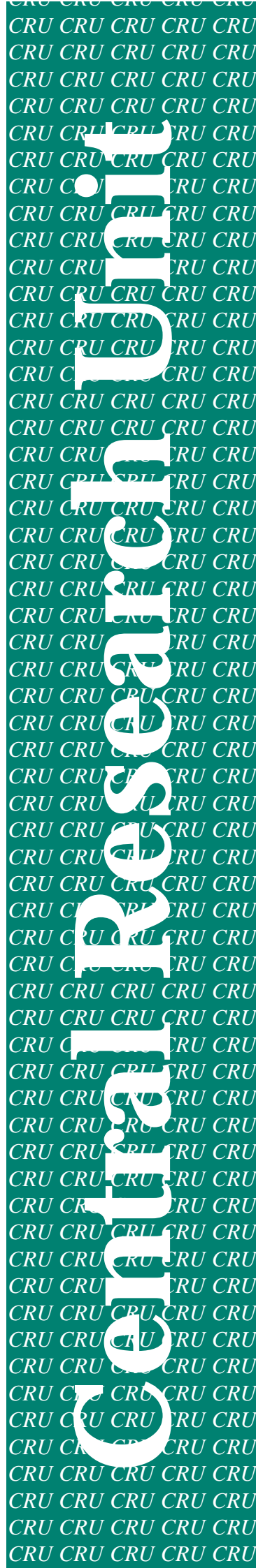


**THE EXPERIENCE OF  
BLACK/MINORITY  
ETHNIC POLICE  
OFFICERS, SUPPORT  
STAFF, SPECIAL  
CONSTABLES AND  
RESIGNERS IN  
SCOTLAND**



**SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE**

---



**THE EXPERIENCE OF BLACK/MINORITY ETHNIC  
POLICE OFFICERS, SUPPORT STAFF, SPECIAL  
CONSTABLES AND RESIGNERS IN SCOTLAND**

**By  
Daniel Onifade**

**INTRA *vires*, Consultants**

**Scottish Executive Central Research Unit  
2002**

Further copies of this report are available priced **£5.00**. Cheques should be made payable to The Stationery Office Ltd and addressed to:

The Stationery Office Bookshop  
71 Lothian Road  
Edinburgh  
EH3 9AZ

Tel: 0870 606 5566

Fax: 0870 606 5588

**The views expressed in this report are those of the researchers and do not necessarily represent those of the Department or Scottish Ministers.**

© Crown Copyright 2002

Limited extracts from the text may be produced provided the source is acknowledged. For more extensive reproduction, please write to the Chief Research Officer at the Central Research Unit, 3rd Floor West Rear, St Andrew's House, Edinburgh EH1 3DG

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) for their support without which this research would not have been possible.

I would also like to thank the Personnel/Human Resource Departments of the eight Police Forces/Constabularies in Scotland, for their support and assistance in gaining access to the participants and providing venues for the interviews. Some Personnel Departments wrote to participants encouraging them to participate in the research whilst making it clear that it was not compulsory to do so. I am particularly appreciative of these efforts.

I would like to thank the Research Support/Advisory Group for the support and advice given.

I would particularly like to thank Dr Ann-Marie Bostyn of the University of Edinburgh Office of Lifelong Learning for her support and assistance throughout the course of this research.

I would also like to thank The Scottish Police Federation for the access to its officials.

Finally, I would like to thank all the participants who gave their time, many on more than one occasion, in order to participate in this research.

**Daniel Onifade, May 2002**

## CONTENTS

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

<b><u>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</u></b>	1
<b><u>CHAPTER ONE</u></b>	4
<b>Introduction</b>	4
<b>Aims</b>	4
<b>Research Design and Methodology</b>	4
<b><u>CHAPTER TWO</u></b>	6
<b>Emerging Themes</b>	6
<b>Complaints</b>	6
<b>Equal Opportunities and Race Relations</b>	6
<b>Support from Colleagues</b>	7
<b>Career Progress</b>	8
<b>Generational Differences</b>	8
<b><u>CHAPTER THREE</u></b>	10
<b>Further Findings</b>	10
<i>General Lack of Awareness of Issues Concerning Racism</i>	10
<i>The “canteen culture”</i>	12
<i>Isolation</i>	13
<i>Pressure to Belong to and Perpetuate the Existing Work Culture</i>	13
<b><u>CHAPTER FOUR</u></b>	15
<b>Contributions of Special Constables and Support Staff</b>	15
<i>Special Constabulary</i>	15
<i>Support Staff and Resigners</i>	16
<b>Other Themes</b>	17
<i>Targeting Underrepresented Groups for Recruitment Purposes</i>	17
<i>Probationer Training</i>	18
<i>Police Complaints System</i>	19
<i>Black Police Officers’ Association</i>	19
<i>Scottish Police Federation</i>	20
<b><u>CHAPTER FIVE</u></b>	21
<b>Conclusion</b>	21
<b>Recommendations</b>	21
<b><u>APPENDIX I – The Pilot Project</u></b>	23
<b><u>APPENDIX II – Responses to Research Questionnaire</u></b>	28
<b><u>APPENDIX III – Research Exercise Questionnaire</u></b>	30

# **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

## **Introduction**

The public acknowledgement of only one complaint about racism, by a Black/Minority Ethnic Police Officer against the Police anywhere in Scotland in recent memory, compared to the numerous complaints of this nature in England over the last few years, indicates that the Black/Minority Ethnic Officers within Scottish Police Forces experience no racism.

## **Aims**

The aims of this study are three fold:

- To ascertain the experiences of serving black and minority ethnic police officers, special constables and civilians in Scottish Police Forces.
- To explore the experiences of black and minority ethnic individuals who have resigned from any of the Scottish Police Forces; whether police officers, special constables or civilians.
- To ascertain the reasons why there have been so few official complaints about racism from within Scottish Police Forces.

## **Methodology**

The primary means of data collection were questionnaires, supported by focus groups and individual structured interviews.

Participants were black and minority ethnic individuals who were either serving police officers, special constables, civilians or who had resigned from such posts.

After successfully running a pilot scheme in Lothian and Borders Police, the author dispatched sixty two questionnaires to black and minority ethnic members of all eight Scottish forces. Of these, fifty two were completed and returned. Thirty eight individual interviews and eight focus group interviews were carried out.

The overall sample size therefore, was fifty two participants.

## **Main Findings**

- 76% of the participants said they believed there is racism within the Police Service.
- 69% of the participants said they had experienced racism in the Police Service.
- 17% of those who said they experienced racism had complained about it.
- This represents 12% of the participants in the study.
- 100% of those who made complaints about racist behaviour said they had received negative reactions from their line managers and colleagues after having made the complaint.
- 44% of the participants said they believed there was no genuine commitment to race equality in the Police Service.
- 50% of the participants believed that there were no implementation strategies for any existing race equality policies.
- 62% of the participants said they had expected to suffer racism in the service when they joined.
- 70% of the participants said they would not discourage their children from joining the police but only 37% of all participants said they would encourage their children to join.
- 79% of the participants reported having been the target of racist jokes within the Police Service.
- 63% of the participants admitted to having told racist jokes themselves.
- 94% of the participants said racism has not been a barrier to their career progress.

