



We Need to Check *Your* Thinking!

How identity politics is warping police
priorities from within

Dr. Richard Norrie and Hardeep Singh
Foreword by Dr. David G. Green

CIVITAS

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CIVITAS

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Summary

- This report presents a critique of the direction of travel taken by British police. At the same time as their performance in fighting crime is declining, they are increasingly getting involved in contentious matters of a political nature, in breach of their fundamental commitment to impartiality.
- The share of all crimes recorded by the police resulting in a charge or summons has fallen from 15 per cent in 2010/11 to six per cent in 2021/22.
- The share of burglaries solved has dropped to five per cent, down from 9.4 per cent in 2015.
- Figures show the police spent at least £58,000 on Stonewall products last year, down from £83,000 in 2018.
- Over seven years, the police spent almost half a million pounds on Stonewall products; an average of £67,000 per year.
- One force spent £340 on rainbow laces over two years, while another confirmed it had spent more than a thousand pounds 'on a growing number of pride events' last year.
- Stonewall is a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights charity that tries to change the law. At times, it advocates highly contentious ideas and has written police policy on transgenderism, despite being accused, allegedly, of misrepresenting the law.

- This means the police are funding Stonewall to change the law which, simultaneously, they are getting worse at enforcing.
- Just seven police forces recorded almost **27,000 ‘non-crime hate incidents’ (NCHIs) over five years**, with the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) alone accounting for 10,961. NCHIs are incidents that are not criminal offences but may show up on enhanced background checks, harming employment chances, and have been found to have been applied in a manner inconsistent with freedom of speech by the courts.
- The seven forces studied in this report have seen the number of NCHIs grow by **75 per cent over five years**, while for the Metropolitan Police it is 129 per cent. At the same time the Met has been found to be failing to record 69,000 actual crimes each year.
- The report lays much of the blame for this at the door of the College of Policing. This was set up under Theresa May in 2012 to improve standards through more ethical policing and ‘expert-led’ direction. Promised rewards have not materialised, with the police rocked by seemingly new scandals every day. Yet despite this, the College of Policing is lobbying for more power and there is even talk of a College of Fire and Rescue to come. All this is part of the drive towards ‘professionalisation’.
- The College has encouraged a progressive reorientation of the police, most notably evidenced through its jointly-sponsored ‘Race Action Plan’. This commits the police to racial discrimination in favour of black people, and that the police should become an ‘anti-racist’ organisation.
- This echoes the radical political ideology known as ‘critical race theory’, which stipulates that ‘it is not

enough to be non-racist, you have to be anti-racist' and that the only remedy for 'racist discrimination is anti-racist discrimination'.

- The Race Action Plan is to be monitored by an independent scrutiny oversight board that is dominated by political leftists. Moreover, it will act as a channel for a whole litany of activist organisations of whom we have been told next to nothing about. Its chair is determined to damn the police as 'institutionally racist' and it seems the police have only created a rod for their own back.
- Matters are further compounded by what we call an 'infrastructure of identity politics' within the police, composed of identity-based staff associations, so-called independent advisory groups (IAGs), and 'LGBT liaison officers'.
- IAGs were set up after the Macpherson report (1999) and aimed to increase confidence and transparency through providing oversight and scrutiny from members of the public.
- We find they tend to be made up of identitarian activists who are able to lobby the police for their own interests, most notably, talking up 'hate crime' as a police priority, despite the evidence showing most recorded hate crimes to be non-violent. IAGs are often opaque, with minutes and membership rarely published, while some police forces were reluctant to comply with our Freedom of Information requests.
- The report concludes that the police are in breach of the College of Policing's own Code of Ethics, particularly in regard to impartiality. As we say, it is about time the police were called to account on their practices, that we need to check their thinking!

Foreword

We Need to Check *Your* Thinking skilfully reveals how police priorities are being distorted by identity politics. The process has been led from the top, notably by the College of Policing, founded in 2012 ostensibly to serve as a professional body for the police. Instead of increasing professionalism, it has deepened the influence of *identitarianism*, especially when based on race.

The latest manifestation of identity politics is the Police Race Action Plan, published in May 2022 by the College of Policing and the National Police Chiefs' Council. According to the College of Policing website: 'The plan sets out changes needed to become an anti-racist police service and to reform or explain race disparities.' The approach to disparities is that:

'Every police force in England and Wales will adopt an "explain or reform" approach to examining policy or practice where racial disparity exists. At times, there will be reasons why disparity exists. Where disparity cannot be explained, the expectation is that it should be changed.'

The primary concern when recruiting police officers has until recently been to discover whether or not candidates were worthy of wearing the uniform. Under the Police Race Action Plan, a principal concern will be not a candidate's ability to be honest, impartial and fair, but whether he or she is black or white.

Identity politics has been imported from America, which has a terrible record of racial discrimination. The UK has no history of racial discrimination that comes anywhere near that of America. Confronted with this counter-claim, many will cite the findings of the Macpherson report, but it clearly said that it found no evidence of police racism: 'In this Inquiry we have not heard evidence of overt racism or discrimination'.¹

The report continues:

'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 [Metropolitan Police Service] implies that the policies of the MPS are racist. No such evidence is before us. Indeed, the contrary is true.'²

However, despite this unambiguous declaration that it had not found the Met to be racist, the report went on to accuse the Met of 'institutional racism'. This pernicious concept 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 racism. Trevor Phillips said on the tenth anniversary of the Macpherson report that the accusation of 'institutional racism' made by Macpherson in 1999 was no longer valid. He thought that the police had improved. The real truth is that the accusation was never valid in the first place.

Because of the ambiguity of the term 'institutional racism', the Macpherson report has been frequently and recklessly named as proof of police racism. The police were said to be the white police and it began to be argued that the composition of police forces should reflect the make-up of the communities they served. Following Macpherson, the

Government set a recruitment target for ethnic minorities of eight per cent.

Why is this a problem? The issue is the legitimacy of the police. For the last 30 years there have been groups who hoped to undermine police legitimacy. Some of the race riots of the 1980s were inspired by criminals who did not want to be policed. Today, climate-change protesters would like to weaken the police so that they can achieve their aims using tactics that involve breaking the law. The stop-and-search controversy is exploited by criminals who are using race to weaken police effectiveness.

The best safeguard for legitimacy is for policing to be seen as a vocation. Police officers should be chosen because they deserve to be part of a profession that upholds the law without favour or affection, malice or ill-will. Measures to require the police to reflect the ethnic composition of society will reduce its legitimacy.

To understand the emergence of race-based preferential policies in the UK, it is necessary to know something of the American context that gave birth to 'affirmative action'. During the hundred years or so of racial discrimination that followed the American Civil War, any such discrimination was unlawful under the 'equal protection clause' of the Fourteenth Amendment, with one of the Reconstruction Amendments passed in 1868 following the Civil War stating:

'... No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; *nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.*'

When the federal government realised that slavery had been replaced by egregious racial discrimination, it passed

new federal laws to make plain the intention of the equal protection clause. Equal rights were to be enforced, not least against the police and justice authorities in the South who were defying the Constitution, most notably 18 United States Code 242, which said:

‘Whoever, under color of any law, ... wilfully subjects any person ... to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the constitution or laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such person being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined ... or imprisoned ...’.³

Nevertheless, discrimination continued and came to be known as the Jim Crow era. To understand the evolution of race-based preferential treatment in America during the 1970s it is important to recognise that it was as unlawful as the blatant racial discrimination of the Jim Crow era. Both the US Constitution and the 1964 Civil Rights Act require equal treatment, which meant that groups pressing for ‘affirmative action’ or group preferences had to pretend they were acting within the law.

To be unlawful, the 1964 Civil Rights Act required that discrimination be intentional. While the Civil Rights Bill was still before the Senate, Senator Hubert Humphrey (soon to become US Vice-President) affirmed that the Bill would be fully compatible with the American Constitution, in the sense that it would ‘not require an employer to achieve any kind of racial balance in his workforce by giving preferential treatment to any individual or group.’⁴

He said that subsection 703(j) of the Civil Rights Act had been ‘added to state this point expressly’. The subsection qualified Title VII by affirming that nothing in it required an employer:

‘to grant preferential treatment to any individual or group on account of any imbalance which may exist ... in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section or other area.’

Indeed, the term ‘affirmative action’, a phrase first used in 1961 by President Kennedy in Executive Order 10,925, called for colour-blind policies ‘to ensure that the applicants are employed, and that the employees are treated during employment without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin’. It was followed in 1965 by President Lyndon Baines Johnson’s Executive Order 11,246, which created the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC), and in May 1968, affirmative action, as we think of it today, got a little closer when the OFCC issued guidelines referring to ‘goals and timetables’ and ‘representation’.

By 1970, the time of the Nixon Presidency, an executive order had been issued that spoke of ‘results-oriented procedures’ to ‘increase materially the utilization of minorities and women’, with ‘underutilization’ being defined as ‘having fewer minorities or women in a particular job classification than would *reasonably be expected* by their availability.’⁵ The term ‘quota’ was avoided, but there were now racial quotas in all but name.

There was wide public support for affirmative action understood as making minorities aware of new opportunities, but policy makers went further and, under President Nixon in 1971, further guidelines called for ‘goals and timetables’ to increase materially the employment of minorities and women. Underutilisation was defined as employing fewer people from one group than their local availability.

Federal Court of Appeal Judge Laurence Silberman was Under-secretary of Labour from 1970-73, when ‘goals and

timetables' were first being enforced. He said that the aim of the administration had been to create 'a generalized, firm, but gentle pressure to balance the residue of discrimination'. However, when looking back in later years he admitted:

'I now realize that the distinction we saw between goals and timetables on the one hand, and unconstitutional quotas on the other, was not valid. Our use of numerical standards in pursuit of equal opportunity has led to the very quotas guaranteeing equal results that we initially wished to avoid.'⁶

Legal acceptance also began in the 1970s. The first use of the term 'disparate impact' came in 1971 in *Griggs v Duke Power*, a case concerning the use of tests to select job candidates. The US Supreme Court ruled that tests can be 'built-in headwinds' for minorities. Such tests were declared to be not lawful, even if they were 'neutral on their face, and even if neutral in terms of intent'.

Why did some judges act in such a duplicitous manner? The underlying problem is that discrimination had been occurring in America contrary to the equal protection clause. The Davis Bacon Act of 1933, for example, required federal contractors to pay union rates when legislators knew full well that the practical result would be to prevent black workers from the South competing with white workers. In circumstances such as these, if a workplace had zero or hardly any black workers it might well have been because of racial discrimination. However, there are many other reasons why disparities might exist and the mere presence of a disparity is not proof of discrimination. Because of the persistence of racial discrimination in parts of America, the burden of proof was effectively reversed. No longer were employers innocent until proven guilty. If there was a disparity, then the burden was on them to prove they had a good 'business' reason.

And there was still some racial discrimination in America in the 1970s. In 1975, a federal district court found that Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers union was guilty of racial discrimination contrary to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It had excluded blacks from membership and from its apprenticeship programme. The court required the union branch to have 29 per cent of its members from minorities. In 1982 and 1983, the union was found guilty of civil contempt for disobeying the court orders.

The trouble is that, as a result of the new policies reversing the burden of proof, blameless white employees or candidates could find themselves discriminated against. In 1979, Brian Weber, a white employee of Kaiser Aluminium, was rejected for a job training programme because he had insufficient seniority. However, a less senior black employee had been accepted under the company's affirmative action plan. Weber argued that its policy was a breach of S 703(a) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which made unlawful any discrimination on grounds of race, and S 703(d), which explicitly prohibited discrimination 'in apprenticeship or other training'. Incredibly the Supreme Court ruled against Weber. Justice William Brennan refused to accept 'a literal interpretation of these words'. The 'spirit' of the Act did not rule out 'temporary, voluntary, affirmative action undertaken to eliminate manifest racial imbalance in traditionally segregated job categories'.

In 1978 the same nine justices had declared preferential policies to be lawful, but invalidated the University of California's decision to prevent a particular individual, Allan Bakke, from being admitted to its medical school. In the Bakke case, Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun explained how he saw the dilemma:

‘In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. There is no other way. And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently. We cannot – we dare not – let the Equal Protection Clause perpetuate racial supremacy.’⁷

The problem with this Supreme Court decision, apart from playing fast and loose with the law, is that medical school admission procedures were being treated as a benefit or reward for certain applicants, not as a process for protecting patients. If people were admitted to medical school who were unfit to practice, outcomes for patients might be fatal.

The young black candidate initially admitted in place of Allan Bakke was Patrick Chavis, and after graduation, both their careers were followed by researchers and political leaders. Chavis went on to practise medicine in a predominantly black neighbourhood and Bakke became an anaesthetist in Minneapolis. Among others, Senator Edward Kennedy publicly praised Chavis as an example of what affirmative action could achieve. However, in 1997 the Medical Board of California suspended his licence because of the suspicious death of one of his patients. After a full hearing, his licence was revoked when evidence was presented of his ‘inability to perform some of the most basic duties required of a physician.’ Unfortunately, it was not an isolated example.⁸

Police recruitment and promotions in the United Kingdom are now similarly being seen as benefits for candidates and serving police officers, not a way of selecting who could best serve the public. The general public has the greatest interest of all in ensuring that people in potentially life or death occupations, such as police officers and doctors, are carefully selected. Whether or not there is proportionate

representation of an ethnic group should be irrelevant, but as Norrie and Singh have discovered, the Police Race Action Plan makes race a primary concern in both the recruitment and promotion of police officers.

David G. Green

Introduction

Every day, it seems there are damaging stories about the police, concerning their treatment of women or ethnic minorities. We are told these refer to 'more than just a few bad apples' and that something is wrong with the institution itself. The idea of institutional racism became an idea locked into the British political lexicon with the publication of the Macpherson report in 1999, which examined the failings of the investigation into the murder of Stephen Lawrence. Pressure is under way to extend the rap sheet, to include institutional misogyny today, following the murder of Sarah Everard by a serving police officer as well as the goings-on at Charing Cross police station.

Yet, no argument is made as to how the behaviour of a few officers constitutes evidence of an institutional failing. Never in the popular press will you see a story about the bad done by police officers, measured up against the good they do. Moreover, missing is an appreciation that these complaints are often exploited by a vested interest within the police, that needs institutional failings in order to justify their own institutional remedies, that are provided at cost. There is a concerted political effort to justify greater political takeover of the police, only we are unsavvy to it and let it go unscrutinised and unchecked.

Given less prominence in the media, but not unnoticed, are some seriously alarming interventions made by the

police into matters of personal conscience or encroachments on the freedom of speech, as well as selective application of the law.

On June 7 2020, a group of protestors hauled down the statue of Edward Colston in Bristol and threw it in the river, while the police watched on and did nothing. Police officers were pictured ‘taking the knee’ in front of Black Lives Matter protestors – in breach of their sworn commitment to impartiality and at time when public gatherings were prohibited by law, due to the lockdown in response to the Covid-19 pandemic.

City centres were shut down by environmental protestors, with police officers widely seen to be facilitating the protests, rather than enforcing the law. Officers were pictured dancing at impromptu street parties held by protesters, as well as skateboarding.⁹ At the same time, the police received widespread condemnation over allegations of heavy-handed policing of a women’s vigil after the murder of Sarah Everard, only to later be exonerated by an official inquiry.

Excesses have also included the case of Harry Miller, who was censured by the police for posting a song lyric on social media, and the historian David Starkey and political commentator Darren Grimes being interviewed by police for an interview broadcast online, in which the phrase ‘damn blacks’ was used unwisely. Recently, a political activist, Jennifer Swayne, was detained by police on suspicion of a ‘hate crime’ for putting up posters and stickers, with an academic book critical of transgenderism seized from her house.¹⁰

The politicised negative stories in the press about the police and such excesses are not unrelated, but are symptomatic of its capture by a form of politics, known among other things, as identity politics. This is based on a worldview whereby

society is best understood as the relationships between groups, not individuals, which exist as ones of exploitation and oppression. Men oppress women, whites oppress those not white, straight oppresses gay and so on. The institutions that facilitate our lives are seen as sites of oppression, that demand occupation and bureaucratic infrastructure in order to make them just and equitable.

As is shown in Chapter 1, the police are traditionally committed to a liberal philosophy of ‘policing by consent’, enshrined in the so-called Peelian principles. Institutional reforms, orchestrated by the Coalition government, have sought to *professionalise* policing. This was intended to increase trust and improve standards.

This entailed the establishment of the College of Policing, which is the professional body for the police, overseeing entry and producing guidance for best practice. The problem is that the College is largely steered by intellectuals and academics, with little experience of being a police officer. It is encouraging the police towards ‘virtuous’ policing, as well as the political stipulation that they become an ‘anti-racist’ organisation, as made explicit in the College and National Police Chiefs’ Council’s (NPCC) ‘Race Action Plan’. This is alarming in that it opens the door further to identitarian activists who always fail to understand that disproportionate outcomes between groups do not necessarily provide evidence for discrimination. Indeed, their careers depend on them not understanding this.

The priorities of the police are further steered from within by so-called independent advisory groups (IAGs), identity-based staff associations, and collaboration with campaigning radical charities such as Stonewall. IAGs were initially set up following the recommendations of Macpherson in order to improve transparency and increase trust.

However, this report finds them to be generally opaque and often filled by identitarian activists, who tend to push hate crime up the police agenda. Hate crime is vital for identity politics, in that it can be construed as evidence of group oppression. Often though, what are recorded as 'hate crimes' turn out to be trivial with numbers inflated, as evidenced in Norrie's *How Hate Crime Policy is Undermining Our Law and Society*.¹¹ The downside is that the official policy of 'taking hate crime seriously' pushes offences of name-calling into the same category of seriousness as things like murder, rape and assault, placing an inappropriate and damaging pressure on police allocation of scarce resources.

Staff associations, as identified by David Green, tend to be founded on the tenets of identity politics, critical theory, or critical race theory, which denies the existence of objective truth and sees only power and politics. As is shown in this report, these exist not just as organisations of alike individuals to look out for one another, but as deeply influential; see for instance the National Black Police Association's involvement in drawing up the Race Action Plan, which seeks to declare the police an 'anti-racist' organisation.

This report further identifies campaigning organisations that are institutionally intertwined with the police. The lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights charity Stonewall still receives considerable monies from the police, despite the latter's sworn commitment to neutrality. Stonewall actively campaigns to change the law on highly contentious political issues such as transgenderism. The money largely comes through participation in Stonewall's controversial 'Diversity Champions' scheme and league table. This, in effect, rewards participating organisations for the extent to which they adhere to Stonewall ideology.

We demonstrate how in complying with a Stonewall audit, one police force transformed itself into becoming an organisation agitating for change. Stonewall has also been writing police policy on transgenderism.

These issues are all fraught, and the police should certainly be neutral on them, and yet they are not. It is surprising, shocking even, how much police infrastructure there is, that exists to promote groups, not the uniform enforcement of the law. The British police rests on the tradition of policing by consent, and yet who has ever consented to being policed by Stonewall? At the same time, we are seeing the police spending relatively small but significant sums of money on rainbow livery, t-shirts, and epaulettes (Chapter 2), as well as encouraging the reporting of things that are not even crimes – so-called non-crime hate incidents – an invention of the College of Policing. Set this against clear evidence that the police are getting worse at responding to a bread-and-butter crime such as burglary. Moreover, this has serious implications for freedom of speech, with police incursions into this area increasing as policy from on high turns them into partisans in often vicious political debates.

The police officer who was bothering Harry Miller unlawfully, as it was later established in court, purportedly told him, ‘I need to check your thinking’. The findings of this report reveal an alarming politicisation and capture of the police. The majority of serving officers are ‘good apples’ with decent principles and good records of providing impartial and proper service, often under difficult circumstances for which they are seldom thanked. They are being let down by a leadership that allows political activists key positions at the heart of policing, influencing policy and priorities.

The College of Policing has issued its own *Code of Ethics* which all police officers and staff are expected to abide by.

WE NEED TO CHECK YOUR THINKING!

Yet, this report shows the police are in many instances in breach of its stipulations pertaining to impartiality, public conduct, and allocation of resources. All this does is serve to undermine the popular consent on which the police rests.

The fact is, it is the other way round; we, the British public, need to check their thinking.

1

The institutional bias towards identity politics

Introduction

This chapter begins by exploring the liberal tradition of policing, known as ‘policing by consent’ and defined by the ‘Peelian principles’, which are laid out. It then explores the institutional reforms undertaken by the Coalition government that saw the police become a ‘profession’. It is argued that this has led to a transfer of power over to intellectuals and academics, enthroned in the College of Policing. This is encouraging identity politics from within. The chapter then turns to the infrastructure that has been nurtured inside the police force, that promotes identity politics. All this serves to introduce a factionalism, as well as what might be termed the new puritanism, into a police force that exists on the premise of popular consent but to which the general public has not consented, nor ever would at the ballot box.

What is policing by consent?

A modern police force for the United Kingdom came into existence with the creation of the Metropolitan Police in 1829. Prior, policing had been carried out by a variety of small and sometimes competing organisations. In 1839 it was extended to the counties, beyond London. Many had

been suspicious of the idea of a state police force, viewing this as an encroachment on liberty and a step towards dictatorship.¹²

Against a backdrop of political unrest and economic hardship, British prime minister Sir Robert Peel introduced a state police force but with a difference. It was one to be governed under the ethos of 'policing by consent', enshrined in what are known as the Peelian principles, named after Peel although they are perhaps only loosely attributable to him.¹³

The principles are reproduced below:

- 'To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.
- '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.
- '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.
- '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.
- '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.

- '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.
- '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.
- '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.
- '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.'¹⁴

When we talk of policing by consent, we are do not mean the right of individuals to refuse the law. No one can refuse to be arrested. Instead, we mean the 'common consent of the public'. This is an idea that needs some explanation since its

intended meaning is not immediately gleaned from parsing the words themselves.

It is the idea that the police be of the people, not the state, and this implies political neutrality. It includes the idea that they be generally unarmed and that their actions be proportionate and not extreme so much so that they alienate the public. In essence, the idea of 'common consent' is that the police enjoy the confidence of the public, which rests on the proviso they do not bother them any more than necessary. Our policing tradition is thus a liberal one.

