



Stephen Lawrence Review

an independent commentary
to mark the 10th anniversary
of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry

by Dr Richard Stone

A project of the Uniting Britain Trust

“Like others who took part in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, I consider it one of the most important things I have done in my life.

In July 2007, the 10th anniversary of the start of the Inquiry, I began exploring what the legacy of the Inquiry has actually been. This review brings together observations and facts collected from then, up to the 10th anniversary of the end of the Inquiry on 24th of February 2009.”

- Dr Richard Stone

Dr Stone was a panel member of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, as Adviser to Sir William Macpherson.

He was also on the panel of the 2004 NHS David Bennett Inquiry, into the death during restraint of the sole black patient in the largely white-staffed medium secure psychiatry unit in Norwich.

Vice-chair of the Runnymede Trust, he is President of the Jewish Council for Racial Equality, and Founder / President of *Alif-Aleph UK (British Muslims & British Jews)*

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FOREWORD

The review has been conducted under the auspices of Uniting Britain Trust, with close links to the University of Westminster and the Runnymede Trust.

In May 2008 the review received enthusiastic support from Jack Straw and Jacqui Smith, Secretaries of State for Justice and the Home Office.

With funding from the Home Office and the Department of Justice, the review has maintained its independence by ensuring that the funding would be received in single payments at the start of activity, with no further payments dependent on approval of the activity.

Although payments only came in towards the end of the review, there has never been any attempt to use them to influence the work of the review or its conclusions.

Funding from government Departments was considered essential, because only in that way will the Departments have a stake in implementing the recommendations.

PROCESS OF THE REVIEW

Dr Stone has used understandings gained during the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry to reflect on and review changes over the last 10 years. He has been immensely helped by Doreen Lawrence OBE and his four other principal Advisers. They were:

- Anne Dunn - Lecturer in Criminology at University of Westminster
- Doreen Lawrence OBE - Founder / Director, Stephen Lawrence Charitable Trust
- Dr David Muir - Executive Director, Evangelical Alliance and former member, Metropolitan Police Authority
- Nathalie Stewart - Former chair of Westminster Race Equality Council
- Perry Nove QPM CBE - Former Commissioner of the City of London Police

With, as Co-ordinator of the review:

- Nathan John - Founder / Managing Director, Youth Enlightenment Limited

Mrs Lawrence has been integral to the review from the start and has been a great strength throughout.

The review was fortunate to be able to employ Nathan John on a part-time basis, as Co-ordinator of the project.

The review also benefited from the presence of Anne Dunn, a lecturer in Criminology at University of Westminster. Besides being one of the principal Advisers, she has also been able to undertake research and analysis of information as required, and to make comparisons of data and conclusions based on them from police and independent sources.

Appendix 1 lists those senior police officers, academics and community activists, who have helped the review either during visits, by telephone, email or letter.

Dr Stone, often accompanied by one of his principal Advisers, visited police stations and police training centres. He has set up or been invited to a number of focus groups to hear the views of specialist police, young people and communities in London, Bristol, and Birmingham.

Senior police officers and their staff have been generous in providing all documents and reports requested by the review. Officials in the Home Office and National Policing Improvement Agency, have also responded positively to requests for information.

YOUTH FORUM

A focus group organised by the review was conducted on 13th December 2008 at Goldsmiths College in South-East London. This was a youth forum to which 60 young people were invited, aged between 14 and 24 years of age. 45 turned up on the day.

Of those who gave their ethnicity, most were black or mixed race, with a small number of young white people. Three Muslims took part.

There were 24 females and 21 males.

The participants came mainly from inner London, with some from the outer London boroughs of Redbridge and Croydon.

Inevitably those most likely to respond to an invitation on this topic were likely to be disgruntled with policing than happy with it. Nonetheless, a number of constructive comments were made which were positive towards London's policing.

Most of the discussion was done in groups of 8 to 12, where there was a skilled note-taker to get an accurate record of their views. Their words have been used throughout this report.

Two of the young people agreed to speak at the Ministerial conference on 24th of February 2009, the 10th anniversary of the report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry.

A negative view was given by one 24-year-old black man:

"I was 7 when Stephen Lawrence was stabbed. They wanted to change then. But now it seems there's a standstill with the police."

However a 17-year-old black girl said:

"I have no problems with the police and how they do their work even though I was stopped once and the officer was racially offensive to me. On the whole they do a good job."

Three of the five groups at the Youth Forum commented on the damage done by negative stories about the police. One note-taker put it like this:

"Knowledge, gained mainly from the media, about the problems of the police with their own black staff accounts for a lot of damage. It was given as one of the main causes of lack of trust and lack of enthusiasm to join the police. This contrasts with a strong wish to help improve policing, which seems to be frustrated every time there's a bad story about."

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This review has been a year-long exercise in listening and learning. It has been of great benefit to know that the Runnymede trust was at the same time conducting a critical review of the literature. This has allowed Dr Stone and his Advisers to be more reflective, and use the time available for visiting and talking with police and communities.

Over the last 10 years there has been a remarkable improvement in the professionalism of policing in London and outside. First Aid (or Emergency Life Support as it is now called), a pet subject of Dr Stone, is as good an example as any.

In 1993 five police officers were in a position to perform First Aid for Stephen Lawrence. None of them did. None of them knew anything about First Aid. They had all been on First Aid courses, with refresher courses every three years since. Yet none of them were able even to recall the ABC of First Aid, which stood for Airway, Breathing, and Circulation.

Having visited the current Emergency Life Support course for probationer police officers, and having sat in on one of the new annual refresher courses, Dr Stone is convinced that, should he have a heart attack it would be best to have it on a pavement in London, so that it would be a Metropolitan Police officer who does Emergency Life Support until the ambulance arrives.

A visit was made to the detective training at the Crime Academy at Hendon, with its HYDRA computer programme simulating all the pressures of real critical incident management. This training is highly professional and thorough. It is comforting to know that it is now almost impossible for a Senior Investigating Officer or his Deputy to be as incompetent, unimaginative, and promoted beyond ability, as were the two men in charge of the initial Stephen Lawrence murder investigation.

Family liaison was shown in the Inquiry to have been unprofessional towards the Lawrence family in 1993. On review we find this has been transformed by intelligent and sensitive training. Major effort has gone into reducing burglary and violent crime, with considerable success. Similar effort has improved reporting and clear-up rates of hate crimes, including race hate crimes.

Neighbourhood Policing, and the successful introduction of PCSOs have led to increased trust and confidence in the police. Independent Advisory Groups have helped to break down old barriers between police and communities, and are trusted to varying degrees by senior officers.

Of course there are still examples of unprofessional practice. However police services have learned many lessons from the incompetence and discrimination revealed during the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. The Inquiry demanded that police provide a service that is “appropriate and professional”. Ten years later, it has been heartening to find pride in major improvements, replacing the old tired formula “This is the police way of doing things. Why change it when it ain't broke?”

The disturbing finding of this review is that the similar major effort has had little impact on reducing black/white and increasingly Asian disparities in Stop & Search; or in removing blocks on Recruitment, Retention and Progression of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) officers.

Statistics show little or no improvement in these two areas, which are the main areas of impact on BME communities.

The January 2009 report of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission *'Police and Racism'* found that overall Recruitment had reached more than the targets set by the Home Secretary 10 years ago.

Looked at in detail, the picture is less encouraging. Recruitment figures include (voluntary) Special Constables, as well as the new grade of Police Community Support Officer. Take these away, and looking just at inner city areas, where the target 10 years on for BME officers is for 25% (for London), the increase in 10 years has been from 2% to 4%. While the increase overall is to be commended, the outcome of only 4% is disappointing.

The Commission used data in the 2007 Inspectorate report *'Duty Calls'*, which got its figures from 2005 – 06. Fortunately, the Runnymede trust found data up to November 08 for its February 09 report *'The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry 10 years on: a critical review of the literature'*. This up-to-date information was available to us at the time of writing this report.

Ten years ago you were 5 to 6 times more likely to be stopped & searched by police if you were black than white. Now the overall rate is about 7 times more likely, with small variations depending on the kind of Stop, and where it is you are stopped. Of course the Terrorism Act has had an impact, as well as the need to reduce the carrying of knives on the streets. However conviction rates directly as a result of Stops and Search remain tiny from a procedure which has a high risk of damaging public trust and confidence, especially that of BME citizens.

We have sought possible reasons for the difference between the successful outcomes of time and effort in Emergency Life Support, burglary and so on; compared to failure of efforts to make any real dent on the problems of employment of BME officers, and of disparities in Stop and Search.

There have been plenty of processes by police services to try and address these two problem areas, which are at the sharp end of discrimination in employment and in service delivery. What is lacking is successful outcomes.

What the two areas have in common is that the outcomes depend upon the exercise of discretion in the use of power. Those who have discretion to give their all in one direction but not in another, tend to choose according to what matters most to them. The time and effort given to improving detection and clear-up rates of crime are similar to the time and effort given to the two problem areas. It is just that there seems to be less determination to get outcomes in the two problem areas.

Doctors may exercise their discretion to give more time and effort to people who look and talk like themselves. Or they can respond "appropriately and professionally" to the needs of people who look and talk differently, by giving more of their time to them, rather than less.

Detectives can be tempted to exercise their discretion by giving more time and effort to finding the killers of the son of a fellow officer, than to the killers of the son of a Black family in South-East London.

In puzzling over the lack of improvements in current employment inequalities, and in Stop and Search, we turned to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry's definition of 'institutional racism'.

“The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour, which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping, which disadvantage minority ethnic people.”

The only difference between what we observed and the definition was that the “*disadvantage to minority ethnic people*” has not been entirely “*unwitting*”. There is no word in the English language of 'witting', but the unwillingness to address these two issues when so many others had been successfully dealt with, has to have an element of 'witting' about it.

After being heartened to find so much determination to increase professionalism, it was disheartening to conclude that, when it comes to BME people, the same determination was just not there. 'Institutional racism' or 'systemic bias by race', call it what you will; BME citizens and BME police employees have been failed by this country's police services. Like everyone else, they have benefited from the improved investigation of murder, reduction in burglary and so on. However when it comes to areas of policing which are most relevant to their background, almost nothing has changed in 10 years.

In most years of the past decade, the issue of 'institutional racism' seemed to slip down the agenda. Maybe some of those in leadership positions sighed with relief that this thorny issue did not have to be dealt with. It could perhaps be left for the next Commissioner, the next Chief Constable, or the next government Minister.

But every year, with damaging regularity, racism seems to explode back on to the police agenda. This causes damage to police and community relations, but also to the reputation of the very leaders who had hoped the issue had gone away.

The two 'Secret Policeman' TV programmes, and the resignation of Sir Ian Blair following the Tarique Ghaffur case, are examples which should encourage new leaders to deal with these problems “appropriately and professionally” once and for all.

The 'next' Commissioner is here now, and the 'next' Mayor of London is here now. The 'next' Home Secretary is here now, though there will of course be a general election in just over a year's time. We hope that this new wave of leaders will take on the challenge of confronting continued bias in policing on the grounds of race.

WHAT TO DO?

We do not just exhort the Commissioner, the Mayor and the Home Secretary to address the two problem areas which most affect BME Britons. We present in the body of this report our 5 best ways of how to make change: three short term; one medium; and one long term. Details can be found in the report, but in summary they are:

- *Dealing with 'institutional racism' by making it part of improved professionalism*

We show how, in Alum Rock, Birmingham, leadership without even mentioning racism can turn around a Borough's 'institutional racism' in as little as 3 years, merely by seeing what needs to be done and then getting on with it.

- *Sustained leadership to combat 'institutional racism'*

We show how in the Crown Prosecution Service, sustained leadership from the top, repeatedly invoking 'institutional racism', can make a huge impact over a 10-year period.

- Using legislation to drive change

The Ordnance Survey may seem an unlikely example to some, but its story encapsulates how legislation can open minds, and sometimes in unexpected ways.

- Education as a way to improve thinking power

In the medium term, we are convinced that education is a key to a police service which will deliver a high level of professionalism in the next 10 years and in the following decades.

Policing and nursing are the last two major apprenticeship schemes in this country. Like nursing, learning on the job is vital for police officers. However, if officers are to have their capacity to think developed to the maximum, then police leaders need to learn from nursing how to introduce Higher Education qualifications as a basic requirement for officers.

- Create new policing structures to meet new pressures on policing

Finally we look at the long-term. We suggest that the structures of policing, set up nearly 50 years ago by the Royal Commission on Policing in 1960, are creaking under the strain of greatly changed pressures.

Britain's policing are facing totally different problems from the 1960s. Terrorism, drug wars, gun crime, 'institutional racism'; none of these were around to be thought about in 1960. Then there are new democratic pressures that the Human Rights Act and the Equalities Act rightly demand in the way of accountability.

Surely it is time to stop tinkering with an outdated structure. A Royal Commission set up in 2009 could look at current needs and build up ideas on how to respond to them without being hampered by having to fit them into outdated structures. It could report at the end of 2010 with a view to implementation by a new Police Act in 2011.

The recommendations of this review are:

'Institutional racism'

RECOMMENDATION 1: That Public authorities be required in their Race Equality schemes, to encourage the participation of Black and Minority Ethnic people in public life, by demonstrating in their Equality schemes compliance with new targets set by government.

RECOMMENDATION 2: That public authorities, including higher education institutions, which provide services to common geographic areas, collaborate on the design and delivery of race equality training for all employees, in order that all staff receives training to a common standard and the training is delivered to meet local demographic requirements. This collaboration to be monitored as part of the Race Equality schemes of all the public authorities involved.

Education of police officers

RECOMMENDATION 3: That a college or university degree (or comparable educational qualification) be adopted as the basic educational requirement of a professional police officer.

RECOMMENDATION 4: That the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry's definition of 'institutional racism' be reaffirmed by Government Ministers and leaders of institutions tasked with addressing racism, in terms similar to those stated by the then Prime Minister in Parliament in 1999.

RECOMMENDATION 5: That individuals working in institutions be educated to recognise their personal responsibilities in rectifying those “processes, attitudes and behaviour” which “disadvantage minority ethnic people”.

Reports of the EHRC and of the Runnymede Trust 2009

RECOMMENDATION 6: That the recommendations of the 2009 EHRC and Runnymede reports are accepted by relevant Government Departments and implemented forthwith, and be evaluated yearly for at least three years.

Retention & Progression of BME officers

RECOMMENDATION 7: That senior police officers become champions of encouraging the special talents of every officer without distinction of whether of BME or other backgrounds.

RECOMMENDATION 8: That recognition be given to the business case for positive action to bring BME officers into the elite specialist units.

RECOMMENDATION 9: That permission from a supervisor should be removed as a requirement before any police officers or staff can apply for promotion.