The individual interviews and focus group discussions covered a wide variety of topics related to participants' work and experiences. The main issues that they seem most concerned about included:

- General lack of awareness of issues concerning racism
- The 'Canteen Culture'
- Isolation
- Pressure to belong to and perpetuate the existing work culture
- Special Constabulary
- Support Staff and Resigners
- Targeting underrepresented groups for recruitment purposes.
- Probationer Training
- Police Complaints System
- Black Police Officers Association
- Scottish Police Federation

## **Conclusion**

From the research conducted, it can be argued that racism exists in Scottish Police Forces.

With 69% of participants having said they experienced some form of racism within the service, the hypothesis that racism does not exist within Scottish Police Forces

cannot be supported. The number of complaints was small but that can be explained by other reasons, such as the fear of backlash. Such fears appear to have made the situation worse than it actually was and fed a perception that racism was much more prevalent within the service than it actually was.

Participants believed that much of the effort put into fighting racism over the last few years was geared towards the public and such efforts appeared tokenistic. This gave the impression that lip service was paid to the issue and no genuine commitment actually existed.

Officers failed to understand the issues of how to confront discrimination and where the responsibility for doing so rested. There were issues of organisational, structural, cultural and personal discrimination.

There was a significant lack of confidence in the complaint system.

With the current recruitment drive, there is a likelihood that the numbers of black and minority ethnic officers will increase, but there may be a retention problem in the near future if many young people who join the Police Service today do not accept any form of racism, in stark contrast to their predecessors.

## **Recommendations**

Some of the recommendations may have already been addressed by some Forces in one form or another and may also be addressed by the new National Equal Opportunities Training Strategy.

It is recommended that:

- The Police Service should adopt a mentoring programme for all new recruits.
- An environment of “zero tolerance” to racist jokes and attitudes, regardless of the source, should be created.
- Awareness training programmes should not only cover service delivery but also issues in employee relations.
- There should be specialist equality units within Human Resources departments of Police Forces. A single equality officer is an inadequate provision.
- Procedures for handling complaints of racial harassment/incidents need to be overhauled.
- Overexposure of black and minority ethnic officers for publicity purposes (with regard to equality issues) should be discouraged.
- Openness should be encouraged with respect to targeting and encouraging people from minority ethnic communities to embark on careers in the Police. Officers should be educated as to the importance and necessity of such targeting and encouragement.
- Diversity issues should be made part of the core competencies on which officers are appraised.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **Introduction**

In Scotland, in recent memory, only one complaint by a black or minority ethnic police officer against fellow police officers or support staff about racism has been publicly acknowledged<sup>1</sup>. In contrast, numerous complaints of this nature have been made in England over the last few years<sup>2</sup>. Accordingly, the author designed this research to test the hypothesis that the black and minority ethnic police officers within Scottish Police Forces experience no racism from their colleagues.

The research was commissioned and funded by the Scottish Executive Central Research Unit.

### **Aims**

The aims of this study are three fold:

- To ascertain the experiences of serving black and minority ethnic police officers, special constables and civilians in Scottish Police Forces.
- To explore the experiences of black and minority ethnic individuals who have resigned from any of the Scottish Police Forces; whether police officers, special constables or civilians.
- To ascertain the reasons why there have been so few official complaints about racism from within Scottish Police Forces.

### **Research Design and Methodology**

A pilot study was conducted in the Lothian and Borders Police area. This was carried out to test the research instruments to be employed as well as the viability of a fuller study (See Appendix I). On completion of the pilot study, a fuller study was commissioned covering the remaining seven Police Forces in Scotland, namely, Central Scotland Police, Dumfries and Galloway Constabulary, Fife Constabulary, Grampian Police, Northern Constabulary, Strathclyde Police and Tayside Police.

Each Force provided contact details for their black and minority ethnic employees after having received the consent of the individuals concerned. It was important that anonymity and confidentiality were maintained throughout the research. This has been and remains the case.

The research commenced in April 2000. The author sent out sixty two questionnaires and received the first replies in the same month. A total of fifty two replies were

---

<sup>1</sup> Ramadaz v Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Surinder Singh v Chief Constable of Nottinghamshire

received. Of these, forty seven indicated a willingness to participate in a face-to-face interview with the author, while five declined. Ten questionnaires were not returned.

Of the forty seven who agreed to be interviewed, a sample of thirty eight were selected and interviewed individually. Each interview comprised an invitation to each participant to give reasons for, and expand on, their answers in the questionnaire.

On completion of the interviews, focus groups were employed. These are tried and tested research methods for the purpose of qualitative research. The intention was to hold eight focus group meetings involving four or more, however, there were two focus group meetings where there were only two or three attendees. The remaining six focus group meetings were well attended and five of the ten people who had not returned their questionnaires ended up attending some of the focus group meetings.

The five officers who indicated that they did not want a face-to-face interview were invited to participate in the focus group discussions but they declined. Two new officers who joined the forces after the research had started were also afforded the opportunity to take part. These officers added value to the discussions in another way as they could talk about their recent experience either at the Scottish Police College or their perceptions of the police before they joined.

The researcher personally facilitated all the focus group discussions. The groups discussed the issues and attempted to answer the questions raised by the aims of the research

The focus group meetings lasted an average of two hours each. At the end of the series of focus group meetings, all the data was collated and analysed.

**Table 1** Categories and numbers of participants at stages of research

Status	Questionnaires	Interviews	Focus Groups
Officers	31	22	29
Special Constables	8	5	8
Support Staff	9	7	7
Ex Officers	2	2	-
Ex Support Staff	2 <sup>3</sup>	2	-
Total	52	38	44

<sup>3</sup> One of these left the service between the questionnaire and the interview stages. They completed the questionnaire as an employee but attended the interview as a resigner.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Emerging Themes**

Some themes came to light very quickly during the individual interviews. One was that the general attitude of Police Officers towards complaints of any sort is negative. This made officers very reluctant to make a complaint against another officer for fear of a backlash. When elements of racism are included in any such complaint, the fear of a backlash is even greater. Racism manifests itself in many forms, the most common of which are discrimination and harassment. These may include denial of rights and privileges of the victim, exclusion, omitting to act (especially where there is a duty to act or intervene), name-calling, jokes, unwanted banter, etc.

### **Complaints**

On close examination of the data collected from the questionnaires and interviews, there seems to be a prevailing view that as with most other situations in the Police Service, Officers and Support Staff are not expected to complain when they suffer racism within the service. Thirty six (69%) of the fifty two participants said they have experienced racism in one form or another but only six (17%) of these thirty six had complained (12% of the total participants). The rest indicated that they did not complain because of the fear of repercussions. All those who complained indicated that they had had unpleasant experiences afterwards; despite the assurances they had received from very senior officers, the actions of colleagues and immediate line managers were not in line with the assurances given.

### **Equal Opportunities and Race Relations**

Twenty five (48%) of the participants believed that existing Race Relations Policies and Equal Opportunities Policies were only there for public relations purposes.

A further interesting finding was that twenty six (50%) of the participants believed that even where there is a genuine intention to apply the Race Relations Policy, this is undermined by the apparent lack of implementation strategy, and that a number of forces still lump race equality and equal opportunities together as the same issue. A large proportion of the participants, thirty two (62%), indicated that they had expected to suffer some form of racism in the police before they joined. This has not, however, stopped them from encouraging others from their ethnic background to join the police, as they believe the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Thirty seven (71%) of the respondents to the questionnaire would not discourage their children from joining the police but only nineteen (37%) would positively encourage their children to join the police although not at an age below twenty. The thinking behind this, they say, is that the responsibilities of a Police Constable require some life experience and this is best acquired in other spheres of life before joining the police.