The Peelian principles are still invoked by political leaders today but are further shored up by oaths and ethical guidelines for police officers. Officers in England and Wales swear the following oath, with similar oaths sworn in Scotland and Northern Ireland:

'I, of 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.'¹⁵

Note that this is a revised version of the oath, introduced by the Police Reform Act 2002. The oath had previously read:

'I, of 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.’¹⁶

The addition of ‘upholding fundamental human rights’ has been criticised by Harry Miller of the pressure group Fair Cop as allowing the police to move beyond their basic function of enforcing the law. There is no set or finite list of what counts as human rights, with political activists adept at discovering new ones. It gives the police room to pursue political causes other than fulfilling their basic duty.

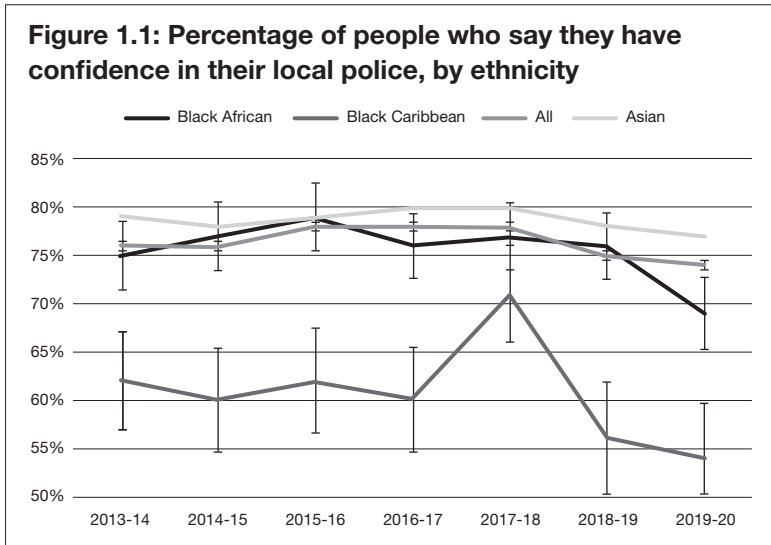
Measures of consent

If consent is understood to mean confidence or trust in the police, then the Crime Survey of England and Wales can be used to provide data on its extent.

Seventy-four per cent of adults have confidence in their local police, according to the government’s Ethnicity Facts and Figures website. For black people it is 64 per cent, but this can be misleading since the deficit is largely a black Caribbean one. For that group the share is 54 per cent, while for black Africans it is 69 per cent, as of 2019/20. This difference for black Africans is statistically significant, but only in the last year for which there is data available.

It has been claimed that confidence in the police among black people is falling. There is some evidence for this, only differences from year to year may not be statistically significant. In any case, the data collection period for 2019/20 runs from April to March, thus predating the Black Lives Matter protests surrounding George Floyd’s death in May of the same year. It is possible that the lockdown may have had something to do with this, with black people reportedly more often sanctioned,¹⁷ although it is also conceivable that it may have impacted on the sampling methodology too.

It should also be pointed out that Asian groups tend to have higher levels of confidence than the national average.



Source: Ethnicity Facts and Figures.

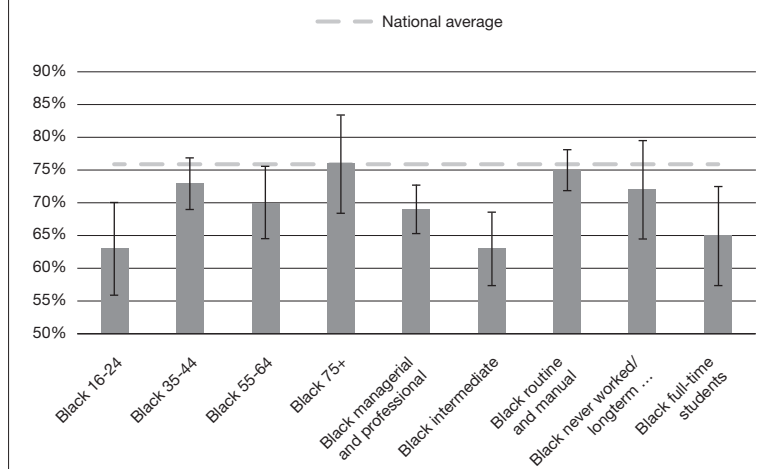
The same data allow for more detailed exploration within the black group. As seen in the graph below, differences from the national average can be accounted for by younger and middle-class black groups, particularly students. For older and working-class blacks, there are no significant differences from the national average.

The professionalisation of the police

We often use the term ‘profession’ as interchangeable with occupation, job or trade. These terms all have their own distinct but interrelated definitions. A profession is an occupation that requires a higher standard of learning, as well as standards of behaviour. This entails a pronounced degree of closure as well as a ‘professional body’ with the powers to define standards, and to permit entry to those

who meet expectations and to forbid those who fall short, either in terms of competence or conduct. Such bodies have the sole authority to give out the credentials – qualifications, certificates and so forth – necessary to join.

Figure 1.2: Percentage of people who say they have confidence in their local police – selected demographic groups, 2017-20 pooled



Source: Ethnicity Facts and Figures.

The professionalisation of the police has been a gradual process with increased graduatisation and greater involvement of universities in developing ‘evidenced-based’ policing. Historically, the police had been largely drawn from the lower middle- and working-class.¹⁸ The point when policing achieved formal professionalisation is the creation of the College of Policing in 2012.

According to Karen Lumsden, the move towards professionalisation was precipitated by a decline in public support for the police, beginning in the 1960s. This was supplemented by increasing technocracy in the form of

‘government policies placing emphasis on achieving value for money by restricting staffing, encouraging civilianisation, quantifying effectiveness and efficiency, and attempts to curtail the powers of chief constables’, throughout the 1980s.’ Lumsden further identifies calls for better training from the early 2000s, culminating in the Coalition Government’s (2010-2015) commissioning of an official review of police leadership. It was led by Chief Constable Peter Neyroud.¹⁹ His review recommended the creation of a professional body to oversee policing as a profession, which was later to be realised with the creation of the College of Policing.

The role of the College of Policing

The College of Policing is the professional body for policing which has the legal status of a company limited by guarantee. It was founded on 1 December 2012.²⁰ It is formally ‘owned’ by the Home Secretary and no one else. It is also an ‘arm’s-length body’ of the Home Office. According to the Institute for Government, these are ‘fully or partly publicly funded central government organisations that are not ministerial departments, and have varying degrees of independence from government’.²¹ Its senior executives are well remunerated. Take the Chief Executive, who is reported to have earned £170,000-175,000 in salary and allowances in the year to 31 March 2019.²² This is more than the Prime Minister’s reported salary of £161,401.²³ The College spent £71 million in 2020/21 (equivalent to 1,087 police officers²⁴) and ‘well over half a billion pounds since being created’.²⁵ The most recent figures show an underspend of £5.3 million, which would be enough to fund eighty ‘bobbies on the beat’.²⁶

In his foreword to his review, Neyroud spoke of the ‘creation of the Professional Body’ to ‘enable a transformation

of the culture of learning in the police service' constituted by moving away from 'in house delivered programmes' to a 'new partnership with Higher Education'. The review itself does little to provide a case for why professionalisation is needed or why it would improve standards, although improvements are indeed promised.

It is stated,

'In particular a professional body, in the right form, would provide the opportunity to provide clearer standards, a service-owned qualification framework, greater focus on professional development across all roles and, as a result a new more productive relationship with other providers such as Further and Higher Education.'

Neyroud is currently working as an academic and represents a growing trend of greater collaboration between police and educationalists. The College of Policing website is littered with academic reports, detailing the evidence as to 'what works'. But perhaps the best explication of how the College was to function can be gleaned from speeches given therein by Theresa May when she was Home Secretary.

Her speech to the College in 2013 offers the following rationale for the college:

'In the 21st century, we need a police force that is technologically advanced, and that makes use of policing techniques and tactics supported by the best available evidence on what works to reduce crime effectively and efficiently.

'We need a police force that has clear ethical standards, and aspires to, and achieves, the highest levels of integrity.

'We need a police force, in short, that is fully professionalised – and is recognised as such by both officers and the public. That is why I have founded the College of Policing.'²⁷

You cannot help but wonder what they did in the era before the College, and why there was not total anarchy. May continued to outline a large degree of independence for the College:

‘The College will become the body responsible for developing a better police force – for identifying the challenges policing faces and for setting out how those challenges should be met. And it cannot be a passive participant in delivering that change; waiting to see what Government thinks and wants to do...

‘In future I want to see the College itself making the case for change. I want to see its big ideas for reform, for improvements in the way that policing is delivered. I want to see it challenge me and future Governments. And I want to see the College Board taking the lead on behalf of policing and the public.’

This seems like an extraordinary ceding of power away from democratic control, over to technocracy, given the intention of the College to be a hub for ‘expert’ knowledge. As she made clear:

‘The College will work with universities to collect and review evidence on the effectiveness of different strategies and practices for reducing crime. The knowledge of what works – and what doesn’t – will be shared with PCCs and the police, and with the public as well. This will help the police become an organisation where practice is always based on evidence rather [than] on habit.

‘The answer to the question: “Why do we do this?” will never be – “Because we always have done it that way”. It will be “Because that is what the evidence tells us works best”.’

The problem lies in assuming ‘what works’ can only be known by experts working remotely, detached, in this case within a ‘college’ in Ryton, near Coventry. In truth,

such individuals will be the last to find out what really works, since that is best witnessed with greater physical proximity to actual crime. May presented a distinction between evidence and habit, only the distinction is false since habitual knowledge contained within police stations will not be plucked out of thin air. The real distinction is between the knowledge of elite university professors and the knowledge of 'unlettered men' at the local police station, who have a certain vantage point that no number of degrees can compensate for.

As one police officer said, quoted by Lumsden, 'I find it disappointing... to listen to the rhetoric of politicians who genuinely believe that large proportions of the police are just buffoons wandering around in uniforms'.²⁸

May further outlined the function of the College as overseeing entry into the profession, outlining new routes in. As she made clear, this entailed the Home Office 'relinquishing that role'. She made reference to her plan to fast track 'talented' officers for promotion from constable to inspector, as well as for those with 'proven track records' outside policing to join at the rank of superintendent.

For May, promotion was to be on the basis of '... new ideas, because they have new ways of doing things, because they have better ways of doing things – not because they do things the way the boss has always done them'. May's speech seems underwritten by an undue faith in the power of young whipper-snappers over the tried and tested methods of senior police officers.²⁹

Graduation of the police

The increased grip of higher education on the police and training is evidenced by the rise in the share of officers who are university graduates. In 1979, two per cent of police

officers (ranked at sergeant and below) were degree holders or equivalent, rising to 18 per cent in 2004, and 40 per cent by 2020.³⁰

There are currently three main entry routes into policing. They are:

- The police constable degree apprenticeship – three years’ ‘practical on-the-job learning alongside academic theory and knowledge’ leading to a degree;
- A degree in professional policing – an ‘academic knowledge-based degree, based upon the national curriculum for the police constable role’, lasting three years, plus a two-year probationary period as an officer;
- The degree-holder entry programme – two years’ ‘work-based’ training for graduates with degrees in any subject.³¹

All three routes entail oversight and assessment in some form. The degree apprenticeship includes ‘assessment of academic and operation competence’, carried out in a ‘collaborative partnership between a force and one or more learning providers, most likely a university’.

Universities are licensed and validated by the College of Policing, which also determines what is learned.³² Policing became a ‘graduate-only’ job, in the sense that all new recruits are educated to degree-level, in 2020, following an announcement in 2016. Before, there was no standardised recruitment requirements across police forces,³³ with trainees taking the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme consisting of two years’ training and a probation period.

We do not know if graduate officers are any better at the job, but there is some literature assessing the benefits of graduatisation among nurses.³⁴ As Mayhew and Holmes

(2016) have written that while benefits were promised, the record was somewhat mixed:

‘A few studies identified benefits of degree programmes in terms of enhanced competencies and qualities such as creativity, innovation, leadership, critical thinking, reflection, transferring knowledge and better research skills... However, research by Girot (2000), Bartlett et al. (2000) and Clinton et al. (2005) demonstrated that there were no marked differences between skills and competencies developed by the different routes.’

Perhaps the final word on the practical benefits of graduation should be that, somehow, we managed long before the university takeover of nursing. The same will apply to policing.

Consideration should also be given for kinds of political influences that police trainees will come under at university. Academics tend to be more left-wing and favour abstract ideals over practical considerations. According to Noah Carl, around half of the British public supports parties of the right, compared to less than 12 per cent of academics.³⁵ American research by Matthew J. Mayhew and Alyssa N. Rockenbach found students’ attitudes towards political liberals (leftists) became more positive when tracking the same group of individuals over four years of college, but not towards conservatives.³⁶

Lord Herbert’s big plans

The current and second chair of the College of Policing is Lord Nick Herbert. He is a Conservative peer, former member of parliament, and ex-minister for policing. He also chairs political lobby groups, the Countryside Alliance (pro-foxhunting) and the Global Equality Caucus (LGBT). He is the ‘Prime Minister’s Special Envoy on LGBT Rights’,

and had been, until recently, chairing the government's planned *Safe To Be Me* event, billed as its 'first ever global LGBT conference'. That conference was cancelled after a boycott led by its chief partner Stonewall,³⁷ at a cost of up to £600,000,³⁸ after the government failed to commit to banning 'conversion therapy' for transgender individuals.

Herbert is a moderate and conciliatory voice in this debate, but nevertheless, a partisan one. After the cancellation of the event, he wrote an article, in which he described himself as 'dismayed' that the 'promised conversion therapy ban was suddenly dropped and then partially reinstated' and that 'we must address the concerns and make the case for change, deploying the evidence and reassuring parliamentarians that a ban which include trans people is a safe and justifiable course to take.'

Herbert is further content to dismiss opponents in parliament as 'reactionaries who opposed reforms such as equal marriage'.³⁹ That is fine, but it only shows himself to be partisan, which brings into question his position at the College of Policing, which demands of all police staff 'being fair and impartial'.

On becoming chair of the College, Herbert's first endeavour was to launch a 'fundamental review into the College of Policing'. In his foreword to the review, published in the spring of 2022, he writes,

'When as Policing Minister, I established the College of Policing, my ambition was to improve leadership, standards and professionalism in policing. Ten years on, it is sobering to see that many of the challenges facing the service remain, and in some cases have increased. The College itself has, to be candid, had an uncertain start, doing good work but failing to fulfil its potential.'

It soon becomes clear that Herbert is calling for an expansion of the College's powers, taking on a greater role. The review speaks of 'a new vision for the College of Policing' but if that is required, then what was wrong with the old one and who set it up, again? The College exists on the premise that it can centralise knowledge, and then distribute it evenly, bringing improvements to all. Yet, it is oblivious to the adage that power is more easily centralised than knowledge, and that power is something that needs to be checked.

The review calls for 'boosting professionalism', meaning more training and 'continuous professional development'. It also calls for 'improving leadership', meaning 'a culture of inclusive, data-driven and effective leadership', and for the College to be 'driving consistency'. This latter objective entails 'overcoming the weaknesses of the 43-force model to bring consistency where it matters most'; this is a call for centralisation, with the College calling the shots.

All calls for 'evidence-led' policing will eventually entail the College gradually coming to dictate policing policy. As the review states,

'The College needs to play a bigger role in the policing system, taking advantage of the position that it has in the national landscape, the powers it has to set guidance and practice, and the evidence and research it undertakes or develops.'

All this is conditional on other bodies, including democratic ones, either giving the College more power or backing off. For instance, the NPCC 'must... seek to collaborate and coordinate with the College and give it licence to deliver on behalf of policing'. Police forces 'must be willing to let their brightest and best come to the College to work' and there 'should be a greater willingness to coordinate and cooperate

nationally, to accept the settled will of the majority or a strong evidence base, and to get behind the key reforms or programmes that the College is delivering’.

At the same time, Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services (HMICFRS) ‘must be clearer that the College sets standards against which it inspects, rather than seeking to develop standards through inspection, or to undermine the standards that have been set.’

This all seems like the centralisation of power.

The review further attempts to redefine the relationship between the College and the Home Office. It is written that the current protocol ‘should be revised to give the College more freedom from central government bureaucracy, allowing it to operate in a more dynamic, agile and flexible way, **more akin to a police force**’.⁴⁰

This is an astonishing bid for power, as a technocratic organisation led by intellectuals, bids to rewrite its own remit within the British legal constitution.

‘Super-complaints’

The College has already expanded its role beyond what was initially promised, in that it investigatory powers to deal with so-called ‘super-complaints’. These were introduced in 2018 and refer to ‘systemic issues which are not otherwise dealt with by the existing complaints systems’. These are investigated by Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Constabulary, the College of Policing and the Independent Office for Police Conduct. If these agencies are reported to be collaborating, then formal independence is deeply compromised.⁴¹

Super-complaints can only be made by a government approved list of organisations, meaning we now have

state-approved complainers. The list includes the Centre for Women's Justice, Galop, Southall Black Sisters, and Faith Matters.⁴² The latter is the parent organisation of Tell MAMA, run by Fiyaz Mughal, which collects reports of hate crime against Muslims. Another organisation is the Criminal Justice Alliance, only this is an umbrella charity representing a wide array of groups, including several race equality activist ones.⁴³

As an example of the flavour of such complaints, and they are few in number to date, we have ones made on stop and search, BAME victims of sexual abuse, and violence against women and girls. All these are emblematic issues of identity politics or pertain to groups not individuals. Individuals not belonging to the group in question are presumably left out.

'Non-crime hate incidents'

The College is further responsible for the innovation of the 'non-crime hate incident' (NCHI). These are actions that do not amount to breaches of the law but are recorded by the police. They only exist on the basis that the College instructs police to record them.

The most recent College of Policing guidance on such incidents offers no explicit definition of what is a non-crime incident, other than to add that such a thing might be motivated by hostility in the same way as a crime. How do you define a negative other than to say it is everything the positive is not? The guidance offers:

'Where it is established that a criminal offence has not taken place, but the victim or any other person perceives that the incident was motivated wholly or partially by hostility, it should be recorded and flagged as a non-crime hate incident.'⁴⁴

The collection of records of ‘non-crimes’ is justified on the grounds that it offers a monitorable picture of community relations, as well as the chance to intervene before matters escalate. It is also important to keep records, given the natural ambiguity of social life, so police can later determine if a crime has or has not been committed. Actions that are not in themselves criminal might add up to a pattern of behaviour that is, such as stalking or harassment.

The College reserves the right for police to intervene in such instances where no crime has been committed, but stress that their interventions must be proportionate. It is not immediately clear what the full arsenal of correctives they may issue are, although it seems from the guidance that they will offer a scolding, with victim support offered to those who claim victimhood.

However, critics point out that these can show up on background checks and amount to a shadow criminal record. The legality of this practice has been called into question following the Miller case, which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter. In any case, this practice would be in conflict with the Peelian principle that the police ‘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’.

The College of Policing’s Code of Ethics

A key part of professionalisation is to have a code of ethics that demands exemplary behaviour from those within. This is evident in the College of Policing’s Code of Ethics that demands police officers be ‘role models’.

The Code was published in 2014 and lays out a set of principles for policing from which a standard of ethics is derived, with a series of examples of good and bad

behaviour given. It has some sort of legal status, being derived in part from existing legislation on how the police conduct themselves. Police officers breaking its stipulations can likely expect disciplinary measures as a consequence.

Reading the Code, however, you wonder how the police ever managed before without such high stated principles and what this is replacing, either written down or implicit in actual behaviours. Moreover, it is made clear that the College reserves the right to amend it, as well as the expectation that it be embedded as a bedrock for decision making and behaviour throughout the police. The effect of the Code is thus to establish the College as the arbitrator of much of what is permissible, that comes to impinge on operational policy. In other words, the act of the creating a Code of Ethics establishes the College as an institution with considerable (non-democratic) power.

The 'Policing Principles' are derived from the 'Principles of Public Life' published by the Committee on Standards in Public Life, in 1995, and known as the 'Nolan Principles'. They are:

- 'Accountability – you are answerable for your decisions, actions and omissions
- 'Fairness – you treat people fairly
- 'Honesty – you are truthful and trustworthy
- 'Integrity – you always do the right thing
- 'Leadership – you lead by good example
- 'Objectivity – you make choices on evidence and your best professional judgement
- 'Openness – you are open and transparent in your actions and decisions

- ‘Respect – you treat everyone with respect
- ‘Selflessness – you act in the public interest’

The College then derives from these a series of responsibilities or standards, along with examples of acceptable behaviours as well as ones to avoid. These may be reasonable, that cover things like ensuring that force is used reasonably and proportionately, as well as that police be impartial and do nothing to bring that into doubt (we shall return to these considerations later).

There are though other stipulations in The Code that reflect both the identitarian prejudices of the College as well as open the door to identity politics within the police.

Section 3 of the Code on ‘Equality and diversity’ states:

- ‘I will act with fairness and impartiality.
- ‘I will not discriminate unlawfully or unfairly’.

It continues that in order to meet this standard, officers must:

- ‘[U]phold the law regarding human rights and equality’.
- ‘[T]ake a proactive approach to opposing discrimination so as to adequately support victims, encourage reporting and prevent future incidents’.
- ‘[A]ct and make decisions on merit, without prejudice and using the best available information’.
- ‘[C]onsider the needs of the protected characteristic groupings – age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion and belief, sex and sexual orientation’.
- ‘[A]ctively seek or use opportunities to promote equality and diversity’.

Officers further are:

‘...aware of the influence that unconscious biases (such as stereotypes or ‘group think’ can have on your actions and decisions’

And,

‘... consider the expectations, changing needs and concerns of different communities, and do what is necessary and proportionate to address them’.

These compel police officers to think along the lines of identity politics, that group characteristics are of especial importance in assessing the needs of individuals, as well as engaging in behaviours to improve society and not just enforce the law.

It also enshrines in a quasi-legal context, a contested concept – unconscious bias – which is the basis for many counterproductive and wasteful measures such as unconscious bias training as well as a key concept in critical race theory, as David Green has argued.⁴⁵ Moreover, there is no explicit reference to the first duties of police officers being to enforce the law, other than that pertaining to human rights and equality.

The Code is presented as the continuation and further expression of the Peelian principles, and it is true that there is considerable overlap in that both share the realisation that policing is contingent on the respect and confidence of the citizenry, and the importance of impartiality.

It is, however, those alluded to dashes of identity politics that are innovations and mark this document as having the potential to introduce something new into policing, namely that policing serves the needs of groups, not individuals. The trouble with this is that groups may have conflicting interests or demands, while not all individuals within them

have the same needs. In other words, you lose the liberal precept of individual equality before the law. Moreover, there are many campaigning organisations that promote ideas and measures that are contentious, pertaining to the condition of groups, and this opens the door to them.

