



# Is Identity Politics Undermining Police Impartiality?

**David G. Green**

CIVITAS

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## Author

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# Foreword

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Media coverage of the police has been increasingly critical in recent times. Some heavy-handed policing of Covid regulations made them look authoritarian and petty; having police cars painted in rainbow colours with the word ‘pride’ prominently displayed – ostensibly to encourage reporting of hate crime – made them look ridiculous; pursuing Harry Miller to ‘check his thinking’ seemed totalitarian; failing for years to enforce the law against grooming gangs who were systematically raping young girls in northern towns was negligent in the extreme; unwittingly harbouring a rapist and murderer, plus a second suspected rapist, gave the impression that closing ranks against outsiders was more important to the Met Police than protecting the public; the failure to prevent political campaigners from blocking motorways to coerce the public into demanding action from MPs made them look weak, typified by the farcical officer who politely asked law breakers if the police could be of any assistance; and focusing too much on hate crime at the expense of serious and violent crime has drawn criticism from senior police officers and police and crime commissioners, including the head of the National Police Chiefs Council in 2018 and the lead on serious and organised crime for the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners in 2021.

Have the police lost their way to such a degree that nothing less than a root and branch reappraisal will suffice? This

publication focuses on a question that is perhaps the most fundamental to us all: When we encounter the police can we rely on them to apply the law impartially? To act without fear or favour has been seen as the essence of policing since the first modern police force was founded in 1829. The fifth of the nine principles of good policing enunciated in that year could not be more clear:

‘To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion; but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws.’

This study looks closely at the growing importance of police pressure groups based on the racial, religious or other identities of officers, such as the National Black Police Association. Are these groups, which are now officially recognised as staff associations or staff networks, compatible with police impartiality? They seek to advance the careers of their own members at the expense of other officers, who are sometimes regarded as oppressors. And they seek to change policing policy to the advantage of their own identity group.

The study concludes that officers should not be permitted to join sectarian groups because membership is not consistent with a commitment to providing an unequivocally impartial service.

David G. Green

# 1.

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## Introduction

The police force has experienced numerous changes throughout its history. During the medieval and early modern periods, policing was primarily considered to be a task for local community members. The first modern police force was founded in 1829 when the Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, established the Metropolitan Police Service in London. This institution was responsible to the Home Secretary 'or their representatives meeting in local government bodies'. When other uniformed police forces were created elsewhere in the country, they were under the direction of local authorities. For counties this was a committee of magistrates until the local government reforms of 1888, which established Standing Joint Committees made up equally of magistrates and elected county councillors. In towns, supervision was through Watch Committees, appointed by and usually made up of elected town councillors.

This structure meant that at the beginning of the twentieth century there were 58 county and 130 city and town forces in England and Wales. In the 1960s, the Standing Joint Committees and Watch Committees were abolished in favour of police authorities. The system was changed again during the 1990s when the police authorities were reduced from between 30 and 40 members to only 17.<sup>1</sup> The new police authorities were usually made up of nine democratically-

elected local councillors, three magistrates and five others (including the authority chair) who were appointed by a complex process involving the Home Office.<sup>2</sup>

Police authorities were replaced by elected police and crime commissioners in 2012, and the first elections were held in November that year. The Mayors of London, Greater Manchester and West Yorkshire exercise the powers of police and crime commissioners.

Today there are 43 territorial police forces in England and Wales, each commanded by a chief constable (known as the 'commissioner' in London).

### **Recent Police Reforms**

The police have been subject to a variety of reforms in the last 20 years. Under the Labour administrations from 1997 to 2010, a target regime was imposed. It had the effect of de-professionalising the police constable. They were expected to comply with management targets rather than to use their judgement.

Among the most perverse were arrest targets. As one officer told me at the time, it was very easy for an officer wanting to justify an arrest to provoke a happy drunk into becoming an aggressive drunk. A Government inquiry led by Jan Berry, former chairman of the Police Federation, led to the report *Reducing Bureaucracy in Policing*, published in 2010. As a result, national targets were abandoned, although they persisted in some local forces.<sup>3</sup>

Officers were de-professionalised still further as a result of the work of the former rail regulator, Thomas Winsor (now Sir Thomas Winsor). Instead of regarding policing as a vocation, he looked upon police officers as mere employees. He contended that the starting wage was too high because there were a great many applicants for every vacancy. It was

lowered and consequently recruitment standards slipped. To make matters worse, he was appointed Chief Inspector of Her Majesty's Constabulary in 2012, the first person in the role who had not been a serving officer. In 2017 he became Chief Inspector of Constabulary and Chief Inspector of Fire and Rescue Services.

However, the Macpherson report of 1999 had the most profound and lasting impact. The Metropolitan Police were accused of 'institutional racism', a deliberately devious term, which slides from a factual truth that someone from an ethnic minority had received a bad service to the automatic assumption that it was because of racial discrimination. The term 'institutional racism' has been regularly confused with overt racism, and has repeatedly been used to condemn all British police forces.

Moreover, for many people it was evidence that Britain as a whole stood condemned as a racist society. The lead was taken by Jack Straw, who was Home Secretary when the Macpherson report was published in February 1999. He regarded the report as far more than an investigation of a botched police investigation. 'I want this report', he said, 'to serve as a watershed in our attitudes to racism. I want it to act as a catalyst for permanent and irrevocable change, not just across our public services but across the whole of society'.<sup>4</sup> He had been a student leader of the 'broad left' in the late 1960s and a political activist in the 1970s, when the standard demand was 'no platform for racists and fascists'. His condemnation of the British people was completely unjustified. The vast majority have always abhorred racism, such that whenever groups have tried to exploit racial animosity, they have always ended up a beleaguered minority.

The Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) soon came into line with the Home Secretary's wishes, and in

2002 produced a hate crime manual to guide policing. Jack Straw's statement is quoted on the second page of the ACPO hate crime manual as if the police had an obligation to act as catalysts for 'permanent and irrevocable change' across the 'whole of society'. Worse still, following the Home Secretary's lead, the ideal of impartial justice was scornfully dismissed. 'Colour blind' policing (in quotation marks to signify its obvious absurdity) was defined as follows:

"'Colour blind' policing means policing that purports to treat everyone in the same way. Such an approach is flawed and unjust. It fails to take account of the fact that different people have different reactions and different needs. Failure to recognise and understand these means failure to deliver services appropriate to needs and an inability to protect people irrespective of their background.'<sup>5</sup>

Impartial justice was now 'unjust', and officers who had difficulty accepting the new approach were warned that they would be 'retrained' or even disciplined. However, a few pages later in the ACPO manual, officers were told that 'Anyone who is unable to behave in a non-discriminatory and unprejudiced manner must expect disciplinary action.'<sup>6</sup> But wasn't non-discriminatory policing another term for the 'colour blind' policing that had just been denounced? The nearest thing to a reconciliation of the paradox comes on page 9:

'There was a time when to be passively non-racist was considered sufficient (ie the passive state of expressing no prejudice and engaging in no racially discriminatory behaviours). This is not enough. In a passively non-racist environment, racists can still thrive, discriminatory organisational structures and practices can still persist, and racism in the broader community can go largely unchallenged.'<sup>7</sup>

Such was the atmosphere of policing in the decade following the Macpherson report. But on the tenth anniversary of its publication, Trevor Phillips, chairman of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, and before that of the Commission for Racial Equality, declared that the accusation of ‘institutional racism’ made by Macpherson in 1999 was no longer valid. He thought the police had improved.

But, according to the Macpherson report, the Metropolitan Police had not been racist: ‘In this Inquiry we have not heard evidence of overt racism or discrimination’.<sup>8</sup> And a few paragraphs later, despite accusing the Metropolitan Police of ‘institutional racism’, the report said:

‘It is vital to stress that neither academic debate nor the evidence presented to us leads us to say or to conclude that an accusation that institutional racism exists in the MPS implies that the policies of the MPS are racist. No such evidence is before us. Indeed, the contrary is true.’<sup>9</sup>

What did Macpherson intend when he wrote those words? He accused the police of ‘institutional racism’, the term that everyone now remembers, and yet he found no ‘overt racism’, and the finding of ‘institutional racism’ did not mean that the policies of the police were racist. Few words have done more harm than these confused ramblings of Macpherson.

### **Legal constraints on the police**

There were police strikes in London and elsewhere in 1918 and 1919 and, as a result, in 1919, police officers were legally banned from joining a trade union or going on strike. However, the Police Federation of England and Wales (PFEW) was simultaneously established to represent officers up to and including chief inspectors.<sup>10</sup> It is not a union, but



has a statutory responsibility to represent members in all matters affecting their welfare and efficiency. Individual promotions and questions of discipline, however, are excluded, although an officer can be accompanied by a Federation representative at disciplinary hearings.

According to its website, the PFEW brings the views of the officers it represents 'on welfare and efficiency to the notice of the government and all opinion formers'. It acts as a staff association and also aims to be a professional body which is able to influence both living and professional standards.<sup>11</sup>

Police officers today continue to be forbidden to go on strike and join a trade union. The 1996 Police Act section 64 says:

'...a member of a police force shall not be a member of any trade union, or of any association having for its objects, or one of its objects, to control or influence the pay, pensions or conditions of service of any police force.'

The continuation of the Police Federation is guaranteed by section 59 of the 1996 Police Act:

'There shall continue to be a Police Federation for England and Wales (and a Police Federation for Scotland) for the purpose of representing members of the police forces in those countries respectively in all matters affecting their welfare and efficiency, except for (a) questions of promotion affecting individuals, and (b) questions of discipline affecting individuals. However, a Police Federation may represent a member of a police force at disciplinary proceedings brought under regulations.'

As the study will show, the identity-based staff associations concern themselves with promotions and discipline, although whether they contradict section 59 has not been legally tested.

## Impartiality

Impartiality is at the heart of modern policing. The guiding principles of policing laid down at the dawn of modern policing in 1829 contain this ringing declaration:

‘To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion; but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws, by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing, by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.’

Today, impartiality is still acknowledged. According to the College of Policing (CoP), the police ‘must show impartiality’ during their ‘dealings with colleagues, partners and members of the public... by being unprejudiced, fair and objective’. In other words, ‘the police ‘must not allow personal feelings, beliefs or opinions to unfairly influence [their] actions in any situation’. The police should ‘consider different sides of a situation and ensure that each side is given equal consideration’, and no person or group ought to be favoured over another. Each situation must be assessed ‘based on its own merits’ to ensure actions are ‘fair and consistent’. And any decisions or actions must be ‘clear and evidence-based’.<sup>12</sup>

Impartiality is repeatedly mentioned as the primary obligation of the police officer by the Police Federation. It regularly publishes a document called ‘The Office of Constable’, and the first page of the 2018 edition highlights in bold:

‘Every constable is an independent legal entity; the public’s guarantee of impartiality. Officers of the Crown operate

independent of undue influence, interference and with a personal responsibility which requires a unique type of person and commitment.'

According to the 'quick guide' to police regulations published by the Police Federation:

'Members must abstain from any activity which is likely to interfere with the impartial discharge of duty or is likely to give rise to the impression that the activity may do so.'<sup>13</sup>

No doubt with the intention of ensuring that even the impression of bias is not given, police officers are also required not to take any active part in politics. They can be ordinary members of mainstream political parties, but are banned from membership of the British National Party, Combat 18, and the National Front.

Officers must not live in premises without the approval of their chief officer. If a member is in accommodation provided by the police, the chief officer's permission is required to have a lodger or to sub-let. If an officer has, or proposes to have, a business interest, he or she must give written notice to the chief officer, who will determine whether or not the interest is compatible with remaining a member of the force. The same requirement applies if a close relative has, or proposes to have, a business interest.

These constraints are all intended to prevent officers from coming under improper social pressure in their private lives. Impartiality is vital because the police are constantly called upon to use their judgement. Lord Scarman highlighted in his report following the Brixton riots of 1981, that discretion in the police was paramount: 'The good reputation of the police' depended 'upon the skill and judgement which [officers] display... Discretion is the art of suiting action to particular circumstances. It is the police's daily task.' In

addition to emphasising 'the constant and common-sense exercise of police discretion', he also upheld the importance of police independence:

'Neither politicians nor pressure-groups nor anyone else may tell the police what decisions to take or what methods to employ... The exercise of police judgement has to be as independent as the exercise of professional judgement by a doctor or a lawyer. If it is not, the way is open to manipulation and abuse of the law, whether for political or for private ends.'