## Support from Colleagues

Forty two participants (81%) indicated that they had absolute faith in their colleagues during work and that they had no fears of tackling a dangerous situation, as they believe they will get the support and backup of their colleagues. The remaining 20% took an opposite view. Faith in their colleagues was not “absolute”, they said, and some of the actions and comments of colleagues made them wonder if it would be wise to trust such persons with their safety during dangerous situations. When asked what would happen to a member of the public if they behaved in a racist manner towards a Black/Minority Ethnic Officer, everyone said they believed that member of the public would be arrested by their white colleagues. However, the 20% mentioned above maintained the view that the actions of their colleagues would not be motivated by their non-racist or anti-racist stance but because of the power relationship between the Police and the public. One of them put it succinctly “it is about who has the right to call me a nigger”.

The information received also indicated that thirty three (63%) of the participants had told racist jokes to their colleagues. Forty one (79%) of the participants had at one time or another been the subject of racist jokes (compared with 69% who said that they had experienced racism). When asked if racism was commonplace in the Police Service, thirty nine (74%) of the participants said “yes”, seven (13%) said “no” and another six (12%) replied that they could not say as they had not been in the service long enough to make a judgement.

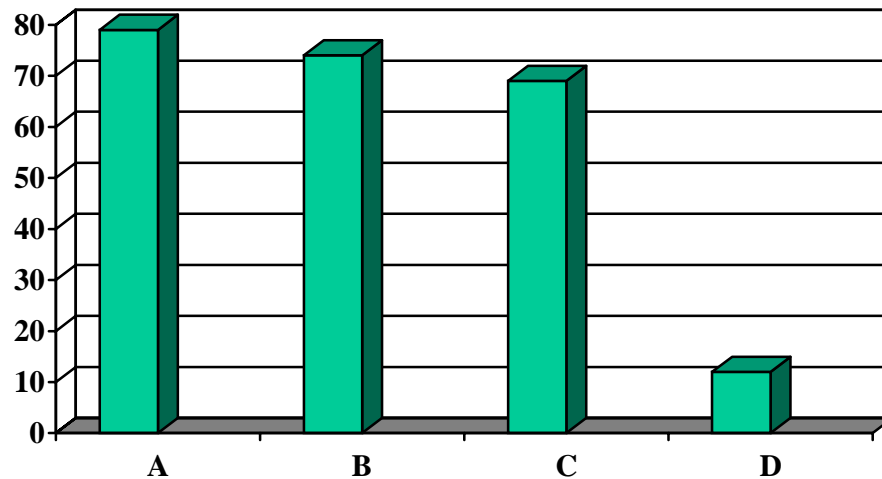
It is also worthy of note that, of the sixteen participants who said that they had no experience of racism in the service, ten said they had been at the receiving end of racist jokes but that these did not amount to racism in their opinion.

The figures reflect the following pattern:

- 79% had been targeted with jokes
- 74% believed there is racism within the Police Service
- 69% said they had suffered racism within the service
- 12% said they had complained about their experience of racism

This is illustrated in the chart in figure 1 below:

**Figure 1**



A = 79% who had been the subject of racist jokes  
B = 74% believed racism is commonplace in the police service  
C = 69% said they have experienced racism in the service  
D = 12% had complained about racism.

### **Career Progress**

When asked whether they felt race has been a barrier to their career progress, forty nine (94%) of the total participants said “no”. This is interesting as 74% of the same group said that racism does exist in the force. This suggests that a majority of the participants do not see the organisation or its structures as discriminating against them in career terms but that racism exists within the organisation in groups and individual/personal attitudes, behaviour and actions.

### **Generational Differences**

The analysis indicated a pattern suggesting that experiences and perspectives differ with length of service of officers.

#### *Under five years service*

There were twenty eight participants having up to five years service. Twelve of them said they had not experienced racism in the Police Service. Five of these twelve officers said racism did not exist in the Police Service. These five officers however said they had suffered some minor incidents of racial overtones within their own Forces but those did not amount to racism in their opinion. They blame to an extent, ignorant individuals for such experience and do not see why the whole Police Service should bear responsibility for the actions of a few undesirables. These five officers argued that the very presence of black and minority ethnic officers in the Service was proof that racism does not exist.

### *Five to eighteen years service*

Participants with between five and eighteen years service tended to be more willing to say that racism existed in the Police Service and believed measures taken so far to combat it were not enough. Twenty one participants fell into this category, seventeen of whom were serving officers and, of these, fourteen agreed that racism exists and not enough was being done about it. They were also the most likely group to say that they had unwittingly encouraged some of the treatment that now constitutes part of their experience. Many of the people in this group said things could change for the better and that the majority of their colleagues were not inherently racist, but that racist name-calling had been placed on a level equivalent to everyday banter.

### *Over eighteen years service*

Participants with over eighteen years experience seem to have a different perspective on racism. They appear to have had no expectation of the system and seem to have accepted whatever situation they find themselves in. However, they did not believe that racism was responsible for their perceived lack of progress. Two officers and a civilian fell into this category. Despite their experiences, the officers would encourage their children to join the police, as they believed that things are changing and are far better now than they were when they joined the police.

**Table 2 Responses by length of service**

Length of Service	Under 5 years		5 to 18 years		Over 18 years	
	Yes	No/DK*	Yes	No/DK*	Yes	No/DK*
Experienced racism	57%	43%	81%	19%	100%	-
Thought racism existed	68%	32%	81%	19%	100%	-
Police must do more to combat racism	56%	44%	82%	18%	100%	-

\*DK stands for Don't Know.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Further Findings

One of the issues emerging from the interview stage was that of officers and civilians who resigned from the forces. During interviews, some of the participants volunteered to facilitate contact between the author and resigners known to them. The author agreed to this and that immediately widened the scope of the research beyond what was originally planned. The author interviewed four resigners. It is hoped that this element of the research will help to identify issues in relation to retention of black and minority ethnic staff. As the scope of resigners is limited in this research, further research is required in this area. The issue of promotion was also highlighted at this stage, and this prompted the inclusion of the following question in all relevant subsequent interviews. “Has your ethnicity or colour been a barrier towards promotion in the Police Service?”

The following themes emerged from the individual interviews and focus group discussions.

- General lack of awareness of issues concerning racism.
- The “canteen culture”
- Isolation
- Pressure to belong to and perpetuate the existing work culture
- Special Constabulary
- Support Staff and Resigners
- Targeting underrepresented groups for recruitment purposes.
- Probationer Training
- Police Complaints System
- Black Police Officers Association
- Scottish Police Federation

#### *General Lack of Awareness of Issues Concerning Racism*

A general lack of awareness on issues concerning racism has been recognised, not only by minority ethnic Police Officers, but by the Police Service itself, and this lack of awareness has been used in the past to excuse attitudes and actions that cannot be justified. When black Officers complained about racist language, for example, it is this lack of awareness that resulted in their white colleagues’ refusal to see a reason for the fuss. A black officer was asked when he once complained; “*You know there was no intention to be racially offensive; are you doing this to damage the career of your colleague?*”

This is the mindset that is prevalent across the service, according to this particular officer. There is, therefore, a general reluctance to complain when racist comments are made. To reinforce this point, only 17% of officers who experienced racism complained formally and they all had negative experiences afterwards.