Disparities in Stop & Search

RECOMMENDATION 10: That the 13 x 10cm Metropolitan Police short reporting form 5090(X) be adopted across the whole UK for all Stops.

RECOMMENDATION 11: That, in order to increase trust and confidence, there shall be a presumption that Stops of every kind will be recorded, subject only to a short list of overriding emergencies. There should be no blanket exceptions for any categories of Stops.

Emergency Life Support

RECOMMENDATION 12: That all police services immediately organise annual Emergency Life Support refresher courses for all front-line officers and staff, the courses to be held at the place of work.

Royal Commission

RECOMMENDATION 13: That consideration be given to setting up a Royal Commission on Policing.

DETAILED REPORT

Scope of the review

Most discussion and academic analysis of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry during the last 10 years has focused on aspects of what the Inquiry's report described as 'institutional racism'.

This review goes wider, to include parts of the Inquiry which were not to do with racism but about basic competence and professionalism. This fits with the terms of reference of the original Inquiry which were not limited to racism. Those terms were:

“To inquire into the matters arising from the death of Stephen Lawrence on 22 April 1993 to date, in order particularly to identify the lessons to be learned in the investigation and prosecution of racially motivated crimes.”

What appears below is a series of discussions on 7 topics where there are not just lessons to be learned, but also where relatively straightforward recommendations can be made to accelerate the momentum for change.

The topics are:

- A. Institutional racism
- B. Recent reports on change
- C. Retention & Progression of Black and Minority Ethnic police officers
- D. Stop and Search disparities
- E. Independent Police Complaints Commission
- F. Emergency Life Support (First Aid)
- G. Education of police officers

By far the largest section is on 'institutional racism'. This is not just because it is an area

of much dispute at present. More seriously, whatever definition is adopted, the effects of it in practice undermine much of the effort to redress its malignant effects.

This discussion on 'institutional racism' attempts to clarify what its effects are, as well as to put the debate into the context of the history which has led Britain to this point. It is hoped that reading this section will help readers to understand the problem better.

The remaining sections of the review will deal directly with changes in the last 10 years.

A. 'Institutional racism'.

Why is there so much argument for and against 'institutional racism'?

In 2003 Mr and Mrs Lawrence were each awarded an OBE. This was richly deserved for many reasons, but especially for their remarkable contribution in educating the public in Britain about 'institutional racism'.

A major difficulty with the concept of 'institutional racism' has been how to define it. In the 1999 Stephen Lawrence report the definition is introduced with "we grapple with the problem...". Then it is defined as:

"The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour, which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people."

Defining such a concept may be difficult. The Inquiry's chapter on Racism is one of the longest of the report. Copious legal, academic, policing and historical material is picked over, going back as far as Stokely Carmichael in the United States in 1967.

For most ordinary citizens the concept is easier to grasp from examples of it in action, than by poring over definitions. Thanks to the way that the Lawrences have with modesty and determination promoted their story, millions of people in Britain do know, regardless of any definition, just what 'institutional racism' did to undermine the police investigation into the murder of their son.

Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) and white people who were over 18 at the time (so knew what was going on), when asked whether the detectives tried hard enough to find the killers, sadly replied "No". When asked what caused the failure, most say "it's

obvious: because the family's Black". That's it: any person who makes that link understands 'institutional racism'.

It is not just people 18 or over in 1993 (the year of the murder) or in 1997-99 (the period of the Inquiry) who understand. For a Youth Forum in December 2008, 60 Londoners aged 14 to 29 were invited.

Of the 45 who came, most were from black families but also from white and Asian. 3 were Muslims, and well over half were women/girls.

Those of the 45 who were 18 last December, were nine when the Lawrence report was launched, and only three when Stephen was murdered. Not surprising then that there was a sprinkling of hands raised by those who felt they needed to know more about the story.

Yet even most of those who did not come from black backgrounds knew the basics of Stephen's story. Amazingly they also knew about the saga of his parents' struggle for justice against an institutional kind of racism ever since.

Of course a Forum on attitudes towards the police is more likely to attract those who are dissatisfied with police. They are also more likely to know about the Stephen Lawrence case than young people happy with the way that they are policed. This is acknowledged in quoting their words in this report.

Educating Britain about 'institutional racism' is a phenomenal achievement, largely due in more recent years to the activities of Mrs Lawrence. However painful it must be for her, she has never let go of the past, while looking forward with her Stephen Lawrence Charitable Trust and its fine, modern educational Centre in South-East London.

Anyone who is looking for a role model of the positive contribution which BME families bring to Britain need look no further than the Stephen Lawrence Trust.

(www.stephenlawrence.org.uk)

It is encouraging to hear young people aware of the Lawrence legacy and with a sophisticated understanding of 'institutional racism'. One young black teenager at the Youth Forum reckons he knows about changes in the last 10 years:

"I was stopped and searched wearing a suit. The police haven't changed, they've merely changed tactics. They used to stop black men in BMWs, now they stop black men in suits."

Many young as well as older people use the words 'institutional racism' as a common tool to describe what they see happening around them. Yet some leaders tell us that

"The concept of 'institutional racism' is no longer helpful".

What's the problem with 'institutional racism'?

Within months of the publication of the Inquiry's report in 1999 the main problem with 'institutional racism' became apparent. If an institution is labelled with 'institutional racism', and if the individuals within it demonstrate no overt racism, then they may just sit back and wait for the institution to change. The danger is obvious: nothing changes.

Better than scrap the idea altogether is to use it as a tool for change. This is done by educating individuals at all levels what 'institutional racism' is, what it does, and what their responsibility is in changing their institution.

'Institution' is an abstract concept. An institution exists in practical reality only as the individuals who work or are otherwise active in it. We should educate individuals to accept their personal responsibility to address their own "unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist

stereotyping". Recognising what it is that "disadvantages BME people" is the first step in reducing those barriers.

Why is leadership important?

It is generally agreed that leadership from the top makes a huge contribution to driving change at middle management. And it is mainly at the level of middle management that the impact of 'institutional racism' is played out.

Leaders of institutions must be shown something they can understand, which they can acknowledge, and which they can sign up to change. What not to do is leave leaders without a definition at all. Until someone comes up with a better definition, then we have to keep 'institutional racism' as a working tool for change.

Leadership from the very top of society was accepted in 1999 by the then Prime Minister and the Home Secretary.

In launching the Stephen Lawrence report in Parliament, Tony Blair said

"The Government have accepted the definition of institutional racism set out in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report and have welcomed the Report's recommendations... The Report is a challenge to all public services, and the Government are committed to a comprehensive agenda to improve race relations."

Many of those who are aware of this lead from the Prime Minister say that they never thought they would hear in their lifetime such a ringing top-level commitment to anti-racism. For some reason, anti-racists have ignored this Prime Ministerial commitment as a tool to silence pundits who deny the need to address racism.

Jack Straw, then Home Secretary, gave a similar lead, but he also drew in the leadership of the Metropolitan Police:

“The House will share my sense of shame that the criminal justice system, and the Metropolitan Police in particular, failed the Lawrence family so badly. The Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, Sir Paul Condon, has asked me to tell the House that he shares that sense of shame. He has also asked me to tell the House that, as head of the Metropolitan Police Service, he fully accepts the findings of the Inquiry, including those relating to him.”

In the Stephen Lawrence as well as in the 2004 NHS David Bennett Inquiries it was clear that any way forward had to be by acknowledgment of 'institutional racism' by the leadership. (Some details of the Bennett Inquiry are given later in this section.)

What is the difference between 'institutional' and 'institutionalised' racism?

Fortunately in this country we do not have institutionalised racism. An institutionalised dogma is one that has been legislated into the laws and structures of society. In Nazi Germany and in apartheid South Africa there were laws which condoned and positively encouraged racist discrimination. These laws also gave a green light to racist abuse, racist attacks and racist murders.

'Institutional racism' is very different from institutionalised racism. For those on the receiving end, 'institutional racism' can feel quite vicious, but nothing like being subject to laws that promote racist attacks.

It is in the exercise of discretion by people with power over others, that 'institutional racism' manifests itself. Continuing disparities in stop and search result from the exercise of discretion of front-line police officers in the use of their power to stop one individual, and ignore another. It is within their discretion to choose who they stop, and we can only hope they do so based on intelligence.

It is precisely because of the scope for abuse of power that Inquiries like the Stephen Lawrence and David Bennett end up with recommendations that will limit the discretion of police officers, or other professionals such as, in the case of the Bennett Inquiry, mental illness nurses.

“The police are always trying to take advantage of their position.”

- Black teenage boy

“Police are sarcastic. This is upsetting and disrespectful. They try to boss you around.”

- Black 17 year old girl

What's happened to Racism? All we hear about are Diversity, Integration and Cohesion. Even Multiculturalism is “dead”.

One important result of the exposure of the “collective failure” of the police in the Stephen Lawrence murder investigation, is that it is no longer acceptable to ignore racist behaviour and racist discrimination in this country. Even the British National Party no longer spouts overtly racist ideology in its material.

However it seems to be even more socially unacceptable now to be caught out discriminating on racist grounds. This in some ways makes it more difficult to address the issue. Without proper education, professionals become timid in dealing with BME or Muslim citizens, because of an unwarranted fear of being accused of racism. The reality is that even intrusive action will not lead to a successful challenge of racism, if carried out “appropriately and professionally”, and with notes made afterwards which include the reasons why the action was taken.

If caught discriminating on grounds of gender, disability or one of the other grounds, you can throw up your hands and admit you got it wrong.

You then pay up, apologise and promise not to do it again. However, if the grounds of discrimination are racism, the implication is that you must therefore be a fascist, and for most people that is quite horrifying. This increased stigma around racism explains why there needs to be a special focus on it within new broad-based institutions such as the Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC).

One of the major changes in the last 10 years has been that racism has in effect gone underground. Overt racism is now acted out only by the fringes of society. Some of the worst manifestations are experienced by British Muslims.

At the same time, use of the word racism has largely disappeared from the political stage. It is only hinted at in programmes called Diversity, Integration, or Community Cohesion. Even the concept of multiculturalism is now blamed for divisions in society, even though the glory of multicultural London still startles travellers on arrival at Paddington or St Pancras stations.

The use of the word 'racism' must be retained, even if its attachment to 'institutional' is rejected or replaced with some other description of what is happening. As Bishop (now Archbishop) John Sentamu in Part 2 of the Lawrence Inquiry, pointed out to Sir Paul Condon, then Metropolitan Police Commissioner, we are all justified in having doubts about the use of the word 'racism'.

“After all, we are all members of one race, the human race!”

He went on to point out, however, that we all know what we mean by racism, and we should not pull back from using the word lest the actions which flow from it be seen to be condoned.

'Systemic bias' is a current alternative being suggested. Immediately, without the word 'racism', it loses the necessary focus on bias (or hate) due to colour of skin. If this

description of 'institutional racism' is too adopted then it must be extended to read 'Systemic bias by racism'.

The Head of Diversity at the Metropolitan Police was recently heard to say that

“There are still about 20% of police officers, who do not understand what institutional racism means”.

That means 80% of police officers do understand what 'institutional racism' means. 10 years ago, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner told the Lawrence Inquiry

“If I acknowledged institutional racism, then my officers and the public would think I was saying that all my officers are racists.”

Clearly at that point, neither he, nor in his estimation all 50,000 of his officers, had any understanding of 'institutional racism'. If the current Head of Diversity at the Metropolitan Police reckons that 80% of its police officers understand 'institutional racism', then the idea has gained a huge amount of ground. It does seem to be a bit silly to change the wording, and to start all over again learning what a new set of words means.

It is worth noting another point made to Sir Paul Condon, this time by Sir William Macpherson. He went to considerable lengths to reassure Sir Paul that recognizing that if an institution is 'institutionally racist' in the way it operates, that does *not* mean that everyone within that institution is a racist.

Where change has been made, how did it happen?

It is disturbing to see how the discourse around the Lawrence Inquiry legacy has descended largely into a divisive “We've made a lot of change, everything is much better” on one side; countered by “Oh no you haven't”. This leads to “Oh yes we have”, and so on. One thing that is missing is

almost any analysis of *how* change for the better is made.

This review has sought examples of verified change, then visited them and listened to those who made the change. This then provides solid pathways to change which can be replicated elsewhere. These in turn form the bases of relevant recommendations.

Looking back over the last 10 years, policing was very different from today. It certainly looked much less professional then than it is now. In 1999 policing was seen by many senior and junior officers as a straightforward 'job', entirely to do with going out to collect evidence, arrest suspects, and clear up crime.

In this 'job' there was little time or will to build relationships with the public. In fact, one Detective Inspector, reflecting on what he saw going on around him in 1998, remarked that

"Policing is a bit like the 'hunter/prey syndrome'. We in the station are the hunters, and you out there are the prey."

Police thinking in the wake of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry moved fast to shatter that insulated isolation. Winning trust by going out to meet people, rather than just doing the 'job', has become a tactic adopted at all levels of policing.

In London, Bristol and Birmingham examples were found where police have made great strides in breaking down barriers between them and minority communities, as well as with young people, white, black and Asian.

School liaison officers are clearly welcomed by pupils. The young participants in our Youth Forum had views on this:

"More involvement in schools would help."

"Some of them are trying, like PCs in

schools and youth clubs"

"It helps when they turn up at bus stops after incidents in our schools, but they need to be on the buses as well!"

One other most frequent suggestion for police was that they should be prepared to 'smile back.'

"Why won't they smile back at me? How can they be fair, when they can't even relate to me?"

"They should develop communication skills."

One of the most frequent practical suggestions was

"They should come and help in parks".

This is precisely what was done by Mr Coughlan, the OCU (Operational Command Unit) commander in Alum Rock, Birmingham. He told us about a park where there were 20 call-outs to the police every weekend. He got his officers to get out of their uniforms and roll up their sleeves to clean up the parks alongside the young people who use it. Some of the officers muttered at first about this:

"This isn't policing. We're not social workers... What are we doing here, scraping chewing gum off the paving stones, and painting walls?"

But a week later they had not just had a good time. They felt that they had established real relationships with the young people, who in turn surprised themselves by reporting how much they valued the time spent with police officers.

Call-outs to that park in Alum Rock are now zero over most weekends, or at the most one. That makes a serious business case for this sort of community engagement.

New Independent Advisory Groups (IAG) or Operating Advisory Groups (OAG) has created a radical change in the attitudes of those officers who work with them.

Members come to IAGs from all minorities: BME, gay and lesbian, disability advocates, travelers, faith groups, and many others

There is probably few Borough or Operational Command Units that do not have an Independent or Operational Advisory Group. This review has not been able to verify how widespread the Groups are, but it is likely that all Constabularies have at least a central IAG, working closely with the top level executive policing group.

In Alum Rock in Birmingham there is a great degree of trust and co-operation between the OAG and its OCU. Prior to the terrorist arrests of 2008 the OCU Commander shared with his OAG colleagues highly sensitive information on who was about to be arrested and where, with a significant benefit to the arrest operation.

