

# The Sheku Bayoh Public Inquiry

#### Witness Statement

**Dr Peter Jones** 

Taken by MS Teams on Wednesday 13 March 2024

#### Witness details

1. My full name is Dr Peter Jones. My date of birth is in 1960. My contact details are known to the Inquiry.

### Professional background

2. I have been asked to set out my professional background. I was a police officer between 1979 and 2001, including time in the ranks of constable, sergeant, inspector. I worked for West Mercia Constabulary, now called West Mercia Police. I carried out a range of operational duties, including as a custody sergeant for quite a long period. I performed duty as a response and a neighbourhood constable. I finished my career with a three-year secondment to the Home Office Police Research Group, although I did have a three year period as a training and recruitment manager whilst I worked for West Mercia Police for around 22 years.



- 3. I left policing in 2001 when I got my doctorate and I set up my own business, Shire Professional, Chartered Psychologists. I spent the next 22 years or so mainly carrying out research, training consultancy around implicit bias and working with implicit bias tests, although I did always maintain a small part of the business relating to assessment and evaluation because that was the area I worked in before I started to work around implicit bias in 2003.
- 4. I'm a Chartered Psychologist, Chartered Scientist and Associate Fellow of the British Psychological Society. I have a Police Trainer's Certificate after I attended the ten-week residential course for Police Trainers. I'm well versed in the process and practices of policing.
- 5. I retired and I closed the business in June 2023. I've continued doing some work in Canada, predominantly around bias testing, and I still administer and research around bias testing in the UK. I've still carry out some work relating to setting testing for one of the big UK police forces and bias testing police recruits in a smaller police force. My work now is exclusively around bias testing. I no longer carry out any training or consultancy, but I obviously have to keep my finger on the implicit bias pulse for bias testing.

### Terminology & training

6. I have been asked to explain what unconscious or implicit bias is. We often talk about it simply being our unintended people preferences; our preferences to see particular groups of people positively or negatively. The research on implicit bias goes back to the early 1970s and there is quite a long research history. Fundamentally, implicit bias is about the way we make judgments about people, and it is fundamentally embedded in our neurology. The idea is that we have processes in the brain which are fairly instinctive, automatic, and which get activated without our conscious control. There are other neurological processes which are the opposite of implicit processes., These processes are conscious, they're much slower in their operation than implicit

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processes and require attentional resources. They contrast with implicit processes instinctive, very fast and automatic processes of the brain which are partly based upon our anthropology of how we our brains developed, and all animals have these implicit processes. They are instinctive responses based in the ancient neurology in the brain's amygdala, as the neuroscientists talk about it; our fight or flight response.

- 7. Those ancient processes are still there. We need them every day for making the rapid judgments about people. If we had to make a judgment about somebody based upon their body shape, their accent, their hair or how they sit in the chair, it would be overwhelming for the relatively small amount of processing power the conscious human brain contains. We create cognitive shortcuts in that implicit part of the brain. This implicit cognition is rapid, automatic and it doesn't require us to constantly engage our conscious thinking. This enables us to get through our lives by making these judgments about people in the blink of an eye. It's typically between about 30 and 100 milliseconds we make those judgments, before the eyes have even fully processed the image, for use to make the decisions about people. Conscious processes begin in about 400 milliseconds.
- 8. Those decisions can be positive or negative, so we can create either positive or negative attributions to particular groups, and it is based upon often our own experiences. It's based upon what we see in the media, and it's also predominantly based upon the culture in which we live. So what does our culture tell us about which groups get assigned positive value and which groups get assigned negative value. There is a strong base upon stereotypes; what does society tell us about particular groups and suggest what we should think about those groups? Although we might consciously reject a stereotype about a particular group, our implicit brain may have already wired and continue to wire that stereotype into our brains. Even though we might reject that comment or newspaper headline, the simple fact is that we absorb it anyway and we create these neural connections between groups of people on

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positive or negative constructs. We activate those constructs quickly and automatically, particularly when we're under cognitive or emotional load. When we're stressed, when we're rushed, when we're overworked – and that's pretty much the kind of environment a lot of people work in – we fall back onto these short cut neural pathways for making the judgments that we need to make. That's why implicit bias affects the behaviour that we exhibit and also the decisions that we then make.

