

MPA Race and Faith Inquiry

Dr RICHARD STONE

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Chair: Cindy Butts

Panel Members: Bob Purkiss, Margaret Blankson and Anthony Julius

This cassette has been proof read and names inserted only where identity is certain.

CB Suffice to say we've got Anthony, Margaret and Bob, we'll all be asking you questions and at the end we'll give you an opportunity to say anything that you haven't had the opportunity to say. We're taping the session so if you just leave that microphone on and we'll give you an opportunity, maybe in a week or so's time, to review the evidence you've given us and just to a—approve it

RS Sure

CB ..as a correct record. Can, can I start by asking you what in your view are the biggest challenges for the Met and specifically in relation to race and faith issues?

RS Well, as you may know I, I've spent the last year doing a listening and visiting exercise to find out what I, seemed to me from a personal point of view, had improved or changed in the last ten years. I was fortunate that I didn't have to go into all the data and statistics because the Runnymede Trust, I commissioned them to do their review as well. And this allowed me and my supporters to – my advisers to go round thinking and listening. And the thing that really came across to me was that there's been a huge improvement in professionalism at the Metropolitan, Metropolitan Police in particular, but the police in general in the last ten years. And the example, for example is that the Senior Investigating Officer in the original murder investigation of Stephen Lawrence was totally incompetent, had no initiative, really wasn't very bright and in our view and we say, say in our report, in the original report Stephen Lawrence (inaudible) been promoted beyond his ability. But now it's quite clear that that sort of thing would be impossible, to have a Chief Superintendent at that sort of level who was as incompetent as that, clearly that officer was. Went to a sitting for example of the Criminal Training, Criminal Investigation Training at Hendon and saw their Hydra computer program at work and it's very highly professional. There's been a huge improvement in professionalism (inaudible) all round, except in these two areas, which I'm sure you're aware of – the two that most impact negatively on black and minority ethnic

communities which are despatch to stop and search and in employment prac— recruitment, retention and progression of black and minority police, police officers were of course there's been virtually no change at all. The same amount of energy and time had gone into all those areas, including those two areas, but those are the only two areas where there's been there's no improvement at all. And that seems to me to be, (inaudible), the institution has failed if you like, black and minority ethnic communities both as service pro-- as a service provider and as an employer, and so the institution has failed and it's probably due to racism, so that's called institutional racism, so I still stick with the concept of institutional racism. I don't really care what you call it – institutional racism or (inaudible) Trevor Philips says, systemic bias. Actually I think if you're going to use the word systemic bias, you must use the R word and say systemic bias by racism if you want to; and it's easy to use the word. Or you can just deal with it. I came across an, an example in Birmingham, Alum Rock area where the, the Borough Commander's made exactly the sort of changes in professionalism connecting these minority communities. He never used the word racism at all. He's just improved relationships with the local communities and it's paid off extremely well. And in my report it says in Appendix 3 it describes it altogether. Have you got any copies (inaudible)?

Yes, we do, we all have copies, thank you.

RS You do. Good, thank you. Well that story, at Appendix 3 is just fantastic, it seems to me. So I made ve—several re—recommendations on in, (inaudible) addressing institutional racism, my 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9 are all to do with that. So that's I think the two areas which I think are the most necessary for the Commission--, new Commissioner to deal with.

You mention there the example of Birmingham, is that right?

RS Yes, this Borough in Birmingham, yes.

In Birmingham, yes. And you and you mention that I think also during the NPIA conference, as well.

RS That's right, yes.

But that's very much in relation to external service delivery which of course is absolutely key. Our key focus for the Inquiry is very much around the internal issues which

RS I understand that's (inaudible) employment particularly for race and faith.

(Inaudible) yeah, yeah.

RS You see the interesting thing

(inaudible)

RS ..is, I asked him about exactly that

Mm

RS ...(inaudible) Commander and he's had virtually no employment tribunals against him, in the three years it has been there. So if you like that business of, of connecting with minority communities has meant that, (inaudible) police officers from that background don't feel it's necessary or, it's obviously changed employment practices, 'cause in (inaudible) neigh, neighbouring Hounslow they have had some examples of that (inaudible) employment tribunals from black and minority ethnic officers. But in Alum Rock, virtually nil.

Mm

RS So I think that it's, it's, it's we, in the Lawrence Inquiry used the terms appropriate and professional behaviour. I think appropriate and profession—professional behaviour in service delivery impacts on employment, and employment impacts on service delivery. So the two go hand in hand and that's what these two major areas – despatches and stop and search, unemployment, that's why they're so linked.

Ye—yes, I agree with that. I think I agree with that whole idea about, about the internal reflecting on the quality of service that people are given externally, but I just wondered whether or not using that example, whether or not you could drill down into the internal elements that, that mean that, that meant that that was in a, (inaudible) a success, sex, (inaudible) cur--, success in your eyes, sorry. Are, are you, do, do, do you see what I'm saying? What, what, I, I've read your report and what, what you've done is, you've talked about the e—external elements of that good practice that you've highlighted but I'm trying to drill down as to what made that a success in your eyes, in terms of the, the practical sort of internal workings within that Borough Command.

