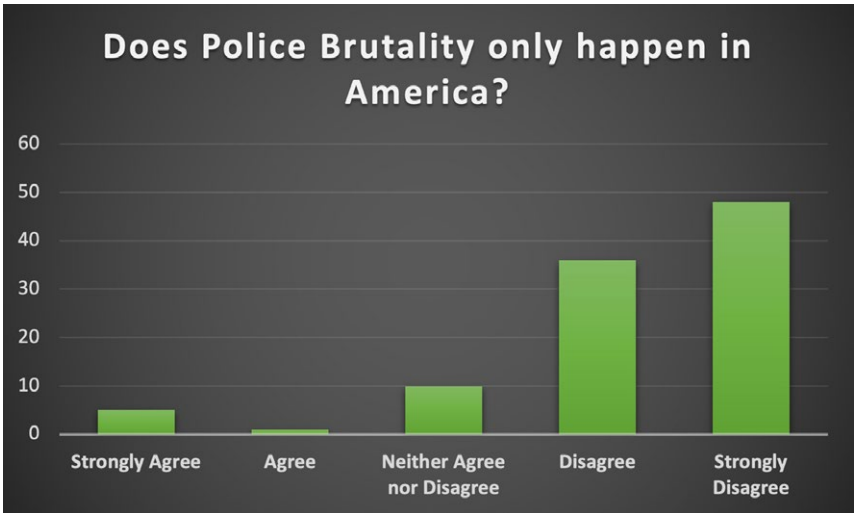
Extremely unlikely	Very unlikely	Neither likely, nor unlikely	Very likely	Extremely likely
14%	15%	23%	27%	21%

Tell us more about your answer.

- I’m not sure they would want to help. It would be very serious for me to reach out to them. They falsely accused me of stealing my own bike when I was 11. They stopped me alone & were horrible to me. That taste has stayed with me
- Emergency services should be contacted in an emergency. Common sense
- It would depend on what the situation was. If I can seek out help elsewhere I would
- If I needed help, I would feel confident in seeking assistance from the Police.
- I can understand why some people may feel differently on this matter but personally, I feel comfortable in asking for assistance if I need it.
- Some things need police presence some don’t
- The helplines take a long time to respond, maybe due to lack of staff or being overworked. Any incident could have taken place in the time the call has been received.
- I had been assaulted in school, the police were called. When I explained that my classmate had been stalking and harassing me as well as racially bullying me they didn't care. When I asked for pepper spray he laughed and said the best he could do was a rape alarm. When I asked for a restraining order, he laughed and said not possible (I know different now) The boy only got community service. So if I'm honest I'd rather diffuse the situation or protect myself.

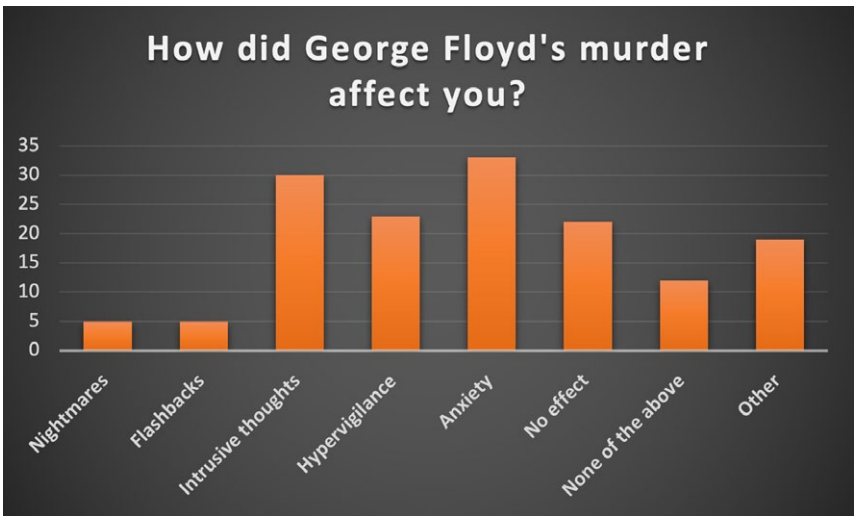
I’m not sure they would want to help. It would be very serious for me to reach out to them. They falsely accused me of stealing my own bike when I was 11. They stopped me alone & were horrible to me. That taste has stayed with me.