- 9. I have been asked to explain what unconscious or implicit bias training is. It started, certainly for me, when we published the bias test which I developed between 2003 and 2009. I handed it to an international test publisher called Hogrefe and I went back to my assessment and evaluation work. I quickly got asked about the constructs and could I explain how this worked, along with the psychological theory sitting behind the test. Slowly but surely that part of the business grew till it was sort of 95% of the work that I did.
- 10. Over the years, the training has been quite iterative. To start with, it was very much about awareness. People didn't know about what this notion of implicit bias was. It certainly wasn't well known outside psychology. People wanted to know more about it; "Tell us what it is, how it works and how it might affect the decisions that we've taken." I think within a couple of years it started to be that people started to say, "Well, that's really interesting, but so what? How can we do something about it? If the evidence is that it affects decisions such as recruiting, if it affects decisions such as who we support and help at work, then what should we do about it?" There was a shift in the training that I provided. A lot of other training providers started to enter the marketplace at that point. There was a shift in the way that we all looked at implicit bias and training in particular. The shift was away from awareness, which we can still do. There's plenty of videos and packages out there that can provide awareness, but it was the next step which was key; how does that apply to the context in which I live and work and, most importantly, what can we do about it?



- 11. I spent some time looking at what we can do to mitigate implicit bias. I don't think we can eradicate it because it's part of that process which we need to live our lives, so can we help people mitigate the effects as best we can. I started research and carried out some reviews of 'what works'. Harvard have also done similar reviews about 'what works' around implicit bias and started to develop ideas.
- 12. The training went from what I would describe as basic awareness training, which you could probably pick up now on YouTube these days, right the way through to saying, "Well, here's some things the research says you can do about it, and now let's start to think about the context in which you work and how those ideas might play out." For example, one of the things we know is if the brain works really, really quickly it's in implicit thinking, if we slow the thinking down by putting little barriers in the way, little pauses in the thinking, we can mitigate bias by giving the conscious processes time to engage. How does that work, for example, for an operational police officer? We're saying we'll take that five-second thinking gap, but what happens if they don't have a five-second thinking gap? What can you put in place? Training shifted from awareness into the context, because we know that people need to learn in the context of their job and then, importantly, what can we do about it? The action part of it was on three levels. Firstly, what can we do about it as individuals? We can all do something to mitigate the effects, and we gave people a handout that we use for individuals: "here are the ten top things that you could do to help mitigate the effects of bias on your decision making." The second one is what can we do about it as a team? Thirdly, probably the most important one, was what can we do about it as an organisation?
- 13. I think one of the issues around the actions around implicit bias is that if we heap more load onto individuals. We ask people to be personally responsible for their biases, but it's yet another load. We know that emotional and cognitive load causes people to fall back onto their biases. The training shifted more to more of a systems approach; what can we do about it in our system as an

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organisation? What systems can we set up that prevent people, if they do have these biases, from exercising them in the context? By way of example, in terms of police intelligence, how can we share intelligence with frontline officers in a way that doesn't reinforce the stereotypes about particular groups and gives them enough information so that they start to judge people as individuals? Rather than just being seen by an individual skin colour, we have some additional information about them, because the more that we individuate individuals and see them as multifaceted, the less these implicit, relatively simple processes can actually get a grip on behaviour. The shift was very much towards the organisational side and ask what can organisations do to embed these things into their processes. Effectively, we build out the opportunity for bias to impact and that was the evolution of training in many regards.

- 14. The final step for me was that around about 2015, I started to offer 'train the trainer' courses because there was only one me, even though there were other people working in the field. It was quite an expensive option to have a subject matter expert come in multiple times to deliver training across the staff group. So, I developed a 'train the trainers' course with a licensing arrangement back in 2015 and the idea was that I come in and do three days with trainers and then they go away. On the course we started to write materials which are suited to their context, whether that's operational safety training, or HR, so that people can effectively generate their own training materials pertinent to the particular work group. That was a model which was well supported. I's a model which we've used quite extensively in Canada, we've provided that course in various formats to three or four of the major ministries in Canada, and they've rolled that training out using their trainers. We've provided that training to two police forces in the UK, in West Yorkshire and South Wales. So, their forces, we hope, then are equipped to be able to provide that training. We licence the materials for use.
- 15. The one shortcoming I see in the training is that nobody wanted to do the evaluation. Nobody wanted to say, "Well, is this working? What are the

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processes by which we work out whether that half day of training is a good investment?" And that's typically what it looked like, it was typically three hours of training. "Awareness" typically was about an hour, but the full course was about three hours split between Application (context) and Action. I called it the three A's: Awareness, Application, Action. There was very little interest in evaluation, beyond the simple evaluation sheets at the end of the session which organisations often hand out to delegates. That can be things like was the lunch okay or what was the room like? They didn't often ask about, "Well, what have you done?". I've seen very little or no robust evaluation.

