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INQUIRING TOGETHER:

COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH WITH
BAME COMMUNITIES AND SERVING
OFFICERS

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Police Scotland, the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) and the Scottish Police Authority (SPA) joined together to provide significant funding for projects and activities which meet genuine evidence gaps and support Police Scotland to further contact and engagement with all elements of our communities in Scotland, but particularly those groups which are seldom heard.

The term 'seldom-heard groups' refers to under-represented people who may be less likely to engage with Police for a variety of reasons (such as race, religion, sexuality, disability, age, and communities isolated through geography or deprivation). A focus on understanding seldom heard groups will place more emphasis on Police Scotland and our collaborators to connect with these communities ensuring their voices are heard; their needs are met; and their perspectives are understood.

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Inquiring together: Collaborative Research with BAME communities and serving officers Executive summary

Introduction

This project assisted police officers to engage, as co-inquirers, with people who are seldom heard in a research and policy context: BAME communities in the Dundee, Aberdeenshire and Glasgow areas. The project used a qualitative Participatory Action Research approach to build a community engagement model, holding multiple cycles of enquiry where participants and co-inquirers discussed topics including previous experiences of policing, guidelines for good community-police practice and integration, and barriers to (and ways to improve) communication. This was an iterative process, with each previous cycle of discussions informing subsequent ones. A total of 57 community members, along with 7 BAME community professionals and 15 police officers, 2 of whom were also members of a BAME community, participated.

Themes

Seven key themes emerged from this research:

- *Systems (both knowledge and perceptions)*: there were gaps in knowledge about policing in Scotland. For example, participants were often unaware of what number to call in an emergency or that officers in Scotland do not usually carry guns.
- *Police and Culture*: interactions between police culture and the cultures of different communities are important.
- *History and Place*: ideas of 'home', alongside the history of policing and communities, influence relationships between communities and police.
- *Trauma*: experiences of trauma are more common among the communities included here, which can have important implications in areas like interviewing.
- *Community Engagement*: community engagement, through the process used in our research and elsewhere, was highly valued among participants. For Police Scotland, community engagement and community policing should include making connections with BAME communities.
- *Police Numbers*: community members from Dundee reported on the decline in visibility of the police in their communities over time. Visible police presence was valued, particularly in policing of drugs.
- *Communication*: improving communications is key, in terms of translated materials but also effective intercultural engagement.

Conclusions and recommendations

The research process was transformative for all those involved in this project, both researchers, police officers, community workers and BAME community participants. Participants were made more aware of the community safety role of Police Scotland; they valued engaging with individual police officers and enjoyed the process of this learning. The model also helped police officers develop their understandings of their local BAME communities' needs, expectation, and concerns. Building on this research we recommend that:

- 1. The community engagement outlined in Section 9 of this report, or other engagement models, should be used to engender mutual trust.***

This model built trust in the police, whilst also being straightforward to implement.

- 2. Police officers need to be more engaged at local community levels.***

BAME communities and police officers commented on the value of the engagement process.

- 3. Consider how Trauma Informed Practice can underpin police work with BAME communities.***

Police Scotland should consider the potential impact of traumatic experiences when engaging with these communities.

- 4. Find ways to value community engagement by police officers.***

Police Scotland needs to find ways to value this role more, ensuring that officers have time to do it.

- 5. Find ways to value the skill set linked to community engagement and ways to train for this explicitly.***

The skill set linked to community engagement is complex and demands sophisticated communication skills alongside other expertise. These need to be valued highly in recruitment and training.

- 6. Continue to recruit more BAME community officers. Also look for community experience in recruitment.***

For respect for communities to be authentic and believable, community experience will be a good indicator in recruitment and employment. As discussed in sections 6.12 and 6.13, participants in this project saw such recruitment as important but were aware of barriers to it; they also offered suggestions on potential ways to improve the situation.

- 7. Find a means of making an interpreter service more accessible by phone.***

English can be needed to get past the first stage of the phone call

- 8. Community work professionals could be more aware of the need for the above communication for migrants and could help facilitate this.***

Community work professionals can assist Police Scotland to manage communication of key messages.

9. Need for training in community development and how to communicate positively through engaging with people of all kinds.

There is a vast resource of information and training opportunities in community development and engagement, which could be harnessed by Police Scotland.

10. Films for social media, in particular, should be developed to inform BAME communities of the role of police and common procedures.

Social media was more likely to be used than media such as leaflets or books.

W nagłych wypadkach zadzwoń pod numer 999.. Będziesz pytany:

What service do you require?

Police please.
I need a Polish Translator

Powiedz operatorowi, że chcesz porozmawiać z policją. Możesz poprosić o tłumacza.

Możesz zadzwonić na policję pod numer 101, jeśli nie jest to pilne.

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Szkocka Policja - dbamy o bezpieczeństwo obywateli



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شرطة اسكتلندا ، للحفاظ على سلامة الناس



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Title

Inquiring together: Collaborative Research with BAME communities and serving officers

1. Introduction

The project was a partnership between Kirsty Forrester of Dundee City Council, Jonathan Mendel of the University of Dundee and Professor (Emeritus) Karen McArdle, of the University of Aberdeen. These three colleagues conceptualised, proposed and implemented the project, which sought to research, through collaboration with Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Communities (BAME) communities and serving police officers, relationships and communications. A Steering Group was formed of senior serving officers in the selected Police Scotland Divisions (A, D and G); third sector and local authority managers whose work is focused on supporting the BAME communities and representatives from Police Scotland's Research and Insight's team. This Steering Group acted as a sounding board, monitored and contributed to the research process. We are grateful for the contribution of the Steering Group and of all the participants in the project. The project was funded by the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR), the Scottish Police Authority and Police Scotland.

Asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and people from BAME communities face some particular obstacles to engaging with Police Scotland, which also impact on their broader lives in Scotland. For example, the Scottish Community Safety Network (2020) found that BAME people, and people who identify with minority religions, *"generally feel less safe alone at night and worry about crime more in Scotland"*; people with minority religions are more likely to experience crime, particularly property crime. Fraser and Piacentini (2014) argue that, while "less visible" than England, the impact of crime on BAME populations remains under-researched in Scotland and there are concerns about under-reporting of racialised hate crimes in particular. Kirkwood, McKinlay and McVittie (2012) suggest that racism may sometimes be effaced in the accounts of people who have experienced racially motivated violence. Thus provided a complex context in which to explore the research questions outlined below.

2. Research Objectives

The research objectives, which this report will show were met, focused primarily on communication between police officers and the BAME community:

- To engage with migrant/BAME communities in an inquiry into communication, safety and trust in policing;
- To develop collaborative inquiry relationships between members of the target communities and police officers;
- To identify issues and barriers linked to relationships between communities and police officers;
- To inquire collaboratively into methods of developing trust between communities and the police;
- To develop guidelines that can be used more widely in the local and wider Scottish contexts to assist communication and engagement;

- To help local police officers build strong relationships and networks with the BAME and migrant communities.

3. Research Questions

- a) Drawing on life experiences of migrant & BAME people, are there barriers to effective communication with the police? If so, what are these barriers?
- b) Drawing on work experience of frontline police officers, are there barriers to effective communication with migrant and BAME individuals and groups? If so, what are these barriers?
- c) What can be done to improve relationships between frontline police officers and BAME people and migrants?
- d) How does this vary between both rural and urban settings?
- e) What can be learned from this project's methodology for research on other seldom heard communities?
- f) How can any measures to improve relationships be applied across Scotland?

4. Methodology

This project concerned assisting police officers to engage, as co-inquirers, with people who are seldom heard in a research context; BAME communities in the Dundee, Aberdeenshire and Glasgow areas including people seeking asylum or with refugee status, economic migrants and established minority communities some of whom were native speakers of English and others for whom English was an additional language. The project used a participatory action research process (PAR). Ortiz Aragon and Brydon-Miller (2021) suggest a starting point for participatory researcher is the desire to leverage knowledge in participatory ways to support meaningful change. Stringer and Ortiz Aragon (2021) frame PAR in a way we share as consisting of 3 core elements (1) Learning through and for action; (2) action informed by learning; and (3) participation by those who know. Henson defines the action element as the process of studying a 'real' environment to understand and improve the quality of actions or instruction (1996) Our use of participatory action research combines these three approaches. Action research focuses quite specifically on development and change, as well as research knowledge generation.

The project brought together extensive knowledge and experience of participatory action research (PAR) and how to work with BAME communities and engage with them in ways which ensured the project met its outcomes. Namely, we, through our networks, had access to the identified BAME community populations and existing relationships founded on trust. Thanks are due to Dundee City Council, Aberdeenshire Council, the Scottish Refugee Council and Govan Community Project who assisted with the engagement of BAME communities. The communities of Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeenshire (Banff and Fraserburgh) were selected to include city, town and rural environments and because we had pre-existing access to workers working with BAME Communities in these locations. Our experience of working with these communities, over many years, is that previous experiences of policing in their own countries and on their migration journeys, including, for some, imprisonment, torture and corruption, affect their relationships with and confidence in local police. We know that uncertainties about immigration status; a lack of understanding of Scottish law and the British immigration system; as well challenges in speaking and understanding English; and a fear of racism all impact upon their willingness and ability to report crime when it is experienced. It is also worth noting that migrants frequently live in communities ranked high on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation, which brings additional challenges.