This degree of trust and community liaison may well be unusual even compared to the rest of the West Midlands. The IAGs contacted by this review in London all report that this level of sharing operational information is almost unheard of.

There is little doubt that a lot of time is given by senior officers to IAG/OAGs. Where this has been accompanied by genuine sharing of information and responsibility it has paid off in business terms. Senior officers become much more aware of which of their actions are likely to cause community dissatisfaction. This then allows them to act in ways that respond to local sensitivities. The likelihood of riots is probably reduced as a result.

Communities, especially BME communities, become more trustful of their local police so are more prepared to come forward to report crime and act as witnesses. This will have a

positive effect on clear-up rates, much to everyone's benefit.

Joint working with the BME members of IAG/OAGs breaks down barriers between community and the police. Negative stereotypes on both sides melt away.

Successful integration of IAG's and OAG's transforms day-to-day policing, resulting in a much more "appropriate and professional" service.

Other tactics for engaging with communities include 'Citizen Focus Gold Groups'.

Neighbourhood policing has become a reality, with police officers and Police Community Support Officers (PCSO) in constant contact with neighbourhood panels, and with citizens going about their business. It is hoped that more new ways of connecting police with their communities will be developed in the coming years.

It is also good to hear that the 'duty pool' system of collecting detectives from different boroughs into investigative teams, which was so damaging in 1993, is no more. Dedicated Homicide Response Teams must be a better way of organising the teamwork which is so important in detective work.

Improved Family Liaison has been a constant theme heard throughout this review.

A whole new policy and practice has grown up to deal with Hate Crimes. This brings together the best practice developed not just on Race Hate crimes, but uses the lessons from combating violence against women, people with disabilities, homosexuality and other forms of hate crime.

Who is it who has to change if racism is to be minimised?

'Racism' is used in this country mostly to describe actions by white people who have a negative impact on BME people.

Of course there is occasional racism by black and other minorities on white people, and black people 'playing the race card' is not exactly helpful. Four of the young people at the Youth Forum were critical of the way some of their friends react to being stopped by police:

"Some young people are too quick to react back".

Others "play the race card". "We can't keep hiding behind the race card."

"They [young people] complain that the police are cold and don't smile, but they're not willing to smile or be polite themselves".

However the reality is that 91% of people in this country are white and the remaining 9% are black, Asian or other minority groups. The vast bulk of racism in this country is white on black. It is this which has to be addressed.

With increased recognition that racism in any form is unacceptable, has come increased sophistication in understanding how it can block Recruitment, Retention and Promotion of BME people. Increasing numbers have reached, and some occasionally broken through, the 'glass ceiling' so familiar to the feminist movement.

Seeing a handful of BME people at the top of society has led to a tendency to expect racism to be 'cured' by Britain's BME citizens themselves, without examination of white societal structures.

Racism is not in the heads of BME people, just as Islamophobia and anti-semitism are not in the heads of Muslims or Jews.

There is not much that BME people can do to change the racism exhibited by white people, any more than Muslims can do much to change the Islamophobia of non-Muslims, or Jews the anti-semitism of non-Jews.

The people who have to change are those outside who hold prejudices and stereotypes in their heads which lead them "unwittingly" or to be frank, 'wittingly' to disadvantage people from these communities.

Is there a link between Racism and power?

One per cent of NHS chief executives were reported recently to come from a BME background. Out of 600 chief executives that makes six BME people. The other 594 are presumably all white. The current proportion of the general population who are from BME backgrounds is nine in 100. Yet Among those who control the NHS it is only one in 100.

Search in the annual reports of the major private companies in this country for the photograph of their board of directors. Almost without exception, they are made up of a dozen or so white men, with an occasional sprinkling of white women, usually as non-executive directors. These people control most of the wealth of the country.

Of the 24 members of Gordon Brown's Cabinet (as of February 2009) there is not a single black or Asian face. 10 other Ministers attend Cabinet meetings, one of whom is Baroness Scotland, so that makes one black person out of 34 present.

In Britain, the vast majority of power is wielded by middle-aged, middle-class white men – like Dr Stone.

It is hard to expect people, especially powerful men, to give up some of their power. However, that is actually what white men (and some women) have to do.

There is little or no discussion or academic analysis on the role of white men and power

in the struggle against racism. Maybe that is because discussion that gets reported is between white men and white men. And it is also mainly white men who decide what academic studies get funded.

Positive action and positive discrimination – what's the difference?

If we act professionally in the way we appoint people to jobs, then we mentor people from BME backgrounds and enable them to get extra training and extra experience to overcome whatever disadvantages they may have been subject to. The aim is that they should then be able to compete on equal terms with people from more advantaged backgrounds.

This is called 'positive action'. It is not 'positive discrimination', which means selecting people who may or may not be good enough for the job, but solely because they come from a BME background, and will fulfill a target for employing BME staff. To appoint for those reasons is illegal in this country. It is also wrong.

A senior BME police officer has come to the conclusion that 'positive action' has become perverted into blaming BME staff for needing such action.

“There's a wilful dodging of the issue. All we're asking for is recognition of the disadvantage we've had all along the line, and appropriate measures to compensate for it, so that we can compete on a level playing field.”

'Positive action' can confront a white man with a difficult conflict of conscience. When the top job comes up to which he feels he is entitled, he may find that it goes to one of the BME people he had been supporting. It is understandable for him to get fed up with addressing 'institutional racism' in employment.

Despite understandable resentment, that has to be what we do ask of white men. It's not because of being wedded to some useless, unpleasant dogma.

For a start, the moral case for equality of opportunity has become an integral part of a modern civilised society. Equality and freedom from discrimination is also a Human Right according to current British laws.

But there is also a strong business case for 'positive action' and equality of opportunity. This applies not just to private businesses but also to the major institutions in this country, including police forces.

The senior BME officer quoted above suggested following the Northern Ireland police model. With no Roman Catholics in the Northern Ireland police at the beginning of the Peace Process, a quota was set for a minimum number of Catholics to be recruited to the exclusion of Protestants. Only when that quota had been reached would equality of opportunity return to normal. It seems there was no resistance to this and it went ahead without any legal challenge even though it does appear to breach laws on equality.

Exploration of this idea in relation to persistent under-representation of BME police in mainland UK police services, could possibly bring a resolution of the current damaging crisis between BME officers and their employers.

Are Black & Minority Ethnic people up to the job?

There are good and bad in all communities, white and BME. Some people are up to high level jobs, some are not. Individuals who have met, worked with or been advised by highly talented, bright young British Muslims or young BME Britons, cannot but be impressed and excited by their potential for building a strong Britain in the future. The problem has to be to prevent them

emigrating to Canada, which many see as less inhibiting of their progress.

We are now into second and third generation of these families, many of whom first came to this country 30, 20 or even only 10 years ago. Their offspring are often British-born and/or British educated. They have confronted and dealt with discrimination at primary school; secondary school; college; university; and at work.

By the time they get to the glass ceiling of middle level promotion they will have developed anti-discrimination talents unfamiliar to the sons and daughters of longer settled white families.

They will have had to develop extra skills based on challenging discrimination. Talents born of overcoming these challenges often lead to extraordinary extra skills in lateral thinking and innovation.

Police Services and businesses ignore at their peril these highly talented, lateral thinking, educated young people.

Granted some slip off the ladder on the way. Those that stay on regardless are able to contribute to an imaginative dynamic future for Britain. Boardrooms which are full of wealthy, less dynamic, middle-aged white men are likely to lead their institutions and companies into bankruptcy and oblivion.

In many ways, we have foolishly ignored the damaging effect on talented BME women and men of seeing opportunities go to less qualified, less experienced, and less talented people. This can only lead to frustration and anger, and ultimately the sort of divisions we have seen recently at the top of the Metropolitan Police service. People cannot be expected to take these humiliations and disappointments lying down.

Even the most laid-back will in the end take action, leaving their employers to face expensive and unnecessary payouts at the end of noisy employment tribunals.

Can we please have a couple of simple examples of 'institutional racism' in action?

FIRST EXAMPLE

The first step in promotion for a police officer is an initial supervisor's interview. There are no rules for this assessment. It is in the discretion of the supervisor whether permission is given to submit a promotion application form. The decision by the supervisor is entirely subjective. There is no formal appeal. All that a rejected officer can do is to initiate a formal grievance, and later perhaps apply to an employment tribunal. Both types of redress are very stressful, and seen as oppositional by the employer. Both are intimidating processes.

Some BME officers, when speaking off the record, give credit to helpful supervisors who act "appropriately and professionally". Others confess that they prefer not to apply for promotion at all, rather than put themselves through such an arbitrary process where they are likely to be humiliated.

Those that are prepared to brace themselves for bias in a supervisor's interview, will only do so if they feel they can justify promotion and specialist development by having significantly more qualifications and more experience than their white counterparts.

Even then they sense they may be passed over, especially if this is not be the first time they have seen white officers with lesser quality CVs leap-frog them.

"If your face doesn't fit, you won't get promotion."

We must not waste the extra talents and extra capabilities of high calibre Britons just because they come from BME backgrounds. It will cost us all a brighter future.

Requirement for permission to apply for promotion from a supervisor, over whose decision there is no accountability, is unfair and wrong. It could well be also in breach of the duty to promote race equality.

Police officers at all levels should be entitled to apply for promotion without having to gain this arbitrary permission. Supervisors still of course have a role because of the need for a reference from the current line manager.

RECOMMENDATION: That permission from a supervisor should be removed as a requirement before police officers and staff can apply for promotion

SECOND EXAMPLE

The EHRC report raises concern about the disproportionate amount of DNA samples taken from black men and put on the police DNA database. It argues that no one did any thinking about the race equality impact of this. There is not even a breakdown of the data by ethnicity.

It seems almost wilful that the architects of this database could set up such a system without any breakdown of data by ethnicity. Inevitably stories are building up about the disproportionality of the DNA of black people being collected much more often than a white people. Senior police management seem to have been walking blindfold into yet another race row.

Only a police management group made up entirely of white individuals could be so 'colour-blind'. It would be like asking a group of men to set up a medical screening unit for women. Without at least one woman in the group, the system would be bound to get it wrong when it comes respecting the sensitivities of women.

If the group was indeed all white, then it could all too easily not occur to the group setting up the DNA database even to think that there might be a BME impact.

No one individual in the management group needs to have a crumb of racism in his/her thoughts or deeds. The impact of being isolated from the experience of BME communities leads all-white groups to operate in a way that turns out to be racist. The term 'institutional racism' is as good as any other in describing the outcome.

A great source of the strength of the Stephen Lawrence and David Bennett Inquiries was that the experience of racism was constantly in the ear of the judges. Both Inquiries had panel members from BME backgrounds: Bishop John Sentamu talking over every decision as an equal with Sir William Macpherson; and Professors David Sallah and Sashi Sashidharan talking over every conclusion as equals with Sir John Blofeld on Bennett Inquiry.

Dr Stone was also on the panels of both of these Inquiries, but as he puts it:

"No matter that I have been working for years with Black and Asian communities, I can only talk about racism by proxy. There can be no substitute for the personal experience."

With large BME populations in the inner cities, all management groups must reflect the population they serve, or these sorts of stupid mistakes will continue to undermine the authority of the police and other institutions.

Where do all these problems come from?

Deeply embedded in our culture is a dislike verging on demonisation towards migrants from abroad. It was to meet this negativity that the Museum of London published in 1994 'The Peopling of London', and in 1997 the CRE published 'Roots of the Future'.

These two volumes tracked, with copious pictures, the contributions of waves of migrants from Roman times onwards. As part of acknowledging the 10th anniversary of

the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry it could make a lot of sense to bring them up to date and get them on a website, and even republished in new editions.

When Britons were migrants colonising other countries during the days of Empire, that was seen as virtuous. It was 'us' contributing to 'them' the benefits of 'our' civilisation.

In the last 30 years we have seen a reverse colonisation of people mainly from the former colonies. 'They' are now contributing to 'us'. This country has for centuries benefited from the contributions of immigrants, and especially of their talented offspring, born and educated here. Huguenots, Jews and now Bangladeshis have come in through the London docks, and all are now major contributors to British society and commerce.

It is surely time to stop blaming immigrants for the ills, divisions and denials which we have created ourselves. Rather we should be looking out for the extra talents which immigrants and their offspring bring to Britain, and making sure that we use them well.

10 years on, it is also time to see the eradication of disparities in Recruitment, Retention and Progression of BME police officers and civilian staff, and also of disparities in Stop and Search.

Surely racism isn't so very deep in our culture?

Frequently in the last 10 years, the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry agenda seemed to be sinking, only to be revitalised by shocking news stories, or by TV programmes like the 'Secret Policeman'. Each time the story is refreshed it stimulates more acceptance of the need to address inequalities. We must use this 10th anniversary wisely to harness the goodwill in this country towards migrants and towards the excluded.

The Government have rightly legislated to join together anti-racism with anti-discrimination of five other kinds, combined with Human Rights. However, setting up the Equalities & Human Rights Commission must not lead to racism slipping down the agenda in a kind of competition with the other discriminations.

Anti-black and anti-Asian racism have fairly obvious roots in slavery and colonialism. With the addition of a new Islamophobia, those roots extend even further back to the Crusades. With such deep roots, is it surprising to see denial operating everywhere?

It is impossible to deal effectively with casual 'institutional racism' without examining these deep historical roots. Colonialism, slavery and the Crusades have been taught almost entirely from the viewpoint of the colonists, slave-owners and Crusaders.

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry recognised the need for a new look at education by its Recommendation 67:

“that consideration be given to amendment of the National Curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order better to reflect the needs of a diverse society”.

Much of this recommendation is now covered in Key Stage 3 History under “Understanding Slavery”, unit 14 on the British Empire and unit 15 on Black Peoples of America. However, the broadness of the recommendation means that this could be done better, more effectively, and across subject areas.

Participation of Black and Minority Ethnic people in public life

The Lawrence Recommendation 7 includes:

“that membership of police authorities reflects so far as possible the cultural and ethnic mix of the communities which those authorities serve”.

Recommendations 64 - 66 address BME representation in the workplace.

This is because a reflective workforce is more likely to be able to identify and meet appropriately the service-delivery needs of the diverse communities it serves.

The logic behind these Recommendations is clear. People best suited to promote the views and interests of BME people within our “public authorities and public life”, are, rather obviously, people from those communities. Reflective public authority membership will add value to the purpose of creating reflective work forces.

In a similar vein, the Disability Discrimination Act 2005 created a duty on statutory bodies to “encourage participation by disabled persons in public life”.