- 16. Even if we've put evaluation into a bid, it's always been taken out by organisations. They want to do the training, move on and tick the box. I think there's an element of that, saying, "Oh, unconscious bias training? Yes, we've done that, we're moving on from that." There's been very little good evaluation. The closest I saw to it, and I'm sure they won't mind me mentioning now because it's been ten years ago, the Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS). They did actually follow managers up 12 weeks later and asked, "Okay, so what have you done? What changes have you made as a result of that?" About 80% of managers that we spoke to 12 weeks after the event had actually got an example of things that they changed in the workplace as a result of the training. Now, that doesn't say that what they did was effective. We didn't have any measure of effectiveness.
- 17. We have had a two studies in Canada where we've actually bias tested delegates before and after training. It suggested that the training does have an effect on people's bias levels. What it does to people's behaviour is still a bit of a mystery. I think we've got no firm evidence in terms of behavioural change, but I think that's true of a lot of training. If you ask people, "That leadership course you went on, where's the evidence that it changed behaviour in the workplace?" the answer's often "I haven't got that evidence." It's the kind of faith that people have, that training could magically do that, but there is very little evidence for the efficacy of training, including unconscious bias training,

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beyond the evidence that we got in Canada to say that it does seem to reduce people's bias levels. We've got a UK study on the go at the moment, within the health profession, seeing if training actually mitigates not just the bias levels but the outcomes of the interviews that those individuals are conducting to see who enters their profession.

- 18. We're getting there, but it's been a slow and torturous process and very rarely do people want to pay for that follow up work. There's a project possibly starting in Canada shortly which is using body-worn video in policing. We already know from police officers with body-worn video that they can often treat black people less favourably than white people, both in their attitude and how they approach traffic stops. The proposed Canadian study is trying to replicate that study with bias testing on top. The question is, can we link the bias test scores into a reduction in the number of microaggressions small behaviours that make people feel less included and more discriminated? I think there's work still going on, but it's terribly slow and evaluation is almost non-existent in the training.
- 19. I have been asked to explain what "black man formidability" or "race formidability" means. "Black man formidability" is an interesting concept and I use the term "black man formidability" because all the research has been done using black males as the target group. To my knowledge there's been no applied research in the area, so nobody's ever taken it out and actually tried to see how it plays out in the real world. A lot of it is lab-based. People are shown pictures of people of different skin tones and asked to assess their size and their shape and their power. What tends to happen is if you give somebody a darker skin tone, people assess that individual as being more powerful, stronger, more dangerous and aggressive. That's a common stereotype, about black men. There's been quite a few studies in the US over the years around "black man formidability" and it's something that we developed a bias test specifically to measure: "Do you see black men, rather than white men, as being more formidable?" We actually did run that test with Police Scotland in

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2021, with a small group of operational safety trainers. I think there were 31 in that group and it suggested that there were around about 19%, so about 1 in 5, of those delegates on that course had a bias, but it wasn't all "black man formidability" bias. Some of them saw white men implicitly as more formidable.

- 20. I think the "black man formidability" bias is one which we've rather neglected. I think the first mention in research was right the way back in 1950s but it wasn't really researched until the late 90s, early 2000s. There was a summary done in 2017. The summary in the slides which I shared with Police Scotland, suggests that if you bring together the kind of studies that have been done, it explains why black men can sometimes be seen as more criminal, more likely to possess weapons and in need of additional force to be used in that regard. However, I don't think it's been applied in a real world context. For example, I don't think anybody's been testing for "black man formidability" bias amongst people who have been accused of excess use of force. It's all quite theoretical in that regard, but I think that's true of a lot of race-based research. It's difficult to find where it's been applied in the real world.
- 21. I have been asked how unconscious bias training functions as a tool when it comes to policing. I think there's two things. The first thing is that there is some research suggesting that awareness of our biases can help us to mitigate their effects. So, if I know, for example, that I have a particular bias based on race or gender, it gives me the opportunity to create mitigations and barriers. Sometimes, it's just a little script in their head which says, "Would I be reacting in the same way if this was a man rather than a woman? A white person rather than a black person?"
- 22. I think that there's the element of awareness of people, and certainly my experience of dealing with test takers is that if you increase their awareness of their biases then there are certain people who will reflect and act on that. It actually makes them feel bad as people. There is some research suggesting that about 25% of people, regardless of having insight, will just carry on as

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normal. I think that we remain positive because about two-thirds of people, if they are given insight to their biases, actually do something about it. Whether they do that because they've got some kind of moral compass or whether they do that because they know the organisation is very attentive to that aspect and there might be censure if they don't get on top their biases, we don't know. They do seem to be able to be motivated. Trish Devine, in her research, talks about it as the "motivation to control bias." I think some basic awareness of the processes is useful, and there is lots of that on YouTube. Certainly, we've produced videos which are free online just to explain the basic principles and just to give people that pause for thought on occasions to ask the question, but a lot of those kind of things are directed at individuals.