RS Tom Cooke, the Senior Police Officer who was on the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, s-- told us that in his view, a, a racist officer is an incompetent officer. And anybody who's acting in way discriminatory like that, it's actually incompetent. It's a waste of time and waste of effort. So I think that that, that's as simple as that. You, you can focus very much on the problems within the police services. In my concern is that the last, the, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner had to go just after the Tarique Ghaffur affair which in my view he should have settled years ago. It's obviously been a long running problem between those two people. And he failed to do so. I think he was rather waiting for a new Commissioner, perhaps to take, deal with the problems of racism, well, (inaudible) this is the new Commissioner. I spent an hour with him the day after my report was launched and he says his priorities are all to do with security and anything else is another agency's problems. I think he's wrong. I think if he doesn't deal with racism (inaudible) particularly in employment can explode in his face as (inaudible) Ian Blair – he lost his job (inaudible), largely as a result of that.

MB Sorry (inaudible) repeat what you just (inaudible)

RS Beg your pardon?

MB Could you just repeat what you just said? I, (inaudible) I missed that.

RS Sorry. I'm just saying that I, I, I don't know the ins and outs of why exactly Ian Blair went, but certainly there was, it was just immediately after the failure for him to deal with the Tarique Ghaffur problem which it seems to me had been going on for many, many years and he never really got round to addressing it. You leave these issues aside, if you don't address them, at your peril, 'cause after all, every year really, in the last ten years, there's been some explosion somewhere due to failure to address problems of employment of black and

minority ethnic officers. After all, there's the Secret Policeman's program, then five years later a repeat of the Secret Policeman's, or review of that, then the Tarique Ghaffur. And there's always things, every year there's something that explodes in the faces of the Commissioners. I don't think that Sir, Sir Paul Stevenson really recognises the need that he has to put these very high on his, his agenda and I think he's got to be promo--(inaudible) finding ways of (inaudible) officers.

MB Did you say something about, I met with him and he ... I, that's the bit I missed. I met with him and he said, to..

RS Sir Paul's, I went to Sir Paul's,

MB Yes, that's it

RS Paul Stephenson had an hour with me.

MB Yes

RS I don't know why he gave me a whole hour, the day after our report was launched, but you can surma—surmise that as well as I can. But certainly he's, he, he, was saying to me that his main priorities are purely security, security of the, the, the country, security of his officers

Right, yes

RS ..and security of – what is it? – the security of the -- Londoners, that's right. And every, everything else he said was really to do with other people. I was talking about things like the Royal Commission on Police or other of my recommendations like having a university level qualification, before you get promoted – I changed my mind, now. It's not just Sergeant (inaudible) when you, you get promoted to Inspector, or you go into one of the elite squads. Sorry, I changed that slightly but what I'm just saying is, he was saying that's not fitting

Right

RS That's for somebody else to deal with.

MB (inaudible)

(inaudible)

(inaudible) should be for everybody's benefit.

RS I think the aspiration

(inaudible)

RS I think it should be an aspiration for all of us, seems to me. (inaudible) there are, are officers who definitely don't want to do that, in which case they should not be penalised for that.

MB The reason I, I thought

RS I'm sorry, sorry, I'm moving aside into something slightly different. We'll come back to that in a minute.

MB S--- (inaudible)

RS I'm just saying that the problem is that it seems to me the police has, the, the Commissioner is very narrowly focused.

Mm

RS I think he's got to take on racism in employment.

MB (inaudible) just hold on a second. Just so I don't miss what you're saying.

RS Yeah

MB Now I think really quickly, but I think you spoke quite quickly so I missed something.

RS Yeah

MB I'm correct in understanding that what you're saying is that what, yeah, one of the outcomes or one of the points that was made by the Commissioner in your meeting with him the day after your, your Report was published was that you felt that its focus was security

RS Yuh

MB ..and that the issues around diversity, of what other -- were for other people, other organisations.

RS He said he's been dealing very well, his staff officer comes from a minority background and he was saying, We're doing all the sort of things that are necessary, everything's going well there and it's not really, the real priority has to be security. That's what he was saying.

MB Okay.

RS I'm sure he'd verify the (inaudible) only just in, in a discussion so it's not sort of hard and fast what he was saying, but that was

MB Okay

RS .. his very much his, his focus so when I talked about this aspiration for university level qualifications, for police officers, he was quite interested in the idea but really, he said that's for other people to implement, it's not for me.

MB Who did you understand the other people to be.

RS Well in that case he felt it should be funded, presumably, by the Education Authorities. It probably would be but on the other hand, I think people should be, coming back to that, that issue itself, I think people should be extracted from, from policing to be able to do their

Mm

RS ..university level qualification, so I don't

Mm

RS (inaudible) SC policing (inaudible). So they should be relieved of their duties to do that, whilst they, they go and study but they're, they're the actual course fees would probably have to be paid out of the university (inaudible)

MB (inaudible) focus on one bit and then I'll, I'll sort of pass you back

RS Please.

MB So, you were saying that you felt that that approach in terms of feeling that the responsibility in relation to diversity was for other people, or other agencies issue was, you said, you spoke about his (inaudible) I'm really sorry I didn't hear you.



(inaudible)

MB Sorry what Dr Stone said.

(inaudible)

So you were saying

RS I'm saying if he'd ignored the, the issues

Okay

RS ..of, of, of racism and the problems with black police officers in particular

Okay. Okay.

RS ..(inaudible) at your peril.

Which, which but I don't want to hold you to that discussion that you had

(inaudible)

..as you say, it was a very

Yeah

..fairly brief discussion that you had

(inaudible)

..with the Commissioner. But I do want to ask you about what your views are, given your experience and in particular given your involvement in the Lawrence Inquiry, what type of leadership is required in order to move the Service on?