The approach adopted using PAR was qualitative and designed to manage the complexity and interrelated nature of the issues that we anticipated would underpin this project. It was also participatory to ensure that the perspectives of the key stakeholders, the police and the community members were recognised and valued. The action research dimension was important for the outcomes listed in Section 8 and to ensure the longevity, wider applicability, impact and sustainability of the project.

4.1 Co-inquirers

Police officers, who we sought as co-inquirers for this project, were early to mid-career ranks working on the frontline of the community. The officers selected had experience ranging from 5 – 10 years. Senior ranking officers took part in the Steering Group. Our starting points were that we were aware of community workers and police officers who felt unsure of how to engage with a BAME population; were unsure of what is acceptable; and worried about getting it (communication) wrong. This also applied to members of the BAME community whose own lack of experience and knowledge in engaging with the police and indeed, for many, people from outwith their own cultural group was a barrier to developing understanding and improving trust. We were aware that there was a strong need to improve relationships with the police for the well-being of these communities. We had seen excellent examples of community policing and engagement from previous practice, which had increased confidence amongst migrants attending adult learning classes. We sought to build on positive approaches like these to develop a set of principles which would have a long-lasting impact.

We engaged 6 police officers as co-inquirers, both male and female officers, including two officers from a BAME Background. These officers engaged in training on the means and principles of communicating with the sample populations and an induction into PAR and ethical practice. Each participated in two or three cycles of inquiry, with focus groups from one of the target communities to hear the experiences of these groups and to assist with analysis of the data. The officers took the lead in facilitating the focus groups and a member of the core research team was also always present. We are grateful for the informed energy and commitment these officers showed to the project's objectives and processes.

4.2 Sample Populations

It is difficult to generalise about BAME communities. The range of migrant and BAME communities is individual and different in each geographical area we selected. We used our local knowledge and wider experience to identify the following sample populations. Residents from each group represented below were invited to participate. In some instances, our local knowledge suggested that for active voices to be heard, it was better to separate men and women; and young people from adults. It is characteristic of the Dundee population, for example, that the BAME population largely identifies as Asian.

We also identified and trained local bilingual facilitators from the groups below, as well as making use of the language abilities and skills of Scottish Refugee Council colleagues.

The sample populations were:

- Asylum Seeking and Refugee men in Glasgow
- Unaccompanied Asylum Seeking Young People (18 – 25) in Glasgow
- Asian Men in Dundee (1st and 2nd generations)
- Asian Women in Dundee (1st and 2nd generations)
- Eastern European economic migrants (mixed men and women) in Banff and Fraserburgh

Asylum seeking women did not choose to participate in Glasgow. Resettled refugee women living in Aberdeenshire were invited to participate but declined, stating that they had been involved in similar initiatives in the past. It is a common occurrence for BAME community groups, particularly refugee groups, to be asked to participate in research and consultations and understandably consultation

fatigue sets in. 57 community members, along with 7 BAME community professionals and 15 police officers (2 of whom were also members of a BAME community) participated. The groups were characterised by contact with community work professionals in each area.

4.3 The Method

Stage One - Three cycles of inquiry were held in a structured workshop format, following adult learning principles, with each sample group (see Standards Council Scotland 2022). Discussion took place and the data was gathered and recorded. With the support of community work professionals who had relationships with sample groups, we arranged focus group discussions with each sample group to address the project objectives. The first focus group was primarily about engagement, benchmarking understanding of the role of the police and raising issues from life stories. The second focus group explored previous experiences of crime, policing and barriers to communication and how to tackle these barriers. The third focus group sought to develop guidelines for good police practice with these communities and also community practice with the police. Meetings with the participants took place over lunch or dinner, because of the social importance of food as a bridge for the initiation and development of relationships. This proved to work well.

Stage Two - Three additional focus groups were held; one with community workers; one with co-inquiring police officers; and one with the Steering Group to assist with data analysis; to process experiences of the project; and to triangulate data.

Stage Three - Exemplar information films and flyers were developed. Films were developed by the Dundee City Council Learning and Organisational Development Team. Dundee City Council sought the opinion of 3 groups of BAME community members and police officers on these materials, as exemplars for Police Scotland on how the research findings might influence practice. The notion of developing films was derived from the findings of Stages One and Two, in an iterative process; a characteristic of action research, whereby impact exists beyond the bounds and conclusion of a project.

4.4 Analysis

Recordings were transcribed and analysed using thematic and discourse analysis by the three core researchers. This consisted of three cycles of coding and thematic analysis with two cycles of discourse analysis.

4.5 Ethics

Ethical approval was provided by the University of Dundee's Social Research Ethics Committee process. Co-inquirers and community work professionals were trained in effective communication with BAME populations; research methods; and ethics by two of the core researchers. Ethical approaches were complex as members of the BAME community can be considered vulnerable, particularly asylum seekers, and cultural barriers could have been significant. Informed consent was assisted by the presence of trusted bilingual community workers who were able to explain the project's purposes and processes well and by preparing accessible participant information documents. Confidentiality was assured for the focus groups and agreement was secured for all participation.

5. Findings

In Qualitative research the researchers are considered to be the instruments of research data analysis, or the lens through which the data may be interpreted. Here, we have chosen to include extensive quotations to illustrate the findings, to enable the reader to understand the complex picture, which the research data formed. The data were substantial and these quotations have been selected to represent commonly reported views or key findings. Quotations have been edited slightly to make meanings clear that were clear in context, but would be obscure out of context (sometimes because of the speech being largely that of people with a different first language from English). As far as possible we have stayed with the original text, but have occasionally edited quotations to protect anonymity.

Overall, the experience for the researchers was very positive in that the police officers who engaged as co-inquirers showed excellent and adaptable communication skills, which encouraged BAME community members to be open and honest, as evidenced by community members reporting family run-ins with the police in each of the 3 areas.

In our cycles of inquiry, we began by asking benchmarking questions (See Schedule: Appendix A) to find out what respondents considered the purpose of the police to be, to ensure we knew that participants were thinking and talking about the same understanding of the role of the police as the researchers. The purpose of the police was felt, generally, at the beginning of the sessions, to be solving crime and catching criminals, but after the sessions, respondents were able to see that keeping the community safe was an overarching priority and expressed trust in the police; this was particularly the case for the refugees and asylum seekers we spoke to in Glasgow, who expressed a sense of distrust prior to the sessions, but this was converted to trust, once the individual police officers had been met in the research process. Migrant communities in Dundee and Aberdeenshire, who had been in Scotland for longer, described similarly the transformative nature of their first experiences of policing in Scotland, contrasting it with a different approach in their home countries. Professional community workers in their focus group were aware of this overarching priority of community safety too. Across all communities, understanding of the police was complicated by a fairly widespread lack of understanding that the police did not have the formal legal role of deciding guilt or innocence after a particular incident. It was not clear to participants that the police did not manage the court processes, for example.

5.1 Trust

Trust, which we choose to define as the promise of a positive future relationship, was variable amongst participants prior to the focus group sessions, with asylum seekers being reportedly very fearful of the police, but an outcome of the focus groups was substantially enhanced trust. Those in longer standing communities did tend to trust the police.

Yeah, I think we, I think, uh, the purpose of the police in Scotland to keep us safe. (Professionals)

“Researcher: *Do you trust the police in Scotland?*

Respondent: *I do, I do...I've never had any problem, but I do. And I do respect as well. Obviously, they're in uniforms. See the way I see down South, I've seen programmes on TV and everything like that. Not only that, I've watched TV programmes like what America, what's happening and everything like that. Compared to that, I do trust him.” (Dundee Men)*

“I used to be a member of the police committee. We used to have a, after every three months, there was a meeting in headquarters Bell St. So, which have been shared by the Chief Constable, Deputy Constable and all high ranks. Police officers, yeah, they do give us the answer of our questions, you

know which were very frankly. One to one talk. Everyone was, you know, free to talk about their communities and I used to represent my mosque still." (Dundee Men)

"I learned (as part of research process) that the police in our town is very friendly. Very smiling and very ready to help. And there are the same people as ordinary people." (Fraserburgh)

"At the point when the police is needed, trust has to be there already. You don't start building trust at that point, by then local community that somebody who recently arrived from Syria or you know or where wherever else they need by then to know that police is not corrupted, that police is not going to beat them up, that police is not going to try to get bribes, that you know and in other ways as well that police locally need to know that these people that they are going to help might still have some cultural sort of disparities. Well, what police does here and what in their head, you know they didn't make that switch already. So these things need to be done before policing is actually in action of, you know, catching criminals or whatever" (Professional)

5.2 Experience of Elsewhere

Experiences from elsewhere significantly affect BAME communities' perceptions of the police in Scotland. One young person, for example, had had a traumatic journey across 7 countries, with negative experience of refugee camps and police. This was less likely to be the case for those who had been resident in Scotland for a long time.

"Over here we see their law and order institutions very good. Is very good because I mean people are comfortable and there's less disparity in the people." (Dundee Men)

"Here it's more helpful and not corrupt and focus on punishing like in Poland police is. I mean obviously not all of them and obviously not always, but in general if you see the Police, they're gonna give me a ticket for something, because that's what they are told to do. It's not even their fault, because they are pushed to do that, and here it's not the case. So, it takes away a lot of pressure, but a lot of people probably don't know that I assume. They just kind of think it's the same, because that's the experience, yeah? It's sad, isn't it?" (Fraserburgh)

Yeah we should forget about our previous experience. Scottish polices intend to be helpful, so there's no problem to speak about. (Fraserburgh)

"Yeah, I went when they know I am new here I don't speak English, they would they be more nicely when you when they know I am new here. Uh, I don't like Germany or France more than Germany when they know you are new or you're a refugee or like this. Yeah you will.