Such responsibility requires people with the temperament for impartiality. Not everyone has it. Scarman also noted that the police are 'servants of the community', and so whilst they enforce the law on behalf of the community, 'they cannot effectively enforce it without the support of the community'.<sup>14</sup> He reflected the second of the Nine Principles of Policing attributed to Sir Robert Peel in 1829:

'...that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.'<sup>15</sup>

The identity-based staff associations and networks studied below engage in political campaigning. And they openly seek to enforce the law to the advantage of their own identity group. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why hate crime reporting has increased. It is a result of police activity, not a real-world change of behaviour. When the associations conduct themselves in a sectarian spirit, it weakens trust in police impartiality. In some cases, officers who defended impartiality have been denounced by sectarian groups as ignorant, or worse.<sup>16</sup>

It is not only a crime for a police officer to belong to a trade union, it is also a criminal offence to stir up controversy

within the police. Section 91 of the 1996 Act prohibits 'causing disaffection' in the police.

'(1) Any person who causes, or attempts to cause, or does any act calculated to cause, disaffection amongst the members of any police force, or induces or attempts to induce, or does any act calculated to induce, any member of a police force to withhold his services, shall be guilty of an offence and liable: (a) on summary conviction, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding the statutory maximum, or to both; (b) on conviction on indictment, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or to a fine, or to both.'

Not only do identity-based staff associations campaign on matters denied to the Police Federation, notably promotions and discipline, they engage in wider political campaigns. Again, whether these campaigns are compatible with section 91 has not been tested.

There was some weakening of impartiality when the oath of attestation was changed by the Police Reform Act 2002. The 1996 Act retained the traditional words under section 29. Schedule 4:

'I ... do solemnly and sincerely declare and affirm that I will well and truly serve Our Sovereign Lady the Queen in the office of constable, without favour or affection, malice or ill will; and that I will to the best of my power cause the peace to be kept and preserved, and prevent all offences against the persons and properties of Her Majesty's subjects; and that while I continue to hold the said office I will to the best of my skill and knowledge discharge all the duties thereof faithfully according to law.'

The 2002 Act amended Schedule 4 to the 1996 Act as follows:

'I ... do solemnly and sincerely declare and affirm that I will well and truly serve the Queen in the office of constable, with

fairness, integrity, diligence and impartiality, upholding fundamental human rights and according equal respect to all people; and that I will, to the best of my power, cause the peace to be kept and preserved and prevent all offences against people and property; and that while I continue to hold the said office I will, to the best of my skill and knowledge, discharge all the duties thereof faithfully according to law.'

Removing the obligation to act 'without favour or affection, malice or ill will' watered down the oath, but impartiality remained at its core.

### **The rise of identity groups**

It happened first in America, where race relations have been poisonous, unlike in the UK. In England, police associations based on identity groups began to emerge towards the end of the twentieth century. The police service now has a large number, including: the National Black Police Association, the Gypsy Roma Traveller Police Association, the Jewish Police Association, the National LGBT+ Police Network, the National Association of Muslim Police, the Police Pagan Association, the National Sikh Police Association, and the British Association for Women in Policing. Some of these associations have their own regional branches, such as the Greater Manchester Black and Asian Police Association or the eleven regional networks of the National LGBT+ Police Network. But some local forces also have their own specific associations for their staff only, such as the Metropolitan Police's Black Police Association and Chinese and South East Asian Staff Association.

The dominant ideology behind these groups is called critical race theory (CRT) by its adherents. Society is seen as divided into victim groups and their oppressors: whites are the oppressors and blacks are their victims; gays are victims

and straightens their oppressors, and so on. All ideas such as impartiality are said to be a disguise for white power. To claim otherwise is proof of 'white privilege'. Moreover, whites are said to have an unconscious bias. Because doubt must always remain about an unconscious sentiment, then demands are made for confession. One of the purposes of diversity and inclusion training is to make white people feel guilty and confess to their 'white privilege'. This kind of training is now pervasive throughout the public services, including the police.

Before looking at the main identity-based associations in Chapter 2, it will be useful to understand the main tenets of critical race theory. The same ideas and assumptions underpin all the leading associations, including those with a non-racial identity.

### **Critical Race Theory**

There are many accounts of critical race theory but I will rely on two main sources, each written by leading contributors to the doctrine. The first is *Words That Wound* by Mari Matsuda, Charles Lawrence, Richard Delgado and Kimberlè Crenshaw. On pages 6-7 it lists six 'defining elements' of critical race theory:

1. 'Critical race theory recognizes that racism is endemic to American life'. The authors ask how values and interests such as federalism, privacy, traditional values or established property interests 'serve as vessels of racial subordination'.
2. 'Critical race theory expresses skepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, color blindness, and meritocracy.'
3. Critical race theory 'insists on a contextual/historical analysis of the law'. Theorists 'adopt a stance that

presumes that racism has contributed to all contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage along racial lines including differences in income, imprisonment' and more.

4. 'Critical race theory insists on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of color.' This knowledge is 'gained from critical reflection on the lived experience of racism'.
5. 'Critical race theory is interdisciplinary and eclectic.' It borrows from several traditions, including liberalism, feminism, Marxism, poststructuralism, critical legal theory, pragmatism, and nationalism.
6. 'Critical race theory works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression. Racial oppression is experienced by many in tandem with oppressions on grounds of gender, class, or sexual orientation.' The interests of all 'people of color' necessarily require not just adjustments within the established hierarchies, but a challenge to hierarchy itself.<sup>17</sup>

This list in *Words That Wound* is rather abstract, which leaves room for interpretation, whereas the second source is expressed with abundant clarity. *Is Everyone Really Equal? An Introduction to Key Concepts in Social Justice Education* is by Özlem Sensoy and Robin DiAngelo, whose book *White Fragility* is a best-seller. I have singled out 10 assertions that define CRT, or 'critical social justice' as they sometimes call it:

1. Society is divided into social groups that include race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability. Critical social justice asserts that inequality is 'deeply embedded in the fabric of society (i.e. as structural), and actively seeks to change this'. The authors say that there is a difference between



race prejudice, which anyone might have, and racism, 'which occurs at the group level and is only perpetuated by the group that holds social, ideological, economic, and institutional power'.<sup>18</sup>

2. The authors say that they do not intend to assign blame. No one reading their book created systems of injustice, but 'each of us does have a choice about whether we are going to work to interrupt and dismantle these systems or support their existence by ignoring them'. There is no neutral ground: 'to choose not to act against injustice is to choose to allow it'.<sup>19</sup>
3. The authors contend that '*what* you know' is connected to '*who* you are' and '*where* you stand'. The power of dominant knowledge depends on its presentation as 'neutral and universal', but it is 'socially constructed', by which they mean it reflects the values and interests of those who produce it. The authors question the idea that objectivity is desirable or even possible.<sup>20</sup>
4. Although we are individuals, we are also members of social groups. These group memberships 'shape us as profoundly, if not more so, than any unique characteristic' we possess. Antiracist education 'recognizes racism as embedded in all aspects of society and the socialization process; no one who is born into and raised in Western culture can escape being socialized to participate in racist relations'. We must challenge the 'dominant conceptualization of racism as individual acts that only some bad individuals do, rather than as a system in which we are all implicated'.<sup>21</sup>
5. For every social group, there is an opposite group. All major groups are organized into either/or identities (such

as men/women). These identities depend upon their relationship with one another, 'wherein each identity is defined by its opposite'.<sup>22</sup>

6. The societal default is oppression; there are no spaces free of it. Thus, the question becomes, 'How is it manifesting here?' rather than 'Is it manifesting here?'<sup>23</sup> Oppression describes the policies, practices, traditions, norms, and discourses that systematically exploit one group to the benefit of another group.
7. Ideology perpetuates oppression, which is 'embedded within individual consciousness through socialization and rationalized as normal; once people are socialized into their place in the hierarchy, injustice is assured'. Insisting that 'we are all just human' is a way of denying that oppression exists and ending further discussion. Through 'privilege', the beliefs and values of the dominant group are 'made normal' and universal. Colour-blindness is seen as 'so pernicious'. If students do not see colour, they 'can deny seeing segregation'.<sup>24</sup>
8. Dominant groups have the most narrow view of society because they do not have to understand the experiences of minorities, who 'often have the widest view of society, in that they must understand both their own and the dominant group's perspective — develop a double-consciousness — to succeed'. The authors call white power and privilege 'white supremacy', but they do not intend to associate all whites with hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Rather, they use the term to capture the 'pervasiveness, magnitude, and normalcy of White privilege, dominance, and assumed superiority'.<sup>25</sup>

9. Language is not a neutral transmitter of objective reality. Rather, 'language is the way we *construct* reality'. There is no neutral text. All texts are embedded with ideology, which functions to reproduce historical relations of unequal power.<sup>26</sup>
10. Because dominant groups occupy the positions of power, their members receive social advantages. Cis-men, whites, heterosexuals, the able-bodied, Christians and upper classes automatically receive privilege by being members of a dominant group. When people are dominant, they generally don't like having their privilege pointed out: 'Very few Whites believe that structural racism is real or have the humility to engage with peoples of Color about it in an open and thoughtful way.'<sup>27</sup>

When we describe the standpoints of the main associations in Chapter 2, these doctrines from CRT will repeatedly crop up. Two demands made by identity-based groups are especially troubling: the call for identity-based quotas in recruitment and promotions; and the encouragement of hate crime reporting.

### **Quotas and Impartiality**

Some have called for proportionate representation of their identity group within the police force. Leroy Logan, the former chairman of the National Black Police Association (NBPA), even belittled his colleagues purely because of their race, calling them 'male, pale and stale'.<sup>28</sup> Accordingly, the National Black Police Association's four-year action plan for 2018-2022 set the target of establishing a NBPA affiliated Senior BAME police leaders group for Superintendents, Chief Officers and equivalent staff grades to improve senior representation of ethnic minorities.<sup>29</sup> The Metropolitan

Black Police Association also aims to increase minority representation.<sup>30</sup> And similarly, the National Association of Muslim Police argued that the number of Muslim staff in the police force is not proportionate to the number of Muslims in the population. It calls for the police to ‘identify the underrepresentation of Muslims within policing nationally’, and for greater representation of Muslims in decision making roles. To that end, ‘Bespoke plans to increase Muslim representation should be developed for each police force’.<sup>31</sup>

Such calls for quotas contradict the public expectation that police officers should be hired because of their ability to be impartial, as well as their other personal qualities and qualifications, not because they belong to a particular religious or ethnic group.