The Code of Practice of the Disability Rights Commission (now merged into the EHRC) states that

“public authorities will have to have due regard to encouraging participation in public life, not only by, for example, encouraging disabled people to stand for particular forums, but also by ensuring that the framework is in place for them to successfully participate in the selection process, and in the work of the forum”.

The purpose of these measures in regard to Disability is to ensure that disabled people are provided with opportunities to represent their needs in the delivery of public services. This model seems entirely appropriate to representation of BME people in public services as well.

RECOMMENDATION: that Public authorities be required in their Race Equality schemes, to encourage the participation of Black and Minority Ethnic people in public life, by demonstrating in their Equality schemes compliance with new targets set by government.

Recommendations 48 - 54 of the Lawrence Inquiry address racism awareness and valuing cultural diversity, not just within the police service but in other parts of the Criminal Justice system and in local government.

Specifically, Recommendation 51 promotes

“joint training with members of other organisations or professions otherwise than on police premises”.

There has been progress on this within police services but it does not appear to have been developed across the range of public authorities.

RECOMMENDATION: that public authorities, including higher education institutions which provide services to common geographic areas, collaborate on the design and delivery of race equality training for all employees, in order that all staff receive training to a common standard and the training is delivered to meet local demographic requirements. This collaboration to be monitored as part of the Race Equality schemes of all the public authorities involved.

How is change made?

This independent review would have wasted the opportunity of the 10th anniversary if it had merely repeated work done examining what has and what has not been achieved. Most of that analysis can be found in the many reports produced by police, government agencies, Her Majesty's

Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), and independents such as the Runnymede trust.

Although some comments are made below on the two most recent reports (EHRC and Runnymede, both in 2009), it is the future that has been the focus of this review's thinking and effort.

In order to discover how change is made, examples were sought from which lessons could be learned. Six different methods were found. An example of each is given here:

* **Leadership from the top.** - sustained leadership to combat 'institutional racism'

Example : Crown Prosecution Service

* **Stop talking. Do it!** - dealing with 'institutional racism', as part of improving professionalism

Example: Alum Rock OCU, Birmingham

* **Using legislation to drive change.**

Example: Impact on the Ordnance Survey of the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000)

* **Adoption of 'positive action'**

Example: Police recruitment of BME officers

* **Teach people to think.** - Education as a way to improve thinking power

Example: Plan for education to degree level for all officers

* **A Royal commission on policing.**

Each of these methods need a few paragraphs of explanation.

* **Leadership from the top.** - sustained leadership to combat 'institutional racism'

Example : Crown Prosecution Service

It is generally agreed that the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) has changed dramatically in the last 10 years, even though it was not specifically named by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry as 'institutionally racist'.

Before that it was seen as something of an ivory tower whose prosecutors would do almost anything to avoid contamination by talking with any members of the public, especially victims of crime or their families.

Although this is somewhat of a caricature, the description of a self-isolating group of lawyers is not far from the truth.

The change apparently started in 1999 with Sir David Calvert-Smith, then Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), a post which carries with it being the head of the CPS.

"His acknowledgment of institutional racism was a powerful galvanising effect. It was a rallying point for people to take action."

The senior CPS official who made that remark, was then asked "why did it happen here and not elsewhere?" He replied that it was because of a series of troubling tribunal cases, coupled with unsatisfactory responses to some Deaths in Custody.

It was Sir David who recognised that the CPS must get more actively involved with cases of racist incidents, perhaps because of criticisms of its handling of them by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. The Lawrence Inquiry was also sharply critical of the lack of engagement by the CPS with the families of victims in cases discontinued, due usually to lack of evidence.

The CPS is also fortunate that Sir Ken MacDonald, the successor to Sir David, was equally committed to the change, and the current new DPP is in the same mould.

As a result of the demand for change coming from the DPPs, CPS officials began to focus not just on processes, but on outcomes as performance and business issues. There was also a determination to achieve more successful outcomes in racist crimes.

The CPS was embarrassed in 1999 that there were no Chief Prosecutors from BME backgrounds. They were fortunate that there were likely candidates among existing prosecutors, and they were able to attract in barristers from outside. There are now six BME Chief Prosecutors out of 42. There is still some embarrassment: the Headquarters Executive board is entirely white.

Equalities have been built in to all service and employment structures. Performance on equalities is linked to pay appraisals.

The CPS now actually goes out into the community. 10 years ago, no CPS staff met with anyone in the community: that was the role of the police. They now have 'community informed policy-making', working alongside 'community stakeholders'.

42 area hate crime Scrutiny Panels have been set up, with community representatives sitting alongside CPS staff. These panels review in depth 7 random cases every two months during a whole day meeting. Lessons learned from those that are handled well, and those less so, are taken back to CPS staff.

Most important of all has been the willingness of the DPPs to give "sustained leadership", and their preparedness to stand up and restate their commitment in public.

How to use 'headhunters'

There was one small nugget of information that came out of discussions with the CPS.

Organisations which use 'headhunters' in seeking applicants for senior posts may be unable to appoint anyone from a BME background because the shortlist produced by a commercial firm has no applicants from BME backgrounds.

One answer appears to do the advertising and short listing yourself. Alternatively give very specific and careful guidelines to the headhunters, to ensure that people from BME background see this job is relevant to them. In addition, the screening programme that the headhunters will use must include appropriate questions about race awareness.

*** Educating and persuading to 'positive action'**

Example: Police recruitment of BME officers (retention and progression are more problematic)

Both the EHRC and the Runnymede trust found evidence of major improvements in police recruitment of BME staff and officers.

For 'all staff' the target of 7% set by the Home Secretary in 1999 has been exceeded. The figure for 2007 was 8% from BME backgrounds.

This overall figure includes PCSOs and Special Constables where the figures in 2007 were 12% and 8% respectively. This leaves only 4% for police officers, yet it was for officers alone that the original target was set. This is an improvement on the 2.5% in 1999 but such a small 1.5% increase demonstrates a likely combination of the difficulty police services have in presenting themselves as good employers, and persistent negative perceptions within the BME public.

Police services have made great efforts to improve relationships with BME communities in their areas.

IAGs have transformed the thinking and attitudes of many of those officers who work with them.

All police services now have programmes which take officers into schools, and these have been very successful, especially when BME officers are involved.

Black Police Associations and the Association of Muslim Police Officers have had their own mentoring schemes, and charitable projects working with potential young offenders. Many of these have been funded by their employing Police Services.

All of this can be seen to be partly driven by the need for 'positive action' in achieving targets set for BME recruitment and have undoubtedly had an impact.

At the same time, it has to be recognised that much of the painstaking, time-consuming, successful outcomes linking police services with the BME communities can be totally undone by one bad case. It only takes one Stop of a young black man or boy in circumstances which suggest that he has been “stopped while being black” to undermine the years of efforts to improve relations.

The innovation of the semi-police officer rank of PCSO has a major impact. It may have been driven in part by the need to increase numbers of police on the streets without an overwhelming cost. However, whatever the financial drive, the public have welcomed their presence on the streets, and the job satisfaction of PCSOs is considerable.

PCSOs have proved to be a valuable contribution to Neighbourhood policing, and have undoubtedly helped in improving responses to hate crime.

The PCSO role has proved acceptable to people from BME backgrounds, as the

figures of PCSO recruitment show. The result is an increase in the likelihood of the first point of BME contact with police being with someone from a similar background.

However there remains a stubborn resistance to taking the final step of joining the police service as full-blown recruits.

Discussion on whether BME PCSOs are likely to move on to become constables, and whether or not they should be encouraged to do so, is discussed in the section below on Retention and Progression of police officers.

Cynics may criticise the PCSO experiment as introducing cheap second-class uniformed amateurs on to the streets. There is of course an element of truth in this criticism but there have been definite benefits which should not be dismissed out of hand. The authorities should listen to the arguments for limiting the powers of the PCSO and ensuring proper regulation and accountability.

All of this activity can be seen as 'positive action', which has increased the overall BME numbers employed by police services.

*** Legislation can make change happen.**

Example: Impact on the Ordnance Survey of the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000)

The Ordnance survey may seem a rather surprising choice for an example of legislation driving change in the area of racism. However, though way outside discussions on the police, this example demonstrates how legislation can drive change in “processes, attitudes and behaviour”.

In 2007 the Ordnance Survey recognised that it had to respond to the new Equalities and Human Rights legislation.

“But what have Equalities got to do with what we do? We make maps, for heaven’s sake!”

The agency has a good track record on employment of women, people with disabilities are people from BME communities.

Having appointed a consultant to help them produce an Equalities Scheme, the agency was confronted with unexpected weaknesses in their delivery of maps. Their maps gave no indication of places of worship other than churches. Neither did their maps give people with disabilities any indication of where they may face barriers or other obstacles.

The legal duty to promote equalities led them to examine their service-delivery inequalities, which had not before figured in their thinking.

A year later they have produced an Equalities Scheme according to the Act. They have yet to make changes in their maps, but they have set themselves targets to do so.

It is too early yet to ask for evidence of improvement, but this is an interesting lesson in the importance of legislation in driving change.

It is generally recognised that leadership from the top is vital to drive change, and this example demonstrates that Parliament can provide that leadership, driven in turn by the Government of the day.

This example also justifies those who have argued for racism to be treated together with other forms of discrimination. Once a step has been made to address one kind of discrimination that can begin a change of attitude towards other forms of discrimination. In this case, people working in an institution who thought they were compliant with the duty to promote equalities, because their employment practices did promote equality, were led by

their statutory duty to find unexpected weaknesses in their service-delivery to minority communities. These are now being dealt with appropriately and professionally.

*** Stop talking. Do it!** - dealing with 'institutional racism', as part of improving professionalism

Example: Alum Rock OCU, Birmingham.

We have met an impressive number of middle ranking police officers and civilian staff who have familiarised themselves with the Stephen Lawrence agenda; seen the need for change, then just got on and changed their own “processes, practices and behaviour”. They then led their junior officers to do the same.

The outcomes on many professional indicators improved, and not just in measurements of trust and confidence of BME communities. Reporting of racist incidents have improved, and so has reporting and clear-up rates of crime.

The clearest example of this self-motivating drive was that of Chief Superintendent Tom Coughlan.

Mr Coughlan was appointed in 2005 to be Commander of the Operational Command Unit (OCU) in Alum Rock, Aston, Birmingham. By October 2008 he had received a Race Equality award at a ceremony in London. What he did to deserve this is written up in full in Appendix 3.

Mr Coughlan moved to Alum Rock from neighbouring Handsworth OCU, where there had been high profile arrests under the Terrorism Act in 2005 and 2007. These had sparked unrest in the local Muslim communities, which troubled him.

He saw the need to build a new relationship of respect between police and local communities, and vice versa.

We described above how Mr Coughlan set up his officers to work with local young people in cleaning up the crime-ridden park, which resulted in unpicking of negative stereotypes on both sides.

Three years later his success was verified by two outcomes.

The first is to do with the arrests of two suspected terrorists in Alum Rock in 2008. When he took over in 2005 he set up an independent Operational Advisory Group (OAG). He promised its members that he would listen to and act on their advice. If for any reason he couldn't, he would explain to them why not.

In the case of the 2008 arrests, the OAG advised him not to go in with the usual heavy-handed dawn raids, evacuation of homes and armed police. OAG members knew the families concerned. The OAG advised the police just to stand outside the front doors of the houses and arrest the men as they went off to work in the morning.

That is exactly what happened. There was no fuss. No community anger. There was no media frenzy because there had been no violence. All that people locally and nationally heard about it, was that "two arrests have been made". And that was that.

Secondly, because this was an area where suspected terrorists lived, numbers of Stops and Search had to be increased. Local people then saw successful arrests in which tactics were "appropriate and professional", and clearly based on intelligence collected with the help of the local community. As a result 'trust and confidence' went up, not down.

This was not part of an agenda given to Mr Coughlan by his Chief Constable.

"My Chief Constable gives his Commanders wide ranging responsibility to do what they feel is necessary in their OCU's. I wanted my officers to act professionally and I made sure they did".

Nor was it because of some legislative duty, such as to promote Race Equality.

"It was just obvious that there had to be a better way to work with my community. I told them I'd listen to them and act on their advice. They saw my officers working alongside the community and not just coming in when there's a crisis. It was my job to make those things happen, and they did."

Meeting with some of Mr Coughlan's team, their job satisfaction had clearly increased as a result of being involved in his changes. OAG members were equally enthusiastic. There was an obvious warmth in the relations between the police officers and the OAG committee members.

If Mr Coughlan can do it, so can everyone else. He didn't need a definition of 'institutional racism'. He just used his intelligence, his experience and qualifications in a thoroughly appropriate and professional way. This is exactly what the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry asked for: "appropriate and professional" policing.

What if the top leader is Black? Does that change things?

Constructive changes on tackling 'institutional racism' have been led from the top at the Kent police service whose Chief Constable is Michael Fuller, the only black Chief Constable in Britain.

Mr Fuller took on a senior manager from the Commission for Racial Equality to be his Diversity Manager.

Anywhere else this would have been expected to be a post within the Human Resources Department. In Kent he was put in the Area Operational section, right at the heart of governance of the service, and answerable directly to the deputy Chief Constable. His pay as a civilian official was

equivalent to a chief inspector, which, in his words “is high enough for influence”.

The Diversity Manager considers the biggest change since he came there has been

“mainstreaming of diversity by adopting the Equality standard for local government.”

By 2008 Kent had achieved standard level 1. It anticipated progressing to level 2 by the end of the year and to level 3 by the end of 2009. Level 4 is the top level. However new Police Equality standards are coming in during 2009 so they will switch to that, expecting to come in well beyond level 1.

Kent have developed a network of community race advisers, paid £300 per half day. The pay is important because it sends out a signal that the advice given is good enough to justify police managers finding a budget for it. It also shows respect for those race advisers.

Because it is paid advice then value must be demonstrated in auditing systems. This means that there is no danger of the advisers getting fed up because they feel that their efforts are merely tokenistic.

Working with Christchurch College in Kent, Kent police officers are offered time off for part-time study towards a BSc in policing, similar to that offered by Portsmouth University.

There was a rare discussion in Kent on recommendation 57 of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. The recommendation reads:

“ that the police services should, through the implementation of a Code of Conduct or otherwise, ensure that racist words or acts proved to have been spoken or done by police officers should lead to disciplinary proceedings, and that it

should be understood that such conduct should usually merit dismissal.”

This is a recommendation which has not come up in discussions with any other police services. Kent are proud that they have made dismissals for “racist words or acts” in the last 10 years.

More time in Kent could have revealed more good practice. There was an enthusiasm in BME and white officers alike in talking about the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. We found no hint of the defensiveness common elsewhere in answers to questions about the Inquiry

It is clear that all the officers spoken with admired the stance of their Chief Constable, and he has their full backing.