RS The Leadership has to

What's the style, how, what's the approach, what should that leadership look like?

RS Leadership has to be that, it, it's, it's an issue with which the leading officials are comfortable with and you should feel that the Commissioner in particular, in London should be comfortable with working with black people, who should be valuing black people as I've said in my report, he should be promoting the contribution of second and third generation minority people in this country and welcoming multiculturalism or whatever else (inaudible) definition he has. I don't mind but he must have definitions. He must accept, have definitions which he can sign up to, so that he can actually acknowledge these things and be seen to be promoting the whole agenda week after week or month after month. Otherwise, we've going to find a lot of more problems with tribunals, with people leaving the police officers, police force, more anger and yet there's this huge commitment of people like for example Sergeant Viridi who after all the troubles he went through, went back in again. And I, (inaudible) asked him, Why have you gone back in again? He says, I want to make the change. Want to change (inaudible). It's – there's a huge well of good, good, good wishing for, from black police officers, it seems to me in the Services. That's why they stay in. But it's not acknowledged and that's what I want; I want to see the acknowledgement

Okay

RS ..and the welcoming.

Okay. I'll hand over to Anthony, please.

AJ You've come at this authority from the point of, sorry, you've come at this historically from the point of view of race issues

Mm

AJ ..and we're now struggling to understand the question of faith and faith discrimination issues,

RS Which you and I can know quite a lot about.

AJ We try, but, but the – one of the problems is that, is that faith is being assimilated to the race paradigm where it doesn't nec—I mean it might be appropriate to do it, but it seems to, that seems to have happened unreflectively; faith discrimination, faith issues generally, have simply been bolted on to race issues, so that the talk is of BME officers, as if, as, as if an Iranian, a person of Iranian Muslim extraction, faced identical problems to a, African Caribbean person, for example and in-- intuitively that feels wrong, not just because everyone's problems in some degree are different because there are category differences between one kind of problem and another. Post-7/7 there are specific Muslim officer issues, Muslim officers are addressing them, whether they're white or black or some shade in between, that had no bearing on the experiences than more historical experiences of black officers – black in, in the what was at any rate, the received sense of African Caribbean Asian subcontinent. I wonder what your experience is of them?

RS (inaudible), as you probably know I was on the original list, I'm a (inaudible) Commissioner of the Runnymede Trust until 1987 and I revived that Commission in a low, deliberately low key way 2000 and 2004 so I've been listening (inaudible)

AJ I know, but they kind of run in your, your expertise is running, as far as I can see, (inaudible) running in parallel

RS Well, exactly, yes

AJ (inaudible) parallel courses.

RS Yes, yes. Mean my, my, my, view is that Islamophobia is a new and modified kind of racism. It is nonetheless, it comes under the heading of racism in my view. It's a different kind of racism, but a lot of the threads are very similar or the discrimination, discriminatory practices, the, the holding people down, the, the negative stereotyping, a lot is very similar because there are specific things as far as Jews and Muslims and Hindus and everybody else is concerned, depending on their backgrounds and whether this is -- religious discrimination which is based on colour as well as not on colour. They're all overlaps but nonetheless the basic (inaudible) ex, abuse of power and the exercise of discretion which is how it seems to me institutional discrimination works, is in the exercise of dis—of discretion. The same mechanisms apply so we're coming back to Tom Cook's racist officer being an incompetent officer, an Islamophobic officer is equally incompetent for the same sorts of reasons; they waste police time chasing after people who they shouldn't be chasing after. Or stereotyping people in ways that don't actually help. So I think,

AJ What would be a, what would I mean what would be an example of an Islamophobic

RS Well I think that institutional idea

AJ (inaudible)

RS I mean... I, I'm very much a believer in this concept of PLUs, People Like Us. (inaudible) if you and I were to set up (inaudible) for sake of argument, a, a, a an organisation for screening women, women's diseases, no matter how carefully we did it, we'd get it wrong unless we had some women working alongside us. In the same way is if you want to deal with problems of Muslim people in this country, with the war on terror and all this sort of smell of the Crusades going ba—way back and deep into the psyche of this country. (inaudible) I think if we haven't got Muslim people actually advising us and helping us we're going to get it wrong and I think that Forest Gate is a very, very good example of that – a number of, of my Muslim friends both old and, old and younger, the new generation all say to me, If only there'd been Muslim police officers in, in that firearm squan--, squad in the anti-terrorism squad at Forest Gate, they could have averted what was very nearly another Jean Charles de Menezes. And I think that's probably true and I think that (inaudible) this chap Tom Coughlin in Alum Rock, he – yet when he was going to make these arrests, as you may have read in the report, did I have to re—go over this story again or do you want me to just tell you the crucial thing? No I don't need to.

AJ I mean it's in, it's in.

RS It's in there. I mean basically I mean he, he actually confided in his Muslim Independent Advisory Group officers, he was going to make some arrests, a week in advance. And he asked them what (inaudible) what tactics would they recommend; he said, I'll always take, give, take your recommendations unless there's some operational reason why not and they said to him, You don't have to do high, you know, high profile going in all that sort of stuff in the morning with firearms. Just stand outside their doors and arrest them when they go to work, which is what he did.