The perils of professionalisation

In a recent speech given at the conference of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) (2021), the historian David Starkey outlined a searing critique of the professions, which he accused of orchestrating a ‘complete apparatus of phoniness’. In particular, his scorn fell upon the College of Policing, which he rightly states is solely responsible for the creation of non-crime hate incidents. He further noted the hysterical and confected reaction to his interview conducted by Darren Grimes in which he carelessly used the words ‘damn blacks’. For this he was dropped by just about everybody, and was investigated by the police but with no charges brought.

Starkey sees the new puritanism, all things ‘woke’, as flourishing especially well within the professions. They are rife for this because they are closed as well as demanding higher ethical standards for those allowed within. He told the SDP conference:

‘The professions embody what? They embody restrictive practices. They embody a notion of self-virtue and they embody a notion of self-regulation. All of which, as Margaret Thatcher once pointed out, are conspiracies against the public interest. And it is... the contempt for using your hands, the contempt for the shop floor, but associated with this idea of ‘virtue’. That the professional’s job is to administer virtue.’⁴⁶

Closure plus virtue is a dangerous combination in that anyone who falls short will soon be frozen out, unable to

ply their trade, and the money spent on education wasted and mortgages still needing to be paid. Thus, any moral innovations or political movements that demand public displays of virtue are likely to spread rapidly within any given profession since everyone fears exclusion. Any activist movement, such as Black Lives Matter, will find fertile ground for recruitment and spreading ideas and whatever products they may wish to sell. If the College of Policing is to be pronouncing on promotions as well as appointments, then the problem is further compounded.

Starkey argued that professionalism is spreading beyond occupations that might genuinely be professions, namely those that require probity and advanced expertise, such as doctors and lawyers. Human resources departments, he said, ‘behave as though they were running a profession’, requiring ‘you to subscribe to company ethics’. He further added:

‘Most institutions should not have values. Morals are for us. Otherwise, you get legislated moral uniformity, you get the imposition of a moral code, you get an inquisition, you get public burning and that is what is going on now.’

The government has recently announced plans to professionalise the Fire and Rescue service with the creation of a College of Fire and Rescue mooted.⁴⁷

Police ethics as they are and as academics would like them to be

Given the College of Policing’s turn towards ethics, it is worthwhile considering both what it has in mind as well as how the police *actually* appraise their decision making morally. After all, they are not, on the whole, individuals without any sense of ethics, despite whatever horror stories you may read in the press.

One clue comes from a paper published by the Jubilee Centre for Character & Virtues, based at the University of Birmingham. According to its website, this is a group of academics who ‘aim to enable people to explore their character and virtues, and if and where required, transform them’.⁴⁸

The work in question is called *Character Virtues in Policing* by Kristjan Kristjansson et al.⁴⁹ It is based on a series of experiments and interviews with actual and aspiring police officers, designed to appraise how they make ethical decisions.

The paper outlines three possible modes of ethical thinking:

- Consequentialist – an action is ethical based on its consequences in terms of maximising human happiness (utilitarianism).
- Deontological – an action is ethical based on universal, rationally grounded principles, or maxims that derive from them.
- Virtue ethical – an action is ethical if it is morally improving of the individual and others, ‘namely the extent to which they become more virtuous and more able to lead well-rounded flourishing lives’.⁵⁰

Kristjansson et al.’s empirical research found that police officers tend to justify their actions based first on deontological grounds, then on virtue ethical ones. For Kristjansson et al., this is a problem, and their report recommends, ‘Virtue ethics needs to be foregrounded more in professional ethics education within police-science and CPD courses.’

But there are problems inherent in this.

Firstly, their argument in favour of virtue ethics is theoretical, with some rather flimsy justifications put

forward. This is not sufficient to explain why they as academics are better placed to rationalise the moral decision making of actual police officers and supplant them. Nor is there any evidence as to why this would make the relationship between police and public any better. Largely, this report seems an expression of the preferences of the academics responsible.

Secondly, there are some problems in their vision of virtue ethics. As they write,

‘A virtue ethically motivated police officer will display, and cultivate further, personal and professional virtues, both civic and moral, and reach phronetic (morally tethered, critical, properly deliberated and adjusted-upon) decisions... that contribute to virtue and flourishing in the individuals affected by the decisions; within the broad framework of the law. The fundamental moral question becomes: ‘what would the virtuous police officer do in these circumstances?’

They continue,

‘One advantage of virtue ethics is its sensitivity to professional work (such as nursing, medicine, teaching and, indeed policing) as ‘emotional labour’. Instead of seeing emotional engagement in decision-making as psychologically compromising and morally untoward, virtue ethics considers emotions as necessary ingredients in virtues and encourages virtuous agents to harness proper emotions in the service of moral ends...’

The heart is fickle but the law is not. Encouraging officers to make decisions based on emotions in the name of moral and individual flourishing risks turning policing into an *expressive act*, whereby officers police to the extent to which it pleases them, becoming overly emotional and subjectively applying the law. It is a difficult job that will often require emotional detachment in order to get from day to day.

A commitment to the betterment of other people, inherent in this conception of virtue ethics, entails that the police start telling us what to do. Kristjansson et al.'s commitment to virtue ethics is justified as Peelian, only it risks clashing with the liberal tradition of the state butting out of matters of personal conscience.

Kristjansson et al. praise the College of Policing's Code of Ethics, describing it as a 'formidable document, teeming with the language of virtue, more so than typically seen in other professional codes.' While not going far enough as they deem it, it is praised for its virtue ethics stance, and for being 'fairly unique among similar documents in foregrounding through the need for additional emotional and behavioural virtues', such as compassion and empathy. Their interest seems to be against the deontological, which they disparage as 'mindlessly following precepts', as though these were not tried and tested moral principles. The ideal ethical police officer is, instead, one who uses his discretion, based on virtue, under the instruction of university academics. Kristjansson et al. do not understand that the police are not on the whole stupid, immoral automatons following meaningless ethical principles. They just think differently from academics.

Virtue ethics is anti-Peelian and illiberal since it grants all the liberty to the police officer, as at representative of the state, to express himself in the hope of making us better, virtuous citizens. This is deeply naïve and misses the point that British people do not enjoy moral lectures from police officers, or academics for that matter too. Nevertheless, the Jubilee Centre report is endorsed by the College of Policing, with a foreword by Dr Paul Quinton who is its Evidence and Evaluation Advisor, calling it a 'splendid report'. He notes the College is undertaking a 'wholesale review' of its Code

with the implication clear, that the Jubilee Centre report and its recommendations will be favoured in it.

The 'Race Action Plan'

To compound this issue, the NPCC and College of Policing have recently published a 'race action plan', this being the new policy for the police on race. It has been written with the input of the National Black Policing Association (NBPA). Its most notable declaration is that the police move towards becoming 'institutionally anti-racist'. This may sound impressive but is actually a point of concern in that there is a considerable political movement that goes by the name of 'anti-racism' that sees this as a form of vehement political activism that demands 'anti-racist' discrimination as the only remedy to racist discrimination, as advocated by activists like Ibram X. Kendi. A lack of precise definition only opens the door to people such as these, into institutions that are bound by sworn oath to political neutrality.

This radical 'anti-racism' can be seen in the plan's numerous commitments to improving police service and careers for black people, above and beyond any general commitment to make things better for all. Numerous commitments are made to black people, including:

'We have much to do to secure the confidence of black people, including our own staff, and improve their experience of policing – and we will.'

'Make sure black people feel, and are, safer.'

'Reducing black victimisation, especially of hate crime and serious youth violence.'

'Reducing the harm caused by the crime and disorder experienced by black people, particularly by the most vulnerable.'

WE NEED TO CHECK YOUR THINKING!

‘Treating black victims and witnesses better, understanding their needs and vulnerabilities.’

‘Improving the quality and outcome of our investigations for black victims.’

‘Improving how we prevent, and respond to, the crime and disorder concerns of black communities, particularly of young people.’

‘Helping black communities to address local crime and disorder problems.’

‘Actively supporting services that make a difference to young black people’s lives, and reduce the need for us to be involved later on.’

‘The College and the NPCC will improve attraction, retention and progression of black people.’

‘Policing will increase the involvement of black communities in its work and improve support to black victims of crime.’

‘[Use] data to monitor and improve the experience and confidence of black officers and staff within the workplace.’

‘Work to improve understanding, police interaction and support for vulnerable groups within black communities...’

‘Addressing the criminal exploitation of vulnerable young black people.’

‘Improving police response and effectiveness in supporting vulnerable black people with mental ill-health issues.’

‘Developing a more effective police response to hate crime committed against black people, including online and on social media....’

Of the latter, this will encourage police officers to police relatively trivial events, at a time when their solving of crimes like burglary has plummeted. All these extracts

evidence a clear commitment to improving the police service for one racial group alone. In other words, anti-racist discrimination. The chief problem is that the plan commits the police to making assumptions about black people, based on their race, namely that they need special help at work or that they are victims before their individual needs have even been raised. This seems to bring the police close to the definition of institutional racism that sees it as failing to provide an appropriate service based on race.

Justification

There are chiefly two empirical arguments made to justify the favourable treatment for black people – a lack of confidence and the disproportionate experience of policing among them.

i. Confidence

It is claimed there is a ‘trust deficit’ and that ‘evidence shows that disparities are the widest among black people’. The following claims are made:

‘Black people have significantly lower than average rates of confidence in their police force, at 64 per cent compared with an [national] average of 74 per cent. Among black Caribbean people, the rate is just 54 per cent.’

This is a crucial statistic; because there is a lack of trust, all the measures contained in the plan must follow, in order to build trust. Overlooked is the fact that there is scant difference for black Africans, at 69 per cent, as we saw earlier. This statistic is adjacent to that for black Caribbean people in the table in the original source; you cannot fail to not see one if you see the other. Therefore, this is a naked example of cherry picking.

ii. *Disparity/Disproportionality*

The plan makes the following statistical claims,

‘Black men are over three times as likely to be arrested than white men, with 60 arrests per 1,000 black men, compared with 17 for every 1,000 white men.’

‘... the average homicide rate for black people was around six times higher than for white people and almost four times higher than victims of other ethnicities.’

No mention is made of the fact that it is likely that black people commit more crime, and more violent crime in particular, although for the avoidance of any doubt, this is not caused by their race in any way. Thirteen per cent of murder suspects are black across England and Wales, compared to a population share of three per cent.⁵¹ It is thus more reasonable to expect the shares arrested and stopped and searched to be proportionate to the former than the latter. Eight per cent of arrests and 17 per cent of stops and searches involve black people.⁵²

The race action plan commits the police to,

‘Approaching racial disparities in our actions as problems in themselves, regardless of their causes, because of their impact on black people.’

This misses the point that police action is a *solution* to the problem of crime. If black people are more likely to commit crime as well as being victims of it, then they will also experience policing more. The plan thus commits the police to viewing policing itself as a problem, which is deeply alarming. In many incidents, the disproportionate policing will be to *the benefit* of black victims of crime – but this is something not considered. We tend to hear ‘over-policing’ as connotative of police harassment, without realisation that this might be the meeting of the needs of people who are black.

It is stated,

‘Every police force in England and Wales will adopt an “explain or reform” approach to examining policy or practice where racial disparity exists. At times, there will be reasons why disparity exists. Where disparity cannot be explained, the expectation is that it should be changed.’

The ethos of ‘explain or reform’ is a key part of the Theresa May years of policy on race, dominated by the usual suspects, and appearing as ‘explain or change’ in the Race Disparity Audit as well as featuring in the Lammy Review (both 2017). While it sounds appealing, it can be criticised in that a lack of explanation is not the same thing as knowing something is wrong. Nor does it entail the knowledge or competence of what to do next. As David Hume pointed out, you cannot get an ‘ought’ from an ‘is’.

The plan makes much of disparity in stop and search, noting that black people are seven times more likely to be stopped and searched than white people. It neglects to tell you this disparity has already been explained. Home Office research led by Joel Miller (2000) showed that much of the disproportionality can be accounted for by the ethnicity of those available to be stopped and searched.

This study showed stop and search is not deployed randomly, but in known crime hotspots, which are much more ethnically diverse than the population as a whole. When comparing stop and search rates to the appropriate benchmark of the ethnicity of those out and about, the disproportionality is no longer evident in quite the same way. The research found white people were, in this light, over-represented, Asian people under-represented, and black people sometimes over, sometimes under-represented. None of this is consistent with the ‘institutional racism’

narrative that stop and search statistics, taken out of context, are so often traduced to support.

The College of Policing exists to make decisions based on academic research, yet it has freely ignored this crucial piece of evidence.

Moreover, the alarming disparity by a factor of seven only exists because the probabilities of being stopped and searched are low – 5.4 per cent for black, 0.6 per cent for white. The disparity in *not being stopped and searched* is by a factor of 1.05 in favour of whites. Relative disparity is susceptible to prevalence, producing figures that are politically alarming sufficient to justify interventions such as the race action plan. It does not give a telling estimation of the extent of the difference.

The plan defines a ‘racial disparity’ in the criminal justice system as,

‘... when the ‘proportion of a racial/ethnic group within the control of the system is greater than the proportion of such groups in the general population.’

The mistake here is that this compels the expectation that any given ethnic minority group have the same outcomes as the ethnic majority, irrespective of differences in their attributes and material circumstances.

Ethics and law

The College of Policing’s Code of Ethics calls on all police employees to ‘act and make decisions on merit, without prejudice and using the best available information’.

They must also ‘... not knowingly make false, misleading or inaccurate oral or written statements in any professional context.’

As we have seen, the race action plan is based on a

tendentious and highly-selective reading of the evidence, and so falls short of such ethical standards.

The same document further states police employees ‘will not discriminate unlawfully or unfairly’ and demands officers oppose discrimination. Given that the plan specifically mandates preferential treatment for black people, it is necessary to ask if the NPCC and College of Policing are not advocating measures that are illegal as well as unethical (on their own terms).

The public sector equality duty of the Equality Act 2010 states:

‘A public authority must, in the exercise of its functions, have due regard to the need to –

- (a) eliminate discrimination, harassment, victimisation and any other conduct that is prohibited by or under this Act;
- (b) advance equality of opportunity between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share it;
- (c) foster good relations between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share’⁵³

While the plan likely falls foul of part A, it seems at first sight to be compatible with part B. However, the Act continues:

‘Having due regard to the need to advance equality of opportunity between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share it involves having due regard, in particular, to the need to—

- (a) remove or minimise disadvantages suffered by persons who share a relevant protected characteristic that are connected to that characteristic;
- (b) take steps to meet the needs of persons who share a relevant protected characteristic that are different from the needs of persons who do not share it...’

The legality of the race action plan would likely rest on part A of the immediately above, but it would be incumbent on them to prove any 'disadvantages' really were attributable to race and not other factors such as age, ability, or availability to be stopped and searched, for instance. The burden of proof falls on the NPCC/College, since it is their plan.

Regarding part B, there is an obvious problem in that the law encourages public authorities into acting on matters that are evidently not well-understood, even by serious academics. This will not lead to happy outcomes. Moreover, the Act itself on the one hand proscribes discrimination, and on the other, encourages it. As is stated, 'Compliance with the duties in this section may involve treating some persons more favourably than others.'

This is not good legislation.

The argument behind the race action plan seems to be that because black people are treated badly by the police, then the police have to treat them better in order to make up for this. However, if we know there is no distinct issue with trust nor any disproportionality that cannot be accounted for by disproportionality in terms of need, then the *raison d'être* for the plan collapses.

The assumption that black people require special assurances and are alone in this matter should also be criticised in light of the fact that the most egregious example of inter-racial violence has been that of so-called 'grooming gangs', formed often by men of Pakistani origin with white girls largely their victims. In such instances, the failures of the police have been stark.

Here is an extract from the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse, chaired by Alexis Jay,

'[The] Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham 1997–2013... identified that at least 1,400 children

and young people in Rotherham had been sexually abused or exploited over more than a decade. It identified “collective failures” by the local authority and that the police regarded “many child victims with contempt” and failed “to act on their abuse as a crime”.⁵⁴

How are such victims and their families to feel, reading the police’s commitment to improving the treatment of another ethnic group as well as its lot in life? Their lives matter too.

The plan calls on the police to,

‘Develop officers’ and staff members’ understanding of black history and the relationship between policing and black communities. This will be mandatory... it will challenge assumptions and bias...’

This seems like an invitation to the discredited ‘unconscious bias training’. Moreover, the only authoritative study on the matter, conducted by Kalev and Dobbin (2016), concluded that specifically *mandatory* diversity schemes tend to backfire, in that they prove antagonistic.⁵⁵ Such measures may breach the public sector equality duty of the Equality Act, which demands public authorities to ‘foster good relations’.

Nor is it clear what ‘black history’ is, how this is defined and would not be dominated by political activists, nor any evidence presented for why this would make matters better. The saddest thing about the plan is that black police officers will always be regarded as special cases because of their race, rather than judged on their effort, good will, and character. The plan calls for ‘treating black people as individuals’, yet throughout makes the assumption that they will need special help and favours based on their race.

The Independent Scrutiny Oversight Board

The race action plan is further being shaped by an ‘independent scrutiny and oversight board’ (ISOB), with the

power to 'shape, check and challenge'. It has six members, most of whom demonstrate some signs of political partisanship or who have ties to the 'equalities' industry.

Its chair is the barrister Abimbola Johnson, who has written of her 'hatred' of the Conservative party, and that the Commission on Racial and Ethnic Disparities' report (Sewell Report) confirmed 'the lengths this govnt [sic] will go to, to avoid the truth & deny the experiences of POC [people of colour]'.⁵⁶

While it has been reported Johnson wanted to 'defund the police', her views are more nuanced than this might suggest. She has posted on social media, 'Divert funds into other methods to tackle the causes of crime and even rethink what we classify as criminality in the first place. Until you no longer need to fund a police force.'⁵⁷

She has also posted that Black Lives Matter 'is meant to make us think harder about how we could run a safe and fair society without the need for a police force', and 'the ultimate aim is to create a societal system what no longer needs the police, or at least doesn't need police forces in the sizes we have now.'⁵⁸

Such comments betray utopian idealism and also nativity, as well as someone who believes the purpose of public life is to bring about radical transformation. She is reportedly a member of the Labour Party.⁵⁹

She is also keen that the police admit itself to be 'institutionally racist' and seldom misses the opportunity to make this point. Shortly after her appointment, she told the *Guardian* the police's plan 'needs to accept institutional racism'.⁶⁰ At an online event to publicise recruitment to the board, she pushed senior police officers to accept their forces were institutionally racist.⁶¹ And at the launch of the plan, she reportedly 'chastised' the police for not admitting

its institutional racism. She further added 'If you're going to be anti-racist, you need to become comfortable with being labelled as woke because I don't really see how you can be anti-racist and not be comfortable with that terminology'.⁶²

'Woke' is most widely used as a pejorative.

The board also includes Katrina Ffrench, who runs an organisation that 'challenges discriminatory practices and policies within UK policing and the wider criminal justice system'. She is 'committed to achieving racial equity and social justice'.⁶³ She is furthermore, a Labour Party councillor, something omitted from the ISOB website.⁶⁴

Next up is Nick Glynn, who works for the hyper-liberal Open Society Foundations, where he 'leads work on police accountability'. He is reportedly a supporter of Jeremy Corbyn.⁶⁵

This is a highly partisan board.

In response to such criticism, the NPCC said board members were selected 'for their skills, expertise and experience in an open selection and recruitment process.' This is only partially true, in that the candidates were first sifted by a recruitment company, Inclusive Boards, before being adjudged by a panel that included Abimbola Johnson, Leslie Thomas QC, Stuart Lawrence (brother of Stephen Lawrence), and Andy George of the NBPA.⁶⁶ Such a selection process will likely come down in a certain direction.

The board itself will largely function as a conduit for a wider interest. At an online event in October 2021, Johnson made it clear her board will act as a channel for the voices of others:

'Within the structure what will be created by the Independent Scrutiny and Oversight Board is a community diversity and inclusion forum... I've been meeting with individuals and organisations that are interested in pushing forward anti-

racism work, specifically within the criminal justice system and policing. The aim is to have at least quarterly meetings between my board and that forum to ensure that my board is accountable to black communities and to organisations that we are representing...'

The advocates she mentions are not named, but they will not speak with any democratic blessing on behalf of 'black communities'. In fact, the plan has both a 'stakeholder group' and a 'community diversity and inclusion forum'.⁶⁷ According to an FOI request, the stakeholder group includes the National Black Police Association (NBPA), and the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim Police Associations, plus representatives of the College of Policing, NPCC, Police Federation, Home Office, and Unison. So how independent is this, really? The community diversity and inclusion forum, in turn, is open to all comers and 'effectively the membership will be whomever wants to join.'

At the same event, senior figures from the NPCC and College of policing affirmed their commitment to anti-racism, and expressed an openness towards political activists joining the board. Those interested but with criminal records were encouraged to apply by Johnson, so long as they could demonstrate they had turned over a new leaf.⁶⁸

The NBPA itself has a 'core' role in 'programme board and stakeholder groups' that exist as part of the race action plan. It will also 'design a national survey for black police officers and staff to understand their experiences within policing', that will run annually. This will function as an annual supply of complaints. The NBPA has a track record of denouncing the police as 'institutionally racist',⁶⁹ as well as advocating 'positive discrimination'.⁷⁰ As David Green concluded, organisations like this are steeped in the precepts of Critical Race Theory, which sees race as fundamental to

how individuals are, as well as denying the possibility of objective truth.⁷¹ Nor does it take a cynic to point out the NBPA derives considerable power through accusing the police, from which considerable advantages can be won.

The race action plan is captured by ideologically-driven individuals. Ostensibly the product of the NPCC and College of Policing, it is in fact in thrall to a worldview that sees advancing its own power as necessary for solving problems that are vaguely defined and measured. This risks ushering in a political puritanism that threatens police neutrality. The police have incorporated individuals who will complain but will not suffer the consequences of their complaints, namely that young black men approach the police already assuming the worst. The police have made a rod for their own back, which cannot be easily escaped since it is politically difficult to abolish this agenda.

The infrastructure of identity politics within the police

There are three ways in which the police are most exposed to identity politics at grass roots level. They are through affinity groups/staff associations, independent advisory groups, and through direct collaboration with identitarian organisations and charities. What follows is a brief summary of each. It should also be added that much of this infrastructure exists as a result of official policies and legislation, or are justified by them, most notably the Macpherson report (1999) and the Equality Act 2010.

