



AN TÚDARÁS PÓILÍNEACHTA  
POLICING AUTHORITY

# Experiences of Policing amongst Brazilians and People of African Descent in Ireland

March 2025



## **Disclaimer**

This research was funded by the Policing Authority. However, the views expressed in this report are those of the authors, and not necessarily those of the Policing Authority.

## **Acknowledgements**

We would like to especially thank the participants in this project, whose contributions were necessarily anonymous, who put their trust in us by responding to the survey, by participating in our focus groups, and by agreeing to be interviewed by us. We were privileged to hear your stories, which were sometimes difficult, and often traumatic to recount. Without your faith in us this significant contribution to the conversation about police reform would never have been made, without your hope its recommendations impossible.

Thanks to the Advisory Group for overseeing the project, reviewing drafts and supporting the authors in their work: Ayodele Yusuf, Karen Aguiar, Balume Dube, Professor Aogan Mulcahy, and Doireann Ansbro. The Advisory Group bear no responsibility for the content of the report.

Thanks also to Patrisha Munatsi for material from recent consultations for the Irish Network Against Racism (INAR), and to Amaya Aten and Gordon Ogotu for their assistance in reviewing the final report.

*This research project was originally conceived by Dr Vicky Conway, who was tragically and suddenly taken from us in July of 2022. Vicky had a formidable intellect and possessed a great depth of knowledge on policing in Ireland, especially on policing through the lens of human rights, social justice and accountability. We dedicate this report to the memory of our dear friend and colleague.*

## **Author Credits:**

Authored by Lucy Michael, Shane O Curry, Rodrigo Souza Silva, Nedson N'goma, Maria Elena Costa Sa, Daniel Reynolds.

INAR (the Irish Network Against Racism) is a national network of anti-racism civil society organisations which aims to work collectively to highlight and address the issue of racism in Ireland. Lucy Michael Research, Training and Consultancy is a specialist provider of research on equality, diversity, and inclusion, with a particular focus on generating data in partnership with marginalised groups to inform policies and practices aimed at addressing systemic inequalities. INAR has been generating data on racism in Ireland since 2013 through its iReport.ie system in partnership with Lucy Michael Research, influencing discussions on hate crime legislation, policing practices, and anti-racism strategies, ensuring that the lived experiences of minorities are central to these policy debates.

**ISBN 978-1-0369-1650-3**

## Executive Summary

This report, commissioned by the Policing Authority of Ireland (the Authority), investigates the experiences of policing among African and Brazilian communities in Ireland. The primary objective is to understand the nature and extent of interactions of these communities with the police, assess the perceptions and attitudes towards law enforcement, and identify areas for improvement to enhance community-police relations.

Recent EU research highlights that issues of trust and negative evaluations of the police among minority communities significantly impact police services' effectiveness. These challenges include under-policing, over-policing, racial profiling, and the need for better data on police interactions with minority communities. The EU context underscores the need for Ireland to align with broader European efforts to improve policing practices and ensure compliance with human rights standards.

The research was conducted by the Irish Network Against Racism (INAR) and Lucy Michael Research, Training and Consultancy.

### The experiences of Brazilian and African-descent communities in Ireland

The release of this report is especially timely due to recent incidents that have heightened concerns about Garda practices and their impact on minority communities. High-profile cases in Ireland such as the death of George Nkencho, together with rising anti-immigrant prejudice, have drawn significant attention to the issues of racial discrimination among ethnic and immigrant minorities and police accountability.

The demographic growth of African and Brazilian communities, combined with their unique socio-economic challenges, underscores the urgent need to address these issues to ensure equitable treatment and protection under the law. Furthermore, the lack of comprehensive data on the policing experiences of these communities has been a significant gap in the current understanding and policy-making process. This report aims to fill that gap, providing a detailed and evidence-based examination of the systemic issues affecting these groups.

### Methodology

The research involved a national online survey targeting individuals of African descent, and Brazilians, to collect quantitative and qualitative data on their policing experiences, as well as focus groups in rural and urban areas and individual interviews. These methods captured a broad range of interactions, including direct contact with Gardaí, perceptions of police services, incidents of discrimination or abuse, and awareness of rights.

## Key Findings

The Garda Síochána has implemented several initiatives aimed at improving relations with minority communities, including diversity training and the establishment of a Hate Crime eLearning Programme. Despite these changes, the research indicates that even when hate crimes are reported, the responses from the Gardaí are often inadequate and sometimes harmful to victims. Many participants expressed a significant lack of trust in the Garda Síochána. Fear of not being taken seriously, potential repercussions and previous negative experiences deter many from reporting crimes. There is obvious good practice emerging around hate crime recording, but it is highly individualised and inconsistent across the organisation. Similarly, domestic violence responses by Gardaí have improved, but are outweighed by the negative experiences of some victims and inappropriate treatment of suspects of minority ethnic backgrounds, leading to underreporting of this type of crime.

A significant proportion of participants reported experiencing or witnessing negative interactions with the police. Common issues included racial profiling, discriminatory behaviour, and lack of cultural sensitivity. Participants indicated that racial profiling was a frequent occurrence, leading to feelings of mistrust and fear towards the Gardaí and a strong sense of injustice overall. Repeated exposure to these encounters has created a cycle of mistrust and resentment across whole communities. This has even affected community workers who have previously worked closely with Gardaí, and who now feel frustrated and hopeless about the indifference in the Garda senior leadership towards the experience of their communities.

Interview and survey participants described traumatic experiences while being stopped by members of the Garda Síochána, including strip searches, property damage, and wrongful arrests, some of which had long-lasting psychological impacts. Key concerns for further investigation include the rapid escalation of minor offences to arrest and detention, inadequate communication of rights, and evidence of mistreatment, including racial abuse leading to distrust and trauma. Instances of unfair treatment and lack of transparency during these encounters have led many ethnic minorities to perceive reporting crimes or contacting the Gardaí as risky and potentially unsafe.

Participants demonstrated moderate awareness of certain rights, such as the right to legal representation or to see a doctor while in custody. Brazilians showed a higher awareness than Africans or African Irish individuals of their rights regarding stops, searches, custody and complaints. However, there was limited awareness of the obligation to provide a name and address if asked by a Garda and the inability to refuse a search. For example, 50% of Brazilians knew they had to provide their name and address if asked by a Garda, compared to only 29% of Africans and other people of African descent.

Both African and Brazilian participants expressed scepticism about the effectiveness of the complaints process and were wary of making complaints due to fears of future harassment or repercussions, with Brazilians particularly concerned about potential impacts on their immigration status. Awareness of the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission (GSOC) as a complaints body was notable, but there were misconceptions about other complaints bodies.

As a result, the overall perception of Garda behaviour and attitudes towards minority ethnic communities is predominantly negative. The Garda Síochána are viewed, overall, as providing a diminished service to minority ethnic communities and actively harming them through discriminatory policing. This perception is particularly strong among younger individuals and those who have lived in Ireland for a longer period. Africans and African Irish people showed lower trust and perceived stricter treatment based on ethnicity.

Positive personal interactions with individual Gardaí through community policing has only partly led to increased confidence among African and Brazilian groups. Community engagement initiatives, such as outreach activities and events, have been well received and appreciated by participants. However, efforts towards building trust in the organisation, particularly in respect of procedural justice, are urgently needed.

## Recommendations

This report highlights critical issues in the relationship between the Garda Síochána and African and Brazilian communities in Ireland. Addressing these challenges requires a multifaceted approach involving policy changes, enhanced training, and sustained community engagement. The findings and recommendations aim to guide the Authority and other stakeholders in fostering a more inclusive, fair, and effective policing system that serves all members of society equitably.

1. Fully implement the National Action Plan Against Racism Recommendation on Policing to *'Identify and eliminate any policing practices that target specific groups experiencing racism, including through racial or ethnic profiling'*, by:
  - 1.1. Adopting a comprehensive definition of racial profiling, drawing on the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) definition, and mandating the adaptation and implementation of the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA's) guidance on preventing unlawful profiling; and
  - 1.2. Prohibiting racial profiling in law, including all forms of direct and indirect racial discrimination by Gardaí, fully implementing the 2019 recommendations to Ireland of the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination; and
  - 1.3. Adding the prohibition of Racial Profiling to the Garda decision-making model
2. Put in place the necessary legislative provisions and procedures to allow the collection and publication of disaggregated data on race, ethnicity, religion, gender and disability across the entire Irish criminal justice system, including in all policing operations, the courts and crime statistics, to properly understand how racial and ethnic minorities are treated at each section of the justice system, including in relation to the provisions of the Victims Directive.
3. Put legislation in place to prohibit the bringing of vexatious charges by members of the Garda Síochána, to decrease their use against minority communities.

4. Provide a recording process for suspected racial profiling and a mechanism for informing practice and mandating the publication of information on the number of complaints of suspected racial profiling through Fiosrú, the Ombudsman and Complaints body (formerly GSOC).

5. Develop robust mechanisms within Fiosrú (formerly GSOC) and the Policing and Community Safety Authority (PCSA) (formerly the Policing Authority and Garda Inspectorate) to handle and analyse all complaints related to racial discrimination and racist misconduct, to monitor Garda conduct, and to review policies and practices in the light of findings.
6. Review and reform policies related to stop-and-search and other policing operations in the community to ensure that they are applied fairly and without bias, and to consider community impacts of all policing operations on minoritised communities.
7. Establish within the Conduct Regulations set out in the Policing, Security and Community Safety Act 2024 specific reference to racial discrimination.
8. Implement mandatory comprehensive training programmes for members of the Garda Síochána on cultural competence, anti-racism and effective communication with minority communities, and in particular the elimination of racial profiling from policing practice (per CERD GPR36, ECRI GPR11).
9. Ensure that custody protections apply from the point of arrest (and during transportation to a Garda station), including the provision of guidance on use of force, the communication of information about rights and reasons for arrest, and the accountability of the Gardaí for an appropriate standard of care. The PSNI's policies relating to the role of the Custody Sergeant could serve as an example of good practice.
10. Establish intercultural partnership structures in each division between the Garda Síochána and diverse representatives within minority ethnic communities to facilitate outreach, promote trust and to engage in robust and regular dialogue, to review the effectiveness of policing policies and practices and to promote rights awareness, encourage crime reporting, and promote good community relations.
11. Implement ECRI's General Policy Recommendation No. 16 (GPR No. 16) to establish procedural safeguards—often referred to as a "firewall"—to separate immigration enforcement activities from other essential public services (including preventing a person who is reporting or giving evidence about a crime from having their immigration status checked) and communicate this procedure to minoritised communities.
12. Adequately capture data on the satisfaction of minority ethnic and migrant groups for benchmarking and review by including ethnic booster samples in the CSO Crime and Victimization Survey and The Garda Public Attitudes survey.

## Table of Contents

Executive Summary	1
Glossary of Key Terms and Abbreviations	7
List of Abbreviations	9
Background to the Research	11
1.1 Equality, diversity and policing	11
1.2 Research aims	12
1.3 Methodology and data analysis	14
1.4 Ethics and oversight of the research	16
2. Literature Review	17
3. Attitudes to the Garda Síochána and Knowledge of Rights	27
3.1 Attitudes towards the Garda Síochána	27
3.2 Awareness of Key Rights	30
4 Experiences of Reporting and Victim Support	32
4.1 Reported Crime	32
4.2 Assault, Threat and Theft	34
4.3 Racist Abuse	35
4.4 Reporting Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault	36
4.5 Confidence in Reporting	38
5 Contact Initiated by the Gardaí	42
5.1 Stops	42
5.2 Searches	49
5.3 Excessive Force	49
6 Experiences of Custody	51
7 Complaints	54
8 Trust	56
8.1 Determinants of Trust	56
8.2 The Absence of Generalised Trust	58
8.3 Garda Outreach	60
8.4 Confidence in Organisational Change	62
9 Conclusion	64
Appendix 1: Consent Forms	67
Appendix 2: Survey	68
References	75



## Glossary of Key Terms and Abbreviations

**African or African descent:** term used to refer to the whole group in this survey which includes persons born in any African country, of any citizenship, or a person of African descent (PAD), of any citizenship. In this report, it does not include persons who are Afro-Brazilian as these are included in the Brazilian group.

**African-Irish:** A person who is of African birth or descent, and who holds Irish citizenship.

**Afro-Brazilian:** A person born in Brazil who is of African descent.

**Direct racial discrimination:** Any differential treatment based on a ground such as race, colour, language, religion, nationality or national or ethnic origin, which has no objective and reasonable justification. Differential treatment has no objective and reasonable justification if it does not pursue a legitimate aim or if there is not a reasonable relationship of proportionality between the means employed and the aim sought to be realised.

**Ethnic data:** the subset of equality data which relates to differences in experiences or outcomes between ethnic minority, or racialised groups and the general population.

**Equality data:** any piece of information that is useful for the purposes of describing and analysing the state of equality. The information may be quantitative or qualitative in nature. It could include aggregate data that reflect inequalities or their causes or effects in society. (EU FRA 2018 "[Guidelines on Equality data Collection](#)")

**Indirect racial discrimination:** Cases where an apparently neutral factor such as a provision, criterion or practice cannot be as easily complied with by, or disadvantages, persons belonging to a group designated by a ground such as race, colour, language, religion, nationality or national or ethnic origin, unless this factor has an objective and reasonable justification. This latter would be the case if it pursues a legitimate aim and if there is a reasonable relationship of proportionality between the means employed and the aim sought to be realised.

**iReport.ie:** A national civil society racist incident recording system, operated by the Irish Network Against Racism (INAR) since 2013.

**Migrant:** A person who was born in one country and has settled in another, regardless of citizenship or immigration status.

**Minority ethnic:** Since Ireland has a majority of people who identify their ethnicity as White Irish, this refers to all other ethnic groups regardless of nationality or birth, including Irish Travellers. May also be referred to as "racialised minority" (see "Racialised" below), or as "groups experiencing racism", for example in the [National Action Plan Against Racism](#) (NAPAR).

**Minoritised:** Similar to "racialised", this term refers to groups of people who experience societal subordination, discriminatory disadvantages and exclusions based on a wider set of

commonly discriminated against characteristics in addition to those encapsulated by “race”; including gender, gender identity, sexuality and disability.

**Racial or Ethnic profiling:** The use by the police, with no objective and reasonable justification, of grounds such as race, colour, language, religion, nationality or national or ethnic origin in control, surveillance or investigation activities ([ECRI, 2007](#)). In this report, we use the term ‘racial profiling’ to include both racial and ethnic profiling.

**Racialised:** The term “racialised” refers to groups of people whose experiences and position in society are shaped by processes referred to as “racialisation”. The process of “racialisation” includes experiences of racism, discrimination, and institutional and structural exclusion and disadvantage, usually based on “race”, colour, nationality, religion, ethnic or national origin, or descent. Where the term “race” can misleadingly suggest natural fixed biological categories, the terms “racialisation” and “racialised [group]” are preferred in scholarship because they reflect more accurately the reality that racialised categories are constructed in the particular contexts of the societies in which they occur. In Ireland today “racialised group” is a term that can be applied to groups of people who may face racism based on real or perceived “racial origin”, skin colour, ethnic or national origin or migration status, including for example Irish Travellers, people of African descent, Brazilians, Roma, migrants, asylum seekers, Muslims and Jews. Example: “in Ireland, Travellers are considered a racialised group because of their exclusion as a nomadic group in a society whose norms and institutions are configured for settled people”. In the [National Action Plan Against Racism](#) “*individuals and groups who experience racism are referred to interchangeably as “minority ethnic”, “racialised” or simply “experiencing racism”, unless more specific terminology is required.*”

**Reasonable suspicion:** A suspicion of an offence that is justified by some objective criteria before the police can initiate an investigation or carry out control, surveillance or investigation activities.

**Racist incident:** Any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person.

**Racist offence:** An ordinary offence (such as murder, assault and battery, arson or insult) committed with a racist motivation (racially motivated offence), and other offences in which the racist element is inherent to the offence (such as incitement to racial hatred or participation in a racist organisation).

**Stop and search:** the practice of police and other authorised officials stopping individuals in public places, with the view to inspecting the person, objects in their possession or their vehicle.

## List of Abbreviations

<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
AGS	An Garda Síochána, the Garda Síochána (Irish Police Service)
CCLEO	The United Nation Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (CCLEO)
CERD (sometimes UN CERD)	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CEPOL	European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training.
CoFPI	Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DO	Diversity Officer, formerly referred to as Ethnic Liaison Officer (ELO)
DPSUs	Divisional Protective Services Units
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights, a Council of Europe intergovernmental Convention
ECRI	European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance, a Council of Europe body
ELO	Ethnic Liaison Officer, now referred to as Diversity Officer (DO)
FLO	Family Liaison Officer
Fiosrú	Formerly the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission (GSOC), the Police Ombudsman
FRA	EU Fundamental Rights Agency, sometimes also referred to as EU Agency for Fundamental Rights
GNPSB	Garda National Protective Service Bureau
GNDIU	The Garda National Diversity and Inclusion Unit (GNDIO), formerly known as the Garda Racial Integration and Diversity Office (GRIDO)
GRIDO	Garda Racial Integration and Diversity Office, which has since been renamed the Garda National Diversity and Inclusion Unit (GNDIO)
GSOC	Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission (GSOC) soon to be reconstituted as 'Fiosrú', the Police Ombudsman

GPR	General Policy Recommendation. These are usually issued by UN CERD or by ECRI
IHREC	Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission, Ireland's National Human Rights Institution (NHRI)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation, or nongovernmental organisation. Sometimes also referred to as Civil Society Organisation (CSO), although not in this document, to avoid confusion with the Central Statistics Office.
NHRI	National Human Rights Institution, in Ireland's case IHREC
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), a branch of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PCSA	Policing and Community Safety Authority (PCSA) (to be formed imminently through the merging of the Policing Authority and Garda Inspectorate)
PSEHRD	Public Sector Equality and Human Rights Duty, sometimes Public Sector Duty (PSD)
PULSE	<i>Police Using Leading Systems Effectively</i> (PULSE)- is the internal computerised case management system used by the Garda Síochána
UN	United Nations

## Background to the Research

### 1.1 Equality, diversity and policing

The Garda Síochána Act 2005 requires that the Garda Síochána should provide policing services in a manner that respects human rights and with the objective of vindicating the human rights of everyone. In addition, the Garda Síochána has a statutory duty, the Public Sector Equality and Human Rights Duty, under Section 42 of the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission (IHREC) Act 2014, in the performance of its functions to have regard to the need to eliminate discrimination, promote equality, and protect the human rights of staff and people availing of their services.

The Garda Síochána, in its Diversity & Integration Strategy 2019-2021, highlights its commitment to a proactive and respectful engagement with all members of the public, especially with people from minority backgrounds. The Diversity & Integration Strategy accords with the Garda Síochána's emphasis on encouraging the reporting of hate crimes. It includes various objectives and initiatives aimed at engaging with and protecting members of minoritised communities. This includes building and maintaining strong relationships with key stakeholders from minoritised communities and enhancing communications with them. The implementation of this strategy was overseen on a quarterly basis by the Garda National Diversity Forum (GNDF), which was established in line with the Garda Síochána's commitment under Strategic Priority 4 (Partnership) of the Strategy. The Garda Síochána Diversity & Integration Strategy concluded in 2021, and no new strategy had been published at the time of writing this report.

Policing diverse and minority communities poses a challenge to many police services internationally. It involves a mix of complex issues, including societal biases, prejudice, language barriers, different cultural practices and beliefs, and historical experiences with law enforcement. These have an impact on the volume and nature of interactions between the police and members of diverse and minority communities ('under-policing or 'over-policing' and profiling, including racial profiling<sup>1</sup>), which in turn can affect levels of trust and confidence in the police, and the perception of police legitimacy and cooperation with officers, including the initial decision to report hate crimes. Research has found that issues of trust and a negative evaluation of the police among diverse and minority communities pose significant challenges to police services in terms of recruitment, hiring, and the progression and retention of members within these groups (EU Fundamental Rights Agency, 2019). Addressing these barriers is crucial in an era when police services are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of diversifying their internal workforce to ensure that they reflect the communities they serve and to build trust. Significant investment has been made by EU agencies to address racial discrimination in policing, such as the EU Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA, 2013), the Agency for Law Enforcement Training (CEPOL), the Council of Europe,

---

<sup>1</sup> We use the term 'racial profiling' here to include both racial and ethnic profiling as this is the term most used in international documents and research.

and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (European Commission, 2020).

While members of minority ethnic and migrant communities engage with Gardaí like other social groups, there are added dimensions for them, as they are also often victims of hate crime and other crimes, and they are disproportionately consumers of police functions related to identity verification or immigration paperwork. Structural discrimination resulting in poverty and exclusion heightens the likelihood of these groups being in contact with the police both as victims and suspects (Phillips and Bowling, 2017). The disproportionate entry of minority ethnic and migrant people into police custody and the risk of mistreatment in custody are shown to be related to an interconnected set of factors, including structural discrimination, racial bias in police forces, over-policing, and a lack of police accountability (Loftus, 2009). Internationally, Black and other minority ethnic and migrant communities are often subjected to over-policing, which can lead to a higher likelihood of encounters with police and a greater chance of being arrested and detained (Jones-Brown and Williams, 2021; Holdaway, 2000). This over-policing can also result in increased surveillance and harassment, leading to an overall distrust of law enforcement (Hough, 2012; Fekete, 2018). In Ireland, recent research has shown how these issues are highly relevant for at least one group in Ireland, Irish Travellers (Joyce et al., 2022). These themes will be investigated throughout this report to assess the experience of two further groups: Africans and people of African descent, and Brazilians. The report will identify areas for further investigation and action.

In this research, our conceptualisation of race and racism is consistent with the definition of racism contained in the Anti Racism Committee's Interim Report to the National Action Plan Against Racism:

*'The power dynamics present in those structural and institutional arrangements, practices, policies and cultural norms, which have the effect of excluding or discriminating against individuals or groups, based on their identity, as outlined in Article 1 of the International Convention for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)' (Government of Ireland Anti-Racism Committee, 2020).*

## 1.2 Research aims

This research project seeks to document, analyse and explore the experiences of two communities – those of African citizenship or descent and the Brazilian community in Ireland – and to establish the impact of these experiences on:

- The nature and quality of their experience;
- The degree to which their experience is in line with the Garda Síochána's obligations under Section 42 of the IHREC Act;
- The degree to which the experience is in line with the Garda Síochána Diversity & Integration Strategy;
- The degree to which the experience is in line with the Garda Síochána's obligations under the Victims Directive and the Criminal Justice (Victims of Crime) Act 2017;

- The impact of the above on the individual or community behaviour in relation to policing – confidence to report crime, confidence to provide information, the degree to which they would encourage another member of their community to report a crime or seek assistance from the Garda Síochána; and
- The impact of the above on the individual or community perception of the Garda Síochána and of police legitimacy.

The 2022 Census documented 39,556 people born in Brazil, and 76,245 identified as Black or Black Irish African, Black or Black Irish, or of any other Black background. Of these, 45% had an African nationality. While these are sizeable communities, their interactions with the police have not been subject to substantive research. There is a certain amount of documentary, anecdotal evidence suggesting that these communities experience negative aspects of policing, including discriminatory policing, over-policing and under-policing, inappropriate responses to complaints, inappropriate advice, racial profiling, racial victimisation, and hate crimes (Coakley and MacEinri 2007; O’Nolan, 2013; O’Brien-Olinger 2016; Carr, 2017; Michael, 2017; McInerney, 2017; Michael, 2021). Recently, two deaths have raised concerns about the policing of minority ethnic communities and consequences for confidence in policing in these communities: Mauricio De Camargo (Brazilian) died following detention in 2018 in Mountjoy Garda Station and George Nkencho (Irish of African background) was shot dead by Gardaí in December 2020.

In addition, there are several factors that make interactions with the police more likely. Brazilians, in particular, are less likely to have Irish citizenship, more likely to be on temporary visas, and more likely to be in precarious work (Maher and Cawley 2014). They are over-concentrated in the gig, transportation and fast-food economies, all of which are informal, highly precarious and sometimes street based. This can be unsafe: for instance, the work of delivery drivers can make people vulnerable as cyclists. Working visa conditions can be restrictive, with some employees finding themselves at risk of infringing them; this can affect their comfort in seeking assistance from police as victims of crime, for fear of having their migrant status investigated. Africans in Ireland have been reliant on many of the lowest-paid and precarious segments of the labour market (O’Connell, 2019). Higher levels of education for some members of both groups have not protected them from exploitation and precarity in housing and health. Both populations are young and may therefore be more exposed to policing of public spaces. Nearly 80% of the 27,338 Brazilians recorded in the 2022 Census were aged between 23 and 43, compared with only 25% of the Irish population in the same age bracket, and a large proportion were recent migrants, for example, 5,200 had arrived in Ireland the previous year (CSO, 2022). Over 40% of people identifying as Black or Black Irish – African were aged under 19 years while 53% of those identifying as Black or Black Irish – Any other Black were between the ages of 20 and 44 years (CSO, 2022).

## 1.3 Methodology and data analysis

Data collection methods include an online survey, interviews with 30 people from Brazil and from Africa or of African descent living in Ireland, and four focus groups in urban and rural areas. The fieldwork for this research began in April 2023 and ended in January 2024.

The qualitative analysis provides nuanced, comprehensive insights into the perspectives and experiences of participants.

### 1.3.1 Survey Design and Sample

An online survey collected quantitative and qualitative data on attitudes towards the Garda Síochána and experiences with Gardaí. It was promoted by the Irish Network Against Racism (INAR) and was open from April to November 2023 in English and Portuguese. Participation was consent-based, and demographic information was collected anonymously to ensure privacy. The survey asked a series of questions about attitudes towards the Garda Síochána and experiences of contact with Gardaí initiated by the respondent or by Gardaí. The survey also asked about rights awareness (see Appendix 2) and provided descriptive statistics (frequencies and means) due to a small, self-selecting sample.

The survey included 172 people: 40% identified as African or of African descent and 60% as Brazilian. The sample was very diverse internally in terms of nationality, country of origin and other ethnic or racial identifications. The African participants represented 18 countries, of which the largest representation came from Zimbabwe and Nigeria; 47% of Africans were Irish citizens (including 19% born in Ireland), compared to 3% of Brazilians.