- 23. The second thing is organisationally. Organisations often don't necessarily want to look inside themselves and ask the question about their processes. I know there's a lot of discussion about institutional racism and Chief Constables saying that we are or we are not institutionally racist, but I think the unwillingness to look at our systems and processes is one of the indicators of that institutional racism. That we're not prepared to look at our processes, we want to foist the problem onto individuals. Whereas in actual fact, a lot of it is based on our systems. What calls do we attend? What calls do we not attend? What information is an operational officer given in response to a call? There's quite a bit of organisational responsibility there which often gets abdicated back to the individual.
- 24. Often, I talk to other implicit bias trainers and they talk about this tick-box approach organisations can have which is, "We've done it, we can say that we're safe now because we've done an hour's training, we've given an online package and we can say that 98% of our staff have been through that implicit bias training package". However, I've seen no evidence that simple awareness training changes behaviour. It could well be that the more reflective people do change their behaviour, getting some insight, but I've never seen any research that says what basic awareness training achieves. Trish Devine, who's a

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professor at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in the United States, talks about this motivation to control bias. She has one study that suggests that if you give people that awareness, but also give them some testing to increase awareness and also ask them to reflect upon that - that you do see an effect even a couple of years down the line. But the effect can be quite short-lived if not reinforced. Some of it is only lasting a fortnight, but if you get them to commit to doing specifically things to mitigate bias and you start to embed it with processes, then you stand a chance of long-term change.

- 25. I think some of the training is that police forces want to tick the box and move on, and I think it's the case with police forces that they also obviously have resource issues. They have time issues. They don't want to take officers away from frontline roles, but fundamentally, I think in policing, it often comes down to a senior leader who either supports the idea of unconscious bias training or doesn't. You then get support for a period, but the police service recognises that when that leader moves on, often the idea moves with them. There's no commitment after the event to continuing unconscious bias training, or everybody gets the simple online package and then people tick the box that says 98% of our staff have had unconscious bias training, with zero evaluation or desire to look to see what the impact might be.
- 26. I have been asked about if there are different views on unconscious bias training, and its uses. There have been controversial pushbacks on unconscious bias training, and it often gets conflated with other diversity, inclusion and even with critical race theory training. Then, it gets subsumed under the heading of diversity training, but that is a fairly generic term, it would cover things like implicit bias training but may include more controversial content such as critical race theory. It would probably include some law-based work as well around employment rights and things like the Equality Act.
- 27. Unconscious bias training a fairly broad term and if you Google it and this is what usually happens, people going on an unconscious bias course will

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Google unconscious bias - and what they get are these often opinion pieces. So, for example, the Minister Julia Lopez from the Cabinet Office put out a piece saying that the evidence was unconscious bias training didn't work, and then went on talk about diversity training more generally. That gets picked up by a receptive audience as a soundbite: 'unconscious bias training doesn't work.'

- 28. There has been no robust evaluation of implicit bias training. It gets lumped in with the diversity and inclusion training and everything else. It gets lumped in with awareness training. I did start some work, with a group of psychologists developing a model for the evaluation of implicit bias training. This included the more behavioural aspects of it rather than just, for example, "We did this training and over the next two years we did not see the increase in the number of women being promoted to partner in the law firm". Well, were you really expecting that 2 hours of training to impact 150 years where those patterns have been ingrained into the organisation?
- 29. I think the expectations surrounding training are often way beyond what it can achieve, but there is often a more insidious side to it where people who object to equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) training generally will seize upon those kind of articles, like Julia Lopez, saying unconscious bias training doesn't work. The real answer is, we don't know if unconscious bias training 'works' because we've never evaluated it, but have lumped it in with all the other equality, diversity, and inclusion training and then labelling it all as, "diversity training doesn't work" it's just conflating it all down to a single construct. You'd never do it with leadership training or law training, for example. You'd say, well the training that we do on tort doesn't work so well, or the input we do on contracts doesn't work. You'd never just say 'law education' doesn't work, but people seem quite happy to conflate everything back without the evidence, and other side of it is, that everything gets put into the pot.