Nor are the police to be understood as mere dupes of an assertive ideological lobby, since they have their own internal 'diversity and inclusion' cottage industry within that is only too keen to oblige. It is astonishing how human resources departments across all sectors have transformed themselves from vital but unglamorous bureaucrats, to

hubs of societal change that assume the power to bring about a goal that has never been achieved anywhere before, namely each group, however defined, present in proportion to its share of the population.

In the critique that follows, we do not mean to suggest greater involvement of minorities within the police is a bad thing, quite the contrary. Rather we are arguing that in the name of something good, we are opening the doors to activists who present *a particular way* of looking at things which is at odds with what other people think, thus imperilling police objectivity, as well as potentially having impact on how the law is enforced that is extra-democratic as well as unaccountable. Moreover, the things they advocate for and measures they support are no silver bullets and will have unintended consequences.

1. Affinity groups/staff associations

David Green has written on so-called affinity groups or staff associations within the police. These are 'police associations based on identity groups', such as the National Black Police Association, the Gypsy Roma Traveller Police Association, the Jewish Police Association, and the National LGBT+ Police Network, to name but a few. His argument is these tend to be preoccupied with an ideology known as 'critical race theory' or 'critical theory'. He writes:

'Society is seen as divided into victim groups and their oppressors: whites are the oppressors and blacks are their victims; gays are victims and straights 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.’⁷²

Green’s argument is that these groups imperil police impartiality since these officially recognised staff associations ‘seek to advance the careers of their own members at the expense of other officers, who are sometimes regarded as oppressors’, as well as ‘seek to change policing policy to the advantage of their own identity group’.⁷³ It should be added that these groups are always the go-to-people for diversity and inclusion managers and will often fall little short of dictating internal policy. No one has voted for them, yet you find them there instead of elected politicians who have the sole democratic right to govern by a set of political ideals. Their status as neutral and benign experts is assumed but never tested.

2. Independent advisory groups

Independent Advisory Groups (IAGs) were set up of the recommendations of the Macpherson report, published in 1999. It recommended community involvement in policing. These groups consist of volunteers tasked with being ‘critical friends’ to the police, providing oversight and criticism of policy and practice. Where details are published, you will find members are vetted to some degree and expected to conduct themselves according to the so-called Nolan principles of public life (these being the basis for the College of Policing’s Code of Ethics). Participation is typically unpaid, although expenses will often be met.

What follows is a summary of what can be gleaned either online or through requests made to various forces under the Freedom of Information Act. On the whole, however,

most of these groups have no public profile, in terms of membership or advice given made freely available.

The National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC)

The NPCC is a national representative body for senior police officers. It plays host to the so-called Hate Crime Independent Advisory Group.⁷⁴ We first wrote about this for *The Critic* magazine. This IAG used to sit within the Ministry of Justice before moving to the Home Office, briefly, before transferring to the NPCC. Intriguingly, the Home Office told us they had 'some concerns about the transparency and impartiality of the IAG' and 'planned to work with the group to resolve these issues.'

In our article, we showed how it was made up with organisations that had a vested interest in hate crime being publicly funded to provide hate crime services. Such organisations included Tell MAMA, the Community Security Trust, and Galop. We further showed how individual members would use it as an opportunity to seek ministerial contact as well as lobby for unrelated issues to do with their particular group, for example Gypsies and Travellers. Minutes obtained showed how the IAG would entertain ideas of regulating 'hate', which is an emotion, thus straying into areas beyond mere crime, as well as concocting farcical devices such as the 'True Vision Dashboard of Hate' in order to measure how much 'hate' Greta Thunberg receives per minute.

In its new home, the IAG is still composed of largely the same individuals and appears to have no room for any known sceptics. It is however slightly more transparent, being committed to publishing its membership and minutes, although the latter have yet to appear at the time of writing. While within the government, IAG members were paid

£175 for under four hours and £350 for over four hours, this included travel time. They are now no longer paid, although they can still be paid for consultancy or training.

The Metropolitan Police Service

London's Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) currently has 32 borough IAGs and seven 'Crime Prevention Inclusion and Engagement Command' IAGs. The latter include LGBT+, Race, Diversity, and Somalis. No details are published, although the LGBT+ IAG has its own website.⁷⁵ Why there is one for Somalis but not Indians or Afghans, say, is unclear.

Details of the LGBT+ IAG membership are not published, nor are minutes of its meetings. Its website seems preoccupied with publicising hate crime statistics. The IAG is voluntary but receives some funding from the Crime Prevention, Inclusion and Engagement Directorate.⁷⁶ It has partnerships with the Community Security Trust, Galop, and Tell MAMA.

A video reveals the IAG to have been going for over 20 years. It is said:

'We advise on and monitor police issues that affect LGBT+ people... And as the quality of our advice has been recognised, we are increasingly invited to participate in strategy and policy work. We meet every six weeks at New Scotland Yard... the meetings are attended by senior police officers...'⁷⁷

Concerning their activities,

'At the heart of every meeting, we analyse the latest hate crime statistics and discuss new and on-going cases. We make sure lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender LGBT+ issues are always on the agenda of the Metropolitan Police Service...'⁷⁸

Regarding the advice it gives,

‘We also undertake research and produce guidance for the Metropolitan police. Our ‘LGBT Murder Review’ research is still being used today in national police training. And at the start of trans-related cases, our Trans Guidelines are routinely copied to senior investigating officers. Most recently, we advise the Met on drugs and ‘chemsex’ related incidents.’⁷⁹

Its website further underlines the IAG’s role in drawing up guidance on transgenderism, stating,

‘In collaboration with other agencies, we have developed guidelines on how services should be delivered to transgender people as victims, suspects or witnesses. We have also been closely involved with the 2002 review of the Met’s policing on the transgender issues.’⁸⁰

The line between ‘guidelines’ and ‘policy’ is a fine one. There does seem a problem in that a (self-appointed) community group is advising the police on how it would like to be policed.

The website makes reference to ‘supporting, informing and facilitating liaison between local LGBT forums’, as well as ‘creating and sustaining a network of LGBT liaison officers throughout the MPS’. It boasts of ‘providing transparency of the police service by advisors having access to most areas of the MPS’.

Yet, we have little idea of who these people are or what they advise, undermining any claims to transparency. It seems more the case they are creating channels of influence between private organisations and a supposedly neutral police force, through which they can spread, as they say, ‘our own agenda’.

‘LGBT liaison officers’ are police officers and staff with a

special brief for gay and transgender people. According to a document published by the Met,

‘This role, which is invaluable, serves to increase and improve trust and confidence of LGBT people in our police service. Fundamental to achieving this is providing an effective conduit of communication to internal and external agencies and LGBT people, stakeholders and agencies.’⁸¹

These are thus police employees who exist to bring external organisations into the heart of policing.

It continues,

‘This must include raising the awareness of LGBT matters and sharing information including hate crime perpetration rates within your geographic area of responsibility. Liaison officers are first and foremost hate crime investigators.’

Their duties further include, ‘setting up LGBT forums’, to ‘encourage and facilitate LGBT representation on borough IAG consultative groups’, and to promote the roles of liaison officers internally and externally. As of 2013, there were 155 such officers in the Met.⁸²

It seems the LGBT+ IAG sits at the pinnacle of an internal network within the Met that exists to grow itself, ever extending its influence into the police. Yet we do not know what these people advise or the extent to which they start to facilitate change in policy on matters that are often controversial and not settled, most notably transgenderism. All this is undertaken in the name of transparency.

It should further be added that the Met used to have an IAG to oversee its Operation Trident which aimed to combat violent crime, largely among black youth. This was at times chaired by Lee Jasper, a race activist and former Director for Policing and Equalities as part of Ken Livingston’s mayoralty, who has a record of divisive statements.⁸³ Another

former chair of the IAG is the now-disgraced former Labour MP Claudia Webbe.⁸⁴ Our request to see IAG minutes was rejected, with the Met citing exemptions to the Freedom of Information act pertaining to personal information and law enforcement. In other words, we are not allowed to know what their IAGs tell them.

Humberside Police

This force has numerous IAGs, consisting of an overarching Force IAG as well as a Youth IAG, and IAGs for North Lincolnshire, North East Lincolnshire, East Riding, and Hull. Our Freedom of Information request to find out who sits on these groups was rebuffed on the grounds that it would entail divulging personal information. Nevertheless, some information including minutes and agendas which contain details of some members is published online. We are told that ‘membership seeks to be reflective of the protective characteristics held within the Equality Act 2010’.

Humberside’s IAGs consider ‘local issues’ such as PREVENT, ‘hate crime figures and building confidence in reporting’, spit guards, body worn videos, and neighbourhood policing strategy.⁸⁵ Membership is unpaid.⁸⁶

According to minutes from a meeting of the Force IAG in January 2022, the Humberside IAGs may have included the following members:

- An associate of ‘Phoenix LGBT+ North East Lincolnshire’.
- Two Labour party councillors.
- An employee of North Lincolnshire Council.
- A ‘BAME Wellbeing Coordinator’.
- A representative of a deaf people’s charity.

- A charity boss whose organisation works to ‘support the ethnic minorities of Hull and the Humber Region’.⁸⁷
- A performer who has been ‘organising Pride related events in Hull for several years’ and a member of the Hull LGBT Forum.
- A trustee of Humber All Nations Alliance which is ‘serving the BAME community’, also an academic who is a ‘foreign policy advisor to many Persian Gulf countries’.⁸⁸
- A campaigner for blind people.
- A member of Doncaster Pride and former ‘Miss Transgender UK’.

These meetings are also sometimes attended by PC Mansoor Gul, who is the police officer involved in the Miller Case. As we have seen, members attending include actual politicians, as well as advocates for particular groups of people. The meeting seemed to revolve around a discussion of hate crime, in light of the Miller case. Here are some examples of the points raised by IAG members:

‘Regarding consistency – I’ve said before about having a specific Hate Crime Unit in Force.’

‘So my question, you know I’m on that list of no’s had incidents several times, I had an incident on Twitter and never reported, wherever done do you think that Hate Crime and Incidents are way under reported, do you think if something happens, this will undermine the police? Do you think minority could lash out, breach confidence of public, take matters into own hands.’

‘As a force in the past, been really good at putting a footer on media/communications on Hate Crime. In the past the previous PCC stood in his pride stuff, it meant a lot and probably mean more going forward’.

‘Maybe because of this ruling [the Miller case], could there be a statement from the force, something like Hate Crimes not affected by this ruling to try and keep this recommendation alive?’

‘I’ve read the manifesto and the plan, everything is about rural crime and anti-social behaviour. Before there was a push, constant comms from the OPCC [Official Police Crime Commissioner] all year round re Hate Crime. Would you consider that push again? Just so it’s not all about rural, so you’re more in line with the force so there is a stronger bond again.’

The minutes show that concerning the last extract, the Police and Crime Commissioner, who was present, agreed to meet with the IAG member, who is a transgender activist, ‘outside of meeting’.⁸⁹ This demonstrates the access that participants can have in order to lobby for their own preferred causes.

Police Scotland

Police Scotland has four active IAGs as well as an unknown number of non-independent advisory groups, these being chaired by representatives of the force itself. They are:

- Equality, Diversity, Inclusion and Human Rights Independent Review Group (Group 1).
- Professional Reference Group that ‘offers advice relating to Equality, Diversity and Inclusion matters’ (Group 2).
- National Independent Strategic Advisory Group that ‘provide advice on Equality and diversity issues’, as well as hate crime, ‘to ensure the safety and wellbeing of diverse groups throughout Scotland’ (Group 3).
- Border Policing Command Independent Advisory Group to provide advice on terrorist legislation (Group 4).

Concerning Group 1, its membership⁹⁰ can be found online, as well as minutes from its meetings.⁹¹ It is chaired by a retired police officer and diversity consultant as well as an ‘unconscious bias trainer’ with ‘over twenty years of experience in the field of equalities’.⁹² Other members include:

- Possibly an employee of Stonewall Scotland.
- A representative of a charity that supports ‘Black & Ethnic Minority Communities’ and provides training to ‘challenge and inspire groups and individuals to explore perceptions on culture & diversity’ with programmes on ‘Unconscious Bias’ and ‘Migration Society’.
- A former police officer and head of diversity and inclusion at the Metropolitan police, with links to a Swedish human rights organisation.
- A scientist described online as a ‘human rights activist who works to tackle discrimination and promote equality in the UK’.
- Someone whose Twitter account describes her as an ‘Opinionated psychotherapist, service team leader and human rights activist’ with strong feminist leanings evidenced.

According to official papers, the group ‘will provide informed scrutiny of Police Scotland’s EDI [equality, diversity and inclusion] activity by offering expertise, guidance, critical oversight, challenge, review and assurance.’⁹³ Minutes of its meetings available online are heavily redacted to the point of rendering the documents useless.⁹⁴

One attendee of a meeting in May 2021 highlighted ‘the importance of ownership at a senior level to ensure the

work is cascaded throughout the organisation and driven forward'. The minutes continue:

'FT further added that on-going work includes reviewing the LGBT Allies Network, interpretation of gender within the organisation, work in relation to engaging seldom heard communities and developing a cultural calendar...'⁹⁵

The same meeting focused on increasing the ethnic diversity of the police force, as well as the admission that ethnic minority candidates were more likely to fail the 'standard entrance test'. The minutes state new tests are accordingly 'being designed'. They further show:

'NP advised that diversity action plans are being developed through "Talk Truth to Power" sessions... the action plans are being created in conjunction with diversity staff associations.'

The same individual further confirmed Police Scotland has 'started to embed training and awareness on belonging and inclusion and an understanding of diversity in senior leadership courses'. Minutes from July, August and September 2021 are so heavily censored that it is virtually impossible to discern what was said at these meetings. The September meeting intriguingly makes reference to the 'EDI secretariat to compile all documentation relating to Cultural Change together', but no more can be gleaned.

The minutes for Group 3 – the National Independent Strategic Advisory Group – were made available to us by Freedom of Information request, again heavily censored. A meeting from January 2021 included an oblique reference to 'Sessions – positive discrimination e.g. children, deprived youths, people from BAME'. No more detail is provided, although it should be pointed out that 'positive discrimination' is generally illegal. Minutes from February 2021 show one member 'offered assistance to any local

teams to facilitate initial contact with Muslim communities and local leaders should this relationship not already be established.’ Otherwise, the minutes are so heavily censored as to divulge next to nothing about what goes on. What are they hiding and why are we not permitted to know what is said by people who are supposed to increase accountability?

Police Scotland refused to provide details of the membership of the other groups, citing various exemptions under the Freedom of Information Act. Requests for minutes from other groups were similarly rebuffed. Members of Groups 1 and 2 can be paid as well as receive travel expenses, although not all claim payment.

Nottinghamshire Police

This force has an IAG listed online, while reference to separate disability and two LGBT+ groups are to be found on its website. However, the page for the LGBT+ IAG(s) appears to have been deleted.

The current IAG is described as being ‘consulted with before policies and procedures are implemented, particularly in respect of the investigation and prevention of hate crime...’ It is chaired by a local community activist. Its membership ‘comes from the diverse communities, heritages and faiths that make up Nottinghamshire’.

Biographies of just four members are available online, only they are anonymised. Minutes are supplied for February 2021 alone. They show friction between the group and officers over a ‘recent community dialogue event that did not go as planned.’ Some issues around ‘courtesy’ and ‘disrespectful’ comments were alluded to, with members ‘concerned that officers objected to Home Office website statistics when presented with them during the meeting’.

The group further discussed Covid-19 vaccine take up within 'BAME communities'.⁹⁶

Archived pages of the LGBT IAG show there were two groups covering Nottingham City and North Nottinghamshire. Minutes for June 2015 are still available online, and nothing else, and show attendance by 18 anonymised individuals.⁹⁷ They describe the group as an 'opportunity to offer advice to the police regarding their policies and procedures as they may affect the LGBT and diverse communities'.

Largely, the meeting was devoted to discussing hate crime, with IAG members expressing 'that there should be more police input in schools r.e. hate crime' and that 'schools that have education regarding hate crime have a more positive environment'. One participant said that 'Stop Hate UK would be holding a hate crime campaign' and encouraged the group to 'write to the schools to raise their awareness'. The group resolved to write to local schools about the campaign as well as set up a 'small panel' to examine in more detail hate crimes 'that are LGBT related'.

South Yorkshire Police

According to its website, South Yorkshire Police has four IAGs covering Barnsley, Rotherham, Sheffield and Doncaster.⁹⁸ Details of who they are and what they do are patchy.

The Doncaster IAG gives the name of its chair, who is described as 'one of the original group responsible for setting up Pride in Doncaster in 2007'. She is 'a voice for the wider issues affecting the LGBTQ+ community here in Doncaster and farther afield since taking up the co-chair position for UK Pride Organisers Network'. Her charity 'has fundraised

close to three quarters of a million pounds in its 14 years, much of this for projects reaching into the community including youth outreach, a Trans Group, a film, two books and a project in schools.’⁹⁹ No more detail on the Doncaster IAG is offered.

The chair of the Barnsley IAG describes himself as ‘the chair of the Barnsley Gender Equality Forum since 2014’, as well as having ‘worked with East Midlands CPS on their Hate Crime and Violence against Women and Girls Scrutiny Panel.’ He says he is a ‘role model for Derbyshire LGBT+’ and has ‘worked with Derbyshire Police, West Midlands Police and colleges and universities on equality and diversity issues.’¹⁰⁰ Minutes for this IAG are published but are pretty basic and reveal little of what was discussed.¹⁰¹

The Sheffield IAG chair is described as working for a ‘community organisation for the families and youth to give them a platform to be heard’. She founded a ‘mentoring scheme for the young BAME youths aged 11 years to 20 years, promoting against knife crime and youth mental health...’ No more details of this group are available.¹⁰²

Similarly, for the Rotherham IAG, details of its chair are made public, and nothing more. She is a charity boss, working with ‘the most vulnerable and excluded’, as well as having an interest in children’s welfare.¹⁰³

West Yorkshire

In response to our Freedom of Information request, we were told West Yorkshire police has nine IAGs that provide advice on ‘stop and search, VAWG [violence against women and girls], domestic abuse, suicide prevention, future technology, diversity, equality & inclusion and more.’ They declined to provide details of who sits on these groups.¹⁰⁴

Police Service Northern Ireland

This force has one IAG, its 'PSNI Corporate IAG', which provides advice on 'EU Exit, Spit and Bite Guards, Funerals, Public Order incidents, Women's safety, police use of force, Community Impact Assessments & Critical Incident Management, Community Engagement Plan for police use of intelligence, Recruitment training for Police Officers and staff, Neighbourhood Policing'. Membership is not available online nor are minutes published.

Kent Police

The Kent Independent Police Advisory Group is described as a 'group of community volunteers', with membership aiming to 'cover all diverse groups in Kent such as race religion, LGBT+, disability, age and gender.' The group is composed of 11 local district organisations.¹⁰⁵ Details of membership are scant. However, some names are available in its reports, including:

- A 'disability access, inclusion and awareness' campaigner.
- A transgender activist and CEO of the Medway Gender and Sexual Diversity Centre.
- The founder of an organisation named Cohesion Plus 'to compliment the work he was already doing around equality and diversity', as well as chief executive of the Kent Equality Cohesion Council.

One of its chief concerns is hate crime. Its 2021 hate crime report made recommendations for a 'programme of cultural awareness initiatives for police officers and staff', community liaison officers 'to be involved in hate crimes', and 'feedback on education and training on hate crime in the communities'. We are further told that three members

‘regularly speak at local and national conferences on hate crime’¹⁰⁶

Thames Valley

The Strategic IAG of Thames Valley Police is chaired by a former BBC cameraman who is ‘active in the local community as Chairman of the Wycombe Race Equality Council.’ It seems to act as an umbrella organisation for all local IAGs within the police force area. No further details of the membership are available. Edited minutes of its meetings are published but anonymised. Minutes show the group discussing stop and search, hate crime, diversity and inclusion, rape, and violence reduction.¹⁰⁷

Summary

There is a lack of transparency surrounding IAGs. As a general rule, it is rare to find out who the members are or what advice they give. Often, police forces do not wish to divulge. They further seem to exist to put hate crime at the top of police priorities. This is a problem in that ‘hate crime’ encompasses many different types of crime, which are troubling to varying degrees. Most police-recorded hate crimes are non-violent.¹⁰⁸

But where such information is available, you will find they are filled with activists that advocate for particular groups, as well as representatives of the diversity and inclusion and hate crime sectors who have a strong vested interest in the advice they provide. But we are seldom permitted to know who they are or what they say. Where minutes and details are published, they are often incomplete.

There is a conflict of interest coupled with an apparent lack of viewpoint diversity and transparency which is in violation of the College of Policing’s Code of Ethics. The

secrecy further defeats the point of IAGs in that we cannot know if they are providing genuine scrutiny of the police in the public interest or not. This allows the police to masquerade as transparent, by opening things up to a select group, of whom the general public often knows nothing nor hears anything about. This is supposed to be a transparency measure.

3. Organisations such as Stonewall and Black Thrive

There are countless charities and organisations that aim to advance the wellbeing and legal privileges of particular groups of people. In contrast to most charities, they do not look to provide things for all, or provide for those with a particular need, such as Guide Dogs for the Blind. Such groups may be called advocacy groups and tend to subscribe to a worldview that sees their particular group as unfairly treated and requiring help from the government; in essence they subscribe to identity politics. While such groups will solicit and receive donations from the general public, they will often be looking to pick up funding from the government, often in the name of advancing diversity within any given walk of life.

The problem is that these groups often advocate *radical* societal change that is to be brought about through getting into the institutions of British life, branches of the state as well as employers, in order to make them 'more inclusive'. However, what they advocate is often contentious, for example that men can become women, or that all white people are 'privileged'. If the institutions that we all have to use, to navigate our way through in order to get by, take on these ideological proscriptions, then free individuals who take a different view start to feel the pressure to conform.

In legal theory, there is a difference between legislation

and the common law. The former is law that is imagined by political elites and then forced upon everyone else. The latter is the idea that law reflects the ways in which people interact with each other, based on their expectations of one another, and that this is discovered in the courts, by judges and juries. The risk with our institutions taking in campaigning advocacy groups is that they force changes in how we live, and so begin to affect change in social relations that is undemocratic, and will ultimately come to rewrite the common law, if given enough time. This is a particular problem in the police, in that its sworn duty is to enforce the law, not change it. This is compounded by the expectation and need for neutrality on matters of political controversy.