AJ So one recommendation would be, I mean for us to make in a practical way

RS Yeah

AJ ..for us to make, one recommendation would be recruit more Muslim officers in areas where their particular expertise is helpful and then trust them with

Yes

AJ ..information

RS And also,

..to allow them to advise you.

RS Also use your Independent Advisory Groups in more courageous way 'cause I don't think within most London boroughs that they're taking Independent Advisory Group members into their confidence in the way that Mr Coughlin did. And he was rewarded with a, a, a, a no security leaks whatever on that (inaudible). Nobody's told anybody what's going on until it actually happened. I think you, that again is just part of what you're talking about, asking

Cindy about it, is what is crucial in leadership. The leadership actually trusts people from minority communities.

Mm

RS It's very difficult I know. It's a very difficult area, particularly when we're dealing with Islamic, (inaudible) so called Islamicist terrorism or Muslim terrorism. It isn't really, it's just terrorism but it is based on an interpretation of the Qur'an (inaudible) but actually trusting people who are clearly not of that background who are not so much (inaudible) Muslims.

Mm

RS And I think if you can trust people, I think that's a very good sign to the, to the people that, that you're actually working with; I mean, you actually believe in what you're doing.

AJ The effect of the, of the expansion if you like, of the racism concept of taking to account faith I mean an expansion which has taken place over the last few years, has led some people to suggest - and it was suggested to us at a earlier session - that the whole approach to the problem of, of abuse of power, discrimination, (inaudible) however one characterises systematic bias without the addition of the R word, is, is now misconceived and that, rather than being, rather than establishing and maintaining specific champions for diversity, rather than focussing specifically on race issues, because that allows everyone else to just relax, what - what - what, what should be done instead is that the whole institution, in this case the MPS, should be empowered with a commitment to respect for difference and to positive career progression, to the absence of discriminatory behaviour on whatever basis, of colour, faith, disability, sexual orientation, colour of eyes, whatever and that the specific issues that you've spent so many years of your life investigating, race and faith now, should be, so to speak, dissolved in this broader concern for respect for diversity, what's, what's your view of that?

RS Well I mean it - it's a bit difficult to say where I draw my I—my boundaries in these things; they're very complicated. I think the crucial thing is whe-- when it comes to institutional, as opposed to institutionalised and again I'm sorry to quote my - my report all the time 'cause I, it's where I put all my ideas. But it is really this concept of educating people what institutional racism is about and that actually the institution doesn't change; the institution is the people in it, otherwise it doesn't exist and it, and that's really what we should be

building on. We should be building on the large improvement in understanding of institutional racism, which is implied I think I said in the report, by the Head of Human Resources saying that you know there's a small proportion of people who, officers who don't still under—they still don't understand it so it means (inaudible) I think eighty per cent of the officers do understand so let's build on that and just go round educating people now, what institutional racism is about. It doesn't mean that you're a racist but it does mean that you have a responsibility in organisation which is PLUs mainly, people like us, white, people like, people who hold the power, hold strings of power in the police service, actually educating all their officers to realise that it's their responsibility to make the change. And if they make the change things will get much better. And you'll get more police officers staying in, could be less employment tribunals, less millions of pounds being paid out in employment tribunal settlements out of court at the last moment, which is more money for officers on the ground. It's not very difficult. It's a very good business case (inaudible). It's really not very difficult, there's a lot of fuss made about it.

CB I'm going to go to Margaret in just a second but I want to, to ask you – you developed a sort of reference group, I think of young people you spoke to a lot of young people

RS We had a Young Forum yeah

CB A Youth Forum, that's right.

RS Yes

CB Did, did you, within that Forum, manage to gauge what the effects of the back end of last year when the so called Race (inaudible) were, in terms of people's perceptions or their level of confidence?

RS Level of trust was appallingly low because I'd quite honestly admit

CB Mm

RS ..it. Obviously people are more likely to come to a, a youth forum like that on racism in the police if they're actually unhappy with the policing rather than those who are happy with it.

CB Mm

RS So I recognised there was a, a built-in bias there. But there was a lot of very deep anger there and very great cynicism as you can see from some of the quotes that I had.

CB Mm

RS I was really quite disturbed by all of that. But it's hard to, to, to weigh how much that's – is significant but I'm still hearing these things as (inaudible) suspect rather the four of you probably also hear. A lot of, still a lot of very old dis—dissatisfaction. But of course one abuse of power

CB Mm

RS .. (inaudible) stop and search (inaudible). There's enormous ripples. Goes right through a whole community.

CB Mm

RS So I, I just think again comes back to appropriate and professional behaviour by police officers. (inaudible) some people say to me the police are never going to change. And I say, Look. They learn one thing only – whatever you do today, even if somebody's just asking you the time as a police officer, just give them the time. If you know that in ten years' time or five years' time you may be cross questioned by Mike Mansfield QC about it, you jolly well make sure you acted approp—appropriately

CB Mm

RS ..professionally and you took notes as well. And you keep the notes and they are kept somewhere. That's not very difficult to do.



CB Mm, mm

RS Should be the biggest threat over any police officer, not to be cross questioned by Mike Mansfield.

CB Absolutely! Absolutely! Thank you. Let me bring Margaret in.

MB Thank you. I mean, listening to what you, I, I

RS Have you got a mic. there, sorry?

MB (inaudible) sorry. I have, sorry.

CB She's got a

RS You have, oh good. (inaudible) behind the green jacket.