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- 30. All the one-hour online learning resource packages (called NCALT in Policing in England and Wales) packages, get labelled as unconscious bias training or diversity training. I've also had a number of organisations for whom I've done a one-hour 'lunch-and-learn' session and have then claimed that they've done unconscious bias training for their entire workforce because everybody was invited. When people start to try and evaluate the effect of unconscious bias training and how it's implemented, it's very much like knitting fog. You really can't get the tangibles out, and that was why I wanted to develop this model with other psychologists to say; how do we evaluate training content, and the distinction between the objectives of training? Is it simply Awareness raising, or is it getting people to actually take some action. Or specifically, are you asking us to say there's behavioural change coming from this? And how do you disentangle that behavioural change from all the other stuff that's going on in the organisation at the same time, especially, for example, while the Race Action Plan in England, Wales is being worked upon and there's lots of things going on? How can you say that that piece of training has had that effect? I have seen trainers claim it. They've said, "Oh, we did two hours' bias training for managers. The number of women increased by 17%." Okay, that's great, but correlation does not mean causality, and there's lots of other stuff going on at the same time because most organisations do not just do unconscious bias training. They've got staff networks; they've got other initiatives on the go. They've got positive action programmes. It's very difficult to disentangle what contribution implicit bias is making to all of the other changes that an organisation are trying to enact.
- 31. I have been asked about the evaluation work I have referenced and if that work is ongoing. As mentioned, I started to pull together a meeting of psychologists to develop an evaluation methodology. I put together a model and I couldn't even get the psychologists interested in the idea of evaluation, because it's quite tricky, and the problem with it is that most psychologists work in the private sector. They're providing a service to organisations. Somebody has got to pay and there is no incentive, or certainly no motivation, to actually add

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a 20% to the budget you had for that training to do any kind of structured evaluation. They've simply not got the demand from clients. Clients will always say, "can you give us a pounds and pence evaluation of what returns this training is going to give?" You can never do it because you don't have any data, much like other types of training. How do you turn into pounds and pence the effect and the financial contribution that implicit bias training can make? It's very, very difficult to do it, and consequently, it was put into the too-difficult box, even though we had a model and there has been a model for about, it must be 10 or 15 years by Professor Kamal Birdi at Sheffield University, for training evaluation. Called TOTADO, and I have applied it to that to unconscious bias training. That was the basis of what we wanted to do, but it is quite a complex process.

- 32. The idea that we had was that there should be some kind of standardised online evaluation form at intervals after the training where we could ask specific questions about people's behaviour to look to see if, in actual fact, the training had had an effect, compared to people who didn't train. The Trish Devine work in America suggests that two years after that one hour of intervention, together with the testing, together with some kind of diary-keeping reflection, two years after the event she could still detect the inclination of people to challenge prejudice more frequently in that group compared to the group who'd been tested but hadn't had any specific unconscious bias actions that they needed to follow up on.
- 33. I think there are a few flickers of light, but it's in the too-difficult box, and it's in the too-difficult box because people don't want to put the money into creating a robust model where you've got the data coming in in such volumes that you can actually say something robust. One of the questions we were asking of psychologists was, Can we at least start to profile our training? What do you include? Do you include bias testing? Do you include some action work? Do you include particular exercises?" They often don't want to share that because there's a kind of commercial interest in that, so you've got the psychologists or

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the trainers on the one side saying, I'm not going to tell you what I'm doing in the classroom. On the other side, the organisation is saying, well, if you think we're going to add 20% to the budget so that you carry out some evaluation which in two years' time might tell us something you will be disappointed? It's very difficult when you're going into an organisation and only doing 32 people as with the Police Scotland session. How do you evaluate that in terms of behavioural change? Certainly, statistically, you can't do it. You're looking for hundreds, if not thousands of people and there's certainly not the interest or the budget for those kinds of long-term, big-scale evaluations.

## Training provided to Police Scotland

- 34. I have been shown a training PowerPoint presentation (PS18847). This PowerPoint has been saved as 'Dr Jones presentation Scottish Superintendents Conference November 2020'. I have been asked what training this related to. I can imagine this was sent to the conference organisers for either preloading or for their perusal before the event. Until I saw that slide deck, I couldn't remember the event. That's not unusual because I was all over the country, all over the world at that time, but I think I can remember because it was during the period of COVID in November 2020. That would have been a remote presentation because the last face-to-face event I did, except for overseas, was March 2020. It was a remote presentation, which is probably why it's quite tricky for me to remember because I didn't know who was present at that event. It was just a remote presentation. Police Scotland will be able to tell you what slot was allocated, whether it's 45 minutes or an hour, or whatever it was, but it was a conference session. I'd be really surprised if it was much more than about 50 or 60 minutes.
- 35. I have been asked about the other training I provided to Police Scotland in June 2021. It is titled Police Scotland OST June 2021. I have provided the PowerPoint for this training to the Inquiry (WIT-00063).