Researcher: *What happens then?*

Respondent: *They will be bad. They don't make lots of saying bonjour, but don't respect yeah and treated you bad and very very very. " (UASC)*

5.3 Scottish Police compared to the other police organisations

Police Scotland was sometimes not understood to be separate from other UK forces. The view of Police Scotland was coloured by recent reporting of problems with the Metropolitan Police

"And or England and the way that the Met operate. And there's a statistic that I've got up here, where it stays there. Young black men were stopped and searched by police more than 20,000 times in London during lockdown, and that's the equivalent of more than 1/4 of all black 15 to 24 year olds in the capital at across England as a whole, there were four stop and searches for every 1000 white people, 38 for every 1000 black people in 2018 to 2019. So clearly there's a misuse of power and being exercised, and I think this.

Researcher: *But do you know the same in Scotland?*

Respondent: *No, I mean, I think there's a different situation in Scotland. I don't know if there's any statistical evidence demonstrating". (Professionals)*

"I think that's one of the hard things that the police have got, that every person we come across, they will all have a different policing experience from their home countries, what their cultures are, who interacts, who speaks, who doesn't, so, it's a massive, massive task I think that the police have got when they are interacting with people that that we should know or not. But we can't possibly know everything single and that's massive...whereas the person we're dealing with, they expect us to probably know "you need to know my situation" so we've got hard task ahead of us." (Police Officer)

Police Scotland was felt to be less violent and aggressive than other police in the UK, particularly those they heard about negatively in the media, by long standing residents.

"Tell me well, one thing I can say without any hesitation that police in Scotland is lot better than police in England. Because I stay 11 years there; I had experience. It's there too much racism and down South in a place that there doesn't like, put this on you. They say so nasty words to you. Actually, you could not imagine." (Dundee Men)

5.4 Media and Trust

The television report of police-related crime and also police dramas had had a negative impact on people's trust in Police Scotland. There was no evidence of a positive influence. Information also came from social media, particularly TikTok for the young people and Facebook for the adults

"There are things that on television that's really undermined respect for police like what happened to Cressida (former head of the Metropolitan Police) recently and things like you know Line of Duty, duty (television programme) that everybody was watching." (Banff)

And, and we've obviously had problems down South in the late 1970s and 80s in London, the race riots with the Stephen Lawrence case in the mid 90s and those were extreme examples of things that happen. But it's everyday basis. I guess that just leads to a sense of deadness with the, with the police. (Professionals)

"I've seen in social media samples they don't ask the man what someone like report to the police and the police come immediately and arrested the man and put him in the ground and like put the legs in his back and sometimes they broke the legs." (UASC)

5.5 Criticisms of the Police

Police were criticised implicitly for singling out BAME communities for attention, as the first quotation illustrates. Stop and Search as a police procedure was not mentioned directly.

"Now we haven't been sometimes, maybe ask him (police officer) the way to somewhere, but not really a big thing, just small things some nice looking police officers . . . they just stop hearing and they just check and give you a hard time." (Dundee women)

A lack of follow up on community engagement or crime feedback for victims, was also criticised quite frequently.

"And another example we had, police came along, to interfaith forum event that we did and we had a long discussion about reporting, barriers to reporting, really helpful discussion. But then had nothing really happened out of that then, which I think is disappointing and that's partly pandemic related. So, I think you know hopefully it's we could still pick some of that stuff up this as things start to recover". (Professionals)

Training in inclusion and equality is provided but was criticised by one officer as being insufficient. No further training in the career of community police officers was recognised.

"Tulliallan (Scottish Police Training College), right in the very beginning and then you'll do some sort of online training. But it tends to be quite basic and it's, admittedly, it's never a priority for anyone it will be this sort of thing your Sergeant says do you need to do these medals are called like only middle courses and you do them and sometimes it's a case of this middle order at the end of the day type thing. And there's so many of them that admittedly it doesn't always go in. . . there's definitely forms that you fill out to save some time to clear towards yeah would you do if it was a victim of hate crime, was based on there is extra things you would do as it's being based on race, religion, disability etc. so yeah there is more done these days is it a protocol like yeah absolutely and it's treated quite seriously it's treated as a priority just like you know domestic abuse would be or somethings or sinister.

But yeah it's, I'll admit there is a bit of box ticking involved in it, whereas from my sort of take away from this I think will be is that meeting people like this is you actually see the real impact on their day whereas I hear the impact and I go yes understand that must have been horrible gonna go away in a table report my goal with my day was actually hearing it and understanding it makes a big difference" (Police Officer)

When discussing police officers, women police officers were felt to be more sympathetic and accordingly more trusted. This could of course be stereotypical view of officers, but it was mentioned in two groups.

"The woman police officers they're not as rough as the man. Sometimes they (men) want to show their muscles and they using this forms (demonstrates showing off muscles) and everything. . . it seems like that OK will be enough there, because sometimes you (police officers) need to help you, need to be patient. Yes, so does a female police officer." (Dundee Women)

5.6 Culture

Cultural issues were perceived as a barrier to reporting crimes. Respondents considered that some BAME accents and volume could be perceived by police officers to be aggressive. Also, police sometimes assume community members are foreign when they have been born in the UK.

"OK so police should not be showing prejudice, yeah, . . . it so many other men newly moved here they are not like good with English. Sometimes when they are trying to speak English in an effective way, their voice is good, a little louder, higher has been just because they wanted to be effective. Limited because they were not properly communicating and they know that English is not . . . police think that they're being aggressive. One police officer and a nation officer, with other guy especially whenever, please also tell them what charges they are being arrested for and if they are not able to understand quite so obviously, they're going to resist, yeah. cause maybe one nation that most language and one police officer with English, you know, just a compromise. Sorry are you still just feel a bit scared, when you hear anything you say will be taking down" (Dundee women)

"we're not communicating properly, just trying to be the loudest stress can be cautioned or you've been caught by the police and then if you're stressing that can bring up a level in UK could come across as being aggressive doesn't it. Yeah absolutely. No I know something I can I think please should answer the bottom line, it should actually listened to two sides of stories right and then it wasn't too what the guys trying to tell you." (Dundee women)

"I think you should clarify questions that we should ask people is, what's your ethnicity? It's very much how do you identify, yeah, give me a call and I actually clarified to them to come up and being cheeky around need to ask in case you don't know the same language. For we can get some tea to take, to make you understand, what trying to say, yeah maybe that's what you should

explain to them not being nasty or that I'm just asking where you come from which words?" (Police Officer)

5.7 Cultural Bubbles

For some living in what the Banff participants described as a 'cultural bubble' was a source of a lack of information about the law in Scotland. The cultural bubble also prevented people reporting crime for fear of being known in their community as the reporter of a crime. The bubble was also a source of support and gave a sense of safety to people.

The cultural bubble of some BAME communities means trust/mistrust of the police is passed on by word of mouth.

"I think H's experience is, is more wider than, than mine, I would say. But I just want to emphasise on, on one thing, which is storytelling within their communities. So, if you hear, I think that affect the overview that the Community have dealing with the police. Uh, and, you know, trying to, especially with when you have that bad experience with the police and you try to store it, tell that to all the community that you have around. So, they, they would be alert. I would say when, when dealing with the forces in in the area. (Professionals)

"Is it the Polish mentality or Eastern mentality that you don't want to get involved, because it is like a kind of a snitch type of attitude because in in Poland police was, like before '89, it was working with the government against people. So, people would support people and they wouldn't snitch at each other so they would avoid informing police unless it was like a life-threatening situation. But other than that I don't know." (Fraserburgh)

"Uh, uh. You know, as, as, as a lady who's, who's he maybe doesn't speak to a proper language at reporting that to the police and, and thinking about communicating with the police around an issue like abuse would be would be a huge thing. And, also, if you think about people who are who gone under, you know, tortured and, and all that, they would avoid police like you know for sure because of their experiences before." (Professionals)

Reporting crime can be daunting for some who have a negative experience in the home country and who feel they are being interrogated, giving witness statements.

"Who are speaking to people who are coming to report hate, incident, potential hate crime. What we hear over and over again, far too much. Is that a 'Oh well, what's the point now reporting to the police have done that before. Nothing happened.' Or like, you know, the way it was said earlier where people like it didn't feel supportive and they went away feeling almost like, like I was being interrogated as if I had done something wrong. And that just puts me off going." (professionals)

Lack of knowledge of systems, part of living in a cultural bubble was perceived as a barrier to reporting crimes.

"The communication part, but then a lot of times when people are coming to us for help to communicate with the police and so we're a third-party reporting centre. So, we, we do get a lot of people and reporting things that way and, and very often people were like not comfortable to go to the police and a lot that's because they they've had their negative experience and or they've been a bit like just intimidated to go and, you know, it didn't feel like that was a safe place to go. Or just didn't understand the enough how the process would work. (Professionals)

5.8 Separation of Police and Government

The separation of police and government was felt to be important to migrants and knowing this was achieved through interaction in this project, leading to the building of trust in the research process.