One officer who made a complaint said:

*“I was effectively cold shouldered, you walk into a group of your colleagues and the silence is deafening. I brought this to the attention of a superior officer who told me that it would be the same reaction against anyone who complained and it has got nothing to do with the fact that the complaint was about racism. He went on to say that I was now being treated equally by my colleagues.”*

*“For every incident I raised, I was always reminded that I was not the only minority person here, there were fat people and there were bald people and that they also got the ‘mickey’ taken out of them. When I asked what happens if I were bald, fat and black. I was told to take my pick. I was also reminded that I had no monopoly of feeling discriminated against because Scottish people have been discriminated against by the English for hundreds of years.”*

Another officer who never complained commented:

*“There had been occasions during which I was treated fairly but you could see the effort that went into that. If you are black or Asian, you are never instinctively treated equally.”*

It can be said that this attitude is not peculiar to white officers, as many minority ethnic officers would not attribute any difficulty they have had within the Service to race or ethnicity. Some even went as far as saying they were grateful that things were not as bad as they could have been.

*“When I joined the Police Force, I expected some hassle so I was prepared for it. What I have received is actually less than I had expected”.*

The above statement was made by an officer with about five years experience in the Service. He maintained that, whilst racism exists and is manifested in the attitudes and behaviour of officers, other officers would come to his rescue if it became unbearable. When asked what constituted “unbearable”, his response was that it depended on the individual who was the victim.

Another Officer spoke of an incident during which he was referred to as “Sambo” by an Officer from a different Police Force and how colleagues from his force interjected and said to that Officer, “*he is not your Sambo, he is our Sambo*”. This he said is an example of his colleagues standing up for him and an indication that he has been accepted as one of the group. What we see here is a coping strategy. The officer in question made it very clear that if he thought there had been any racist intention he would speak up but he did not consider being called “our Sambo” offensive or racist.

With the exception of two officers, all the officers who had been subjected to racial insults by colleagues maintained that their colleagues were not being malicious but that many of them were ignorant and others were thoughtless. It is this perceived lack of malice that softens the impact of racist comments on minority ethnic officers and makes them believe that things are not as bad as they might have expected. This is not to say that things are not bad, but only that things are tolerable. To complain about an act or comment which is not malicious only helps to make a bad situation worse.

### *The “canteen culture”*

As indicated earlier, 69% of the participants in this research said that they have suffered racism in one form or another whilst in the employment of the Police Services in Scotland. One area of concern according to officers is the “light hearted” banter and jokes embarked upon by their colleagues. Such banter often includes a blatant display of racist language. The problem, the officers say, is the fact that the use of such language and attitudes is so widely accepted that such banter has become something of an occupational sub-culture. It is this sub-culture that is sometimes referred to as the “canteen culture”. One officer talked about the way his colleagues referred to a racial awareness course he attended as the ‘Paki Course’.

Some of the phrases that have been used by white officers when referring or speaking to minority ethnic colleagues include “*Working like a nigger*”, “*I’d rather be a darkie*”, (a line from a sectarian song) and *Constable Habib*, as per the WPC in the television series ‘Thin Blue Line’.

When asked why they did not complain, one officer replied:

*“It is futile to complain, it is much more effective to have a quiet word with the officer concerned. That way you don’t lose friends.”*

Most of the officers spoken to, however, said that if things were really bad, they would complain even though they might be ostracised by colleagues. They also pointed out that the kind of language exemplified above is widely accepted within the Police Service, whether it relates to race, gender or other diversity issues that could put one at a disadvantage in society.

There is a very strong belief amongst officers that the intention of the individual telling the joke or making the statement is paramount and that if the individual did not intend to cause offence then no offence should be taken. This can be reasonably interpreted as “the act cannot hurt you unless the mind so intends”.

This attitude was reflected when officers were asked whether their race or ethnicity has been the subject of jokes by other colleagues. Forty participants (77%) said “yes”, but when asked whether they considered the remarks derogatory, thirty participants (57%) said “no”. This interprets as 75% of those who said their race or ethnicity has been the subject of jokes by other colleagues. They explained that since it was said in jest no harm was meant. All of those who said “no” would, however, consider the same statement racist and derogatory were it to come from a member of the public whether or not it was said in jest.

When exploring these issues during Focus Group meetings, many officers agreed that their acceptance of such apparently racist utterances was a coping mechanism, which guarantees their survival and sometimes progress in the job.

One thing that came across very clearly was that when officers had cause to oppose the comments or actions of colleagues, they adopted a non-confrontational but firm approach as opposed to a making a formal complaint. To do this, officers had to be assertive. This requires a high level of confidence, which is not acquired in their first

few years of service. By the time they gain this level of confidence they would have spent some time in the service and would have forged bonds and relationships. Findings from this research suggests the threshold for acquiring this level of confidence is somewhere between four and six years. Unfortunately, at this point in their careers the issue of racism, which still exists, is no longer seen as a problem as they have passed the “test” put to them by colleagues in early years. The issue is now seen as a challenge and whatever coping strategy had been employed up until this point will continue to be used. This means that other white colleagues can continue with their “racist” jokes and banter and the minority ethnic officer will continue to cope. This is a situation both sides can accommodate, and it could be perpetuated for the duration of their service.

The situation can be described as a “Catch 22”, because the officers who cannot or would not stand for such abuse leave the Police Service before they reach the five-year threshold, while those who remain in the service have developed a strategy to cope with it, so that the issue is never addressed

It is difficult for the Police to draw up a list of behaviour that constitutes harassment; it is, however, not difficult to draw up guidelines to help officers determine the appropriateness of their conduct or otherwise.

### *Isolation*

The feeling of isolation does not seem to be an issue in large forces, however in smaller forces, or where the individual has to serve in rural areas, isolation may be an issue.

When the feeling of isolation of individual officers was raised, most in the groups thought it was not a problem. They believed they had forged comradeship with their colleagues as a result of which they did not feel isolated. However, when it was pointed out that isolation also meant the lack of structures to support officers in unique cases like racial abuse or discrimination, they said it would be nice to see other minority ethnic faces, if only for the positive psychological effect.

Some participants said they were the only minority ethnic person in the whole of their community. In such circumstances, it is pertinent if not imperative that the supervising officers and line managers have a good understanding of diversity issues so as to be able to provide support as required by that officer in particular circumstances where racial issues are concerned.

Confidence building and assertiveness training in the early years of service might help in the retention of black officers for a longer period in the Police Service.

### *Pressure to Belong to and Perpetuate the Existing Work Culture*

The situation described above shows that officers develop coping strategies to deal with the particular situation they find themselves in. To this end, many of them “buy

into” the prevailing culture at work. This means that if the culture is one of racist name calling, they buy into it.