Most participants (79%) were aged 25-44, with a younger age profile for Brazilians; 58% identified as female, 37% as male, and 3% as other. Among 104 Brazilians, 14 identified as people of African descent, 13 identified as 'Pardo' or 'mixed race', and 14 identified as 'Latino'. The remaining 65% of Brazilians did not specify any other ethnic background.

Students accounted for 23% of the total sample, most full-time students being African or people of African descent and most part-time students being Brazilian. Africans and other people of African descent were more likely to work in professional, clerical and sales occupations whereas Brazilians were more likely to report working in customer service, hospitality, cleaning, security, and delivery, with some working in management roles and finance.

### 1.3.2 Interview Design and Sample

The interview addressed the nature and extent of the interviewees' last contact with the Garda Síochána, the most frequent form of contact with the Garda Síochána, and experiences of reporting crime, being stopped, being in custody, and making a complaint. Interviews were conducted in person, via video call, and by phone, in English or Portuguese. A snowballing approach was used to recruit participants, who are anonymised.



Profile of 15 interviews with Africans and people of African descent:

- Ages: 8 (25-34), 2 (35-44), 3 (45-54), 1 (55-64);
- Gender: 8 male, 7 female;
- Birthplaces: 2 in Ireland, 1 in EU, 12 in African countries;
- Residency: all living in Ireland for over 10 years; 10 since childhood;
- Citizenship: 12 Irish, 1 UK, 1 EU, 1 African; and
- Occupation: 2 full-time students, 7 in community work, 3 self-employed, 1 unemployed.

Profile of 15 interviews with Brazilians and Brazilians of African descent:

- Ages: 1 (18-24), 3 (25-34), 11 (35-44);
- Gender: 6 male, 9 female;
- Birthplace: all born in Brazil;
- Residency: 6 living in Ireland for over 10 years, 6 for 5-10 years, 3 for less than 5 years.
- Citizenship: none had Irish citizenship; 4 also had EU citizenship; and
- Occupation: 3 full-time students, 6 in management/administration, 2 in delivery/retail, 5 undisclosed.

### 1.3.3 Focus Group Design and Sample

The focus groups aimed to elicit shared policing experiences in Dublin and another region. Through this method we established a baseline understanding of the lived experiences of policing in Ireland for the respective communities. Conducted in person, Brazilian groups spoke Portuguese and African groups spoke English. Sessions were recorded, anonymised, and participants' identities were kept confidential. A snowballing approach was used to recruit participants.

Four focus groups are reported: two with Brazilians (Dublin and another region) and two with Africans and people of African descent (Dublin and another region). Participants included 6 Brazilians in Dublin, 5 outside, 8 Africans outside Dublin, and 5 in Dublin. Of the 24 participants, 14 were female, aged 18-54. Brazilians lived in Ireland for 5-10 years, while Africans ranged from 1 to over 20 years. Each Brazilian group included one person of African descent. Rural groups had diverse economic backgrounds, while members of the Dublin Brazilian group were more highly educated.

## 1.4 Ethics and oversight of the research

An Advisory Group comprising community and academic experts oversaw the research design and ethical protocols. They included: Dr Aogán Mulcahy, Doireann Ansbro of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL), Karen Aguiar (a Brazilian community activist), Balume Dube from the Donegal Intercultural Platform, and Ayodele Yusuf of the Balbriggan Integration Forum. We gratefully acknowledge their input. The first-named authors take full responsibility for the content of the report. Data collection and analysis was conducted in line with the Code of Ethics of the British Sociological Association (as adopted by the Sociological Association of Ireland) and in compliance with the Data Protection Act 2018. Sensitivity to the subject matter, including concerns about Garda treatment, immigration and citizenship, was considered, ensuring informed consent and support for participants. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the privacy of participants.

The interim report was reviewed by staff of the Policing Authority and recommendations received in relation to the addition of explanatory text, updating of legislative references, clarity for non-expert readers, and presentation of data. No recommendations were made regarding the inclusion or exclusion of research findings or recommendations in the report. The authors retained full control of content decisions in the finalisation of this report.

## 2. Literature Review

Research on the relationship between race and policing worldwide has highlighted the extreme vulnerabilities faced by Black and minority ethnic people (Bowling and Phillips, 2002; Gabbidon, 2010; Rowe, 2012; Bowling et al., 2019; Fekete, 2022). Minorities are disproportionately at risk of not knowing or exercising their legal rights, experiencing mistreatment, and even dying (Inquest, 2023). Racial bias can lead to excessive use of force in situations where it may not be necessary or justified (Francis et al., 2020). Disparities in health care, housing, education and employment further increase these risks (Darko, 2021; Shavers and Shavers, 2006; Binswanger et al., 2012; Bruce-Jones, 2021). Across Europe, research reveals consistent patterns of discrimination, particularly affecting Roma, people of African descent, Muslims, asylum seekers, and migrants (De Schutter and Ringelheim, 2008; Van der Leun and Van der Woude, 2011; Fekete, 2014; Bruce-Jones, 2015; Schwarz, 2016; Keskinen et al., 2018; Schclarek-Mulinari and Keskinen, 2022).

Racism is inscribed in police encounters through a complex interaction of structural, institutional and interpersonal forms of discrimination. Lord Macpherson's 1999 report on UK policing described institutional racism as the collective failure of organisations to provide appropriate service due to colour, culture or ethnic origin, and evident in discriminatory processes, attitudes and behaviours (MacPherson, 1999). The definition of racism adopted in Ireland's National Action Plan Against Racism emphasises the impacts and effects of systemic power dynamics through structural and institutional arrangements, practices, policies and cultural norms (Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth, 2023; Government of Ireland Anti-Racism Committee, 2020). Police attitudes towards racialised minorities also significantly impact interactions, contributing to disparities in arrests, charges and convictions (Chan, 1996; Waddington, 1999; Ellis, 2010; Crehan, 2010). Police officers, influenced by broader culture, may exhibit biases in the use of discretionary powers, with discriminatory behaviour dismissed as 'banter' (Casey, 2023).

### 2.1 Data on Policing and 'Race' in Ireland

There are ongoing concerns about overrepresentation, racism and discrimination in Irish policing. The research highlights particular problems for Irish Travellers (Mulcahy and O'Mahony, 2005; McCaughey, 2011; Joyce et al., 2022) and Muslims (Carr, 2017). In 2021, Irish Travellers made up 7.3% of the prison population, (Joyce, 2022) and 8.9% of the Probation Service's clientele (Doyle et al., 2023), despite being just 0.7% of the general population. Foreign nationals are overrepresented in prison, mostly those of Polish and Romanian nationality, with a notable minority of Africans (Irish Prison Service, 2023), and Black or African people are slightly overrepresented on probation (Doyle et al., 2023). Among under 18s, there is also overrepresentation of Travellers and those from the African or Black community. Foreign nationals are likely to receive longer sentences than Irish nationals for controlled drug offences and sexual offences (Doyle et al., 2023).

No ethnic data is routinely gathered and disaggregated for publication by the Garda Síochána. However, a recent report found that people with a nationality other than Irish constituted 17% of those in a random sample of custody records, compared to 12% of the general population (Garda Síochána Inspectorate, 2021).

Data on police complaints shows that in 2022, 11% complaints were made by Black, Asian or Traveller individuals, with double (24%) made by non-Irish nationals (Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission, GSOC, 2023). While the number of complaints may reflect a willingness to report misconduct, and a greater need to do so, immigrants are less likely to complain if their immigration status is at risk (Ali et al., 2023; Murphy et al., 2022).

The Public Sector Equality and Human Rights Duty under Section 42 of the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission (IHREC) Act 2014 mandates public bodies, including the Garda Síochána, to address human rights and equality issues, yet ethnic data collection remains inconsistent (IHREC, 2014). Notable exceptions include the Probation Service and GSOC. The Garda Síochána are obligated to promote equality and protect human rights but lack a legal requirement for ethnic data collection or for a national audit of compliance with this Duty. In its submission on the General Scheme of the Garda Powers Bill, IHREC noted the absence of this requirement in law and proposed that this legislation should directly reference non-discrimination in relation to stop and search powers, and legislative proposals on collecting race and ethnicity data should be accompanied by training for members of An Garda Síochána in the areas of cultural competence, human rights, and equality. The Commission also recommended that the custody record should contain a record of the detainee's race or ethnicity for the purpose of equality data collection (IHREC, 2022). A new National Equality Data Strategy, due to be implemented in 2023<sup>2</sup>, aims to improve equality data collection but will not mandate ethnic data collection by the Garda Síochána (Gov.ie, 2022).

Anonymous reporting systems are essential for addressing systemic issues in Garda oversight and mistrust resulting from mistreatment (Kilpatrick, 2018; Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland, 2018). Reports from the Irish Network Against Racism (INAR) iReport.ie highlight discrimination against ethnic minorities, including incidents of Garda abuse. From 2016 to 2022, INAR recorded incidents of Garda discrimination, with five cases in 2022 involving misuse of Garda powers and 36 cases from 2017 to 2021. These reports, primarily from individuals of African descent, reflect repeated abuse during police interactions, such as stops and searches. In its 2017 submission to the Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland, INAR highlighted iReport.ie data from 2013 to 2017, documenting explicit Garda surveillance and threats against minority ethnic minorities, especially in rural areas. The evidence included harassment, such as unwarranted car searches, intimidation of young women, house searches without warrants, racial profiling, and hostile treatment of victims at crime scenes. The submission also noted public meetings in north Dublin addressing the hostile treatment of young Afro Irish people, who were frequently searched, warned against being on the streets, and treated with contempt by local Gardaí (Michael and OCurry, 2018). Since 2013, iReport.ie data has shown low community confidence in the Garda Síochána across ethnic groups, linked to poor interactions with Gardaí (Michael et al., 2023).

---

<sup>2</sup> The National Equality Data Strategy has not yet been published at time of writing (8 November 2024).

In the absence of official data, the present report offers an important preliminary view on the experiences of Brazilians, Africans and people of African descent in Ireland. Despite a range of legislative and policy commitments to data collection, there is still insufficient data in a range of policing areas around ethnicity for us to rely on statutory statistical evidence. This report underscores the need for comprehensive statutory data collection to address policing standards and rights protection.

## 2.2 Organisational Change

In 2000, the Garda Síochána established a Garda Racial, Intercultural and Diversity Office (GRIDO), now the Garda National Diversity and Inclusion Unit (GNDIU), which is responsible for supporting and promoting the reporting of hate crime. The first Garda Diversity and Integration Strategy 2019-2021 (The Garda Síochána, 2019) has facilitated progress in hate crime reporting, police-community relations, and diversity within the Garda Síochána. New definitions for hate crime and non-crime hate incidents were adopted with the Strategy in 2020 (The Garda Síochána, 2020); a Garda Hate Crime eLearning Programme was developed in conjunction with non-governmental organisations (NGOs); an online Hate Crime module was developed by Facing Facts and INAR, and has been completed by 83% of Garda members (The Garda Síochána, 22 March 2023).

The Garda National Diversity Forum, established in 2020, was tasked with overseeing diversity and hate crime strategies and developing a communications plan. It included diverse organisations and individuals but is currently inactive due to the resignation of several members. A local Diversity Forum was created in Dublin West following community concerns about George Nkencho's death, and additional training was provided to Blanchardstown Gardaí.

There are now 586 listed Diversity Officers (DOs), formerly Ethnic Liaison Officers (ELOs), across Ireland (The Garda Síochána, November 2023), compared to 281 in 2021 (Malekmian, 2023). DOs have played an important role in community relations in some areas, such as engaging with young people in Blanchardstown after the death of Nigerian Irish teenager Toyosi Shittabey in 2010. However, transferring them to other areas weakened these relationships, undermining trust and communication (RTE, 19 October 2022).

In July 2021, Gardaí launched an online hate crime reporting system (The Garda Síochána 2022), and a third-party referral system for reporting hate crimes was announced in 2023. The online reporting system has increased the number of hate crimes recorded (The Garda Síochána 2023). Ethnic diversity among Garda personnel remains a challenge, as is the case with many European police services (Bjørkelo et al., 2021). An annual Diversity Internship Programme was launched in 2021, which aims to increase diversity by removing recruitment barriers (Government of Ireland, 2020a). Currently, 98% of Garda personnel are 'White Irish'.

## 2.4 Racial Profiling and stops

Profiling involves categorising individuals based on perceived personal characteristics including racial or ethnic origin, skin colour, religion or nationality. When based on these protected characteristics, profiling constitutes direct discrimination and violates rights (EU FRA, 2018b). Racial profiling is a major factor in the disproportionate representation of racialised groups in police custody and is illegal under EU law.

Recent data shows that racial profiling is prevalent across Europe. For instance, Black individuals in the UK are nine times more likely to be stopped by police (Home Office, 2022a), and in France, young men perceived as Black or Arab face 20 times more frequent police stops (European Network Against Racism, ENAR, 2020). In the EU, 58% of those stopped by police felt it was due to their ethnic origin (FRA, 2022). Ireland has the highest rate of stops in Europe involving Black people, with 15% stopped in the previous year, compared to the EU average of 12% (Michael et al., 2022). Statutory data on police stops in Ireland are not currently published.

Despite efforts to address racial profiling, such as recommendations from the UN and the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), Ireland still lacks a legal definition or prohibition of racial profiling (UN CERD, 2020; ECRI, 2019). Reports from the Migrant Rights Centre of Ireland (MRCI) and various human rights organisations, including the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL) highlight persistent discrimination and ineffective responses (MRCI, 2011; ICCL, 2018). Notably, the Garda Síochána's increased presence during the COVID-19 pandemic led to more reported incidents of racial profiling (Casey et al., 2021).

The UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UN CERD) first commented on the need for Ireland to prohibit racial profiling in policing in 2011. In 2018, the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities called on the Irish authorities to amend Garda Síochána (Discipline) Regulations 2007 to explicitly specify that discrimination constitutes a breach of discipline (Council of Europe, 2019). In 2019, a civil society report to the UN highlighted incidents of racial profiling, harassment and unwarranted searches, and the investigation of immigration status of crime victims (INAR 2019). Recent consultations by INAR highlight ongoing concerns (INAR, 2021). The UN Committee (UN CERD, 2020) recommended that Ireland undertake:

1. The creation of an independent reporting mechanism for receiving complaints, with public reports;
2. The establishment of oversight mechanisms to prevent discriminatory behaviour;
3. Effective investigation of incidents of racial profiling with sanctions for perpetrators and compensation to victims; and
4. Rigorous monitoring of staff conduct by senior officials in law enforcement through the analysis of data, with particular attention to the *'disproportionate impact on marginalised groups and communities.'*

In 2014, the Ombudsman for Children found that Roma families were targeted by the Garda Síochána due to ethnic profiling (Logan, 2014). Concerns also persist about Irish Travellers, whose children's details have been recorded on the PULSE system, leading to legal action (Pavee Point, 2014). There are fears among Travellers that reporting racial profiling may lead to retaliation by Gardaí (INAR, 2019). The 2022 Irish Travellers Access to Justice study found that 59% of Travellers felt they were stopped due to their ethnicity, with frequent reports of Garda harassment and degrading treatment (Joyce et al., 2022). Similarly, over 77% of Roma reported being stopped for ID, many facing issues like ID confiscation without receipts, and language barriers (Pavee Point and Department of Justice and Equality, 2018; INAR, 2019). Available data on Garda attitudes is important to note. An external Human Rights Audit (Ionann, 2004) found the Garda Síochána institutionally racist. O'Brien-Olinger's (2016) ethnographic study of policing found persistent animosity towards Nigerians. Few disciplinary actions for racist behaviour have been publicly reported, but one case in 2018 involved offensive language towards a foreign national (O'Loughlin, 2018). A 2020 survey revealed negative attitudes among Gardaí towards Travellers and Roma (Gallagher, 2020). The most recent culture audit commissioned by the Garda Síochána however did not ask about Garda attitudes on race (Graham et al., 2022).

The psychological impact of stop-and-search interactions, including fear and depression, can affect the mental health and behaviour of young people (Baćak and Nowotny, 2020). The adultification of Black children – perceiving them as more mature and less innocent than their White peers – often leads to harsher disciplinary measures and higher rates of interaction with the criminal justice system (Gilmore and Bettis, 2021; Cooke and Halberstadt, 2021; Davis, 2022). In Ireland, young people report feelings of anger, fear and shame from frequent stop and searches (Whelan, 2018), and police perceptions significantly influence attitudes towards law enforcement (Gleeson, 2018). Few studies focus on minority ethnic and migrant youth interactions with the Garda Síochána. Michael (2021) highlights how misrecognition affects the experiences of young Black people, complicating their ability to vindicate their rights and access justice. Migrant children across Europe are often subjected to stereotypes and prejudices that lead to their being treated like adults (Samota and Ariyo, 2022).

There is also a rising concern that racial profiling is worsening relations between Gardaí and ethnic minorities. Increased Garda patrols during the COVID-19 pandemic led to more stop-and-search incidents targeting ethnic minorities (Casey et al., 2021; Malekmian, 2021b). The Policing Authority (the Authority) and IHREC have criticised Gardaí for negative attitudes and practices of racial profiling, urging legislative action and an independent complaints mechanism (Policing Authority, 2021; Gallagher, 2021). However, the Garda Síochána denies engaging in racial profiling and cites a lack of data to substantiate claims, while also noting no legal basis to collect data on ethnicity during arrests or searches (O'Keefe, 2021).



Ireland's policing framework lacks the clarity and safeguards seen in other jurisdictions, such as the UK's PACE Codes of Conduct (College of Policing, 2016). The new National Action Plan Against Racism includes steps to address discriminatory policing practices, identifying the Garda Síochána and '*representative organisations of communities affected by these practices*' as the appropriate persons to '*identify and eliminate any policing practices that target specific groups experiencing racism, including through racial or ethnic profiling*' (Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth, 2023). However, it has not fully adopted all recommendations for addressing racial profiling and improving legal protections (IHREC, 2021; ICCL, 2021; Free Legal Advice Centre, FLAC, 2021; Irish Penal Reform Trust, 2021).

## 2.5 Use of Excessive Force

Across Europe, police forces have been criticised for the 'heavy handed' restraint techniques that disproportionately affect racialised groups and people from deprived areas (ENAR, 2020; Nwabuzo, 2021). Use of excessive force on racialised minorities has been one of the consistent themes of police debates in recent years (Okri, 2021). Black people in England and Wales were reported as being more than five times as likely to have force used against them by police as White people and were subject to the use of tasers at almost eight times the rate of White people (House of Commons House of Lords Joint Committee, 2020). Black people were reportedly seven times more likely to die than White people when restraint was involved (Carr, 2023). Furthermore, the Angiolini review (2017), the first official UK review of practices and processes relating to police-related deaths, highlighted the need to situate custodial deaths and deaths in policing within the frame of racism, as well as in the context of neglect and mistreatment of people experiencing mental ill health (Bruce-Jones, 2021).

The death of George Nkencho in December 2020, when shot by the Garda Armed Support Unit outside his home, is reminiscent of the patterns in the UK of fatal or near-fatal encounters with police by Black people in mental health crises (Bourne, 2021). The shooting of Nkencho sparked protests in Dublin and the length of the investigation has decreased trust in the complaints process (Pope, 2023). When police use excessive force, including lethal force, and are not held accountable for their actions, this can perpetuate a culture of impunity and a lack of trust between criminal justice agencies, particularly the police, and the communities they serve (Smith and Holmes, 2003; COE, 2022).

In Ireland, Garda annual reports provide figures on deaths in Garda stations since 2016, but these are not disaggregated by ethnicity. The absence of equality data means that deaths of people from minority ethnic or migrant backgrounds in custody only become known through community consciousness of an incident or through media coverage, such as the death of Mauricio Mota de Camargo, a Brazilian man, which took place in Garda custody in 2018 and first came to light through tabloid news (Hand, 2018), and through contact made with INAR by the family. A GSOC report has yet to be published at the time of writing and the Coroner's Inquest is ongoing.



## 2.6 Trust in Police among Minority Ethnic and Migrant Groups

A 34-nation study found that neighbourhood security and institutional trust are key indicators of confidence in police (Han et al., 2020). Police legitimacy depends not only on trust but also on policing styles, interactions, use of force, and accountability (Noppe et al., 2017). Studies across Europe indicate disproportionate numbers of stops and fines in working-class neighbourhoods with a high number of racial and ethnic minority residents (ENAR, 2020). In the UK, over 70% of Black participants felt unfairly treated, with only 37% of Black and 44% of ethnic minority participants trusting the police (Abraham, 2021). In Belgium, perceived discrimination significantly affected trust among Turkish, Moroccan and Polish minorities (Van Craen and Skogan, 2015). In Finland, trust among Russian and Somali groups was influenced by both personal and social contexts, with positive police interactions improving trust despite occasional negative experiences (Kääriäinen and Niemi, 2014). In Germany, increased police contact with inner-city ethnic communities led to higher mistrust, particularly among Turkish youth (Albrecht, 2010).

In the 2022 Garda Public Attitudes Survey, only 53% agreed that the Garda Síochána represents the diverse communities it serves, with lower agreement in Dublin (41%). Citizens from other countries were generally more positive and satisfied with Garda services, compared to Irish citizens. Trust levels were around 90% for both groups. However respondents with Garda contact had lower trust levels, and those with higher fear of crime felt Garda presence was insufficient. Having no contact with the Garda Síochána was more likely to improve satisfaction with Garda service to local communities.

Over policing tends to be more prevalent in lower socio-economic areas, exacerbating the vulnerability of minority groups (Mulcahy and O'Mahony 2005). Racialised groups often fear police violence due to knowing victims of discrimination, affecting their trust in police (ENAR, 2021). Migrants are often over-represented among minority groups who have contact with police (Bruce-Jones, 2015; Vrăbiescu, 2021; Kalir, 2022; Van Craen and Skogan 2015a). European research, including from Ireland, shows that migrants often face language barriers, cultural differences, and a lack of awareness of their rights and reporting mechanisms, hindering effective communication with law enforcement (Boychenko et al., 2021; Van den Durpel and Derluyn, 2023). In Ireland, some migrants who are skilled professionals encounter economic and structural factors that lead to disproportionate police contact, often exacerbated by institutional biases (McGinnity et al., 2023; Murphy, 2017). Language barriers and legal complexities further complicate their interactions with police (Conway et al., 2021)

Socio-economic disparities can further increase mistrust, as they hinder community-police relations and limit access to legal resources for challenging over-policing (Panditharatne, 2021; Atherly et al., 2022). Insufficient community engagement and stereotypes linking minority groups to crime further exacerbate biased policing and reinforce racial profiling (Bornand and Klein, 2022; Carvalho et al., 2021).

In Ireland, migrants often face distinct challenges compared to second-generation or other minority ethnic groups. Although many migrants are skilled professionals, they are also disproportionately represented in exploited labour sectors, homelessness, and sex work. Asylum seekers also have frequent interactions with police due to their accommodation in

Direct Provision centres. The younger age of migrants and their presence in public spaces increases their likelihood of police stops, which can be influenced by biases and systemic issues (McGinnity et al., 2023; Murphy, 2017; Hewson, 2022; CSO, 2023; FRA, 2021).

Immigration checks are a significant factor in racial profiling, according to the FRA Being Black in the EU report (2022). Immigration status significantly impacts the experience of migrants with race and police custody in Ireland. Irish law allows for the detention of asylum seekers and unauthorised migrants. The use of prisons and police stations for immigration purposes has faced criticism from bodies like the Council of Europe and the UN (Global Detention Project, 2018). Recommendations to separate policing from immigration enforcement have been made, but recent practices like Operation Citizen and Operation Sonnet, which increase immigration checks during routine policing, raise concerns about balancing immigration controls and positive community relations (Michael and OCurry, 2017; Fundamental Rights Agency, FRA, 2022).

## 2.7 Trust and reporting crime

Lack of trust is a significant factor deterring minority group victims from reporting crimes, including hate crimes (FRA, 2021). Police hostility and racial profiling erode trust and reduce reporting among ethnic minorities targeted by racist violence (EU FRA, 2019). The FRA survey shows that 64% of victims of racist violence in Europe and 79% in Ireland did not report recent incidents (FRA, 2018). However, migrants who believe their community can solve local problems and have political power are more likely to report crimes than disenfranchised communities (Davis and Henderson, 2003).

INAR's 2022 report found that 55% of racist crimes and 83% of other racist incidents were not reported to the Garda Síochána, with most who did describing their encounters negatively (Michael et al., 2022). iReport.ie data reveals that distrust in Gardaí is the primary reason for low reporting rates, the most common reason being a belief that Gardaí would not act (iReport.ie, 2016-2022). Despite a temporary rise in reporting from 30% to 42% between 2017 and 2020, due to new Garda policies, this dropped to 25% in 2021 and 20% in 2022. Contributing factors include the fatal shooting of George Nkencho, increased mistreatment of minorities during the pandemic, heightened racial profiling, and persistent neighbourhood harassment (Michael et al., 2022).

Responses to repeat harassment significantly affect attitudes toward reporting, with nearly half of all racist crime reports to INAR in 2022 involving repeated abuse, including assaults and threats (Michael et al., 2023). Perry and Alvi (2012) emphasise that hate crimes create 'in terrorem' effects, impacting not just direct victims but others within their communities, further eroding trust in police. The INAR data indicates that even where cases are attended by Gardaí following good practice, responses are inadequate to protect victims from repeat harassment. There are, at present, no clear policies in the Garda Síochána for dealing with repeat racist harassment or the associated escalation of abuse.

Domestic violence is another critical area for trust building. The 2022 Garda Public Attitudes Survey showed that non-Irish citizens consider domestic abuse an important area for Garda intervention. The Third National Strategy on Domestic, Sexual, and Gender-based Violence outlines support for vulnerable groups, including migrants and Travellers, including Gardaí training. Although the Garda Síochána increased responses to domestic violence calls by 40% in 2022, continued scrutiny is needed to ensure effective support for minority ethnic and migrant communities (Department of Justice, 2022a; Browne, 2023), particularly with data showing inadequate Garda responses to Traveller domestic violence (Joyce et al., 2022).