Following George Floyd's Murder in America, many people stated that police brutality only happens in America. How do you feel about this statement?



Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
5%	1%	10%	36%	48%

How did George Floyd's Murder affect you?

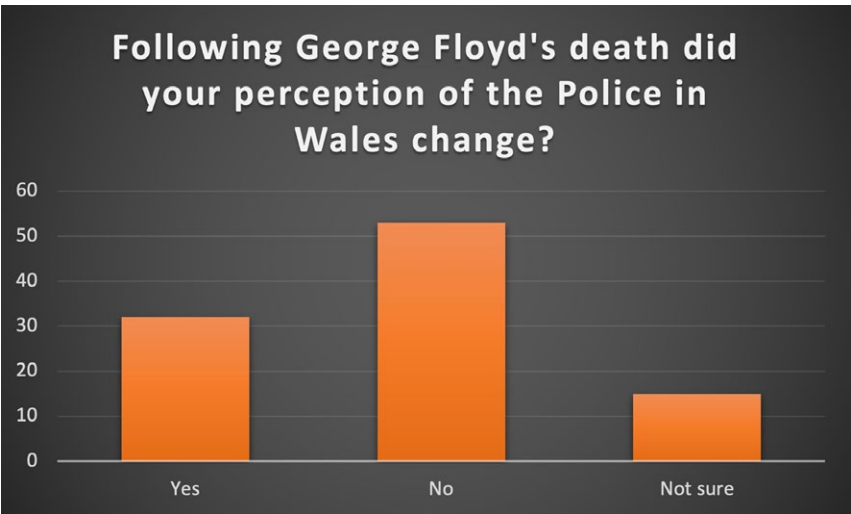


Nightmares	Flashbacks	Intrusive thoughts	Hypervigilance	Anxiety	No effect	None of the above	Other
5%	5%	30%	23%	33%	22%	12%	19%

Further Comments:

- Improved awareness, challenge racism, and more so, challenging the 'casual' racism used too often by so many
- I felt angry. I'm from a white background but it made me feel as though we should all be seen as one, rather than from different backgrounds, therefore everyone should be treated equally with respect.

Following the death of George Floyd, did your perception of the police in Wales change?



Yes it changed	No, it remained the same	Not sure
32%	53%	15%

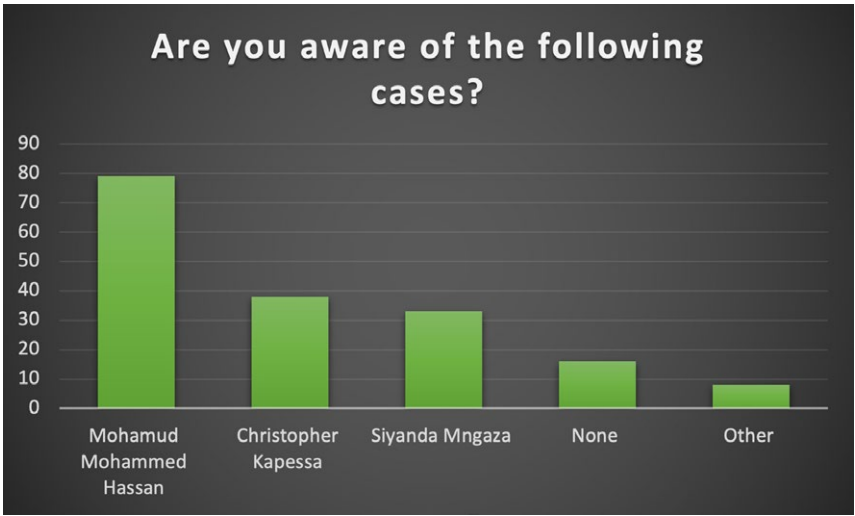
In what way did your perception change?

- think it's not a Welsh police matter but all police
- It didn't change, it was never good to start with. To many things have happened and that including in Cardiff itself.
- What happened in the US highlighted an issue in policing from a minority of officers.