In the course of our research, we came across two such groups that have a questionable relationship with the police. They are Stonewall and Black Thrive.

i. Stonewall

Stonewall was founded in 1989 by a coalition of gay political activists to campaign against Section 28 of the Local Government Act 1988, which forbade local authorities from promoting homosexuality. While initially formed to advance gay rights, it expanded its remit in 2015 to include transgender rights. This coincided with the appointment of Ruth Hunt as its chief executive.

Stonewall sells products aimed at increasing diversity within institutions and making them welcoming places for gay and transgender people. Its flagship programme is its Diversity Champions scheme. Employers pay £3,000 per year (including VAT) to have their policies and practices reviewed by Stonewall and rated for their inclusivity. It should be pointed out that Nottinghamshire police estimated the administrative costs of participation to be a further £1,000,

taking up the time of its ‘equality and diversity’ officer for ‘at least three months’.¹⁰⁹ At additional cost, organisations may sign up to its ‘Allies’ scheme or attend conferences.

However, little is known about the advice they give out. Stonewall made about £3.3 million in fees and a further £600,000 from its programmes in 2019, plus received £1 million in grants.¹¹⁰ Participants may be ranked with a league table published online. Employers that do badly in the audit are invited to purchase further consultancy advice from Stonewall in order to rectify things. As pointed out by the BBC’s *Nolan Investigates* programme, this poses a serious conflict of interest in that Stonewall both judges, schools and rewards participating organisations, all for money. This raises questions of accountability as well as impartiality with the BBC, Equality and Human Rights Council, Channel 4 and Ofcom all recently pulling out of the programme.

Current police forces subscribing to Stonewall include the Metropolitan Police Service, Police Scotland, West Midlands, Police Service Northern Ireland, Thames Valley, and Sussex, although this list is by no means exhaustive (see Chapter 2 for details). There are four police forces currently listed in Stonewall’s Top 100 Employers list: Leicestershire, Surrey, Sussex, and Avon and Somerset. Three forces have quit the programme in recent years.¹¹¹

Police participation in the scheme, which entails spending public money, is further controversial since Stonewall actively campaigns to change the law, and by doing so, participates in political debate. According to its website, it campaigns for,

- A legal ban on ‘conversion therapy’.
- Extending hate crime and hate speech laws.

It promises to,

- Campaign for better health care for 'LGBTQ+' people.
- Challenge 'religiously-informed' discrimination against 'LGBTQ+' people.
- Support 'activists in their own communities'.
- 'Champion LGBTQ+ inclusion across schools and colleges'.
- Campaign for 'LGBTQ+ inclusion across sport worldwide'.¹¹²

It further released a 'manifesto' of policies it would like to see being enacted at the last general election.¹¹³ This is a campaigning organisation, taking part in political debates on matters that are not agreed upon by everyone, but are funded by everyone, with money that is supposed to be spent on enforcing the law.

Stonewall also encourages legal activism, as indicated by documents submitted to Court during the Allison Bailey case. Bailey is a lawyer and founder of the LGB Alliance who sued her chambers, Garden Court, and Stonewall for alleged discrimination. Emails from a Stonewall representative to Garden Court stated:

'I have flagged you [Garden Court] internally as a Diversity Champion we hope to work closely with and hope you are willing to partake in a network of legal experts committed to extending LGBT rights through strategic litigation and trying to advance laws and create precedent surrounding trans issues for example.'¹¹⁴

There are also questions about this supposedly 'expert' body's understanding of what the law actually is. Its chief executive believes 'gender critical beliefs', meaning the belief

that biological sex is real, have the same worth as antisemitic ones.¹¹⁵ As Nancy Kelley told the BBC in May 2021,

‘With all beliefs including controversial beliefs there is a right to express those beliefs publicly and where they’re harmful or damaging – whether it’s anti-Semitic beliefs, gender critical beliefs, beliefs about disability – we have legal systems that are put in place for people who are harmed by that.’

This position is wrong legally, with the High Court ruling in the case of Maya Forstater, that gender critical beliefs are protected by law, and are ‘worthy of respect’ (June 2021).¹¹⁶ Stonewall further conflates the terms ‘gender identity’ and ‘gender reassignment’. As Kelley said in the same interview, this was the difference between ‘natural language and statutory language’. But this is not true, in that the former refers to matters of subjective identity while the latter as defined in law, refers to ‘changing physiological or other attributes of sex’.¹¹⁷ This conflation is a problem in that it allows for characteristics not within the law to sneak in, such as ‘non-binary’ identity, ‘cat-gender’, or ‘genderfae’. This will have consequences as activists demand more changes within institutions under this guise.

A recent report from the University of Essex into the circumstances surrounding the cancellation of an event involving two external speakers found the university’s transgender policy was founded on ‘an erroneous understanding of the law’, based on connotations similar to Kelley’s. This policy was submitted to Stonewall for review and as the report’s author wrote, ‘In my view the policy states the law as Stonewall would prefer it to be, rather than the law as it is.’¹¹⁸ There is obviously a problem with an organisation with seemingly such a shaky grasp of the law advising those who are supposed to enforce it.

Official papers from Nottinghamshire Police give some indication as to what Stonewall recommends police forces do. Its Workplace Equality Index has had 10 strands along with indicators of inclusivity or equality. The criteria are updated on a three-year cycle and 'aims to explore various areas of employment policy, practice and service delivery'. It encompasses:

- 'Policies and benefits – written policy, resourcing and accountability, policy review, employee benefits, tribunals, bullying and harassment
- 'Employee lifecycle – attraction and recruitment, employee development
- 'Employee engagement – senior leadership on LGBT+ issues, employee network groups, all staff engagement
- 'Staff training – training, line managers, career development for LGBT staff
- 'Monitoring – data collection and analysis
- 'Supplier policy – procurement policy, supplier engagement
- 'LGBT+ community engagement – engaging with clients, customers, services users or partners, marketing and corporate responsibility
- 'Allies & Role models – visible LGBT leaders, allies and role models
- 'Additional work & staff feedback survey – staff attitudes and experiences, innovative practices'¹¹⁹

This goes far beyond making sure an employer does not discriminate. Stonewall's audits reward participants for the extent to which they create an infrastructure within for

advancing what Stonewall believes to be right. That this policy will be shaping procurement evidences the extent to which police may make moral or political demands on those simply wishing to make a living through supplying the public sector.

The Nottinghamshire papers further state:

‘The organisation is ranked 39th within the new Workplace Equality Index, which now comprehensively assesses the organisation’s performance against trans inclusion criteria.’

The ‘key themes and areas where we have implemented changes’ are,

‘Promotion of our revised bullying and harassment policy which explicitly states a zero-tolerance approach to homophobic, transphobic and biphobic bullying and harassment, making specific reference to bullying and harassment on the grounds of gender identity and expression’.

‘Developing cultural competence in relation to trans equality and inclusion’.

‘The need to ensure all staff receive equality and diversity training which identifies sexual orientation, gender identity and expression’.

‘Promotion of our “Diversity Allies” and reverse mentoring programme to support equality, diversity and inclusion development and engages managers at all levels’.

‘Improved mechanisms for how the organisation engages with existing and potential suppliers to promote LGBT+ equality’.

‘Ensuring a clear and visible commitment from leaders and senior managers in relation to LGBT+ equality and inclusion internally and across the partnerships with which we work.’

The document boasts:

‘We actively support a range of community events across the city and the county, such as the Worksop LGBT+ Equality March, Nottinghamshire Pride, the Trans Picnic and the International day against Homophobia, Biphobia, and Transphobia. This is in addition to promoting positive action recruitment events to attract Special Constables, Police Officers, PCSOs and other police staff roles from within the LGBT+ and BME communities.’¹²⁰

These extracts reveal a police force engaged in trying to change how people think and all this is prompted by Stonewall.

While Nottinghamshire pulled out of Stonewall’s league table, it continues as a member of its Diversity Champions scheme. Its web page on ‘LGBT: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans’ mentions Stonewall 20 times, including publicising Stonewall events.¹²¹ If this force is typical, then you see the potential a campaigning organisation such as Stonewall can have to bring about societal change through institutional capture. This is not just about how institutions behave within, but also the role in which they play in wider society.

ii. Black Thrive

Black Thrive might best be described as a think tank; certainly, it is not a charity but a private company limited by guarantee.¹²² According to its website, ‘We design and deliver bespoke learning sessions for all races across all sectors to routinely address inequality, inequity, diversity and inclusion’. It promises, ‘Participants will develop the skills to address the structural barriers that create and sustain inequities.’¹²³ It publishes research on race and healthcare, among other things.¹²⁴ It seems to have two branches, Black Thrive Global and Black Thrive Lambeth.

Its website approvingly quotes Audre Lorde to say 'Revolution is not a one-time event'. Associates of the organisation are pictured having fun, making the 'Wakanda Forever' salute, from the movie *Black Panther*.¹²⁵ It states,

'Due to structural inequalities, the experiences and outcomes for Black people in Lambeth are, on average, significantly worse than those of their White counterparts in every sphere of life – education, employment, income, social care, housing, policing, criminal justice, wellbeing and health. We believe that the only way forward is to centre the voices, experiences and expertise of the full spectrum of Black communities in creating the change that is needed – of the people, by the people, with the people, for the people!'

Regarding 'system change',

'The various systems and the people who work within them consistently create environments that prevent Black people from thriving. We work with individuals and organisations to challenge the mindsets and imbalances of power which underpin policy development, the allocation of resources and practices. Many Black people thrive in spite of the odds that are stacked against them. We change the odds by embedding race equity into systemic change, taking the learning from these experiences, so that thriving is not the exception but becomes the rule.'

On 'intersectionality' it has this to say,

'Black people in Lambeth do not constitute a single, homogenous group and we know that disadvantage is amplified at different intersections of social and economic circumstances and identities, such as poverty, disability, gender, sexual orientation and employment status. Our work is intersectional, as we recognise that people's social identities can overlap, creating compounding experiences of oppression and discrimination.'

Its section on ‘knowledge disruption’ reads,

‘We work to disrupt the knowledge production process by critiquing existing Eurocentric research through a Black intersectional lens and actively contribute to the knowledge base by undertaking Black-led academic and/or lived experience research. This provides a foundation that can inform policy and practice and enable systems to understand what can transform the Black experience from surviving to thriving.’

This is a radical activist organisation, espousing views which are contentious. The above extracts place it well within the family of ideas, known as critical race theory.

Its website features the branding of the Metropolitan Police Service, which is listed in its section on ‘Partners and Supporters’. Two senior police officers are included on its website, photographed in uniform, and identified as members of its ‘Partnership Board’. They are a chief inspector of Southwark and Lambeth police, and a chief Inspector, who is a superintendent in the Metropolitan police, as well as co-chair of the Metropolitan Police LGBT+ Network.¹²⁶ According to a Freedom of Information request, the MPS contributes no money to Black Thrive, but provides support through other means. We were told,

‘Black Thrive Partnership is a Community Interest Company (CIC). Lambeth Council and local police... have been working with Black Thrive Partnership for some time. Their purpose is to improve the health and wellbeing and in particular, mental health of the Black Community in Lambeth.

‘Currently, the MPS is in the early stages of assisting with co-production work on a local training package for officers, with their Children and Youth lead, around stop and search and the impact on young black men and their mental health. Stop and search is one of the work streams, linked to the

Lambeth Made Safer Strategy – Disrupt & Deter Board. Our local outreach is now connected with them and recently delivered a presentation on the opportunities in the Met.

‘The MPS is also currently exploring the potential for a custody specific project. The MPS attend regular monthly board meetings, events and community events with the organisation.’

There is nothing wrong with police officers meeting community leaders, so long as they afford the same opportunities to all. Certainly, it is not the place of the police to improve mental health. But it becomes a problem when the relationship opens up the potential for radical and political influences to enter into what is supposed to be a politically neutral police force. Black Thrive is a curious example, in that it shows how the police are both exposed to identity politics as well as active supporters of it. By engaging with an organisation that looks to advance just black people, the Met is in breach of its obligation to neutrality.

Making changes

Some sections of society have decided on a new set of rules regarding gender. We no longer divide into men and women, but rather exist on a spectrum, whereby everyone is free to choose their gender in accordance with their own feelings. This is not the same as the old view on transgenderism which saw this as a medical affliction – gender dysphoria – that was treated by allowing people to live as the opposite sex from which they are. In accordance with the new way, it also seems that everyone else is not free to object or to say otherwise.

Yet many do object, with the most vocal being feminist campaigners who reject the curtailing of women’s privacy and freedom of association that this new ethos necessitates.

These new ideas are contested, and yet the police are acting as though they are settled, introducing new institutional procedures in accordance. By doing so, they are contributing to a fundamental change in the way in which we all live, without popular consent, all within an institution that justifies itself in the name of 'policing by consent'.

A more innocuous example was reported in the *Mail on Sunday*, which reported that guidance for Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire officers were being told to avoid saying 'ladies, gentleman, ma'am, sir, girls, guys etc.'¹²⁷ This is removing officers' ability to speak in terms of deference and respect or to describe those they see as most people see them. It can only be replaced with a politically correct lexicon that leaves everyone feeling perplexed or dehumanised.

A more sinister example, also reported in the *Mail on Sunday*, is that guidelines issued by the NPCC in 2021 state that transgender officers will 'search persons of the same gender as their own lived gender'. The NPCC says it may be 'advisable' to get another officer to conduct the search, but 'if the refusal is based on discriminatory views, consideration should be given for the incident [to] be recorded as a non-crime hate incident unless the circumstances amount to a recordable crime.'¹²⁸ This only seems to confirm the suspicion that NCHIs are being used as a disciplinary measure to force compliance in matters pertaining to the new gender ideology.

Certainly, we see the direction of police policy on transgenderism set by Stonewall. A Stonewall document titled *Trans Guidance for the Policing Sector* (2018) is available on the NPCC website.¹²⁹ As Julie Cooke, who is currently NPCC 'lead for LGBT+' and deputy chief constable at Cheshire Constabulary, says in her foreword, 'my plea is that all forces will use this as a resource'.

The Stonewall document is based on the premise that all transgender officers are to be accorded every accommodation, in order to protect their 'gender identity', a neologism used frequently but one with no legal recognition. Indeed, the term 'transgender' is given the widest possible meaning to include 'all binary and non-binary gender identities, as well as those who have an absence of gender identity (for example: agender people)'. The guidance is however coy about what the law actually is, stating 'there's a lack of clarity around non-binary identities within the current legal framework' and that 'Best practice is to ensure that all individuals, including non-binary staff, are treated with respect and aren't discriminated against or harassed.'

'Gender identity' or 'non-binary' are not protected characteristics under the Equality Act 2010, and so its anti-discrimination provisions do not apply. The Stonewall document further justifies itself by 'Police force policies and codes of ethics state that forces extend all protections to everyone under the trans umbrella'. In fact, the College of Policing's Code of Ethics says only that officers should abide by equality legislation and consider the needs of those with protected characteristics, naming only 'gender reassignment', in line with the law.¹³⁰

But the chief problem is that the Stonewall document is oblivious to the fact that there is a trade-off between starting again in a new 'gender identity' and accountability. It falls over itself to allow for transgender officers to become their 'real' gender, with all traces of their past selves to be erased. Personal records are to be renamed and 'one option is to mark the individual down as having left the force and create fresh record with their new details'. Regarding records pertaining to 'security vetting', access may only be known by 'those staff directly involved with supporting the individual

or involved with the administrative process, but shouldn't be available to a wider HR team'. What these guidelines mean is that police forces have no immediate record of any disciplinary measures, meaning a loss of accountability.

The Stonewall guidelines are also coy about searches, offering only some generalities and omitting the fact that the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 codes of practice say (Code A),

'Any search involving the removal of more than an outer coat, jacket, gloves, headgear or footwear, or any other item concealing identity, may only be made by an officer of the same sex as the person searched and may not be made in the presence of anyone of the opposite sex unless the person being searched specifically requests it.'¹³¹

Stonewall tells police that anyone should be permitted to use the toilets and facilities of their choosing, irrespective of the preferences of anyone else, and if necessary, gender-neutral toilets to be built. Officers who 'identify' as 'non-binary' are to be given dual identity cards to reflect their gender as it changes from day to day. Clearly, according to Stonewall, the police have to go along with every whim, with gender being whatever Stonewall says, without properly informing police forces what their legal obligations actually are. This document has the endorsement of the NPCC. It is presented as impartial advice, but it is selective and issued by an ideological, campaigning charity.

The term 'decolonisation' is controversial. Some maintain it is simply about inclusion of overlooked authors in curricula, who deserve their place but have been excluded unfairly. Others see it as something of concern, that entails the censure of authors of genuine accomplishment for falling foul of contemporary social mores, in matters often

tangential to the work for which they are revered. Why it would appear in a College of Policing document, though, is another matter.

The *Mail on Sunday* reported that a College of Policing training manual sent to all forces instructed trainers to ‘review curriculums to ensure “decolonisation” of learning content’, as well as ensure teaching methods ‘implement culturally sustaining pedagogy’. The document is described by the newspaper as full of ‘jargon’, but there is a wider danger in that this serves to further open up the police to greater politicisation, whereby officials oversee every utterance to ensure *political correctness*, as guided by political ideologues.¹³²

The same document further encourages all forces to join the Stonewall Diversity Champions scheme. It encourages forces to ‘Work towards achieving Stonewall Workplace Equality Index standards’.¹³³ The College of Policing is thus actively encouraging police forces to sign up to a politically active organisation.

The trend towards innovation is further evidenced by an internal document sourced from Norfolk Constabulary, called ‘The + in LGBT’ and available on the force’s intranet, according to the *Mail Online*. It provides a list of 37 ‘sexual identities and genders’, which include:

- ‘Varioriented – when your sexual and romantic orientations do not target same set of genders.’
- ‘Polygender – when you identify with multiple genders at once.’
- ‘Grey gender – having a weak gender identification of yourself.’
- ‘Maverique – non-binary gender outside of orthodox social bounds of gender.’

The document is helpfully illustrated with the ‘Genderbread Person’, which is a diagram in the shape of a gingerbread man, that seeks to explain the subtle differences between ‘gender identity’, ‘gender expression’, ‘biological sex’ and ‘sexual orientation’. This document was justified by Norfolk Police on grounds that ‘all officers and staff are required to undertake training around diversity and inclusivity’.¹³⁴

As pointed out by Fair Cop, Surrey Police includes the following on its webpage on transgenderism, ‘Whilst the Equality Act 2010 refers to “gender reassignment”, this is recognised as an outdated term. As such and this policy refers to gender identity and expression, and includes individuals using contemporary language to describe their gender identity; for example trans or non-binary.’ There is a serious problem with the police describing statutory language as ‘outdated’. This is simply the police rewriting the law. The same page further contains links to organisations including the highly controversial Mermaids, which claims to support transgender or gender non-conforming children.¹³⁵

The demise of Cressida Dick

The list of recent scandals surrounding the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) is large and growing, culminating in the (allegedly) forced resignation of its commissioner, Dame Cressida Dick. Prominent ones are:

- Sarah Everard was murdered, raped and abducted by a serving police officer. Police missed the chance to arrest the man prior, over reports of indecent exposure.
- Two police officers are jailed for taking pictures of themselves next to the bodies of two murdered sisters, Bibaa Henry and Nicole Smallman.

- The MPS is branded ‘institutionally corrupt’ by an official inquiry into the unsolved murder of private investigator, Daniel Morgan. Dick was criticised for obstructing investigations, a charge she denies.
- The MPS is criticised for giving protest groups like Black Lives Matter and Extinction Rebellion free reign to cause disruption, while a peaceful women’s vigil is treated heavy-handedly.
- Operation Midland, an investigation carried out between 2014 and 2016 into a supposed-VIP paedophile ring collapsed, with no charges brought. The allegations made by Carl Beech and described by the police as ‘credible and true’ were found to be those of a fantasist. The allegations proved ruinous for those involved, while Beech himself was later convicted of child sex abuse-related offences.
- Operation Yewtree, a separate investigation into historic sexual abuse set up in 2012, fails to bring convictions in several high-profile cases.
- A black school girl, known as ‘Girl Q’, is strip-searched by police officers while on her period, leaving her traumatised. Nothing was found on her, while a report found racism was ‘likely’ to be factor. The MPS issued an apology.
- The MPS issued an apology to an academic, Konstancja Duff, following an intimate and painful strip search, where officers were recorded making derogatory comments about her. She had intervened in the stop and search of a boy and had refused to cooperate with police. The boy was later found to be carrying a knife.

- An official investigation into a team of officers working at Charing Cross uncovered a ‘culture of misogyny’, with police officers exchanging grossly offensive material.
- The Met was found by an official inquiry to be failing to record 69,000 crimes each year and virtually no incidences of anti-social behaviour, resulting in its being put in ‘special measures’.¹³⁶

That is a selection of the rap-sheet; it is substantial and shocking, and clearly indicative of something of an Augean stable going on. We have clear examples not just of individual officers doing terrible things, but also of incompetence, corruption, double standards, heavy-handedness, and politicised credulity. Sometimes though, the criticism may be misplaced. An official investigation into the Sarah Everard vigil found the police generally acted with restraint, despite serious provocations including a female police officer being told ‘I hope you get raped’.¹³⁷ Some Black Lives Matter (BLM) and Extinction Rebellion protests during the lockdown did result in multiple arrests, numbering in the hundreds.¹³⁸

Yet, for all the condemnation that is rightfully due, how these scandals are construed into a wider political attack on the police needs outlining.

Such scandals are marshalled to present evidence of the police as part of a system of oppression; in other words, more than ‘just a few bad apples’. They are examples of systemic or institutional racism and misogyny, despite the fact it is impossible to make a judgement on the whole, based on some of its individual parts. This is known as the ‘fallacy of composition’. It might be argued that the regularity of such scandals points to something ‘systemic’, only for this to hold, you have to ignore the thousands of good things police do

that ultimately save lives. Moreover, many of the officers involved in these scandals face severe penalties when the 'system' does finally catch up with them, including prison and professional ruin.

The other issue is that there seems an allocation of opprobrium, that is guided by the priorities of identity politics as well as the notion that offensive language is a terrible, terrible thing. The case of the murder of Daniel Morgan, for example, had earned nothing like the vehement condemnation reserved for Charing Cross. Indeed, it was the latter that caused London mayor Sadiq Khan to withdraw his backing of Cressida Dick, forcing her resignation. Prior to this, as was reported, he had been content for her to remain in post while an appropriate successor was found.¹³⁹

The actual report into what went on in Charing Cross deserves some scrutiny, something it escaped in the media's coverage. Titled *Operation Hutton Learning Report* and published by the Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC),¹⁴⁰ its concerns are shaped by the sensibilities of identity politics.