- 36. I have been asked how this training came about. I think it was possibly via Twitter, but I got a call from David Bradley or request for a call from David, and we had quite a lengthy discussion. I think he'd recently taken over responsibility for operational safety training and we had some quite lengthy talks about all the kind of things in my statement, about implicit bias, about impact on things like professional standards, and importantly, around operational safety training. I'm fairly happy to say that he mentioned the death of Sheku Bayoh as one of the motivations for doing it. It was part and parcel of what they were looking at, although we didn't go into massive detail on it and in fact, I still don't know massive detail about what happened on that day. From that I put together this training session. It was a full workshop, I think it was three hours, delivered remotely because it was 2021. I can't remember how many people attended it, but what I do know is that we offered no-charge bias testing for that with the "black man formidability" test and also the black man - white man stop-search test, and 30 or 31 people took it. I'm assuming that that was the delegate group for the training, and the delegate group might actually have been bigger than that, but that was the sort of size of audience we had.
- 37. I have been asked to speak to some of the slides in this training. I have been asked about slide 4 and the meaning of the word "Floyd". That's referring to the death of George Floyd in America in May 2020. Often, with some audiences, I just put a slide in which asks, why are we doing this? Just a very, very quick one because most people don't need convincing. They've seen the various inquiries, they've read MacPherson. It's been in their training. They know what it is and for senior audiences, in particular, you often don't have to do it, but sometimes it's quite a nice reminder. I think in the slide deck I did for the superintendents, there was a slide where I brought together some kind of news headlines just to say this is the kind of stuff that's coming out in the media about your policing. It was a very quick summary of the things that were going on and the death of Floyd in America was stimulus for the Race Action Plan in England and Wales. I think there's a Scottish version of that, so it was a real driver. It was trying to get to people to say, look, we know you

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know about this stuff, but this is why we might be looking at implicit bias as one of the solutions to these problems.

- 38. I have been asked about slides 5-7 and the reference to dual processing. We start off with the basic principles of how we get these. The dual processing is the implicit/unconscious vs the explicit conscious distinction. We' have the automatic, unintentional, unconscious processes that runs from the brain's amygdala, and then we have the processes that from operate the brain's prefrontal cortex, so the clever modern bit of the brain we use for doing the day job with, and that these two processes run in parallel.
- 39. The bat and the ball exercise. It comes from a book by Daniel Kahneman. All I've done is changed the bat and the ball into a tennis racquet for the UK audience because it used to have a baseball bat and a ball, and it was a little bit American in that regard. I often use it as the introductory piece. The bat and the ball costs £1.10. The bat costs £1 more than the ball, so how much does the ball cost? Typically, we give the group the chance to vote on that, and usually about three quarters of the group say the ball's 10p because they take the pound off the £1.10. It can't possibly be 10p, because if the bat was one pound more than the ball and the ball were 10p, then it would have to be £1.20 to be a pound more (£1.10 plus 10p). The idea is that it highlights this idea that the instinctive feeling is that the answer is 10p, but it's not. It's 5p (£1.05p bat and 5p ball), but to try and get people to shake the instinctive 0p response I difficult. Even if you give people the time to think about it, they still stick with their 10p answer. It introduces this idea of dual processing, that we make these instinctive decisions that feel right because of what we've seen previously which turn out to be wrong, and once we've actually been told it's wrong, we still find it very difficult to unpick it. There is an unseen, unconscious, implicit, automatic thing going on in the background. You think you're getting on with the day job, and all of the time this much more powerful, quicker, faster, dominant implicit element of the brain will take over all those short, sharp decisions that you have to make.