It is obvious too that Mr Fuller is very committed to tackling racism. This is not surprising in a man who has had personal experience of racism. It is not necessary to ask from where his motivation comes, as it is when talking with Mr Coughlan. It would be nice if Mr Coughlan's activities were not worth remarking on, nor be worthy of an award. If all Borough Commanders acted as professionally as he has done to transform the quality of policing in their Command Units, then racism would no longer be an issue and another review 10 years from now will not be needed.

This wholehearted commitment by officers and staff in Kent to a leader who is wholehearted in addressing racism felt very similar to the commitment felt in Alum Rock in Birmingham. There Tom Coughlan has led by example and carried his officers with him. In Kent, as in Alum Rock, staff have welcomed the breath of fresh air that true leadership brings with it. Anyone who might suggest that the success in addressing 'institutional racism' in Kent is just because the Chief Constable is black, is proved wrong in Alum Rock where the Commander is white.

All that is needed is a commitment to thinking about issues and a will to change for the better.

Teach people to think. - Education as a way to improve thinking power

Example : Plan for education to degree level for all police officers

At a recent conference organised by the Freud Museum on 'psychoanalysis, fascism and extremism', Professor David Bell was asked

"With all your understanding of how the German people succumbed to the Nazi regime, can you tell us how to prevent such things happening again?"

It took him quite a while to come up with an answer. He felt that the answer was "thought". By this he meant developing the capacity for people to think, and more importantly to think for themselves about what is right and what is wrong.

Certainly training people to develop the capacity to think is a good start, although that does not necessarily give them the courage to challenge frightening regimes like the National Socialists in Germany.

It is hard to know just how to train people to think in this way, but one recognised route is through study. This is particularly relevant for Britain's police services which are still basically an apprenticeship scheme. Entrants have low educational qualifications, but they do receive a lot of training, particularly if they are going to go for promotion.

For police officers to act 'appropriately and professionally', they must do so by imaginative analysis of facts and evidence. They also need to be open to the sensitivities of victims, victims' families, witnesses, and of the communities in which a crime took place.

This degree of analysis and sensitivity is doubly important when professionals' work involves contact with people from different backgrounds from themselves.

Imaginative analysis and sensitivity in relationships are not characteristics commonly found in militaristic hierarchies, yet they are vital in understanding what 'institutional racism' means, and also what is the 'appropriate and professional' response to it.

If the aim is for a thoroughly professional police service for the next 20 or 30 years, the nettle has to be grasped that it is time for policing to follow the example of the nursing profession, and aim for all officers to study towards a university or college degree.

It is surely time to make it mandatory for police officers to have a College or a university degree, or equivalent, before being considered fully qualified as Her Majesty's constable.

The idea of further education for all police officers will be explored further, in a separate section towards the end of this review.

If change can occur without leaders talking about 'Institutional racism', doesn't that suggest that we can manage without it?

Mr Coughlan does not talk of addressing 'institutional racism' as a driver of the changes he has made. Nor, as far as we know, has the head of the Ordnance Survey acknowledged 'institutional racism' in order to put Muslim and other places of worship into its maps.

There is no contradiction in supporting continued use of 'institutional racism', and the absence of its use in those two examples. There are clearly many techniques which work. In every case it is necessary to work out which is the most appropriate to the circumstances and the individuals involved.

If we just focus on improving professionalism, doesn't that include tackling 'institutional racism'?

There is a link between professionalism and 'institutional racism'. Aren't we all proud of our professionalism in whatever field we work? Tom Cook was the senior police officer who was on the panel of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. He remarked that, "a racist officer is an incompetent officer". That precisely makes the link.

The Inspector who turned up at the scene of the murder of Stephen Lawrence with 40 police officers, wrongly briefed them about a fight between two young black boys. There had been no evidence of a fight between two black boys. Having heard that two black boys were involved he assumed that they had been fighting each other. He therefore sent his officers off looking for the wrong evidence. Then he took his sergeant in the opposite direction away from the scene, to a local pub to ask people if they had noticed any evidence of a fight.

If he had relied on correct professional procedures instead of his own personal prejudices, he would have stopped to ask the Police Constable at the scene if she knew anything about the incident.

She had actually been told by Duwayne Brooks, Stephen's friend, that five white youths attacked Stephen with what looked to him like an iron bar, and then ran off up Dixon Road.

In technical terms the Inspector had acted on 'racist stereotyping' and this lost the vital opportunity of pursuing the murderers up Dixon Road.

It is hard to imagine a more remarkable example of professional incompetence, fuelled by 'institutional racism'. The Inspector was roundly condemned by the Police Complaints Authority and two years later by Sir William Macpherson.

10 years have passed since the defining moment of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report. It is disturbing still to be hearing that

"If my officers are to understand it, the concept of 'institutional racism' has to be made more simple 'or' to be explained in more simple terms".

Police trainers have had time enough to get to grips with the definition, if they want to.

The current debates for and against the concept of 'institutional racism' are felt as important to those involved on each side. Comfort can be gleaned from the comment of a trainer who told this review:

"I have done a lot of work with police, and with college students. I very rarely come across any of these arcane debates!"

RECOMMENDATION: That the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry's definition of 'institutional racism' be reaffirmed by Government Ministers and leaders of institutions tasked with addressing racism, in terms similar to those stated by the Prime Minister in Parliament in 1999.

RECOMMENDATION: That individuals working in institutions be educated to recognise their personal responsibilities in rectifying those "processes, attitudes and behaviour" which "disadvantage minority ethnic people".

Wouldn't research using the archive of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry be helpful in debates around the concept of 'institutional racism'?

Dr Stone answers this from a personal perspective:

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry had to admit that "we grappled with the problem" of

defining 'institutional racism'. And so did Sir Paul Condon, then Metropolitan Police Commissioner, who would not acknowledge 'institutional racism' unless we gave him a new definition which he would then judge to be straightforward enough to be understandable by his police officers.

Anybody who wishes to find out more about our grappling, and about Sir Paul (now Lord Condon's refusal to acknowledge 'institutional racism',

"can find out much more in the transcripts of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry".

At several points in the Inquiry's report Sir William Macpherson refers the reader to the

"transcripts which are available to the public".

I regret to say that referral to the transcripts will get readers of this review nowhere. They are not available to the public.

When we handed them in at the end of the Inquiry in 1999, we were told they would be available on the Home Office website within three months. There were three Parliamentary Questions about the transcripts in the first five years after 1998, to which the answers were always the same:

"Transcripts of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry will be available after 'redaction', in about three months time."

Redaction is the process of removing personal details of witnesses and others whose names, if connected to the case, could cause harm or threats of harm to the individuals.

The time needed for redaction of transcripts from 71 days of Hearings can be expected to take at most 3 weeks of a full-time official.

Unredacted transcripts did appear on a community website a few years ago, but that website is no longer operating.

The contrast with the Hutton Inquiry of 2004 is stark. There the transcripts and all other material was available on line within two weeks of the end of the Inquiry (at www.the-hutton-inquiry.org.uk).

Even the transcripts of the public hearings of the Scarman Inquiry into the 1981 Brixton riots are available at The National Archive at Kew.

Also in the archive of the Inquiry is a massive collection of submissions sent in by academics and local communities. These too were unavailable for years. Few academics are aware that they appeared unannounced in The National Archive at Kew some time in 2005.

The transcripts, the correspondence, and other notes and files are still presumably somewhere in a long-term storage of the Home Office.

I am approached several times a year by academics, community activists, and journalists for details of the thinking of the Inquiry behind various sections of the report.

All I can offer is my memory. To use the term I learned when researching First Aid for this review, I confess to a fair degree of "skills fade". I think my memory is pretty sound on the discussions we had, for example in sorting out the wording of the long chapter on racism, but I can't be sure without going back to my notes. Alas, I have not seen my notes or my computer discs for 10 years.

It is really ridiculous to have to rely upon my memory when the facts were promised 10 years ago by Government to be put into the public domain within three months.

B. Two Independent reports in 2009 on progress 10 years on

These have been produced by the Runnymede Trust and the Equalities & Human Rights Commission

These recent reports have provided a pair of independent views of the policing data found in official documents used by police services.

Both reports been helpful in providing this review with most of the information it needed about what policing and other relevant services have and have not done in the last 10 years.

Neither report is comprehensive. Each focuses on areas seen as key to assessing progress on the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. Neither report looks at the responsibility of other public authorities such as local authorities and education authorities.

The Runnymede research, *'The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry 10 years On: A Critical review of the Literature'* began in February 2008 and collected data up to November 2008. The data it collected has been able to be integrated into this report.

The Equalities & Human Rights Commission produced its report *'Police and Racism'* in January 2009, also focusing only on some parts of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry's recommendations. Much of the information used has come from *'Duty Calls'*, the 2007 report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary, using data from 2005 to 2006.

Interestingly, the EHRC has also taken up a new issue, which is possible disparities between black and white in the taking of samples for the new police DNA database.

The EHRC studies:

- retention and progression
- training
- stop and search,

- DNA database,
- race hate crimes.

Runnymede focuses on:

- managing racist incidents
- recruitment, retention and progression
- Stop & Search
- openness and accountability in restoring confidence

Data from both of these reports are quoted in the relevant sections of this review. However, the recommendations of both reports are constructive and strong.

The overall picture is one of significant changes for the better, many of which are not acknowledged by the public.

On the other hand, there is deep concern about two of the most important areas where police discretion was found to be exercised in a seriously discriminatory way 10 years ago, and where there has been little change since.

In terms of service delivery by police this is in the area of disparities in Stop and Search.

In terms of employment it is in the continuing rumble of problems around Retention and Progression BME staff.

RECOMMENDATION: That the recommendations of the 2009 EHRC and Runnymede reports are accepted by relevant Government Departments and implemented forthwith, and be evaluated yearly for at least three years

C. Retention & Progression of BME officers

The EHRC and Runnymede reports rightly commend general improvements in police recruitment overall. However, as mentioned above, the welcome 8% of BME people among 'all staff' is inflated by the inclusion of PCSOs, Special (voluntary) Constables and police staff.

It is reasonable to ask why people from BME backgrounds seem to be more willing to be a PCSO or a Special Constable. The answers could come from a survey, which this review highly recommends.

There is a strand of thinking among some senior officers that sees the role of the PCSO as “an opportunity for BME people to try out working with the police”, and could be a useful step for them to switch to full Constable training.

An alternative view is that people from BME backgrounds want to contribute without being subject to the stress of the full police culture, or the danger and risk of policing.

One university teacher reports that

“many students say they would be willing to be a PCSO or Special, but would not join up.”

If this is a widespread view then pressure put on PCSOs to become the 'real thing', could undermine a distinct and valuable addition to policing. It might also reinforce a sense that the police service itself looks on PCSOs as second-class Constables.

With significant numbers of PCSOs from BME backgrounds, there are clear signs that relatively contented BME PCSOs are having an effect on breaking down prejudices against the police which are held in a number of BME communities.

On progression of BME officers up the promotion ladder the EHRC concludes (as of 2006) that

“targets on progression through the ranks have been met in all but the very top levels”.

The more recent figures collated by Runnymede suggest that this satisfactory picture has not been sustained even at levels below the top.

Worse still is the position at the very top level, where there is only one Chief Constable from a BME background, Michael Fuller at Kent.

The recent high profile loss of Tarique Ghaffur, Assistant Commissioner at the Metropolitan Police Service, means that it is hard to see any candidates coming through to fill the very top jobs in the near future. With no likely replacements when Michael Fuller retires, that will mean a 100% fall in the BME representation at that level.

In terms of role models for new and existing BME officers, the position at the very top looks dismal.

The employment section of the EHRC report concludes

“the Commission would like to see greater progress in this area. We are aware that this opinion is shared at the highest levels, particularly in the Metropolitan Police.”

Yes, but how is this to be achieved? This question is neither asked nor answered.

Both reports pick up on the apparent “closed shop” in the elite specialist squads. It is important to understand that the CID, Firearms units, and Anti-terrorism units rightly only take on officers who have had at least five years experience. Recent increases in recruitment and retention are beginning to feed through, but it may be another 5 to 10 years before we see

significant proportions of BME officers in these units.

However, there is a great degree of urgency in getting significant representation of BME officers in Firearms and Anti-terrorism units, an importance which cannot wait for another 5 to 10 years.

A number of long-standing Muslim colleagues have pointed out how near Firearms and Anti-terrorist officers came to shooting dead an innocent man in Forest Gate. Separately, they all say that the operation badly needed one or two Muslim officers at the centre of decision-making. If that had been so they all felt that an operation which was a near disaster might well have been stopped, or maybe performed in a more nuanced and sensitive manner.

Looking at the recommendations of these reports makes one realise just how important it is to do more than list priorities for change.

The crucial question is how that change can be made to happen, and quickly. Most of the recommendations of so many past reports merely repeat the recommendations of previous reports, which only underlines what little real and lasting progress has been made.

On 'Retention and Progression' of BME officers, the last 10 years seem to be littered with reports, recommendations, and plans. This has resulted in 'processes' rather than 'outcomes'.

Neither EHRC nor Runnymede is able to demonstrate the improvements which have been promised year after year.

When it comes to reducing robbery, violent crime, and burglary, similar effort has produced dramatically successful outcomes.

It does seem that, where there is a problem with changing institutional culture and attitudes, a lot of effort and time is given to

the problem, but it fails to transmit into change in terms of outcomes.

Current figures suggest over-representation of BME officers in 'fairness at work' proceedings, and over-representation in numbers subject to tribunals speak for themselves.

This all adds to the sense that police, in particular the Metropolitan Police, just cannot manage to deal with the continuing discrimination in employment of its BME officers.

What happened to the excellent post-Lawrence initiative by HMIC in employing two lay BME Assistant Inspectors? When the two posts came up for reappointment they were replaced with one BME Assistant Inspector. Now there are none.

A borough-based senior Metropolitan Police officer from a BME background told a rather devastating story to this review.

"I've been treated well, really. Or I wouldn't be where I am now. But when I go to Scotland Yard, I see [white] officers of my rank knock on the door of DACs and assistant commissioners. They're welcomed in, offered a seat and a cup of tea - before they even start talking about what they came for. When I knock at those doors I mayn't even be offered a chair, let alone tea. As soon as my question's dealt with, that's it. I'm out of the door. You get to live with that, that your face doesn't fit. But it's not right."

This 10th anniversary should be seen as a rallying cry for action which produces significant measurable outcomes within one, two and three years.

Some of the recent problems at the top of the Metropolitan Police suggest a sense of drift which ended in damaging explosions.

With new leadership, the Metropolitan Police will now hopefully move on from merely waiting for these problems to be resolved by a future Commissioner. The 'future' Commissioner is now here.

A swift move to mediation with its most senior black and Asian officers, coupled with imaginative, positive action to broaden the cultural representation in the elite squads, could turn a problem area into a success.