"Important a separate entity; there is not control the government and political party. But I find this is a separate entity there is no control other, other power like the government and political party. They are independent to take a decision so that is very good for so that is the reason I trust on the police. And I'll explain my personal information, is, is only word trust so and there's no there's no there's no doubt there's no other way of, you know, you have to trust (Glasgow Men)

"If the police are taking them along to Home Office, their immediate thoughts turn to, you know, detention and deportation and what's going to happen there and if somebody taking them there for that potentially to happen then it looks like you're probably right that they are probably seen a as maybe one in the same." (Professional)

Trust in the police developed during the discussion. The quotation below, discussing the case of a successful solving of the kidnapping, shows how the media represented the police in a good light and how the separation from government was a source of trust building.

"Then after a long day and there is a, the wrong person who hijacked the young girl and after that the police investigation, and day after few days, they find the girl. Some people celebrate the, you know, the girl find out the place and for all those people and all the news show this news all the world see destroying people. Please find out that small girl after few days similar like in my country is not good trustable purpose person because few people are good in police department but few people are not good 'cause there is involvement of the government and political person in the place" (Glasgow, Men)

5.9 Communication

Misunderstandings in intergroup encounters often stem from not knowing the norms and rules guiding the communication of people from different groups. If we understand others' languages or dialects, but not their communication rules, we can make fluent fools of ourselves (Gudykunst, 1994). Each of us Gudykunst suggests has a responsibility as a human being to communicate as effectively as we can with each other. To communicate effectively, we must transmit our messages in a way that strangers can understand what we mean, and we need to interpret strangers' messages in the way they meant them to be interpreted.

Once we place someone in a social category, our stereotype of people in that category is activated. Stereotypes are the mental pictures we have of a group of people. Our stereotypes create expectations about how people from our own and other cultures or ethnic groups will behave. These notions may be accurate or inaccurate; another person may fulfil our expectations or violate them. (Gudykunst 1994:17)

Communication in many dimensions was considered to be a big issue. In particular, this focused around feedback to victims of crime timeously and how people were treated as victims of crime.

"The major issue with the police Scotland is communication, so you can see from the conversation that we have today that. We don't have enough information about police in general. Even us, as professionals, we don't know what. What type of as, as H said, what powers, for example, they have what they can do or they can't do. (Professionals)

"Restrained, he didn't have any clue until he was being handcuffed; and he even did not have any clue what, is he being arrested?" (Dundee women)

"I don't think people I work with have that much knowledge about the police here and Scotland, which I'm . . . To be honest, I'm requesting now to do more information sessions by the police, because I want people to be educated more about the police here in Scotland, 'cause people just feel the same when they see the police. They don't feel safe as they feel terrified because of their experience in Syria. So, they don't know have that much knowledge and we were discussing things like. My clients will not know if they have been arrested, what they can say and what they can't say

and they don't. They don't have that much information how to deal with police at all, because like in Syria, if you are met by a police officer, you have to say everything. (Professionals)

Police perceived inefficiency was mentioned by a number of respondents; response times and lack of timely follow up, as mentioned earlier were mentioned most frequently.

"I, I think there's an increasing perception, yeah, about them being there for people who, like, arguably need it less. So, like, I mean, I suppose the that one of the big local examples, it's years old now, but, you know, people complain they phoned the police., "nope, they don't come but there was like a protest at Trump's golf course: they were all over it, like, really fast. So, it again, there's, like, these perception issues, you know, it's different teams, may be different parts of the police force but, but none of this stuff is good. Look, people don't feel like they're getting the support that, that they should. (Professionals)

A respondent discussed a well-known case in Dundee of fireworks put through a letterbox and a subsequent incident with a delay in response time, which led to a questioning of police willingness to attend.

"There's a time, when I asked her when they the dogs, stupid, dogs went, and put rocket through the letterbox you mentioned that last time, yeah, and that was scheduled even nasty, new row; nasty, really nasty one. And then Wednesday was walking down and the guy this threw a big pool or something and it actually would haunt me if you have that big barrier, yeah, yeah right. But the when we put phone to police again and police came

... It took half an hour 45 minutes or something to come, right, and said that we got busy, Madam, sorry yeah very busy, but they couldn't control that area no it was definitely couldn't control that area." (Dundee women)

"They never come back so quick. Sometimes they just make us go. We are too busy. We are shortage of it. We don't have enough men here. We can't send somebody." (Dundee Men)

"A type of communication. There's no flow of information with everyone. Uhm, even when, when issues happened with, with I would say individual to start with. There's no follow up normally that that is really I know that they are stretched and, and all that and, and like everyone else and, and, and professional job everyone is stretched and, and trying to do their best. However, the way that they communicate information, they follow up, you know, on, on things on, on issues is really - I would say it's missing. I didn't it. It does sometimes is not there. Even so". (Professionals)

5.10 Systems

Awareness of interpreters for the police was considered to be an issue, as was getting through the switchboard. Participants needed the interpreter straight away, rather than following a recorded message.

"Uh, yeah, the most important one is, like, you need to be aware that you get help from police and that you can get translation from the police as well. 'Cause a lot of people are not aware of their, like, language and they're really scared to speak. It's scary to speak up and it's scary to speak up in the language that you don't know. Yeah, so I think it's a really good point that you stated that when you're calling 990. Like I don't have such a low level of language, but even I sometimes get scared like what they're going to ask me. And when you're panicking, you don't have time to think how "How I'm going to say that?" (Fraserburgh)

"Yes, people commented about how difficult it is to report crime to us. I know that the 01 number it doesn't work as well as we would like, with people giving up after 20 minutes waiting. So, if they were lucky somebody would answer that phone, you know, because lot of time officers are not in

the station. You all would like to see us on the street, to show our presence, but that means that there is nobody in the station.” (Police Officer)

“To be fair to anybody here on this table, when you call 999 and you say what service you want, you are going through such a list of questions that you, well, we will lose the will to live, because they’re asking so many complex questions, and I think I think that really needs to be immediately “What language do you need?” and switch, you know, so that people can speak in panic about whatever in the language they are comfortable in.” (Fraserburgh)

5.11 More Action

It was considered police should take more direct action to respond to and address causes of anti-social behaviour, hate crimes or drugs issues through prevention and enforcement. Participation in schools was a common theme.

People in high power distance culture see power as a basic fact of life and Society and stress or referent power, whereas people in low power distance cultures believe power should be used only when it is legitimate and prefer expert or legitimate power. (Gudykunst 1994:47)

Many of the participants in the Inquiring together project come from high-power cultures.

“They are important to tackle, you know, verbal or harassment. But uhm yeah, so I would like to see more power around these things, given to the police.

Uh, so?

Not only they know about, about it, they do know I think all of us would agree on that, but then maybe it's not enough done I and we didn't say within the whole system, not only the police.

Researcher: *Yeah, that's what I wanted to ask you is, do you see that as a criminal justice issue? Then you see that as a, the responsibility of the, the police to address that?*

Respondent: *Uh, I'm not, like, I'm not, you know, very professional, around law or legal all these details, but like from citizen point of view as a citizen, as a mother.” (Professionals)*

“I think there's some positive perception among some people and. But when, when we're talking to people who have had a recent experience try it, particularly around trying to report prejudice and discrimination.

Or, or just report incidents like and we tend to hear a lot of complaints about how long it took to follow up. Lack of follow up like you know, I didn't really hear anything like you're not sure what happened or that the one that that I was thinking is.

Arguably the worst is this idea that people will have.” (Professionals)

Police were criticised, as indicated earlier in each of the focus groups for not managing drugs in the community

“As a, as a problem everywhere and then. So why it is dominant? Why is it not solved? Why? Like maybe it's overgeneralized but I I see it really a critical problem faces like you know any family or the society and then you, you tend to see it in you know in youth and, er, secondary.

In schools, you know, smoking, even speaking about drugs. And then you, I saw the police in a, you know, a in a, a, very good secondary school in Aberdeen around like verbal harassment between two teenage and they opened report and you know they brought family but then there is youth smoke and even sell weeds among each other and maybe, you know, do things require more. (Professionals)

5.12 Barriers to BAME recruitment were discussed.

All the BAME populations saw BAME recruitment as being important, but were aware of the potential barriers. Two Men in the Glasgow group were interested in exploring this as a career.

"I had a knock on the door from an ethnic minority policeman another day to ask about neighbourhood something. I was surprised. And just the fact that I was surprised is showing you that it's not enough of people from ethnic minorities, because I shouldn't have been surprised. You know, it should be normal." (Professional)

"There's so many barriers for, for people from diverse communities to join the police at, but I think that, like maybe they, the obvious one, is that perception of, like, institutional racism in the police. Now they can put out reports of things and say that it is it. But like, if that's the perception that people have, then that's a that's an actual barrier to you joining it or or, or being part of it.

Yes, I did. I was thinking about that one that I think I think there's. There's like, big like the big structural elephant like there about from . . .

Researcher: *And I'm not sure if you're right or I'm not sure if this is right, but the police officer that I worked with in Fraserburgh, I told me that the Northeast Division is one of the most diverse UM divisions in the whole country. But it's obviously predominantly with them Eastern European officers rather than people from other communities, you know, um, Asian, black or some, you know, Arabic communities are supposed to."* (Professionals)

In addition, training of police officers and recommended behaviours were discussed.