The investigation was led by Sal Naseem, who is Regional Director for London at the IOPC. He is also 'Chair of BAME into Leadership Conference' at the FDA, which is trade union for senior managers and professionals in the public sector (the initials FDA do not actually stand for anything, apparently). Recently, he joined the advisory board of Tell MAMA, which is funded by the government to solicit reports of 'hate crime' from Muslims and which benefits from data-sharing agreements with the police.¹⁴¹ He describes himself on LinkedIn as 'the first South Asian and Muslim to hold the post' and 'one of the most senior Muslims working in the Civil Service'.

Naseem describes his expertise as,

‘Championing, practising and speaking publicly about the principles of equality, diversity and inclusion. Working on initiatives to help the progression of those who are underrepresented in the workforce in the day job and outside of it.’¹⁴²

Operation Hotton was, according to the IOPC report, a ‘series of nine linked independent investigations’ into officers working mostly at Charing Cross Police Station. Most officers worked on issues of ‘high levels of public disorder, theft, toutting, drug dealing and violence in the West End’. It is not quite clear what Operation Hotton is, but it seems like an umbrella report that encompasses nine disciplinary proceedings without having say over their outcome.

Not all officers involved have been sacked, something decried by critics of the police. It has been reported that Cressida Dick quit after she was given an ultimatum by Sadiq Khan that either she sack the officers or be sacked herself – something Khan denies having transpired.¹⁴³ In any case, such demands ignore the fact that not all officers involved were guilty of transgressions of equal gravity. With this in mind, varying degrees of severity of punishment are only to be expected. Remember that this is the result of *independent* disciplinary proceedings and so it is neither the place of the commissioner nor the mayor to second guess them. Dick would have been correct to resist any such ultimatum, had it occurred.

There is also the question of whether dismissal for writing bad things is really in the interests of Londoners. As of 2012, it cost around £12,900 to recruit and train a police officer, while the annual payroll cost of a new officer was £30,520 per year.¹⁴⁴ The officers concerned were experienced and had unique knowledge of a particular patch with its own distinct challenges. One (unconnected) police officer we spoke to

told us that for all their faults, Charing Cross was regarded as doing a good job of policing an area with deep criminal problems. In this light, does automatic sacking in all cases seem reasonable? Some people seem to struggle with the idea that 'zero tolerance' and 'sacking' are not necessarily the same thing. It is possible to not tolerate something and give out alternative, milder sanctions.

The investigation began after an allegation that an officer had had sex with a vulnerable woman within the police station. There followed complaints of bad behaviour which led investigators to police officers' involvement in closed chat groups, on apps such as WhatsApp and Facebook. Out of 14 officers investigated, two were dismissed for gross misconduct and barred from the police. Two resigned while nine continue to work in the force.¹⁴⁵ The initial charge of an officer having sex in the police station was not upheld; nevertheless, an officer was admonished for not having reported it. As seen in the table opposite, it is perfectly reasonable for some of the officers to have escaped with lesser punishments.

As we can see, the most severe allegations resulted in officers being dismissed and barred. Judging from the known numbers, it seems they were largely accounted for by a minority of officers.

What happened at Charing Cross was summarised in *The Guardian* as 'shocking details of officers sharing messages about hitting and raping women, as well as the deaths of black babies and the Holocaust.'¹⁴⁶ The examples in the report however reveal things that are truly shocking, such as admissions of criminal behaviour including domestic abuse and steroid taking, but also things that are merely offensive, at times for nothing other than they are politically incorrect. These messages were shared on private groups

and not intended for public consumption. The fact that these were private, goes against the idea that there was a ‘culture of misogyny’. Reading the report reveals no examples of officers making light of either the holocaust or the death of black babies.

Table 1.1: Summary of Operation Hutton

Investigation	Allegation	Outcome
Strand 1	Bullying, sexual harassment, harassment by one officer	One officer found guilty of improper use of public electronic communications network; officer dismissed and placed on barred list
Strand 2	Failure to report, challenge, or deal with the above allegation	Three cases of misconduct proven; one written warning, two no further action
Strand 3	A police officer has sex in a police station with a drunk woman; officers failed to report or challenge this conduct	Main allegation not proven; one misconduct proven ('management action')
Strand 4	A police officer assaulting his partner, 'misogynist behaviour/ actions' and drug use	Two charges of gross misconduct proven, both officers barred
Strand 5	Steroid use by officers, failure to report and challenge	One misconduct proven (management action); one gross misconduct proven (officer barred)
Strand 6	Investigation discontinued; no details published for reasons of sensitivity	No further action
Strand 7	Officers deliberately deleted material relevant to an ongoing criminal investigation	One gross misconduct proven; officer barred
Strand 8	Discriminatory actions and behaviours identified from WhatsApp	Two cases gross misconduct proven; both officers barred. Six given 'management action'
Strand 9	Officers engaged in sexual activity on duty, officers engaged in 'conversations that were discriminatory in nature', and 'slept while on duty'	One misconduct proven (words of advice given); one officer resigned prior to misconduct investigation completion

Source: Adapted from Operation Hotton Learning Report – IOPC.

The IOPC report makes recommendations that are dubious and you cannot help but wonder if they are within its remit. For instance, it recommends,

‘The IOPC recommends that the MPS should assure itself that it is taking sufficient steps to eradicate racism from the force, ensuring continued progress against learning recommendations issued by the Macpherson Report and with specific measures to demonstrate improvements. As part of their ongoing work to build community confidence, the MPS should commit publicly to being an anti-racist organisation with a zero-tolerance position on racist behaviour.’

As argued above, declarations of ‘anti-racism’ are invitations to politicisation. The report further seems to be set up to supply what Rakib Ehsan calls the ‘grievance-industrial complex’ with fresh grievances.¹⁴⁷ For instance, it is recommended,

‘The IOPC recommends that the MPS ensures there are metrics in place to measure and demonstrate, in a transparent way, improvements made in tackling bullying and harassment and confidence in the MPS approach to this. This could include reporting on the outcomes of allegations by protected characteristics. Consideration could also be given to the involvement of staff associations in reviewing grievances at a strategic level.’

As the report makes clear, this recommendation is justified as,

‘Reporting on outcomes by protected characteristics can help identify any trends regarding disproportionality and there may also be opportunities to work more closely with staff associations to identify areas for improvement and embed changes. This recommendation has been informed by feedback received from the Chair of the National Black Police Association.’

As mentioned earlier, the NBPA is an organisation driven by contentious ideas. Some of the recommendations made in this report are sensible, but this scandal has been blown out of proportion to fit an ideological vested interest within the police.

There are indeed incidences where officers overstepped the mark. They were punished, seemingly proportionately, by a system that was set up to ensure complaints were handled independently in a way that could command public confidence, along the lines specified by Macpherson. None of this is sufficient to evidence a 'culture' of or an institutional 'racism' or 'misogyny'. Rather, you had badly behaved officers, sometimes criminally so, other times simply lacking the virtues demanded by the College of Policing.

The point is, ultimately 'the system', the institutions set up to regulate them, got them in the end. Caution needs to be deployed in handling this IOPC report, in that the IOPC is not independent in itself but captured by the diversity and inclusion lobby (as we argue below), while the IOPC itself has a vested interest in more complaints. Any recommendations that seek to make complaining easier, that will increase the number of complaints, need to be balanced against the unintended consequences of fostering a culture of narking within the police. In such an event, it becomes impossible to have a private and supportive conversation with a colleague about things officers might have done wrong but which they wish to remedy.

Cressida Dick has resigned, her resignation has been welcomed by the left because of supposed 'cultures', and on the right, for supposedly pandering to political protestors at the expense of the general public. At the same time, she retained the support of the MPS and was well-regarded

there. For some of the scandals, it is hard to see how they were personally her fault.

Regardless, her tenure can be criticised for allowing so much of the identity politics that has taken root within the police and that has been subject to criticism within this report. Dick actually served within the Met's own 'diversity directorate' and has advocated before a parliamentary committee for the temporary suspension of sections of the Equality Act in order to meet diversity targets.¹⁴⁸ Dick has recently spoken out about the politicisation of policing, meaning presumably the alleged actions of Khan that led to her resignation.¹⁴⁹ It is just a pity she ignored the spread of political ideas and their proponents, quietly and by stealth, throughout the force she led.

The IOPC and Stonewall

The Independent Office for Police Conduct exists as the independent regulator responsible for serious allegations of misconduct or criminal offences committed by police officers. The IOPC is a member of the Stonewall Champions scheme. Its application from 2020 can be found online, divulged under the Freedom of Information Act.¹⁵⁰

The papers detail the policies the IOPC has in place to be 'LGBT inclusive', as well as its attendance at 'Pride' celebrations, mandatory unconscious bias training, and LGBT+ staff networks. They further show how a 'community reference group' was created to contribute towards an official IOPC investigation into the 'deaths of a number of young gay men'. This included representatives of 'LGBT+ charity, GALOP, a key figure from the LGBT+ community and members of the local LGBT+ voluntary sector'. The group provided assistance in helping the IOPC to 'develop learning recommendations'.¹⁵¹ That these organisations

may include advocates and activists, who often derive their incomes from government sponsored equality drives, does not fit easily with the idea of 'independence'.

The IOPC further boasts of its 'External Reference Group' which provides 'feedback on our performance and act[s] as an informal sounding-board to discuss pieces of our work'.

As is written,

'In our committed attempts to include and involve LGBT+ voices, Stonewall are part of the External Stakeholder Reference Group.'

There is referenced a 'Network of Advocates' which exists to provide a 'gateway to communities to help us understand the barriers to the police complaints system.' Included are Stonewall and GALOP.¹⁵² The submission to Stonewall also shows the IOPC 'raised money for Stonewall Housing and The Proud Trust during Pride Month' as part of its charitable efforts.¹⁵³

The feedback received from Stonewall in response to the IOPC application was withheld, with the IOPC citing an exemption to the Freedom of Information Act that offers protection for commercial interests. Apparently, divulgence would 'prejudice the commercial interests of Stonewall'. This exemption is subject to a public interest test, only the IOPC claims the public interest lies in non-disclosure.

Stonewall is in possession of 'unique knowledge and expertise', and allowing the public to know what it is telling a public body would allow others to replicate the services it provides. What we have is an independent public body, taking instruction from a radical campaigning charity and we are not allowed to know what is said in order to protect the latter's commercial interests that happily, align with those of the general public. Somehow, it does not quite

add up.¹⁵⁴ It is common for similar requests to other public bodies, under the Freedom of Information Act, concerning Stonewall, to be rebuffed on such terms.

It's like that... and that's the way it is

The term 'virtue signalling' is used to describe something very real, namely individuals and organisations who issue statements or make gestures to show themselves to be good, irrespective of any examination of their actual conduct or real improvements in the lives of those they profess to help. Might it be applied to the police?

There are numerous examples of the police engaging in very public displays of virtue, or at the very least, making themselves look silly. For example,

- Police officers 'take the knee' in solidarity with Black Lives Matter protestors.
- In 2014, police in Manchester unveiled their rainbow-coloured patrol car to demonstrate their gay-friendliness.
- Not to be outdone, police in Cardiff in 2022 set up a stall to promote the South Wales Police LGBT+ Network, replete with a police car with rainbow livery and rainbow flashing lights.
- Officers in London handed out flowers to women in March 2022, tweeting 'what an incredible week it has been celebrating all things female for #InternationalWomensDay' and thanking 'all the women... doing their bit to keep the capital safe and enjoyable'.
- West Midlands Police became the first force in Britain to employ an 'artist in residence' to produce an exhibition about stop and search.

- Lincolnshire Police wrote on Twitter, 'February marks #LGBTHM22 [history month] which is something we celebrate both within the force and with our local communities. As part of our commitment to celebrating equality, diversity and inclusion we lit up our HQ building in Nettleham in rainbow lights.' An accompanying photograph shows they were not joking.
- West Mercia Police fly the 'Progress Pride Flag', a variant on the Rainbow flag but with added colours and geometric shapes, symbolising transgender and 'people of colour', at its headquarters to mark LGBT+ History Month on 2022. Government rules on the flying of flags by public authorities, state a 'Rainbow flag (six horizontal equal stripes of red, orange, yellow, green, blue and violet)' may be flown and that any other flag 'requires express consent from the local planning authority before it can be flown'. We were told by the West Mercia Police Crime Commissioner that the Town and Country Planning (Control of Advertisements) Regulations 2007 grant 'deemed consent for the flying of the Progress Pride Flag', and thus 'no application is required as a consequence', meaning presumably that none was sought.
- Police in Edmonton, London performed a dance routine at a community event, set to the song 'It's like that', by the rap group Run-DMC.

While we might term these 'virtue signalling', they are actually something more, in that they are the embracing of political symbols which are off-putting and therefore alienating to many, including people from ethnic and sexual minorities. They also make police officers look ridiculous, who need to appear somewhat imposing so that they can

have authority to do their job. These indulgences can also be costly, as seen in the next chapter, and made by police forces who often complain about their budgets. These sums are not trivial but still a drop in the ocean of police spending. Yet we should not underestimate the consequences of the moral posturing of the police.

Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe, formerly Metropolitan police commissioner, said of Operation Midland's failings, 'These investigations ... started at a time when there was significant concern that numerous sexual attacks on children and others had been ignored, including by the Metropolitan police in decades gone by.' The policy of believing victims led to the police failing in their basic duty to assess the credibility of Beech's allegations.¹⁵⁵ As Lord Bramall, who was wrongly accused, said,

'The trouble was after the apparent mistakes back in 2012 relating to revelations of very serious and serial child abuse, a mixture of public outrage and propaganda... put immense pressure through the home secretary, on the police.'¹⁵⁶

It might be argued that the police were overly keen to believe in order to prove their virtue, to overcompensate for past neglect. The consequences for those smeared were disastrous. Incidentally, David Tucker of the College of Policing defended the policy, saying 'To start an investigation from a position of doubt is unlikely to encourage victims to come forward.'¹⁵⁷

Summary

We do not intend this report as an attack on the police, but rather a critique of those who are not really police officers but ideologues who wish to turn the police into a vehicle for societal change, or 'social justice' as they would likely

call it. Instead, we would like to draw attention to the real virtues of the police, irrespective of their immutable personal characteristics, that include selflessness, duty, and immeasurable sacrifice. Those who wish to go beyond 'a few bad apples' have to realise that doing so brings into doubt the integrity of those who make very real sacrifices that guarantee the freedoms we all enjoy.

This chapter has looked at the process of professionalisation and how it has exposed the police to greater political moralising, as well as the institutional infrastructure that exists and encourages identity politics within. It was argued that the police have gone beyond their role of enforcing the law into advocating societal changes, for which there is no popular consent.

The next chapter explores some of the excesses that this inspires, that constitute a shifting of police priorities away from where they are truly needed. In addition, we are seeing institutional capture, whereby an institution that is supposed to protect society by upholding the law, is slowly pivoted into one for changing it. This is done without popular consent in a police force that presupposes it.

2

Non-crimes and misdemeanours

Introduction

This chapter presents results of a series of Freedom of Information requests made to the seven largest police forces in the United Kingdom (full details in Appendix). It seeks to appraise what the priorities of the police have become and the extent to which public funds are devoted towards causes associated with identity politics. It focuses on how hate crime and non-crime hate incidents are priorities for the police at a time when police performance on something like burglary is declining. It further raises alarm about how the police have transgressed into the realm of policing speech, as a consequence of the non-crime hate incident policy, resulting in the police taking sides in political debates, with the effect of punishing political dissent. Spending on Stonewall is addressed in detail.

Hate crime

Stories talking about ‘a rise’ in hate crime often get coverage in the mainstream media. These include individual incidents, where members of the public face discrimination based on protected characteristics such as race, religion, and disability, but also coverage of increases in hate crime statistics based on official or activist figures. A small cottage industry has sprung up, devoted to soliciting

reports of hate crime, that comprises police officers and private interests.

As observed in the last chapter, various identity groups are involved in police independent advisory groups (IAGs) across the country, and in doing so present the case for hate crime against their particular demographic. We have in existence an annual National Hate Crime Awareness Week,¹⁵⁸ with various advocacy groups working to raise awareness of hate crime, as well as a number of third-party reporting organisations like The Community Security Trust (CST), Tell MAMA (Measuring Anti-Muslim attacks), and most recently, Sikh Guard,¹⁵⁹ launched at the beginning of the year.¹⁶⁰ The former two organisations have been given substantial state funding over the years.¹⁶¹ There is even the prestigious 'No 2 H8 Crime Awards', an industry annual shindig founded by Fiyaz Mughal.¹⁶² Such organisations have close links with the police and often benefit from receiving police data, through special data sharing agreements.¹⁶³

Moreover, as noted in the previous chapter, IAG's appear to have served the role of pushing hate crime to the top of police priorities. It is worth noting past Civitas work has given a critical appraisal of what is deemed a 'hate crime'. Although the term 'hate crime' is widely used, it has no actual basis in law. However, there are laws that regulate 'hate speech', and there is greater sentencing (or uplift) for crimes proven to have a 'hate motivation'.¹⁶⁴

Crimes that are motivated by hatred must of course be condemned, but the reporting of a 'rise' in hate crime statistics in the media must equally be considered with caution, as it can on occasion be inaccurate and misleading. Take Singh's previous work in identifying through Freedom of Information (FOI) requests, that 28 per cent of 'Islamophobic' hate crime victims recorded in 2015, and

25 per cent in 2016 by the Metropolitan Police, were in fact against non-Muslims or individuals of no recorded faith. An article in the *Evening Standard* from 2017, which revealed a '25 per cent spike' on anti-Islam hate crime across London' was later changed to reflect the findings from these FOI disclosures with the words, 'This article has been updated to make clear that not all victims of Islamophobic crimes were Muslims. 13/3/18.'¹⁶⁵ As reported by the *Press Gazette*, the *Guardian* chose to ignore a similar complaint.¹⁶⁶

A second example is a tweet from Sky News on 5 December 2020 which read:

'The number of anti-Sikh hate crimes reported across Britain has increased by 70 per cent in the last two years, according to Home Office figures, prompting calls for "urgent action" to tackle the problem.'¹⁶⁷

The report referenced Home Office statistics showing 117 hate crimes were recorded against Sikhs in 2017/18 compared to 202 in 2019/20. For 2019/20 the figure where the perceived victim of religious hate is 'Sikh' is indeed 202. For the previous year, 2018/19 (which was bizarrely omitted in the calculation), it is 188. That is an increase of only 14 'perceived' incidents compared to 2019/20, so seven per cent is the actual year-on-year increase, rather than the sensationalist 70 per cent figure reported by Sky News.¹⁶⁸ The 'urgent action' requested may not be that 'urgent' after all. That said, Sikhs have experienced a substantial backlash post 9/11, as documented by Jhutti-Johal and Singh.¹⁶⁹

It is interesting to consider how some groups have specific terms used by the police to record hate crimes that target them, when others do not. For example, take religion: both Islamophobia and anti-Semitism are routinely used to record hate crime against Muslims and Jews, but

the terms ‘Christianophobia’ or ‘Hinduophobia’ are not used when recording hate crimes against Christians and Hindus.¹⁷⁰ These incidents will invariably be recorded as just ‘religious’ hate crime, or if you look at the ‘flagged’ crimes on the Metropolitan Police’s hate crime dashboard – will presumably fall under ‘Hate Crime-Racist and Religious’.¹⁷¹

As explored in the previous chapter, addressing hate crime has and continues to be an area of significant policing priority, but are these priorities skewed, and should the police be focusing so much time and public money on it? Can this then lead to a violation of the College of Policing’s own Code of Ethics, which demands officers ‘... demonstrate an efficient and effective use of policing resources’?

The preoccupation with hate crime stems from the adoption of various recommendations from the Macpherson report (1999) following the racist murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence in 1993. The 70 recommendations from Macpherson included ones around the investigation of crimes, not least the recording of perception-based hatred. On this, Macpherson recommended racist incidents should be defined as ‘... any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person.’¹⁷² This adoption of Macpherson’s recommendations is the basis of which hate crime against all protected characteristics, beyond race, is recorded.

Police officers are tasked with recording perception-based hate crime of the ‘victim’ or ‘any other person’, and the Met has a hate crime dashboard in which monthly statistics for the various strands of hate crime – including racial and religious, transphobic, antisemitism and Islamophobia – can be viewed, and trends considered for each of London’s 32 boroughs.

A further problem is that the policy of ‘taking hate crime seriously’, making it a police priority, has the unintended

effect of pushing relatively trivial reports made to the police to the front of the queue. Police sergeants must judge reported crimes according to their severity in order to allocate scarce resources – officers, police cars, victim support, forensics, dog handlers and so forth. But this is hindered by directives from on high, which impose an artificial rating on how serious something is. As one former police officer told us, ‘anything with hate goes to the top of the pile’.

Non-Crime Hate Incidents (NCHIs) and the Miller case

The College of Policing is responsible for a document known as the *Hate Crime Operational Guidance 2014* (HCOG), which includes guidance on NCHIs, whilst also defining them. Five of the protected nine characteristics in the Equality Act are included in the reporting of NCHIs – Race, Religion, Sexual Orientation, Disability and Transgender. 120,000 were recorded by the police in the last five years.¹⁷³

According to the College,

‘...where it is established that a criminal offence has not taken place, but the victim or any other person perceives that the incident was motivated wholly or partially by hostility, it should be recorded and flagged as a non-crime hate incident.’¹⁷⁴

The recording of NCHIs has been controversial, not least because the principle itself has been successfully opposed through the courts by former policeman and co-founder of the campaigning organisation Fair Cop, Harry Miller.

Between 2018 and 2019, Miller had published a series of tweets about transgender issues in relation to a debate about reform of the Gender Recognition Act 2004. One tweet read: ‘I was assigned mammal at birth, but my orientation is fish. Don’t mis-species me.’¹⁷⁵ This tweet was one of the

‘offending’ publications which were reported to Humberside Police by ‘Mrs B’ for being allegedly ‘transphobic’, resulting in police officers visiting Miller at his workplace. In line with recommendations in the HCOG, the tweets published by Miller were recorded by Humberside Police as being NCHIs. This resulted in a legal challenge by Miller which was adjudicated in the High Court, and subsequently progressed to the Court of Appeal.