## 2.8 Relevant Rights and Standards

At regional and international levels, decisions of European institutions and courts as well as recommendations from international human rights bodies have addressed the challenges of achieving a fair and efficient police service.

Discrimination is explicitly prohibited by Article 21 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, on any grounds, including race, ethnic or social origin, and membership of a national minority (FRA, 2018). The European Convention on Human Rights sets out a comprehensive framework governing police operations. Article 14 secures the right to non-discrimination, meaning that individuals should enjoy the rights enumerated in articles 2 to 12 without unjustified differential treatment, including on the grounds of race (Murdoch and Roche, 2015). The Council of the European Union Directive 2000/43/EC ('the Race Directive') requires that all member states should designate a body to provide independent assistance to victims of discrimination, as well conducting independent surveys and issuing independent reports and recommendations in the promotion of equality (European Commission, 2020).

The European Convention on Human Rights Act 2003 requires certain public bodies to perform their functions in a manner compatible with the convention. Case law at the European Court of Human Rights on police conduct has also played a considerable part in establishing legal obligations, for example in jointly considering *Basu v. Germany* and *Muhammad v. Spain* (2023), where the Court underscored the need for proportionality in the use of force by police, and reinforced the obligation to conduct effective and impartial investigations into allegations of misconduct, thereby ensuring the protection of individuals' rights under the European Convention on Human Rights. Importantly, these investigations followed extensive guidance already provided to states, including that provided by the various European institutions.

The European Parliament resolution of 26 March 2019 on the fundamental rights of people of African descent in Europe addressed racial profiling, as did the Council of Europe resolution, and the report *Ethnic Profiling by Law Enforcement Officials* from 24 November 2020. Guidance instruments from the Council of Europe and OSCE, such as the European Code of Police Ethics, have addressed issues such as the objectives of the police, the legal basis of the police under the rule of law, the relationship between the police and the criminal justice system, the organisational structures of the police, police action and intervention, police accountability and control, and research and international cooperation (OSCE, 2001). The ECRI General Policy Recommendation No 11 on Combating Racism and Racial Discrimination

in Policing (2007) sets out clear recommendations for member states on racial profiling, police misconduct, the role of the police in combating racist offences and monitoring racist incidents, and relations between the police and members of minority groups (ECRI, 2007).

The UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) requires that states take action to eradicate racial discrimination in their institutions, eliminating any difference in treatment compromising the equal enjoyment of human rights by all individuals (House of Commons House of Lords Joint Committee, 2020). Most recently, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights report on the promotion and protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of African and people of African descent (2021) set out a range of principles and actions for states to take against excessive use of force and other human rights violations by law enforcement officers.

The General Assembly of the United Nations has also adopted a Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (CCLEO) that establishes international rules relevant to police work, such as serving the community and protecting the human dignity by upholding the human rights of all people, only using force when strictly necessary (OHCHR, 1979).

As a public body in Ireland, the Garda Síochána has obligations under the Public Sector Human Rights and Equality Duty under the IHREC Act 2014. The result of this range of human rights frameworks is a set of standards to which the Garda Síochána are obliged to adhere, including positive obligations to investigate hate crimes and respond to calls from victims of domestic abuse, and negative obligations to refrain from using excessive or unjustified force.

### 3. Attitudes to the Garda Síochána and Knowledge of Rights

To understand the attitudes of Brazilians, Africans, and people of African descent in Ireland towards the Garda Síochána, the public was asked to respond to a survey.

#### 3.1 Attitudes towards the Garda Síochána

Only 31% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the Garda Síochána are human rights focused. 40% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed. Attitudes were similar among Brazilians and Africans and people of African descent.

31% agreed or strongly agreed that the Garda Síochána treats everyone fairly regardless of who they are. Two-thirds (66%) disagreed or strongly disagreed. Attitudes were similar among Brazilians and Africans and people of African descent.

Only 24% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement *'The Garda Síochána treat people who share my ethnic background with respect.'* Nearly half (46%) disagreed or strongly disagreed. 43% of Brazilians and 50% of Africans and other people of African descent disagreed or strongly disagreed, but the latter were more likely to strongly disagree than Brazilians (29% to 14%). Brazilian women were much more likely to disagree than Brazilian men (21% to 9%). There was little difference by gender among Africans and people of African descent.

Table 1 - The Garda Síochána Treat People Who Share My Ethnic Background with Respect

% (n)	ALL (n=172)	Brazilian (n=104)	African/PAD (n=68)
Strongly agree	7% (12)	7% (7)	7% (5)
Agree	17% (29)	18% (19)	15% (10)
Disagree	26% (44)	29% (30)	21% (14)
Strongly disagree	20% (35)	14% (15)	29% (20)
No opinion	15% (25)	16% (17)	12% (8)
Prefer not to say	2% (3)	1% (1)	3% (2)
Total	87% (148)	85% (89)	87% (59)
No answer	13% (24)	15% (15)	13% (9)

Fewer than one-fifth (18%) agreed or strongly agreed that members of the Garda Síochána are sensitive to cultural differences. Brazilians were much more likely than Africans and other people of African descent to strongly disagree (44% to 28%).

Only 8% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the Garda Síochána are representative of the diversity in Ireland today. Two-thirds (66%) disagreed or strongly disagreed. Africans and other people of African descent strongly disagreed more than Brazilians (49% to 36%), although Brazilians were slightly more likely to disagree overall (68% to 64%).

*Table 2 - The Garda Síochána Are Representative of the Diversity in Ireland Today*

% (n)	ALL (n=172)	Brazilian (n=104)	African/PAD (n=68)
Strongly agree	2% (4)	3% (3)	1% (1)
Agree	6% (10)	10% (4)	9% (6)
Disagree	25% (43)	32% (33)	15% (10)
Strongly disagree	41% (70)	36% (37)	49% (33)
No opinion	12% (20)	13% (13)	10% (7)
Prefer not to say	8% (3)	0% (0)	4% (3)
Total	87% (150)	87% (90)	88% (60)
No answer	13% (22)	14% (14)	12% (8)

Forty-two percent agreed that the members of the Garda Síochána are friendly or helpful. This is the most positive set of responses in the survey. Brazilians were more likely to disagree than Africans and other people of African descent (37% to 28%).

*Table 3 - Members of the Garda Síochána are Friendly and Helpful*

% (n)	ALL (n=172)	Brazilian (n=104)	African/PAD (n=68)
Strongly agree	6% (11)	6% (6)	7% (5)
Agree	36% (62)	35% (36)	38% (26)
Disagree	22% (38)	27% (28)	15% (10)
Strongly disagree	11% (19)	10% (10)	13% (9)
No opinion	12% (20)	11% (11)	13% (9)
Prefer not to say	1% (1)	0% (0)	1% (1)
Total	89% (153)	88% (91)	88% (60)
No answer	11% (19)	12% (13)	12% (8)

Attitudes were also more positive when respondents were asked to agree/disagree with the statement that members of the Garda Síochána are community-focused (31% agreement), but Brazilians were more likely than Africans and other people of African descent to disagree or strongly disagree (42% to 32%). Forty-one percent of Africans and other people of African descent agreed or strongly agreed, compared to 25% of Brazilians.

Respondents were asked about the effectiveness of Gardaí in tackling crime overall and in tackling crime against people of their background. Only 4% of Brazilians agreed or strongly agreed that Gardaí were effective overall, and 8% of Brazilians agreed or strongly agreed that Gardaí were effective in tackling crime against Brazilians. Thirty-one percent of Africans and people of African descent agreed or strongly agreed that Gardaí were effective overall, compared to 23% in respect of crimes against people who shared their background. Seventy-seven percent of Brazilians disagreed or strongly disagreed that the Garda Síochána are effective in tackling crime overall, compared to 37% of Africans and people of African descent. Eight percent of Brazilians disagreed or strongly disagreed that the Garda Síochána are effective in tackling crime against people of their background, compared to 46% of Africans and other people of African descent.

Just 13% of Brazilians and 31% of Africans or people of African descent agreed or strongly agreed that Gardaí listen to the concerns of their local communities. Ten percent of Brazilians and 20% of Africans and people of African descent agreed or strongly agreed that Gardaí listen to the concerns of people who share their ethnic background.

Fifty-five percent of Brazilians and 40% of Africans or people of African descent disagreed or strongly disagreed that Gardaí listen to the concerns of their local communities. Fifty-four percent of Brazilians and 60% of Africans and people of African descent disagreed or strongly disagreed that Gardaí generally listen to the concerns of people who share their ethnic background.

Fourteen percent of Brazilians and 28% of African and people of African descent described the presence of the Garda Síochána in their area as 'enough'. Sixty percent of Brazilians felt there were 'not enough', compared to 38% of Africans and other people of African descent. Only 4% of both groups described the Garda presence as 'too much'.

Most participants in both groups perceived Garda treatment of people sharing their ethnic background as stricter, compared to people of other ethnic backgrounds (55% and 60% respectively). Just 15% of Brazilians and 14% of Africans and other people of African descent perceived their treatment as the same as, or less strict than, other groups (27% no response).

Brazilians, Africans and other people of African descent largely disagreed that they would be treated fairly if they made a complaint to the Garda Síochána. Just 17% of Brazilians said they would be treated fairly, compared to 63% who believed they would not. Just 22% of Africans and other people of African descent believed they would be treated fairly, compared to 57% who believed they would not.



*Table 4 - Do You Believe You Would Be Treated Fairly if You Made a Complaint about the Garda Síochána?*

% (n)	ALL (n=172)	Brazilian (n=104)	African/PAD (n=68)
Yes	19% (32)	16% (17)	22% (15)
No	59% (102)	61% (63)	57% (39)
No opinion	6% (11)	7% (7)	6% (4)
Prefer not to say	1% (2)	1% (1)	1% (1)
Total	85% (147)	85% (88)	87% (59)

### 3.2 Awareness of Key Rights

The survey questions on awareness of key rights were designed to establish if, and to what extent, people of African or Brazilian background are aware of their rights in respect of stops, searches, custody and how they can submit complaints against members of the Garda Síochána. Figures are a percentage of those who answered each question.

Fifty percent of Brazilians, but only 29% of Africans and other people of African descent, were aware that they must give a name and address if asked for it on the street by a Garda. Twenty percent of Brazilians and 29% of Africans and other people of African descent were unaware of this.

Sixty-five percent of Brazilians and 57% of Africans and people of African descent were aware that Gardaí must allow access to legal representation to those in custody. Three percent of Brazilians and 1% of Africans and other people of African descent were unaware of this obligation.

Sixty-five percent of Brazilians and 51% of Africans and other people of African descent were aware that a person has the right not to answer questions by a Garda. Four percent of Brazilians and 7% of Africans and other people of African descent were unaware of this right.

Seventy-five percent of Brazilians and 78% of Africans and other people of African descent were aware that a person has the right to know what charge is being made against them before questioning.

Seventy percent of Brazilians and 65% of Africans and other people of African descent were aware that a person has the right to a written statement of charges against them.

Thirty-nine percent of Brazilians and 29% of Africans and other people of African descent correctly identified that a person does not have the right to refuse a search by Gardaí of their clothes and body. However, a significant proportion (37% of Brazilians and 49% of Africans and other people of African descent) incorrectly believed that they did have that right.

Survey respondents were asked to which of the following bodies a formal complaint could be made about Garda conduct: the Garda Ombudsman (GSOC); the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission (IHREC); the Policing Authority (the Authority); the Policing Inspectorate;



the iReport.ie racist incident reporting system. Respondents were invited to tick as many as they thought applied or to choose a 'Don't know' option. Of those who responded to this question, 48% of Brazilians and 71% of Africans and other people of African descent correctly identified the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission (GSOC). Forty percent of respondents also selected IHREC, 19% selected the Authority, 15% selected the Garda Inspectorate, and 31% selected iReport.ie, with only slight differences between the two groups. None of these latter organisations can investigate formal complaints about Garda conduct.

Thirty-three percent of Brazilians and 53% of Africans and other people of African descent identified GSOC as independent of the Garda Síochána. Seventy percent of Brazilians and 72% of Africans and other people of African descent correctly identified that a person has the right to see a doctor if they are in custody.

Respondents were asked to identify when a person has the right to an interpreter in custody. Forty-six percent of Brazilians and 34% of Africans and other people of African descent indicated when a person is 'not fluent', while 26% and 43% indicated when a person cannot understand basic English. Five percent of Brazilians and 1% of Africans and other people of African descent incorrectly believed there was no right to an interpreter.

Overall, the respondents who answered this section of the survey showed a reasonably high rate of awareness of their rights in respect of stops, searches, custody and complaints. A particular exception to this relates to a persons' right to refuse a search by Gardaí of their clothes and body. This was the area of lowest awareness among both Africans and people of African descent, and Brazilians. The largest difference between the groups relates to the very low awareness among Africans and people of African descent about the need to give a name and address if asked for it on the street by a Garda, although Brazilians also had a relatively low awareness rate in this regard. Africans and people of African descent were much more familiar with GSOC than Brazilians. However, the response rates in this section of the survey were lower than other parts of the survey by between 23 and 35%. There is no clear reason why this might have been, and it may be that some respondents chose not to answer because they had a lower knowledge of their rights, especially when they chose to answer some parts of this section and not others.

## 4 Experiences of Reporting and Victim Support

The EU Victims' Rights Directive sets out a range of requirements for the state to implement. These include the need for all victims of crime to receive information about their rights and procedures on first contact, to be protected during investigations and criminal proceedings, and to be provided with information about the outcomes of a report (including decisions not to investigate or to prosecute). This is implemented in Ireland through the Criminal Justice (Victims of Crime) Act 2017, and the obligations apply to all crimes and all victims.

For racist crimes, the ECRI General Policy Recommendation No 11 on Combating Racism and Racial Discrimination (Council of Europe, 2007) recommended that states ensure the thorough investigation of racist offences. These investigations should include consideration of any underlying racist motivations, the establishment of a comprehensive system for recording and monitoring racist incidents, and the encouragement of victims and witnesses to report such incidents.

Data from the surveys, interviews, and focus groups highlights the dismissal of reports, delayed investigations and lack of follow-up, the refusal of evidence and services, poor treatment of victims, and varying levels of support based on the severity of the crime.

Following Locard's exchange principle, whereby '*every contact leaves a trace*', the overall experience of minority ethnic groups in their interactions with Gardaí when reporting crimes, and when following up on their reports, leaves an impression on individuals and their communities (Locard, as quoted. in Mummery, 2021).

### 4.1 Reported Crime

Among the survey respondents, 44% of Brazilians and 49% of Africans and other people of African descent had reported a crime to the Garda Síochána, while 40% of respondents had never reported a crime to the Garda Síochána. Seventeen percent of Brazilians and 21% of Africans and other people of African descent had reported a crime in the 12 months prior to the survey.

*Table 5 - Experiences of Reporting a Crime to the Garda Síochána*

Have you reported a crime to the Garda Síochána any time / in the past 12 months / in the past 3 years?			
Group	Survey - any time	Survey - last 12 months	Interview - last 3 years
African/African Irish	49%	21%	27%
Brazilian	44%	17%	40%

Among the 87 survey respondents who have reported a crime to Gardaí, only 14% of survey respondents rated their treatment as a victim positively. Twenty percent rated their treatment negatively.

The provision of information on victims' rights was the strongest determinant of positive views among this group.

*'I was robbed here a few years ago and I have nothing to complain about. I figured they wouldn't even listen to me because it was "just" a pickpocket, with no violence or assault. The Garda kept me informed at all times, investigated the case, found the person who committed the act and gave me an idea of when the case would be tried in court, they informed me that they even searched the person's home to see if they could find my wallet. Then a letter arrived and on one of the sheets it was explaining about the assistance to the victims.'* (White-Brazilian, female, 35-44 years).

Helpfulness and agility are among the main reasons for rating the experience as good or very good.

Incidents where responses to reported crimes were poor included vehicular accidents, vehicular theft and burglary, but also domestic violence, public order offences and assaults.

*'Someone entered our car with the key in the ignition not knowing my daughter was inside the car. The case was reported at the station. They stood around and laughed. They took a statement and never contacted us.'* (Black African, female, 55-65).

*'I was in a car accident. The ambulance and hospital filed a report. The two Gardaí that came to the scene did not file a report.'* (Black African, female, 55-65 years).

Survey respondents reported Gardaí promising to contact them and not following up, making excuses or otherwise delaying an investigation. In two cases, Gardaí refused video evidence of a crime. Four Brazilian and two African Irish survey respondents gave details of interactions with the Gardaí where their knowledge of victims' rights enabled them to access services being refused by the Garda Síochána. A victim of domestic violence stated:

*'The women's group had told me that anything that happened, I could ask for a record. And I had to beg them [the Gardaí] pretty much to make that record.'* (Brazilian, female, 35-44 years).

Among the 30 interview participants, 11 reported at least one crime in the last three years. Four of these participants were African or African Irish and six were Brazilian, and four had reported crimes on multiple occasions. In all 10 cases, the incident was recorded by a Garda, but PULSE numbers were only provided to four people. Three people were given the name of the Garda recording the incident. Only two people, including one who was reporting a sexual assault, were offered an interpreter. Four people were asked to sign a statement. Only two of the 11 were given information about their rights as a victim of crime, and three were advised on what would happen next. Five individuals received updates from the Garda Síochána after reporting a crime, and three cases resulted in a perpetrator being identified.

In three cases, Brazilian victims of crime were not given a PULSE number and were not told their rights or given the name of a Garda or contact details, but they were later contacted by phone for other reasons. It is not known if these cases were recorded on the PULSE system. In one case, the victim received an email from a Garda with an update, but when they next requested an update, the incident had not been entered on the PULSE system.

Only two of these 11 participants described their reporting of the crime to the Garda Síochána positively. During reporting, seven people felt that they were treated with fairness, but this did not correlate to a successful outcome. Two victims of crimes where a perpetrator was identified still felt they were treated unfairly during the reporting process. Despite seven people describing their experiences negatively overall, six of the 11 who reported a crime agreed they would report a similar crime to the Garda Síochána in future. Ten of these 11 people would advise others to report a crime (although not necessarily a similar one).

## 4.2 Assault, Threat and Theft

Eleven incidents of assault were reported to Gardaí. None of the assaults reported by participants were indicated to have had any outcome in the form of an arrest or charge. Four participants indicated poor or very poor experiences reporting and four indicated a delay in the investigation. The following reasons were given: (1) the Gardaí were slow to respond, (2) the Gardaí refused to come out to their home, or (3) the Gardaí admitted that there was no investigation after the report. Six participants indicated that they were allowed to give a statement. Two participants had been given a PULSE number and/or the reporting Garda's name. Three participants received a follow-up on their report, although in one case it resulted from the intervention of a non-governmental organisation (NGO). Two participants stated there was video evidence of the assault, but in both cases this evidence was not used by Gardaí.

There were three incidents of threat reported to the Garda Síochána by interview participants. Albert (African Irish, male, 30s) sees reporting crime to the police as '*pointless*', as he experienced a violent physical threat, and the Gardaí took no follow-up action. When Ekele (African Irish, male, 30s) received threats at work, he only contacted Gardaí on the direction of his superiors. '*I was very reluctant to do so because of my previous experiences with the guards.*' He heard nothing further and was never approached by the Garda. In another incident, a mother reported threats against her after she helped her daughter to report online threats. A Garda refused to take the report as the threats were in Portuguese.

Eight cases of theft were reported to Garda by interview participants. Only two participants stated that they received a PULSE number when they reported the theft; and only two received any update on the investigation from the Garda Síochána, with both having had their property returned. A Brazilian employee who experienced wage theft was told by Gardaí it could not be reported as a crime. A Brazilian seeking accommodation lost €2,000 to a fraudulent landlord, with no clear outcome from the investigation.

Paulo (Brazilian, male, 30s) has reported an assault, a fraud and a theft during 13 years of living in Ireland. None of these reports resulted in a successful outcome (the last was not even recorded by Gardaí). He feels his reports are not taken as seriously because he is not Irish, and he did not report the last crime he experienced.

### 4.3 Racist Abuse

Two interview participants reported vandalism involving racist intimidation to the Garda Síochána. Pierre (African, male, 50s), a community worker who has interacted with Gardaí for more than 10 years, supported a family in reporting vandalism to their car, and felt the proper process was followed. The family was advised of next steps and the culprit was arrested. Sinead (mixed-race, female, 40s) reported multiple incidents of vandalism, including racist slurs against her. A neighbour also called the Gardaí and received no response. After weeks of calling the Gardaí, and being denied the opportunity to make a statement, the victim contacted INAR for help. They received an apology from a local Garda Sergeant, who informed them that none of their calls had been recorded, and no investigation had been carried out. *'I was really shocked that all of this time nobody had even put it into documents at all.'* Following the apology, a formal investigation was opened, and the victim provided video evidence. They later discovered that the video footage had not been reviewed. There was no arrest.

All four focus groups perceived an attitude of leniency among Gardaí towards perpetrators of racist abuse and reported prosecutions as a rare outcome of such investigations. Both rural focus groups identified the town centre as a place where racist abuse was tolerated by Gardaí, and they received advice from the Gardaí to stay out of the town centre. As a result, participants felt discriminated against by Gardaí, as they were not protected while using public spaces. Participants felt this also increased their vulnerability to hate crimes at home.

*'The experience that people share with me is also that we really do not feel supported when we are the target of xenophobia in the streets, either by verbal violence or by physical violence'* (Brazilian focus group participant, female, 35-44 years).

Participants of the Dublin African focus group had a general perception that it was 'pointless' to report to Gardaí. One participant told us that victims of African background.

*'...are not taken as seriously, are treated with suspicion, and reports seem to take longer to get a response or be processed in general'* (African Irish, male, 20s).

Sinéad (mixed-race Irish, female, 40s) had reported several incidents, including harassment, discrimination, assault and vandalism. Following a report of harassment, she asked to be referred to a Diversity Officer (DO) but the Garda she spoke to did not know anything about the DO role. When she contacted a DO, she felt he was not well informed on racial discrimination. She received no further support from him. She decided not to report subsequent threats against her because she believed they would not be taken seriously.

Ana (Brazilian, female, 40s) reported a violent racist assault of her teenage son to Gardaí. The attack was videoed and shared online, identifying the perpetrators clearly. Ana engaged her own lawyer after Gardaí failed to investigate. A suspect was questioned but no arrests were made. She compares the treatment of her family by Gardaí with swift investigations of other violent assaults in the same period where the victim was White.

Maureen (African Irish, female, 30s) worked in a role where she often encouraged victims of racist crimes and abuse to report to Gardaí. Because of their reluctance, she hosted a forum

with the Gardaí to address their concerns. During the events, the Gardaí who attended were friendly and supportive, and took reports of incidents. But there was rarely any outcome from the investigations. When forum participants went to the local Garda station to report other incidents, they found they did not receive the same treatment. Maureen described the main problem as a lack of understanding of racism and its impact among the Gardaí.

*'When it's not your standard check box [crime], things that are very obvious, the Guards did not seem to understand the impact. So, because of that they were not sensitive and engaging with people.'*

In particular, she said that racist abuse and racist crimes were the most difficult to explain to Gardaí, and she felt little confidence in reporting them.

*'When they did report, I think the lack of support was kind of the most pressing issue. And because of my role, a lot of the issues were racialised attacks or crimes. So, a lot of it was like, yeah, really the lack of support. And the lack of follow-up in terms of investigation. And even if they were heard, that was the end of it, there wasn't a follow-up, nothing was going to be done'* (African Irish, female, 30s).

#### 4.4 Reporting Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault

Survey respondents who were victims of domestic violence reported mixed experiences when dealing with the Garda Síochána. Among interview participants, 11 of the 25 described incidents of domestic violence or sexual assault. Interviews with both groups highlighted their perception of the Gardaí as ineffective for both domestic violence and sexual assault.

Interviews revealed multiple accounts of victims who felt accused, unsupported or discouraged from pursuing prosecutions, contributing to a lack of faith in reporting such incidents to the authorities. Six interview participants reported domestic violence to Gardaí; five of these were victims of the abuse and the sixth was a witness. Four of these victims described their experience of reporting as negative, and three stated that they were not given adequate support by Gardaí to make a report. One interview participant was told they needed to gain a protection order before Gardaí would become involved. Another was discouraged: because they fought back, their abuser could claim self-defence. A witness to domestic violence contacted the Gardaí during a violent incident, but the Gardaí took over an hour to arrive. Only one of these six participants indicated receiving a follow-up on their report of domestic violence.

An African Irish female interview participant reported two incidents of assault/domestic violence to the Gardaí, but neither was a satisfactory experience. She felt that the Garda response was superficial, especially given the difficulties in securing a safe outcome.

Positive experiences were reported by participants who had contact with Gardaí specialised in domestic violence cases. A White Brazilian female interview participant had recently arrived in the country and was pregnant when Gardaí removed her abusive partner from their home. She described being treated with kindness and supported over an extended period. As a result, she describes generally trusting and valuing the Gardaí.

*'When it's humanised police, that makes all the difference as well.'*  
(Brazilian, female, 25-34 years).

The Dublin Brazilian focus group reported several incidents in which Gardaí refused to believe Brazilian women reporting domestic violence by their Irish partners, echoed by experiences of interview participants. A Brazilian victim of domestic violence reported multiple calls to the Garda Síochána over an extended period, while Gardaí took the word of her Irish partner. Another Brazilian participant went to report domestic violence and claimed to receive good support until her Irish partner arrived at the station, at which point the Garda ceased taking a statement. The same kind of assumptions affected an African man who was presumed by Gardaí to be the perpetrator and arrested when he had called Gardaí about his Irish wife's violence against him.

Three Brazilian female participants commented that they felt that their Brazilian nationality was a factor in the poor response to domestic violence reports, and this applied both to White and Black Brazilians.

*'I was a victim of domestic violence during a previous romantic relationship. I called the Gardaí, but when they noticed I [was] Brazilian, they didn't even come to check what was happening.'* (Brazilian, female, 25-34 years).

Gardaí refused to record a report of online harassment of a victim of domestic violence by a former partner already subject to a restraining order. The incident was only recorded because the victim pressed the Garda to record their report.