### **Hate crime and impartiality**

Hate crimes are the focus for several of the associations. For example, London’s network of the National LGBT+ Police Network aims to tackle hate crime; and the Chinese and South East Asian Staff Association of the Metropolitan Police said they were ‘preparing video messages about hate crime in several languages and directly contacting community groups and businesses to share crime prevention advice and offer guidance and support on reporting any issues’.<sup>32</sup> The National Sikh Police Association has said there is significant under reporting of hate crime by Sikhs and encourages victims to have the confidence to report matters to the police.<sup>33</sup> The Gypsy Roma and Traveller Association supports the Traveller Movement’s ‘#OperationReportHate’.<sup>34</sup>

This focus on hate crime by these associations has not always led to perpetrators being prosecuted, though. The Government claimed there had been an increase in hate crime in its 2016 report, *Action Against Hate: The UK*

*Government's plan for tackling hate crime.*<sup>35</sup> The report aimed to increase reporting by encouraging the use of third-parties and working with groups that were said to 'under-report'.<sup>36</sup>

However, encouraging reporting led to the police recording trivial incidents that could not be prosecuted. Homophobic hate crimes, for example, were said to have more than doubled between 2014-15 and 2018-19, but prosecutions have not increased at the same rate. Explaining why, Lee Broadstock, the secretary of the National LGBT+ Police Network, admitted that, despite 'an increase in confidence' in victims reporting crime to the police, a lot of the lower-level incidents, such as verbal abuse in the streets or online, were 'difficult to prosecute'.<sup>37</sup>

In the report *How hate crime policy is undermining our law and society*, Richard Norrie explains why 'greater reporting and recording do not result in greater prosecutions and convictions'. Norrie contends that not all crimes which are 'flagged' as hate crimes are in fact crimes in themselves, or if they are, they are not always committed because of prejudice or hate. Some incidents simply occur due to 'stupidity', 'material desire', 'jealousy' or mental illness, and in some cases, it cannot actually be known what the reason behind such actions were. Consequently, the result of the Government's push to increase the number of hate crimes reported is simply that too much is now being reported.<sup>38</sup>

As an earlier Civitas report showed, the creation of such hate crimes has weakened both police and judicial impartiality because it leads to some crimes being treated more seriously than others based upon the perceived motive of offenders. An assault can now be punished more severely if committed against a member of an ethnic minority than against a white person because it could be viewed as racially or religiously aggravated.<sup>39</sup>

## 2.

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### **The rise of the main identity-based staff associations and the response of police forces**

#### **Metropolitan Black Police Association**

Before the launch of the National Black Police Association (NBPA) in 1998,<sup>40</sup> the Metropolitan Black Police Association (MetBPA) had been formed in September 1994. It now represents over 4,000 officers.<sup>41</sup> The aim of the MetBPA is 'to improve the working environment of black personnel within the Metropolitan Police Service' and to improve police service delivery to black communities. The Association says that it wishes to eradicate racism from the police service and the broader criminal justice system.

Its official aims include:

- 'Providing a support network for black staff.
- Working towards improved relations between the police and the black community.
- Capacity building within the black community.
- Assisting recruitment and reducing staff wastage.'
- 'Working more closely with other staff associations and unions.'<sup>42</sup>

The Metropolitan Police was said to be institutionally racist by the Macpherson report in 1999,<sup>43</sup> and the MetBPA regularly repeats the accusation. In 2008, the MetBPA announced that 'it would boycott all recruitment drives initiated by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) to attract black and ethnic minority recruits and police staff'.<sup>44</sup> The MetBPA said:

'The Metropolitan Police under the current management and supervision of the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA) have made the working environment for its existing black staff a hostile atmosphere where racism is allowed to spread and those who challenge it are either suspended, told to shut up or subtly held back in relation to career development.'

A boycott is evidently a form of industrial action and the MetBPA could have been prosecuted but instead, Sir Paul Stephenson (the Metropolitan Police Deputy Commissioner) acknowledged that whilst 'more must be done' by the Met Police 'with the Met BPA's full support and engagement', much had been achieved since the Macpherson report.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, the MetBPA has continued to be critical. In 2013, it claimed that 'despite the training and community initiatives put in place over the past two decades, Scotland Yard has failed to tackle the mindset at the heart of failures' over Stephen Lawrence.<sup>46</sup> The MetBPA repeated its belief that the Met Police were 'institutionally racist'. The chairman of the MetBPA said this was 'not about labelling individuals racists but rather police practice and procedures that bring about disproportionate outcomes for black and minority ethnic communities and police personnel'. In these words, we see the confusion inspired by Macpherson.

In response to the MetBPA's criticisms, the Met Police's assistant commissioner, Simon Byrne, said the Met had improved since the murder of Stephen Lawrence – calling

it 'a very different organisation'. However, he admitted that there remained 'more work to be done to improve our service to Londoners from a black and minority ethnic background'. Furthermore, Byrne added that he was an 'implacable enemy of racism' and said that the Met was committed to challenging and driving out any racism in its ranks.<sup>47</sup>

The MetBPA also accused the Metropolitan Police of being a racist institution when plans were drawn up to stop funding three full-time MetBPA staff members. The Met was accused of hiding behind cost-cutting to silence critics. They were: 'trying to silence a vital voice of criticism on diversity by cutting funding for its association of black officers'. Leroy Logan, a founding member of the MetBPA, attacked the proposal as 'the biggest threat to the race equality agenda in the Met'.

The Metropolitan Police denied the accusation, saying it remained committed to diversity.<sup>48</sup> Dame Cressida Dick, has also defended the force's 'strong record' after criticisms that her force's leadership had been too slow to realise it had a race problem. She told a media briefing:

'I don't accept we've been too slow. We are an organisation, unlike many I may say, who have been focused on this for many years, have been having the conversations, have been making progress. Our record of improvement is strong. We've certainly in the last three years been highly focused on this.'

However, Dick did acknowledge that the police had more to do:

'This is a large organisation, it's not completely free of racism of discrimination or bias. We still have further to go. And we've been talking with and really acting on the advice, guidance, sometimes concerns of our black, Asian, minority



ethnic staff in the last few months, even more than we ever were before, and they've informed a lot of the changes in our practices that you are seeing now.'<sup>49</sup>

One strong criticism of the Metropolitan Police by the MetBPA has been its use of stop and search powers, which it claims demonstrates the Met Police's institutional racism. The criticisms of the Met Police's use of stop and search even led the Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, to call for police traffic stops to be reviewed to check whether black people were disproportionately affected by police tactics.<sup>50</sup>

The MetBPA has said that it supports 'the lawful and ethical use of stop and search' and recognises its importance in keeping communities safe whilst preventing and detecting crime.<sup>51</sup> But how the Met Police have used their stop and search powers, specifically against black people, has come under fire. One critic has been the Chair of the MetBPA, DS Janet Hills. Speaking to LBC, DS Hills called the policing system 'institutionally racist' and stressed that the Met needs to 'listen and hear the voices' of people within the policing system who feel as though the organisation can do better to fight racism'. The UK's stop and search powers have been criticised 'for the inherent racial profiling they support'. She said she had met 'countless police officers complaining about stop and search'. They had informed her that 'they have been stopped off duty' and that 'the grounds given by officers are vague'.<sup>52</sup> In addition, when her own nephew was stopped by police, DS Hills claimed it was 'down to racial profiling', adding that members of the black community 'are genuinely concerned about their young black men going out'.<sup>53</sup>

Responding to criticisms of the Met Police's use of their stop and search powers, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Cressida Dick, has consistently denied that

the force is institutionally racist. Following the accusation of racial profiling against Met officers when Team GB sprinter Bianca Williams was stopped and searched, Dame Cressida said she was listening to Black Lives Matter protesters' concerns about policing, and revealed she recently set up a new 'oversight group' to examine the use of force by officers. She apologised to Bianca Williams. But when asked if the Metropolitan Police was institutionally racist, Dame Cressida said it was not a label that she found 'helpful'. She added:

'I don't think we're collectively failing. I don't think [racism] is a massive systemic problem, I don't think it's institutionalised, and more to the point I think we have come such a very, very, very long way.'<sup>54</sup>

In 2004, the MetBPA suggested that one way to ensure the Metropolitan Police was more representative of London's racial mix was through the use of positive discrimination.<sup>55</sup> Accordingly, the MetBPA now aims to help the Met Police's ambition to 'mirror the 40% of London from diverse backgrounds'.<sup>56</sup> However, in 2020, 'government data revealed that only 15 per cent of officers in the Metropolitan Police were from black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) communities'.<sup>57</sup> And in 2019, leaders of the force had declared the Met Police would 'be disproportionately white for at least another 100 years at the current rate of progress'.<sup>58</sup>

More recently the MetBPA abandoned its boycott of recruitment. It has become 'involved in recruitment initiatives and held roadshows in partnership with the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime', and arranged for its members to speak in schools and colleges about what it's like to work for the Met Police.<sup>59</sup>

The Met Police continues to assert that it is no longer institutionally racist.<sup>60</sup> In its 2017-2021 'Inclusion and

Diversity Strategy', the force points to its achievements, such as delivering 'significant changes' to 'internal promotion processes, removing disproportionality in promotion outcomes for BME applicants', and increasing BME recruitment to 27 per cent in the 2015-16 financial year.<sup>61</sup>

Cressida Dick also highlighted that the Met Police 'have come a long way in the last thirty years' – noting that when she first joined the force, 'The proportion of Black and Minority Ethnic officers was in single figures'. Additionally, she noted that 'The Met is the most diverse police service in the UK, with half of Britain's ethnic minority officers working here.' Nevertheless, Dame Cressida conceded that she wants 'the Met to be better'.<sup>62</sup>

### **National Black Police Association**

In November 1998 the National Black Police Association (NBPA) was formed, with full support from the then Home Secretary, Jack Straw.<sup>63</sup> The overall mission of the NBPA is 'to improve the working environment of Black staff by protecting the rights of those employed within the Police Service and to enhance racial harmony and the quality of service to the Black community of the United Kingdom' in order to assist the police 'in delivering a fair and equitable service to all sections of the community'.<sup>64</sup>

In order to ensure 'fairness' is at the heart of the police agenda, the NBPA encourages the progression of BME officers and staff through mentoring schemes and leadership programmes. The Association has 'regular meetings' with all policing stakeholders, and claims to have a 'high profile' within the Home Office.<sup>65</sup>

Two of England's largest police forces (Greater Manchester and the West Midlands) also launched their own associations (the Greater Manchester Black and Asian Police Association

and the West Midlands Black and Asian Police Association) under the umbrella of the NBPA.

In 2004, the NBPA called on the Government to consider setting quotas to increase the number of BME police officers. The Association claimed that despite the 10-year targets (set after the Macpherson report in 1999), many forces were falling short. Accordingly, the NBPA said that ministers should, and must, take 'affirmative action', whereby a set number of posts at all ranks of the police service would be reserved for BME candidates,<sup>66</sup> as well as ensuring that when two potential candidates 'of similar standard enter the pool... a black or Asian officer' should be considered first.<sup>67</sup> In the NBPA's four-year action plan for 2018-2022, 14 years on from their quota recommendation, the association was dissatisfied. The plan highlights three main issues:

1. The lack of black female police officers. The NBPA state that because 13 forces had no black female officers, it reflects 'both a perceived lack of their worth, and of stereotyping'. Accordingly, they set the target of improving 'the representation, retention and progression of BME females at all ranks and grades of policing by increasing the number of forces with black women and their percentage in the service to 2.0%'.
2. The lack of senior BME representation. The NBPA say this reflects 'the historical underrepresentation of the BME community in the service, and affects its leadership and culture'. Thus, they set themselves the target of establishing 'a NBPA affiliated Senior BAME police leaders group for Superintendents, Chief Officers and equivalent staff grades'.
3. The disproportionate representation of white police officers and the higher rates of voluntary resignations and

dismissals for BME officers. In March 2018, the proportion of BME officers (6.6 per cent) was not representative of the UK's BME population (14 per cent). Moreover, the rate of voluntary resignations and dismissals of BME officers was three times higher than the rate for their white counterparts. The NBPA aimed to improve BME progression in specialisms and promotions, to identify retention problems, and target forces with high ratios of BME dismissals.<sup>68</sup>

Positive discrimination is supported by the NBPA when it is 'applied with consideration to overcome historic institutional and societal barriers' which 'have denied black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) police officers and staff, equal access and opportunity to be recruited, selected, and trained, promoted, and at times led to disproportionate disciplinary investigations and outcomes.'<sup>69</sup>

Leroy Logan, a former chairman of the NBPA, claimed that low black representation in the police service was because potential recruits were 'put off' by disproportionality in stop and search and the 'high numbers' of black people who die in police custody. He claimed that many potential black candidates dropped out during the selection process after realising the Met was 'male, pale and stale'. Logan told *The Independent*: 'The attrition rate is very high. The culture of the organisation does not celebrate diversity – it does not accept people as it should'.<sup>70</sup>

The NBPA cites figures for England and Wales purporting to show that black people are nine times more likely than white people to be stopped and searched by the police.<sup>71</sup> And Andrew George of the NBPA claims that instances of stop and search – such as Labour MP Dawn Butler, who was stopped by police whilst travelling in a car with her friend

– are ‘rooted in a biased system that views black people as criminals or drug dealers’.<sup>72</sup>

Furthermore, in written evidence from the NBPA, 21-years after the Macpherson report, they highlighted stop and search as a main issue for the BME population. And they claimed that several of their members and BME officers had been stopped and searched by police whilst travelling home from work.<sup>73</sup> According to Andrew George:

‘Training, briefings and culture all contribute to racial profiling and we have to acknowledge the hurt the black community is currently feeling and respond robustly to the consistent disproportionalities we see in police use of powers.’<sup>74</sup>

When making complaints, Tola Munro of the NBPA claims that BAME officers do not always experience fair and equal treatment in comparison to their white counterparts. Additionally, he adds that grievances for racism are often submitted to a white person who does not understand the range of forms that racism can take.<sup>75</sup> Accordingly, when internal grievances arise, the NBPA recommends an independent body should investigate as, in the view of Andy George, ‘When it’s police policing police – we never get things right’.<sup>76</sup> He seems to be assuming that no white person can ever treat a black person fairly, one of the accusations of American critical race theory.