One serving officer said:

*“I try to give as much as I get, but whatever I say in return to racist jokes, I have to look for something that singles out that individual from the rest of the group. Whatever that is, it cannot be his race. It is a ‘no win’ situation. If you make his race the subject of your joke then it’s you versus the rest of the group and you would have legitimised racist banter so you can no longer complain because you are now guilty of the same offence. If you keep quiet, they interpret silence as consent and carry on anyway. So you try to neutralise the situation by cracking a joke about your own race or about yourself. This makes you acceptable to the rest because as they put it, you can laugh at yourself but what you have in fact done is to have given them the licence to carry on with racist behaviour in the guise of banter. The best thing to do is to keep quiet and let them carry on.”*

Another officer said:

*“Joining the police is not just a job, it is a way of life and whatever they do, you do with them even if it means accepting racist jokes; when I first joined the force, they used to refer to me by my colour. They no longer do that now because they consider me to be one of them.”*

*“If you complain, they will still make the racist remark in your absence so I keep quiet and play along, that way I know those who are closet racists and watch out for them. It does not mean that I accept their behaviour.”*

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Contributions of Special Constables and Support Staff

It was interesting to note that support staff (civilians) and special constables were more willing to discuss issues of racial discrimination and needed less prompting than serving Police Officers. It is however noteworthy that all the participants spoke candidly and in the opinion of the author, honestly.

#### *Special Constabulary*

Minority ethnic special constables are in a different situation. Many of the ones who participated in this research do not feel that they are treated as full members of the Police Service. Most of them talked about the lack of support from the white officers they were working with during some risky situations.

*“I was walking along the street with my colleague (a white, regular officer) when we were accosted by a group of young men one of whom took my police cap off my head and passed it round with his friends and making jovial but racist comments to me. I was going to have this man arrested and maybe cautioned for what he had done and said, so I looked to my colleague for support. He just turned away from me, took the cap from one of the men and “off you go” he said to them. No warning or caution, he did not even bother to talk to me about the incident. The men then walked away laughing and poking fun at me as they went”*

When asked if he thought a white special constable would be treated in the same way, this officer replied, *“I don’t know but I don’t think so”*.

As in the case of serving officers, there is also a lack of support structures for special constables and civilian staff when it comes to racial matters. They are largely left to their own devices. There is an evident lack of training on racial issues and where some training is available, much emphasis is placed on how to deal with members of the public and very little on challenging the racist behaviour that is displayed when dealing with one another within the service.

Whilst the perspective remains amongst special constables that they are not viewed as proper police officers by their regular constable colleagues, their evidence suggests that they still undergo loyalty tests similar to those reported by regular officers of minority ethnic background. A special constable related the following incident:

*“I was on duty one day when a guy was arrested and detained in the cells. He had bruises all over him and I don’t know how he got the bruises, but he received no medical attention whilst he was in police custody. On seeing that a minority ethnic officer was in the station he tried to speak to me in his first language, from the way he was talking, it appeared to me as if he had a mental problem (he wasn’t violent or disorderly). This guy was reeling in pain but I was told that I was not allowed to assist him. It was like being asked to choose*

*between my people and the police. The guy obviously required medical attention. I felt like I was being tested to see where my loyalty lay, how long could I watch somebody from my community being maltreated and how I felt about it. I still don't know whether I had to go through this test because I am a special constable or because I am from an ethnic minority".*

Participants were unable to agree on whether the treatment received by these special constables was due to their ethnicity or it was because of the general feeling amongst serving officers that special constables were not really police officers.

This issue must be resolved very quickly if the Police Forces intend to use the Special Constabulary as a means of recruiting more black and minority ethnic people into the police by giving them an opportunity to experience service in the police before they make a full commitment.

Despite the unpleasant experiences mentioned above, all the special constables, without exception, were generally pleased with the Police Service and when asked why they did not join the regular service, all said that if their circumstances were slightly different, they would join the regular forces. One female special constable made the point that if the basic training at the police college could be done on a part-time basis or if it had some form of time flexibility, she would definitely join the regular force. The special constables said they have an opportunity to experience life in the Police Service without which their willingness to join the regular Police Service would never have arisen.

#### *Support Staff and Resigners*

The interviews with the support staff and resigners brought to light a number of interesting issues.

One of the resigners had worked as a civilian (support staff) in the police and claimed that the alternative to resignation was acceptance of the racist taunts from "so called colleagues".

*"The attitudes were entrenched, your work was over-scrutinised and it was as if they were expecting you to fail. There was an apparent lack of support from your supervisors".*

*"I left the force because I had had enough. I had racist comments made about me so many times it just became a joke to complain. I was once told that as a result of my accent, I couldn't be considered an English speaker".*

*"Stupid questions are asked of me and it is like I have to justify my existence there every time. I have not been insulted to my face but there is something in the way they speak to me or look at me that is worrying".*

*"As a black person working for the police, you are under a lot of pressure as you are aware that you do not represent yourself only but the whole of the community. This means that you are fighting two battles, as you want to strike*

*a balance between the interest of the community and your own personal interest. You therefore sometimes find yourself in a position that you have to take all that is thrown at you otherwise you could be accused of being oversensitive and that may jeopardise the chances of other black people getting jobs here in future so you keep quiet and do not complain. However, by not complaining, the perpetrators seize on your silence as consent to carry on with their racial behaviour”.*

*“The chances for progress are nil. You do not get commended for good work and if you ever do, it is embarrassingly over the top. It is as if you were not expected to be able to do that piece of work in the first place. By the same token your mistakes are amplified, over-emphasised and exaggerated in order to confirm the belief that you could not do the job in the first place. When a black officer gets promoted, you begin to hear rumours about how it was just a token promotion or that he never even sat his exams. This is all done so as to undermine the officer in his new role and, should he fail, they can say “we told you so”. As a black person you have to be twice as good to get half as far. You are also expected to be grateful for having a job at all so you should be showing your appreciation at every opportunity”.*

*“You tend to find that the problem lies with the tiny emperors in their tiny empires but how do you go and complain to the senior officer about some minor and seemingly trivial matters? It is this low level attrition that eventually gets you. You sometimes get a big incident but they put it down to incompetence, lack of awareness or even thoughtlessness. You know that is not true because all the seemingly trivial issues, many if not all of which were not reported, form a pattern of systematic harassment. It is this low level war of attrition that tells you that you are not wanted there”.*

Three of the four resigners cited racial abuse, lack of support, or lack of career prospects as a minority ethnic person, as playing a major role in their decision to resign. It is noteworthy, however, that none of them stated racial abuse or harassment as the only reason for their resignation.

## **Other Themes**

### *Targeting Underrepresented Groups for Recruitment Purposes*

This is an issue that makes a lot of the participants uncomfortable. Over 85% of the officers, special constables and support staff spoken to were against targeting any one community for recruitment purposes. When asked why they were against the idea, the answer given in almost all cases was that targeting for recruitment purposes was a euphemism for positive discrimination. They were worried that this would diminish their positions and achievements, as people would see all black officers as beneficiaries of positive discrimination rather than having attained their positions through merit. Many such officers indicated that they have been taunted over the issue by colleagues. Some of the things said include:

*“Nobody can touch you, you are the token darkie”*

*“You’ll make sergeant in two years, they have to be seen to be PC”*

*“You only got in because you are minority ethnic”*

*“You coloured guys are bullet proof whatever you do in the force”*

In some forces, minority ethnic officers have been invited to, and have had, meetings with the Chief Constable. Over 50% of the officers spoken to in those forces were not comfortable with the idea of having meetings with the Chief Constable as, they say, it smacks of tokenism and creates resentment from their white colleagues.