CB ...sore throat.

MB Yeah, thank you! Just, just building on what you said and, and listening to what you said and also having gone your, through your report. And there's a number of recommendations. What do you think the biggest challenge for the police service is, and where, what should they prioritise on? 'Cause a number of recommendations.

RS Well I think the, the most (inaudible) helpful I think recommendation of all of mine is the one about education. I've deliberately put in recommendations where I feel there's a bit of an open door already; I don't believe in wasting my time with recommendations that aren't going to be implemented. In fact I (inaudible) – the Police Federation were very open to the idea of a university degree. A lot of police officers were against it; they said, I don't need a

(inaudible) degree, but when they heard that the job was going to be supporting it and the releasing them from work they were, got quite enthusiastic about it. And the Commissioners also began to – sort of start exploring (inaudible) self. See, I think this has happened in nursing, as I say and it's happened in the probation officers' services and in social workers – they all get university degrees and I think it would have a major impact on professionalising the police service if in the next five to ten years it was an aspiration of all police officers, from the Inspector and above, all those who go into the elite squads, all have a university qualification of one kind or another. I think that would professionalise the service immensely. It's not perfect, mean when nursing moved from what it used to be

Mm

RS ..just five O lev—two A levels and five years on the wards and a few lectures here and there. Now they're so highly qualified that they're taking over a lot of medical doctors' jobs that I used to do and they don't have enough time for caring. But that's their, that's a, (inaudible) an unwanted problem

(inaudible)

RS ..but you can deal with that. But I do think it's terribly important that people have their brains stretched to the extremes, limits possible in their capacity to analyse and begin to think about things like institutional racism, instead of Islam with dead handed, negative leadership from behind that I'm afraid Paul Condon gave ten years ago. Leading backwards (inaudible) back and led backwards by saying he wouldn't acknowledge institutional racism. I think his failure to acknowledge institutional racism ten years ago, and only if we gave him a new definition would he be prepared to sign up for it, I think that led the Metropolitan Police just backwards in a major way and it's actually created a lot of the problems of today, I think.

MB You've talked about a number of the challenges. Wh—what do you think the biggest challenge the Met (sic) is, is facing?

RS Inter faith?

MB Which, sorry, interfaith. Inter faith.

RS Interfaith do you say?

MB (inaudible)

RS I'm sorry, your voice is a bit...

No

RS ..like mine was last week.

MB I said, no I think you've mentioned a number of challenges you've (inaudible) about leadership, you talked about the issue of education. I said, what do you think the biggest challenges that the Met's facing in relation, is it recruitment and retention of staff, is it the disciplinary process

RS Oh undoubtedly. I think the recruitment and retention has to be one of the most important things p—ever. And to have a contented black and minority ethnic community where people feel that they're respected and they, not going to be challenged all the time with racist activities and (inaudible) overt or, or covert si—kinds. I do think my recommendation, perhaps the most simple to implement, which I think is perhaps the most significant really, is this business that only came out about two weeks before I wrote my report, so I just bunged it in at the last moment. But you have to apply. Whatever level you are, if you want to get promoted, you have to apply to your supervisor for permission to – that doesn't happen to, even to apply to be promoted. That doesn't happen in any institution I know; doesn't happen in the NHS, doesn't happen in industry at all. The fact that you, even if you wanted to become an Assistant Commissioner you'd have to ask the Commissioner's permission. I mean, that's really ridiculous. And if you want to become a Sergeant or an Inspector or a Chief Inspector whatever, you have to ask your supervisor. And the supervisor will be sitting on your Panel, as well, against you. And I'm - know, I've been told by a number of black and minority police – police officers that they, they know they're going to be turned down so they won't ask. And that's real, totally out of order, to my mind. Unaccountable exercise of power by police officers over their junior staff and I think that could be abolished overnight.

MB Thank you. One final question in relation to recruitment, sorry. Relation recruitment. We've heard a lot about informal networks that surround - or golden circles that surround the recruitment process. Are you, I mean, are you aware of them, did you find them in, in the work that you, your work that you carried out? Were officers, were officers actively talking about these circles or do they not exist?

RS Oh, they were talking about them all the time.

MB Can, can, can you, (inaudible) question, can you perhaps speculate why, when we've had discussions with senior officers, they don't know them. Yet the, the, the process means they all come through the ranks. (inaudible) just quite confused by that.

RS Well, I mean I believe that there are something like five s -- black Superintendents in the Metropolitan Police at the moment, as I understand it, who are not (inaudible) promotion to Chief Superintendent. And I, as I understand it, they've all of them got comparability with about three or four other office—white officers who have gone forward, with less experience and less qualification. But they're all officers (inaudible) Service in the past have actually taken out employment tribunals which they have won. There is a sense in which if you take out one employment tribunal, then you can get away with it, even if you get paid out large amounts of money you (inaudible) get promoted whatever, but to take out a second employment tribunal that then, you're really (inaudible) seen to be a trouble-maker.