"Language is because we want to know that you understand what we're trying to say are you coming out you know. I was going to nation please opposite every police officer to be trained and to know your language highlighting people friendly and more culture friendly or wherever the terminology is from so rather having lots of different place offers you want your police officers to be trained all across here and concrete the same language and be friendly"

"I know I know I know I know somebody in this room who was really exercised by very young police constable, whatever rank the person was, who presumed different nationality and Spain the country. Yes do you want to, I would like it just like Bradford." (Banff)

Respondent *"Well, I put here that we are sensitive about politics and language used, yeah, that's two topics that it's very important to learn how to speak to people."*

Researcher - *"When you say language use do you like slang or do you mean just as in?"*

Respondent: *I mean, I mean both. I mean both local and regional dialect that's used here can be hard to understand. That's one thing's long, and, uh, naming certain things in a certain way. Maybe not, you know, telling somebody that they are Russian than they are actually Ukrainian. You know, and that sort of thing. So, it's just being aware that somebody with an accent doesn't necessarily all come from Eastern Europe. Some of them might be Dutch."* (Fraserburgh)

Respondent: *"In Scotland since '97, in UK since '92.*

Respondent: *"So, 30 years and but you know people as soon as they hear your accent, they assume that you've just arrived, you know?"* (Fraserburgh)

Actions that the police can adopt in these circumstances to avoid the aforementioned assumptions were suggested.

"Sometimes it helps if you speak it slower, you know, from your normal yeah, because my mum and dad like that. Somebody comes in and speaks to them slower than just round it you know what I mean, I mean every word but they get the gist yeah. So sometimes you speaking normal

and then them and understand, so maybe make it that would be nice to be like when, for example, if we were doing things in a very sort of official capacity that we have arrested . . . , would be asking them things like What's your nationality? What's your ethnicity? for his number just for speaking to people on the street regarding something more minor we don't tend to ask that and maybe that's communication issue." (Dundee women)

"Or also, as a practitioner, we don't know. I know by chatting to colleagues, we don't like, we don't have this information. I know we might be able to find it online. You search it, you find it. But I think more communication from the police, like with organisations.

Uh, maybe. Uh, having more sessions about, about like police work in Scotland if we know better, we will be able to support people better, like if they come to me, I don't have that much information. As I said, I can't search it online. It's no excuse, but it would be good if we have it by someone professional, done and all the questions answers. (Professionals)

"But that wouldn't, you know, shouldn't be any issue for the police to come and speak to the to this community more and more on regular basis really like, you know, they go to schools, they go to other organisations, so they should visit an engaged, maybe with more localized representative, like either volunteers or the mosque or charities. This. Yeah. (Professionals)

5.13 Advice to Police from BAME Participants

As part of the action research process, interviewees were invited to write key messages to Police in speech bubbles. Generally, these were very positive.

"Generally, I have been content with the Dundee police. Sometimes the feedback side of things, they have not been that good."

"I would like the police to be more understanding towards victims and listen to the persons that are involved and be more considerate."

"Have soft expression on your face while dealing with a teenager. Sometimes we see you (police) around, we get nervous and then make a silly mistake."

"Thank you for keeping us safe."

"Thank you for your help."

"I am surprised that I can get a Pashto interpreter."

"Thank you for all your help."

"Good that police are wanting to learn about BME (sic) communities but hope this continues. BME communities to be aware that police are here to help us. There needs to be respect on both sides. Pls don't judge us on our 'face value' e.g. how we are dressed etc."

5.14 Reflections on Learning

To measure learning and to evaluate the process of the research, participants were invited to say what they had taken from the research process. These statements were made towards the end of the research, after reflection on action had taken place.

"Police is there to protect its people from danger of crime and to make sure everyone is safe. I learned that police are working their job properly and independently."

"That they don't carry guns."

"That Police can be caring when called."

I have been in Glasgow last 3 years and I am not much more about Police. After last meeting, I was learned a lot of things and much more about police policy and structures."

The gap between the police and the common people/community. How we can overcome."

We also asked what had surprised the participants in the process of the research.

"Police are trusted and not working for some particular body and they are there for the community."

"Police can be someone not born in the UK and do not take bribes."

"Police can help others and be more affectionate with anyone."

"We as minorities can join the police force even age 18- 45."

"To talk with police friendly."

I was surprised of the Police officer behaviour. He was so friendly and informative. He is a very helping person."

Participants were asked to indicate what they want police to know about their community.

"I belong from Muslim community, so I want to have more interaction of Scotland Police. In different community activities to more understand each other. We have less information about police rules and regulations."

"Some of us are terrified of police."

"That we want to make peace and good relationship in the community."

"We want police engaged with community/talk to them regularly to get people more confident to talk."

"That we are not well informed about what the police do. . . it'll be good to raise awareness session."

"That we are not aggressive. We are just loud. Or we are resisting or speaking loudly because of no common English."

Reciprocally, what the BAME community should learn about police was also asked.

"I want they arrange some seminars for new migrants people in Glasgow."

"That they (community) know police are there to protect them and to help out from difficulty/difficult time."

"Police is there for our help."

"That they can understand and be more soft and gentle with people. Understand the Asian people."

"The police works hard to build up good rapport with the community. They have certain procedures to follow – getting to know them will help to achieve some help."

Follow the law and respect each other."

"That we can trust them."

"Police in the UK are helpful and nice."

"That they are not there only to handle crimes. Thy can help you in some situations which are not related to any crime."

6. Discussion

It is important in the Discussion to be cautious about generalising regarding BAME communities or police officers. The views in this report are those of people who were prepared to participate. Long-standing Asian community members from Dundee had a very different perspective of the police compared to newly arrived refugees from Glasgow; or the community in a supportive cultural bubble in Aberdeenshire. Also, arguably, some characteristics of the communities may be attributable to relative poverty rather than ethnicity, per se. Likewise, the views of the officers who participated in the project cannot be generalised to represent the views of all Police Scotland officers (factors like background, location, seniority and career stage can all be expected to influence officers' perspectives).

In the analysis, seven key themes were derived from the findings. These themes are complex and interrelated and cover a wide range of police matters. So, would warrant further inquiry.

The themes are:

- Systems - lack of knowledge, but also how the systems are perceived;
- Police and Culture;
- History and Place;
- Trauma;
- Community Engagement;
- Police Numbers;
- Communication.

6.1 Systems

For some of the groups we interviewed, in benchmarking, knowledge of the police mission was opaque or misunderstood. Newly arrived asylum seekers, in particular, were unaware of the safety role of the police and confused the police's role with that of the Home Office; tending to focus more on capturing criminals than safety. Long-standing residents, such as the Dundee and Banff community, groups were more likely to understand this community safety role of the police. We sought to identify the information new residents receive about the Police. We reviewed information provided to refugees about the police by the Home Office and this was found to be both long and complicated for people who arrive, often in traumatic circumstances.

The trust of newly arrived asylum seekers in the police grew, in the course of the research, as evidenced by direct statements to this effect from them; opportunities for visits to cells and to view police cars were offered and taken up enthusiastically. We consider this model of research to be a highly productive way of building knowledge and trust in BAME communities for the police and is discussed further in Section 9. Trust may be defined as the promise of a positive future relationship, all things being equal (McArdle et al, 2020) and engendering public trust is a positive way to build police authority: Trust that the police will be fair and respectful; that they will not discriminate and trust that decision making arrives at fair outcomes; trust that they have an acceptable level of competence (Tyler, 2021). Trust has many dimensions in this context.

There was a lack of knowledge of some key police systems amongst the BAME communities; not least a lack of awareness amongst refugees, and even long-standing community members, of police numbers to dial on the phone, including a lack of knowledge of the number 999. It was considered difficult to phone the police, for a number of reasons: Waiting on a switchboard answer; inability to understand options on emergency switchboard; inability to understand processes for getting an interpreter. It is considered by the team that that interpreter options should be offered on the phone,

prior to the choice of other options, which were not generally understood. Also, a need for information about systems on social media and via video was reported as the two quotations below illustrate.

"So, I think and we've not got around to doing it with budget and in equipment, but it's good having an information pack, but had to have someone standing in speaking in a video format or to just have someone speaking. I think it is much better, like it gets a message across and in various languages. Can it be shared on social media? They may not have access to Internet when they first come into the country, but that's something that it's quite accessible I would say with different support groups, not straight away. . . but if they attend like the Govan Community Project, you guys will have access to some Internet. So, it's not impossible, you've got libraries etc. They may not have it sitting in the home. But I wouldn't say it's impossible if they know the right places to go, which is sometimes another barrier, but having something that can be communicated face to face rather than handing someone something and saying right, that's everything you need to know about Scotland is for me a big, big thing that it would be very helpful." (Police officer)

"And I think I think with videos it means people can revisit it and not just the once because people are really anxious when they're having those initial induction meetings with Home Offices. They're not taking everything in because all that's in their head is, am I going to stay here and I'm going to be moved? Am I going to be detained? What's going to happen? I don't know anybody. Where will I eat? What if my claims refused? Will I end up back where I started? And they, you know, you can't take that in when you're in that anxious state. So, videos people can go and revisit. If they're videos are then shared by community organizations that they do have a trust in, then even better but I think videos definitely. And then it's much easier to, you know, go over the top of a video with subtitles and then literacy as well as language, as S said is like huge issue for many people even in their own languages, especially women." (Professional).