Continued

- *In the same way that all BAME groups don’t wish to be treated in one way by the Police, I think it’s good to remember not all cops are the same.*
- *At first it made me thankful that we didn’t have American police but then I saw more occasions of UK police racism, I got more concerned*
- *It made me realise how individuals opinions affect their actions in their profession (police).*

In recent times, questions have been raised around police handling of incidents involving racialised individuals. Are you aware of any of the following cases?

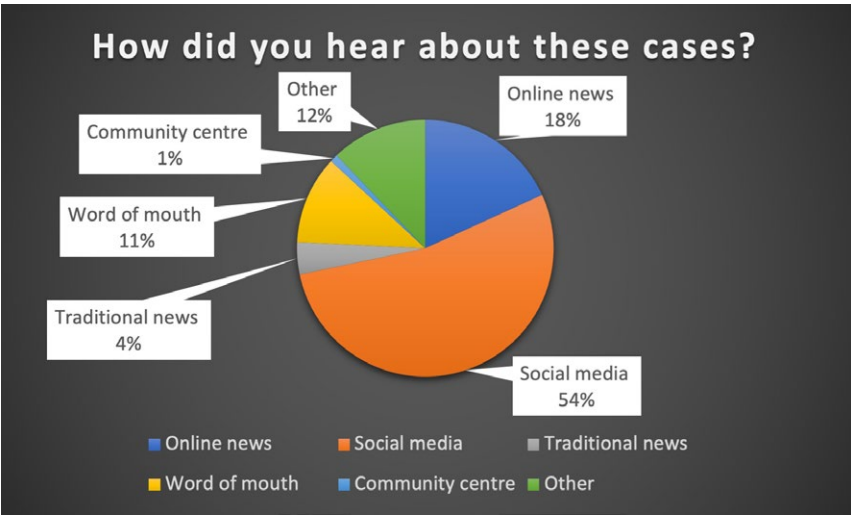


Mohamud Mohammed Hassan	Christopher Kapessa	Siyanda Mngaza	None	Other
79%	38%	33%	16%	8%

Any Others?

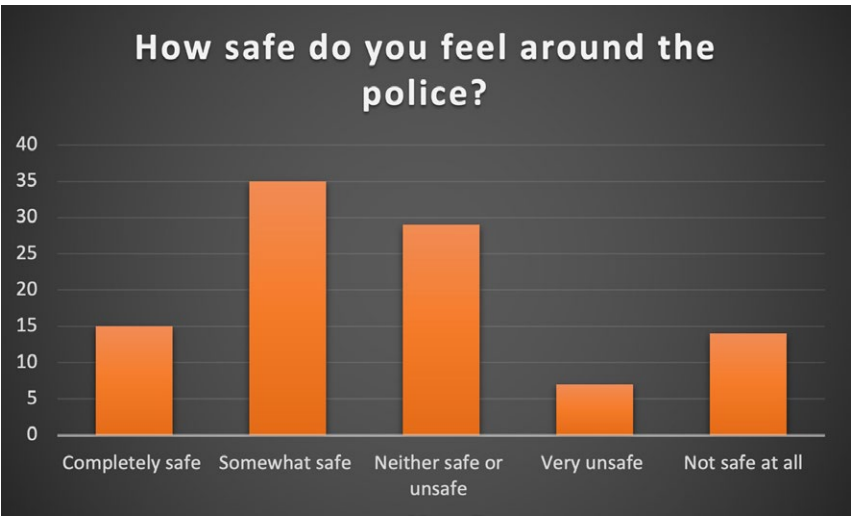
Leighton Jones	Sarah Reed 2012	Edson Da Costa 2019
Moyied Bashir	Sheko Bayoh 2015	Darren Cumberbatch 2020
Shukri Abdi,	Rashan Charles 2016	William Cameron 2020
Jimmy Muberga 2010	Rafel Sochaki 2017,	

How did you find out about these cases?



Online news	Social media	Traditional news	Word of mouth	Community centre	Other
18%	53%	4%	11%	1%	12%

How safe do you, as a racialised young person, feel around the police?