In February 2020, the High Court found that the police response into Miller’s alleged ‘transphobic’ tweets was unlawful, and the actions taken were a ‘disproportionate interference’ with his right to freedom of expression. His wider challenge against the lawfulness of the HCOG was rejected.¹⁷⁶ Miller took the second part of his claim on the lawfulness of the national hate crime policy to the Court of Appeal, which in December 2021 ruled the HCOG was wrongly used and had a ‘chilling effect’ on Miller’s freedom of speech.¹⁷⁷

When we spoke to Mr Miller, he said the HCOG should be rewritten considering the Court of Appeal’s ruling in *Miller -v- College of Policing*. Although the judgement say, ‘the police have a common-sense discretion not to record irrational complaints’,¹⁷⁸ the ruling also indicated it is not up to the court to redraft the College’s HCOG.

In our opinion it is unlikely the College will disregard its own guidance entirely. However, there were some sensible revisions made to HCOG prior to the ruling in response to criticism. An example is the statement under the heading *Responding to non-crime hate incidents*, which reads: ‘there may be an overlap between a perceived non-crime hate incident and the legitimate exercise of rights and freedoms conferred by the Human Rights Act 1998’.¹⁷⁹ But does the revised guidance go far enough to emphasise the primacy

of free speech, even when speech is considered ‘offensive’? The College has also recently further stipulated that people engaging in political debate should not be ‘stigmatised simply because someone is offended’ and that police officers should not record incidents which are trivial or irrational.¹⁸⁰

Moreover, it is hard to see any modifications curtailing what has essentially become an entrenched societal culture of complaint. In the eyes of an alleged ‘victim’ – ‘speech I hate’, or in the case of Miller, ‘Tweets I hate’, equate to ‘hate speech’. That the College says police officers should no longer record trivial incidents may not be sufficient to counter the pressures on the police to ‘get the numbers up’.

We fear the utilisation of NCHIs as a tool to persecute political opponents will remain a regular phenomenon as the ‘culture war’ rages on. But it is clearly not the police’s job to shut down political speech, or to take sides in an ideological debate. They must remain impartial as outlined in their Code of Ethics,¹⁸¹ and treat people equally despite differences in political opinions, on discussions triggered by contentious statements, such as ‘trans women are women’, or ‘Islam means peace’. Miller shows this, however, is not always the case.

The law permits us to express our opinion, so long as we do not incite hatred against any group. On this, it is important to reflect on the Waddington amendment, which was incorporated into the Public Order Act 1986.

Section 29J ‘protection of freedom of expression’ in the Act reads:

‘Nothing in this Part 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.’¹⁸²

During the passage of the Scottish Hate Crime Bill (now Act), a coalition of groups under the umbrella of *Free to Disagree* pushed to gain various amendments to improve free speech on matters like faith and belief. In the end, the coalition (who gave evidence to the Scottish Justice Committee during the passage of the Bill) had limited success, including an amendment to extend free speech for discussion on religion and belief. Expressions of ‘antipathy, dislike, ridicule or insult’ towards religion are now protected, whereas prior to this only ‘criticism and discussion’ was safeguarded. This is more in line with parallel legislation in England and Wales, although alarmingly there is no dwelling defence in Scotland, so ‘stirring up hatred’ offences can now be committed in private homes.

It is perfectly reasonable to lawfully disagree with contentious statements like ‘trans women are women’ through logical, measured and rationale argument. It is also possible to lawfully disagree with the statement ‘trans women are not women’. In the judgement *Miller -v- College of Policing*, the judge refers to evidence from Jodie Ginsberg, the then CEO of Index on Censorship, who talks of the implications of NCHIs on free speech. She said:

‘Police actions against those espousing lawful, gender critical views – including the recording of such views where reported as ‘hate incidents’ – create a hostile environment in which gender critical voices are silenced.’¹⁸³

The implication of police intervention here is extremely worrying for the future of any free and democratic society. As discussed in Chapter 1, activist groups are influencing the police with their particular view of society and imperilling

police objectivity with a regular infusion of identity politics. For this reason, we take the view NCHIs should not exist at all. Notably, this is an issue that the Free Speech Union (FSU) has been campaigning on for some time. In Radomir Tylecote's 2021 report – *An Orwellian Society: Non-Crime Hate Incidents and the policing of speech*, the FSU recommended that NCHIs be removed from the HCOG.¹⁸⁴

The problem is, NCHIs serve to not only perpetuate the politicisation of the police on ideological lines, but are and continue to be used to persecute and shut down political/ideological opponents. Those with thin skins or heightened sensitivities are almost incentivised to censor opponents based on subjective feelings and emotions, and as stated in Miller in the Court of Appeal ruling, 'the threshold for hostility is low (it can include ill-will, ill-feeling, spite, contempt, prejudice, unfriendliness, antagonism, resentment and dislike).'¹⁸⁵

On this basis, it is easy to see how a minor dispute or disagreement on social media can easily be escalated into a policing of expression issue by activists with an axe to grind. This is sadly the experience of many 'gender critical' feminists.

According to Harry Miller, 'We have a political police force', and on NCHIs he said the 'process becomes the punishment', stressing ideology continues to be placed into an area (policing) that should be apolitical. He cited a recent case in which a parish councillor in Surrey published an image on Facebook which included the words, 'Trans rights are boring', leading to a threat of arrest,¹⁸⁶ and a police officer going through a disciplinary process for expressing Covid-19 vaccine scepticism.

Despite Miller's important victory for free speech, the continued recording of NCHIs should concern us all, not

least because the recording of NCHIs may present a risk for alleged ‘perpetrators’ when it comes to Enhanced Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) checks, often referred to as criminal record checks.

The Court of Appeal in Miller noted ‘at the very least, a non-trivial risk that in future such a record might be disclosed on an enhanced ECRC.’¹⁸⁷ What makes matters worse, is so called ‘perpetrators’ may not actually know they have got an NCHI recorded against their name in the first instance. It is stark to contemplate that what Orwell described as ‘thoughtcrime’ in his dystopian novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, can potentially risk you losing your livelihood in modern Britain. The Home Secretary, Priti Patel, is reported to have requested the College reviews this practice, and we say she is right to do so.¹⁸⁸

The introduction of subjectivity into policing post-Macpherson is what underpins how ‘hate crime’ is viewed. The emphasis on perception and emotions of alleged ‘victims’ is placed above all else; even the police cannot challenge the ‘reality’ of the ‘victim’ by asking for evidence. So, whilst the police are right in carefully considering the account of potential ‘victims’, it is easy to see how things can go badly wrong. The perception of things around us is going to vary considerably from person to person, and multiple perceptions can co-exist all at the same time.

This however is not the only issue to consider when it comes to the reporting and recording of hate crime. A 2018 report by Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS), called *Understanding the Difference: The Initial Police Response to Hate Crime*, revealed:

‘Victims, or any other person reporting the hate incident or crime, are not required to provide any evidence or justification for the belief that the motivation of the perpetrator was one

of hate. However, this can lead to confusion over whose perception is being recorded (that of the victim, or of the police officer dealing with the report, for instance), and to inconsistencies in how different police officers in the same force flag similar incidents.¹⁸⁹

The HMICFRS report indicated ‘significant problems’ in the way hate crimes were being ‘flagged’ by police forces and this included the following discrepancies:

- ‘[F]lags not being used when they should have been;
- ‘[T]he wrong flags being used; and
- ‘[F]lags being used without any apparent justification.’¹⁹⁰

Moreover, to illustrate the absurdity at play here, even the relatively benign way in which one were to say, ‘good morning’ to someone on the street could be perceived as being ‘motivated wholly or partially by hostility’. Surely, if an incident does not reach criminal threshold, why pursue? Should it be a matter for the police to investigate unfriendly interactions, hurt feelings, or internalised negative emotions in the first instance?

In an article in *The Critic*, Miller points to FOI inquiries by Fair Cop which show despite 1,046 police officers being accused of racial discrimination in the Met during 2020 (773 in 2019 and 542 in 2018), only one NCHI has been recorded against a MPS officer since 2014. This brings into question as to whether NCHIs are reserved for solely for members of the public, and as Miller observes, ‘for acts as trivial as whistling Bob the Builder.’¹⁹¹ Combine this with the threat of a NCHI for women who refuse intimate body searches from transgender police officers, mentioned in the last chapter, and we see how this can be used as a disciplinary measure.

The punitive nature of NCHIs is further attested to by the recent case of Kevin Mills, an electrician who was recorded by police without his knowing of having committed a 'racial hate incident'. This followed a disagreement over the installation of a bathroom mirror, which Mills refused to do, saying something like, 'I'm not working for someone like you'. This he maintains was directed at the woman in question's abusive manner and not her ethnicity. As Mills told one national newspaper, 'If I was to tender for work in certain places like a school then [the NCHI] may well affect me.'¹⁹²

We conclude that NCHIs are open to abuse by those wanting to persecute the speech of their political or ideological opponents. It is certainly not the police's role to shut down political debate, and precious police resources would be better spent on tackling tangible criminality.

Skewed police priorities – how many non-crimes?

One of the most absurd manifestations in the hate crime debate in recent years was the image of Merseyside police officers in 2021 standing next to a message on the side of a van which said, 'being offensive is an offence'. They later apologised for the message which misstated the law.¹⁹³ But this example is symptomatic of a wider unhealthy obsession with policing so-called 'hate'. We suggest these priorities are skewed, and some ideological groups are influencing societal change and thereby overriding democratic consent. As Norrie has written:

'When I think of which crimes are the most serious, I prioritise those against body, then property, and then those against feelings last.'¹⁹⁴

Police priorities need to be reviewed. If we look at burglary as an example of crime that targets property, Home Office

data from between April 2020 and 2021 shows there were 268,000 burglaries, with only 14,000 solved, indicating around five per cent of these crimes reach court, which was a reported fall from 9.4 per cent in 2015. Of all crimes reported to the police, one in 17 are solved, with one in 77 rapes leading to a charge.¹⁹⁵

Compare this to the data we obtained by FOI request, which shows a year-on-year increase in recording of NCHIs for most police forces studied (Table 2.1 below) between 2017-2021. There is a significant increase in volume of NCHIs being recorded, when we look at the MPS for example, there has been a 129 per cent increase when comparing statistics for 2021 and 2017. Kent police had a significant increase in incidents during the same period of 93 per cent, as did Police Scotland, at 84 per cent. Northumbria further illustrated the trend, with a 70 per cent rise over the same period. Notably, West Midlands police had a decreasing number of incidents at 34 per cent. However, NCHIs recorded by West Midlands Police increased year-on-year between 2019-2021.

Table 2.1: Number of Non-Crime Hate Incidents recorded by seven select police forces

Police force	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total	% increase (2017 to 2021)
Metropolitan	1387	1283	2185	2925	3181	10961	129%
Scotland	469	590	826	853	861	3599	84%
W Midlands	531	396	314	324	352	1917	-34%
Merseyside	228	225	236	311	290	1290	27%
Kent	699	654	901	1349	1347	4950	93%
Sussex	501	472	503	636	641	2753	28%
Northumbria	182	202	268	370	309	1331	70%
Total	3997	3822	5233	6768	6981	26801	75%

Source: Freedom of Information requests¹⁹⁷.

To place these figures in context, across all forces in England and Wales, actual hate crimes (as opposed to NCHIs) recorded by the police grew by 53 per cent over the same period.¹⁹⁶

Table 2.2 provides a detailed breakdown of the NCHI offence type for the Metropolitan police, and the notable rise in racial incidents (which form the majority of all NCHIs recorded between 2017-21), when comparing the figures for 2021 and 2017 stands out at 134 per cent for that period. Homophobic incidents rose by 164 per cent, and although both disability and religious incidents increased by 300 per cent and 276 per cent, respectively, we must be cautious with our interpretation of these increases, as they start from a significantly lower baseline in 2017. A small absolute increase in the number of incidents here translates into a substantial change in percentage terms.

Table 2.2: Non-Crime Hate Incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service, by offence type

Offence Type	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total	% of total	% increase (2017 to 2021)
Racial	1109	1037	1749	2399	2594	8888	81%	134%
Disability	23	26	52	62	92	255	2%	300%
Faith/Religion/ Belief	17	19	31	35	64	166	2%	276%
Vulnerable Adult Abuse	102	87	104	111	72	476	4%	-29%
Homophobic	136	114	249	318	359	1176	11%	164%
Total	1387	1283	2185	2925	3181	10961		129%

Source: Freedom of Information request.

Most ordinary members of the public are likely to agree police activity should be primarily focused on actual crimes such as burglary, theft or violence – as opposed to what the police themselves describe as ‘non crime’. A recent letter to the *Times* titled ‘Royal Mile “being overrun” by crime’,¹⁹⁸ by

a member of the Tron Area Business Group in Edinburgh, described how the group had approached the city council, highlighting serious anti-social behaviour, thieving, drug taking, vandalism and threats to staff, which it was suggested equated to ‘the social fabric of the historic town breaking down’. The letter continued:

‘We have no confidence in the police statement that “all incidents of criminality are treated with the utmost seriousness”. We want the police to do their job and deal with the issues we are encountering here and now, we need more police.’

Now, consider the significant increase (84 per cent) in the recording of ‘non-crimes’ in Scotland when comparing figures for 2017 and 2021 (Table 2.1), and contrast between the variety of real and tangible crimes being highlighted and seemingly neglected in the Royal Mile example. Something is amiss, when the police say an incident is committed because it is motivated by ‘perceived hostility’, but serious acts of criminality as observed by business owners at their wits’ end, remain unaddressed. NCHIs are not simply written down and that is the end of it. They take time and consideration, with support offered to apparent victims. We tried to find out how much time and money is spent on the average NCHI, but unfortunately, the police do not keep this information. Anecdotally, we heard they may take up a large chunk of a police officer’s morning or afternoon. Recall also that the Met was found by an official inspection to be failing to record 69,000 actual crimes per year, as well as almost no cases of anti-social behaviour.¹⁹⁹

Red and yellow and pink and green...

An example of how ludicrous things can get is given by the following story. According to a report on the *Guido Fawkes*

website – ‘Met Horses Sent on LGBTQIA+ Awareness Course’²⁰⁰ – police horses had to be trained to cross rainbow-coloured zebra crossings, installed by councils at costs of around £2,000 each. An official MPS tweet remarkably reads:

‘They [the police horses] are not ‘colour blind’. Therefore, the differing shades and patterns of a colourful crossing could suggest an obstacle in the road, causing a horse to shy from something that we, as humans do not see. This eliminates risk to Public, Motorists or distress to our Horses.’²⁰¹

Although a ‘woke’ minority may take the view that such activities are part and parcel of a modern, liberal and evolving police force, there is a risk that these kinds of activity invite ridicule on the police.

Our FOIs didn’t address the question of horses and rainbow crossings. However, to gain an understanding of the spend involved in supporting and promoting LGBT+ causes, our FOI submissions did include questions about how much various police forces were spending on rainbow coloured squad cars, pride paraphernalia and Stonewall subscriptions. What follows is a summary of our findings. Not all police forces responded to the FOIs. Full details are presented in Table A1 in the Appendix.

Amongst the top spenders was the MPS, who spent £1,112.50 (2019/20) on a vehicle to adapt it for supporting the LGBT cause, and £3,000 on a Stonewall subscription (2020/21). Although the Met informed us, ‘MPS have not purchased any pride related products’ for 2020/21, the *Spectator* previously reported that they have historically spent, ‘£1,000 on 150 police ‘rainbow’ epaulettes; another £1,000 on ‘police with pride’ printed polo shirts; and over £300 on rainbow wristbands.’²⁰²

The Police Code of Ethics states:

‘Police officers must not take any active part in politics. This is intended to prevent you from placing yourself in a position where your impartiality may be questioned’.²⁰³

As mentioned in the previous chapter, we argue that membership of Stonewall could well be interpreted as a signal of political partisanship, especially given Stonewall published a UK general election manifesto in 2019.²⁰⁴

Six of the police forces we filed FOIs to confirmed they had paid for Stonewall subscriptions, which included the Metropolitan, Police Scotland, West Midlands Police, Police Service Northern Ireland, Thames Valley Police and Sussex Police, and this totalled £16,500 for 2020/21. Police Service Northern Ireland also spent an additional £525 in the period for ‘reimbursement of expense made on behalf of National Online Hate Crime Portfolio for advisory group meeting attendance’.

Only West Yorkshire Police confirmed its Stonewall subscription had expired in April 2019 and had not been renewed thereafter. Notably, West Yorkshire Police also confirmed they had spent £1,210 taxpayer’s money on rainbow epaulettes for the year 2020/21.

This finding is perhaps more pertinent, given the revelations that West Yorkshire Police force faced cross-departmental cuts of 15 per cent due to a hole of between £30 million to £40 million for the year 2021/2022, leaving staff ‘fearful for their jobs’.²⁰⁵

A tweet by campaign group Fair Cop reproduces a screenshot from a 2019 tweet by neighbouring North Yorkshire Police, which according to Fair Cop shows senior officers making, ‘a pledge to serve the ambitions of @stonewalluk’.²⁰⁶ This demonstrates that despite some police forces like West Yorkshire Police taking the decision to no longer subscribe to Stonewall, they continue to have

significant influence, having institutionally embedded themselves as a radical force for societal change.

Although Police Scotland confirmed that no Police Scotland funds were used to purchase any pride items in the year 2020/2021 financial year, they advised that the Scottish LGBTI Police Association was funded by a grant provided from the Scottish Government, and the association did spend a sum of £4,189 on various ‘promotional items.’ These included, ‘printing, ICT subscriptions, travel and conferences.’ Police Scotland also confirmed that ‘No Police officer clothing such as polo shirts or epaulettes were acquired with LGBTI/pride/rainbow designations.’

Sussex Police covers the city of Brighton and Hove where the LGBT community is one of the largest in the United Kingdom. It is considered the gay capital of Britain. On the question of Rainbow coloured squad cars, they said there is only one ‘General-Purpose Response vehicle’ being used which is used as a regular part of the force’s fleet.

The livery was provided for free, whilst the car is maintained as an operational police vehicle. Sussex Police confirmed, ‘over the 5 years of the vehicles operational life the average cost of maintenance is between £173.27 and £1521.22, which is an average cost per year of £693.96’. They spent £1,145 in the 2020/21 financial year on ‘a growing number of pride events in Sussex’ for the purposes of ‘community engagement’. This includes the provision of hate crime leaflets and other paraphernalia, but not the cost of t-shirts, which were purchased five years ago and are reused each year. But it is not just in relation to LGBT issues where taxpayers’ money is being used by various police forces.

Although not the detailed subject of our research, we conducted a cursory investigation into spending when it comes to religious groups. We discovered an interesting

video on YouTube (which had been circulated on Twitter) of a West Yorkshire police officer giving out dates from a large cardboard box to members of the Muslims community in Bradford during Ramadan.²⁰⁷

We wanted to ascertain the costs involved in this instance, and whether the force gave out other ‘goodies’ – for example, Easter eggs for Christians, and/or Indian sweets to Hindus and Sikhs for the festivals of Diwali and Vaisakhi.²⁰⁸ We were told they did not hold any information in relation to our request, but the force signposted us to a hyperlink to the original video ‘Happy Ramadan from West Yorkshire police’ on YouTube. They said disclosure of the information requested ‘will be a decision made by individual teams within each district within their working hours, and therefore not held as recorded information.’

In light of these findings and new data made available via the website *What Do They Know?* and collected by Dave Bratt of UK Voice for Justice,²⁰⁹ he asked an additional set of forces how much they spent on Stonewall products or subscriptions between 2015 and 2021.²¹⁰

We have data on 41 forces plus the IOPC. Over seven years the police spent £467,093 on Stonewall purchases. In 2021 alone, £58,291 was spent, down from a high of £82,972 in 2018. Around two in five forces were members in the last year.

In 2021, Stonewall had an income of £11.5 million, suggesting that less than one per cent of its income comes from the police.²¹¹ The 10 biggest spenders are presented in the table on the previous page. The complete data are presented in the Appendix. All such figures do not take into account the money police spend internally on complying with Stonewall’s audit, nor the opportunity costs involved.

The most any force spent in a given year was £10,800, spent by Police Scotland in 2016. This would appear to be

Table 2.3: Stonewall spend by police force*

Rank	Police force	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total
1	Police Scotland	£3,800	£10,800	£5,235	£2,500	£2,900	£2,632	£3,300	£31,166
2	Lancashire Constabulary	£2,500	£3,885	£9,175	£3,599	£5,290	£4,134	£2,376	£30,959
3	Surrey Police (yearly average)	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£30,650
4	Hampshire	£3,980	£2,950	£8,747	£6,604	£5,690		£2,500	£30,471
5	Ministry of Defence Police		£3,000	£3,696	£3,000	£3,000	£9,326	£3,209	£25,232
6	Avon and Somerset Constabulary		£2,500	£2,500	£2,500	£2,500	£7,750	£4,000	£21,750
7	Northumbria	£2,700	£2,700	£2,700	£2,700	£3,178	£6,015		£19,993
8	Staffordshire	£2,765	£3,480	£2,829	£2,500	£2,825	£2,500	£2,500	£19,399
9	Metropolitan				£5,790	£6,588	£3,000	£3,000	£18,378
10	Merseyside Police (yearly average)	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£16,956
	All forces + IOPC	£43,129	£62,577	£81,594	£82,972	£69,713	£68,817	£58,291	£467,093

Source: FOI

*Some figures are VAT inclusive, others are not. We have simply quoted whatever figures the police forces supplied, making no adjustments to allow for the complexities of public authority VAT arrangements.

accounted for by membership of Diversity Champions plus an 'Allies' scheme and conferences. Derbyshire Constabulary spent £174 on rainbow laces in 2018 and a further £167 in 2019. The IOPC currently has two Stonewall subscriptions, one for England, one for Wales.

Staff associations etc.

We further asked police forces, 'are there similar programmes [to Stonewall] for race/sex?' We received a mixed response from the police forces who replied to his part of the FOI. The Met said there were no similar programmes to Stonewall specifically for race or sex. Police Scotland told us that they 'work nationally with a number of staff associations' but were unable to confirm if they were involved in similar programmes to Stonewall for race/sex. They did however provide a list of the following staff associations:

- Disability and Carers Association.
- National Trans Police Association.
- Christian Police Association Scotland.
- Gay Police Association Scotland.
- Scottish Police Muslim Association.
- SEMPER Scotland.
- Scottish Women's Development Forum.
- Scottish Police Federation.
- Association of Scottish Police Superintendents.