In October 2019, the NBPA criticised the choice of Deputy Chief Constable Rob Nixon as compere for the 25th anniversary celebration of the Leicestershire branch of the Black Police Association. Writing to Simon Cole (chief constable of Leicestershire police), Tola Munro ‘said he had previously had cause to raise concerns with Mr Cole about the behaviour and suitability of Mr Nixon to be the

force lead for race’.<sup>77</sup> And so the resulting event served only to reinforce his concerns about ‘unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping in Leicestershire Police’. The letter was also accompanied by a 29-page document from 2019 highlighting 15 indicators of institutional racism within Leicestershire Police, including a lack of diversity in all levels of the force and a lack of attention given to discrimination complaints.

Of the Leicestershire event, Munro said the ‘failings gave me and others the impression that the event was neither inclusive or participatory and had a superficial impact. This has reinforced my belief, as President of the NBPA, that Leicestershire Police is institutionally racist’. He therefore said he would like to support Cole and the Leicestershire force ‘by encouraging you to work with the College of Policing to undertake a Peer Review, and Unconscious Bias assessments of your senior leaders’.

These remarks are also derived from CRT. Race is assumed to be the most important thing about an individual. White officers are assumed to be incapable of acting fairly and to harbour unconscious bias.

Munro had also previously accused the force of institutional racism while attending a hearing at the House of Commons on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Macpherson Report. During the hearing, Munro told MPs that the force was dealing with ‘four or five’ cases of racial discrimination, which he said was an ‘unprecedented’ number.<sup>78</sup>

The NBPA takes the view that racism is still a problem facing society as a whole.<sup>79</sup> In 2018, it said it wanted ‘policing institutions to develop strategies, analyse attitudes and beliefs to understand the difficulties that individuals or groups have in dealing with institutional racism, and to

accept that this occurs.’ They added that they could only ‘be satisfied that inherently racist practices have been eradicated from the police service’ when ‘there is fair representation across all grades, ranks and specialist roles’.<sup>80</sup> Here we see the classic demand of CRT for guilt to be admitted. The oppressors must accept their culpability.

Andy George has also said that police forces have not been quick enough or consistent enough in addressing the lack of diversity in their ranks. He added that black communities face ‘the most disproportionate use of police powers, particularly stop and search and use of force’, which will ‘inevitably lead to fewer members of the community seeing policing as a viable career’.<sup>81</sup> And Tola Munro has further claimed: ‘whether you call it institutional racism, systemic racism, or whether you’re just calling it a bias in the system that works against black, Asian and minority ethnic communities, there’s something there that is constantly creating these disproportions’.<sup>82</sup> Here is the invalid assumption that the disproportionate representation must be the result of discrimination, again drawn from CRT.

Allegations of institutional racism within the police by the NBPA have been contested. Following the stopping of Dawn Butler MP, Cressida Dick argued that the Met Police was not institutionally racist, saying the force has ‘zero tolerance of racist behaviour’.<sup>83</sup> Che Donald, the vice-chair of the Police Federation, also expressed his view after the stopping of Butler. He said that, although he acknowledged racism existed in policing, he did not think the police were institutionally racist.<sup>84</sup>

In March 2021, the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities published its report showing that Britain ‘no longer’ has a system that ‘is deliberately rigged against ethnic minorities’.<sup>85</sup> This led to criticism from the NBPA, who



expressed their concern ‘that the Commission has created a false and misleading narrative’. They claimed the report ‘mischievously stated’ that institutional racism in policing ‘is largely no longer the case given that [reporting] hate crime and race related incidents is now widely encouraged by police forces’. The NBPA insisted that this ‘is not the lived experience’ of their BME members, police officers and the communities they serve.<sup>86</sup> The doctrine of ‘lived experience’ is derived from CRT. It denies the possibility of objective truth.

On stop and search, the Commission showed that, while data revealed that black people are nine times more likely to be stopped and searched than white people, this is a ‘relative rate’ which ‘is reported at a national level and does not account for differences in the sizes or characteristics of local populations or the way stop and search is used at a local level’. Furthermore, the Commission also pointed out the reasons why this disparity can occur, including ‘population changes’; ‘the number of people who do not report their ethnicity’; and ‘geographic clustering’. Therefore, the Commission argued, disparities should ‘be analysed at smaller geographic areas’.<sup>87</sup>

It has long been known that there is no discrimination in the use of stop and search. Theresa May was responsible for a catastrophic reduction in police effectiveness while she was Home Secretary. Figures for stop and search are available from 2001-02, when there were 770,100. The number peaked at 1,519,561 in 2008-09 and then fell dramatically as a direct result of Theresa May’s policies, introduced during 2014. In the first full year after the reforms there were 383,595, reaching a low point of 282,248.

The changes happened because Theresa May deliberately ignored the evidence that Home Office officials had

painstakingly gathered. She wanted to portray herself as a defender of justice for ethnic minorities and chose to believe claims that stop and search was being used in a racially discriminatory manner. Alasdair Palmer was her speech writer and has described how the facts came to be ignored.

A special adviser had asked him to write a speech that would help the Home Secretary to improve her standing with 'Afro-Caribbeans' by making a statement that was critical of the police's use of stop and search. The grounds were to be that the tool was racist: the statistics demonstrated that you were six or seven times more likely to be stopped and searched if you were a member of an ethnic minority. However, Alasdair Palmer found that the Home Office had tested this claim some years earlier and found it to be false. The researchers had identified the percentage of the street population made up by each ethnic group and then compared it with the percentage of stop and searches that were made up by each ethnic group. They discovered that, if you looked at who was available to be stopped and searched, then the ethnic disparity disappeared. In fact, the police stopped slightly more white people by comparison with their proportion of the street population. Moreover, the police did not stop and search people because of their race, rather they used the power in areas where street crime was most common.<sup>88</sup>

Despite the fact that there was no demonstrable racism, Mrs May delivered the speech anyway, and as we now know, she imposed policies that led to a sharp fall in the use of stop and search and a corresponding increase in crime. This was a classic case of political image building triumphing over problem solving. Pandering to ethnic minorities by falsely upholding their sense of victimhood no doubt seemed at the time to be clever politics with no harm done. In truth,

Theresa May shamelessly undermined the effectiveness of the police, which led to the increase in violent crime.

The NBPA has expressed support for Black Lives Matter (BLM). In June 2020, weeks after the murder of George Floyd, Tola Munro said the BLM protests were forcing the police to confront longstanding issues regarding the treatment of BME officers and members of the public – calling it ‘a watershed movement’ for both British policing and institutional racism.<sup>89</sup>

Despite the constant stream of false accusations of institutional racism, Government ministers often speak at NBPA conferences. David Blunkett (then Home Secretary) spoke during the NBPA’s annual conference in Cardiff in 2003, ‘where he called on black police officers to work with forces to overcome racism’.<sup>90</sup> Theresa May (then Home Secretary) spoke at the Association’s annual conference in 2015. She said the proportion of black and Asian officers was ‘not good enough’ and hoped the statistics would act as a ‘wake-up call’.<sup>91</sup> And in 2018, the then Home Secretary, Sajid Javid, was a keynote speaker at the NBPA’s annual conference.<sup>92</sup>

Occasionally inviting MPs backfired. Conservative MP David Davies, during his speech at the Association’s annual conference in 2008, called it ‘a shame’ and ‘unacceptable’ that the NBPA was not allowing white people to become full members:

‘Tackling racism and unfair treatment of ethnic minorities is something which is taken seriously by members of every race in the police force and yet the clear implication of such a policy is that white people do not share this concern.’<sup>93</sup>

Since Mike Cunningham became CEO of the College of Policing (CoP), the NBPA’s request for a better relationship

with the CoP has been acknowledged, and Cunningham now meets the President of the NBPA 'on a quarterly basis, as well as having ad hoc telephones calls'. For example, the NBPA were asked to assist the CoP in setting up a BME staff network.<sup>94</sup>

In December 2017, the NBPA were invited to join the National Police Chiefs Council (NPCC) Race, Religion and Belief Group, and have 'fully participated' in developing the group's terms of reference.<sup>95</sup>

At the core of police association activity is the Police Association Strategic Leaders (PASL) group for leaders of police staff associations and groups, described as a network of networks. It was formed in 2016 'with PFEW and the blessing of the Home Office ... to bring together the full spectrum of police faith, race, disability, sexuality and gender groups to share their unique perspectives and work collectively'. The police associations which are members of the PASL are: the National Black Police Association; the National Association of Muslim Police; the National LGBT+ Police Network; the Chinese and South East Asian Police Association; and the Gypsy Roma Traveller Police Association.

### **National Association of Muslim Police**

The National Association of Muslim Police (NAMP) was founded in 2007 by bringing together some local associations. According to its website, the 'NAMP actively promotes equality, diversity and inclusion and leads on several initiatives to facilitate better workplace environments for Muslims. NAMP also delivers various training packages relating to Islamic awareness and addresses issues connected to "Islamophobia" within the Police service.'<sup>96</sup>

The aims on the website include:

- To improve 'recruitment, retention and progression of Muslim Officers/Staff'.
- To address 'disproportionality within misconduct/grievance procedures'.
- 'To support the religious and welfare needs of Muslim colleagues'.
- 'To influence the direction of national policies in the Police Service'.
- To promote 'community cohesion' and enhance the safety of our communities.<sup>97</sup>

During an interview, Zaheer Ahmad, the president of the NAMP, complained about Islamophobia, which according to his interpretation turned out to be criticising Islam, whether the criticism was valid or not:

'Mainstream political discourse, particularly in times of elections, is contaminated by xenophobic and anti-Muslim statements, which aim to portray Muslims as the reason for the failure of the policies promoting diversity and co-existence. Needless to say that such statements are not backed by any scientific research or data collection but because of populism and voter's consideration as well as curtail the presence of Muslim communities through draconian laws and xenophobic reactions. At the same time, the democratic demands from the Muslim communities are being ignored. There is very little acknowledgment of the contributions of Muslim and indeed other ethnic communities to European development in the fields of labour and service market, business, culture, sports, demographic changes and indeed in many other sectors.'

Ahmad expressed the hope that by addressing the issues which affect the whole Muslim community and raising awareness of these issues that 'the gap between the police and the Muslim communities' could be bridged.<sup>98</sup> In truth, his approach is derived from the divisive doctrines of CRT. He sees Muslims as perennial victims.