RECOMMENDATION: That middle-rank BME officers be seen as a positive asset, who have special talents which can contribute to modern forward-thinking policing

RECOMMENDATION: That recognition be given to the business case for positive action to bring BME officers into the elite specialist units

D. Disparities in Stops & Search

The first recommendation of the EHRC report is that “Forces with high levels of race disproportionality should consider adopting practices in one or more comparable forces with significantly lower rates. Good initiatives are taking place in Staffordshire and London”.

This is a recommendation about how to make change, not just on what changes are needed. It is about outcome, not mere process, so it is a recommendation in the right direction.

It has to be said though that the recommendation is not exactly a new idea. All it asks for is replication of good practice. This is such a standard procedure in any profession that is almost patronising to make it a recommendation.

30 years ago, the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists set up a system of confidential inquiries into every maternal death in the UK, with the lessons learned circulated to all College members for action. Isn't this what HMIC and ACPO are meant to do?

In part 2 of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, the panel visited six inner-city areas in Britain. The same story was told in all six: you were 4 or 5 times more likely to be stopped by a police officer if you were Black than if you were white. Now the average is about 7 times more likely if you are black and twice as likely if you are Asian.

In each inner-city area the Inquiry was told of problems of variations which could skew the disparities, so the statistics could not be trusted.

These variations were to do with times of day when, for example, young black men may be in school or at work. Certain areas might have high levels of school exclusions of black boys, or unemployment of black men. Local demographics might mean that

in some streets mainly white people live, while on others it is mainly black.

When pressed, all Chief Constables admitted that these variations might mean reducing or increasing disparity by a factor of at the most one. Thus variations of 4 times more likely to be stopped if you are black, could be reduced perhaps to 3 times or, for that matter, increased to 5 times. In other words, local variations still did not alter the fact that BME citizens experience major negative disparities.

A senior BME officer in London, visited in January 2009, added a new twist to the mathematics of disparities. He reported official disparities in his borough about 4 times more likely to be stopped if you are black. He then pointed out that the calculation is based on numbers of Stops compared to the size of the local BME population.

Population statistics used are from the census of 2001 so are considerably out of date. In his Borough the BME population is estimated to have doubled since 2001. This has been confirmed in a census undertaken in local schools. Using the data from that school census the Borough disparity drops from 4 to 2 times.

Of course legislation has changed the powers of Stops, especially with the introduction of the Terrorism Act 2000 allowing Stops without 'suspicion'.

For the average black boy or man, there is a feeling of being subject once again to 'Sus'.

The final conclusion of the EHRC report is serious:

“we have detected a lack of rigour or interest among the police service and other agencies when it comes to certain policing issues, such as the National DNA database, and Stop and Search disproportionality.”

Most DNA swabs are taken from people stopped by a police officer. If you are already more likely to be subject to Stop & Search because you are a member of an identifiable group at risk of high levels of Stops (being black or Asian), then you will also be statistically at risk of high levels of DNA swabbing.

The recent European Court decision on this issue may have an impact on reducing the apparent disparities in DNA sampling.

These concerns are echoed in a comment from the Youth Forum:

“Some of them are trying, eg Police Constables in schools and youth clubs. And there are some good changes: No more SUS laws!

However, we see that Lewisham has gone mad on collecting young people’s DNA; and at Carnival there are still multiple arrests for no reason.”

In the meantime, what happened to the Lawrence Inquiry's recommendations on Stop and Search, over which we spent hours to ensure that the wording was so simple that no one could challenge or undermine the need for change, nor how we proposed to address it?

Recommendation 61 was for a record to be made of all Stops under whatever legislation, the record

“to include the reason for the stop, the outcome, and the self-defined ethnic identity of the person stopped. A copy of the record shall be given to the person stopped.”

Sir Ronnie Flanagan in 2008 sensibly recommended that long time-consuming forms recording stops should be replaced with very short forms. Nothing new in that: the three items which the Lawrence Inquiry

asked for take at most 37 seconds to record in all but the most complex cases.

It seems almost wilful to have had 10 years of pilots of forms that take 7 or even 13 minutes to complete. Such long-winded paperwork undermines the whole agenda of a record of the Stop, which is about accountability.

Sir Ronnie is also right that there are circumstances when there should not even be an attempt to fill in a form at all. For example, where there has been a multiple accident or a riot, the priority must be to catch potential suspects at the scene, to administer First Aid, and collect evidence while it is still fresh.

However a blanket abolition of forms for certain classes of stops is not necessary, and undermines the intended accountability.

Surely it would be better to have a presumption that a short form will always be filled in, subject only to a brief list of overriding emergencies.

A visiting card with no information about the stop is not acceptable. The idea is that the person stopped is invited to present this card at a local police station, where information will be given eg about reasons for the stop.

It is bad enough that the public often experience long waits at the reception desks of police stations.

It does not help that a number of local police stations have been closed.

However the substantial difficulty here lies in the expectation that a person aggrieved by a Stop is likely to want to visit the home base of the officer who performed the Stop. Who would want to enter a lion's den and make a complaint against one of the lion's friends?

Proposals to reduce paperwork on stops must be done with care to avoid the risk of returning to where things were at the time of Stephen Lawrence's murder, when there

was no accountability to control the discretion to stop black people more than white.

It is of course important to deal with new problems like the increased carrying of knives. If the response is to increase Stops and Searches then great care has to be taken, through sensitive neighbourhood policing, to ensure that it is done with the support of BME as well as white communities.

There are serious risks here of provoking responses similar to those in Brixton which ended up in 1981 with riots.

This review has been distressed to hear of instances where it seems that police officers are unaware of the limitations on their powers around Stops under S.1 of PACE (Police and Criminal Evidence Act). One example is given by an IAG member who was told by a sergeant:

“We put ‘stop and search’ on the streets so they know we’re here and we’re watching them... we’re doing our job - preventing crime.”

S.1 PACE stops are permitted in the Act only where

“there is ‘reasonable suspicion’ that the individual stopped may be concealing stolen goods, an article for use in connection with theft offences, or an offensive weapon, and where there is ‘reasonable suspicion’ that the person has such goods or articles.”

Officers who use S.1 PACE stops as a preventive measure are acting illegally. The words of the sergeant above to a researcher reinforces the worries raised by the young Black man quoted above that police officers often do not know what their powers are.

No officer will be on the streets without having been trained at some stage in the powers available, and their limitations. If the sergeant's words above represent the

forgetfulness or lack of thinking of even a small percentage of officers, then there is a serious need to improve the thinking and learning capacity of officers.

The re-introduction of targets for numbers of Stops, and for Stops and Searches has not helped this situation. If officers are under pressure to reach their targets, then that distorts intelligence-led and sensitive policing.

The young people at the Youth Forum seemed very aware that the police had targets to meet. One young woman was even told this directly by the officer who stopped her. A white mother told the Forum:

“My daughter was stopped recently. She’s only 16. She was told she was being ‘stopped for acting suspiciously’. She was told by the PC ‘you’re a bit cocky – knowing you’re rights.’ He told her they were trying to fulfill their Stop & Search quotas.”

Removing such crude and quantitative targets for Searches would be a good first step towards a greater professionalism in policing. It sounds almost patronising to have to make such a statement, but there it is. We are talking here about seriously unprofessional actions.

There is still a need to find a way to measure the quality of Searches. This means not just the quality of how they were conducted but the quality of decision making processes which leads officers to decide to Stop someone. This is very basic stuff which contradicts the positive news mentioned earlier in this report.

Why does there seem to be no professional management supervision and control of the use of these extremely strong police powers?

Clearly the criticism by EHRC of lack of rigour and interest is directed at the top leadership of the police.

20 years ago this could have been put at the door of lack of education of very senior officers. Now most of those at that level have one or even more university degrees.

The British Transport Police are piloting a handheld devise to record the Stops and Searches they carry out. The person stopped is given a card to bring to a police station if they wish to find out more about why they were searched. This is a good initiative but the devise should be equipped with the facility to print information about the stop.

RECOMMENDATION: That the 13cm x 10cm Metropolitan Police short reporting form 5090(X) be adopted across the whole UK for all Stops.

RECOMMENDATION: That, in order to increase trust and confidence, there shall be a presumption that every Stop will be recorded, subject only to a short list of overriding emergencies. There should be no blanket exceptions for any categories of Stops.

E. Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC)

One of the conclusions of Stephen Lawrence Inquiry was that

“Investigation of police officers by their own or another Police Service (supervised by the then Police Complaints Authority, PCA) is widely regarded as unjust, and does not inspire public confidence.”

This led to Recommendation 58, which was duly implemented by replacement of the PCA with an Independent Police Complaints Commission.

Nick Hardwick, chair of the new Commission, reports a degree of “true independence” to the point that even those complainants who do not agree with the Commission's findings, add “but we believe what you say”. This must have been a rare comment about the old PCA.

The main weakness of the IPCC is that it is concerned entirely with the conduct of individual officers. The Commission cannot deal directly with the concerns of the complainant.

Where the IPCC finds that a service appears to disadvantage an identifiable group of people, but no individual officers can be shown to be at fault, then it can comment but cannot investigate. It can put together patterns and comment on those, and this has been an effective way of getting round the constraints imposed by the statutory framework.

An example given is to do with S.60 Stops. The numbers in one region were found to be way beyond those in the rest of the country. The IPCC made a public comment on this, and that police service had no option but to respond, which it did with a 70% reduction.

It would be better to widen the Commission's powers rather than carry on with

discretionary manoeuvres which are not strictly in accord with the statute.

Mental illness

Of particular concern to Nick Hardwick, as well as community organisations such as Black Mental Health UK, is the way that so many mentally ill people end up in police custody and in prisons, when they should have been swiftly transferred to the NHS mental illness services. Mentally ill people should be cared for by staff who are trained to respond appropriately to their illnesses. This approach is commended, and in principle is right.

However the 2004 David Bennett Inquiry, into a death during restraint in mental illness services, demonstrated dangerous negative disparities in the treatment of black men in those services. One of those disparities is late presentation to psychiatrists.

The reason given for this appears to be

“once you get into the clutches of psychiatrists, if you're black you don't come out alive”.

Sadly, of the negative disparities noted by the Bennett Inquiry one is indeed over-representation of black men in the statistics on restraint, and another is of death during restraint.

It is not entirely surprising that sometimes black patients prefer police custody or even prisons. However that does not negate the argument that police custody and prisons are inappropriate places for the mentally ill.

The appropriate and professional response is to address 'institutional racism' in all institutions in this country, including in mental illness services.

F. Emergency Life Support (First Aid)

First Aid/ELS is not a topic covered by the recent EHRC report. This is in no way a criticism of the EHRC. Its remit is not to cover matters of First Aid except as they may be issues of racism or other inequalities, or infringement of Human Rights. In fact Human Rights had not been incorporated into British law in 1993 when Stephen was murdered. Further, the title of the EHRC report is 'Police and Racism'.

The Runnymede trust also decided to focus on other aspects of policing.

During the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, First Aid, or ELS as it is now described, was a topic in which Dr Stone, as the only medically qualified panel member, was personally involved. In his own words, this is how he describes recent improvements.

First Aid is the only topic where I know that Mrs Lawrence disagrees with the Stephen Lawrence panel. She remains convinced that the five officers who could have administered First Aid to her son, didn't because

“they didn't want to get their hands dirty with a black man's blood”.

The Inquiry found that it could not even get to discussing whether or not racism affected the neglect. The First Aid knowledge and skills of the officers went no further than how to dial 999 for an ambulance. They had no ability to do First Aid on any human being, no matter from what background.

All five had received basic First Aid training, which had been refreshed every three years since, though one officer was a few months out of date with his refresher course.

The Inquiry was shocked by the words from Mrs Lawrence about “a black man's blood”. We refused to condemn her for them. The circumstances of the collective failure of the police in investigation of the murder of her

son might drive any parent to such a conclusion.

We all held her words in mind while we listened to the cross-examination of the officers.

With my medical qualifications I had a special responsibility in helping the Inquiry to sort out what could and what should have been done by police officers in attendance.

Police officers do not have the training of ambulance staff nor can they be expected to do more than what they are trained to do in the way of First Aid.

Yet a front-line police officer has a much greater capacity to save human life than I ever did in my 22 years as a doctor in General Practice.

When information about Stephen's wounds came out during the inquest, it was clear that no amount of First Aid could have saved his life. The two stab wounds were so deep, and had severed such major arteries that it was impossible for him to survive. However none of the officers present could have known that.

Had the wounds been less definitely fatal, then staunching the bleeding and raising the legs to divert extra blood to the body could have kept his brain alive that little bit longer, until paramedics arrived in the ambulance.

Cross-examination of the five officers led to a unanimous conclusion that First Aid courses were looked on as an easy day out.

I recently sat in on the Metropolitan Police's basic First Aid course for newly recruited police officers. I have also attended a refresher course at a local police station.

There is no question of the commitment of the trainers and of the trainees. The trainers are enthusiastic and shrewd. There is no atmosphere that the time given to First Aid training is “a doddle”. Far from it.

In First Aid training 15 years ago trainees often had to share one dummy between five. This resulted in boring spells standing around waiting for your turn with a pretty inadequately functioning dummy.

The Metropolitan Police have invested in expensive modern dummies which are not only technically of high quality (and so of quite high cost) but in enough numbers for one for each of 55 trainees.

The trainers set a pace of chest massage which justified the instruction that where two people are present who are trained to do it administer it, they should take turns every two minutes to stop themselves getting exhausted.

The trainers were not only thoroughly professional in their capacity to enthuse the trainees. They also knew a lot about the theory.

They were able to explain about “skills fade”, a term which describes the fall-off of skills if they are not used for a length of time. They were able to quote from surveys which show that refreshing First Aid training every three years is not good enough. The skills taught fade away significantly soon after the first year.

Annual refresher courses were introduced by the Metropolitan Police in January 2009. From now on they will be mandatory for all front-line officers every year.

Three years is still the norm in a number of other police services. That needs to be changed. Locally organised annual 4 hour refresher courses should be introduced urgently across the country. If so, people who would have died will now live.

RECOMMENDATION : That all police services immediately organise annual Emergency Life Support refresher courses for all front-line officers and staff, the courses to be held at the place of work.

G. Education of police officers

A major problem in the first Stephen Lawrence murder investigation was laid at the door of the Senior Investigating Officer (SIO) and his Deputy (DIO).

“The major responsibility in the team's failures lies with those who allowed [the DIO] to occupy a position which is beyond his abilities, and have failed to supervise him”.

So the problem lay as much with senior officers as the SIO and the DIO.

“[the DIO] was an honest man and a very long serving policeman, who was appointed to act above his true station and in a position beyond his abilities.”

As to the SIO,

“He was prepared to accept the situation handed over to him... without exercising his own critical faculties... He failed to make his own decision as to the arrests, and he failed Mr and Mrs Lawrence and their solicitor... His decisions and his actions show a lack of imagination and a tendency to allow things to drift in vital areas of the case.”