Mm

RS So they, on, on the whole they're not actually therefore going for promotion. Some of them are going to retire at the time they were going to retire (inaudible), without promotion. Now I think there's some very good police officers there who we're losing. There's only one who's gone through at the moment. Sir Paul Stephenson was very proud of the fact that he's doing a lot of mentoring now, with his

Mm

RS Staff Officer who comes from an Asian background. He's not a Muslim I gather. And he's, so he's doing a lot of, he says a lot of, of mentoring and helping people to stand up for these things but you've got people at that interim level ; you've lost Tarique Ghaffur and, and

Commander Hussain, there's no sort of – next level of people, about to come to the very top. And when Mike Fuller retires as Chief Constable in Kent there's going to be virtually no senior black or Asian officers in, in the police services in this country. Very, very few. There, there should be a whole, you would like to, you should have seen—I would have thought I would find waves of people coming through the system in the last, as a result of what happened ten years ago. And they're not. People are leaving early, they're not applying for promotion for a second time, if they had to take an employment tribunal to get to where they were. I think it's a very, very nasty position that's going on at the moment. It's very – it's going to be very tricky in two or three years' time there're going to be very few senior black police officers at all, but when you come to what was happening at our Youth Forum, one of the, the young people came, came out and I didn't quote it in my report 'cause it seemed to me (inaudible) actually naming somebody, but Leroy Logan was there as one of my, my sort of ad-- advisory panel there and the black kids were saying, you know, there are just no, if only there were senior black police officers, they'd be fantastic but Leroy Logan is wonderful; I, I really trust him. I don't trust others, black, other police officers but I, I trust him. I don't know how he does it. They don't know how he, he keeps his position. Leroy's not going for promotion now, for Chief Superintendent. And that's the bottom leg up to the very

Mm, yes

RS ..senior ranks, which I think is unfortunate. I think he's a highly competent, very (inaudible) he's got a great integrity, Leroy Logan and I admired him a lot. I think it's awful that he's – he's sort of now actually given in, if you like. He says it's not worth his while to go through all this hassle, yet again.

MB And what's your response to some of the Positive Action Programs that the Met's (inaudible) developed, such as Equip to Achieve? Do you think they go some way in, in addressing the issue of progression?

RS Well, I mean, I think that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. I mean, how many black officers are going through to the very senior posts? How many are going from Inspector to Chief Inspector, from Chief Inspector to Superintendent? But above all, who are going through from Superintendent to Chief Superintendent,

Mm

RS ..'cause that's the real bottle neck -

Mm

RS ..that's when you start getting to Commander level, go on the Command Course. And if they're not going on the Command course there's going to be no people in the future. So I mean, the statistics are from the, I think a lot of them are rather faulty.

Yes.

The Met have recruitment targets but they don't have progression targets.

RS Well, that's, that's crazy.

Would you, would you support (inaudible) yeah, you would

RS That's absolute crazy. There should be. I mean, we actually recommended recruitment, retention and progression ten years ago. We've had ten years to implement these things and it's not happening.

Mm

RS And I think that's devastating.

Would you (inaudible) support positive discrimination?

RS I would support Positive Action. I don't think we should have positive discrimination, although a lot of people do say that that's the only way to get it through. Except for one example that was quoted at, to me, which is Northern Ireland.

Mm

RS But I think it is a special case in Northern Ireland,

(inaudible)

RS I'm sure you know the story,

(inaudible) sure

RS You know that they said that once we get to a certain level of, of Catholic people in the, the police

Yes

RS ..then we can open it up to everybody.

Mm

RS It may be that that is something that could at least be considered in, in policing in, in, in mainland Britain, I don't know. But I, I merely basically

Mm

RS I, I'm quite hostile to the idea of positive discrimination

Mm

RS But on the other hand, what's, what's worked so far? Nothing.

Mm

RS The levels are now probably worse in the last, (inaudible) year or so, than they were ten years ago and it's awful.

MB Sorry

RS Sorry

MB Can I, no sorry, can I ask you just to comment (inaudible) on the issue just moving across slightly on the issue of the organisational culture? I mean, could you talk a bit about what your report found in relation to how the influence of the organ—occupational culture on the organisation impacts on those areas?

RS I don't know that I can really add to what I've said. I mean I think that the, the, this business of getting permission and not feeling you can even go for it 'cause you know you're going to get slapped in the face is one very serious fault and why, why, why has it had to be me who just chances upon this and realises this is actually grossly an allowing of discrimination, it's opening up the doors to discrimination? Why did it take me to find that out? Why hasn't the, the previous Commissioners actually said, This is really not in accordance with our duty to promote equality and (inaudible) Race Relations act or the new dut—duty to promote under the new Peace and Justice Act? They're going to put

Perhaps the MPA?

RS Pardon?

Or perhaps the MPA.



RS Or the MPA, yes. Indeed, yes. Why hasn't the MPA (inaudible) it? The market's a bit more difficult if you're not actually in there. I just, I mean I wasn't looking for it but when I suddenly heard that this is happening I was, I was just quite s-- appalled by it.

(inaudible) okay

..to Bob

BP (inaudible) Let me -- just expand a little bit on, on the point that Margaret's made because you, you spoke earlier on, Richard about accountability or lack of. And, and yet the body that has a statutory responsibility for effectiveness and efficiency of the police service is the Metropolitan Police Authority.

RS Indeed.