In June 2008, the president of the NAMP wrote to Jacqui Smith, the Home Secretary, to ask her to order a critical review of racism in the police following 'An audit of police treatment of Muslim and black officers', to which 20 of the 43 forces did not respond. In the letter, Zaheer Ahmad wrote:

'Why were some forces unable or unwilling to co-operate, while others completed in full and on time? Why did some forces refuse to complete on grounds of the pretext of the Data Protection Act, while others said they did not have the time to take part? ... If the police are serious about ensuring that Muslim officers are able to rise through the ranks at the same speed as their fellow white officers, and ensuring that Muslims are deployed to counter-terrorism duties at a time of heightened national security, we must have reliable data to track progress and measure success.'<sup>99</sup>

In 2008, a study carried by the NAMP and Demos found a 'dearth' of high-ranking Muslim police officers (0.65 per cent) and noted that they are 'largely absent' from specialist units like counter-terrorism (27 out of 2,374). Muslims generally were said to be under-represented in police forces: they made up only 0.75 per cent of the police service but 3.3 per cent of the population.<sup>100</sup> The Association continues to complain about disproportionate representation. When Muslims were thought to be at least five per cent of the UK population, the NAMP complained that 'this same representation isn't currently reflected in policing'.<sup>101</sup>

In a survey conducted by the NAMP, it was found that

‘A large proportion of respondents feel they do not belong due to low representation, a feeling of “not fitting in” and perceived discrimination.’<sup>102</sup> The ‘NAMP are working together with various Police Forces, the National Police Chiefs Council and College of Policing to increase these numbers to become more representative of the Muslim community.’<sup>103</sup>

However, this survey of 310 of about 1,000 members of the NAMP found that 90 per cent of those interviewed enjoyed their job and 66 per cent mostly or always felt a sense of belonging. In 2013, Chief Superintendent Dal Babu (who helped found the NAMP) claimed that ‘radical measures’ were needed to help the police gain a better understanding of different cultures. He suggested that it was not only ‘the right thing to do’, but that there was also a ‘business case’ for increasing the number of ethnic minority police officers, particularly in specialist units. For example, he said:

‘It’s about having that cultural understanding when you’re planning the firearms operation – do you understand the cultural aspects that might be misinterpreted as being aggression within a particular community? Do you understand when communities are praying on a particular day?’<sup>104</sup>

According to research by the NAMP, there is a ‘strong perception and feeling’ that Professional Standards Departments disproportionally investigate Muslim or BAME officers, with 10 per cent of NAMP respondents stating ‘they have been investigated by Professional Standards within the past year (2020)’, and 29 per cent stating ‘they have been investigated by Professional Standards at some point during their career.’<sup>105</sup> However, in its survey of 310 members, NAMP respondents were asked if they are treated

fairly as a Muslim working within the police service, and 78 per cent said that they were generally treated fairly.

Respondents were also asked for their opinion on how effectively their police force dealt with discrimination and Islamophobia. It was found that 43 per cent felt that Islamophobia was not being dealt with effectively, and 40 per cent thought racism was not being dealt with effectively.

One hundred people selected from Muslim associations were also 'asked for their perception on how fairly the police service treat the Muslim community and how effectively the police service tackle Islamophobia and Racism'. The responses were largely critical: 81 per cent felt that Islamophobia was rarely or never dealt with effectively; and 74 per cent felt that racism was not being dealt with effectively.<sup>106</sup> This was a survey of 100 'community contacts' selected by the NAMP that was in no sense representative of Muslims.

When 'NAMP respondents were asked if they have personally experienced or witnessed Islamophobia and Racism [internally] within their police force over the past year (2020)', 22 per cent claimed 'to have personally experienced Islamophobia in the police service within the past year' and 31 per cent claimed 'to have personally experienced Racism in the police service within the past year'. Further, some respondents felt there was an 'unconscious bias' against Muslims within their police force.

For community respondents, the proportions were higher: 46 per cent having claimed 'to have personally experienced Islamophobia within the past year' (but only 15 per cent actually reported the incident), and 44 per cent claimed 'to have personally experienced racism within the past year' (but only 14 per cent reported the incident). Reasons that respondents gave for not reporting such incidents were: that



they were not aware of how to report hate incidents; that ‘subtle forms of discrimination are difficult to prove’; and because some felt ‘that reporting is only for statistical data and the hate incident won’t be taken seriously’.<sup>107</sup>

Experiencing Islamophobia is treated as if it is a kind of racism, but Islamophobia is not a crime. Above all, criticism of religion, even if it is abusive, is protected. There is a strong ‘freedom of speech’ defence for criticism of religions in Clause 29J of the 1986 Public Order Act. Inserted by the Racial and Religious Hatred Act of 2006, it states that nothing in Part IIIA:

‘shall be read or given effect in a way which prohibits or restricts discussion, criticism or expressions of antipathy, dislike, ridicule, insult or abuse of particular religions or the beliefs or practices of their adherents, or of any other belief system or the beliefs or practices of its adherents, or proselytising or urging adherents of a different religion or belief system to cease practising their religion or belief system.’

The NAMPs complaints about Islamophobia are quite simply not valid.

In 2010, the NAMP told MPs that due to the government’s Prevent strategy, ‘The hatred towards Muslims has grown to a level that defies all logic and is an affront to British values.’<sup>108</sup> The Prevent programme remains a focus for the NAMP. Their recent survey of NAMP and community respondents found that 55 per cent of NAMP members supported Prevent, as did 51 per cent of the community respondents. And although most respondents agreed with the Prevent Programme concept, 48 per cent of NAMP respondents and 57 per cent of community respondents did not think that Muslims viewed Prevent in a positive light.

A majority of NAMP members thought that the terms used by Counter-Terrorism Policing (CTP) – such as

‘Islamist’, ‘Islamism’, ‘Jihadist’ and ‘Jihadism’ – were ‘not suitable or fit for purpose’. When respondents were asked about the impact of such terms on Islamophobia, 85 per cent of NAMP respondents believed that ‘the CTP terminology contributes to Islamophobia within the Police Service’. Additionally, there was an ‘Overwhelming dislike for these terms as they cause negative perceptions of Muslims, which negatively impacts Muslim communities’, and there was also a ‘General feeling that these terms breed Islamophobia due to the associations drawn between Islam and terrorism’.

All respondents were also asked if they ‘feel vulnerable or uncomfortable as Muslims’ when terms such as Islamist, Islamism, Jihadist and Jihadism are used, and around three-quarters of NAMP respondents did feel this way. The key conclusions drawn by the report were: ‘when such terms are used due negative connotations and connection to Muslims’; ‘there is a vilification of Muslims and that they are subsequently more likely to become victims of Hate Crime’; the terms criminalise Muslims; and they were ‘tired of having to explain to others and justify themselves as a Muslim in the wake of an incident nationally or internationally’.<sup>109</sup>

Here again we see a pervasive sense of victimhood, legitimised by CRT.

To meet the physiological needs of Muslim officers and staff, the police should, according to the NAMP, ensure their ‘essential needs’ are met, as practicing Muslims should be able ‘to practice their faith comfortably at work’. The police therefore need to ensure there are prayer provisions, ablution facilities, Ramadan provisions, Halal provisions and religious clothing.

The NAMP claims that ‘Critical mass in workforce dynamics suggests that 30% of representation at senior level is required before minority groups have an impact

on decision making'. If Muslims are in senior positions, then they have the potential to 'influence policies, decision making and workplace practices' – all of which 'can inspire and motivate other Muslims within the police force.'

These arguments are straight out of the CRT playbook. They deny the possibility of justice at the hands of a non-Muslim and portray Muslims as always the oppressed victims.

The NAMP also offered some recommendations for the National Police Chiefs Council to consider. Diversity, equality and inclusion training should be compulsory 'for all new starters within the police service, specifically covering sensitivities with all protected characteristics and details on how to report discrimination issues'. To assist in identifying biases and to assess progress on a regular basis, faith and race unconscious bias training should be considered for Professional Standards Departments and Counter-Terrorism Policing. Forces should proactively promote the use of positive action to develop Muslim officers, staff, PCSOs and specials. The Government should consider reviewing and rebranding the Prevent Programme. Moreover, the programme should clearly show that 'it addresses all forms of extremism and that it is not focused on Muslims'.<sup>110</sup>

The programme is focused on the main threat, which currently comes from Islamists, but with their thinking distorted by CRT, the NAMP is unable to be objective. For them, Muslims are always and everywhere oppressed.

Despite the regular stream of misguided criticism that would endanger life if it influenced policy, the NAMP is a member of the National Police Association of Strategic Leaders (PASL).<sup>111</sup> In 2010, it was revealed that, over the previous two years, the NAMP had received over £90,000 in grants from the Home Office. In comparison, the Christian

Police Association had only received £15,000 in the five years prior, despite both organisations having a similar number of members.<sup>112</sup>

### **National LGBT+ Police Network**

‘The National LGBT+ Police Network is a representative body for lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans Police groups’ (the previous associations for this community were the Gay Police Association and the National Trans Police Association) and ‘is supportive of all lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people, regardless of their background or characteristics’.<sup>113</sup> The National LGBT+ Police Network is present in the 43 police forces across England and Wales.<sup>114</sup>

In London, the Network is present in both the Metropolitan Police Service and the City of London Police. It works to improve the working experiences and conditions of LGBT+ officers and staff. Further, the Network also collaborates with other staff associations and senior leaders to ‘explore Intersectionality and Inclusion’ and tackle joint issues such as hate crime. Externally, the Network works with communities, stakeholders and partners ‘to improve the quality of service including investigation and quality of care delivered to our public especially victims of Homophobic and Transphobic Hate Crime’.<sup>115</sup>

Greater Manchester Police is part of the North West’s LGBT+ Police Network. The work of the forces in the North West aims to provide the best possible police service to the region’s LGBT community and ‘has been recognised with a number of awards from Stonewall, Manchester Pride and the LGBT Foundation’.<sup>116</sup>

West Midlands Police is part of the West Midlands’s LGBT+ Police Network. The four forces in the West Midlands work ‘in partnership in an effort to improve communication

with... LGBT employees and straight allies'.<sup>117</sup> The concept of the 'ally' is derived from CRT. Straight people can't avoid being oppressors, but their 'privilege' can be mitigated by becoming allies of their victims.

Following the Black Lives Matter protests in the summer of 2020, the National LGBT+ Police Network showed their support through the launch of the Intersectionality Working Group (IWG). Constable Paul Bloomer, Co-Chair of the Police Service of Northern Ireland LGBT+ Network, said the IWG came about after 'the Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests forced many of us within policing to take a hard look at ourselves and to ask, are we doing enough to support our Black, Asian, and Ethnic Minority communities and colleagues?' According to Bloomer, this led to the realisation that there were 'clear gaps in diverse representation and that we needed the voices of our Black, Asian, and Ethnic Minority LGBT+ colleagues to be around the table to ensure our decision making is more representative, fair and inclusive'.

Again, he links fairness to race, and assumes that straight people are oppressors. Constable Bloomer also added that the main aim of the IWG would be 'to amplify the voices and lived experiences of diverse groups affected by intersectionality', with a key focus on Black, Asian, and Ethnic Minority LGBT+ people.<sup>118</sup>

Here again, 'lived experience' is assumed to be superior to objective fact, the possibility of which is denied.

### **National Sikh Police Association**

The National Sikh Police Association (NSPAUK) was formally launched in 2019<sup>119</sup> and 'represents Sikh police officers and staff throughout the UK.' Their 'aim is to champion Sikh officers and help them to thrive throughout

their police careers.’<sup>120</sup> The NSPAUK’s Vice President, Sergeant Jag Singh of Leicestershire Police, said at the Association’s launch:

‘The association represents an important milestone in giving Sikh officers an official voice and developing wider relations between the police and the Sikh community. It is vital to build bridges between the community and the police at a time when misunderstandings can arise all too easily.’<sup>121</sup>

The NSPAUK is present in three of the UK’s largest police forces: Greater Manchester Police,<sup>122</sup> West Midlands Police<sup>123</sup> and the Metropolitan Police.<sup>124</sup>

It submitted evidence to the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities drawn from a survey carried out in August 2020. Of those who participated in the survey, the NSPAUK found that:

- Almost half of respondents (47 per cent) had considered leaving their career as a result of their treatment.
- The majority of respondents (62 per cent) ‘reported suffering some form of racism at work’.
- Over half of respondents (59 per cent) ‘felt they had been overlooked for opportunities some or most of the time due to racism or unconscious bias’.

The NSPAUK was disappointed that the Commission concluded that the UK was not institutionally racist. The Commission said that it had ‘heard overwhelming views that there has been a dynamic shift in police attitudes on race over the last few decades’:

‘Yet, how the police are perceived can be shaped by a small minority whose prejudiced behaviour attracts media attention. The Commission notes that while senior officers

may appropriately sanction or act on such behaviour, these examples not only impact public perception of the police but also the likelihood individuals would choose to pursue a career within policing.<sup>125</sup>

In response to the Commission's 2021 report, the NSPAUK issued a statement arguing that 'the report's conclusions regarding racism in its most insidious form are not indicative of the lived experiences of many Sikh officers and staff across the country.'<sup>126</sup>

Once more, 'lived experience' is considered to be superior to objective knowledge, which is seen as nothing more than an ideological smokescreen for oppression.