West Yorkshire police provided a link to their 'Equality duties and objectives'²¹³ which outlines how they meet their duties under the Equalities Act 2010 and then provided a link to

what they call a ‘diversity calendar’.²¹⁴ The calendar, which is for 2020-21 year, lists over 100 dates which are deemed important across a variety of protected characteristics. These include ‘faith’, ‘human rights’, ‘disability’, ‘race’ and ‘belief’, and the calendar captures a variety of dates for ‘faith’ and ‘belief’, like Hanukkah (Jewish), Ramadan (Islam), Vaisakhi (Sikhism), and winter solstice – also known as Yule (Paganism). Notably it also includes lesser-known days like International Day of Zero Tolerance to Female Genital mutilation, Bi Visibility Day, International Transgender Day of Visibility and International Day Against Homophobia Transphobia and Biphobia (IDAHOTB). There was no disclosure of an equivalent programme for race/sex to Stonewall.

On this question, Sussex Police said that they worked across all protected characteristics, placing a particular emphasis on their involvement with The United Nations’ ‘HeForShe’ programme, *The Times*’ Top 50 Employers for Women, Disability Confident Employer Scheme and the charity Business in the Community’s Race at Work Charter. They told us their commitment to the Stonewall Diversity Champions Scheme was ‘complementary’ to the above schemes, which together – ‘supports our commitment to eliminate discrimination, advance equality of opportunity and foster good relations between different people’.

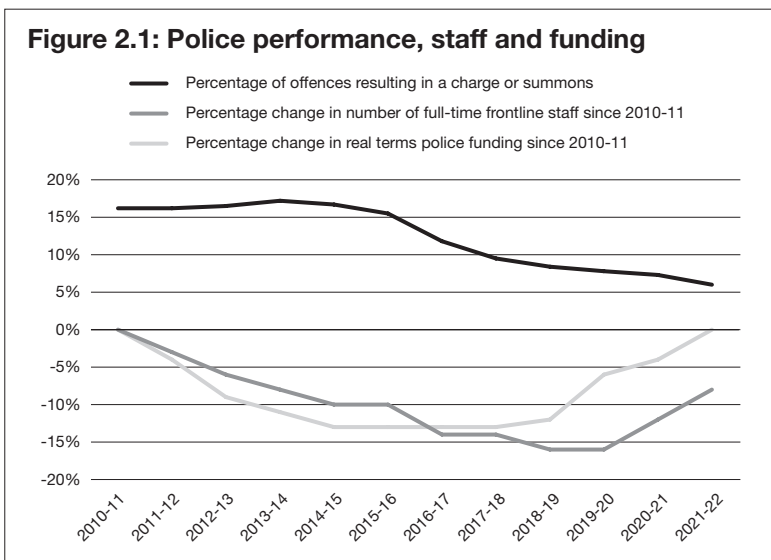
Against a backdrop of worsening performance

Police performance has been worsening across the board. In the year to September 2021, just six per cent of crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales resulted in a charge or summons.²¹⁵ That is down from 16.2 per cent in 2010/11. The preceding years had seen a slight improvement, with around 13 per cent of crimes resulting in a charge or

summons throughout most of the 2000s.²¹⁶

Police funding and staff numbers dropped after 2010/11 but have begun to recover in more recent years. However, it is hard to link these to charge/summons rates. For instance, the years 2010-2016 saw reductions in real terms spending and frontline staff numbers by around 10 to 13 per cent,²¹⁷ while the charge/summons rate remained roughly constant at around 15 per cent.²¹⁸ Its collapse comes later in years subsequent to 2016, and importantly, predates the Covid-19 lockdowns. Matters do not seem to have been helped by the creation of the College of Policing (2012).

Furthermore, spending and staff numbers have begun to recover, as seen in the graph below, only this has not been accompanied by an increase in the charge summons/rate.



Source: Home Office.

These data do not tell you why charge/summons rates have fallen, but the same dataset offers perhaps an important

clue. In the year to September 2015, 11.1 per cent of recorded crimes had outcomes classified as ‘Evidential difficulties (victim does not support action), rising to an astonishing 25.5 per cent in the year to September 2021. Over the same period, the share of offences classified as ‘Investigation complete – no suspect identified’ has fallen, from 47.6 per cent to 35.7 per cent.²¹⁹ It is difficult to believe that the police are getting better at their investigations only that the public is getting pronouncedly more liberal on crime and punishment.

According to a *Daily Telegraph* report, the average police response time has risen from 6.5 to 12.5 minutes between 2011 and 2018.²²⁰

Summary

The amounts of money devoted to these indulgences are admittedly small drops in the ocean of police spending – around £16 billion in the most recent financial year.²²¹ But they are waste, could be better spent, and do go a long way towards advertising political causes or subsidising the incomes of campaigning charities and vested interests. £3,000 is not much in relative terms, but if every police force buys into the Stonewall scheme, that adds up to £135,000 a year, which is a substantial amount for a charity of its size. It is also true that we, as researchers, have likely only scratched the surface of how much money police forces have spent in terms of pursuing non-crimes and feeding politicised identitarian concerns.

That such monies are then spent on divisive political interventions on contentious matters, is simply put, a step too far. Stonewall punches well above its weight in terms of influence within Whitehall. There is also the further real risk that the police invite ridicule on themselves, which only

serves to undermine respect for the law. The unintended consequence of dividing the police up within in terms of identity groups is to create balkanisation where ultimately groups will come to compete with each other, rather than individuals cooperating.

Police performance on a bread-and-butter crime such as burglary is falling, as well as crime in general, while at the same time, the police are actively soliciting reports of things that are not crimes. That is a matter of shame, and it stems from the imposition of the experts in the College of Policing.

Conclusion – Losing consent

This report has outlined how in the interests of openness and accountability, in the name of policing by consent, the police have created within their institutions, an ideological infrastructure that is unaccountable and passes without scrutiny. No one has consented to this; its inclusion ushers the police towards becoming agents for societal change, not merely ones to uphold the law that allows us the freedom to live our lives as we deem fit.

It is a mistake to think that politics is solely about elections and politicians. That is only part of it. Instead, it is also about the institutions, private and public, and the realisation of German political radical Rudi Dutschke, that you do not need a revolution in order to bring about revolutionary change. All you require is power over the institutions, which can be achieved far more easily than through either the ballot box or by a popular movement. All it requires is a small group of committed individuals. If you can control the institutions, then you can start to control the individuals who have to make their way through them, creating new societal rules.

The leaning towards identity politics has become part and parcel of modern-day policing. This is in part because of the push from the College of Policing's ethical standards, as well as the implications of the Code of Ethics and the existing Police Oath. The police are no longer necessarily 'impartial'

actors in matters pertaining to the agenda of certain identity groups who hold sway. This slow institutional creep is gradually becoming embedded, triggering societal change – all with no democratic mandate whatsoever.

But there is more to it than that; it is the ideas that spread faster and multiply at a greater rate than the numbers of committed cadres. Those in our institutions who advance the goals of things like critical race theory or radical views about gender are largely not died in the wool revolutionaries, but ordinary people who believe they are doing good. The point is that these ideas need to be challenged and can be defeated. The wider point is that the elected politicians, who ought to know better (and sometimes do), let them get away with it. Many are actively in cahoots with our stealthy revolutionaries. Too many politicians have been afraid to stand up to the advance of radical identity politics, in all its guises, for fear of being labelled transphobic, homophobic, racist, sexist, misogynist and all the other brands that fall under the term ‘nasty’.

Within the police, this political movement is heavily entrenched, with race and transgender activists organised and largely calling the shots. These are vocal actors in political debates, in matters that are politically contentious which automatically brings them into conflict with the police’s vital commitment to political neutrality. We abide by a standard of policing by consent, the so-called Peelian principles, and yet no one has ever consented to organisations like Stonewall, which publishes an election manifesto but itself shies away from the ballot box. Those who argue Stonewall is not a political party and thus can have a place in the state institutions must then admit that it has absolutely no democratic mandate. It therefore lacks the

consent of the people and so has no business in the police or any other politically neutral governmental body. They are hoisted by their own petard.

Police forces today are regularly engaging with politically active and partisan organisations – across a variety of controversial and disputed ideas – something which has led to ‘institutional capture’. The politicisation of the police on matters of race can be illustrated with the example of serving officers kneeling in an expression of solidarity with Black Lives Matter protestors in Westminster in 2020. That is a politically motivated organisation, influenced by Marxist ideology, which amongst other things seeks to abolish or ‘#DefundThePolice’. This would ironically remove the employment of any ‘virtue signalling’ officers offering to ‘take the knee’ in the process.²²²

As observed in Chapter 1, the police oath includes a commitment for officers to uphold, ‘human rights’, and it is here where some groups have been able to shape policy from within police ranks. A variety of affinity and advisory groups like IAGs have shifted the status quo, as well as police collaboration with third party organisations and charities. As we first reported in *The Critic*, the advice provided via IAGs is not always as open and transparent as it should be – this regrettably remains the case. IAG members remain unaccountable to the public they profess to serve, because information on them (including membership) and what actual advice is given remains inconsistent across police forces. But they are well placed to skew police priorities towards their own ends.

What follows is an explication of precisely how the evidence outlined above violates the College of Policing’s own Code of Ethics.

Section 1 – Honesty and integrity

The code states officers must ‘act with honesty and integrity at all times’. Examples of meeting this standard include,

‘... not knowingly mak[ing] false, misleading or inaccurate oral or written statements in any professional context.’

By justifying its race action plan based on cherry-picked data about a deficit of trust among black Caribbean people, to stand for all black people, while ignoring the data on black Africans, the NPCC and College of Policing are in breach of this ethical standard.

Section 2 – Authority, respect and courtesy

The code states that ‘according to this standard’ officers must...

‘Avoid any behaviour that might impair your effectiveness or damage either your own reputation or that of policing’.

By wrapping themselves in politically contentious liveries and flags, officers are making themselves look ridiculous to many people, and so are in violation of this standard.

Section 3 – Equality and diversity

The code states an officer will,

‘... act with fairness and impartiality’.

By engaging with politically active and partisan organisations, that take positions on politically contentious issues, the police are in breach of this ethical standard.

It continues that an officer will,

‘... not discriminate unlawfully or unfairly’.

The race action plan, which commits the police to improve its standards specifically for black people, is in violation of

this ethical standard. The Code continues that according to this standard, officers must,

‘... uphold the law regarding human rights and equality’.

Lobbying for a suspension of the Equality Act in order to appoint officers based on their race is a violation of this ethical standard.

Section 6 – Duties and responsibility

The Code states an officer will,

‘... be diligent in the exercise of my duties and responsibilities’.

To meet this standard, officers will,

‘... demonstrate an efficient and effective use of policing resources’.

By spending money on ludicrous publicity stunts and merchandise, as well as participating in Stonewall schemes, officers are in breach of this ethical standard. The Code further adds,

‘Membership of groups or societies, or associations with groups or individuals, must not create an actual or apparent conflict of interest with police work and responsibilities’.

It continues,

‘The test is whether a reasonable informed member of the public might reasonably believe that your membership or association could adversely affect your ability to discharge your policing duties effectively and impartially’.

By funding Stonewall any reasonable person may seriously doubt that will be compatible with the police’s fundamental responsibilities. The police are thus in breach of this ethical standard.

The Code further states,

‘Police officers must not take any active part in politics. This is intended to prevent you from placing yourself in a position where your impartiality may be questioned’.

Stonewall is an active player in politics, looking to change the law. By funding this organisation, the police are in a position where their impartiality is quite rightly questioned, and so they are in breach of this ethical standard.

Section 9 – Conduct

The Code states an officer will,

‘... behave in a manner, whether on or off duty, which does not bring discredit on the police service or undermine public confidence in policing’.

And,

‘... avoid any activities (work-related or otherwise) that may bring the police service into disrepute and damage the relationship of trust and confidence between the police and the public’.

By embracing partisan organisations such as Stonewall, and engaging in publicity stunts and ‘virtue signalling’, the police are in violation of this ethical standard.

Furthermore, the practice of non-crime hate incidents is in breach of the Peelian principle,

‘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.’

The conduct of the police, its embrace of identity politics, has led to multiple breaches of its own regulatory

principles. In this light, we make the following policy recommendations.

Recommendations

- Abolish the College of Policing, put training back in the hands of police forces abiding by a curriculum administered by the Home Office and NPCC.
- Abandon the practice of non-crime hate incidents – police officers must log their conversations with the public but advise them that trivial incidents are ‘not really something we deal with’. Vexatious, politically-motivated reports should be dealt with as wasting police time and prosecuted.
- Any ‘hate crime’ should not be immediately treated as a priority; crimes should be prioritised by the police according to the extent to which they are a threat to life, then property, irrespective of motivation.
- Independent advisory groups should be replaced with regular town hall meetings which anyone can attend, including press.
- Affinity groups or identity-based staff associations should lose any official recognition, in line with the current ban on police officers joining a trade union. Instead, officers should be encouraged to discuss what problems they have as colleagues and across whatever markers of identity there might be.
- A clear statement from the Home Secretary that the police will apply the law evenly, favouring or promoting no particular groups, will be politically neutral, and that the police are to be forbidden from working with or

subsidising any concern that looks to change the law or advocates contentious and controversial views.

- A full inquiry by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services into the politicisation of the policing and its allocation of resources on such matters. It should look into vested interests in the IOPC as well.
- Revert the police officer's oath back to how it was prior to its 2002 reform, so that it reads:

'I, of 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.'

- A government review of the Equality Act and the extent to which it fuels political activism within private and public institutions that ought to be politically neutral.

Appendix

Freedom of information requests

As part of the research for this chapter we submitted a series of freedom of information requests (FOIs) to some of the largest UK police forces in England and Wales as measured by the number of police officers employed in 2021, using open data from the Home Office.²²³ We wanted to see how and where public funds were being used, and if some of this spending was necessary, justifiable and consistent with application of the College of Policing's Code of Ethics. We also submitted FOIs to the police forces of Scotland and Northern Ireland.

We asked each of the police forces the following set of questions:

1. Under the FOI Act 2000 please can you provide the following information: please could you provide the costs of purchase and maintenance of fleets of rainbow-coloured squad cars for 2020-21.
2. The cost of pride polo shirts worn by Police officers, rainbow flags, wrist bands, stickers, epaulettes, and other associated paraphernalia for 2020-21.
3. The cost of Stonewall subscriptions for the period of 2020-21.
4. Are there similar programmes for race and sex?

We also asked them to disclose:

(i) How many Non-Crime Hate Incidents (NCHIs) were recorded in the years 2017-21 (a breakdown for each year would be helpful) (ii) of these recorded NCHIs, how many required an officer to visit an alleged 'perpetrator' or 'offender'. (Again, a breakdown for each year between 2017-2021 would be much appreciated).

Part (ii) above, was later refined for a few police forces (due to a refusal under Section 17 of the FOI Act 2000) with the following wording:

'Of these, how many received some sort of follow-up and what was the nature of the follow up? To be clear, I would like to know if further action was taken, and what actions were taken based on whatever system of classification you have in your database.'

Table A1: Results of our Freedom of Information requests

	Metropolitan	Scotland	W Midlands	G Manchester	N Ireland	W Yorks	Thames Valley	Sussex
The costs of purchase and maintenance of fleets of rainbow-coloured squad cars for 2020/21	One MPS vehicle was adapted for 2019 Pride event (2019/20 financial yr). The following costs were incurred: £812.50 (including VAT) for design & manufacture of the temporary livery. £300 (no VAT) – for the installation/removal of temporary livery. First time a MPS vehicle had taken part in Pride. Total = £1,112.50	No rainbow cars	'I am writing to inform you that we have searched our records and the information you requested is not held by West Midlands Police. At present we do not have any rainbow vehicles'.	'GMP does not have a specific car on the fleet but have used detachable livery on standard vehicles for pride festivals'	'PSNI can advise that the answer to the above Requests is zero'	There was no spend in relation to vehicles in 20/21.'	'No information held'	One General-Purpose Response vehicle over the 5 years of the vehicles operational life. Av cost of maintenance is between £173.27 and £1521.22, which is an average cost per year of £693.96

Table A1: (continued)

	Metropolitan	Scotland	W Midlands	G Manchester	N Ireland	W Yorks	Thames Valley	Sussex
The cost of pride polo shirts worn by Police officers, rainbow flags, wrist bands, stickers, epaulettes, and other associated paraphernalia 2020/21	None	£0. But LGBTI Police association spent £4,189 on various items (promotional items, printing, ICT subscriptions, travel/ conferences) from Scottish gov grant	'Our data are not organised in such a way as to allow us to provide this information within the appropriate (cost) limit within the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act'	'I can confirm that the information you have requested is not held by Greater Manchester Police'	'PSNI can advise that the answer to the above Requests is zero'	£1,120 (rainbow epaulettes)	£500	£1,145 – includes hate crime leaflets and other paraphernalia – does not include cost of t-shirts which were purchased 5 years ago and are reused each year
The cost of Stonewall subscriptions 2020/21	£3,000	£3,000	£2,500		£3,000	expired 30.04.19	£2,500	£2,500
Are there similar programmes for race/sex	'there are no similar programmes to Stonewall specifically for race or sex within the MPS.'	Police Scotland work with a no. of diverse staff associations				Diversity calendar		Across all protected characteristics

Source: Freedom of Information Requests.

Table A2: Spending on Stonewall products/services by police force

Rank	Police force	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total
1	Police Scotland	£3,800	£10,800	£5,235	£2,500	£2,900	£2,632	£3,300	£31,166
2	Lancashire Constabulary	£2,500	£3,885	£9,175	£3,599	£5,290	£4,134	£2,376	£30,959
3	Surrey Police (yearly average)	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£4,379	£30,650
4	Hampshire	£3,980	£2,950	£8,747	£6,604	£5,690		£2,500	£30,471
5	Ministry of Defence Police		£3,000	£3,696	£3,000	£3,000	£9,326	£3,209	£25,232
6	Avon and Somerset Constabulary		£2,500	£2,500	£2,500	£2,500	£7,750	£4,000	£21,750
7	Northumbria	£2,700	£2,700	£2,700	£2,700	£3,178	£6,015		£19,993
8	Staffordshire	£2,765	£3,480	£2,829	£2,500	£2,825	£2,500	£2,500	£19,399
9	Metropolitan				£5,790	£6,588	£3,000	£3,000	£18,378
10	Merseyside Police (yearly average)	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£2,422	£16,956
11	Cheshire Constabulary	£1,683	£2,425	£2,950	£6,759	£2,840			£16,657
12	West Yorkshire Police	£2,350	£4,046	£7,750	£2,500				£16,646
13	Police Service of Northern Ireland			£2,148	£3,000	£3,525	£3,350	£3,480	£15,503
14	Independent Office of Police Conduct				£3,000		£6,000	£6,000	£15,000
15	West Midlands		£2,000	£2,500	£2,500	£2,680	£2,809	£2,500	£14,989

Table A2: (continued)

Rank	Police force	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total
16	Leicestershire Constabulary	£2,000	£190	£5,000	£2,500		£2,500	£2,500	£14,690
17	Durham Constabulary	£2,800	£2,500	£2,500	£3,023	£2,520			£13,343
18	Derbyshire Constabulary			£2,500	£2,674	£2,667	£2,500	£2,500	£12,841
19	Nottinghamshire	£2,500	£3,260	£3,487	£3,340				£12,587
20	Civil Nuclear Constabulary	£2,500	£2,500	£2,500	£2,500	£2,500			£12,500
21	Hertfordshire Constabulary				£3,000	£3,000	£3,000	£3,000	£12,000
22	Dorset Police		£3,060	£2,500	£3,817	£2,500			£11,877
23	Wiltshire Constabulary				£2,500	£2,500	£2,500	£2,500	£10,000
24	Suffolk Constabulary	£2,000	£2,000	£2,500	£2,500				£9,000
25	Dyfed Powys Police	£250	£2,100	£1,500	£1,500	£1,500	£1,500	£125	£8,475
26	Humberside					£2,500	£2,500	£2,500	£7,500
27	North Wales Police		£1,500	£1,500	£1,500	£1,695			£6,195
28	City of London Police	£4,500	£280						£4,780
29	Gwent Police							£3,000	£3,000
30	Sussex Police (data available only for 2021)							£2,500	£2,500

Table A2: (continued)

Rank	Police force	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total
31	South Wales Police		£600						£600
32	North Yorkshire Police			£576					£576
33	Essex Police					£515			£515
34	South Yorkshire Police				£365				£365
=35	Northamptonshire Police								£0
=35	British Transport Police								£0
=35	Warwickshire Police								£0
=35	Cumbria Constabulary								£0
=35	Kent Police								£0
=35	Devon and Cornwall Police								£0
=35	Cleveland Police								£0
=35	Thames Valley Police								£0
	Grand Total	£43,129	£62,577	£81,594	£82,972	£89,713	£88,817	£58,291	£467,093

Source: Freedom of Information Requests, Generated from WhatDoTheyKnow, 'Dave Bratt – Voice for Justice UK', [https:// www.whatdotheyknow.com/user/dave_bratt_voice_for_justice_uk?page=1](https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/user/dave_bratt_voice_for_justice_uk?page=1)

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Richard Norrie and Hardeep Singh examine the role of identity politics and how it is warping police priorities from within. The authors take a critical look at the police's fundamental commitment to impartiality and their role in contentious matters of a political nature.

This book looks at the dramatic increase in 'non-crime hate incidents' (NCHIs) over a five-year period through a series of Freedom of Information requests. The authors find that NCHIs have been applied 'in a manner inconsistent with freedom of speech.'

Norrie and Singh discuss the role of the College of Policing, criticising this body for 'a progressive reorientation of the police.' This work examines how the College of Policing has deepened the influence of identitarianism and looks at the recent 'Race Action Plan' as an example of how the organisation is encouraging identity politics, based on the radical political ideology known as 'critical race theory.'

This reorientation is compounded by an 'infrastructure of identity politics' within the police through independent advisory groups (IAGs). The authors criticise these groups for being 'opaque' and find they are dominated by 'identitarian activists.'

We Need to Check Your Thinking includes a foreword by David G. Green and reveals how police priorities are being distorted by identity politics. The authors conclude that the police are in breach of the College of Policing's own Code of Ethics, particularly in regard to impartiality, and call for the police to be called to account for their practices to reduce the role of identity politics and return the police to their traditional role of protecting the public.

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