A White Brazilian interview participant went to a Garda station with her two children, fearing for her safety from an ex-partner, and was giving her statement when her abuser arrived and accused her of assaulting him. Gardaí did not offer her an interpreter (which she needed) or give her a PULSE number. She secured a protection order. When she was later harassed by him by email and reported the matter, she was given neither a PULSE number nor the name of the Garda she had spoken with. She was told that the man had been arrested. When the case came to court, she was surprised to discover that the perpetrator's arrest had not been recorded and therefore could not be proved in court.

Both Brazilian women and women of African descent reported a preference among women in their communities to forego protection because of a reluctance to report partners who are abusive due to a perception that the consequences would be disproportionate for their partners, either in the form of mistreatment because of their nationality or race, or for fear that they would be deported if their document status was uncertain. Two participants in the Dublin African focus group described difficulties in the African communities they were familiar with in reporting domestic violence – difficulties regarding immigration-related insecurities and concerns about how police might treat a Black suspect. Both describe being aware of unreported abuse, in different geographical areas and communities, because of pressure within these communities to protect perpetrators from unknown consequences. In these cases, alternative solutions are sought on an informal basis, with the risk that this leaves many victims unsupported and unprotected. This perception is informed by the perceived discriminatory treatment of Black men by Gardaí in respect, for example, of police stops.



Despite this, one participant recalled several cases she knew of where families called Gardaí to get restraining orders against abusive relatives. The Dublin African focus group, mainly involving individuals under 40 years old, also observed a widespread tendency not to report domestic violence to Gardaí because of threats to citizenship and residency and noted that this left many victims exposed to risk.

Survey respondents, including a Brazilian woman and an African Irish woman, mentioned instances where Gardaí refused to take reports of sexual assault despite being present during the incidents or having access to CCTV footage.

A Brazilian interview participant who experienced a drug rape described her experience of reporting as *'dismissive'* and felt she should have been given more support. She said the Garda on duty accused her of reporting a rape *'just to get the morning-after pill'*. When her friend returned with her and insisted on an examination, physical evidence was found, and she was given psychological support. Some months later, she was invited to meet the perpetrator face-to-face at the Garda station. She felt this was designed to deter her from prosecuting.

*'They had called the guy to go there and then it was going to kind of be a confrontation between me and him. Then I despaired, I told them that I didn't want to go ahead with it, because I was going to Brazil. Then they got kind of mad at me.'*  
(Brazilian, female, 35-44 years).

Caroline (Brazilian, female, 30s) tried to report a sexual assault with her friend but felt discouraged by the tone set by the Garda they spoke to at the station and did not proceed with the report because she felt unsafe.

The victim of sexual assault reported being dismissed by Gardaí without recording the crime, after being told to repeat their account of the assault multiple times. The participant left the Garda station but returned. Upon examination, evidence was found.

#### 4.5 Confidence in Reporting

Bruna (Brazilian, female, 40s) experienced a racist threat during her work and was subjected to racist violence on the street near her home but failed to report either incident. She has had no significant contact with the Garda Síochána and believes that reporting a crime to the police requires foreigners in Ireland to explain themselves, to justify why they should have protection when Irish people do not have to do the same.

Francisco (Brazilian, male, 40s) feels the Gardaí overlook crimes committed against minorities, in particular violence against delivery riders.

*'Sometimes we think that no matter how much [crime] we register, it won't come to anything because we're foreigners.'*



A participant in the Dublin African focus group describes a further anxiety that underpins reporting:

*'If you're a victim of something, you are presuming that you're going to be met with a lack of understanding, regardless of the situation.'* (African Irish, female, 25-34 years).

For Maria (Brazilian, female, 40s), who has been in Ireland for nearly 10 years, going to the Gardaí for help is a last resort because of her experiences of being stereotyped by Gardaí as a drug trafficker and an illegal immigrant. *'Nowadays I don't want to even talk to them.'*

*'I've been there multiple times to report crimes (two times my phone was robbed, another time someone broke into my house); once they asked where I was from, then proceeded to ask if I wasn't sure it wasn't someone I know that robbed me. Another time they didn't allow me to press charges against a man who robbed my phone at the Luas station because I wasn't being 'careful' and I should have known better considering where I came from.'* (Brazilian, female, 18-24 years).

When Jessica (Brazilian, female, 30s) and her partner were witnesses to a fatal incident,<sup>3</sup> she was threatened with deportation by Gardaí.

Attending a Garda station was particularly mentioned as a deterrent to reporting by four African and African Irish interview participants, all related to treatment by Gardaí while requesting services related to immigration or passport documentation. Immigrants in Ireland from outside the EU are – unless they have citizenship – required to visit a Garda station to have their Irish Residence Permit (IRP) issued or renewed, a crucial step for securing legal residency and maintaining their status in the country. Irish citizens get passport applications signed at a Garda station. Seven interview participants described interactions in the Garda station for this reason as important in shaping perceptions of and attitudes towards the Garda Síochána. Poor service at Garda stations can have serious consequences for immigrants, affecting their ability to access employment, housing and social services.

Chioma (African, female, 40s) was renewing her Garda National Immigration Bureau (GNIB) card at her local station when a Garda called her *'a waste of time'*. Caroline (Brazilian, female, 30s) says she often sees people in tears after trying to get the paperwork stamped for their IRP renewals. Tawanda (African, male, 50s) has noticed that Gardaí dismiss others from the African community or ignore them when they visit the Garda station. Ana (Brazilian, female, 30s) says she was *'made to feel like a suspect'*, when Gardaí refused to sign her passport form because they did not believe she was entitled to citizenship. Kelechi (African, male, 50s) says a refusal to stamp passport forms for Africans is a common problem. Margaret (African Irish, female, 20s) grew up in Ireland but still had problems with her son's passport form. *'It seems like some Gardaí don't know their job.'* Joseph (African Irish, male, 30s) says that when Gardaí are asked to do paperwork for people of African background, *'They're very quick sending you away'*.

---

<sup>3</sup> Details withheld for privacy

Suspicion directed at people reporting crime heightens distrust in the Garda Síochána and reinforces perceptions of bias. In three cases, the person reporting a crime was treated as a suspect and arrested. When Rafael (Brazilian, male, 30s) observed a racist attack on a Black man in the street, and approached Gardaí, he was arrested for public order for refusing to leave the scene. He felt that Gardaí did not understand the impact of racism on minorities and the desire to support and protect one another.

*'That was the only time I was arrested. It is a pretty traumatic experience, especially if you know it is unfair, and you cannot have your complaint heard.'*

Rafael attempted to make a complaint multiple times before it was accepted, saying the process was *'complicated'*. The rural African focus group described several incidents in which reporting an issue to the Gardaí resulted in the questioning of the reporting party as a suspect and resulted in some charges being made against them unfairly.

Overall, 23 of the 30 interview participants stated that their experiences would affect their confidence to report a crime.

The perception that the Garda Síochána take reports of crimes less seriously when they are made by ethnic minorities or migrants was common throughout the interview and survey data, reinforcing a perception that it is not worthwhile reporting crimes at all.

*'I prefer not to make any complaints because they wouldn't take it seriously coming from a black person.'* (Black Irish, female, 30s).

*'I have already contacted the Gardaí several times to report teenagers robbing and breaking things in my local area. They never came to check. When an Irish neighbour reported a group of teenagers driving dangerously, they came straight away. I believe the nationality of who reports a crime matters.'* (White Brazilian, male, 40s).

The most common reasons given by Brazilians for not reporting crimes were: (1) low success rate of Garda investigations, (2) slow investigation by Gardaí, (3) being asked for immigration documents when reporting at Garda stations, and (4) being treated as a suspect when reporting incidents elsewhere. Twenty-two of the 30 said their experiences affected their confidence in providing information to the Garda Síochána.

Positive experiences of reporting were increased by having an intermediary, such as a high-profile member of an ethnic minority community, who could intercede on a person's behalf and was already known and trusted by the Garda Síochána.

*'It wasn't the language barrier. Just the confidence to approach. I see that a lot within the community.'* (Black African, male, 55-65 years).

Sixteen of the 30 interview participants stated that their experiences affected whether they would encourage a member of their ethnic community to report a crime or seek assistance from the Garda Síochána.

Twelve indicated that they would encourage others to report incidents to Gardaí, while four said they would discourage reporting. Reasons to discourage reporting included complaints and concerns that the Garda would take too long to investigate, low expectations, and being talked out of reporting by the Garda.

Most interview participants who had negative experiences of reporting crimes would still encourage others to report. Reasons to encourage reporting included: realising that hate crimes and discrimination are generally underreported, and participants want to contribute to the record, hoping to build trust between the Gardaí and the community, supporting accountability that may drive change, and supporting others to report to empower them. African participants were more likely to encourage reporting than Brazilian participants, and individuals with positions of influence in their community were more likely to encourage reporting.

Often those in formal or informal community liaison roles are asked to support others to report to Gardaí. However, of the three people who identified themselves in this research as having such a role, all expressed concern that the Gardaí were overly reliant on them to intervene on behalf of victims of crime. Tawanda (African, male, 40s) supported a family in reporting the vandalism of their car. He felt that his intervention in this case, as in others, ensured that the report was taken quickly, and that proper procedure was followed. *'If it wasn't me reporting, will it be the same? I'm always asking that question at the back of my mind.'* Another African participant in a community liaison role who has supported many people in the African community, as well as other migrants, felt his connection to the Gardaí has contributed to people having the confidence to report. However, he is concerned that when he has not attended with someone reporting, they appear to have had a less positive experience. Another African participant involved in community work for more than a decade was deterred from reporting to the Garda Síochána after his family experienced heavy-handed treatment from Gardaí at their home following a minor traffic offence.

## 5 Contact Initiated by the Gardaí

In this section, the data on pedestrian and traffic stops, searches and use of force is explored. These are all examples of contact initiated by Gardaí.

Pedestrian and traffic stops are among the most common forms of engagement between Gardaí and the public and they play a key role in maintaining public safety and order. These stops can serve as a preventive measure against potential criminal activities and traffic violations. However, they can also raise concerns regarding racial profiling, fairness and transparency, particularly if certain groups appear to be targeted disproportionately.

Searches conducted during these stops are another critical aspect of policing. They can range from a simple pat-down to more invasive searches, depending on the context and legal justification. The process and reasons for conducting searches can significantly influence public perception and trust in law enforcement.

The use of force is a particularly sensitive area, as it involves the exertion of physical power by Gardaí to control or restrain individuals. This aspect of policing is closely scrutinised because of its potential to escalate situations and, in some cases, result in harm to individuals. Proper training, clear policies and oversight are essential to ensure that force is used appropriately and only when necessary.

### 5.1 Stops

Gardaí have the authority to stop and question individuals in public places. They may ask for a person's name, address, and reason for being in the area. Gardaí may stop individuals for reasons related to public order or road traffic offences. Gardaí may stop and question an individual if they have reasonable suspicion that the person may be involved in a crime, such as theft or drug-related offences. Under certain circumstances, Gardaí may conduct a search of a person. Gardaí are expected to exercise discretion without bias, treating individuals fairly and without discrimination based on race, ethnicity or other protected characteristics.

In this research, participants described traumatic experiences, including strip searches, property damage, wrongful arrests and lasting psychological impacts. Breaches of policing standards included discriminatory behaviour, excessive force, lack of transparency, unlawful searches and vexatious charges. Stops perceived as unfair not only affect individuals but also their families and communities (Warren, 2011). This may lead to widespread distrust in the Garda Síochána. Allegations of unfair treatment are, in some cases, leading to an overall perception that contacting Gardaí for any reason, particularly by ethnic minorities, is not worthwhile and may even be unsafe.

Among survey respondents, 25% of Brazilians and 47% of Africans and other people of African descent were stopped by the Garda Síochána at some point. Nine percent of Brazilians and 19% of Africans and other people of African descent had been stopped in the last 12 months. Nineteen percent of respondents did not answer this question.

Potential breaches of policing standards were indicated by stops involving discriminatory behaviour, excessive use of force, lack of transparency and accountability, failure to inform individuals of their rights, unlawful searches and arrests, and vexatious charges, particularly for Africans and people of African descent.

Fourteen of the 30 interview participants (10 Africans or African Irish and four Brazilians) had experienced police stops in the last three years. Three gave evidence of vexatious charges against them following vehicle stops, and one during a pedestrian stop. Four complained of excessive force during the stop, of whom two sustained significant physical and psychological injury and one experienced vehicle damage and psychological injury.

Participants also described a range of traumatic experiences during encounters with the Gardaí, leading to lasting psychological impacts. Instances of strip-searches, property destruction and arrests without proper procedures created lasting emotional distress.

Survey respondents did not report being stopped as significantly related to levels of trust in the Garda Síochána. However, fairness in the reason for a stop and fair treatment during the stop were viewed as important elements, as indicated more clearly in the interviews and focus groups. Two survey respondents said their being stopped was racial profiling. Of the 14 interview participants who experienced stops, 10 expressed very low trust in the Garda Síochána, three (White Brazilians) expressed low trust, and only one (a community facilitator) expressed high trust. Three made complaints about Garda treatment as a result. Being stopped routinely and being stopped with any form of mistreatment are high predictors of low trust in police. Ade (African, male, 40s) explained:

*'Maybe they are just doing the policing once, but you as an individual have been policed three to four times in the previous weeks. But the police officer cannot understand that. They have the feeling that this person is overreacting.'*

### Pedestrian Stops

Looking particularly at stops of pedestrians, there are comparatively fewer examples of recent incidents. Three interview participants described recent stops in public places, but it was a widely discussed form of Garda contact.

Ekele (African Irish, male, 30s) was singled out from a group by a Garda while crossing a public street, the only non-White person in the group. He was told he would be fined. Months later, he discovered a court case pending against him for which he had not received any notice. Beatriz (Brazilian, female, 40s) has found herself the subject of immigration-related stereotypes by Gardaí on several occasions. *'Their first question is "Are you illegal?"'* Albert (African Irish, male, 30s) has been told by Gardaí that his physique is intimidating, and this has concerned him in case there is a risk of aggression by Gardaí. *'But they've got tasers and self-defence training.'* Marcos (Brazilian, male, 40s) has already experienced this type of aggressive response from Gardaí.

*'The Garda [Gardaí] seem unprepared at times, and that leads to poor outcomes, because the police start to lose their nerve, and they get more aggressive.'*

Both the rural and Dublin African focus groups mentioned concerns about racial profiling and disproportionate stopping of young Black men by police. Both groups shared examples of excessive force, aggression and abusive language by police when interacting with young Black males. In Dublin, the focus group was particularly concerned that Gardaí often treat Black children and youths as older than they are (adultification), questioning them excessively or using physical force (Davis, 2022).

A young man in the African rural focus group described frequently being stopped and questioned aggressively in search for incriminating evidence and said that other young men of African background in the town also experience frequent stops. An African Irish community worker expressed concerns about the way in which young minority ethnic people are treated as interchangeable by Gardaí in his area, whereby one young Black person may be 'confused' with someone else. Stops happen daily in his neighbourhood and are a common source of grievance for young people and their families. Tawanda (African, male, 50s) said:

*'When I hear young people from the community talking about the guards, it's that they're coming from the angle or the point of fear, rather than them forming relationships. But I think there's an opportunity for those relationships to form.'*

Being stopped frequently at a young age can have long-term effects on an individual's view of law enforcement and its role in society. Four adult interview participants spoke about how they had been affected by stops experienced when they were teenagers, in the last decade. Ekele (African Irish, male, 30s) recalled that he and his friends were stopped and searched regularly over a period of months. They were not advised of their rights. Eventually, a community worker intervened to address the issue with Gardaí and the stops ceased. Helene (African Irish, female, 20s) saw her brothers and friends being stopped and searched regularly when she was growing up. *'That needs to be worked on because we are from here. I've grown up here. This is home for me.'* Ruth (African Irish, female, 20s) who was born in Ireland, explained how she changes her accent, her posture and even how she dresses in public, and said,

*'I'm terrified of the Gardaí because of my experiences when I was younger. I change everything about myself for safety.'*

The poor treatment of individuals, including family members, during mental health crises was also a catalyst for reduced trust in the Gardaí. African and African Irish participants looked for evidence of specialist training and cultural sensitivity in assessing whether to trust police in these cases. These incidents not only affect the trust of the individual, but they may also have significant effects on the general trust of others aware of such incidents. For these interview participants, the death of George Nkencho in December 2020, and questions about the duty of Gardaí towards people experiencing mental health crises, was a repeated theme.

*'Since the death of George how I feel is, the Guards have this thing that Black people don't have mental health crises[...] There's no trust whatsoever. Ireland, this country has just changed. The Guards need to rebuild trust.'* (African Irish, female, 20s).

The same participant does not believe that the Gardaí understand the depth of distrust.

*'When something happens, you prefer your friend or your family members to come help you than the Guards because you don't know where it's going to turn, like a lot of people don't trust the Guards to be honest. So, they have that fear.'*

### Traffic Stops

Vehicle stops for African and African Irish participants, particularly young men, are the most common form of stop described in this study. These include being pulled over while driving, being selected at checkpoints for document checks, having vehicles searched for drugs, and several cases of excessive force being used towards the driver in and out of the vehicle. Stops often involve questioning unrelated to the purported reason for the stop.

When Joseph (African Irish, male, 30s) had his first vehicle stop by Gardaí, he was afraid, despite the positive approach of the Garda. His experience was good overall. The second incident involved a stop for speeding, which also adhered to standard protocol. Although neither incident resulted in search or arrest, each interaction was extremely stressful. He felt there was always a chance it could 'go sideways' with another Garda.

*'Before that incident, I never had any problem with the police. I never saw the Guards as being, I wouldn't say racist, but I think it'd be different to Black people, compared to others. But I knew it was in the back of my mind, because things that happened in America, you know.'*

Being able to close an encounter quickly is a way of reducing the risk of contact with Gardaí. Ade (African, male, 50s) described the precautions he takes:

*'I never leave the house without 2 IDs; national ID and driver's licence and on my phone a special folder with everything they need, birth certificate, everything to say – "Okay this is it. [...]" You make sure, as a Black man, that your car is in order, nothing is missing, you have everything, all the paper[s], you drive with respect, because every encounter is an encounter that can go wrong.'*

An African Irish interview participant (male, 30s) told us how he has frequently been stopped by Gardaí in a particular area of Dublin and questioned about ownership and the cost of his car. He noted that these stops disproportionately occur against Black male drivers in the area, in contrast to elsewhere in the city or country.

*'When they're doing a checkpoint, if it's just for road tax and insurance, they end up asking you way more questions. They always ask, what do you do? Where do you work? That has nothing to do with the road tax. And then they'll go, "Refusing to tell the police officer, responding to questions, it could lead to further serious notice".'*



Albert (African Irish, male, 30s) grew up in Ireland in an area where there were tensions between young people and the Gardaí.

*'If you're a foreigner, driving a nice car, they want to pull you over, they want to ask the first question, and they think they're doing it in a funny way: "What are you selling?" I know I have my licence and registration; I make sure I'm always in order when I'm driving.'*

The same participant described how, at checkpoints for tax and insurance, he will often be subjected to further questioning about his job and how he can afford his car. *'They're always trying to find something.'* As someone who has grown up in Ireland, he feels defensive of his equal rights as an Irish citizen and is more likely to question Gardaí about being subjected to stops or searches of his vehicle, although he is aware that this comes with additional risk.

Interview participants also suggest that if a person has a new car or a car that looks expensive, stops are more likely, as well as searches for drugs. One interview participant was so frustrated with the frequency of stops that he sold his car and bought a second-hand one that was visibly aged. The frequency of stops was reduced significantly.

Female participants were more likely to be passengers in vehicles that were stopped by Gardaí and described the treatment of their partners during these stops. Ruth (mixed-race Irish, female, 20s) has never been stopped but noticed how frequently her partner had been stopped in the previous two years. However, two interviewees reported being stopped when driving. Sinead (mixed race, female, 30s) was stopped at a COVID checkpoint and asked for documentation. She felt selected for a stop based on racial bias. When Margaret (African Irish, female, 20s) was pulled over by the Gardaí, she was very stressed by the incident because of what she had heard from male friends.

*'I was sweating, I was so afraid of that. [...] when I was stopped and pulled over, and the Guard was shouting at me.'*

Only one Brazilian interview participant described being stopped by Gardaí while driving. Maria (Brazilian, female, 30s) has been in Ireland for eight years. Her husband has been stopped many times, while she says she is stopped 'rarely'.

Older interview participants recounted numerous incidents, including more than 15 years ago. It is noticeable that, despite the time that had passed, these individuals recounted the experiences in rich detail, in particular the fear they had experienced. There was evidence of a clear psychological impact from the events. For Tawanda, a community representative, it was a vehicle stop that inspired his desire to work with the Gardaí to reduce bias.

The impact of stops affects more than the individual concerned, but also the wider family. Nine African and African Irish participants described in detail the impact of stops on people close to them. One survey participant described the vulnerability she felt in these situations:

*'Many countless stories of stop[s and] search[es] because my husband drove [an expensive car]. Rude and insulting. After a while we stopped reporting. No justice! No protection. We live by the grace of God'* (Black African, female, 55-65 years).

The Dublin Brazilian focus group raised concerns that interactions with the Garda Síochána repeatedly surface stereotypes of Brazilians as being involved in the sale of illegal drugs. Brazilians driving rickshaws are targeted for repeated questioning and drug searches, and there are accounts of inappropriate violence by Gardaí towards rickshaw drivers in these interactions.

Two Brazilian interview participants described being stopped while driving motorbikes. Francisco (Brazilian, male, 20s) is a full-time student and a delivery rider. He describes his encounters with police as frequent, being *'constantly stopped'* in his work. He has been stopped and questioned three times in the last three years. Carlos (Brazilian, male, 30s) is also a delivery rider and has been stopped three times. When he was stopped for running a red light, his bike had a flat tire. He was stopped by a plain-clothes Garda who asked him if he had any drugs. In the last incident, he was searched. Carlos was unsure if his rights were explained or if the Garda explained why he was being searched. He was let go with a warning. He felt the Garda treated him well in that situation.

During the interviews, participants described cases where they believed Gardaí took a heavy-handed approach during vehicle stops. An African Irish participant in his 30s drives an expensive car and is recognised and liked by Gardaí in his area. However, when visiting another area, he was stopped by a Garda who made extensive inquiries about the car ownership and began to conduct a search for drugs. The driver had a dispute with the Garda over his right to film the search. When he left the car, he was held on the ground by two Gardaí.

*'I was just in cuffs and sat down there, and I was pepper sprayed. They were trying to get it purposefully in my eyes.'*

Gardaí deleted his video of the interaction. His clothes were stripped from him. Once in Garda custody at the station, he felt safer because he knew other Gardaí there. Charges were made for speeding and dangerous driving. An appeal is ongoing. A complaint was made to the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission (GSOC) but rejected.

An African Irish participant in his 20s described a stop during which Gardaí smashed the driver's window while he was inside the car. He was told he was under arrest, but no charges were explained. He was put into a Garda van and his car was searched extensively. Nothing was found in the search. He was taken to the Garda station and told he was being held for dangerous driving and suspicion of driving under the influence. He was then strip-searched, and a doctor took a blood sample for drug testing. He was released without charge. Almost a month later, he received charges by post for running a red light and failing to stop when

requested by Gardaí. The arbitrary nature of both the stop and the search made him start to resent the Garda Síochána as an organisation and not just the particular Gardaí involved.

Traffic stops frequently result in prosecutions, which are the subject of common concerns cited by African interview participants. They require the individual to attend court to produce their documents. For those who are stopped regularly, the immediate production of documents to Gardaí has not prevented being charged. Albert (African Irish, male, 30s) described occasions of being issued a fine for not having road tax or insurance, despite both being in order during the stop. On every occasion he attended court to defend himself, taking time off work and thus impacting his professional life. He knows others of African background who have been unable to take time off work and who have therefore accrued fines and charges on their criminal record. Two participants expressed concerns that vexatious charges are included to diminish the validity of potential complaints against Gardaí. Several interviews referred to charges being put which were unrelated to the original incident, the evidence presented during investigation, or the information provided by the person charged.

## 5.2 Searches

Among interview participants, four described being subject to searches in the last three years. Two of these made complaints about their treatment to GSOC. Survey participants were not asked specifically about their experiences of searches.

A Brazilian male interview participant (30s) described a search of a house where he was staying. Excessive force was used by the Garda against the residents, who were accused of dealing drugs. The interview participant described the use of force as unnecessary and unprovoked. The violence resulted in physical injuries requiring hospitalisation for several residents.

A Brazilian interview participant described two visits by Gardaí at a house she shared: in the first, Gardaí treated all the residents with respect and explained fully about the nature of the search and their rights; in the second, the residents were all subjected to physical force by Gardaí before being ordered to leave.

A Brazilian (female, 30s) and her Brazilian colleagues were searched by Gardaí and questioned about their immigration status during a search in her workplace on suspicion of drug possession. This was done in public until they were taken away individually to be searched in another room, where they were *'almost naked'*. Strip-searches are permitted under Irish law insofar as they do not constitute harassment and should ordinarily be in a Garda station. A member of the Garda Síochána also made a threat about deportation to those who were subjected to the search. Every member of the group was asked to produce immigration documents.

*'I didn't hear any rights. I was definitely convinced that I had no rights in that moment. ... I was very, very traumatised after the situation. Even nowadays I don't want to even talk to them [the Garda Síochána].'*

The group considered taking action to publicise the problem, or to take a complaint to GSOC, but considered it to be too big a risk. The participant decided not to make a complaint to GSOC because it might put her and her family at further risk of police harassment. She changed professions afterwards because of the impact of the event on her.

## 5.3 Excessive Force

The Garda Síochána are entitled to use 'reasonable force' in the exercise of their powers. Excessive use of force is one of the main types of allegations categorised as 'abuse of authority'. Around one-fifth of complaints to GSOC annually relate to this type of allegation (GSOC, 2023b). Interview participants in this study described several further cases in which they believed that Gardaí took a heavy-handed approach in stops, searches or arrests. These are in addition to the cases involving excessive force during traffic stops and the house search described above.