These concerns add to discussions of Police Scotland and community policing which have been ongoing since the merger that formed Police Scotland. (Mendel, Fyfe & den Heyer, 2016). There have been long standing worries about the impact of mergers on local policing and community relations (Hail, 2019; Mendel, Fyfe & den Heyer 2017). Concerns have been raised about policing becoming increasingly distant from the communities who are policed and becoming increasingly 'abstract', where "police became more formalised and dependent on rigid systems and system information. Citizens and communities became more at a distance" (Terpstra, Fyfe and Salet, 2019). There have been significant attempts to shift Police Scotland organisational culture away from such abstraction, and the extent to which Police Scotland can act in an "organisationally just" way will be important in how effective they prove to be (Aston, Murray and O'Neill 2021: 51-3).

Lack of local knowledge of switchboard operators was mentioned by police officers as a disadvantage in communicating with BAME communities. Abstract systems are hard for non-specialist citizens – and often even specialists outwith the police – to understand or engage with, and many of our participants struggled.

6.2 Police (and) Culture

Police culture, cultures of different communities and perceptions of police may all be obstacles to communication and reporting crimes. It is also important to emphasize here the differences in the culture between sample BAME populations.

Expectations involve or anticipations and predictions about her others will communicate with us. Our expectations are derived from social norms, communication rules, and others' personal characteristics of which we are aware. Expectations also emerge from our intergroup attitudes and the stereotypes we hold. (Gudykunst 1994:74)

For Loftus (2009: 3-4), police culture is "the idea that the police hold a distinctive set of norms, beliefs and values which determines their behaviour, both amongst themselves and on the streets." While all professions and communities share cultural norms, the idea of a shared and cohesive police culture

has been especially significant in understanding policing roles in different places. In the context of the communities we focus on here, police culture; cultures of different communities; and perceptions of police may all impact on engagement.

There have been concerns about how the culture in Police Scotland relates to BAME communities. For example, when reviewing police complaints handling, Angiolini (2020: 133) found that participants in focus groups:

“felt there was a lack of understanding by Police Scotland of their communities and gave numerous examples of the effects of that disconnect. In certain communities there was a cultural or historical lack of trust in the police based on the manner of policing in other parts of the world. This resulted in a deep-seated lack of trust and fear for many people which made it almost impossible for many in those communities to contemplate making a complaint to the police. The review was told that in some cultures people do not complain about any public services.”

Related to these issues of police culture, Police Scotland's own workforce does not reflect the ethnic diversity of Scotland – with only 1% of officers from BAME backgrounds, and with BAME officers disproportionately likely to leave prior to retirement (HMICS 2021: 6). For Angiolini (2020: 139) “the experiences of some recruits had caused them to leave the profession, often within three to five years.”

Culture played quite different roles in discussions with our participants. Police officers in our study reported the fear they felt for “getting it wrong” in communication with BAME communities, but they were eager to communicate well. The culture of the community is very important because each of the communities presented in our study was different. The perceptions of the police, fears and needs of the communities varied widely. For example, the Dundee men had a long tradition of association with the police; had children who were near native English speakers; had been in the country for many years with citizenship status; and had family member in the country with them. The Glasgow men included asylum seekers who had a vulnerable citizenships status in the country; were far from family; spoke little English; and had a history of torture or abuse in their country of origin, with a difficult journey to get to Scotland. The Banff community “lived in a bubble” with a close-knit economic migrant community, supporting each other. Police officers cannot be aware of every culture but need to know how, and not to be afraid, to find out about norms, language, background and culture and the simplest ways to ask questions directly or through an interpreter.

Training is provided directly at Tulliallan training college on diversity and inclusion. It is probably embedded in other parts of the initial training of police officers, but this was not apparent to officers in our study, who felt it to be inadequate for the cultural jobs they faced. Making this embedded focus on equality and diversity more overt might be helpful to police officers, but it is important to remember that diversity is totally compatible with hierarchy (Eagleton, 2016) and this is often forgotten in equality and diversity training. Eagleton further describes how culture is both conscious and unconscious. We recognise the arts, cooking and other human activities but culture is in *‘the invisible colour of everyday life, the taken for granted texture of our workaday existence’* (P.50). Training on culture is not enough and the being self-aware of values and prejudices is vital.

Our research found that the lack of trust of the police was more present with recent arrivals to the country and, with all the BAME communities, was dispelled through the process of the research. This is discussed in more detail in Section 9. The understanding of the Police derived from the media and personal experience in the country of origin was dispelled through the personal contact of the research.

Angiolini (2020: 30) found that:

“Much of the evidence presented to me by some serving officers from Black and Asian minority ethnic communities was a chastening reminder that in the police service and in the wider

community attitudes have not changed as much as they should have since 1999 - the year of the Macpherson report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry - or as much as we may like to believe that they have."

Related to these issues of police culture, Police Scotland's own workforce does not reflect the ethnic diversity of Scotland – with only 1% of officers from BAME backgrounds, and with BAME officers disproportionately likely to leave prior to retirement (HMICS 2021: 6). For Angiolini (2020) "the experiences of some recruits had caused them to leave the profession, often within three to five years". HMICS' survey research looking at the experiences of BAME police staff (2021: 27) found issues with Police Scotland's culture.

Broader social and cultural factors in Scotland – and more broadly – can also be significant. McLaughlin, Wheate and McGowan (2018) note barriers that domestically abused South Asian women faced in engaging with the police, including lack of knowledge and immigration status. Immigration policy and enforcement can mean that engagement with the police may be something to avoid or a threat to wield – as Mac and Smith (2018: 153) note, threats of reporting to police can be used to help to exploit undocumented migrant workers.

The need for BAME community police officers comes out clearly from research on Police Scotland. HMICS' survey research looking at the experiences of BAME police staff (2021: 27) found issues with Police Scotland's culture:

"Many felt there was a lack of support...Many felt there was a lack of respect, particularly with negative attitudes and a lack of inclusivity towards those with protected characteristics which impacted upon people's willingness to report discrimination and harassment...Many described experiences of bullying and/or discrimination. Several had also experienced poor treatment or a lack of support from their managers. This included a whole range of behaviours, including sexual assault and harassment, jokes, innuendo, unfair and unequal treatment and a lack of opportunities and support...28.3% [of respondents] had experienced discrimination, and 25.6% had experienced harassment."

Angiolini (2020) found that "[t]he evidence suggests that some officers and staff experience discriminatory conduct, attitudes, behaviours and micro-aggressions, both internally and externally, in the course of their duties"(page number) These cultural issues are impacting Police Scotland's ability to reflect the wider community, but are also likely to impact engagement with BAME communities.

Angiolini (2020:131) found that "[t]he evidence suggests that some officers and staff experience discriminatory conduct, attitudes, behaviours and micro-aggressions, both internally and externally, in the course of their duties". These cultural issues are impacting Police Scotland's ability to reflect the wider community, but is also likely to impact its engagement with BAME communities. Police Scotland is acting in response to such critiques: for example, through its 2022-6 Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (Police Scotland 2022).

6.3 History and Place

Place is important as a concept, as it is highly relevant to BAME communities, where people may have been displaced to survive or hark back to 'home' in another country. Place is not only geographical, it is also a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world. Place is how people make the world meaningful and is how they experience the world. So, place is both a thing and a way of looking at the world (Cresswell, 2015). Furthermore 'home' is a centre of meaning and a field of care (ibid). It may be considered a place of rest from the outside world and a place where one can have some degree of control over what happens. It may be argued that the concept of home becomes wider the more one is used to it, comfortable and safe with the surroundings and this is a dimension for the important relationship between police and BAME communities. Policing is crucial to this concept of home and belonging.

Research on the geographies of policing has discussed how "power shapes space" (Yarwood 2007: 447). Building on the idea that "the police use space, organized into divisions and beats, to exert control over people and places", there is a push to research how place, space and time form part of policing practice (Yarwood 2007: 448). Work on this has ranged from critiques of predictive crime mapping and the policing of race (Jefferson, 2018) to discussions of how policing is shaping urban forms and gentrification (Ramírez 2019).

Integration is a complex idea and is sometimes criticised for seeking to integrate people from one culture into a more dominant culture. The BAME literature focuses predominantly on integration of migrants into the workforce or labour market. Less is written about social integration, which is relevant to this project. The term 'multiculturalism' is equally problematical as it is argued it has become a term allowing people to be managed and reified, rather than the original sense of celebrating difference (Kundnani, 2002); it is argued it became an ideology of preserving the status quo rather than moving forward to better equality and integration. The dictionary definition of integration is helpful here - a joining or merging of different parts or qualities in which the component elements are individually distinct. This definition preserves the equality of the elements - the traditional population and the migrant population; and the quality of distinctiveness of cultures (McArdle, 2021).

Stop and Search's impact on BAME and migrant communities has been controversial in Scotland and more widely. There has been a distinct approach taken in Scotland, both in terms of previous use of 'consensual' stop and search and how "[c]ompared to other areas in the UK, stop and search in Scotland was on a disproportionately large scale prior to 2015 and targeted children and young people", but also in the subsequent reforms to Stop and Search in Scotland (see O'Neill and Aston 2018). Miller and Densley (2019) found that young, working class men, regardless of ethnicity, were more likely to be impacted and that "young people we interviewed and observed clearly continued to feel unfairly and unjustifiably stopped and searched and believed that the encounters themselves were authoritarian, disrespectful, and humiliating." The reforms to Stop and Search in Scotland have been significant: Aston, Murray and O'Neill (2021: 49) note that, while concerns about broader organisational issues remain, "[r]ecorded stop search data are now published on a quarterly basis, the [National Stop and Search Unit] currently scrutinizes all recorded searches for compliance with the Code of Practice, recorded search rates have fallen, performance management targets have ended and the force has retrained all operational officers". Stop and search per se was not mentioned specifically by our sample but may have influenced attitudes of the younger men to the police, who showed greater fear of meeting the police officers and participating in the research.