The Metropolitan Police have given assurances that the problem of people being promoted beyond their ability has been thoroughly dealt with. ACPO members have given similar assurances that the same applies outside London.

It is likely that the sort of errors and poor judgments found in 1993 are being avoided in the modern context of better selection and training. Reading current manuals on training, and visiting the Crime Academy at Hendon, confirms a welcome increase in professionalism.

Verifying that individuals have the range of capacities required for a job as varied as policing can be difficult. Watching and listening to the officers who run the

Professionalising Investigation Programme (PIP) which trains Metropolitan Police detectives at Hendon, it is reasonable to accept that this programme does prevent the incompetence laid bare during the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry.

'HYDRA' is the name of the computer training programme which qualified detectives have to face on an annual basis: 'scary' was the word used to describe it by several senior and junior detectives. It is comforting to think that detective training is tough enough that it can be described as 'scary'.

The PIP programme trains detectives to four levels of competence. No detective will gain promotion until level 2 is achieved. Level 3 or 4 is required before appointment to be an SIO.

It is generally accepted that training for experienced officers meets with some resistance. It is gratifying therefore to hear that for experienced detectives there are compulsory in-service training seminars. The result has been the introduction of Best Practice at every step of police practice.

There has been anecdotal evidence about effective training of UK police officers, from in and outside London, and from members of various IAGs.

This review has witnessed thoroughly professional, well focused training in action.

The problem of incompetent investigating officers we believe to have been properly addressed in the last 10 years.

It is of benefit to the country that policing is the last remaining major apprenticeship scheme in the country, provided that there is a system of basic education given to police officers to enable them to think through the problems they face.

However it is doubtful if the police educate their new recruits in basic school-leaving subjects as effectively as the Army

Education Corps ensures its new recruits have basic education.

A staff officer in the Human Resources Department of the Metropolitan Police was “surprised” when he researched the answer to the question “what are the basic educational requirements to become a police officer? Five GCSEs? Two GCSEs?” In fact the answer was “none”. The only educational requirement is to pass a literacy and numeracy test.

Participants at the Youth Forum voiced concern about the basic education of police officers.

The educational level of police officers was perceived as “low”.

There was a call for “higher entry level qualifications, so they become smarter”.

“They don't always seem to know what their powers are, or they use them wrongly”.

“They should develop better communication skills.”

It was revealing to hear a senior police officer describe a discussion in a community centre:

“My officers were talking with a bunch of incredibly articulate kids. In fact they were more articulate than my lot!”

He laughed this off. He should have been horrified and should have gone off to discuss with his superiors ways in which his officers can be taught to become as articulate as those young people.

We have seen that investment in high-quality training equipment has transformed an amateurish First Aid programme into a dynamic, fast-paced demonstration of the capacity that police officers have to save lives.

So too, general education for officers at all levels must be seen not as an unwelcome cost, but as an investment in a thoroughly professional modern police service.

The main focus, when it comes to education police officers, has to be how to educate officers to think. It is clear that the HYDRA and the PIP Training programme do drive detectives to think hard about what they are doing.

A problem for hierarchies such as the police is that there is a conflict around training officers to think for themselves. On the one hand there is the militaristic expectation that officers do what they're told, and not question orders. At the same time, at all levels they need to think for themselves about what they are doing and how they can get at the truth and above all how they use their wide discretionary powers.

Police officers are confronted with a stream of policies and procedures which, while they may be necessary, can also stop them from using their own brain power and responding appropriately to each particular operation.

Again and again the need for police officers to have the capacity to think in a deep and analytic way has become apparent.

A number of training modules, especially for the specialist areas of policing, will develop in officers their capacities for analytic thinking. However developed analytical thinking is a requirement of all police work.

It is hard to resist concluding that there is a need for continuing education as an integral part of being a police officer. The time has come to recognise that the modern professional police service which the country needs can only be staffed by police officers with higher education qualifications.

Some brilliant constables would do badly in an academic setting. The current system provides appropriate opportunities, for example, to dyslexics who fail examinations but are highly intelligent and have good

interpersonal skills. An aspiration for all of higher education institutions is to provide diploma courses which build on the strengths of those who do not fit into the common and traditional educational system.

There are already a few BSc courses for police in operation: in Portsmouth and Christchurch College, Kent for example. The University of Westminster works with the Metropolitan Police's Crime Academy and teaches modules in criminology and penology as part of the Metropolitan Police's detective training.

I can understand that senior officers would have major concerns about yet more 'abstractions' for education and training. There will of course be major financial costs as well. However, education and training are already seen by many police training experts as an investment, rather than as a cost or 'abstraction'.

30 years ago nursing was a large-scale apprenticeship scheme similar to that of policing. It required two A-levels to become a student nurse. You went straight on to the wards where you worked, learning on the job. There were a number of sessions every week in the classroom, leading up to a final examination after three years. When you passed the exam you became a State Registered Nurse.

Now only 50% of the time is spent on the wards compared to about 70% in the 1970s. The remaining 50% is at a college or university. At the end of the process the student sits for a BSc in nursing, as well as having clinical standards tested on the wards. Only then does the nurse become a Registered General Nurse

Nurses are now much more qualified in technical procedures, many of which were previously only done by doctors. Of course, the result is not without its problems. Nursing is sometimes criticised now for being too academic and too technical: perhaps there is not enough caring. That is a problem for

NHS management, and does not detract from the higher analytic and technical skills which nurses now have at their fingertips. It is now a nursing profession which is much more professional than before.

Nursing authorities have had to face the same problems of 'abstractions' and costs. It took time but the problems have all been resolved, achieving a universally graduate level profession. In the Probation Service too, officers are not let loose as independent professionals until they achieve a BSc.

Something like 15% of new police entrants now come in as college or university graduates. They will likely fill the senior posts of the future. This leaves the 85% less academically qualified with fewer opportunities for getting to the top than were available to them 20 or 30 years ago. Police services have become less of an apprenticeship scheme than they were.

It is the opinion of several middle grade police officers who have university degrees that their colleagues do not value academic qualifications. They value apprenticeship much more. Yet two university trained officers said that there is too much police thinking that rigidly considers only 'either/ or' in general; and on this issue in particular, that academic training can be valued at the same time as valuing apprenticeships.

It will be important to ensure that individuals, who suffer disadvantage in education, do not end up suffering similar disadvantage in the police service. It is well known that black boys experience high levels of exclusion from school.

Police recruits from any background that has few or no educational qualifications on leaving school, should still see policing as a good place for them to go for a career. Lack of a school leaving qualifications should not be a bar to anyone wishing to join.

The aspiration should then be first to catch up on basic school education, and then to

move towards degree level, at a pace which is appropriate to the individual.

It may be that it will be necessary to introduce some sort of diploma-based qualified constable, similar to the old State Enrolled Nurse qualification. It should be noted though that in the last 10 years nursing management has upgraded all its State Enrolled Nurses to the Registered General Nurse qualification to which a College or University degree is a matter of course

A new culture of lifelong learning within a learning organisation could transform police services, in the same way that the new description as a police 'service' and not a police 'force' has shifted the focus away from the old post-War militaristic model.

Are there extra benefits from further education for all officers?

A number of education modules for policing are similar to those undertaken by staff in other professions, in particular in nursing and in probation.

Examples could be the impact of equality legislation and human rights law; computer technology; and development of personal and transferable skills. Transferable skills includes information location and retrieval; accessing appropriate learning resources; management of information; problem solving; and communication. Needless to say all these modules would stretch the brains of students.

A significant added benefit to further education of police officers is the opportunity for them to mix with students doing other courses. Every opportunity should be taken for modules to be taught in local Further Education Colleges and Universities.

This already happens when police officers undertake the foundation degree in crime investigation, set up by the Metropolitan Police Crime Academy in conjunction with University of Westminster's Department of social and historical studies. The University of Westminster is very much a multicultural establishment.

Detectives spend a full year at Westminster University, studying alongside the usual undergraduate students – who are a very diverse group. They study criminology, penology and other topics and the seminars have been enriched for both students and detectives because of the interaction and different perspectives.

During the interaction that occurs in seminar groups, it has been observed that police officers “begin to open up” – and so do the students. That opening up is exactly what is needed to counter the tendency towards a narrow-minded 'canteen culture' which leads to damaging negative stereotyping, and to 'either/or' decisions which omit the possibility of 'both'.

Writing essays and discussing in seminars are designed to teach people to think for themselves. Developing the capacity to think, and to think out what your own ideas are, will be a major step towards thoroughly professional police officers operating in a thoroughly professional police service.

RECOMMENDATION: That a college or university degree (or comparable educational qualification) be adopted as the basic educational requirement of a professional police officer.

Is there a need for a new Royal Commission on Policing?

The Runnymede report ends with:

“The unflinching question needs to be posed as to how many more reviews, how many more pieces of research, how many more revisions to CRR training are required for there to be a level of engagement with the reality that the huge body of existing data already reveals?”

“10 years after the publication of the Inquiry report, it is difficult to see how... the police can claim to have changed significantly.”

There seems to be so much to fix in trying to change the worst aspects of the culture of Britain's policing, some of which has already resisted 10 years of effort.

In addition there are deep seated problems of fragmentation of the service into a wide range of Constabularies.

Then there is the sheer size of the Metropolitan Police service which we were told repeatedly makes it difficult to achieve rapid change. The Metropolitan Police Service has grown to be five times the size of any other in the country.

On top of these structural problems there are the new roles for policing in the new millennium. No amount of tinkering with the system is going to make it easy to respond appropriately.

Maybe it is time for a thorough re-think of what are the needs of the country from its police services. This could be an opportunity to start from scratch, leaving aside existing structures, and work out a new set of basic structures would best answer those needs.

The last Royal Commission on Policing was in 1960. Its recommendations led to the 1964 Police Act. 15 years after the end of the Second World War, it took a profound

look at what was needed for a post-war police force fit for the next 20 to 30 years. That was nearly 50 years ago.

A number of concerns have been raised in the last year about the fundamental structures of police services. Just within the ambit of assessing the impact of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, some police services have done good work in some areas, yet the achievements of others within the same areas of activity have been poor.

Surveys which show up these disparities between constabularies are weakened by unwillingness to name even the best for fear of exposing the worst.

The two most obvious barriers to change are:

(a) fragmentation of 42 regional constabularies, with another 10 specialist Constabularies, making 52 in all.

(b) the size of the Metropolitan Police Service, 5 times the size of any of the others.

(a) *Fragmentation.* A robust professional UK police service, which responds to the need for change, needs to have built in to it an executive structure which can accept change and drive it through. This centralising need competes with the huge benefit to a democratic society that comes from having autonomous constabularies.

Britain has always backed away from giving too much centralised power to unelected bodies. Police services are hugely powerful, and the existence of decentralised Constabularies is too important for the democratic process to risk losing them.

HMIC and the Association of Chief police officers (ACPO) do not have any powers to make change. All they can do is advise what change is needed.

The founding of the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) introduced the

possibility of addressing the lack of a single central body which might drive through minimum standards. However the NPIA has been criticised in both the EHRC and Runnymede reports in terms of its inability to address accountability of police services.

This weakness may be for any number of reasons, but maybe, as a Home Office quango, it has neither sufficient delegated power nor the appropriate structures to drive through major change.

Within the Metropolitan Police there is a significant awareness of the Stephen Lawrence agenda, with the Recommendations quoted freely from the Crime Academy to the First Aid refresher course in the local police station visited by us.

Fragmentation is clearly responsible for lack of awareness of good practice in one region being known about elsewhere, which might be have been helpful to those looking for imaginative ways to implement Stephen Lawrence recommendations.

Thus mention of the 2008 Race Equality award for the work in Alum Rock, has met with a blank response at any level of the Metropolitan Police.

So too the impressive solid work by Kent police seem not to be much used as models of good practice elsewhere.

(b) *Size of the Metropolitan Police.* There is general acceptance that the Crown Prosecution Service has been transformed in the last 10 years. From a closed mono-cultural organisation, it has transformed into an outward-operating, more multicultural service which meets and works with professionals and even the public outside its walls. Such a change within a mere 10 years is remarkable.

When asked how it is that this has been made to happen at the CPS, but progress at

the Metropolitan Police seems to be much patchier, the answer from the CPS comes back loud and clear

"We have 8,000 staff. The Met have over 50,000."

It does seem that the Metropolitan Police service is too big to take on major change. Too many individuals are involved, making a critically powerful mass of even a small percentage resistant to change.

So the size of the Metropolitan Police is the second factor which creates conflicting priorities and difficulties sorting out what are now appropriate for such a complex and huge capital city as London.

In 1995 NACRO recommended a new Royal Commission. Others have also called for this. Maybe now is the time to go back to the drawing board and set up a Royal Commission which starts with a fresh look at likely policing needs over the next 20 to 30 years. Only a Royal Commission would have the capacity to propose options on how to address those needs, and also address the conflicts between a democratic state and a modern professionally policed state.

Britain's policing are facing totally different problems from the 1960s. Terrorism, drug wars, gun crime, 'institutional racism'; none of these were around to be thought about in 1960. Then there are new democratic pressures that the Human Rights Act and the forthcoming Equalities Act rightly demand in the way of accountability.

Surely it is time to stop tinkering with an outdated structure. A Royal Commission set up in 2009 could look at current needs and build up ideas on how to respond to them without being hampered by having to fit them into outdated structures. It could report at the end of 2010 with a view to implementation by a new Police Act in 2011.

RECOMMENDATION: That consideration be given to set up a Royal Commission on Policing.

The recommendations of this review are:

'Institutional racism'

RECOMMENDATION 1: That Public authorities be required in their Race Equality schemes, to encourage the participation of B ME people in public life, by demonstrating in their Equality schemes compliance with new targets set by government.

RECOMMENDATION 2: That Recommendations 51 & 52 be adapted to require public authorities, including higher education institutions, which provide services to commanding geographic areas, to collaborate on the design and delivery of race equality training for all employees, in order that all staff receives training to a common standard and the training is delivered to meet local demographic requirements. This collaboration to be monitored as part of the Race Equality schemes of all the public authorities involved.

Education of police officers

RECOMMENDATION 3: That a college or university degree (or comparable educational qualification) be adopted as the basic educational requirement of a professional police officer.

RECOMMENDATION 4: That the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry's definition of 'institutional racism' be reaffirmed by Government Ministers and leaders of institutions tasked with addressing racism, in terms similar to those stated by the then Prime Minister in Parliament in 1999

RECOMMENDATION 5: That individuals working in institutions be educated to recognise their personal responsibilities in rectifying those “processes, attitudes and behaviour” which “disadvantage minority ethnic people”.