An Afro Brazilian male (30s), living in Ireland for 10 years, was arrested when he challenged discriminatory treatment by a Garda of a member of the public he did not know. He experienced verbal and physical abuse during arrest. Gardaí continued to verbally abuse him during custody check-in and questioned him about his visa status. He was held in custody for several hours and later released without charge.

An African Irish male (30s) who broke up a racist fight outside a nightclub was arrested with excessive force and experienced extensive racist verbal abuse while he was transported to a Garda station. He was also threatened with detention in Garda custody for the weekend but was released from the Garda station with no charges.

Knowledge of rights is no protection in cases of excessive force like those described above. In three of the four cases discussed (two here and two in previous sections), participants experienced excessive force after asserting their rights, for example, to know the reason for their arrest.

An African Irish community worker supported a family whose child had been assaulted by a Garda. An appointment with a senior Garda was made. At the station, Gardaí stopped the family from attending the meeting. They were informed that their son had assaulted a Garda, and that no complaint would be heard. The family pursued a complaint.

Use of excessive force was also discussed during the Brazilian focus group in relation to the conduct of Gardaí during evictions of tenants from rental properties. In addition, a Brazilian-male interview participant (30s) gave a second-hand account of a separate incident of serious assault by a Garda on a friend at his own front door, which resulted in the need for medical treatment.

Cases of excessive force by Gardaí on minority ethnic people can become common knowledge within their communities. Such incidents, particularly when viewed through the lens of existing perceptions of injustice, and 'stand-out' incidents such as the circumstances surrounding the killing of George Nkencho, reinforce and reproduce narratives about the brutalisation particularly of young men. When an individual experiences an injustice and an assault based on their identity, they and the wider community are affected in the same way as those affected by a hate crime.

Throughout this chapter, the use of excessive force, the escalation of minor incidents, and the repeated exposure of some groups to stops have highlighted the very unequal experience of policing faced particularly (but not only) by young men of African and Brazilian background. Revisiting our application of Locard's exchange principle (that *'every contact leaves a trace'*) to the social impacts of Garda contact with members of minority groups, we have already seen that a Garda's treatment of an individual determines the impression that is left (Locard, as quoted in Mummery, 2021). A negative impression reinforces the individual's general perception that members of their identity group are not treated fairly by the Garda Síochána, in turn reinforcing any community perceptions of unfairness and bias against them.

## 6 Experiences of Custody

Garda custody refers to an individual being detained by the Gardaí for questioning, investigation or processing related to a criminal matter. When an individual is arrested by Gardaí, regardless of the location or circumstance, they are taken into custody and taken to a Garda station for questioning or processing. Garda custody therefore can apply from the moment of arrest. Once in Garda custody, the individual's rights under Irish law take effect. These include the right to legal representation, the right to have a third party informed of their detention, and the right to medical care if necessary. This also includes being informed of the reasons for the arrest and their legal rights. The Garda Síochána Inspectorate (2021) has noted that *'The decision to deprive a person of their liberty is a significant interference with their rights under the Constitution and the European Convention on Human Rights.'*

Yvonne Daly (2024) notes that the custody stage of the criminal process is *'of extreme importance, not only in the sense of ensuring procedural fairness and the accuracy of criminal justice outcomes but also in terms of the impact on individuals of how they are treated by the agents of the state at this point'*.

Three percent of Brazilian survey respondents and 9% of Africans and other people of African descent indicated that they had been detained by the Garda Síochána.

Among the 30 interview participants, seven had experienced custody in the last three years. Four of these were African or African Irish and three were Brazilian. All were male. Custody experiences among interview participants highlighted various challenges and concerns, including lack of rights and fair treatment, instances of mistreatment, and difficulties in making complaints.

None of them felt that they were treated with fairness while in custody. Six were told why they were in custody, one was given information about their rights, and only one felt they were granted their rights in custody. Two interview participants were told they had a right to a solicitor. Four interviewees were not informed. None asked for a solicitor or had a solicitor with them during the interview. The Criminal Justice Act 1984 (the 1984 Act) and the Criminal Justice Act 1984 (Treatment of Persons in Custody in Garda Síochána Stations) Regulations 1987 and 2006 (the Custody Regulations) provide that where a person is arrested/detained at a Garda station they must be informed that they are entitled to consult a solicitor.

Three of the seven interview participants who had been held in custody were told they had a right to complain about their treatment in custody. Four made a complaint or intended to do so.

An African Irish participant described clearly her brother's experience after he was arrested by Gardaí during a vehicle stop and search. During the three hours he spent in a cell at the Garda station after arrest, he was not told his rights or allowed a phone call. Another Garda recognised the young man and released him, but charges were later brought against him for resisting arrest and other offences. A complaint has been filed about this case.

Mistreatment during arrest was more commonly reported than mistreatment in police custody at a Garda station. Examples of mistreatment included cases of arrest following racial profiling, excessive force used during arrests, threats of escalation, and challenges around recording interactions with the Gardaí. However, there was some positive feedback on the role of senior staff in Garda stations who oversee custody in that location.

Albert (African Irish, male, 20s) was arrested for a public order offence after being a victim of racist abuse with several others, all of African background. He was taken to a Garda station, experiencing racist abuse from more than one Garda during the journey. When Albert questioned why only Black people had been arrested, the Garda threatened to keep him in custody for the full weekend. He was released from custody and no charges were made.

Andre (African Irish, male, 20s) was arrested after his vehicle was stopped on suspicion of drug possession. He described being seriously assaulted by two Gardaí during his arrest. No evidence was found to support a charge of drug possession, and he was released. He later received charges for public order and traffic offences.

Ekele (African Irish, male, 20s) was arrested for jaywalking and taken to a Garda station by van. This event had a significant impact on his trust because of the sudden escalation in response, and an unnotified charge that followed his release from custody *'with no charge'*.

Joseph (African Irish, male, 30s) was pulled over for running a red light. His arrest involved force and verbal abuse during transfer to the Garda station. Once in custody, he was treated according to protocol. He was released without charge but had to receive medical and psychological treatment after the incident, as did another family member in the car.

Rafael (Brazilian, male, 20s) called the Garda Síochána to attend an incident of discrimination and assault. He was arrested for a public order offence and was questioned without being offered access to legal advice.

*'That was the only time I was arrested. It is a pretty traumatic experience, especially if you know it is unfair, and you cannot have your complaint heard.'*

Paulo (Brazilian, male, 20s) was arrested at home. Gardaí told him that he would need €5,000 and he could pay them straight away or pay it in court. He was concerned that the Gardaí were asking for a bribe. In the station, he spent five hours in a cell without food or water and was neither allowed to call anyone nor informed of his rights. He was not clear what the charges were against him but was later convicted and received a short prison sentence.

Joao (Brazilian, male, 30s) recorded an interaction between police and another person and was arrested. He was not informed of his rights at any stage; nor was he offered an interpreter. He was held in custody for several hours, during which Gardaí made derogatory comments about his immigration status. He was released without charge.



African Irish participants particularly noted the impact of repeated experiences of custody on the community's relationship with Gardaí. The death in Garda custody of Mauricio de Camargo had a significant impact on the perceptions among Brazilians of their safety in Garda custody.

The accounts presented here suggest three key areas for further investigation. Firstly, minor offences such as jaywalking and traffic offences escalate rapidly to arrest and detention; and the use of force in these incidents is of particular concern. Secondly, the rights of people held in Garda custody are not made adequately clear. Thirdly, there is evidence of mistreatment including racial abuse and threats by Gardaí. These not only undermine the dignity of the person in custody but are a direct contravention of the Garda Code of Ethics and may constitute criminal offences in themselves.

## 7 Complaints

The Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission (GSOC) deals with complaints from the public about members of the Garda Síochána. Anyone can make a complaint to GSOC about the behaviour of a Garda if they have been directly affected by it or if they have witnessed the behaviour.

GSOC has been featured in the national media regarding racial discrimination by serving Gardaí in a small number of cases (Irish Independent, 3 September 2023; Irish Examiner, 6 February 2019), which has raised its profile in this area. The most notable incident was the death of George Nkencho, a 27-year-old man of African descent, after he was shot by members of the Garda Armed Response Unit. Media reporting on this case has focused on the ability of GSOC to investigate the incident in a timely and appropriate manner (Irish Examiner, 29 Dec 2022), which the Irish Council of Civil Liberties described in their UN report (2022) as *'unacceptable'*. At the time of the interviews, the investigation had not concluded.

Few participants had made formal complaints. Among survey respondents, 4% made a formal complaint about the Garda Síochána, including 2% of Brazilians and 7% of Africans and other people of African descent. Sixty percent of survey respondents believed that they would not be treated fairly if they made a complaint. Participants in the rural Brazilian focus group described informal complaints being made regarding discriminatory vehicle stops.

A Brazilian survey participant was eight months pregnant when her landlord evicted her and her partner without notice. When they refused to leave immediately, the landlord called the Gardaí, who removed them from the property. The couple did not know how to make a complaint.

Participants in the Dublin African group generally did not know how to make a complaint and had no experience of attempting to do so, although they were aware of the name of GSOC in relation to the death of George Nkencho. Participants in the rural African focus group were also unfamiliar with the process for making complaints to GSOC and were unsure if it would make a difference.

Just three of the interview participants made a complaint at a Garda station or to a member of the Garda Síochána. Two were White Brazilian and one was an Irish man of Black African background living in Ireland since he was a child. Among the seven interviewees who had experienced Garda custody, three were told they had a right to complain about their treatment in custody. Four had made a complaint or intended to do so. Joao (Brazilian, male, 30s) did not make a complaint because he felt, as a migrant Brazilian, that his profile of migration, work and residence would be used against him. Despite having settled status, he has experienced deportation threats by Gardaí. Paulo (Brazilian, male, 20s) has not made any complaint about his treatment while in Garda custody and feels that his conviction would prevent him from doing so.

Rafael (Brazilian, male, 20s) made a complaint to the Garda Ombudsman about the nature of his arrest. He found the process complicated, and he had to submit his complaint multiple times. His complaint was dismissed.

*'The process of making a complaint is very complicated. I grew up here, know English very well, but it was confusing for me. Can you imagine for someone with language barriers and who doesn't know about how things work here very much? My claim wasn't accepted multiple times, and I had to try again. It was a lot of effort to get to the end and have my complaint deemed unfounded.'*

Interviewees described negative experiences of making complaints against officers and frustration with the lack of follow-up from GSOC. This reinforced a reluctance to lodge complaints.

Among those who have made a complaint, there was a concern about the extent to which they would be identifiable from this research. Participants discussed ongoing as well as completed complaints. Specific criticisms were made of GSOC's lengthy delays and the lack of independence in investigating complaints. The complaint process is seen as bureaucratic, lengthy, and unlikely to lead to results or accountability. This deters people from lodging complaints, especially marginalised groups.

Among the interview participants, factors deterring future complaints included a fear of future harassment by Gardaí, a requirement to renew their Garda National Immigration Bureau (GNIB) card, and the impact of a conviction on the success of a complaint. The involvement of Gardaí in the investigation of complaints by GSOC was noted by several participants as creating conflicts of interest and creating reasons for distrust by members of the public in the process. Pierre (African, male, 50s) supported a family in complaining about the assault of their son by a Garda. The boy was presented with a criminal charge when the complaint was made, and Pierre believes that the charge was made specifically to counter the complaint. Chioma (African, female, 40s) experienced verbal abuse from a Garda in her local station when having immigration paperwork stamped. Friends advised her to complain to GSOC, but she did not want to risk having a complaint on any of her records. Ruth (mixed-race Irish, female, 30s) is knowledgeable about her rights to complain, but will not do so because her job requires her to work regularly with Gardaí. Two participants in the Dublin Brazilian focus group were too afraid to complain about a Garda's mishandling of a domestic violence case.

Participants in the rural African focus group expressed a reluctance to make complaints against Gardaí, due to fear of repercussions and lack of trust in the system. Participants in the rural Brazilian focus group described their reluctance to make a complaint against police in Brazil, and how this affects making a complaint about police in Ireland.

In contrast to the results of the most recent public attitude survey by GSOC (2020), most participants in this research would not be willing to make a complaint to this organisation. There is considerable distrust in the independence of GSOC from the Garda Síochána. There is also notable distrust in the complaints process itself, exacerbated by incidents such as the George Nkencho case, which questions GSOC's ability to investigate matters promptly. Participants in the Dublin Brazilian focus group are very cautious about making complaints about the Gardaí, because they perceive some Gardaí as persistently behaving abusively towards Brazilians with impunity, a view shared by both the rural Brazilian and the Dublin African focus groups.

## 8 Trust

### 8.1 Determinants of Trust

Among survey respondents, those who expressed the highest trust levels in the Garda Síochána are those who had experienced the least contact with Gardaí over the last year or so.

Thirty-five percent of the total survey sample expressed low trust in Gardaí (rated 0-3), while 18% expressed high trust (rated 7-10), and 33% expressed neither high nor low trust (rated 4-6). People aged 35 to 45 expressed the highest rate of trust in the Garda Síochána and there was little difference by ethnicity in the distribution of high and low trust.

*Table 6 - Survey: How Would You Describe Your Level of Trust in the Garda Síochána?*

	<i>0 = no trust, 10 = complete trust</i>	Africans and PAD N=68	Brazilians N=104	Total
Trust	Total	%	%	%
	High trust (7-10)	18	18	18
	Neither high nor low trust (4-6)	38	30	32
	Low trust (0-3)	31	38	35
	Trust – no answer	13	14	14

Among the 30 interview participants, only four expressed high trust in the Garda Síochána. Three of these had negative experiences in relation to policing of immigration. None of the four had experienced a stop, search or other Garda-initiated contact in the last three years.

Twenty-three of the 30 interview participants expressed low or very low trust. Of the seven who expressed low trust, three had experienced no contact with Gardaí in the previous three years.

Of the 16 who expressed very low trust in the Garda Síochána, 11 were African or African Irish, and 5 were Brazilians. Nine of these 16 had experienced a stop in the previous three years, three had experienced a search, and four had experienced being in Garda custody. Six African or African Irish interview participants described a long-tail effect of discriminatory policing against Black people (particularly young people) on their trust in the Garda Síochána.

Positive indications of trust were generally expressed by interview participants who had good direct personal relationships with individual members of the Garda Síochána. However, they acknowledged the limits of these relationships and the influence that arose from them. Negative encounters with police, mistreatment during mental health crises, and suspicions leading to charges against individuals were cited as catalysts for reduced trust.

Margaret (African Irish, female, 30s), described both positive and negative experiences of police contact and high trust in a particular member of the Garda Síochána who supported her during a difficult domestic violence experience. Chioma (African, female, 40s), living in Ireland for 20 years, described a warm familiar relationship with a particular Garda in her local area, but after experiencing a humiliating incident at the Garda station with another Garda during a routine request for immigration paperwork to be stamped, her trust in the organisation as a whole was damaged irreparably. One Brazilian interview participant who was highly critical of the Gardaí owing to her experience in reporting domestic violence was also keen to say that she had an excellent experience in reporting stolen goods and received a lot of follow-up around this from an individual Garda member.

Trust in individual members of a police service, or *particularised trust*, is a well-established feature of the relationship between police and minority groups (Van Craen, 2012). For example, a minority ethnic community might have trust in a particular police officer who has established a positive relationship with the community. This trust is based on personal experience and interaction with that officer. Generalised trust is broader and refers to trust in the police as an institution. This means having confidence in the overall ability of the police to serve and protect all members of the community fairly and impartially.

Generalised trust can be influenced by perceptions of the integrity, effectiveness and fairness of the police force. Procedural justice is a crucial part of this and may explain why, among interview participants in both the African and Brazilian groups, high generalised trust resulted from two or more positive experiences with the Gardaí in interactions other than community engagement.

Joseph (African Irish, male, 30s) described the growing distrust he felt from his encounters with Gardaí. The unexpected escalation of minor issues in terms of the use of force or penalty has been a common experience in interactions with Gardaí. Of his peers, he said, *'I think most of them have had a situation like mine, just out of nowhere, like they were treated unfairly.'*

Ruth (mixed-race Irish, female, 20s) described how her friend experienced a barrage of racist slurs when Gardaí went to his home to arrest him, while his partner also experienced racist and sexualised slurs. Ruth observed, *'When other people know about those comments, it decreases trust.'*

Another important set of Garda interactions for recent migrants and for Irish citizens has occurred at airports. Ade (African, male, 40s) says the mental burden experienced during travel has a significant impact on him.

*'You are prepared to accept the humiliation because you don't want your children to remember an altercation. But when this humiliation is in front of your children and your wife, they see you regularly humiliated, they are stuck with that weight.'*

Caroline (Brazilian, female, 20s) first arrived in Ireland as a student but had to leave the country again. She identifies her distrust of the Gardaí as starting from this point. *'It was really traumatic, you know, for a long time, and I started to be afraid in a way I never had. You feel vulnerable, like you've done something wrong.'*

Incidents such as the death of George Nkencho were cited by a substantial proportion of participants as affecting trust among African and African Irish participants. The suspicion felt by individuals, coupled with repeated negative interactions with the police, led in certain areas to a collective resentment toward the police and the whole system. Pierre (African, male, 40s) says:

*'People talk about the George Nkencho case quite freely with one another – [for them] it defined Garda opinions about Black people.'*

Brazilians, particularly those in lower-income areas, described increased contact with police and negative interactions, including illegal evictions, as reinforcing their lack of trust in the fairness of police actions.

Gardaí who have treated minorities and migrants fairly are perceived as unique within the organisation: *'There are Guards [who] are doing good, but they're few and far between in this city'*. Working with the Guards directly, Ifeoma (African Irish, female, 30s) tries to *'differentiate between problems that are organisational and problems of the individual [Garda]'* but admits that it is difficult for people who do not have that relationship with the Gardaí. This is why, Pierre (African, male, 40s) explained, there is some resentment of the organisation, when there are also friendly and productive relationships with individual members of the Garda Síochána.

*'No-one I know hates the Guards... The Gardaí are possibly the most important service in a community – it's frustrating [that] such a powerful and important service is so absent [for us].'*

Among Brazilian participants, a significant lack of trust in the Gardaí was expressed across a wide variety of experiences and backgrounds. Negative encounters, such as unwarranted searches, intimidation and unfair treatment, have contributed to a diminished trust in the police. Brazilian interview participants feel that the Gardaí often fail to take their reports of crimes seriously and are dismissive of their concerns. Instances of perceived bias based on nationality or ethnicity contribute to a lack of faith in the fairness of interactions with the Gardaí.

## 8.2 The Absence of Generalised Trust

Building generalised trust often requires systemic changes, such as reforms in policies and practices that address potential biases and inequities within law enforcement, as well as community impacts and impressions. These can include changes in recruitment, training, accountability measures, decision-making models and community engagement strategies. Both particularised and generalised trust are important for fostering a positive and cooperative relationship between law enforcement and ethnic minority communities.

Participants in the Dublin Brazilian focus group describe caution and vigilance when they meet Gardaí, due to previous interactions with the police and the broader context of their experience as members of the Brazilian community in Ireland. They express concerns about being profiled due to their Brazilian nationality, leading to anxiety and nervousness in public encounters. Cultural and language barriers also contribute to their unease, hindering effective

communication and understanding during their interactions with the police. In the rural Brazilian focus group, participants were overall apprehensive or distrustful of the Gardaí. Some felt they were stopped excessively and none felt safer with the Gardaí around.

Participants in the rural African focus group expressed: anxiety that minor issues could be blown out of proportion, or that they could be stereotyped or treated aggressively; uncertainty about whether their rights would be respected or if they would receive fair and unbiased treatment; a sense that they have a lower chance of getting justice or being believed, compared to others; and concerns that interactions could be intimidating or threatening rather than helpful, due to a lack of cultural awareness from the Gardaí.

Africans and African Irish described how they changed their demeanour, dress, tone of voice and the places they visited to avoid encounters with the Garda Síochána. Maureen (African Irish, female, 40s) said, *'You're always thinking ahead, put everything in place, so you don't give them any excuse.'* For example, she points out, *'A lot of people avoid going to public places in the evening, because if maybe there was an incident, they'll be the first suspects. So, we try to avoid any interaction.'*

The African Dublin focus group participants agreed that they rarely go to African-themed music events, because so many of these events are shut down by Gardaí within a few hours.

*'It's a waste of time and money because it will be closed down just after you get there. And you don't want to get into it with the Guards.'*

The literature on policing and ethnic minorities has long included the concept of 'stereotype threat'. This term refers to additional psychological concerns that individuals experience when they are in a situation where they may be evaluated in terms of a negative group stereotype. This in turn creates high levels of arousal and anxiety and can prompt behaviours such as disengagement or nonverbal responses that can be easily misinterpreted (Kahn and Martin, 2016).

Ruth (mixed-race Irish, female, 20s) has noted in her work with the Gardaí that assumptions about certain ethnic groups strongly guide Garda responses to contact with these groups. Such stereotypes operate, she observed, to define who is the victim in any given situation. She observed that trust in particular members of the Garda Síochána was not sufficient to counter the high level of anxiety that attends interactions with other Gardaí. This anxiety is particularly connected to the risk of misinterpretation in Garda interactions with ethnic minorities, and the risk that minor issues will escalate rapidly.

*'Despite work to create diversity and engagement in the Gardaí, their demeanour has not changed. Things have not really changed, even with the Diversity Officers and all of these things. [...] When you're Black or Brown, there's no excuse. There's no "My headlight just went." You're going to get the full extent of the law, right? It's that kind of disproportionate [reaction]. It's not the same for the other side [White people].'*



Kelechi, a community worker (African, male, 50s) living in Ireland for more than 20 years, described incidents in which victims of crime he was supporting were treated as suspects, putting them at further risk from perpetrators as well as at risk of prosecution. Despite his community engagement work, his trust in the organisation as a whole is very low.

Pierre (African, male, 40s) described it as frustrating that Gardaí still do not appear to be equipped to work in a diverse society, despite 20 years of diversity work within the Garda Síochána. Many in the organisation still refer to migrants when speaking about people of African background, even though many were born in Ireland.

Tawanda (African, male, 50s) described how when he was delivering training to the Gardaí, he encountered deep discomfort among the Gardaí at the training around the idea of diversity and how they should engage with minority ethnic and migrant communities.

*'They are trained to police the Irish settled people. Most of them don't know how to engage with it [diversity].'*

### 8.3 Garda Outreach

Garda outreach to ethnic minorities in Ireland shows some positive initiatives and efforts to engage with diverse communities. Notable examples include Garda events, training and community events, and workshops such as those related to the George Nkencho case. There are also instances where Gardaí have organised football activities, worked closely with certain individuals, and engaged with diversity forums. These outreach efforts aim to build relationships, foster understanding and improve interactions with ethnic minorities.

Six of the interview participants (all African or African Irish) described participating in community engagement activities with the Gardaí. However, five of these expressed very low trust in the Garda Síochána.

Nonetheless, outreach activities were crucial for creating among newcomers a positive disposition towards Gardaí. Recently arrived asylum seekers in the rural African focus group described a warm welcome from Gardaí, as well as good experiences in Dublin on arrival. An individual local Garda visited the Direct Provision Centres, provided contact details, and followed up with personal calls to ensure that they were accessing local services.

Kelechi (African, male, 50s) found that organising events with the Gardaí involving young people in activities was a good way of reducing their fear and anxiety around the police. These events brought more than 100 school children together in community clean-ups while they chatted with Gardaí, thus allowing for positive community engagement and interaction between the children and the police.

When Albert (African Irish, male, 30s) was younger, he was involved in a football event supported by Gardaí in his local area and recalled it very warmly.

*'I think the only time we really said that as young Black men we were respected, ... was when there was the football thing. We built a sense of familiarity with a couple of Guards. But they don't stay there forever.'*

Tawanda (African, male, 50s) observed that Community Gardaí, and Diversity Officers (DOs) in particular, usually engage with events in the community when invited. Africans in the rural focus group highlighted the positive impact of community Gardaí building relationships through activities such as having tea in community centres and running parent programmes.

While Garda efforts to reach out to minority ethnic and migrant groups are commendable and have been developed over the last 20 years alongside the model of community policing used across the whole organisation, they remain insufficient as a model to counter the impact of general distrust among minority ethnic communities.

Ifeoma (African Irish, female, 20s) arranged for members of a local community forum to be trained to report crimes to the Gardaí. However, she felt very let down by the refusal of Gardaí to engage with their reports and their failure to record patterns of abuse and violence. This meant that there was no proactive policing response to serious and escalating issues of racist violence in the area, despite engagement by a local Garda in the forum. This highlights the differentiation she makes between community engagement and service.

Ifeoma described her vision of ways forward, compared to her experience of Garda outreach:

*'I would like to see Gardaí taking people seriously when they come in to report. I would like to see them offering victim support on a more regular basis. I would like to see them engaging beyond you know, an event – to see the Guards walking around, you know, being friendly, just on a day-to-day basis with people, because I think that builds that level of trust. When the Guards come in and do events, it makes a difference, but then will you meet that Guard the next day? [...] I think ... it speaks to a lack of cultural competency as well, and [a] lack of cultural awareness in terms of how various dynamics within cultures work. Oftentimes, the Guards rely on those forums and gatekeepers to get information about, you know, the cultural group or the nationality.'*

An African Irish community worker contrasts the distance between African communities and the Gardaí with the closer relationship that other immigrant communities have established.

*'I don't see the Guards create the conditions for the relationships to be established. [...] At work, we are trying to create those conditions to happen. But they are not happening as much as I would want to see them happening. The Guards would come in, have those little interactions. But I would imagine those interactions should spill out of the event or the activity, but they don't happen. It's only when they are in that space that they have interactions.'*

Four interview participants involved in community development work with African and other minority communities differentiated between the trust that Gardaí placed in facilitators or gatekeepers and the wider minority ethnic population, whose members are often treated as 'suspects first, victims last'.

## 8.4 Confidence in Organisational Change

The danger of this declining trust was raised by several African and African Irish participants in different age groups.

*'I started realising that ... [the reason why] most Black people that have this, I wouldn't say hatred, but this resentment towards the police is because they have these feelings, where ..., they realise that the police [have] a way of making you feel very like ... you're worth nothing. And then if you hold on to that feeling for a while, then you build resentment now, even to the police, but [also] to the entire system like that, and I was starting to become that person'* (African Irish, male, 25-35).