The NSPAUK claims that 'racism and hatred still exists, whether this is due to race, religion, belief or identity'. As such, the Association's 'ambition with staff associations, hate crime leads and partner organisations is to work together with our communities to challenge, understand, educate and raise awareness'.<sup>127</sup> Additionally, the NSPAUK also pointed out that they are aware of the 'significant under reporting' of hate crime amongst the Sikh community. Consequently, they encourage victims to report such incidents to the police.<sup>128</sup>

### **Gypsy Roma Traveller Police Association**

The Gypsy Roma Traveller Police Association (GRTPA) was founded in 2014 by PC Jim Davies (an English Romany Gypsy) following the racial abuse he claims that he and others had received in the police. He said that prior to the establishment of the GRTPA, there was a lack of a support network for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller police officers who experience 'open discrimination'.<sup>129</sup>

The objectives of the GRTPA are to 'Be involved in recruitment campaigns and support candidates from

Gypsy, Roma and Traveller backgrounds’, and to ‘Work with other organisations, associations and charities to improve the relationships between the Gypsy, Roma, Traveller communities and the Police’.<sup>130</sup> The GRTPA has 130 members in over 30 forces.<sup>131</sup> It is a member of the National Police Association of Strategic Leaders (PASL).

When Jim Davies first alleged there was institutional racism in the police force in 2014, the Thames Police said it would ‘not tolerate any form of discrimination towards any minority group’. Further, they added that there would be an independent review of how Thames Valley Police engages with Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities.<sup>132</sup>

Nonetheless, the GRTPA has alleged that problems have continued. In 2016, the Association discovered that ‘39 out of the UK’s 48 police forces do not include Gypsies and Travellers in their ethnic monitoring systems’, meaning officers’ interactions with Gypsies and Travellers, and widespread discrimination against the groups, may be ‘hidden from view’. Forces that responded to the data request said they did not include Gypsies and Travellers in their ethnic monitoring systems because the Home Office did not require them to.<sup>133</sup> The absence of statistics was not evidence of discrimination.

In 2016, Hampshire Police published a poster which provoked a strong reaction. People were strongly advised not to take any action against Travellers by taking the law into their own hands and were reminded that they could simply decline to buy services:

‘What you can do is refuse to buy products or services from doorstep traders including tarmacing, tree lopping or general buildings work. We would also ask you to remain calm and avoid any conflict with the Travellers.’



This provoked an extreme reaction from Davies, who called the poster ‘an appalling example of systemic police racism towards Gypsies and Travellers’, adding that the police calling ‘on the public to boycott businesses because of the ethnicity of the proprietor is chillingly similar to the campaign to boycott Jewish businesses in Nazi-run Germany’.<sup>134</sup> Needless to say, the Hants police had done no such thing. They were trying to calm things down.

In a blog post in June 2020, the GRTPA expressed their support for the Black Lives Matter campaign: ‘We stand with you in the fight against racism and we concur the Black Lives Matter campaign. We stand shoulder to shoulder and see eye to eye.’<sup>135</sup>

The Traveller Movement is a charity which has worked with the GRTPA on numerous occasions. The two organisations submitted evidence to Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS),<sup>136</sup> the *MacPherson Report: 20 years on inquiry*,<sup>137</sup> and to the Home Office.<sup>138</sup>

The submission to HMICFRS consultation on the proposed policing inspection programme and framework for 2019-20 said that across the UK, the relationship between the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller community ‘and the police is too often marked by mutual mistrust, poor communication and conflict limiting the communities’ ability to access justice and the police’s ability to protect citizens and fight crime’.<sup>139</sup>

The submission to the Home Office consultation on strengthening police powers to tackle unauthorised encampments warned against increasing police powers that would ‘further exacerbate’ the ‘already fraught relationship’ between the police and the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller community. It also stated that nobody would be ‘well

served' through the police being given additional powers, especially Gypsies and Travellers as 'The police and local authorities have sufficient powers to remove encampments and this should remain a civil matter'.<sup>140</sup> The available civil powers had been widely found to be inadequate.

The Traveller Movement interviewed 17 police officers and 14 members of the GRT community and published the findings in *Policing by Consent*. This report also expressed some criticism of the police relationship with the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller community. For instance, it noted that whilst relations were improving, there was still 'a long way to go' – with 'most GRT respondents and many police officers describing current relations as mixed or poor'. Notably, the report also found that 'Unconscious bias, racism and discrimination persists' – with the research finding that 'Nearly three quarters of police officers and the vast majority of community members identify unconscious bias, racism and discriminatory behaviour towards GRT communities by the police'. This three-quarters figure was 12/17 officers. According to respondents, this included the 'use of racist language, perceptions of the communities as criminogenic, and community members automatically being treated as suspects'.

The report made numerous recommendations, such as the 'Need to recruit, retain and increase the visibility of Gypsies, Roma and Travellers in the police' in order to build trust and improve relations; and 'More robust, transparent disciplinary procedures and use of video to address racist and discriminatory police behaviour... to build trust and confidence in the police'.<sup>141</sup>

The presumptions of CRT run through the demands and interpretations of the GRTPA from top to bottom.

### **British Association for Women in Policing**

It is claimed that British Association for Women in Policing (BAWP) 'is the only national organisation to embrace all women of ranks and grades'.<sup>142</sup> The Metropolitan Police has its own Women Police Association.<sup>143</sup>

The aims of the BAWP include: to 'raise awareness and understanding' of the issues that affect women in the police service; 'to provide the female perspective'; and to 'contribute to the professional development of members'.<sup>144</sup>

In 1987, Constable Tina Martin from Derbyshire Constabulary invited policewomen in the UK to a meeting, which 15 women from eight forces attended. A month later, the British Association of Women Police was formed. It campaigned for career breaks, part-time working and the promotion of equal opportunities. It gained support from some senior police officers, the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and the Police Federation of England & Wales, before the Home Office officially recognised the BAWP in 1999.<sup>145</sup>

According to the BAWP in 2006, 'Sexism and racism is still rife in the UK police service'.<sup>146</sup> The Association also claimed that senior level female police staff and ethnic minorities were still under-represented in the service. And Julie Spence, the BAWP's president, said that because women and ethnic minority staff were predominantly in the lower paid, less influential roles, there was a 'real danger' that the service could claim it had a diverse workforce despite the majority of management roles being held by men.<sup>147</sup>

This issue of a lack of female representation in higher-ranking roles has since changed, with the BAWP finding in 2011 that 77 female officers were members of ACPO. Nonetheless, the Home Office itself said that 'women continue to face barriers with regards to promotion, particularly to the

rank of Sergeant, and remain underrepresented in specialist roles such as firearms, traffic and special branch'.<sup>148</sup>

As mentioned above, the BAWP contends that 'Sexism... is still rife in the UK police service'.<sup>149</sup> Susannah Fish, former chief constable of Nottinghamshire Police, said there was a 'toxic culture of sexism' in 'significant parts of policing'. Following the killing of Sarah Everard in 2021, Olivia Pinkney (chief constable of Hampshire Police and representing the National Police Chiefs' Council) did not agree, but she did acknowledge the police may not always get it right. She said:

'When women have the courage to come forward to anyone, including the police, then they will be listened to, they will be heard, they will be supported... I'm sure that we get stuff wrong. But if we get it wrong, then we'll hear about it and we'll fix it.'<sup>150</sup>

And when five officers from Hampshire Constabulary were sacked over racism, homophobia and sexism, Olivia Pinkney said that the police 'do not accept this type of behaviour' and when it is raised they will take action and be 'open and transparent about that, no matter how difficult that may be'.<sup>151</sup>

### **The Jewish Police Association**

The Jewish Police Association (JPA) was set up in 2001 and aims to provide a network for support and advice to Jewish personnel within the police service; to promote understanding of the Jewish faith within the police service; and to actively promote the police service as an employer of choice for the Jewish community.<sup>152</sup>

The JPA is a member of the National Police Association of Strategic Leaders (PASL).<sup>153</sup> It has said that the murder of Stephen Lawrence, and the subsequent inquiry, had a direct

impact on the police response to the Jewish community. It believes that continued hostility towards Israel translates into a growing acceptance of anti-Semitism and an increase in incidents against Jews.<sup>154</sup>

In 2003, the first joint venture between the Community Security Trust and the Metropolitan Police was a leaflet that contained 'information needed by a victim of an anti-Semitic incident, or anyone who received anti-Semitic literature, abusive or threatening phone calls'.

At the leaflet's launch, Commissioner Stevens, replying to a tribute from JPA chaplain Rabbi Alan Plancey, said the Jewish people were 'the most persecuted the world has ever seen' but that 'this was the way forward, communities being part and parcel of London and the United Kingdom'. And JPA secretary PC Danny Phillips said that despite anti-Semitic crime continuing to pose a problem for many in the Jewish community, both anti-Semitic and racist crimes remained under-reported. As such, 'the Metropolitan Police wants to encourage more victims to report such incidents' – hence the launch of the leaflet.<sup>155</sup>

In 2017, anti-Semitic crime was still noted as being a problem by the JPA. This subsequently led to an alliance with the grassroots group Campaign Against Antisemitism. The alliance, British Council for Countering Anti-Semitism, involved a range of organisations, including the JPA. It brought together Jewish police officers and security volunteers under a remit to 'speak with a single voice'. Tim Williams of the JPA said the JPA were 'proud to join with partners within the community' to both 'highlight the ongoing problem of anti-Semitism and ensure that there is a united response to anti-Jewish racism.'<sup>156</sup>

The JPA has called for greater Jewish representation in the Met Police. In particular, the JPA announced that their

vision for the Met Police is 'to have a special constable from every synagogue in London.'<sup>157</sup>

In 2012, the JPA was credited with helping the Met Police 'win the Overall Public Sector Winner in the Employers Network for Equality and Inclusion (ENEI) Awards 2012 for improving workforce representation and the participation of diverse communities.'<sup>158</sup>

However, in 2015, the level of Jewish representation in the police, specifically the Met Police, was still under scrutiny. A member of the JPA, Chief Superintendent Sue Williams, called for more proportionate representation, particularly in London, where there were only thought to be approximately 200 Jews in the Metropolitan Police. 'Given the size of the community in the capital, that number should be closer to 800', she thought: 'We want the police to reflect the people we serve. There are still quite a lot of Jewish people in London and we need to reflect them.'<sup>159</sup>

Here again we find the invalid assumption that disproportionate representation must be the result of discrimination. But being in the police force is not everyone's cup of tea. People who have opted to be business leaders, doctors or lawyers have simply chosen another path.

### **Police Pagan Association**

The National Police Pagan Association (PPA) is a registered Diversity Staff Support Association which works alongside the NPCC, the CoP and the Home Office to represent and support Pagan police officers and staff, and to improve the relationship between Pagan communities and the police service.<sup>160</sup>

It was set up when Andy Pardy, the founder of the PPA, discovered that Paganism was not recognised as an official religion in the police service and that one police force

was handing out ‘inaccurate guidelines about Paganism’. He claimed he knew of other Pagan police officers who complained about it ‘but were suppressed by a senior officer who was anti-Pagan’. Thus, the decision to form ‘a national association, able to circumnavigate local level and answerable to the Home Office’ was made.<sup>161</sup>

The functions of the PPA are to raise awareness and understanding of Paganism in all forms; to facilitate or contribute to discussions on issues that concern Pagan officers and staff providing wherever possible the Pagan perspective; to contribute to the continuous professional development of all members; to contribute to the creation and implementation of legislation that impacts on Paganism and the Pagan community; and to act as a ‘critical friend’ in matters relating to Paganism at a national level.<sup>162</sup>

The PPA has a First Point of Contact Officer in 11 geographical areas in the UK, including in the North West, West Midlands and London.<sup>163</sup> Andy Pardy believes there are more Pagans in the UK than recorded because of many Pagans keeping their religion a secret for fear of the stigma. He claims that this fear of stigma has also manifested itself within the police force – with 80 of the 200 PPA members in 2016 not ‘coming out’ to their bosses for fear of discrimination.