Reports of the Equalities & Human Rights Commission, and of the Runnymede Trust 2009

RECOMMENDATION 6: That the recommendations of the 2009 EHRC and Runnymede reports are accepted by relevant Government Departments and implemented forthwith, and be evaluated yearly for at least three years

Recruitment, Retention & Progression of Black & Minority Ethnic officers

RECOMMENDATION 7: That middle-rank BME officers be seen as a positive asset, who have special talents which can contribute to modern forward-thinking policing

RECOMMENDATION 8: That recognition be given to the business case for positive action to bring BME officers into the elite specialist units

RECOMMENDATION 19: That permission from a supervisor should be removed as a requirement before police officers and staff can apply for promotion

Disparities in Stop & Search

RECOMMENDATION 10: That the 13 x 10cm Metropolitan Police short reporting form 5090(X) be adopted across the whole UK for all Stops.

RECOMMENDATION 11: That, in order to increase trust and confidence, there shall be a presumption that Stops of every kind will be recorded, subject only to a short list of overriding emergencies. There should be no blanket exceptions for any categories of Stops.

Emergency Life Support

RECOMMENDATION 12: That all police services immediately organise annual Emergency Life Support refresher courses for all front-line officers and staff, the courses to be held at the place of work.

Royal Commission on Policing

RECOMMENDATION 13: That consideration be given to set up a Royal Commission on Policing.

The last word has to go one of the note-takers at the Youth Forum, whose conclusion was:

“There was a unanimous wish to help the police to perform better. There was an enthusiastic desire for better relations with police officers.”

APPENDIX 1

I am immensely grateful to the following people who have submitted substantial material which has been more or less incorporated into this report:

Anne Dunn, Lecturer in Criminology, University of Westminster

Ch Constable Michael Fuller, Kent Police

Ch Supt Sultan Taylor, Metropolitan Police

Ch Supt Tom Coughlan, West Midlands Police

Neena Samota, Race and Equalities Unit NACRO

Nicola Rollock, Research Consultant, Runnymede Trust

Perry Nove, Former Commissioner, City of London Police

Rob Berkely, Director, Runnymede Trust

Robin Field-Smith, Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabularies

Robin Oakley, Independent Consultant, and Honorary Research Fellow at the Centre for Ethnic Minority Studies, Royal Holloway, University of London)

Susan Warner, Senior Adviser in First Aid (Policy and Assurance) Metropolitan Police

APPENDIX 2

This is a list of people visited, who have contributed significantly in writing or by telephone. For a number of those mentioned, the name given is the head of a team whose members have also been very helpful. This is not a comprehensive list and we apologise to anyone who feels that they should be included.

All help and advice has been valued at some of these have contributed text of the report which has been very helpful.

Black Police Associations

Alfred John
Bevan Powell
Paul Wilson

Crown Prosecution Service

Nazir Afzal
Raj Joshi
Seamus Taylor

Independents

Berenice Miles
David Chandler (University of Westminster)
David Michael
Dr Madge Dresser (University of the West of England)
Helen Shaw (Inquest)
John Grieve (University of Portsmouth)
Judith Lempriere
Lee Jasper
Lord Ouseley
Lord Parekh
Milena Buyum (National Assembly Against Racism)
Sarah Isal (UK Race Equality Network)
Simon Woolley (Operation Black Vote)
Theo Gavrilides (Race on The Agenda)

Metropolitan Police

Alf Hitchcock
David Maguire
Denise Milani
Glen Allison
Laurie Young
Leroy Logan

Peter Franklin

Sir Paul Stephenson (appointment date: 25th February 2009)

Steve Lovelock

and to the ELS training team at Hendon and West Hampstead - special thanks

Metropolitan Police Authority

Cindy Butts

Kit Malthouse

Metropolitan Police Independent Advisory Group

Ben Owusu

Bennett Obong

John Azah

Runnymede trust

Michelynn Lafleche

Others

Ian Rennie (Police Federation) – week of 23 February 09

Jack Straw MP (Minister of Justice)

Jacqui Smith MP (Home Secretary)

Nick Hardwick (Independent Police Complaints Commission)

Tom Tyler (Association of Police Authorities)

Trevor Phillips (Equalities & Human Rights Commission)

APPENDIX 3

Notes from a Stephen Lawrence review visit to Birmingham 14th November 08

This is the report on the visit with Doreen Lawrence to the award-winning Operational Command Unit in Alum Rock, Birmingham.

The reason for this visit

We chose Birmingham because in October 08 the D1 Operational Command Unit (OCU) of the West Midlands Police (WMP) in Aston, won a 'Race for Opportunity' Award. They did this ahead of the other short-listed project which came from the Home Office. The award was the 'Race Equality Impact Assessment Award (public sector)'.

A press release from WMP read "West Midlands Police won the award for their innovative use of an Operational Advisory Group formed in Alum Rock. The group emerged from the work around the terrorism arrests in 2007 and the impact it had on the communities.

"The Group act as critical friends to the police and a conduit for community concerns. Group members include 12 business people, youth groups, faith leaders, education services, residents and senior police officers.

"Through consultation with the Group, trust and confidence between the police and ethnic minority communities has improved, and the police have adjusted their tactics and policing style. The Group are regularly consulted about police operations that may have an impact on the wider community.

"Chief Superintendent Tom Coughlan, Operational Command Unit Commander for the Aston area said that 'feedback from the Group has led to several changes in the way that we deal with the community, particularly before and at the end of critical incidents'.

People involved

Dr Stone and Doreen Lawrence were the members of the Stephen Lawrence Review team who made the visit.

During the day we met with the two senior officers of the OCU:

Chief Superintendent Tom Coughlan and (D1 OCU)

Superintendent Sarjit Singh Manku (D1 OCU)

We also met with six members of the Operational Advisory Group (OAG):

Bev Mabey, Head teacher, Washford Heath School

Jennifer Haydon – WMP Diversity & Community Cohesion Unit

Inspector Darren Walsh – Intelligence Manager

Inspector Jason Bonser – Sector Inspector Alum Rock, Nechells Green Police Station

Aftab Chughtai – Local business man

Habib Rehman – Local business man

We met the OAG members in the local police station, and in a local hairdresser's shop owned by one of the OAG members.

Discussions

The OCU covers the wards of Alum Rock and Washford Heath. Both have a large Muslim community living alongside well-established white communities. We were told that 80% of the Muslim families have origins in South Asia, mainly Pakistan.

The OCU is rated as having the highest profile for risk of violent terrorism, as well as for deprivation.

Our host for the day was Mr Coughlan, who was helpful and also generous with his time. He is in overall command of the Aston area.

Mr Coughlan told us that the contexts in the area remain largely as they have been for over 20 years. In 1989 the neighbouring Handsworth riots were largely between Muslims and the white community. The 2005 events were BME communities resenting Muslims, resulting in the 'Black Radley' report. Now, three years later, the contexts are still there and could flare up again. "The police are not in much of a position to deal with the contexts: it is the Local Authority's responsibility to facilitate the easing of tensions." What police can do is to plan for the next inter-community confrontation by building good relations with all the minorities in the area.

In Alum Rock, there was unrest following arrests in 2007 of alleged terrorists. Those arrests were conducted as dawn raids, using many police cars and armed officers. Local communities were outraged at this intrusion into their community by what they perceived as a bunch of police officers who had no knowledge or understanding of the community. Parallels with London's Forest Gate arrests seem to us to be obvious.

Mr Coughlan went back in the days following the 2007 incident. He was asked by members of the local community to start listening, which he did. He quickly recognized that his local officers were seen as total outsiders: “the only time they appear in the area is at crisis times. They come in large numbers, and in riot gear.” He led a number of changes, which include:

1. As the area Commander, Mr Coughlan responded positively to requests for officers to be there outside times of crisis.
2. He agreed to set up an Operational Advisory Group (OAG), similar to Independent Advisory Groups in London and elsewhere.
3. Much was made of the need to get new and different community representatives on to the OAG, rather than the usual self-appointed leaders. We will ask how this tricky job was done.
4. One of the main lessons learned in building trust is to “act on the advice given by the OAG and to be seen to have acted”.
5. A Neighbourhood Management Group has also been set up, led by a Local Authority employee, which brings together people from different parties and backgrounds.
6. “Feeling Difference” surveys are conducted by the police in the West Midlands, four times a year. Approx 1000 individuals respond each time.
7. The OCU works closely with a multicultural secondary school in the area, whose Head teacher, Bev Mabey, is a member of the OAG. We met with her and she reported that she and her pupils welcomed interaction in the school with police officers.
8. As for 'Stop & Search', the OAG members report that it is not the measure itself that is a problem; it is the way it is done. Officers must avoid “uncivil and aggressive” methods.

Despite a reported increase of 17,000% in Stop & Search, the quarterly “Feeling Difference” surveys have shown an increase rather than a decrease in trust and confidence. It may be possible to conclude that even excessive Stop and Search, if justified in the eyes of the local community, need not lead to poor police/community relations.

Robberies have gone down from 100 per month to 51, and this may be “partly as a result of 'Stop & Search'.”

Recent Eid celebrations, when the streets were full of large crowds, were policed in a sensitive way, balancing the needs for public safety with the needs of the community to be able to express themselves without intrusion.

During the recent Aston Villa v. Manchester United football match Muslim extremist groups came from Luton and were seen distributing inflammatory leaflets. The information was passed swiftly to the OAG who informed the local Muslim community. It was the community which promptly moved the extremists out.

- Mr Coughlan admits that Operation Gambol, the arrests of potential terrorists in 2007, was badly handled. For the most recent arrests in 2008, the OAG advised not to “arrest with violence and lots of vans”.

Shortly before the arrests the OCU told the OAG, who informed a few key individuals in the community what was going to happen and also the reasons for the arrests. OAG members knew the individuals and their families. They advised that it was very unlikely that any of the individuals would get violent, or try and run away once caught. They suggested that officers wait until the individuals walked out of their houses and arrest them then. This was how it was done: gently and with no show of force. There was no public disturbance, and no community unrest.

OAG members as well as the local police officers were concerned at the lack of change in some neighbouring OCUs. “When the next arrests of terrorist suspects are performed in those OCUs, there could be a storm of community unrest leading to riots”.

Mr Coughlan summed up by saying that “the Operational Advisory Group has been instrumental in helping the force to manage the impact of the recent Terrorism acts.”

- Mr Banku comes from a Sikh background. In his view it helps immensely that a senior officer from an Asian background is seen to be dealing with citizens from Asian backgrounds. He says that his Sikh background has never been an issue when policing Muslim communities. Our unspoken comment was that this may be partly because he is clean-shaven and does not wear a turban.

Measuring change

Validation of success has been measured and verified by:

- 1000 individuals are interviewed in the quarterly OCU “Feeling Difference” surveys. These surveys have demonstrated increase in trust in each of the last three years. In particular, even people with ‘no contact with the police’ report increased confidence in recent years from 66% up to 85%.
- WMP no longer measures reporting of hate crime as an indication of improvement because of the well-known problem around interpreting increases: a rise might be due to improvements in reporting, or to an actual rise in hate crime. WMP now use clear-up rates as a measure of success, and these have improved from 24% 31%.

WMP are testing what may be an even better measure: “victim defined resolution”. This would take account of success due to the presently uncounted effect of perpetrators

being moved away, or leaving spontaneously. Four trials of this new measure are in hand.

Mr Coughlan himself prefers the term “satisfaction” rather than “confidence” in the police, when measuring public attitudes.

- On Recruitment, Retention and Progression of officers from BME backgrounds, we were told that “there is a low level of employment tribunals in West Midlands Police. In this OCU, we haven't had any for years.”

There are four other Asian superintendents in WMP, but none who are black. There are no black or Asian officers at higher ranks.

To the question “How do you get more black and Asian officers going up the promotion ladder?” the superintendents replied “by getting them in as PCSOs, from which a number have gone on to become PCs: that's a start. Hopefully some of those will go on to become sergeants and above”. We (the review visitors) were not encouraged by this response, which does not reflect the sense of frustration of BME and Muslim staff associations that it is taking too long to see black and Asian faces at the higher levels.

- Nearby, in Dudley, there is a youth forum of 13 to 19-year-olds. The OAG has arranged for police officers to work with the young people eg in clearing up a neglected park. There the young people and police find themselves talking together as equals. The result has been that police calls to the park have dropped from 20 calls per weekend to zero or at the most one.
- Police are also seen to be doing other jobs which no one would expect them to do: eg cleaning up graffiti, and holding police surgeries in schools and community centres. Some of the surgeries have very few attenders, but officers persist in what they are doing.
- Success can be reflected in the comments of OAG members. They told us “The bad attitudes of police have gone”. “Police actions are less arbitrary: much more evidence-based”. “Neighbourhood policing reduces crime, as well as fear of crime”. “It's a partnership which works”. “Change has been slow. We never used to see police between incidents.” “They used to have Neighbourhood Forums, but those were just tokens of consultation”. “Mr Coughlan and Mr Banku came in, and they didn't just focus on targets. They actually talked about litter and graffiti and got their hands dirty turning round the environment”. “What 's the best measure of success? We feel safer”.

How has change been made?

- Quite simply, it was the area Commander who recognised that he and his officers needed to relate better with their communities. The business case was plain to him, in the need for avoidance of plummeting public trust in the police each time high profile arrests of possible terrorists take place. It was also, we suspect, his sense that old ways were unsuitable to modern conditions.

- We asked Mr Coughlan “who initiated these programmes? Were you asked to do this by the Chief Constable? Or did you do it on your own”. The answer was “no, this is not an initiative from the Chief Constable, although he is informed at all stages”. “It's my job to get sergeants and PCs to act in civil ways with local individuals and communities.”
- In effect, he was determined to improve the professionalism of policing in his area, by genuine partnership with his local communities. This was not to be token talking to people, whose views were not to be trusted. The communities wanted to be heard, and wanted to see that the police would act on what they suggested where the advice was sound.
- The Commander took what other officers might consider to be a risk, and that paid off handsomely. Outcomes were that many national targets were mightily improved.

Options for building on this good practice:

This Stephen Lawrence Review suggest :

- Bring together ACPO officers to hear a presentation from Mr Coughlan and Mr Banku as a demonstration of what can be done if there is a will.
- Whether or not Chief Constables take on the necessary leadership, it would still be worthwhile to bring together Operational/Borough Commanders to hear from Mr Coughlan and Mr Banku. If they could do it, so could others.
- Stress the business case for a more sensitive policing which works with local communities of all backgrounds. Dramatic improvements in trust and confidence clearly follow as a result. Where police have earned greater trust, local people of all backgrounds are more willing to report crime, and to offer to their witness evidence. This must lead to improvements in clear-up rates of all crime.
- Increased job satisfaction for police officers is evident from the discussions we had not just with the Superintendents, but also with the Inspectors we met who are members of the OAG. The public relate more pleasantly with police officers who are seen to be acting more professionally.