One Dublin African focus group participant said:

*'If I was to be subjected to any kind of attack on the street, I wouldn't go to the Gardaí or expect anything from the Guards. I view Gardaí a lot of the time [as] just taking advantage of this area, people that don't have tax or NCT because they can't afford it, there's a lot more Garda checkpoints. I feel that the Gardaí are just here to take advantage of the economic situation'* (African Irish, male, 20s).

Brazilians from a higher-income group and who are of European ancestry in this research described themselves as less likely to have had negative interactions with police in Brazil, and their accounts suggest that their first interactions with the Gardaí in Ireland are based on a high level of trust. Despite this, they describe being subjected to questioning and searches on account of being identifiably Brazilian, and experience abusive behaviour connected to stereotypes about drug trafficking and other forms of crime. A Brazilian focus group participant explained:

*'I feel much worse here, more afraid of the [Gardaí] in all situations than in Brazil, because my skin is clear [White] in Brazil, so I wouldn't be a specific target of the police, I would pass; here I don't pass. This is where you remember that you are not White'* (Brazilian, male, 25-34 years).

A Brazilian participant noted that his trust in Gardaí is also affected not only by how Gardaí relate to him, but also generally to the residents in the places where Brazilians live.

*'You just stop trusting and you become discouraged from ever reporting anything to them. You just lose confidence completely. There are a lot of conflict between the police and communities because of this lack of trust. In the flats of Dublin City, the communities just hate the police and that is because they [the Gardaí] can do whatever they want without any accountability. In Dublin you can walk one block and people will have a good relationship with the police, two blocks ahead entire communities will just hate them'* (Brazilian, male, 25-34 years).

Participants in the Dublin Brazilian focus group emphasised the vulnerability of Brazilians in precarious employment, who also experience a high rate of eviction from rental accommodation enforced by members of the Garda Síochána. There are few protections for tenants from illegal evictions, and the presence of Gardaí during these, including where there is damage to or removal of their property, reinforces a view among some participants that Gardaí will not treat lower-income Brazilians fairly in any respect. Brazilians were also more

likely to say that Gardaí need training to understand the experiences of migrants and look for tailored support for victims and improved complaints processes.

Participants in the African/African Irish group were most likely to say that they hoped for a more trusting relationship between their communities and the Garda Síochána. Awareness of the real experience of African and African descent people in Ireland is an essential part of this. Among African and African Irish participants, there was a collective sense that representations had been repeatedly made on issues arising with the Garda Síochána, but that there was too little change, and that police-community relations are overly reliant on trusted intermediaries not only in conflict but in day-to-day policing matters.

*'I live in a community where many people [who] look like me, and many people in the community, have had negative experiences when it comes to the police. And I am hoping for that change to happen where it goes from a negative experience to a positive experience'* (Ekele, African Irish, male, 20s).

In contrast, some Brazilian participants perceived this research as a unique opportunity to voice concerns about policing on which they had previously felt unheard.

*'It's a side that I never thought anyone would listen to, and now I see that there is a movement that wants to recognise what we have to say about our experience. And I think this is important to improve. That's why I think it's important to share how I felt. Before, I had the impression that nothing could be done, but now I know that... I don't know what could be done, but at least I think we can share these feelings.'* (Brazilian, female, 40s, focus group participant).

## 9 Conclusion

This report on the experiences of policing among Brazilian and African/African Irish communities in Ireland was commissioned by the Policing Authority (the Authority) to address an evidence gap in the existing literature on policing in Ireland. The research employed a mixed methods approach to gather qualitative and quantitative data, encompassing an online survey, interviews with participants from Brazil and Africa (or of African descent) residing in Ireland, and focus groups in both urban and rural areas. An online survey captured quantitative data about attitudes towards the police, experiences with law enforcement, an awareness of rights, and demographic information. Thirty interviews explored police interactions, crime reporting, stops, custody and complaints. Four focus groups, two with Brazilians (in Dublin and outside Dublin) and two with Africans or African Irish (in Dublin and outside Dublin), explored shared experiences of policing, trust in the Garda Síochána, and key issues demanding acknowledgment and resolution.

Two-thirds of survey respondents disagreed that the Garda Síochána treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are. Forty percent disagreed that the Garda Síochána are human rights-focused. Respondents also disagreed overall that the Garda Síochána treat people of their ethnic background with respect and that they are sensitive to cultural differences. A larger proportion of Brazilians (68%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that the Garda Síochána are effective in tackling crime against people of their background, compared to 46% of Africans and other people of African descent. Brazilians were more likely than Africans and other people of African descent to strongly disagree that the Garda Síochána are effective in tackling crime overall (77% to 37%). Brazilians were also more likely than Africans and other people of African descent to strongly disagree that members of the Garda Síochána are sensitive to cultural differences (44% to 28%). Most of each group felt that the Gardaí treat their ethnic group more severely than others.

The survey found varying levels of awareness of rights among the surveyed groups, especially regarding rights in interactions with Gardaí and knowledge of complaint mechanisms. There was limited awareness of rights such as the inability to refuse a search and the need to provide a name and address if asked by a Garda. Brazilians showed higher awareness of their rights regarding stops, searches, custody and complaints, compared to Africans or African Irish individuals. Notably, a lower awareness existed among Africans or African Irish individuals regarding the obligation to provide a name and address to a Garda when asked. Fifty percent of Brazilians were aware that they must provide their name and address if asked, compared to 29% of Africans and other people of African descent. Brazilians generally showed a higher awareness of rights and slightly more positive attitudes towards the Gardaí, while Africans or African Irish individuals expressed lower trust and perceived stricter treatment based on ethnicity. Awareness was relatively high around the right to see a doctor in custody, but there were varied interpretations about the right to an interpreter. A notable proportion correctly identified the Garda Ombudsman as a body for complaints about Garda conduct, but there were misconceptions about other complaint bodies.

Participants from both groups were highly concerned about the Gardaí's use of ethnic stereotypes in their interactions, unnecessary questioning, heightened scrutiny, and the rapid escalation of minor infractions. Interview and survey participants described traumatic experiences during stops, including strip-searches, property damage and wrongful arrests, which had lasting psychological impacts. Participants reported that stops sometimes led to what they perceived as vexatious charges, excessive force, and discriminatory behaviour, particularly with Black male drivers. The data raises concerns about racial profiling, fairness and transparency.

The use of excessive force by Gardaí emerged as a significant concern, especially when it was perceived as racially motivated or disproportionate. Excessive force was reported during traffic stops and public encounters, leading to injuries and emotional distress. These experiences not only affected the individuals involved but also reinforced negative perceptions of law enforcement within minority communities. The repeated exposure to these encounters has created a cycle of mistrust and resentment towards law enforcement particularly among African communities. The concerns of Brazilians often centred around language barriers and fears of being targeted due to their nationality or immigration status. Both groups expressed a desire for more equitable treatment and greater accountability in policing practices.

Interview participants highlighted a lack of rights and fair treatment during custody, with instances of unclear communication of rights, mistreatment and difficulties encountered in pursuing complaints against the Gardaí. Reports included cases of arrest following racial profiling, excessive force during arrests, threats of escalation, and challenges with recording interactions. Detainees, especially African or African Irish participants, experienced verbal abuse, lack of legal advice, and detention without clear charges. It is important to put these in the context of the already published ECRI General Policy Recommendation No 11 on Combating Racism and Racial Discrimination (Council of Europe, 2007) in Policing, which focuses on ensuring that policing practices do not perpetuate or exacerbate racism and racial discrimination. African participants reported more instances of verbal abuse, racial profiling and excessive force during arrests than Brazilians overall, but not more than Afro-Brazilian participants. These custody experiences significantly affected community relationships with the Gardaí for African and Afro-Brazilian participants.

Victims of crime in Ireland are entitled to certain rights and protections under the EU Victims' Rights Directive and the Criminal Justice (Victims of Crime) Act 2017. However, survey and interview data indicated mixed experiences with the Garda Síochána. Participants reported dismissals of crime reports, delays in investigations, and refusal of evidence, leading to frustration and dissatisfaction. Positive experiences, while present, often stemmed from explicit information on victims' rights and support from specific Gardaí. In the 12 months prior to the survey, 17% of Brazilians and 21% of Africans and other people of African descent reported a crime to the Garda Síochána. Both African and Brazilian communities encountered challenges, including being treated as suspects, having their reports dismissed, and experiencing a lack of follow-up. Some victims were not provided with essential information such as PULSE numbers or details on victims' rights. Incidents of racist abuse, domestic violence and sexual assault were not taken seriously, or victims faced dismissive attitudes.



Experiences of reporting such crimes varied, with some individuals discouraged from pursuing their complaints or facing dismissive treatment due to their ethnic or racial background. During this research study, the Council of Europe adopted its first-ever recommendation on hate crime and the responses needed to tackle it (7 May 2024, CM/Rec(2024)4). This is a welcome development that will require implementation at a national level in both policy and practice.

Ensuring the proper recording of crimes reported by minorities is essential for accountability. Participants expressed the view that perceived failures in properly recording or investigating reports can undermine trust and safety. Gardaí should standardise processes to ensure the equitable handling of reports and transparent data collection to identify patterns of discrimination or bias. Proper recording is key to addressing and preventing targeted policing practices, and continuous monitoring and evaluation of reporting practices can drive improvements. Follow-up and feedback on reports can reassure individuals and build trust. Providing consistent support for victims and witnesses is essential for the improvement of reporting experiences.

Few participants made formal complaints about Garda misconduct, often due to scepticism about the process's effectiveness and concerns about conflicts of interest when Gardaí investigate their own colleagues. Participants expressed fears of repercussions from Gardaí if they made a complaint. Complexities in the complaint process, including language barriers and bureaucratic hurdles, also discouraged complaints. This data should be considered alongside recent data from the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission (GSOC) showing increasing rates of complaints from minority ethnic groups (2023). This points to a need for further investigation of the 'hidden figure' of incomplete complaints. GSOC was perceived as lacking independence and effectiveness in investigating complaints against Gardaí.

The survey highlighted trust as an important issue. Overall, 35% expressed low trust, 18% high trust, and 33% neither high nor low trust in the Garda Síochána. Both African and Brazilian respondents expressed similar percentages of high trust and low trust. Survey results indicated that individuals with the least contact with Gardaí in the previous 12 months tended to express higher trust levels in the Garda Síochána, indicating a potential relationship between increased interactions and decreased trust. Fostering trust between the Gardaí and ethnic minority communities requires a focus on procedural justice, reducing anxiety, and building confidence. Improving cultural competence and accountability can help to address bias and discrimination, while clear communication and transparency are essential for ensuring procedural justice. Addressing instances of unjust stops, searches and other forms of unfair treatment, including the rapid escalation of minor issues, is critical for trust-building.

While personal relationships with Gardaí may create community bridges and open dialogue, it has not translated into generalised trust in the institution. Participants felt that the Garda Síochána have not fully leveraged positive relationships to foster broader trust within the community. They perceived that community engagement efforts to increase reporting and information-sharing in minority communities were not consistently matched by improvements in service delivery, rights protection or responses to risks from crime and poor conduct.



## Appendix 1: Consent Forms



Lucy Michael Research Training and Consultancy

Integration  
Diversity  
Equality  
Analysis.

### Policing of People of African Descent and Brazilians in Ireland

#### Consent form for Interviews and Focus Groups

##### Data protection/Participant rights

INAR is contracted by the Policing Authority of Ireland to produce a report on the experiences of people of African descent and Brazilians in Ireland. The report will anonymise all contributions and remove any part(s) which would identify an individual. Data will be managed by Lucy Michael Research Training and Consultancy on behalf of INAR.

With your consent, all individual interviews or focus groups will be recorded to ensure the accurate representation of your experiences. The recording will be destroyed after the report is written.

Focus Groups: You can excuse yourself from the focus group at any time without reason. Your rights are not affected in any way.

Interview: You can stop the interview at any time to take a break or to ask questions. The recording will begin again when and if you agree.

##### Confidentiality and anonymity

Your personal details will not be shared with any person or used for any purpose outside of this research. Your name or other identifying details will not be published in the research.

##### Further questions

At any time, you can request additional information about the project by email at: [enquiries@lucymichael.ie](mailto:enquiries@lucymichael.ie). Please do not hesitate to contact us.

#### Consent Form

Please sign below if you understand and agree to the following:

- I understand that summary data and anonymised quotations will be passed to the Policing Authority in the form of a report on the experience of diverse communities of policing in Ireland.
- I consent to the recording of this interview and allow Lucy Michael Research Training & Consultancy on behalf of INAR to keep the recording for up to 1 year.
- I understand that this interview is anonymous, and personal details will be confidential.
- I understand how my information will be collected, stored and used.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2: Survey

Policing of African and Brazilian communities in Ireland

National Online Survey

### Introduction

What is this survey for?

The Irish Network Against Racism (INAR) has been asked by the Policing Authority of Ireland to produce a report on the policing experiences of people of African descent and Brazilians in Ireland.

This survey will collect information about the experiences you have had with the police in Ireland. We will ask your opinion on the police service, and about any direct contact you have had with the police, in general, or as a victim of crime, or if you were stopped or questioned by police for any reason. This survey will take 15-25 minutes to answer.

What information do I have to give?

All of the questions are optional. We would like you to provide as much information as possible. You do not have to give your name or contact details unless you would like to be part of our interviews. If you have any questions about the survey, you can stop the survey and contact us for more information.

After the survey, you are welcome to contact us if you are concerned about the information you have provided. You can also withdraw information later if you change your mind about it. Please contact [research@lucymichael.ie](mailto:research@lucymichael.ie) with any questions.

How do we use your information?

We will use all the information collected from the surveys to write a report on a range of experiences of policing. Your personal details will not be shared with any person or used for any purpose outside of this research. Your name or other identifying details will not be published.

Can a person under 18 complete the survey?

If you are aged under 18, please ask a parent or guardian to review this information about consent and complete the survey with you. More guidance is available on our website. If you are a parent/guardian completing this survey with a person under 18, please review this information with them carefully to ensure that they understand what will be asked of them in the survey and be able to provide support after the completion of the survey. It is essential that the person under 18 has full information about the research in order to give their informed consent to take part, and that consent is freely volunteered.

Do you need help with filling out the survey?

If so, please give us your email address and we will contact you.

Email Address

1. If you need help filling out the survey, please give us your email address and we will contact you.

### About You

We are asking for the below information to help us understand the differences in experiences that people have with policing, by age, gender, nationality, migration status, etc.

You don't have to answer all of the questions, but we would appreciate if you did.

Your data will be kept secure and there will be no attempt made to identify you from this information. We will protect your individual identity by not using this information in any public report in a way that would identify you. We will not require your name, address or other contact details.

2. Who are you answering this survey on behalf of?

If you are answering on behalf of another person, please complete it with the person present.

Please provide their answers and not your own.

If you wish to add your own answers, please complete the survey again as yourself.

Yourself

Your child or children

A partner/spouse or other family member

A friend or neighbour

3. What is your age?

Under 18

18-24

25-34

35-44

45-54

55-65

66+

4. How would you describe your gender?

Male

Female

Non-Binary

Transgender

Other

Prefer not to say

5. Which country were you born in?

6. What is your nationality?

7. If you were born outside Ireland, how many years have you lived here? (In years or months)

8. What is your ethnic group/ background?

9. Are you a student?

Yes, full time

Yes, part time

No, I am not currently enrolled as a student

10. If you work, what is your current occupation or job?

**Attitudes to the Garda Síochána**

\* 11. How would you describe your level of trust in the Garda Síochána?

0 = no trust 10 = complete trust

12. How much do you agree with these statements?

The Garda Síochána are human rights focused.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No opinion Prefer not to say
The Garda Síochána treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are.	
The Garda Síochána treat people who share my ethnic background with respect.	
Members of the Garda Síochána are sensitive to cultural differences.	
The Garda Síochána are representative of the diversity in Ireland today.	
Members of the Garda Síochána are friendly and helpful.	

12. How much do you agree with these statements?

The members of the Garda Síochána are community focused.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No opinion Prefer not to say
The Garda Síochána are effective in tackling crime in Ireland.	
The Garda Síochána are effective in tackling crime against people who share my ethnic background.	
Members of the Garda Síochána generally listen to the concerns of my local community	
Members of the Garda Síochána generally listen to the concerns of people who share my ethnic background	

14. How would you describe the presence of The Garda Síochána in your local area?

- Enough
- Not enough
- Too much
- No opinion
- Prefer not to say

15. In your opinion, how strict are members of the Garda Síochána when dealing with people of your ethnic background, compared to people of other ethnic backgrounds?

- Just as strict (the same as others)
- Less strict
- More strict
- No opinion
- Prefer not to say

16. Do you believe you would be treated fairly if you made a complaint about the Garda Síochána?

Yes

No

No opinion

Prefer not to say

**Your Experience: Reporting a Crime**

\* 17. Have you ever reported a crime to the Garda Síochána?

Yes

No

\* 18. Have you reported a crime to the Garda Síochána in the past 12 months?

Yes

No

19. What was the most recent crime you reported?

20. Was your report recorded by a Garda?

21. How would you rate your treatment by the Garda Síochána as a victim of crime?

Very poor

Poor

Neither

Good

Very good

Prefer not to say

22. Why did you rate it this way?

**Your Experience: Contacting the Gardaí**

\* 23. Have you contacted the Garda Síochána in the past 12 months for any other reason?

Yes

No

24. What did you contact them for?

25. How would you rate the service by the Garda Síochána on this occasion?

Very poor

Poor

Neither

Good

Very good

26. Why did you rate it this way?

**Your Experience: Being Stopped by Gardaí**

\* 27. Have you ever been stopped by the Garda Síochána?

Yes

No

\* 28. Have you been stopped by the Garda Síochána in the last 12 months?

Yes

No

29. How would you describe your experience of being stopped?

30. Why do you think you were stopped?

**Your Experience: Being Detained**

\* 31. Have you ever been detained by the Garda Síochána in a Garda station, vehicle or another location?

Yes

No

Don't know

32. Please tell us briefly about your last experience of being detained.

**Your experience: Being contacted by the Gardaí**

33. Have the Garda made contact with you for any other reason in the past 12 months (e.g. contacted at home, invited for interview or arrested)?

Yes

No

34. If yes, what was it about?

**Your Experience: Making a Complaint**

\* 35. Have you ever made a formal complaint about the Garda Síochána?

Yes

No

Don't Know

36. Who did you make the complaint to?

37. Please tell us about your experience of making a complaint about the Garda Síochána.

38. Is there any other experience with the Garda Síochána you would like to tell us about?

### Your Rights - Do you know them?

We would like to know if you are confident in your rights in interactions with Gardaí. These help us to identify where the public need more information about their rights. It is very valuable to us. We will provide the answers to these questions at the end of the survey. You can also find them on our website [www.inar.ie/pabi](http://www.inar.ie/pabi)

- \* 39. I have to give my name and address if a Garda stops me on the street and asks me for this information. True False
- 40. Gardaí must allow access to legal representation once in custody. True False
- 41. I have the right not to answer questions by a Garda. True False
- 42. I have the right to know what charge is being made against me before questioning. True False
- 43. I have the right to written statement of charges against me. True False
- 44. I have the right to refuse a search by Gardaí of my clothes and body. True False
- 45. To which of the following bodies can you make a formal complaint about Garda conduct? (Tick all that apply)  
 The Garda Ombudsman (GSOC)  
 Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission (IHREC)  
 Policing Authority  
 Policing Inspectorate  
 iReport.ie racist incident reporting system  
 Don't know
- 46. The Garda Ombudsman is independent of The Garda Síochána. True False
- 47. I have the right to see a doctor if I am in custody. True False
- 48. I have the right to an interpreter in custody. If I am not fluent in English  
 If I cannot understand basic English  
 Not at all

### Thank You for taking this survey

49. If you would like to take part in an interview with our team about your experience with the Garda Síochána please provide your email address or phone number

### Your Rights - Do you know them? Answers

Question	(With correct answers)
I have to give my name and address if a Garda stops me on the street and asks me for this information.	TRUE You only have to give this information if you are told you are suspected of committing an offence. Gardaí must allow access to legal representation once in custody.
I have the right not to answer questions by a Garda.	TRUE
I have the right to know what charge is being made against me before questioning.	TRUE
I have the right to written statement of charges against me.	TRUE



	If you are arrested you must be told what for and about your rights under arrest. You have a right to contact a solicitor before questioning.
I have the right to refuse a search by Gardaí of my clothes and body.	NOT TRUE Gardaí can stop you at any time. If Gardaí have a reasonable suspicion that you have committed a certain type of offence, such as a drug offence, they can search you without your consent and before you have been arrested. This includes people under the age of 18. But, generally, they must tell you why you are being searched.
To which of the following bodies can you make a formal complaint about the Gardaí?	The Garda Ombudsman (GSOC) is the only body which will accept and process a formal complaint. You can also make a formal complaint through any member of the Garda Síochána and they must refer it to GSOC on your request.
The Garda Ombudsman is independent of the Garda Síochána .	TRUE
I have the right to see a doctor if I am in custody.	TRUE
I have the right to an interpreter in custody.	TRUE where the person does not 'speak or understand' the language of the proceedings, including having sufficient English to understand legal terms used.

*Answers to the questions we asked in the previous section*

*Further information on your rights is available at the following links:*

*<https://www.iccl.ie/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Know-Your-Rights-Protest.pdf>*

*<https://www.dppireland.ie/criminal-justice-system/letters-of-rights/>*

*You can download a pocket guide to your rights at <https://www.iccl.ie/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Z-Card-Protest-Rights.pdf>*

#### How we use your information

We will use all the information collected from the surveys to write a report on a range of experiences of policing.

Your personal details will not be shared with any person or used for any purpose outside of this research.

Your name or other identifying details will not be published in the research.

After the survey, you are welcome to contact us if you are concerned about the information you have provided or if you would like an update on the research. Email [research@lucymichael.ie](mailto:research@lucymichael.ie)

## References

- Abraham, T. 2021. 'Trust in the Police Has Fallen among Ethnic Minority Britons.' London: YouGov. <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2021/12/15/trust-police-has-fallen-among-ethnic-minority-br>.
- Albrecht, H.J. 2010. 'Race, Crime and Criminal Justice in Germany.' In A. Kalunta-Crumpton (ed.) *Race, Crime and Criminal Justice International Perspectives*, pp. 72–97. Palgrave.
- Ali, M.M., Murphy, K., and Sargeant, E. 2023. 'Advancing Our Understanding of Immigrants' Trust in Police: The Role of Ethnicity, Immigrant Generational Status and Measurement.' *Policing and Society* 33 (2): 187–204.
- Amárach Research. 2022. 'Online Garda Survey 2020: An Urbanised Cohort.' The Garda Síochána. <https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/our-departments/office-of-corporate-communications/press-releases/2022/august/an-garda-siochana-online-garda-survey-an-urbanised-cohort1.html>.
- Angiolini, E., 2017. Report of the Independent Review of Deaths and Serious incidents in Police Custody. London: Home Office. [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a821d1040f0b6230269ae98/Report\\_of\\_Angiolini\\_Review\\_ISBN\\_Accessible.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a821d1040f0b6230269ae98/Report_of_Angiolini_Review_ISBN_Accessible.pdf)
- Atherly, L., Hickman, M., Parkin, W., and Helfgott, J. 2022. Measurement of Potential Over- and Under-policing in Communities. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 16(3). Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paac025>.
- Athwal, H., and J. Bourne. 2015. *Dying for Justice*. London: Institute of Race Relations.
- Bačák, V., and Nowotny, K.M. 2020. 'Race and the Association Between Police Stops and Depression Among Young Adults: A Research Note.' *Race and Justice* 10 (3): 363–75.
- Bandes, S.A., Pryor, M., Kerrison, E.M., and Goff, P.A. 2019. The mismeasure of Terry stops: Assessing the psychological and emotional harms of stop and frisk to individuals and communities. *Behavioral sciences & the law*, 37(2), 176-194.
- Barak, A., and Tankebe, J. 2018. 'Racial Stratification and Multiple Outcomes in Police Stops and Searches'. *Policing and Society*, 28 (5): 507–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2016.1184270>.
- Binswanger, I.A., Redmond, N., Steiner, J.F., and Hicks, L.S. 2012. Health Disparities and the Criminal Justice System: An Agenda for Further Research and Action. *J Urban Health* 89, 98–107. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-011-9614-1>
- Bjørkelo, B., Bye, H.H., Leirvik, M.S., Egge, M. and Ganapathy, J. 2021. Diversity in Education and Organization: From Political Aims to Practice in the Norwegian Police Service. *Police Quarterly* 24 (1): 74–103.
- Bornand, T. and Klein, O. 2022. Political trust by individuals of low socioeconomic status: The key role of anomie. *Social Psychological Bulletin*, 17. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.32872/spb.6897>.
- Bourne, J. 2021. Mental Health and Black Deaths in Police Custody. London: Institute of Race Relations. <https://irr.org.uk/article/mental-health-police-deaths/>.
- Bowling, B., and Phillips, C. 2002. *Racism, Crime and Justice*. London: Pearson.
- Bowling, B., R. Reiner, and Sheptycki, J. 2019. *The Politics of the Police*. Oxford University Press.