Speaking of the impact of Paganism on his job, Pardy claims that ‘Almost by default the PPA has become an occult investigation team’. He points to the fact that members of the PPA are often called out to incidents where there is believed to be Pagan involvement, such as when the PPA were contacted because a ‘groundskeeper had come into work one morning and found an occult set up – a ram’s skull on top of a photo of a woman’s breasts, surrounded by 12 candles and an anti-church message – on the steps on

the way into the cathedral'; or when horses are 'maimed, because people suspect it's the act of Pagans carrying out a ritual'; or when a young man was found with 'an athame [a Pagan knife] on him.<sup>164</sup> Pardy claims the nature of the act 'doesn't necessarily mean it's connected to pagans', rather it could be children or someone with mental health problems who committed the crime.<sup>165</sup>

The PPA is a member of the National Police Association of Strategic Leaders. Given the fact that one reason the PPA was founded was because Paganism was not recognised as an official religion in the police, it was hailed a success by the association when Pagan police officers were given the right to demand time off to celebrate Pagan festivals. The changes also mean that Pagan police officers are now able to 'swear upon paganism in court, pledging to tell the truth, not before God, but before what 'they hold sacred'.

A spokesperson for the Home Office said the decision had been made because 'The Government wants a police service that reflects the diverse communities it serves.'<sup>166</sup>

### **Christian Police Association**

The Christian Police Association (CPA) is of a fundamentally different form and structure from the other associations. It was founded in 1883 and now has branches in the majority of police areas across the UK, 'as well as maintaining links with similar groups overseas through the International Christian Police Fellowship'.<sup>167</sup>

The CPA aims to be 'A National Voice for Christians in Policing'; to 'Encourage and support Christians in the Police Service'; to 'Communicate in words and action, the truth, message and hope of the gospel of Jesus Christ to colleagues and the community we serve'; and to 'Build bridges between the Christian community and the Police.'<sup>168</sup>



And the CPA's vision is to have 'An active and growing branch of CPA in every Police Service in the UK and every Christian in the Police Service to fulfil their potential in Jesus Christ'; to ensure that colleagues of the CPA and those they serve 'know Jesus Christ personally'; for police and churches to work 'together in every community to reduce crime and improve quality of life.'<sup>169</sup> The values of the CPA are summarised as: 'Prayer, Organisation, Justice, Truth, Peace, Love, Hope and Compassion'.<sup>170</sup>

The Metropolitan Police has the London Christian Police Family – a branch of the CPA.<sup>171</sup> Additionally, the West Midlands Police<sup>172</sup> and Greater Manchester Police<sup>173</sup> also have their own branches of the CPA.

In the past, disputes have occurred between the CPA and the Gay Police Association (GPA). For instance, when an advert by the GPA featured a Bible next to a pool of blood under the heading 'in the name of the father', and claimed that religion was the sole or primary motivation behind most of the homophobic incidents logged by the GPA's staff helpline, a minister, Reverend George Hargreaves, complained about the advert. He stated that 'its claim was nonsense' and 'also called the GPA 'Christianphobic', prompting a Met Police investigation into whether the advert constituted a hate crime.

In response, the GPA accused colleagues in the CPA of 'breaking police equal opportunities rules which outlaw discrimination on the grounds of sexuality'. Vic Codling, the GPA's nation co-ordinator, said the GPA were 'in dispute with the CPA after a gay, Christian police officer was refused membership of the CPA unless he agreed to become celibate'. And when the GPA complained about the case of the gay officer, the CPA sent them their 'position paper' on homosexuality which states that it rejects homophobia,

but doesn't regard religious criticism of gay lifestyles as discriminatory.<sup>174</sup>

The CPA was awarded a £10,000 grant from the Home Office so it could 'widen its involvement with local church groups.' But Terry Sanderson, president of the National Secular Society, said whilst he has 'no objection to a local congregation praying for their community... the Government should not be funding these sorts of sectarian police groups'. He added:

'If there's one institution that should be avowedly secular, it is the police force. Yet we have Christian, Muslim and Jewish police associations all battling for greater recognition and government funding.'<sup>175</sup>

The Christian Police Association was not inspired by CRT. It focuses on self-improvement in the light of Christian teachings, but nevertheless the National Secular Society has a point. All associations based on race, religion or other identity should be prohibited.

### **The Response of Police Forces**

Instead of focusing on reducing crime many police forces have focused on becoming more racially diverse and competing for awards from identity-based pressure groups. They have confused serving the public with pandering to sectarian pressure groups. Here, we present a few examples.

#### ***Hosting events, painting cars and flying flags***

In 2015 the City of London Police co-hosted the National Black Police Association's *15th AGM & Annual Training Conference* and was one of its main sponsors.<sup>176</sup> In 2016, Avon and Somerset Constabulary joined the National Black Police Association to host an event in a bid to encourage

the recruitment of BME groups.<sup>177</sup> In 2019, Derbyshire Constabulary hosted the NBPA's annual conference.<sup>178</sup> In 2018, Greater Manchester Police were noted in the National LGBT+ Network's 2018 annual report: the force 'saw their largest contingent in their main pride event at Manchester Pride with over 300 participants from 22 forces and agencies'. The GMP hosted 10 pride events within the force along with Sparkle, the national Trans pride festival. Greater Manchester Police were also working with their force museum on including a permanent LGBT exhibition.<sup>179</sup> In 2018, Lancashire Constabulary hosted the second Citizen's in Policing conference. They also hosted the National Trans Police Association's annual general meeting.<sup>180</sup> In 2019, Leicestershire Constabulary hosted an event to both celebrate 25 years of the Black Police Association and to mark the start of Black History Month. At the event, the chief constable claimed: 'The more like our communities we are, the better we can police', as well as saying he was 'absolutely committed to making sure the force represents the community it serves'.<sup>181</sup>

The Metropolitan Police has hosted numerous events where issues that impact the LGBT+ community can be discussed and debated. London Pride in 2018 'was a roaring success' and 'A large part of the work for the London region has been in assisting in the professional and personal development of LGBT officers and staff'.<sup>182</sup>

Kent Police Chief Officers wore rainbow epaulettes to mark LGBT History Month and the pride flag was flown at the HQ. Pride, Trans and Bi flags are flown on key dates.<sup>183</sup> The assistant chief constable from Leicestershire Constabulary put out a message of support for staff involvement in the National Bi/Queer inclusion group, as well as stating the force would fly the Bi flag on Bi Visibility Day.<sup>184</sup>

Merseyside Police 'are very proud of their work with their LGBT communities and they continue to be a very visible and welcome contingent at Liverpool pride'. Merseyside Police have also seen their work with Mermaids 'flourish', which has led to an opportunity for all their staff to receive free training on gender variance. The force's LGBT+ Network 'has gone from strength to strength'; two of the executive sit on the national Bi/Queer inclusion group; and Merseyside's Chair received recognition from the Queen – with a Queen's Police Medal for outstanding services to LGBT+ communities.<sup>185</sup>

Norfolk Constabulary hosted the first Citizens in Policing conference in 2017. And during Norfolk and Suffolk's annual general meeting in 2018, one police constable from Norfolk Police was elected as lead – the first Bi-lead in the Network's history.<sup>186</sup> Since 2014, the Norfolk & Suffolk LGBT+ Police Network has held an annual Winter Ball open to all external partners across 'blue light' services and public, private and third sector organisations. In 2016 the Network also launched their LGBT Pride Car.<sup>187</sup>

Surrey Police celebrated International Day Against Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia in 2018 – with several members of staff taking to the streets of Surrey and engaging with the community; the force was also present at Brighton Pride; a special constable attended the second LGBT National Citizens in Policing Conference as a representative for Surrey Police for those who volunteer in policing and identify as LGBT.<sup>188</sup> Sussex Police have called Brighton Pride a 'main focus' for them, and their LGBT+ Network has increased its membership and started to work with other staff networks within the organisation.<sup>189</sup>

### *Competing for awards*

Avon and Somerset BPA were awarded 'Staff Association Twitter Account' by the National Black Police Association in 2019.<sup>190</sup> Bedfordshire BPA Recruitment Team were given the Special Achievement Award in 2017 by the NBPA.<sup>191</sup> The Bedfordshire Police LGBT Network is also a Stonewall Diversity Champion and supports other forces with pride events.<sup>192</sup>

Norfolk Constabulary has been named as one of Britain's best police forces for LGBT staff for the second year in a row. The chair of the National LGBT+ Police Network, praised the force, saying: 'This is a testament to the work the constabulary has undertaken to ensure the organisation champions LGBT equality both for our staff and our communities.'<sup>193</sup>

Being named a role model by the National LGBT+ Police Network is keenly sought after. The honour has been bestowed on a police community support officer from Avon and Somerset Constabulary,<sup>194</sup> three officers from Cheshire Constabulary,<sup>195</sup> one detective constable from City of London Police,<sup>196</sup> a police constable in Cleveland Police,<sup>197</sup> and a police constable from Cumbria Constabulary.<sup>198</sup> Also honoured has been a sergeant from Essex Police,<sup>199</sup> a Chief Inspector<sup>200</sup> and an Inspector in Greater Manchester Police, a police sergeant from Lancashire Constabulary,<sup>201</sup> a detective constable<sup>202</sup> from Merseyside Police, a police constable<sup>203</sup> from the Metropolitan Police, a chief Inspector from the Metropolitan Police,<sup>204</sup> a detective constable and police constable from Norfolk & Suffolk Police,<sup>205</sup> a police constable from Staffordshire Police,<sup>206</sup> a Detective Sergeant from Surrey Police,<sup>207</sup> and a sergeant from Thames Valley Police.<sup>208</sup>

The National Black Police Association have given numerous awards to members of Derbyshire Constabulary

over the years.<sup>209</sup> One individual was given the 'Police Staff of the Year' award in 2018 by the NBPA. And another was also given the Police Officer of the Year award in 2019.<sup>210</sup> Over the years, members of Greater Manchester Police have been given awards by the NBPA, including the Life Time Achievers Award in 2019; the Lifetime Achievement Award in 2017; and the Special Award in 2009.<sup>211</sup> Lancashire Constabulary were named as the 'Police Force of the Year' by the NBPA in 2018, and a former deputy chief constable was also awarded the 'Excellence in Race Equality Leadership' award the same year.<sup>212</sup> North Yorkshire Police were awarded 'Police Force of the Year' by the NBPA in 2019<sup>213</sup> and one officer from Suffolk Constabulary was awarded Police Staff of the Year in 2015 by the NBPA.<sup>214</sup> One individual from Hertfordshire Constabulary was awarded the Sisley Fay Allen Lifetime Achievement Award at the BAME Women in Policing Awards 2020. It was stated she had received the award as she has 'championed Black equality issues in Hertfordshire Constabulary.'<sup>215</sup>

### 3.

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## Conclusions

Chapter 2 revealed that all but one of the identity-based associations used very similar language to describe their criticisms and aims. Institutional racism is frequently mentioned and claims by police chiefs that racism has been eradicated are strongly rejected by association leaders. They all claim that under-representation of their group in the police or in the higher ranks is the result of discrimination, when there are numerous better explanations. They call for proportionate representation in all ranks and specialisms, and often claim that their members are subject to unfair discipline. They actively try to increase hate crime reporting. As we have seen, these recurring themes derive from a common source, American critical race theory.

Some senior officers have already voiced concerns, but the prevailing atmosphere is such that speaking out is not a good career move. Nevertheless, there have been some courageous individuals. Sara Thornton, when head of the NPCC, said that investigating hate crime was distracting the police from their core tasks, such as tackling violence and burglary. Donna Jones, the lead on serious and organised crime for the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners, said in 2021 that the doubling of hate crime reflected police activity rather than real events. She thought

the police should focus on crimes that caused the greatest harm.<sup>216</sup>

It has long been understood that institutions that use force, including the police and the armed services, should be non-political. To guard against the risk of bias, police officers are not permitted to join a trade union and not allowed to go on strike. To negotiate pay and conditions they can join a single staff association, established by law. However, as Chapter 2 described, in the last 30 years a large number of staff associations based on race and religion have emerged. They have explicitly political objectives and seek to promote the career advancement of members of their identity group.