6.4 Trauma and Policing

Experiences of politics and social life will often be informed by previous traumatic experiences in ways which go beyond words (Edkins, 2013). For example, one might think about how the flow, commerce and experience of city centres are changed by sometimes-large areas of prime urban real estate being used for war memorials (Edkins, 2013: Chapter 3). Members of the public's experiences of trauma will affect engagements with the police and should lead to different approaches from officers (see Risan, Milne and Binder, 2020).

Experiences of trauma and adversity are common but will often be under-reported/ never disclosed, so actual numbers of people affected by trauma and adversity will be higher in reality. There are limited data collected around experiences of trauma and adversity (for example, we can only estimate how many women, children and young people are affected by domestic abuse because of under-reporting, abuse and coercive control not being identified as such by services and systems, people facing barriers to accessing services). Additionally, people's experiences of trauma and/ or adversity may not be recognised as such by systems and services. Research exploring the distribution of traumatic events based on gender, age, ethnic background and socio-economic status has shown that traumatic events are more frequently experienced by people in low socio-economic groups and from BAME communities (Hatch & Dohrenwend, 2007)

Trauma Informed Practice (TIP) is a model that is grounded in and directed by a complete understanding of how trauma exposure affects service user's neurological, biological, psychological and social development. Key principles of trauma informed practice embrace: Safety, Trust, Choice, Collaboration and Empowerment (Scottish Children and Families Directorate, 2021). We consider these principles to be important to work with BAME communities.

1. Safety

Efforts are made by an organisation to ensure the physical and emotional safety of clients and staff. This includes reasonable freedom from threat or harm, and attempts to prevent further re-traumatisation.

2. Trustworthiness

Transparency exists in an organisation's policies and procedures, with the objective of building trust among staff, clients and the wider community.

3. Choice

Clients and staff have meaningful choice and a voice in the decision-making process of the organisation and its services.

4. Collaboration

The organisation recognises the value of staff and clients' experience in overcoming challenges and improving the system as a whole. This is often operationalised through the formal or informal use of peer support and mutual self-help.

5. Empowerment

Efforts are made by the organisation to share power and give clients and staff a strong voice in decision-making, at both individual and organisational levels.

Trauma was reported for refugees and asylum seekers as well as people who have had crimes committed against them, in our study. We propose that these principles should be embedded in work

with BAME communities and in Police Scotland's wider work. Underpinning this approach is an awareness that we do not know what trauma the people with whom we are working have experienced and that it may impact upon them in multiple ways, such as in their ability to retain information or recall events or a reluctance to report crimes.

6.5 Community Engagement

There are arguably as many definitions of community engagement as approaches and practices used (Tinglin & Joyette, 2020). Community policing is seen as well-established in Scotland, building on the idea of policing by consent; while the term is used to describe quite different things, it tends to be associated with a focus on community engagement and reassurance (Hamilton-Smith et al., 2013). In Scotland, the hope has been that community policing will help to maintain strong relations with ethnic minorities (Burnett and Harrigan, 2010). While the focus is often on England, approaches in Scotland can be distinctive (Dickson, 2019). In a Scottish context, the traditions of 'legacy' forces in community policing and the impact of the reforms that formed Police Scotland still loom large (Hail, 2019; Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015); the impact of attempts to shift organizational and management culture away from an enforcement-focussed approach is still unfolding (Aston, Murray and O'Neill 2021: 51).

Our research has built on idea of community engagement as quite simply a process which makes connections with people. We suggest that for Police Scotland, community engagement and community policing should include making these connections with BAME communities to develop a working relationship that helps to identify community needs and wellbeing. Wellbeing is rarely defined, but we choose to think of it as the individual and community living a life of value for self and others. One important dimension of community engagement is that some kind of behavioural response is always anticipated. We suggest that this research indicates the behavioural response should include inter alia, trust in the police which manifests itself as, willingness to report crimes and co-operate with the police; enhanced safety and well-being which leads, we suggest, to reduced harms from crime and contributes to the criminal justice system.

Operating principles for community engagement include (derived from Tinglin & Joyette, 2020):

Clarity of purpose, was present with both senior officer and community police officers engaged in our research, who understood the value of engaging with the BAME community. There was however evidence that community policing was considered less high status than 'solving crimes' and this perception warrants attention, we suggest.

Knowing the community simply means knowing the history, demography and social mores of the community. This is more difficult for BAME communities than wider population. In BAME communities, we found in some Asian communities, for example, a particular dislike of police being seen at the home; and with some Eastern European communities a lack of willingness to report crimes because of fear of recrimination from the perpetrators.

Inclusivity implies involving all who may wish to be included and sustaining that commitment. Asian women were pleased to be included in our research as frequently it is the men who take the leadership role in communicating with the police. This inclusivity allowed us to identify, for example, the significance of the verbal racist harassment faced by women who are wearing the hijab.

Equality and Fairness are important to ensure all are heard, diversity is valued and contributions are recognized and used on an equitable basis.

Communication is the glue that holds community engagement together and it is discussed as a major research theme in section 7.7.

Accountability requires a commitment to truth, honesty and transparency which in our research was shown to be achieved by the police officers "telling it like it is." So, with complaints about response

times, officers were able to talk about staffing levels and priority interruptions to cases, as well as procedural challenges that take time.

Knowledge growth and capacity building involves a shared commitment to learning. In our research process a learning climate was established and both police officers and members of the BAME communities reported learning about each other.

Evidence based planning and decision making involves requiring the community to bring evidence for opinions and the police to do the same and to challenge opinions. This was facilitated through critical reflection as part of the research process. For example, anecdotes about crimes experienced were highly subjective and officers were able to explain the fact that there are multiple sides to any story. Community members were able to express the desire not be assumed by police officers to have been born overseas because of accent or appearance.

Monitoring and Evaluation are important dimensions of community engagement. For example, police officers reported that engaging with the community is vital but it is hard to see how a cup of tea with a BAME community group contributes to the police mission. Crime reports formalise other activities and allow them to be counted and valued. We do not propose that further reporting should become an onerous task but we would argue that there should be more ways to recognise and value community policing: for example, reflection at the end of the day, with bullet points of achievement, would assist with recording and valuing this work.

6.6 Police Numbers

Community members from Dundee reported on the decline in visibility of the police in their communities over time. Eastern European communities valued and wanted more of a police presence in schools and with young people. A greater effort with drugs was mentioned in all the areas visited. Follow up on crimes reported was considered by all groups, except the young refugees who did not report crimes, to be too slow. Police officers were able to explain that often they were overloaded and there just was not the time to interact with the community in the way they would like to do.

Increasing police numbers from BAME communities was also mentioned with some refugees expressing an interest in joining the service after meeting the police officers. This is a current priority for Police Scotland and must continue to be so. Reports alleging institutional racism in other police services were considered by the Dundee communities to have had a negative effect on recruitment. As noted by HMICS (2021) and Angiolini (2020), Police Scotland also has significant work to do in order to recruit, support and retain diverse staff.

6.7 Communication

Communication is central to all the key themes of this report and has been discussed implicitly throughout section 7. We wish to emphasise the strong communication skills of all the officers in this study, who were able to convince all, including doubters, of the value of the police and their role in the community. We focus here specifically on the needs of new arrivals in the country. As an exemplar of what people need to know, groups were invited to make a list of what new arrivals should know and below is the list constructed by the Glasgow men's group:

- Police support people as well – not just crimes;
- Location of police stations;
- What the phone numbers are;
- That the phone numbers are free;
- Voice messages with names should be spelled out;
- Interpreters/translators can be made available;
- Police officer usually do not carry guns;

- Police in Scotland are different – not like USA;
- You cannot usually carry a knife in public, except if religious;
- Smacking a child is illegal
- How the police work day-to-day;
- Police do not take bribes and cannot accept gifts;
- How to report a crime
- How to phone in an emergency.

There are examples of short films that could be made shared. NHS films in the link below are particularly good in our opinion because of positivity and simplicity: <https://www.nhs24.scot/non-english-interactive-voice-response>. Films were developed by Dundee City Council as exemplars, and tested with two BAME groups for relevance and suitability.

Gudykunst (1994) suggests that language is closely linked to cultural identity and that members of minority groups are less likely to attempt to learn a new language if they feel it threatens their own cultural identity. If materials about the Police in languages other than English are unavailable, difficult to access or not promoted, Police Scotland may be heightening the sense of otherness for some communities. By providing translated materials one can extend a hand of friendship to diverse communities and help them feel that they are seen as part of our Society regardless of their cultural identity.

Many people believe that our inability to communicate with members of other groups is due to one person not being competent in the other's language or dialect. When we communicate with members of other groups, we not only have a high level of uncertainty, we also have a high level of anxiety. Generally, as we get to know others, the anxiety we experience in interacting with them tends to decrease (Gudykunst, 1994).

Having completed the training where he learnt about the different ways that different cultures build trust at the start of the project, one police officer shared the experience of accepting a cup of tea from an Asian man, when taking a statement and how this changed the tenor of the interaction, even though at first it felt a little uncomfortable. It was his ability to empathise, to adapt his behaviour and to tolerate ambiguity that helped him better communicate with the victim of the crime.