Completely safe	Somewhat safe	Neither safe or unsafe	Very unsafe	Not safe at all
15%	35%	29%	7%	14%

The above responses tell us that nearly two thirds (62%) of responders change their behaviour around police. Respondents report feelings of paranoia, and the need to be more vigilant when around police. Having to make these changes makes respondents feel angry, helpless, uncomfortable, anxious, annoyed, paranoid, uneasy, and disappointed. Despite this, respondents were fairly evenly balanced as to whether they would reach out to police if they were in trouble and needed help.

Nearly half (48%) strongly disagreed that police brutality only happens in America, many also commented that George Floyd's murder resulted in their own improved awareness of racial inequality, and challenging of covert and overt racism. However 53% reported that their perception of the police did not change after George Floyd's murder.

Perhaps the Cardiff weighting of our respondents was reflected in nearly 80% being aware of the police incident involving Mohamed Mohammed Hassan, with one third aware of Christopher Kapessa, and Siyanda Mngaza. 11 further incidents were also listed of incidents involving racialised individuals and the police in the UK.

Do you have anything else you would like to share about your experiences and/or perceptions of policing in Wales?

- *Need more awareness for the police to handle race crimes very seriously. I believe it takes a lot for someone to call the police about race crime, especially if it's their first time. Some white officers do not understand it one bit and I feel they treat it like hardly anything though its harassment and bullying in its highest form*
- *Police need to interact with the local community and have more black and Asian officers in communities throughout Wales.*
- *A few which are too long to mention. We currently need more people of black origin within the police force, I have signed up for future vacancies. I have been contacted for Gwent police but after doing research and asking around I have heard they are awful to work for, so fingers crossed I get a job within SWPF. Hopefully more of us apply & we can infiltrate these ***** and make a difference for our generation & our children & their children.*
- *To my knowledge there isn't anyone of origin in high places within the force. We need to change that and it starts by applying and getting a foot in the door. It's not about "being a fed" or being a sell out its about being smart & getting our foot in the door so we give ourselves the chance to make change so we don't have to just*

*be these Black faces wearing hoodies holding signs & banners making "racket". Because that's how they see it they don't give a ****. We can be raising our opinions & giving ideas within meetings & boardrooms wearing that SWP badge or in a suit. It takes away the chance of them calling us uneducated/ just minorities or thugs. We have to be smart. What we say will carry more weight, we all felt strong and united when we did the BLM march and there was a few thousand of us on Bute park, not just there all over the country we came together, now imagine just 1% of our numbers on the park got into the police force. It would make a difference. I'm not saying it's the solution to our problem as a whole but it's a different avenue and a good idea.*

- *All in all, life as a Black person can be a difficult one with challenges and obstacles and I think anyone would be foolish to say there isn't still racism in society when there clearly is.*
- *I honestly feel the Police do their best in most circumstances (not all) but in the whole they treat people fairly and without prejudice and whilst racism and profiling amongst BAME groups needs to be identified and eliminated, it's important to remember not all cops are the same and some fully respect the view of black people and have a deeper understanding of the wider issue.*
- *I find some police officers are ignorant to other views and religions. This could be down to lack of awareness*
- *If you cooperate with police and show them a different image than their stupid ideology and what the media and they familiar with... they might think "ohh they ain't as bad as I thought" In my opinion they need more education and shown more hospitality to realise the media ain't doing us justice. Changing the media will never happen in my opinion but influence individuals does affect it. Because they will always think and say, well this and that are Muslims and I don't think they are like that....*
- *BAME communities or lack of training.*
- *Police can show subtle microaggressions, as opposed to overt racism, and can often do it in a sly way so they can get away with it.*
- *Would like more community ground level work to be done to raise the trust we have towards police in Wales.*

While the survey did not directly ask about potential solutions or suggestions for changes in policing in Wales, we can draw from the range of comments made throughout the survey, the following ideas emerging:

Greater Awareness and Engagement

- Calls for further racial awareness and training of police forces
- More effective grassroots engagement
- Media feeding into officers’ subconscious. To counter this by increasing awareness, engagement and integration with the local community

Representation

- More representation in the force at all levels, especially in higher positions of power
- Understanding of individuals causing negative experiences and perceptions, but frustration in nothing being done to prosecute and prevent this

Alternatives

- The need for an alternative service to police call out as not all situations require police presence

Wider Context

- Recognition that negative experiences with the police only reflect wider issues in society

CONCLUSION

This report set out to capture the voices and experiences of racialised young people in Wales during a seismic period in relation to policing and racialised communities. Moreover we wanted to explore the impact of those experiences on young lives.