Since the 1850s, impartiality has been the guiding principle of public employees. The Northcote-Trevelyan report of 1854 was a major turning point, stipulating that the core values of public service were 'integrity, propriety, objectivity and appointment on merit'. Above all, the civil service was expected to be able to transfer its loyalty and expertise from one elected government to the next, thus combining efficient government with the peaceful transfer of power.

At the time the primary concern was corruption by monetary rewards and party-political bias. For many decades these problems were overcome, but the impartiality of government employees is now threatened by a new doctrine: identity politics. Increasingly, public employees are being encouraged to define themselves, not as people who deserve respect because of their ability and objectivity, but as members of an identity group, and especially their race.

Within the civil service, among parliamentary staff, and in the police and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) there are now many staff associations linked to group identities. Parliament has gone a long way to encourage identity



politics among its own staff. It has a regularly updated diversity and inclusion strategy and five workplace equality networks. This is how they are described on Parliament's website. ParliABLE is for those who consider themselves to have a disability. ParliGENDER supports gender equality. ParliREACH supports increasing awareness of race, ethnicity and cultural heritage. ParliOUT supports LGBTIQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersexual, and questioning) people. ParliON supports increasing awareness of 'socio-economic inclusion'.

Some of the groups hold regular meetings with the Speaker and with the House of Commons Management Board to discuss the development of 'a leadership programme for BME (black and minority ethnic staff) and the need to get BME representation on Recruitment Boards'. According to documents obtained by the *Telegraph*, ParliREACH has created a 'digital wall' where staff can 'acknowledge their privilege'.<sup>217</sup> Confessional messages included: 'I am a white, privately educated, middle-class female' and 'I am a white man and from that privileged position I now see that I can't ever fully understand the relentless impact of racism'. Being 'apolitical' (that is upholding civil service impartiality) was described as the base of a 'pyramid of white supremacy'; and asserting that we 'all belong to the human race' was part of a pyramid structure which supports 'lynching', 'hate crimes', and 'genocide'.

An atmosphere of blame and grievance is especially harmful in occupations like policing when officers sometimes face danger and rely on mutual trust between colleagues to overcome it. We are repeating mistakes already made in America, where some police forces promoted black officers to meet quotas. It had two harmful effects. Most obviously, sergeants who were promoted beyond their abilities were

called 'quota sergeants' and mistrusted by the rank and file. But the system also undermined the authority of black sergeants who deserved their promotions. There was always the suspicion that they had progressed by playing the race card. Moreover, it is well known in police circles that the pass mark for exams that must be taken to progress to sergeant or inspector has been lowered. Officers have to take a written exam testing their knowledge of the law, and the pass mark has been lowered from 75 per cent to 65 per cent for inspectors and 55 per cent for sergeants to make it easier for less-capable officers to qualify.

Sectional groups also undermine police impartiality in the eyes of the public. They demand an interpretation of the law that benefits their own identity group, especially by defining innocent actions as 'hate crimes'. For example, in February 2008 a Muslim police community support officer, and activist in the National Association of Muslim Police, warned two Christian ministers in Birmingham who were handing out leaflets on Alum Rock Road that they were committing an offence. The *Telegraph* reported that he told the preachers they were 'in a Muslim area' and not allowed to spread their Christian message. The officer claimed that encouraging local youths to leave Islam was a 'hate crime'.<sup>218</sup>

One of the campaign demands of the National Black Police Association is to improve links with the community. One of the theories that followed from the riots of the early 1980s was that the government should talk to 'community leaders' to reduce tensions. It turned out that there were no generally accepted community leaders, but there were people who wanted to be seen as such. How did they gain credibility? One method was to invent or magnify grievances and to claim to be able to solve them. As a result, the police ended

up talking to people, some of whom had no interest in good community relations. Their personal interest was to increase their credibility with their own followers, and one effective method was to make demands on the police and then to claim success when concessions were made. A single victory was not enough and so there had to be a steady stream of concessions. Consequently, a pool of unmet demands was as necessary to their success as small victories.

The National Association of Muslim Police has campaigned to alter police counter-terrorism strategy, arguing that Muslims were being unfairly targeted and picked on. It submitted what it thought was a secret memo to the House of Commons Home Affairs select committee and said on its website that it was 'deeply disappointed' to discover that the memo had been published. In its statement it goes on to call for more Muslim police officers to be appointed to senior positions in counter-terrorism command.

Proportionate representation is sometimes justified in the name of efficiency. Some ethnic or religious groups are said to be happier to be policed by people from their own identity group. Already some Muslim men, for example, have let it be known that they do not like being given instructions by women police officers. But it can never be accepted that we are entitled to be policed by our 'own kind'. There are, for example, tensions in the North West of England between Sikhs and Muslims. Some Muslims regard the Sikhs as lower than Christians, Jews and Muslims, but they are not entitled to refuse to respect a Sikh police officer.

The police have never been representative of the social or ethnic breakdown of society. They have been selected because of their personal qualities. So long as that remains true, then every officer is entitled to respect, whether black or white, male or female, gay or straight. The legitimacy of

the police has nothing to do with the racial composition of the force. It has to do with impartiality.

Studies of countries with a far longer history of preferential treatment of ethnic groups, notably India (since 1949), Malaysia (since 1957) and the USA (from the early 1970s) reveal the dangers. The most important lesson is that making concessions does not reduce grievances but leads to their multiplication. Scholarly studies have identified five main consequences.

1. Category creep. The number of people claiming to belong to a group granted preferential status tends to increase. One of most revealing examples is that of American Indians. As the American economist Thomas Sowell has discovered, in 1960 the US Census found about 50,000 American Indians aged 15-19. That was before the era of affirmative action, which began in the early 1970s. The 1980 Census found a biological impossibility, namely that the same age cohort (aged 35-39 by 1980) numbered 80,000 people. In India about 75 per cent of the population is entitled to preferential treatment (untouchables 16 per cent, tribal peoples eight per cent and 'other backward classes' 52 per cent).
2. The number of groups also tends to increase. As Chapter 2 showed, it began with race, then extended to religion, sexual orientation, sex, pagans and more.
3. Concessions do not satisfy preferred groups, but lead to the multiplication of grievances. Because government agencies have been established to advance the interests of victim groups and because they tend to be staffed by members of the groups, their power is far greater than that of most people in society. This reality must be

hidden behind a smokescreen of claims of deprivation. The cycle can never come to an end because, if it were ever conceded that grievances had been met, there would be no justification for preferential treatment. Moreover, because preferential treatment flouts our legal tradition of equality under the law, the degree of the deception must be hidden by focusing on complaints that evoke the sentiment of sympathy to the extent necessary to override support for justice. One of the most useful sources of permanent grievances is the claim that the members of a preferred group ought to be represented in occupations in the same proportion as they are found in the wider society. If they are not, it is assumed that discrimination is the only explanation. This rationale works because the criterion that defines the group (such as race) does not embrace everything about individual members. The personal histories, qualities and choices of individuals are far more important determinants of outcomes than their ethnic status. As a result, disparate outcomes are highly likely if not inevitable.

4. Mutual hostility will increase. For every victim there must be an oppressor whose efforts need to be overridden by law. The creation of an atmosphere of blame and grievance is especially harmful in occupations that sometimes face danger and rely on mutual trust between colleagues to overcome it.
5. Political parties see 'grievance groups' as potential vote banks and pander to their demands for preferential treatment, thus undermining respect for the impartiality of parliament and political leaders in general. The Labour Government (1997 to 2010) encouraged ethnic groups in the police. Theresa May also promoted identity groups

as Home Secretary. She invited members of the NBPA to a roundtable meeting in Downing Street in October 2015 with the Prime Minister to discuss how to deal with 'unconscious bias' in recruitment. The NBPA were the only policing organisation represented at the meeting.

A few months later the NBPA returned the compliment by attacking police culture purely because it was 'white'. The NBPA gave evidence to a House of Commons Committee on Diversity in Policing in April 2016. Their submission reminded the Committee of the evidence that the Metropolitan Black Police Association gave to the Macpherson Inquiry in September 1999 when it claimed that police culture was 'white':

'Once the black person becomes a member of the organisation then it becomes all too apparent to that individual that they must conform, conform to that, the norms which predominantly are white in these organisations. So, the black person is expected to become, if you like, a clone. I would say it is as severe as that. You are not asking a black person to come in to experience that persons views, cultures, et cetera, the different manner that he may do things or might perceive things, you are asking them to come into this organisation and to conform to the norm of the majority of the organisation.'<sup>219</sup>

The NBPA is not satisfied with targets for recruitment. It argues that there is racial disproportionality in the application of discipline, and bullying and harassment of BME police officers. The NBPA claimed that the introduction of the 'Prevent' duty in the Counter Terrorism and Security Act (2015) 'will further exacerbate the culture of fear, mistrust and suspicion of Muslims and have a potentially devastating effect on the Muslim community'.

Furthermore, when police forces responded to NBPA criticism by creating 'Diversity Champions,' it complained that because the grade would be Chief Constable or equivalent rank it would mean that 'the post-holders will be white men and women'.<sup>220</sup> As Chapter 1 revealed, intransigent claims such as this derive from critical race theory.

How should the government and local forces respond to the rise of identity-based sectarianism within the police?

1. Stop funding the groups and use the funds saved to reduce crime.
2. Deny official recognition to identity groups. Above all, stop holding meetings with them and insist that all contact is through the Police Federation.
3. Reject the claim that the police should represent the racial, religious and other identities that have succeeded in gaining political recognition. The police are not there to represent anyone. Their job is to uphold the law. The primary test of the fitness of an individual police officer to wear the uniform is the ability to be impartial.
4. Consequently, the police should not recruit according to race, or promote individuals to reflect identity groups. Merit and personal integrity should be the primary criteria.
5. Challenge claims that our race determines our ideas and our ability to be fair. We all share a common humanity. Fair treatment is owed to all regardless of race. Many who have swallowed prevailing assumptions about race are probably not aware that it amounts to a rejection of post-war beliefs about human rights. The contention that racial

## CONCLUSIONS

identity determines everything of importance about a person amounts to a rejection of Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says:

'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.'

6. Scrap all divisive equality, diversity and inclusion training, and especially unconscious bias training.



# Appendix

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## **The Nine Principles of Policing of 1829**

1. To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.
2. To recognise always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
3. To recognise always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing co-operation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.
4. To recognise always that the extent to which the co-operation of the public can be secured diminishes proportionately the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.
5. To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion; but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws, by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing,

by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.

6. To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public co-operation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or to restore order, and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.
7. To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8. To recognise always the need for strict adherence to police-executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary of avenging individuals or the State, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty.
9. To recognise always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.<sup>221</sup>

# Notes

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When we encounter the police, can we rely on them to apply the law impartially? To act without fear or favour has been seen as the essence of policing since the first modern police force was founded in 1829. In this study, David Green looks closely at the growing importance of police pressure groups based on the racial, religious or other identities of officers.

Green asks if these groups, which are now officially recognised as staff associations or staff networks, are compatible with police impartiality. They arguably seek to advance the careers of their own members at the expense of other officers, who are sometimes regarded as oppressors. And they seek to change policing policy to the advantage of their own identity group.

By reviewing the main identity-based staff associations, it is found they all claim that under-representation of their group in the police or in the higher ranks is the result of discrimination, when there are numerous better explanations. Groups can also demand an interpretation of the law that benefits their own identity group, especially by defining innocent actions as 'hate crimes'. These recurring themes derive from a common source – American critical race theory (CRT) in which society is seen as divided into victim groups and their oppressors.

The author argues that the impartiality of the police service is threatened by a doctrine of identity politics in which staff are increasingly being encouraged to define themselves, not as people who deserve respect because of their ability and objectivity, but as members of an identity group – and especially their race.

Green recommends that the government and police forces respond to the rise of identity-based sectarianism within the police by halting the funding of those groups and using the funds saved to reduce crime. The report concludes that the police are not there to represent anyone – their job is to uphold the law. And we must challenge claims that our race determines our ideas and our ability to be fair because we all share a common humanity in which fair treatment is owed to all regardless of race.