BP Views on effectiveness and efficiency of the Metropolitan Police (inaudible)

RS I'm afraid I haven't spent a lot of time on (inaudible), the activities of the Metropolitan Police Authority; I can't really comment. All I know is that, it's a tendency and our duty to promote, both (inaudible) the CRE and the new Acts as well. But management groups (inaudible) work out the race equality schemes then they monitor themselves a year later and that's all that happens. Least we've got in the policing services we have got Police Authorities and you tell me, I don't know. I don't know the extent to which the, the Metropolitan Police Authority, working hopefully with the Independent Advisory Groups, should (inaudible) to my, to my view, be, be some of the consumer groups which are actually doing that monitoring and not allowing the police to get away with just monitoring their own schemes, 'cause if people (inaudible)

BP So you, you didn't gather that sort of evidence in

RS No

BP ..terms of – ‘cause I mean the accountability of – or responsibility if you like for the, the effectiveness of the Commissioner is to the MPA. So it’s that scrutiny role. I mean you were saying who should have picked all this up. Well, on a day to day issue it’s the Authority’s responsibility.

RS Oh, do they? I don’t know, I’m sorry, at that (inaudible)

BP (inaudible) what you were saying is

RS Well that’s what I’m saying, I’m

BP ..there was no evidence that

RS ...look, I, I’m not going to apologise for not having gone in

BP No, no, no, I, I don’t

RS ... (inaudible) because I have to say that I was rather limited in amount of time and support I

(inaudible)

RS ..I had from the Government and so I was a little bit pushed what I could do. But nonetheless, I didn’t, I just made a conscious decision not to go into what the MPA is doing or not doing, ‘cause that would have taken a large amount of my time and I’m quite happy to accept whatever you say about whether you’re arguing this but if you’re not, you jolly well should be and if you are doing it, I

BP Me, it’s not me. I’m, I’m, I’m not a member of the MPA, so

RS No, (inaudible) that's Cindy, is it?

Cindy!

CB That's me.

(inaudible)

RS Will you just tell me, yes or no. Do you actually monitor the schemes?

CB Yup.

RS 'cause I thought you might do. Yes.

CB Yep. And we've actually raised that issue about line managers.

RS Yeah, thank you.

CB As you said, 'cause they are gate keepers

RS Yes

CB ..if you like.

RS I think (inaudible) quite-- I mean it should be a (inaudible) I, I'm very disappointed in what former Chair of the CRE was about when he was, didn't monitor the, I thought, the schemes nearly as vigorously as he could have done.

Mm

BP But there is a responsibility for the Authority to have its own scheme, as well.

RS Ah, that's also true, yes.

BP Yes. We'll, we'll, we'll be looking

RS I think it's probably the most powerful legal tool we've had is in fact the Race Equality Schemes

BP Mm hm

Mm

RS ..and I hope that the, the MPA is doing its job properly on that and I would like to feel the HRC is going to do the s--- equally well, but got my doubts under the current leadership (inaudible)

CB Okay. Maybe you can talk a bit more about that in, within my next question. We heard earlier from Doreen, where she was talking about what she felt was a level of complacency, mission (inaudible), defensiveness within the MPS as an organisation and she, she sort of said -- she was talking about, I asked her the question as to whether or not that also existed within the Home Office and we—(inaudible) Government and whether or not there was equally a commitment, is the commitment still there, to this agenda. And I wanted to get your views on, on that, the Government aspect, Home Office aspect. And maybe you can also extend it to the ECHR, as well.

RS Well, I mean I had a story about that whole Government thing because I wrote to Jack Straw in February of last year, asking for his support for an independent review and it took about 'til from February until May actually to meet with him, not because he was actually dilatory, it was because he was so enthusiastic about the idea and having an independent review.

And he said, I shouldn't have, meet with him until he could bring together the Secretaries of State from Home Office and the Department of Communities and Local Government and always at the last moment, one of the three couldn't turn up, so in May I said, Enough already. Let's just meet maybe with a junior minister and two Secretaries of State, which I did. And Jack Straw and Jackie Smith who is responsible for the David Bennett Inquiry, the other one I was on when she was the Health Minister, she's got a deep commitment to racism. They were very enthusiastic about it and they basically said, we will also do our best to find the funds for your review from within our budgets and by July I had no money at all yet, no commitment to any funding at all and I said, If I don't get that fu—commitment by the middle of July I'm going to be in trouble because it's going to be too short a time to be able to do the work. In September, the end of September I actually had a commitment from the Home Office and from the Justice Department they would fund my review, by which time it was too late to do the review that I originally wanted to do and it's a big review with Runnymede Trust who'd worked up a very big project, it was too late to do all that so I then said, Right, if that's the case, I'll make do with a lot less money but I'm going to do it myself; I'm not giving up altogether and if necessary I'll do it in a voluntary capacity. I then got the funding agreed, beginning of October. Money was meant to be in by the end of October and by January the first I had my funding in, (inaudible) the actual working review finished in February. So I have to say that I think Government dilatoriness, whether it's officials, whether it's Secretaries of State taking their eye off the ball I don't know. Certainly I was really quite staggered and the crucial thing is that I was told again and again, This is how Government funding works. Now if that's the way Government funding works, ten years after this Government has got into power, there's a very big failure there, somewhere along the line, and it's a connective failure frankly, in my view. All the civil servants who would give such enthusiastic support to what the Secretaries of State had said. And I think there's a collective failure at Government level. I haven't put this in writing yet, but I'm going to, soon.

CB Mm. And, and you think that's not just in relation to your project, are you

RS I thi—I, well I don't know.

CB ..expand it out.