Our study found a breadth of experience amongst racialised young people in Wales in relation to the police, including positive, neutral and negative experiences and perceptions of the police as an institution, however it is fair to say that the positive or neutral experiences were in the minority and were significantly associated with higher social class and whiteness.

Respondents clearly perceived a fraught relationship between racialised communities and the police, either based on their own experiences, or based on things they had heard or read about on social media which in turn informed their perception of their experiences. George Floyd, Mohamud Hassan, Moyied Bashir, Christopher Kapessa and Siyanda Mngaza were all cited as examples of young lives taken or restricted too soon, and over which many questions remain.

When directly confronted by or in the vicinity of police, our respondents spoke of ‘code-switching’ and ‘survival techniques’ - the learnt need to act, speak or dress differently to avoid undue attention from the police – and how this made some feel ‘paranoid’ when in the company of police. We heard many examples of individuals feeling explicitly targeted due to their race or ethnicity, when white friends doing the same thing in the same place were not. The differential response from police according to which neighbourhood they were in was another recurring theme.

Moreover, experiences of being unfairly targeted by police had stayed with our young respondents leading to a long-lasting distrust in the police, as well as a negative and lasting impact on their own mental health and well-being. While sympathising to an extent with the difficult job of the police, for some the distrust was so great as to prevent them wanting to call the police, even when they were in trouble, and only doing so as a last resort.

Lack of accountability was another recurring theme – with concerns about the efficacy of bodies such as the IOPC – so who polices the police?

Our young respondents cited the lack of ethnic minority police as a widely recognised problem, particularly the lack of senior ethnic minority police – while at the same time acknowledging the barriers and stigma in some cases associated with working for the police.

Respondents said that police needed more training, but on the whole there was also a large amount of scepticism as to whether more training would really solve this problem.

But what will solve the problem? Who speaks out against the police and for our young people in Wales' political, public and media spaces? Well, it is our hope that this report has enabled our young people to speak for themselves. And that their collective voice may go some way towards exposing and challenging entrenched and institutional power imbalances. Because black lives matter, and so do the lives of racialised young people in Wales.

RECOMMENDATIONS

James Baldwin once asked, "What is it you want me to reconcile myself to? You always told me it takes time. It has taken my father's time, my mother's time, my uncle's time, my brothers' and my sisters' time, my nieces' and my nephews' time. How much time do you want for your 'progress'?"

In drawing up our recommendations we are conscious that at any point during the last fifty years you will find many worthy reports with the same worthy recommendations to politicians and police forces. We cannot, in good conscience, simply repeat the same tired clichés calling for piecemeal reform for another year.

Our own Manifesto for an Anti-racist Wales, called in 2020 for Welsh Government to improve access to justice and safety for minority ethnic individuals and review disproportionate criminal justice outcomes, and effectiveness of justice processes, including that of Police, in dealing with racism (Race Alliance Wales Manifesto for an Anti-Racist Wales, 2020) And yet...

Our ideas below should be seen as provisional ideas, subject to further debate and discussion among our communities and among those young people most impacted by police racism, who must make and re-make Wales and construct new notions of public safety. Our hope is to enrich, and be enriched by, what is coming to the surface from below, in the voices of young people in this report, and in what we witnessed with our own eyes in 2020 and 2021 in the protests, across Wales.

Inspired by the powerful voices and experiences of the young people who took part in this research, and those who we met on the streets in protest, we humbly make the following recommendations to police, politicians, and our own sector:

Our Recommendations for Welsh Government:

- 1. Commission a public inquiry into the policing of racialised communities in Wales...** while we recognise that policing and justice in Wales are currently not devolved matters, such a public inquiry, by collecting public testimony, conducting research, making recommendations, reaching conclusions and verdicts could play an important role in addressing low confidence in policing and improving community safety in Wales.