During the course of the interviews, it transpired that a large proportion of police officers did not understand the issue of targeting for recruitment purposes and many of them consider the issue to be the same as positive discrimination. Over 80% of the officers spoken to did not appreciate the differences between positive action and positive discrimination and believed both were the same thing. The officers believed that if the Police Service targeted the minority ethnic community for recruitment purposes, standards would be lowered to allow for an increase in people from the minority ethnic community joining the Police. This, they argued, would diminish the achievements of minority ethnic officers currently serving in Scottish Polices Forces because they would be lumped together with the new intakes and seen as beneficiaries of positive discrimination. These officers also believe there would be a general backlash against minority ethnic officers and support staff in the Police Service, should it go down the line of targeting the minority ethnic communities for recruitment purposes.

### *Probationer Training*

The issue of the level of training on, and understanding of, racial issues was discussed. Many young officers stated that they received little training on the issue at the Scottish Police College and that the training was limited to awareness issues only. Some officers talked of how their experience of racism started during probationer training.

One respondent related how he had asked course-mates to remove their shoes when visiting his room. One of them asked whether the request had anything to do with his religion, and appeared not to accept the explanation that, in fact, it was only a matter of hygiene. Returning to his room later, the respondent was shocked and disgusted to find muddy boot-prints all over his bedding. Was this a deliberate act of disrespect to his perceived beliefs? When he confronted his colleagues, they simply laughed at him. The following day, his laundry, left in a communal area, was covered in phlegm. No-one else’s laundry was treated in this way – surely a deliberate and malicious act? To trample on a bed or spit repeatedly on laundry would be offensive in any case; where the malice is compounded by apparently deliberate sacrilege, the effect is doubly wounding.

This officer also said that personal items had subsequently been tampered with. When asked if the incident was reported, the officer replied:

*“No, I did not want to be seen as damaging someone else’s career”.*

There were also reports of young recruits being eager to demonstrate that they have bought into the “macho culture” and racist name-calling is seen as part of that culture.

According to another officer of two years service:

*“My course mates did not see race issues and cultural awareness as part of mainstream policing; as far as they were concerned, it was optional. Very little time is spent on the issue compared to other issues of policing and I do not believe that it is high up on the priority list.”*

### *Police Complaints System*

There was a significant lack of confidence in the complaints system. Due to the way the system is set up, it does not identify problems and seek solutions but it identifies culprits and apports blame. Complaining against a fellow officer is therefore frowned upon within the Police Service. This attitude is, however, not peculiar to racial matters.

*“ Making a formal complaint against a fellow officer is like crossing the last frontier within the Police ‘fraternity’. If your complaint is upheld, that officer has had it. Then comes the backlash, other officers see you as some kind of a ‘Judas’; you are frozen out and treated as a social leper; you are perceived as having damaged the career of a fellow officer. This has absolutely nothing to do with your race, it will happen to you irrespective of your colour. If your complaint fails, then you have had it. Either way you lose if you make a formal complaint.”*

This officer also said that in extreme cases of malfeasance, a complaint can be made without fear of repercussions as such actions would be seen as protective towards the service but racism is not seen as malfeasance, just minor misdemeanour.

The issue therefore cannot and should not be addressed solely within efforts to tackle racism otherwise the integrity of the complaints system could be undermined.

### *Black Police Officers’ Association*

When asked whether they would like to see a Black Police Officers Association (BPOA) in Scotland, twenty one of the twenty nine serving police officers, special constables and ex police officers interviewed were against the idea. They believed that the number of black and minority ethnic police officers is not large enough to warrant such a body, they also believed that forming such an Association would invite some form of backlash from their white colleagues and alienate the black officers even further. There was a feeling, though, that the issue of race is low on the list of

priorities of the Scottish Police Federation (SPF). Officers said they would not approach the SPF if they had problems in relation to their race, as they did not think it had either the expertise or the will to address racial issues. Many acknowledged though that they were not conversant with the work of the SPF but still felt the idea of a black officers association could lead to a doctrine of “Separate but Equal” which would further marginalise them and would therefore be counter productive.

A few officers were, however, of the opinion that a BPOA was desirable as they believe that the SPF as currently constituted does not and cannot address issues relating to race. They cite the example of the BPOA in England and Wales and how the body is now acknowledged as accurately reflective of the feelings of black police officers.

### *Scottish Police Federation*

When the above issues were put to the SPF, it acknowledged its lack of expertise in race issues, pointing out that in the last ten years it had only had to deal with one complaint of racial discrimination. However it takes the views of officers seriously and agreed to explore ways in which the needs of black police officers could be better served. One way was to have a race equality unit within the SPF. The unit would then provide minority ethnic officers with advice and assistance with reference to issues concerning race relations.

The SPF spokesperson said that it had not been proactive on the issue of increasing the number of minority ethnic members of the Police Forces in Scotland. It had recently talked about a poster campaign but that did not materialise. The SPF had no records for people leaving the forces so it could not tell the percentage of black people resigning from the Police Forces in Scotland over the last ten years nor could it give the figure for white police officers who have resigned over the same period.

*“We have never surveyed our members from the minority ethnic community on whether they have suffered racism but neither have we surveyed our female members on issues of ...sexual harassment for example. Now this is something we are beginning to think about. What we don’t want is to be seen as singling out anybody and saying to them ‘do you have a complaint?’ What I can say, however, is that we are there for anybody who has any sort of complaint.”*

*Official of the Scottish Police Federation*

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Conclusion

With 69% of participants having experienced some form of racism within the service, the hypothesis that racism does not exist within Scottish Police Forces cannot be supported. The number of complaints may be small but that is due to other reasons such as the fear of backlash. Such fears aggravate the situation and feed a perception that racism is much more prevalent within the service than it actually is.

Much of the effort aimed at fighting racism over the last few years is believed to be for public consumption and appears to be tokenistic. This may give the impression that lip service only is paid to the issue and that genuine commitment does not exist.

Most officers<sup>4</sup> failed to understand issues of discrimination, how to tackle it and where the responsibility rested for doing so. There were issues of organisational, structural, cultural and personal discrimination uncovered by the research. An issue such as that highlighted in the section dealing with the complaint system is an organisational one but it puts the black and minority ethnic officer at extreme disadvantage and places the police authorities in a tight corner.

With the current recruitment drive, there is a likelihood that the numbers of black and minority ethnic officers will increase, but there may be a retention problem in the near future if many young people who join the Police Service today do not accept any form of racism as *quid pro quo* for maintaining their jobs or progress in their chosen careers. This is in stark contrast to their predecessors.

### Recommendations<sup>5</sup>

Some of the recommendations here may have already been addressed by some Forces in one manner or another and may also have been addressed by the new National Equal Opportunities Training Strategy.

It is recommended that:

- The Police Service should adopt a mentoring programme for all new recruits.

During the research some officers of considerable experience in terms of length of service said they would be happy to mentor new officers if required. Mentoring could be extremely beneficial to the service since both mentors and recruits benefit from the exercise. White officers should also be encouraged to become mentors and the programme should be open to anybody who might be experiencing difficulties because of their ethnicity.

---

<sup>4</sup> This includes white officers as well as black and minority ethnic officers.

<sup>5</sup> These recommendations are the opinions of the author reached as a result of the evidence gathered through this research.

- Create an environment of zero tolerance to racist jokes and attitudes regardless of the source.