To gather information about and adapt our behaviour to strangers requires that we are flexible in our behaviour...we must be able to select strategies that are appropriate, together with the information we need about strangers in order to communicate effectively with them. (Gudykunst 1994:185)

7. Outputs and Outcomes

The following outputs and outcomes of the project have been identified by the project team. This is consistent with the practical focus of action research where implementation is part of the inquiry process.

Outputs

- A comprehensive research report based on stakeholder feedback;
- Evidence based Guidelines for police practice with migrant/BAME communities;
- An exemplar film for police training purposes;
- A model of inquiry for use in other areas by Police Scotland (See Section 9);
- A launch of the guidelines in Dundee or other suitable location.

Outcomes

- Police officers trained in inquiry and communication with migrant communities;

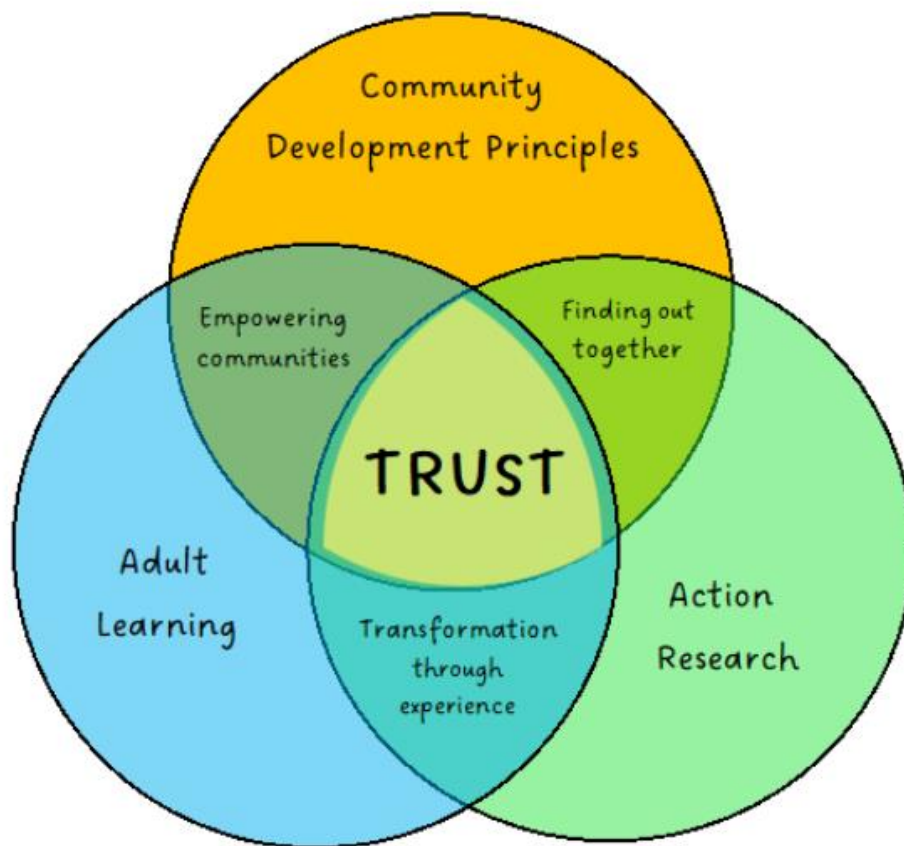
- Improved relationships and understanding between community members and the police;
- Research findings about barriers and means of overcoming barriers to communication with these populations;
- Improved well-being in the community through greater sense of safety and trust;
- A model of developing improved relations that could be used throughout Scotland.

Impact of community-based projects may be determined through consideration of Scale, Quality and Significance (McArdle et al, 2020). Scale may be thought of in many ways and for this project the scale lies in the depth and authenticity of the process, which will ensure the voices of police officers and the sample population are heard and inform the findings and outputs. The outputs are intended to be used widely, throughout Scotland. Quality lies in the experience and expertise of the Principal Investigator in PAR and research management; and the expertise of the Project Manager from Dundee City Council who knows the communities well and can access these communities in a sensitive and appropriate manner. Significance means whether the project matters and we are of the view that this project will matter to the police in the areas researched, in particular, and to Police Scotland; to the sample populations identified for this project; and for the wider community through the improved integration promoted. This significance is expected to last over time.

8. Conclusions

The research process was transformative for all those involved in this project, both researchers, police officers, community workers and BAME community participants. Participants were made more aware of the community safety role of Police Scotland; they valued engaging with individual police officers and enjoyed the process of this learning. The model also facilitated the understandings of the police officers of their local BAME communities' needs, expectations and concerns. This was evidenced by reports of the participants of learning that had taken place and reports of officers in the focus group held with the police officers.

The underpinning process of this model was a combining of action research with community development principles, founded on a basis of adult community learning to develop trust. There are many similar models of adult learning in a finding out, community development context that will have an equal impact. These are usually known to community development professionals who can frequently assist with engagement and learning for BAME communities with partnership working.



The principles of the model:

- Finding out for both communities and police with an action or practice focus;
- Seeking to empower communities to act in their own interests;
- Highlighting learning as transformation for individuals and communities through experience.

Finding out through action research provided a balance to power differentials, both police and BAME communities were in a state of lack of knowledge and had a shared opportunity to develop this. Adult learning principles highlight learning as transformation with changes of identity as part of this process; a process which is both safe and challenging. Community development principles focus on engagement with communities to empower participants, in order to provide relevant opportunities, services and experiences.

These principles, in our opinion, facilitate the development of trust.

The model we used included the following elements, which may be viewed as guidelines for the Police in engaging in this way or with a similar model

1. Careful selection of appropriate groups to participate (being inclusive);
2. Engagement with groups in the community through community professionals;
3. Location of meeting in community space with hospitality
4. Benchmarking current understandings of Police Scotland;
5. Facilitation of dialogue between a police officer/s and the community, focusing on questions to answered by both groups for problem solving ;
6. Facilitating an approach which highlights adult learning through creative activities and experiences, such as explaining police number badges, describing police apparel; visiting police stations

7. More than one meeting to develop relationships;
8. Follow up on issues raised in each meeting

9. Recommendations

1. The community engagement model outlined in Section 9 for communication or other engagement models should be used to engender mutual trust and enjoyment of the process.

This model built trust in the police, whilst also being straightforward to implement, with assistance from community work professionals.

2. Police officers need to be more engaged at local community levels.

The BAME communities and police officers commented on the value of the engagement process. The value of attending community activities was reported to be not always recognised by senior police officers and colleagues. Reporting of community activities is much less rigorous than criminal investigation and we suggest that some small-scale but important processing is required to capture the significance of this work.

3. Consider how Trauma Informed Practice can underpin police work with BAME communities.

Police Scotland should consider the impact of potential past experiences when engaging with these communities. It was reported to us that a few of the BAME people felt, as victims, that they had committed a crime when being interviewed in particular, but also with other communications. The model used in the research helped the police officers involved understand why this might be the case.

4. Find ways to value community engagement by police officers.

Community policing was not seen to be as high a priority as solving crimes and other police roles. Police Scotland needs to find ways to value this role more, ensuring that officers have time to do it.

5. Find ways to value the skill set linked to community engagement and ways to train for this explicitly.

The skill set linked to community engagement is complex and demands sophisticated communication skills alongside other expertise. These need to be valued highly in recruitment and training.

6. Continue to recruit more BAME community officers. Also look for community experience in recruitment.

For respect for communities to be authentic and believable, community experience will be a good indicator in recruitment and employment.

7. Find a means of making an interpreter service more accessible by phone.

The existing phone systems were not considered to be accessible, as the numbers are not necessarily known and language in English is required to get past the first stage of the phone call – which service is required?

8. Community work professionals could be more aware of the need for the above communication for migrants and could help facilitate this.

Community work professionals can assist Police Scotland to manage communication of the key messages above. They are a resource that could be harnessed to assist with building trust and training of both police and communities.

9. Need for training in community development and how to communicate positively through engaging with people of all kinds.

There is a vast resource of information and training opportunities in community development and engagement. This too could be harnessed to support the police role in the community and to empower communities

10. Films for social media, in particular, should be developed to inform BAME communities of the role of police and common procedures.

It was our experience that social media was more likely to be used than media such as leaflets or books. Tik Tok and Facebook in particular.

Key messages to be communicated by Police Scotland for BAME communities are:

- Police do not usually carry guns;
- Can be identified by number badge;
- It is okay to dial 999;
- Police do not determine guilt;
- Immigration status not affected by reporting a crime.

These messages were identified by community members and were consistent across the communities represented in the research.

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Appendix A: **schedule for focus Groups**

SIPR Focus Group Schedule

A. (Introductions – looking for knowledge of the Police)

1. What is the purpose of the police?
2. What do they do?
3. What do you think they should be doing?
4. Is there anything they should not be doing?
5. Have you had experience of police in any other county? Was it different to Scotland?

B. (Narrative Inquiry – looking for personal experience)

6. Do you trust the police? Please explain answer to this question
7. Has anyone you know had dealings with the Police/ How was it?
8. Have you had any dealings with the police? How was it?
9. Have you experienced a crime? Did you report it?
10. Would you contact the Police if you experienced a crime?

C. (Themed Discussion).

11. Do you like living in Dundee/Glasgow/Aberdeenshire? If so, why? If not, why not?
12. Do you feel safe in your community? If so why? If not, why not?
13. What contributes to safety in your community?
14. What prevents some people in the community from contacting the Police?
15. How can Police best work with you, your family, the community?