RS You see, I've got this, I've got exactly the same problem as we had in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. This collective failure of the police to investigate thoroughly, properly and appropriately, and professionally – is this the way all murder investigations go? Or is it just because this is a black family? And we decided in the end, either it was 'cause it was a black family or perhaps 'cause of collu--- collusion, corruption and the third one which is, this is

the way all murder investigations are, are inefficient. He couldn't believe that was so. I've got exactly the same with Government officials now. Is this because this is the way Governments really do work all the time, or is it there was a – if you like – an extra factor which would impact, in fact that this was to do with racism and therefore running scared of racism. Like I say, I think that, that a lot of police officers -- and I think perhaps government officials -- are timid when it comes to Muslims and black people. They shouldn't be. If you act appropriately and professionally you need not be timid at all; just do the right thing and get it done properly and you've always got to fall back on the fact that you're, you acted professionally and you've got records to show you did it properly. And your stops and search or whatever it is were done on grounds of intelligence led policing. Same with the (inaudible) the officials.

CB EHRC?

RS The (inaudible) well, I mean – I think there's been a failure of leadership there, I really do. I, I, I find it very difficult as a white man to be in the anti racism field and be plugging on, banging on again, I mean half of my report is on institutional racism and the most senior official in the country, who is a black man, disagrees with me and he says institutional racism is no longer a helpful concept. I find that deep, deeply unhelpful to me and it puts me in a very embarrassing position. All I can say is that when I mention this when I'm on a platform speaking to white and black and my—and Asian audiences they all, they, they all applaud me for sticking with institutional racism, so I don't know which is Trevor where's there's to be or Trevor at the top of the, of the, of the agenda. I rather suspect it may be Trevor, I may be wrong.

CB Are there any other questions? No? Is, is there anything that you would like to say to us that you haven't had the opportunity to say?

RS Well, I'm grateful to you of having read my, my report (inaudible) maybe you're the only people who've read it, I don't know, but anyway, that---

(inaudible)

RS I have to say I think it, it, it's – and I've just been re-reading it before I came here and I hope, it does read quite easily, I hope. And I think it tells a lot of things I'm concerned about. I really am concerned about Muslim police officers. I think if we're talking about dealing with

problems of terrorism, we must have the, the enforcement service, it's not just the police but everybody else who's concerned. Where there are, are moderate non (inaudible) not Wahabi Muslims who are actually advising Government. Government seems to have taken on a lot of Wahabi inspired Muslims and they're the wrong sorts of Muslim people to be involved in advising Government. They must be much more careful about how they espouse people, I think and I think it is actually I think that particularly the firearms and anti terrorism and the CID need Muslim police officers. Apart from anything else, there's a one very simple thing about that particular issue. I, I had a heart, irregular heart-beat for many years, which has now gone away and I knew it was benign 'cause I'm a doctor but I had to have it checked every year with a 24 hour monitor so I (inaudible) six months after the London bombings I'm walking down Tottenham Court Road with a black box on my belt and wires going under my shirt, I suddenly think to myself, "Here's a police officer. He's going to shoot me." But he didn't and I thought, Maybe he should have done. I could easily be an, a, a, a, an Islamic inspired or any inspired terrorist. I could be an anti Muslim terrorist who decides, I want to throw a bomb. I'm going to go out with. I could be dying of cancer, an old man dying of cancer, decides, I'm not going to go out with a whimper, I'm going to go out with a bang, literally. This profiling business, it should be done much more intelligently. Much more intelligently, realising that 10 per cent of Muslims in this country are, are reversed (inaudible) you know, converted to Islam. I could be one of those. I just shaved off my beard and walked down Tottenham Court Road with a bomb round my waist.

Richard, wasn't it a, wasn't it a triumph of profiling that you weren't shot dead?

RS Well now. I don't know. I think -- there were three police officers there until I (inaudible)

It's a reasonable inference, given that you're still with us.

RS Well, absolutely, yes. (inaudible) from that point of view I'm delighted they didn't, but you know, I think they should have been suspecting me, I really do think so, mm.

What, you (inaudible) you think a better profiling system would have made you more, more of a suspect?

RS Anybody, an—an—anybody could be a terrorist, either Muslim 'cause they can be a con—convert, black or white, or it may be somebody who's actually not inspired by anything but just to show I want to be a terrorism.

Mm

RS And that's where I, why I actually believe this business of university degrees. It's terribly important. It may not actually get people to think better but it, it makes sure that people have had the experience of learning to analyse and think through and having to put things down in writing of what they actually believe in. That's terribly important. Those police officers who don't want to do that can stay as Constables or Sergeants, but I think Inspectors and these elite squads really should be having, should be (inaudible) in five or six years' time it could be done.

CB Okay.

RS I think I've been though every— oh yes, one other small thing. Just, again, inspiring confidence 'cause I've know I've got a few more minutes I think, perhaps and I think that the, the Metropolitan Police should be supporting black police, not necessarily Black Police Association, but black police set-up voluntary projects like the Paddington Leadership Conference and the Reality Project of the BPA. Doesn't have to be BPA as such but just the, the black police officers are doing an enormous amount of positive work and I don't think they get the recognition

Mm

RS ..or the financial support they should get from their Senior Officers and that, again, shows that there's not a confidence and a trust in those police officers. They shouldn't have to be struggling for funds.

CB Point, point well made. Okay. If there's anything else you think of feel free to send it

RS And vice versa

CB .Siobhan and it will



RS Thank you very much indeed for your time.

CB ..find its way to us. No, thank you. Really appreciate it. Thank you.