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- 40. I have been asked about slide 14 and what this represents. It's the result of us bias testing staff in professional standards departments from three police forces across the UK. I've done some of the training sessions for professional standards, and one of the issues we had with it was that, this is how the training actually started, a number of police forces had had disparity in the outcomes of their professional standards processes. Black officers were more likely to end up in trouble. Additionally, I think the National Black Police Association over the years have done research and presented that opinion, that Black police officers in particular are subject to discipline more often and more harshly than other officers might be. We developed a particular version of the bias test. Like the Black man formidability test, we changed the constructs the test is looking at into things such as aggression, likelihood of carrying weapons, their power or their strength.
- 41. In the stop-search test, we changed the constructs that were being looked at into, whether Black or White men were they being seen as criminal, carrying drugs, or likely to be uncooperative. In professional standards, we developed a version of the test which looked at whether investigators and decision makers see black officers or white officers, male and female officers as being more cooperative with the inquiry, likely to be competent, not likely to be predatory, for example. We changed the constructs to develop this professional standards test in the hope that investigators in professional standards departments would get some insight into the way they were viewing not just the complainant, but the officer who was under investigation. It came about because one officer in one force was suspended for quite an extended period based upon a misunderstanding which I think, had the investigators not had their implicit biases around race and gender, they would have quickly realised that they'd made a mistake in the first week of the investigation instead of leaving this officer for two years on suspension.



- 42. Not only was there disparity, but there were specific instances, so we developed this particular test and we developed three versions. One was an Asian test, presenting test takers with White people and Asian people against these professional standards constructs. We also had a similar Black-White test and then we had a Gender version of the test. We gave it to investigators from professional standards departments across three forces, and two of them were very large forces. One was West Yorkshire, one was South Wales, and the other one was Dyfed Powys, a much smaller police force. We wanted to see which way the data was skewed, because obviously it was anecdotally suggested that Black and Asian people and Men were more likely to be the subject of biases on behalf of professional standards investigators. That's exactly what we found; skewed bias test results against Black and Asian people and men.
- 43. I've broken the test data down by the three forces, so the colours, the blue, the orange, the grey, are the three forces where we tested staff, and what you can see is that there's this skew. If you look at it overall, about 25-27% of people had a bias strong enough to affect behaviour, which is the key thing. When the bias test detects bias, it's strong enough to affect behaviour, so it's benchmarked into behaviour. What you see is skew, and this is true in all three of these tests; Asian/White, White/Black, and in terms of the Gender version. Although you get a few people who have a bias against the majority group, most people, for example, in the Asian and the black sample, you can see the skew. On the one side, you've got staff who've got biases against black people, and it's running at about 20%. So, one in five investigators have a bias against Black officers in the investigation, whereas only about 4% of them have a bias against white officers in the investigation. It's the same with the Asians officers, slightly less pronounced with this sample and very much skewed against Men in the gender test. The issue was, what happens if you're a Black Male officer subject to discipline and you get an investigator who's got these kind of biases, who sees you as more likely to be corrupt, more likely to be incompetent, more



likely to be predatory? It's not a surprise that we end up with this disparity in professional standards outcomes.

- 44. That slide was how we typically use the results of testing to share with people, and you can see the data in one force from dates in both 2017 and 2019. We revisited the force two years later and retested staff in the department at that time. We saw very similar patterns across the time period, so it wasn't just something that happened in 2017. Often, we'll put this kind of data into presentations if we have the data so that people can understand that this impacts, even when officers are doing their best job, that they can still be the subject of disparity in the process. It helps explain why a Black officer is more likely to be disciplined, and the notion is that perhaps it's their staff making biased decisions can be powerful for delegates. Perhaps they've got biased information available to them to conduct an inquiry, perhaps their biases are making the decisions about the value of particular evidence, or the trustworthiness of the officer's account, along the way. That's how typically we have presented bias testing results in a simplified format to allow people to get a handle on it.
- 45. I have been asked about the slides headed "Implicit Bias and Perceptions of Criminality." Slide 20 was a bringing together of research evidence, and this slide was a summary, from a review that was done in 2017, suggesting that we do tend to perceive Black men as bigger, taller, heavier, muscular and more physically threatening, even though the evidence is that that's not the case. In turn this may give people the justification for the hypothetical use of force. It's never been applied in the real world. They've never said, "Well, let's bias test people who were made subject to complaints." I think what they tend to do in these studies is they give them a scenario, and they said, "what level of force would be justifiable in these circumstances?" The answer is if you put a Black man in a scenario, they will hypothetically suggest more force than would be justified than it would if it was a white person. Then you can see that I've used the case of PC Monk, who was convicted in Telford, Shropshire of the death of

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Dalian Atkinson for kicking him in the head while he was on the floor and using his taser on him three times. If you ever look at the trial transcripts from the PC Monk trial, PC Monk describes Dalian Atkinson as much bigger and potentially stronger than the evidence suggests Dalian Atkinson was. I think Dalian Atkinson was under 5 ft 10, but PC Monk described him as an enormous, towering figure on the doorstep of the house. Perhaps that's what's played out; Black man formidability bias. PC Monk may have implicitly seen Dalian Atkinson as being much more dangerous than he actually was.