2. **Improve and deliver the Criminal Justice section of the Race Equality Action Plan (REAP)** and create a community monitoring group including racialised young people to track its progress.
3. **Ensure children are supported to know their rights in relation to criminal justice** including stop and search by resourcing appropriate training in schools and youth groups.
4. **Respond to the mental health impact of policing practices** by resourcing schools and youth groups to provide pastoral and/or counselling support to young people experiencing police racism.
5. **Increase funding to community groups** to enable them to provide community-based checks and balances on police power including work to document and challenge discriminatory practice in policing. Austerity cuts to funding and legal aid cuts have meant that many of these organisations no longer exist
6. **Improve police accountability**, by working with community safety partnerships and community organisations to track and monitor policing practices in Wales
7. **Fund emergency mental health responses** which can more appropriately respond to emergency mental health calls.

Our Recommendations for Police in Wales:

8. **Build meaningful and honest relationships with racialised communities**, seeking new and innovative ways of doing so, and avoiding tokenistic old-style relationships of favour and patronage
9. **Seek to become anti-racist organisations** and work collaboratively and meaningfully with racialised communities and organisations to find co-produce solutions and implement reforms.
10. **Commit to a Wales-wide inquiry into the efficacy and impact of Stop and Search.** This should be the first step towards ending stop and search as an over-used and under-effective police practice.
11. **Reform Stop and Search practices**, including:
 - better defining what constitutes "reasonable grounds for suspicion" and when restraint or use of handcuffs are appropriate.
 - provide training to new police on Stop and Search to include the impact of its disproportionate use on racialised young people.
 - Improve recording of stop and search, ensuring that all records include full demographic data, and a question on use of force.

- Ensure that current Stop and Search practices are carried out with humanity, with minimal embarrassment to young people, and that all police officers provide receipts to young people, and inform them of their rights to complain, and how to do so.
 - Simplify options to file complaints, including through third-party reporting systems.
 - Regularly publish facts and figures, and other information on stop and search, so that the public can monitor use of stop and search powers, identify concerning trends, and patterns.
12. **Overhaul Police Forces' equality, diversity, and inclusion training** ensuring it is quality assessed and evaluated, and is planned and delivered with and by racialised communities.
 13. **Take more radical steps to achieve a more representative workforce at all levels, including positive action.**

Our Recommendations for Welsh Racial Justice Organisations:

14. Build on existing community organising **to develop independent grassroots police monitoring groups**, which can effectively challenge discriminatory police practices, including acting as third party reporting organisations and/or maintain online reporting sites/
15. **Work collaboratively with each other to increase impact.**

ENDNOTES

1. We use the term racialised not as means of self identification, but as a socio-political categorisation formed by White-led society, applied to people based on individual differences and characteristics such as skin colour, hair type, name, dress, religion, nationality, migration status or ethnic heritage, to justify inequalities.
2. Piers Murphy is a Pseudonym as per the author's request
3. committees.parliament.uk/publications/7012/documents/89144/default/
4. See more here: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Death_of_Christopher_Kapessa
5. See more here: www.voice.wales/siyanda-mngaza-why-was-a-young-black-woman-jailed-after-telling-police-she-was-racially-attacked/
6. See more here: www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-56148362
7. See more here: www.itv.com/news/wales/2022-01-09/family-of-mohamud-mohammed-hassan-demand-bodycam-footage-a-year-after-his-death
8. Mangrove Nine, read more here: www.bbc.co.uk/news/extra/jGD9WJrVXf/the-mangrove-nine-black-lives-matter
9. Cardiff Five, read more here: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-58490038
10. Kellett M (2011) Empowering children and young people as researchers: Overcoming barriers and building capacity. *Child Indicators Research* 4(2): 205-219
11. Interviewees did not fill out the survey to avoid duplication of responses in this research study.

12. "Grounded Theory is an inductive methodology... It is the systematic generation of theory from systematic research. It is a set of rigorous research procedures leading to the emergence of conceptual categories. These concepts/categories are related to each other as a theoretical explanation of the action(s) that continually resolves the main concern of the participants in a substantive area. Grounded Theory can be used with either qualitative or quantitative data" (Glaser & Strauss, 2014)
13. During the volunteer peer research induction, the RAW development workers shared available support options during the research. Peer researchers were offered different types of support, including peer to peer, supervision with RAW development workers, and external counselling options explored as and when.
14. An anonymous (optional) demographics Google Form was available for interviewees to complete.

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