About thirty to thirty five years ago, it was only a misdemeanour for an officer to be drunk whilst on duty, today it is not only forbidden to be in a drunken state while on duty, it is generally accepted by officers that it is gross misconduct to be drunk on duty and that this could easily lead to dismissal. It is this kind of attitudinal restructuring that is required if racism is to be eliminated in the Police Service. It is necessary to take a firm and visible stand against racism so that perpetrators know they will not get away with racist behaviour. At the same time, racial awareness training programmes should indicate that anti-racism is not an addendum but an integral part of policing in modern society which is multi-racial and multi-ethnic.

- Awareness training programmes should not only cover service delivery but also issues in employee relations.

This is important, as it seems that a majority of white officers who know not to use racist comments when dealing with members of the public, still use such language in their interactions with minority ethnic colleagues at work. It is as if they have one rule when they deal with members of the public and a different rule when dealing with fellow officers.

- There should be specialist equality units within Human Resources Departments of Police Forces. A single equality officer is an inadequate provision.
- Procedures for handling complaints of racial harassment/incidents should be overhauled.

This is necessary to boost confidence in the system.

- Overexposure of black and minority ethnic officers for publicity purposes (with regards to equality issues) should be discouraged.

It should be realised that overexposure creates an additional burden for these officers and creates resentment from their white colleagues who think these officers are getting preferential treatment.

- Openness should be encouraged with respect to targeting and encouraging people from minority ethnic communities to embark on careers in the Police.

Officers should be educated as to the importance and necessity of such targeting and encouragement. (In 1999 the Home Office said 25% of its staff would be from the minority ethnic communities in ten years. Today 28% of its staff are from those communities. At senior level, the proportion has trebled since 1999.)

- Diversity issues should be made part of the core competencies on which officers are appraised.

## APPENDIX I

### The Pilot Project

#### *Introduction and Background*

Research carried out in England and Wales suggests that Black and Minority Ethnic Police Officers suffer racism in silence during their service years only to come out after retirement and say, “ I wish I had said something”. The reason for this it is suggested is that they felt the only way to guarantee their survival within the Police Service was to at least acquiesce with the racist taunts and attitudes of colleagues.

There has been only one publicly acknowledged complaint about racism, by a Black/Minority Ethnic Police Officer against the Police anywhere in Scotland in recent memory compared to the numerous complaints of this nature in England over the last few years. This suggests that the Black/Minority Ethnic Officers within Scottish Police Forces experience no racism.

Based on this hypothesis, Black/Minority Ethnic Officers and civilian members of staff of all the Police Forces were asked to participate in research into their experiences in the Police.

To ascertain the feasibility of such research in Scotland, a pilot study was carried out to test the research instruments and quantify levels of participation. In total, 101 request letters were sent by the researcher and 70 replies were received from officers and civilians indicating their willingness to participate in the research. The research therefore covered 70% of the Minority Ethnic members of staff of Scottish Police Forces.

The following is a breakdown of the figures as per individual forces.

Force	Sent	Received
Central	3	1
Dumfries	1	1
Fife	4	3
Grampian	5	5
Lothian & Borders	15	10
Northern	2	2
Strathclyde	65	43
Tayside	6	5
Total	101	70

With 70% of the target group indicating their intention to participate in the research, the viability of the research was established.

The research instruments were tested, as part of an overall pilot, in Lothian and Borders Police. The 67% who indicated their willingness to participate in this research were sent questionnaires relating to their experience generally as police

officers, their general background before they joined the police and their specific experience as Black/Minority Ethnic police officers.

The questionnaire was designed so that it was non-threatening and user friendly so as to encourage participants to answer the questions without apprehensions.

All but one of those who indicated their willingness to participate in the exercise completed and returned the questionnaire.

In Lothian and Borders Police, the replies to the questionnaires were as follows:

- 45% of the participants have some military background.

Everyone in this group was either in the military service before joining the police or had a close relative in the military service. They all indicated that their military background had some influence or was the main reason for their decision to join the police.

- 67% would not discourage their children from joining the police and 7% of these would actively encourage their children to join.

Officers within this group indicated that should their children show interest in joining the police, they would not be adverse to such a decision. They were, in effect, taking a neutral position. As shown above, a minority would, however, actively encourage their children to join the police.

- All of the participants expressed concerns about racism within society; however, 78% expressed concern about racism within the Police Service.
- 89% believed racism is commonplace in the Police Service.

When compared with answer 3 above, answer 4 would indicate that there are about 11% of the participants who believe there is racism in the Police Service, but are not concerned about it.

- 67% stated that their ethnicity has been the butt of occasional racist banter from colleagues.
- 56% of those who experienced racist banter had not taken offence.
- Of those who took offence, none of them had reported the incidents.
- 56% of participants said they had told jokes that could be construed as racist.
- 89% claimed to have suffered racist abuse from members of the public (56% on more than 10 occasions).
- 56% have reported racial abuse from members of the public.
- 11% said they felt isolated as the only Black officers serving in their area.

- 78% had expected to suffer some form of racism in the police before joining.
- 56% said research such as this was necessary, while 44% said such research was desirable.

### *Interviews*

On completion of the questionnaire phase, the interview phase commenced. All participants who had indicated their willingness to be interviewed were interviewed individually, comprising 78% of the total number of participants.

The interviews were structured in that they were the same questions for all the interviewees. It was a repeat of the questions on the questionnaire but with follow up questions to probe the reasoning behind their answers. The officers were asked to pick their preferred locations for the interviews and they all opted for their place of work.

The interviews revealed that whilst officers did not think their colleagues racist, there is an expectation by officers of racist attitudes from white colleagues. As long as the racist banter stays within the parameters of this expectation, officers would not attribute such action as racist, unlike they would react to similar action from members of the public. They see such behaviour as a way of bonding and that it is part of a sub-culture into which they must buy in order to be accepted. As one officer puts it “you’ll have to earn your place in this job”.

*“My first two/three years were the hardest, my tutor cop was a cruel bastard who went to extraordinary lengths to make life difficult for me. I thought of quitting already at the Police College during basic training. Not because the training was hard but because of the racist behaviour of some of the officers from other forces and some of the instructors. I was constantly marked down even when it was obvious to everyone that I deserved better marks. My Force colleagues on the course gave me a lot of support and that helped me through the difficult times. I felt the treatment I received from the instructors was designed to frustrate me into resigning from the police but that only made me more determined to stay”.*

An officer of almost 10 years service made the above statement. This officer now sees that period as an initiation into the “team”. Complaining would have meant loss of trust so, by not complaining, this officer has earned the confidence of colleagues and this was more important in the work that they do as police officers.

Police officers work in complicated, demanding and sometimes dangerous situations. As a result of this, there needs to be an element of trust and confidence in one another amongst colleagues. The test for Black/Minority Ethnic officers is the racist name calling and stereotyping. To prove that they are worthy of this trust and confidence, the Black officers have to extricate themselves from the stereotypes by acquiescence and, in some cases, usage of racist language themselves. This explains why racism is

persistent within the Police Service, yet is being denied by almost everybody within the service.

A high proportion of officers admitted that they have witnessed white colleagues using racist language in their dealings with minority ethnic members of the public, especially when they are suspected of committing a crime. When asked why they did not challenge their colleagues, they said they did not think it was an issue. When pressed, one officer said: *“I know my colleague well enough to know that though he sometimes uses racist language, he is not a racist”*. Again, it must be said that having been through their own “baptism of fire”, such officers now see name-calling as a petty issue. They all said if it were a serious racist matter, they would report it. None of them, however, could quite state what they considered a serious racist matter.