- Boychenko, O., Szelei, N., Le Pavic, G., Shrimpling, R., Linthout, L., Keygnaert, I., and Verelst, A. 2021. *Safe reporting for migrant victims of sexual violence: mapping policies in Belgium, Ireland, and the UK*. Gent: Victim Support Europe.
- Bracken, A. 2022. 'Garda Watchdog Completes Its Inquiry into George Nkencho Shooting.' *Sunday Independent*, 16 October 2022. <https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/garda-watchdog-completes-its-inquiry-into-george-nkencho-shooting/42069687.htm>
- Britton, N.J. 2000. 'Race and Policing: A Study of Police Custody.' *British Journal of Criminology* 40 (4): 639–58.
- Browne, J. 2023. 'Written Answers - Domestic Violence. Minister of State at the Department of Justice James Browne TD. Dáil Éireann Debate.' <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/question/2023-02-16/8/>.
- Bruce-Jones, E. 2015. 'German Policing at the Intersection: Race, Gender, Migrant Status and Mental Health.' *Race & Class* 56 (3): 36–49.
- . 2021. 'Mental Health and Death in Custody: The Angiolini Review.' *Race & Class* 62 (3): 7–17.
- Carpan, C. 2022. 'The Adultification of Black Girls as Identity-Prejudicial Credibility Excess.' *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 1–15.
- Carr, J. 2017. 'Recording and Reporting Racist Hate Crime: Police and Civil Society Responses.' *Critical Perspectives on Hate Crime: Contributions from the Island of Ireland*, 369–91.
- Carr, R. 2021. 'I Can't Breathe: Race, Death & British Policing.' Inquest. <https://www.inquest.org.uk/i-cant-breathe-race-death-british-policing>.
- Carvalho, A.A.S., Mizaél, T.M. and Sampaio, A.A.S. 2021. Racial prejudice and police stops: A systematic review of the empirical literature. *Behavior Analysis in Practice*, [online] 15(4). Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40617-021-00578-4>.
- Casey, C., O. Doyle, D. Kenny and Lyons, D. 2021. 'Ireland's Emergency Powers During the COVID-19 Pandemic.' Dublin: Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission. <https://www.ihrec.ie/app/uploads/2021/02/Irelands-Emergency-Powers-During-the-Covid-19-Pandemic-25022021.pdf>.
- Casey. 2023. 'Baroness Casey Review Final Report.' Final Report. London: Metropolitan Police Service. <https://www.met.police.uk/SysSiteAssets/media/downloads/met/about-us/baroness-casey-review/update-march-2023/baroness-casey-review-march-2023a.pdf>.
- Central Statistics Office. 2023a. 'Census of Population 2022 - Summary Results.' <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cpsr/censusofpopulation2022-summaryresults/>.
- . 2023b. 'Migration and Diversity Update.' CSO. May 30, 2023. <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cpsr/censusofpopulation2022-summaryresults/migrationanddiversity/>.
- . 2023c. 'FY016 - Population Usually Resident and Present in the State.' Accessed December 14, 2023. <https://data.cso.ie/>.
- . 2023d. 'Press Statement Census 2022 Results Profile 5 - Diversity, Migration, Ethnicity, Irish Travellers & Religion.' Central Statistics Office (CSO) Ireland. October 26, 2023. <https://www.cso.ie/en/csolatestnews/pressreleases/2023pressreleases/pressstatemencensus2022resultsprofile5-diversitymigrationethnicityirishtravellersreligion/>

- Ceri, V., Z. Özlü-Erkilic, Ü. Özer, T. Kadak, D. Winkler, B. Dogangün, and Akkaya-Kalayci, T. 2017. 'Mental Health Problems of Second-Generation Children and Adolescents with Migration Background.' *International Journal of Psychiatry in Clinical Practice* 21 (2): 142–47.
- Cesari, J. 2009. 'The Securitisation of Islam in Europe.' Centre of European Policy Studies (CEPS). <https://www.ceps.eu/download/publication/?id=6238&pdf=1826.pdf>.
- Chan, J. 1996. 'Changing Police Culture.' *The British Journal of Criminology* 36 (1): 109–34.
- Children's Commissioner. 2023. 'Strip Search of Children in England and Wales - Analysis by the Children's Commissioner for England.' <https://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/resource/strip-search-of-children-in-england-and-wales/>.
- Coakley, L. and Mac Einri, P. 2007. *The Integration Experience of African Families in Ireland*. Dublin: Integrating Ireland.
- Coen, R. 2014. *Garda Powers: Law and Practice*. Dublin: Clarus Press.
- College of Policing. 2016. *APA: Stop and Search*. College of Policing. <https://www.college.police.uk/app/stop-and-search/fair>.
- Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland. 2018. 'The Future of Policing in Ireland.' <http://policereform.ie/en/polref/pages/pb18000006>.
- Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. 2011. 'Concluding Observations on the Combined Third to Fourth Reports of Ireland.' CERD/C/IRL/CO/3-4.
- . 2020. 'Concluding Observations on the Combined Fifth to Ninth Reports of Ireland.' CERD/C/IRL/CO/5-9.
- Conneely, A. 2021. '94% of Those Involved in Prostitution in Ireland Are Migrant Women.' *RTE*, 21 June 2021. <https://www.rte.ie/news/2021/0621/1229485-nwci-migrant-women/>.
- Conway, V. 2015. 'Human Rights and Policing in Ireland.' *International Human Rights: Perspectives from Ireland*, pp. 341.
- Conway, V., Daly, Y., and McEvoy, G. 2021. 'Interpretation in Police Stations: Lawyers' Perspectives on Rights and Realities.' *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 13 (3): 606–28. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhuman/huab035>.
- Cooke, A. N., and Halberstadt, A.G. 2021. 'Adultification, Anger Bias, and Adults' Different Perceptions of Black and White Children.' *Cognition and Emotion* 35 (7): 1416–22.
- Council of Europe. 2007. *ECRI General Policy Recommendation No 11 on Combating Racism and Racial Discrimination*. CRI (2007) 39. Strasbourg.
- . 1950. *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*.
- . 2008. *EU Framework Decision on Combating Certain Forms and Expressions of Racism and Xenophobia by Means of Criminal Law*. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/summary/framework-decision-on-combating-certain-forms-and-expressions-of-racism-and-xenophobia-by-means-of-criminal-law.html>.
- . 2019. 'Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities - Fourth Opinion on Ireland.' [https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/news/-/asset\\_publisher/d4ZbHbFMMxCR/content/ireland-publication-of-the-4th-advisory-committee-opinion](https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/news/-/asset_publisher/d4ZbHbFMMxCR/content/ireland-publication-of-the-4th-advisory-committee-opinion).

- . 2024. Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member States on combating hate crime. CM/Rec(2024)4. [https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result\\_details.aspx?ObjectId=0900001680af9736](https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=0900001680af9736)
- Crehan, A.C. 2010. ‘‘Appropriate’ Police Discretion and Indigenous Over-Representation in the Criminal Justice System.’ *Australian Journal of Professional and Applied Ethics* 11 (1/2): 68–80.
- Crowley, N. 2010. *Empty Promises: Bringing the Equality Authority to Heel*. Dublin: AA Farmer.
- Daly, Y. 2024. Introduction: Contextualising Police Custody in Ireland, in Y. Daly (ed.) *Police Custody in Ireland*, pp. 1-14. Taylor and Francis.
- Darko, N. 2021. *Engaging Black and Minority Ethnic Groups in Health Research: Hard to Reach? Demystifying the Misconceptions*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Davis, J. 2022. *HM Inspectorate of Probation Adultification bias within child protection and safeguarding*. [online] Available at: <https://www.justiceinspectores.gov.uk/hmiprobation/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2022/06/Academic-Insights-Adultification-bias-within-child-protection-and-safeguarding.pdf>.
- Davis, R.C., and Henderson, N.J. 2003. ‘Willingness to Report Crimes: The Role of Ethnic Group Membership and Community Efficacy.’ *Crime & Delinquency* 49 (4): 564–80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128703254418>.
- De Schutter, O., and Ringelheim, J. 2008. ‘Ethnic Profiling: A Rising Challenge for European Human Rights Law.’ *The Modern Law Review* 71 (3): 358–84.
- Decker, J. F. 1978. ‘Police Sensitivity and Responsiveness to Minority Community Needs: A Critical Assessment.’ *Valparasio Law Review*, 12 (3): 467–535. <https://scholar.valpo.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1657&context=vulr>.
- Dehaghani, R. 2021. ‘Interrogating Vulnerability: Reframing the Vulnerable Suspect in Police Custody.’ *Social & Legal Studies* 30 (2): 251–71.
- Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth. 2023. ‘Ireland’s National Action Plan Against Racism.’ <https://assets.gov.ie/250147/ff9dea67-ef0a-413e-9905-7246b5432737.pdf>.
- Department of Justice. 2022a. ‘Third National Strategy on Domestic, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence.’ <https://assets.gov.ie/228480/67b6e3af-a0d2-4d70-889f-0b1e2001995b.pdf>.
- . 2022b. ‘Third National Strategy on Domestic, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: DSGBV Implementation Plan.’ <https://assets.gov.ie/228481/69e48889-49ea-49d6-8143-982f6cc28bac.pdf>.
- . n.d. ‘Criminal Justice Public Attitudes Survey 2021 Results.’
- Donohue Jr, R.H. 2021. ‘Shades of Blue: A Review of the Hiring, Recruitment, and Selection of Female and Minority Police Officers.’ *The Social Science Journal* 58 (4): 484–98.
- Doyle, D.M., Brandon, A., Garrihy, J., Adanan, A., and Bracken, D. . ‘Sometimes I’m Missing the Words’: *The Rights, Needs and Experiences of Foreign National and Minority Ethnic Groups in the Irish Penal System*. Irish Penal Reform Trust.
- Elliott-Cooper, A. 2021. *Black Resistance to British Policing*. Manchester University Press.
- Ellis, D. 2010. ‘Stop and Search: Disproportionality, Discretion and Generalisations.’ *The Police Journal* 83 (3): 199–216.

- Equality and Human Rights Commission. 2010. 'Stop and Think: A Critical Review of the Use of Stop and Search Powers in England and Wales.' London: Equality and Human Rights Commission.
- Equality Authority and National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI). 2003 'National Analytical Study on Racist Violence and Crime'.  
[https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/264-CS-RV-NR-IE.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/264-CS-RV-NR-IE.pdf)
- Erfani-Ghettani, R. 2018. 'Racism, the Press and Black Deaths in Police Custody in the United Kingdom.' *Media, Crime and Racism*, 255–75.
- EU High Level Group on combating hate speech and hate crime. 2022. 'Key Guiding Principles on Cooperation between Law Enforcement Authorities and Civil Society Organisations.' [https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-03/KGP%20on%20cooperation%20LEAs%20CSOs\\_final.pdf](https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-03/KGP%20on%20cooperation%20LEAs%20CSOs_final.pdf).
- European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). 2007. 'General Policy Recommendation No. 11: Combating Racism and Racial Discrimination Racial Profiling and Immigration Control in Spain in Policing.'
- . 2019. 'Report on Ireland (Fifth Monitoring Cycle).' <https://rm.coe.int/fifth-report-on-ireland/168094c575>.
- European Commission. 2020. 'A Union of Equality: EU Action Plan Against Racism.'  
[https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2020-09/a\\_union\\_of\\_equality\\_eu\\_action\\_plan\\_against\\_racism\\_2020\\_-2025\\_en.pdf](https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2020-09/a_union_of_equality_eu_action_plan_against_racism_2020_-2025_en.pdf).
- European Council of Refugees and Exiles (ECRE). 2017. 'Ireland: Planned Opt-In to Recast Reception Conditions Directive.'  
<https://www.ecre.org/ireland-planned-opt-in-to-recast-reception-conditionsdirective/>.
- European Court of Human Rights. 2022. *Basu v Germany*.
- European Network Against Racism (ENAR). 2018. *Racist Crime and Institutional Racism in Europe: ENAR Shadow Report 2014-2018*. Brussels: ENAR. [https://www.enar-eu.org/wp-content/uploads/shadowreport2018\\_final.pdf](https://www.enar-eu.org/wp-content/uploads/shadowreport2018_final.pdf).
- . 2020. 'Policing Racialised Groups.' Brussels: ENAR. [https://www.enar-eu.org/wp-content/uploads/policing\\_racialised\\_groups\\_-\\_briefing\\_ojeaku\\_without\\_cover\\_10\\_revised\\_22062020.pdf](https://www.enar-eu.org/wp-content/uploads/policing_racialised_groups_-_briefing_ojeaku_without_cover_10_revised_22062020.pdf).
- . 2021. *The Sharp Edge of Violence*. Brussels: ENAR. [https://www.enar-eu.org/wp-content/uploads/enar\\_report\\_-\\_the\\_sharp\\_edge\\_of\\_violence-2.pdf](https://www.enar-eu.org/wp-content/uploads/enar_report_-_the_sharp_edge_of_violence-2.pdf).
- European Parliament. 2019. *European Parliament Resolution of 26 March 2019 on Fundamental Rights of People of African Descent in Europe (2018/2899(RSP))*.  
<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52019IP0239>.
- European Union. 2012. *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*.  
[http://data.europa.eu/eli/treaty/char\\_2012/oj](http://data.europa.eu/eli/treaty/char_2012/oj).
- FRA - European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2013. 'Fundamental Rights-Based Police Training – A Manual for Police Trainers.'  
<https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2013/fundamental-rights-based-police-training-manual-police-trainers>.
- . 2016a. 'Current Migration Situation in the EU: Hate Crime.'  
[https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2016-november-monthly-focus-hate-crime\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-november-monthly-focus-hate-crime_en.pdf).
- . 2016b. *Directive (EU) 2016/680 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 April 2016 on the Protection of Natural Persons with Regard to the Processing of*



- Personal Data by Competent Authorities for the Purposes of the Prevention, Investigation, Detection or Prosecution of Criminal Offences or the Execution of Criminal Penalties, and on the Free Movement of Such Data, and Repealing Council Framework Decision 2008/977/JHA.*
- . 2017. ‘Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey – Main Results (2017).’ <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2017/second-european-union-minorities-and-discrimination-survey-main-results>.
- . 2018a. ‘Being Black in the EU.’ <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/being-black-eu>.
- . 2018b. *Preventing Unlawful Profiling Today and in the Future: A Guide.* <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/preventing-unlawful-profiling-today-and-future-guide>
- . 2019. *Fundamental Rights-Based Police Training: A Manual for Police Trainers.* 2019 Re-Edition. [http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2019-fundamental-rights-based-police-training-re-edition\\_en.pdf](http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-fundamental-rights-based-police-training-re-edition_en.pdf).
- . 2021a. ‘Crime, Safety and Victims’ Rights – Fundamental Rights Survey.’ [http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2021-crime-safety-victims-rights\\_en.pdf](http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2021-crime-safety-victims-rights_en.pdf).
- . 2021b. *Encouraging Hate Crime Reporting – The Role of Law Enforcement and Other Authorities.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. [https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2021-hate-crime-reporting\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2021-hate-crime-reporting_en.pdf).
- . 2021c. *Your Rights Matter: Police Stops, Fundamental Rights Survey.* Luxembourg: Publications Office. [https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2021-fundamental-rights-survey-police-stops\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2021-fundamental-rights-survey-police-stops_en.pdf).
- . 2022. ‘Being Black in the EU – Experiences of People of African Descent.’ [http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2023-being-black-in-the-eu\\_en.pdf](http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2023-being-black-in-the-eu_en.pdf).
- . 2023. ‘Sharp Edge of Violence: Police Brutality and Community Resistance of Racialized Groups’. Brussels: European Network Against Racism. <https://www.enar-eu.org/the-sharp-edge-of-violence-police-brutality-and-community-resistance-of-racialised-groups/>
- Fanning, B. 2011. *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the Republic of Ireland.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Fanning, B., and Michael, L. 2018. ‘Racism and Anti-Racism in the Two Irelands.’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (15): 2656–72.
- Feeney, N. 2009. ‘What Do Young People Think of the Gardaí? An Examination of Young People’s Attitudes Toward and Experiences of the Gardaí.’ Thesis, Dublin Institute of Technology. <https://www.drugsandalcohol.ie/13140/>.
- Fekete, L. 2011. ‘Accelerated Removals: The Human Cost of EU Deportation Policies.’ *Race & Class* 52 (4): 89–97.
- . 2014. ‘Europe against the Roma.’ *Race & Class* 55 (3): 60–70.
- . 2018. ‘Lammy Review: Without Racial Justice, Can There Be Trust?’ *Race & Class* 59 (3): 75–79.
- . 2022. ‘Racism, Radicalisation and Europe’s ‘Thin Blue Line.’’ *Race & Class* 64 (1): 3–45.



- Flacks, S. 2018. 'The Stop and Search of Minors: A 'Vital Police Tool'?' *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 18 (3): 364–84.
- Francis, S., Welsh, T., and Adesina, Z. 2020. 'Met Police 'Four Times More Likely' to Use Force on Black People.' *BBC News*, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-53407560>.
- Free Legal Advice Centre (FLAC) Ireland. 2021. 'FLAC Submission to the Independent Anti-Racism Committee's Public Consultation: Towards a National Action Plan against Racism in Ireland.' <https://www.flac.ie/publications/flac-submission-to-the-independent-antiracism-comm/>.
- Gabbidon, S. L. 2010. *Race, Ethnicity, Crime, and Justice: An International Dilemma*. Sage.
- Gallagher, C. 2020. 'Gardaí Have Negative View of Travellers, Survey Finds.' *The Irish Times*, August 20, 2020.
- . 2021. 'Government Urged to 'Tackle' Garda Views on Ethnic Groups.' *The Irish Examiner*, September 6, 2021.
- Garda Síochána. Code of Practice on Access to a Solicitor by Persons in Garda Custody. <https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/publications/policy-documents/code-of-practice-on-access-to-a-solicitor-by-persons-in-garda-custody.pdf>
- . 2019. *Diversity and Integration Strategy 2019-2021*. <https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/our-departments/office-of-corporate-communications/press-releases/2019/october/an-garda-siochana-diversity-and-integration-strategy-2019-2021>.
- . 2020. 'Equality, Diversity & Inclusion Strategy Statement & Action Plan 2020 – <https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/publications/policing-plans/strategy/ags-equity-diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-statement-and-action-plan-2020-to-2021.pdf>.
- . 2021. 'Report on Policing Performance.' Policing Authority. [https://www.policingauthority.ie/assets/uploads/documents/2021\\_04\\_19\\_Report\\_13\\_on\\_policing\\_performance\\_during\\_Covid-19\\_Final.pdf](https://www.policingauthority.ie/assets/uploads/documents/2021_04_19_Report_13_on_policing_performance_during_Covid-19_Final.pdf).
- . 2022. 'Over 11,000 People Apply to Become A Garda.' April 29, 2022. <https://web.archive.org/web/20230618230900/https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/our-departments/office-of-corporate-communications/press-releases/2022/april/over-11-000-people-apply-to-become-a-garda.html>.
- . 2023a. '2022 Hate Crime Data and Related Discriminatory Motives.' March 2023. <https://garda.ie/en/about-us/our-departments/office-of-corporate-communications/press-releases/2023/march/an-garda-siochana-2022-hate-crime-data-and-related-discriminatory-motives.html>.
- . 2023b. 'An Garda Síochána – 2022 Hate Crime Data and Related Discriminatory Motives - Press Release 22 March 2023.' March 22, 2023. <https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/our-departments/office-of-corporate-communications/press-releases/2023/march/an-garda-siochana-2022-hate-crime-data-and-related-discriminatory-motives.html#:~:text=During%202022%20An%20Garda%20S%3%ADoch%C3%A1na,83.2%25%20of%20all%20Garda%20members>.
- . 2023c. 'An Garda Síochána Becomes First Public Service Body to Compile Workforce Diversity Data - 13th June 2023.' June 13, 2023. <https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/our-departments/office-of-corporate-communications/press->

- [releases/2023/june/an-garda-siochana-becomes-first-public-service-body-to-compile-workforce-diversity-data-13th-june-2023.html](https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/publications/research-publications/garda-public-attitudes-survey-2022.pdf).
- . 2023d. 'GARDA DIVERSITY OFFICERS (GDOs) - November 2023.' <https://www.garda.ie/en/crime-prevention/community-engagement/community-engagement-offices/garda-national-diversity-unit/garda-diversity-officers-november-2023.pdf>.
- . n.d. '2022 Garda Public Attitudes Survey.' <https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/publications/research-publications/garda-public-attitudes-survey-2022.pdf>
- Garda Síochána Inspectorate. 2021. 'Delivering Custody Services – A Rights-Based Review of the Treatment, Safety and Wellbeing of Persons in Custody in Garda Síochána Stations.' <https://www.gsinsp.ie/delivering-custody-services/>.
- Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission. 2020. Public Attitudes Research January 2020. <https://www.gardaombudsman.ie/publications/public-attitudes-surveys/?download=file&file=3401>
- . 2023a. '2022 Annual Report Transformation, Growth, Reform.' <https://www.gardaombudsman.ie/publications/statutory-reports/?download=file&file=4570>.
- . 2023b, Allegation types in complaints received January - June 2023. <https://www.gardaombudsman.ie/publications/statistics/complaint-types/>
- Gillan and Quinton v United Kingdom (App. No. 4158/05, 12th January 2010). 2010.
- Gilmore, A.A., and Bettis, P.J. 2021. 'Antiblackness and the Adulthoodification of Black Children in a US Prison Nation.' In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.1293>.
- Gleeson, H. 2018. 'Exploring the Meaning of Young People's Attitudes Towards the Police: A Qualitative Study of Irish Youth.' *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 55: 97–105.
- Gleeson, H., and Byrne, M. 2016. 'Some of Them Are Alright: The Effects of Experiences with Community Police Officers on Irish Young People's Attitudes toward the Police.' *Irish Journal of Applied Social Studies* 15 (1). <https://doi.org/10.21427/D7BM75>.
- Global Detention Project. 2018. 'Immigration Detention in Ireland: Will Better Detention Mean More Detention?' <https://www.globaldetentionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/GDP-Immigration-Detention-in-Ireland-2018.pdf>.
- Government of Ireland Anti-Racism Committee. 2020. Interim Report to the Minister for Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth Anti-Racism Committee, 30 November 2020. [online], pp.1–28. <https://www.gov.ie/pdf/?file=https://assets.gov.ie/132151/ed3f39e2-4aa1-4991-aa06-52beae8310db.pdf>.
- Government of Ireland. 2020a. 'Programme for Government: Our Shared Future.' <https://assets.gov.ie/130911/fe93e24e-dfe0-40ff-9934-def2b44b7b52.pdf>.
- . 2020b. 'Anti-Racism Committee, Interim Report to the Minister for Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth.' <https://inar.ie/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Interim-Report.pdf>.
- . 2022. 'Minister O'Gorman Announces the Development of a National Equality Data Strategy.' Gov.ie. March 21, 2022. <https://www.gov.ie/en/press-release/5a7f4-minister-ogorman-announces-the-development-of-a-national-equality-data-strategy/>
- Graham, L., Brown, N., and Plater, M. 2022. 'Culture Audit: Your Voice Our Future. Summary of Evidence and Insights.' Dublin: The Garda Síochána.

- <https://www.garda.ie/en/about-us/publications/research-publications/ags-culture-audit-2022-summary-of-findings-report.pdf>.
- Gundhus, H.O., and Jansen, P.T. 2020. 'Pre-Crime and Policing of Migrants: Anticipatory Action Meets Management of Concerns.' *Theoretical Criminology* 24 (1): 90–109.
- Hamilton, L., and L. Black. 2019. 'Confidence in Criminal Justice Systems.' Dublin: Department of Justice and Equality. <https://assets.gov.ie/122888/99d2ce0a-e2f5-4ea3-9306-a8dd71fccdf5.pdf>.
- Han, S., E. Hwang, M.R. Nobles, S.L. Basham, and Piquero, A.R. 2020. 'Immigrants' Confidence in the Police in 34 Countries: A Multilevel Analysis.' *Police Quarterly* 23 (1): 106–37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611119883424>.
- Hand, J. 2018. 'Probe Launched after Man Who Took Cocaine Was Found Unconscious in Garda Custody and Died Last Week.' *The Sun*, March.
- Haynes, A., and Scheppe, J. 2018. 'Recognising, Addressing and Confronting Hate Crime: Submission to the Commission on the Future of Policing.' Limerick: Hate and Hostility Research Group - University of Limerick.
- Hewson, D. 2022. 'All the Time Watched': An Analysis of Disciplinary Power within the Irish Direct Provision System.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48 (3): 676–92.
- Hillyard, P. 1993. *Suspect Community*. London: Pluto Press.
- Holdaway, S. 2000. 'Migration, Crime and the City: Contexts of Social Exclusion.' In *Minorities in European Cities: The Dynamics of Social Integration and Social Exclusion at the Neighbourhood Level*, 190–202. Springer.
- Home Office. 2022a. 'Ethnicity Facts and Figures: Stop and Search.' <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/crime-justice-and-the-law/policing/stop-and-search/latest>.
- . 2022b. 'Youth Justice Annual Statistics for 2020 to 2021 for England and Wales.' <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/youth-justice-statistics-2020-to-2021>.
- Horyniak, D., P. Higgs, S. Cogger, and Dietze, P. 2017. 'The Role of Respect in Interactions with Police Among Substance-Using African Refugee Young People in Melbourne, Australia.' *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 15 (2): 185–204.
- Hough, M. 2012. 'Researching Trust in the Police and Trust in Justice: A UK Perspective.' *Policing and Society* 22 (3): 332–45.
- House of Commons House of Lords Joint Committee on Human Rights. 2020. 'Black People, Racism and Human Rights Eleventh Report of Session 2019-21 Report.' <https://committees.parliament.uk/publications/3376/documents/32359/default/>.
- Hurley, S. 2021. 'Blanchardstown to Get First Local Diversity Forum in Wake of Nkencho Shooting.' *RTE*, June 3, 2021. <https://www.rte.ie/news/politics/2021/0603/1225795-diversity-forum/>.
- Inquest. 2023. 'BAME Deaths in Police Custody.' <https://www.inquest.org.uk/bame-deaths-in-police-custody>.
- Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL). 2018. 'Submission to the Commission on the Future of Policing.' <https://www.iccl.ie/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/RIGHTS-BASED-POLICING-ICCL-submission-to-CFP-2.pdf>.
- . 2021. 'Submission to the National Anti-Racism Committee.' <https://www.iccl.ie/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/210714-ICCL-Submission-NAPAR.pdf>.
- . 2022. Report to the UN Human Rights Committee - Alternative to the State Report for Ireland's 2022 review under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

<https://www.iccl.ie/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/ICCL-report-to-UN-Human-Rights-Committee-2022.pdf>

Irish Examiner (6 Feb 2019) Gsoc to prove garda's alleged racist language.

<https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-30902506.html>

———. (29 Dec 2022) GSOC 'acutely aware' its probe into George Nkencho death is still not complete. <https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-41037836.html>

———. (11 June 2024) George Nkencho inquest adjourned to enable family seek explanation on DPP's prosecution decision.

<https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/courtandcrime/arid-41413960.html>

Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission (IHREC). 2021. 'Developing a National Action Plan Against Racism – IHREC Submission to the Anti-Racism Committee.'

<https://www.ihrec.ie/app/uploads/2021/09/Developing-a-National-Action-Plan-Against-Racism-IHREC-Submission-to-the-Anti-Racism-Committee.pdf>.

———. 2022. 'Race and Ethnicity Should Be Recorded during Stop and Search.'

<https://www.ihrec.ie/race-and-ethnicity-should-be-recorded-during-stop-and-search/>.

*Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission Act 2014*. 2014. Office of the Attorney General.

<https://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2014/act/25/enacted/en/html>.

Irish Independent (3 Sept 2023) Garda superintendent faces GSOC inquiry over alleged racial abuse of pub bouncer. <https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/garda-superintendent-faces-gsoc-inquiry-over-alleged-racial-abuse-of-pub-bouncer/a548973773.html>

Irish Legal News. 2021. Discrimination case over 'appalling' Garda treatment of woman of Romani heritage settled. 15 October 2021.

<https://www.irishlegal.com/articles/discrimination-case-over-appalling-garda-treatment-of-woman-of-romani-heritage-settled>

Irish Network Against Racism (INAR). 2019. 'Alternative Report on Racial Discrimination in Ireland: Submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) for Its Consideration of the Combined Fifth to Ninth Periodic Reports of Ireland (CERD/C/IRL/5-9), November 2019.' <https://inar.ie/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/INAR-ALTERNATIVE-REPORT-to-CERD-WEB-1.pdf>.

———. 2021. 'Shadow National Action Plan Against Racism.' Dublin: INAR.

<https://inar.ie/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/The-Shadow-NAPAR-A-High-Level-Overview.pdf>.

Irish Penal Reform Trust. 2014. 'Travellers in the Irish Prison System: A Qualitative Study.'

[http://www.iprt.ie/files/IPRT\\_Travellers\\_Report\\_web.pdf](http://www.iprt.ie/files/IPRT_Travellers_Report_web.pdf).

———. 2021. 'Submission to the National Anti-Racism Committee: Towards a National Action Plan Against Racism for Ireland Public Consultation 2021.'

[https://www.iprt.ie/site/assets/files/7005/iprt\\_submission\\_to\\_the\\_national\\_anti-racism\\_committee.pdf](https://www.iprt.ie/site/assets/files/7005/iprt_submission_to_the_national_anti-racism_committee.pdf).

Irish Prison Service. 2023. 'Monthly Information Note - May 2023.'

Joint Committee on Justice. 2021. 'General Scheme of the Garda Síochána (Powers) Bill 2021.'

[https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/joint\\_committee\\_on\\_justice/2021-12-08/2/](https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/joint_committee_on_justice/2021-12-08/2/).

———. 2022a. 'Report on Pre-Legislative Scrutiny of the General Scheme of the Garda Síochána (Powers) Bill.'

[https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/committee/dail/33/joint\\_committee\\_on\\_justi](https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/committee/dail/33/joint_committee_on_justi)

- [ce/reports/2022/2022-06-01\\_report-on-pre-legislative-scrutiny-of-the-general-scheme-of-the-garda-siochana-powers-bill\\_en.pdf](https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/committee/dail/33/joint_committee_on_justice/reports/2022/2022-06-01_report-on-pre-legislative-scrutiny-of-the-general-scheme-of-the-garda-siochana-powers-bill_en.pdf).
- . 2022b. 'Report on Minorities Engaging with the Justice System.' 33/JC/26. Dublin: Houses of the Oireachtas.  
[https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/committee/dail/33/joint\\_committee\\_on\\_justice/reports/2022/2022-12-14\\_report-on-minorities-engaging-with-the-justice-system\\_en.pdf](https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/committee/dail/33/joint_committee_on_justice/reports/2022/2022-12-14_report-on-minorities-engaging-with-the-justice-system_en.pdf).
- Jones-Brown, D., and Williams, J.M. 2021. 'Over-Policing Black Bodies: The Need for Multidimensional and Transformative Reforms.' *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 19 (3–4): 181–87.
- Joyce, S., O'Reilly, O., O'Brien, M., Joyce, D., Schweppe, J., and Haynes, A. 2022. 'Irish Travellers' Access to Justice.' Report, *European Centre for the Study of Hate*, Limerick.
- Justice with Children. 2021. 'Policing of Children and Young People: A Case for 'Child-Friendly Police.''' <https://justicewithchildren.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Policing-of-Children-and-Young-People.pdf>.
- Kääriäinen, J., and Niemi, J. 2014. 'Distrust of the Police in a Nordic Welfare State: Victimization, Discrimination, and Trust in the Police by Russian and Somali Minorities in Helsinki.' *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 12 (1): 4–24.
- Kahn, K. B., and Martin, K. D. 2016. Policing and race: Disparate treatment, perceptions, and policy responses. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 10(1), 82-121.
- Kalir, B. 2022. 'Qualifying Deportation: How Police Translation of 'Dangerous Foreign Criminals' Led to Expansive Deportation Practices in Spain.' *Security Dialogue*, no. 09670106221118798.
- Keskinen, S., A. A. Atabong, M. Himanen, A. Kivijärvi, U. Osazee, N. Pöyhölä, and Rousku, V. 2018. 'The Stopped: Ethnic Profiling in Finland.' SSKH Notat , no. 1/2018 , vol. 1/2018 , University of Helsinki, Swedish School of Social Science , Helsinki .  
[http://www.profiling.fi/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/The-Stopped\\_ENGL.pdf](http://www.profiling.fi/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/The-Stopped_ENGL.pdf)
- Kilkelly, U. 2011. 'Policing, Young People, Diversion and Accountability in Ireland.' *Crime Law and Social Change*, 55 (2): 133–51.
- Kilpatrick, A. 2018. 'A Human Rights Based Approach to Policing in Ireland.' Dublin: ICCL.
- Lally, C. 2023. 'George Nkencho: File Sent to DPP over Fatal Shooting by Gardaí.' *The Irish Times*, June. <https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/social-affairs/2023/06/19/george-nkencho-file-sent-to-dpp-over-fatal-shooting-by-Gardaí/>.
- Lentin, A. 2008. *Racism: A Beginner's Guide*. Oxford: Oneworld.
- . 2020. *Why Race Still Matters*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- van der Leun, J.P. and van der Woude, M.A., 2011. Ethnic profiling in the Netherlands? A reflection on expanding preventive powers, ethnic profiling and a changing social and political context. *Policing and society*, 21(4), pp.444-455.
- Lewis, K. 2018. 'Policing and Young Adults: Developing a Tailored Approach.' The Policing Foundation. <https://www.police-foundation.org.uk/project/policing-young-adults/>.
- Lindon, G., and Roe, S. 2017. 'Deaths in Police Custody: A Review of the International Evidence.' Research Report 95. Home Office.  
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/655710/Deaths\\_in\\_police\\_custody\\_A\\_review\\_of\\_the\\_international\\_evidence.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/655710/Deaths_in_police_custody_A_review_of_the_international_evidence.pdf).
- Loftus, B. 2009. *Police Culture in a Changing World*. Oxford: Clarendon.



- Logan, E. 2014. *Garda Síochána Act 2005 (Section 42) (Special Inquiries Relating to Garda Síochána)*. Department of Justice and Equality.
- MacPherson, W. 1999. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. [online] pp.1–389. Report (Cm 4262-I). London: HMSO. Available at: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7c2af540f0b645ba3c7202/4262.pdf> [Accessed 5 Jun. 2024].
- McCaughey, F. 2011. 'Irish Travellers and Roma Shadow Report: A Response to Ireland's Third and Fourth Report on the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD).' Dublin: Pavee Point Traveller's Centre. <https://www.paveepoint.ie/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Final-CERD-Shadow-Report.pdf>.
- McEntee, H. 2023. 'Written Answers - Traveller Community. Minister for Justice Helen McEntee TD.' Dáil Éireann Debate. <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/question/2023-11-22/112/>.
- McGinnity, F., Privalko, I., Russell, H., Curristan, S., Stapleton, A., and Laurence, J. 2022. 'Origin and Integration: Housing and Family among Migrants in the 2016 Irish Census.' Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) Research Series. <https://www.esri.ie/publications/origin-and-integration-housing-and-family-among-migrants-in-the-2016-irish-census>
- McGinnity, F., J. Laurence, and E. Cunniffe. 2023. *Comparing Migrant Integration in Ireland and Northern Ireland*. Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) Research Series 158. Dublin: ESRI.
- McInerney, D. 2017. 'Policing Racism on the Island of Ireland.' *Critical Perspectives on Hate Crime: Contributions from the Island of Ireland*, 419–42.
- McLaughlin, C. 2018. 'They Don't Look like Children': Child Asylum-Seekers, the Dubs Amendment and the Politics of Childhood.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (11): 1757–73.
- Maher, G., and M. Cawley. 2014. 'Short- Term Labour Migration: Brazilian Migrants in Ireland'. *Population, Space and Place* 22 (1): 23–35.
- Malekmian, S. 2021a. 'Uncertainty Around What 'Good Character' Means Leaves Citizenship Applicants Unsure What They Can and Can't Do', *Dublin Inquirer*. 1 September 2021. <https://dublininquirer.com/2021/09/01/uncertainty-around-what-good-character-means-leaves-citizenship-applicants-unsure-what-they-can-and-can-t-do/>
- 2021b. 'With More Gardaí on Streets, Minority Dubliners Worry about Uptick in Stop-and-Searches.' *Dublin Inquirer*, 2021. <https://www.dublininquirer.com/2021/04/28/with-more-Gardaí-on-streets-minority-dubliners-worry-about-uptick-in-stop-and-searches>.
- 2023. 'A Garda Superintendent Hopes to Build More Trust between Ethnic-Minority Communities and the Gardaí.' *Dublin Inquirer* (blog). June 21, 2023. <https://dublininquirer.com/2023/06/21/a-garda-superintendent-hopes-to-build-more-trust-between-ethnic-minority-communities-and-the-Gardaí/>.
- Marder, I.D. 2022. 'Dialogue Can Help Gardaí Better Understand Diverse Communities.' *RTE*, October 19, 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/brainstorm/2022/1019/1330066-Gardaí-community-dialogue-diversity/>
- Mayor of London. 2022. [Action Plan - Transparency, Accountability and Trust in Policing](https://www.london.gov.uk/publications/action-plan-transparency-accountability-and-trust-policing). <https://www.london.gov.uk/publications/action-plan-transparency-accountability-and-trust-policing>

- Michael, L., and O Curry, S. 2017. Submission to the Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland. Dublin: ENAR Ireland. <https://inar.ie/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/ENAR-Ireland-Submission-to-CFPI-Feb-2018.pdf>.
- Michael, L., Reynolds, D., and Omid, N. 2023. 'Reports of Racism in Ireland: Data from iReport.ie - Annual Report 2022.' Dublin: Irish Network Against Racism.
- Michael, L., Kempny, M., and Abu Zeid O'Neill, R. 2019. 'Alternative Report on Racial Discrimination in Ireland: Submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) for Its Consideration of the Combined Fifth to Ninth Periodic Reports of Ireland.' Dublin: Irish Network Against Racism.
- Michael, L. 2017. 'Anti-Black Racism: Afrophobia, Exclusion and Global Racisms.' *Critical Perspectives on Hate Crime: Contributions from the Island of Ireland*, 275–99.
- . 2020. 'Reports of Racism in Ireland: Data from iReport.ie 2019.' [https://inar.ie/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/2019\\_iReport\\_Final.pdf](https://inar.ie/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/2019_iReport_Final.pdf).
- . 2021. 'Policing Black Lives in Ireland,' Sociological Observer: Black Lives Matter. Sociological Association of Ireland.
- Migrant Rights Centre of Ireland. 2011. 'Singled Out: Exploratory Study on Ethnic Profiling in Ireland and Its Impact on Migrant Workers and Their Families.' Dublin: MRCI. [https://emn.ie/files/p\\_201212180946582011\\_Singled\\_Out\\_MRCI.pdf](https://emn.ie/files/p_201212180946582011_Singled_Out_MRCI.pdf).
- Mincescu, A., Stoica, B., Zubareva, A., Leacy, B., Leahy, P., Paulon, T., Clifford, N., Pereira, N., and Berry, A. 2022. 'I Must Be Some Person: Accounts from Street Sex Workers in Ireland.' University of Limerick.
- Mirren, Gidda, and Thomas, T. 2023. 'Black Girls Nearly Three Times More Likely to Be Subjected to Most Invasive Strip-Search.' *Liberties*, April 6, 2023. <https://libertyinvestigates.org.uk/articles/black-girls-nearly-three-times-more-likely-to-be-subjected-to-most-invasive-strip-search/>.
- Mulcahy, A. 2012. '“Alright in Their Own Place”: Policing and the Spatial Regulation of Irish Travellers.' *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 12 (3): 307–27.
- Mulcahy, A., and O'Mahony, E. 2005. *Policing and Social Marginalisation in Ireland*. Dublin: Combat Poverty Agency. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ozuis7oJc1IC>.
- Mummery, D. 2021. Every Contact Leaves a Trace. *British Journal of General Practice*, [online] 71(712), pp.512–512. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.3399/bjgp21x717569>.
- Murdoch, J., and Roche, R. 2013. 'The European Convention on Human Rights and Policing: A Handbook for Police Officers and Other Law Enforcement Officials.' Research Reports or Papers. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. <http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/cooperation/capacitybuilding/Source/documentation/EuropeanConventionHandbookForPolice.pdf>.
- Murphy, K., and Bantry-White, E. 2021. 'Behind Closed Doors: Human Rights in Residential Care for People with an Intellectual Disability in Ireland.' *Disability & Society* 36 (5): 750–71.
- Murphy, K., Bradford, B., Sargeant, E., and Cherney, A. 2022. 'Building Immigrants' Solidarity with Police: Procedural Justice, Identity and Immigrants' Willingness to Cooperate with Police.' *British Journal of Criminology* 62 (2): 299–319.
- Murphy, M. P. 2017. 'Irish Flex-insecurity: The Post-crisis Reality for Vulnerable Workers in Ireland.' *Social Policy & Administration* 51 (2): 308–27.
- NASC. 2022. 'We Are Cork: Stories from a Diverse City.' <https://nascireland.org/sites/default/files/We-Are-Cork%20Sept%202022.pdf>.



- Noppe, J., A. Verhage, and A. Van Damme. 2017. 'Police Legitimacy: An Introduction.' *Policing: An International Journal* 40 (3): 474–79.
- Nwabuzo, O. 2021. *The Sharp Edge of Violence: Police Brutality and Community Resistance of Racialised Groups*. Brussels: ENAR.
- O'Brien-Olinger, S. 2016. *Police, Race and Culture in the 'new Ireland' An Ethnography*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- O'Callaghan v Ireland. 1994. [S.C. No. 247 of 1992]
- O'Connell, P. J. 2019. 'Why are so few Africans at work in Ireland? Immigration policy and labour market disadvantage.' *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 27 (3): 273-295.
- O'Halloran, M. 2021. 'Garda Diversity Forum to Be Set up in West Dublin after George Nkencho's Death.' *The Irish Times*, 3 June 2021.  
<https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/oireachtas/garda-diversity-forum-to-be-set-up-in-west-dublin-after-george-nkencho-s-death-1.4583158>.
- O'Keeffe, C. 2021. 'Garda HQ Rebuffs Charges of Racism in IHREC Report.' *Irish Examiner*, September 7, 2021. <https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-40374695.html>.
- O'Loughlin, A. 2018. 'Court Decides Garda, Who Allegedly Used Offensive Language towards Foreign National, Can Face Disciplinary Investigation.' *The Irish Examiner*, May. <https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-30832164.html>.
- O'Nolan, C. 2013. *The Irish District Court: A Social Portrait*. Cork: University Press.
- Office for National Statistics (ONS). 2018. 'Ethnicity by Sex and Ages in England and Wales, 2011 to 2015.'  
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/adhocs/009102ethnicitybysexandageinenglandandwales2011to2015>.
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). 1979. *Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials*. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/code-conduct-law-enforcement-officials>.
- — —. 2021. 'A/HRC/47/53: Promotion and Protection of the Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Africans and of People of African Descent against Excessive Use of Force and Other Human Rights Violations by Law Enforcement Officers.' OHCHR. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/HRC/54/66&Lang=E>.
- Okri, B. 2021. 'I Can't Breathe': Why George Floyd's Words Reverberate Around the World.' *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 12 (1).
- OSCE. 2001. 'The European Code of Police Ethics | OSCE POLIS.'  
<https://polis.osce.org/european-code-police-ethics>.
- Otukoya, B. 2019. 'Hyphenated Citizens as Outsiders.' In B. Fanning and L. Michael (eds.), *Immigrants as Outsiders in the Two Irelands*, pp.213–28. Manchester University Press.
- Ouled, Y. 2020. 'Racism, Xenophobia and Police Brutality on the Rise in Spain.' *Liberties*. 2020. <https://www.liberties.eu/en/news/racism-xenophobia-state-of-alarm-spain/19378>.
- Owusu-Bempah, A., and Gabbidon, S.L. 2021. *Race, Ethnicity, Crime, and Justice: An International Dilemma*. Second edition. Criminology and Justice Studies. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Panditharatne, S., Chant, L., Sibley, C. G., and Osborne, D. 2021. At the Intersection of Disadvantage: Socioeconomic Status Heightens Ethnic Group Differences in Trust in the Police. *Race and Justice*, 11(2), 160-182.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2153368718796119>

- Pavee Point Traveller and Roma Centre and Department of Justice and Equality. 2018. *Roma in Ireland – A National Needs Assessment*. <http://www.paveepoint.ie/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/RNA-PDF.pdf>.
- Pavee Point. 2014. 'Bulletin: Travellers Recorded on the PULSE Database.' Pavee Point. <http://www.paveepoint.ie/travellers-recorded-on-the-pulse-database>.
- Perry, B. and Alvi, S., 2012. 'We are all vulnerable' The in terrorem effects of hate crimes. *International Review of Victimology*, 18(1), pp.57-71.
- Perry, J. and OCurry, S. 2023. 'Connecting on Hate Crime Data in Ireland.' Brussels: A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe (CEJI). <https://inar.ie/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Facing-Facts-Country-Report-Ireland-Joanna-Perry-Shane-OCurry.pdf>.
- Phillips, C., and Bowling, B. 2017. 'Ethnicities, Racism, Crime and Criminal Justice.' In A. Liebling, S. Maruna, and L. McAra (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, pp. 190–212. Oxford University Press.
- Phillips, C., and Bowling, B. 2020. 'Racism, Ethnicity, Crime and Criminal Justice.' In *Crime, Inequality and the State*, 377–92. Routledge.
- Policing Authority. 2021a. 'Minutes of Meeting of the Policing Authority, 29-30 November 2021.' [https://www.policingauthority.ie/assets/uploads/documents/2021\\_100\\_29\\_30Nov2021.pdf](https://www.policingauthority.ie/assets/uploads/documents/2021_100_29_30Nov2021.pdf).
- . 2021b. 'Report on Policing Performance by the Garda Síochána during the COVID-19 Health Crisis.' [https://www.policingauthority.ie/assets/uploads/documents/Report\\_on\\_Policing\\_Performance\\_by\\_the\\_Garda\\_S%C3%ADoch%C3%A1na\\_during\\_Covid-19\\_Health\\_Crisis\\_-\\_10\\_December\\_2021.pdf](https://www.policingauthority.ie/assets/uploads/documents/Report_on_Policing_Performance_by_the_Garda_S%C3%ADoch%C3%A1na_during_Covid-19_Health_Crisis_-_10_December_2021.pdf).
- Pope, C. 2023. 'Mother of George Nkencho Takes Legal Action over Son's Death.' *The Irish Times*, January. <https://www.irishtimes.com/crime-law/2023/01/07/mother-of-george-nkencho-takes-legal-action-over-sons-death/>.
- Rowe, M. 2012. *Policing, Race and Racism*. Routledge.
- Saarikkomäki, E., Solhjell, R., and Wästerfors, D. 2023. 'Dealing with Police Stops: How Young People with Ethnic Minority Backgrounds Narrate Their Ways of Managing Over-Policing in the Nordic Countries.' *Policing and Society*, 1–16.
- Sabbagh, D. 2019. 'Detention of Muslims at UK Ports and Airports 'Structural Islamophobia.' *The Guardian*, August. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/aug/20/detention-of-muslims-at-uk-ports-and-airports-structural-islamophobia>.
- Samota, N., and Ariyo, D. 2022. 'Racialising and Criminalising Vulnerable Migrants: The Case of Human Trafficking and Modern Slavery.' In C. Murphy and R. Lazzarino (eds.), *Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking*, pp. 130–45. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Schclarek-Mulinari, L., and Keskinen, S. 2022. 'Racial Profiling in the Racial Welfare State: Examining the Order of Policing in the Nordic Region.' *Theoretical Criminology* 26 (3): 377–95.
- Schiller, R. 2022. 'Garda Commissioner Denies Force Engages in Racial Profiling after Traveller Study Finds High Levels of Distrust.' *Irish Independent*, June. <https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/crime/garda-commissioner-denies-force-engages-in-racial-profiling-after-traveller-study-finds-high-levels-of-distrust/41804826.html>.

- School Census Statistics Team. 2021. 'Academic Year 2019/20 Permanent Exclusions and Suspensions in England.' London: Department for Education.
- Schwarz, I. 2016. 'Racializing Freedom of Movement in Europe. Experiences of Racial Profiling at European Borders and Beyond.' *Movements. Journal for Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies* 2 (1). <https://movements-journal.org/issues/03.rassismus/16.schwarz--racializing.freedom.of.movements.in.europe.html>
- Shavers, V.L., and Shavers, B.S. 2006. 'Racism and Health Inequity among Americans.' *Journal of the National Medical Association* 98 (3): 386–396.
- Smith, B.W., and Holmes, M.D. 2003. 'Community Accountability, Minority Threat, and Police Brutality: An Examination of Civil Rights Criminal Complaints.' *Criminology* 41 (4): 1035–64.
- Terrio, S. J. 2010. 'The Production of Criminal Migrant Children: Surveillance, Detention, and Deportation in France.' In M.O. Ensor and E.M. Goździak (eds.), *Children and Migration*, pp. 79-96. Palgrave Macmillan.
- The Howard League for Penal Reform. 2012. *On Our Side? Young People and the Police: Can the Police and Crime Commissioners Lead the Way for Change?* London: The Howard League for Penal Reform. <https://howardleague.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/On-our-side-summary.pdf>.
- The Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission Act 2014*. 2014. <https://www.ihrec.ie/about/ihrec-act-2014/>
- UK Parliament. 2013. 'Written Evidence Submitted by Black Mental Health UK [IPCC 23].' <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmhaff/494/494we06.htm>
- United Nations Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (UN CERD). 2011. 'Concluding Observations on the Combined 3rd and 4th Reports of Ireland.' CERD/C/IRL/CO/3-4.
- . 2019. 'Concluding Observations on the Combined 5th to 9th Reports of Ireland.' CERD/C/IRL/CO. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3863933?v=pdf>
- . 2020. 'General Recommendation No. 36 (2020) on Preventing and Combating Racial Profiling by Law Enforcement Officials.' [https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\\_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CERD%2fC%2fGC%2f36&Lang=en](https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CERD%2fC%2fGC%2f36&Lang=en).
- United Nations General Assembly. 1969. *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 21 December 1965 UNTS Vol. 660*.
- United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. 2018. 'UN Human Rights Experts Say Deaths in Custody Reinforce Concerns About 'Structural Racism' in UK.' <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=22949>.
- . 2020. 'Human Rights Council Holds Debate on the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action and Starts Debate on Racism and Racial Discrimination.' <https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2020/06/human-rights-council-holds-debate-vienna-declaration-and-programme-action-and?LangID=E&NewsID=25963>.
- Van Craen, M. 2012. Determinants of ethnic minority confidence in the police. *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, 38(7), 1029-1047.
- Van Craen, M., and W. G. Skogan. 2015a. 'Differences and Similarities in the Explanation of Ethnic Minority Groups' Trust in the Police.' *European Journal of Criminology* 12 (3): 300–323.

- . 2015b. 'Trust in the Belgian Police: The Importance of Responsiveness.' *European Journal of Criminology* 12 (2): 129–50.
- Van den Durpel, A., and Derluyn, I. 2023. *Victims with Irregular Migration Status' Safe Reporting of Crimes in Belgium*. Centre for the Social Study of Migration and Refugees (CESSMIR), Ghent University.
- Vrăbiescu, I. 2021. 'Devised to Punish: Policing, Detaining and Deporting Romanians from France.' *European Journal of Criminology* 18 (4): 585–602.
- Waddington, P.A.J. 1999. 'Discretion, 'Respectability' and Institutional Police Racism.' *Sociological Research Online* 4 (1): 175–83.
- Wallace, S., Nazroo, J., and Bécares, L. 2016. 'Cumulative Effect of Racial Discrimination on the Mental Health of Ethnic Minorities in the United Kingdom.' *American Journal of Public Health* 106 (7): 1294–1300.
- Warren, J., and Campbell, A. 2023. 'Bianca Williams: Two Met Officers Sacked over Athlete Search Gross Misconduct.' *British Broadcasting Corporation*. [online] 25 Oct. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-67214409>
- Warren, P. Y. 2011. Perceptions of police disrespect during vehicle stops: A race-based analysis. *Crime & Delinquency*, 57(3), 356-376.
- Westmarland, L. 2012. 'Police Cultures.' In T. Newburn (eds.), *Handbook of Policing*, pp. 281–308. Taylor and Francis.
- Whelan, F. 2018. 'Can Young People Influence the Future of Policing?' Dublin: Irish Council of Civil Liberties (ICCL). <https://www.iccl.ie/news/can-young-influence-policing/>.
- Youth Justice Board for England and Wales. 2021. 'Ethnic disproportionality in remand and sentencing in the youth justice system: Analysis of administrative data.' <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ethnic-disproportionality-in-remand-and-sentencing-in-the-youth-justice-system>