All of the officers interviewed expressed strong anti-racist sentiments and stated that the situation both in society and the police should be constantly monitored. The efforts of the force to promote anti-racism also ranks low according to the officers interviewed. 89% of them have had no other form of training apart from the briefing they had during basic training.

Taking a look at the force’s equality training programme, the researcher finds that anti-racist training is confined to 45 minute briefing sessions done at divisional level. There is also a tendency for the force to claim that its Equal Opportunities training programme contains enough anti-racist training. This has caused a lot of confusion for officers.

### *Complaints Procedure*

Whilst officers are aware of the grievance and disciplinary procedures, they are not aware of any other complaints procedures available to them if they suffer racism within the force. In the apparent absence of any support structures, officers have been left to their own devices to deal with racism whenever it occurs. All officers are aware of the Force’s public anti-racist stand but have yet to see any move internally to support this.

### *Focus groups*

Group interviews were held after the individual interviews had been completed. They were held in groups of two. Only six of the original ten (60%) took part in the group interviews. The group interviews were unstructured and officers were allowed to discuss whatever they wanted to talk about. The interviews were held in neutral locations outside the police work environment.

Surprisingly, officers were more willing in focus groups than they were during individual interviews to accept that racism existed and is to a great extent commonplace within the force. However, they all said without exception that they could deal with it.

The group interviews also confirmed the feeling among officers that not enough is being done on racism within the force. *“Since the Stephen Lawrence affair there has been a lot of talk about policy stuff but I have neither seen a change of attitude from white colleagues nor change within the system”*.

### *The Blame Culture*

The nature of police work dictates to a large extent that there can be no crime without a culprit. This police logic means that if racism is acknowledged, then their colleagues **are** racist but as they know that their colleagues are not racist, their attitudes cannot be described as racist. As one officer of several years standing puts it: *“where there is crime there is a criminal, where there is racism there must be a racist”*.

### *Conclusion*

The first three years of Police Service seem to be the threshold. Officers who withstand ill treatment during this period would normally have formed bonds by the end of this time. Those who could not survive the first two years as probationers would not make good police officers. It appears that the discipline imposed by the service almost means that officers are not expected to complain and this is not just confined to racial issues. Police officers generally do not like to be seen to “rock the boat”. The general consensus seems to be that racism does exist but it is not seen as a problem.

The officers who have survived within the system have done so not because of any support structures set up by the service but as a result of the coping strategies adopted by individual officers.

The issue of under-recruitment was discussed. The sample opinions so far are still too few to make any reasonable conclusions. This issue will be addressed in full in the final report.

## APPENDIX II

### Responses to Research Questionnaire

	Experienced racism	Complained	Problems after complaints	Encourage child to join Police	The service believes in equality	Told racist jokes	Been subject of racist jokes	Has race been barrier to career progress	Racism exists in Police Service
1	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
2	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
3	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	Yes	No	No	No	DK	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
6	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	DK
7	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
8	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
9	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
10	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	DK	Yes
11	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
12	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
13	No	No	No	Yes	DK	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
14	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
15	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
16	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
17	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	DK
18	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
19	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
20	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
21	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
22	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
23	Yes	Yes*	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
24	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
25	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
26	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
27	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
28	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
29	Yes	No	No	Yes	DK	Yes	Yes	No	DK
30	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
31	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
32	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
33	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
34	No	No	No	DK	DK	No	No	No	No
35	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
36	No	No	No	Yes	DK	Yes	No	No	DK
37	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
38	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
39	No	No	No	Yes	DK	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

	Experienced racism	Complained	Problems after complaints	Encourage child to join Police	The service believes in equality	Told racist jokes	Been subject of racist jokes	Has race been barrier to career progress	Racism exists in Police Service
<b>40</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>41</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>42</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>43</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>44</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>DK</b>
<b>45</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>46</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>
<b>47</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>DK</b>
<b>48</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>49</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>
<b>50</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>51</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>52</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>

## APPENDIX III

### Research Exercise Questionnaire

Full names .....

Office address .....

.....

Age .....

Length of Service .....

Department (e.g. CID, Traffic, .etc.) .....

Did you have to state your ethnic origins when you joined the Force .....

Current ethnic classifications are based on the 1991 census and everyone is slotted into one category or another

How are you currently classified ethnically .....

How would you (rather) classify yourself .....

Do you hold any academic or vocational qualification . Y/N (Delete as appropriate)

If yes, please tick as appropriate:

GCSE/O-Level .....
Scottish Highers/A-Levels.....
HNC/HND .....
First Degree .....
Post graduate qualifications .....
NVQ (please state level) .....

Are there any special reasons why you chose to join the Police .....

.....

.....

If you had not joined the Police Force, what profession/occupation would you have undertaken

.....

Is there a history of Police, Military or any other disciplined (uniformed) Service in your family. Y/N

If yes, please state whom and what service .....

.....

Earlier in this questionnaire, you stated your department within the Police. If you were not in

this department, what department would be your preference .....

If you had a daughter or son aged between 18 to 20 and leaving school, would you encourage them to join the Police .....

The Police Force claims to be an equal opportunities employer; what do you understand as equal opportunities .....

.....  
.....

In your opinion, is this the practice within the Force .....

.....

Are you concerned about racism in general .....

Have you ever been insulted by a member of the public because you are a Police officer.....

If yes, how many times (approx); 1....., 2 to 5....., 5 to 10....., over 10.....

Did you ever feel (however remotely) that this was due to your ethnicity .....

Have you ever been insulted by a member of the public with specific reference to your ethnicity .....

If yes, how many times (approx); 1....., 2 to 5....., 5 to 10....., over 10.....

Did you report this when it happened .....

If not, why not.....

.....  
.....

If reported, what action was taken .....

.....  
.....

Were you satisfied with the outcome .....

Have you ever policed an incident in which there are allegations concerning race and/or ethnicity.....

Has race or ethnicity ever been the butt of your joke during banter with your colleagues .....

Has your race or ethnicity been referred to by your colleagues in a joke during banter.....

If yes, did you consider the remarks derogatory .....

Please tick which of the following most appropriately describe(s) your reaction. You may tick more than one.

laughed ....., did not laugh ....., concerned....., not concerned .....

very concerned....., shocked.....

Have you ever considered yourself the victim of a racial incident .....

Have you ever witnessed a racial incident .....

Have you ever complained, either formally or informally, about a racial incident .....

In your opinion, is there racism in; our society....., your community .....

the Police Service .....

Have you ever spoken to or counselled a victim of racism (within or outside you job).....

Would you differentiate acts of racism from people who are racist.....

If so, how .....

.....

.....

Do you consider research studies such as this one

necessary ....., desirable ....., superfluous .....

Do you know any Black/ethnic minority officer who has resigned (for whatever reason) from any of Scotland's Police Forces. Y/N

Is there a Black/ethnic minority officer serving in your locality .....

If not, where is the nearest Black/ethnic minority officer located .....

.....

Are you willing to take part in a face to face interview with the researcher. Y/N

**Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire .**

ISSN 0950 2254  
ISBN 0 7559 3370 2  
Price £5.00

**Making it work together**



ISBN 0-7559-3370-2



9 780755 933709