- 46. I have been asked about slide 25 and what testing this related to. It related to a small county police force in England. The Deputy Chief Constable agreed that we could offer testing to all of their operational officers. Although we had some technical problems which reduced our sample we still got a reasonably large sample of officers who would test. We broke test data down by both rank and role, so Inspectors and above, senior leadership teams, sergeants, PCs, PCSOs. What we were interested in was were the differences by rank. The red arrows are highlighting some of the interesting things we found. You can see we used a number of tests here, so the Inspectors and senior leaders ended with a gender test. Everybody had an ethnicity test but some of the frontline officers had a disability test because there was an issue with vulnerability in the force. You can see the proportions, but what is interesting, and the point I make with this slide is, if you look at the constables, 29.7% of them had a bias on the basis of ethnicity. That's nearly one in three.
- 47. It might not be that all the bias in Constables was levered against Black people. The majority of it was levered against Black and Asian people. If you compare that, for example, to the Sergeants' data, you see only 11.7% have a bias compared to 29.7% of Constables. It's still one in nine, so it's still a worry for us, but they are much less likely to have those biases. The message the force got from that was, "Well, perhaps sergeants are a rank where we ought to focus our attention to get them to be the checks and balances to the constables."

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- 48. Interestingly, the gender career bias at the top of the organisation was four out of ten of the senior leaders, so that's down to superintendent level. Four out of ten had a gender bias, but it was directed predominantly in favour of women over men. That probably plays out in the fact that I think the force have a female chief constable and quite a few senior female leaders in that force. It was just to give us the flavour of what we look like. It was an audit, effectively, of this force.
- 49. We also broke data down by geographical region. We gave these four subdivisions within the force area these hypothetical names. They're not real. You can see in red the percentage differences, so although we said 29% overall of constables had a ethnicity bias, when we broke it down by geographical area, you can see it varied from 22.4% in the north to 32.9% in the west. That was telling us that some of these problems are by rank, and they're also by geographical area. I'm sad to say that the senior officer who commissioned this work retired and the project died with him, which is a common pattern. This data enabled them to say, "Well, where do we need to focus our time and attention? We haven't got infinite resources on this. Let's look specifically at that western division, and let's look specifically at the constable rank, and let's look to see what we can do with the sergeants because they seem to be in a relatively low bias group. They seem to be, already on the side of low bias. Let's start to see what we could put in place to place some checks and balances on those constables by using the sergeants."
- 50. We found this in Canada where we've tested across the 13 provinces of applicants to the national police service there. We saw regional differences. People living in certain parts of the country had more ethnicity bias than people living in other parts of the country. That's not a surprise. I think we know that people are more tolerant sometimes in some places than other places. The idea was that we're saying, "Look, we can use this as an audit of a police force."

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We can look at it by geography, and in fact we've got a police force doing exactly this. They are a much larger police force, but I think the project's been two years in the planning, and it still hasn't reached the staff testing stage.

- 51. The idea is that they can look across their divisions and across their ranks and roles to ask; "where are our bias hot spots? Where do we need to focus our time and resources? Where should we be piloting these new ideas?" One of the things that came out from this was that on that western division, I did a mini session for the intelligence staff because we wanted to help the intelligence unit when they put out the briefings each day, to try to mitigate the effects of the bias. For example, not putting single, race-based descriptors into briefings, to try and provide additional work and to put intelligence reports back to the originating officer if they didn't provide the details. So, if they were going to say that an Asian man is selling drugs on the seafront, we want more information – "Tell us where the information came from, the age of this guy, where exactly on the seafront is he selling drugs" - because if you just say there's an Asian man selling drugs on the seafront, every Asian man on the seafront is up for being stopped and searched. That was the way they targeted the resources, to say, "Well, okay, if we can't target everybody, we can target the western division. We can target the constables." In this case, they targeted the intel because they had race disparity in the issue of fixed penalty notices within that division in terms of ethnicity, so it was a way to target resources.
- 52. It was a good audit in a lot of respects. It told the Deputy Chief then quite a bit around how to target his resources. I think if the Deputy Chief had stayed, we'd have gone back in 12 months and said, "Okay, so we gave everybody feedback," because the test produces feedback. It tells people what their results were automatically, and it produces documents to help and support them making changes. The idea was that we could go back 12 months later and say, "Okay let's do it again. Let's run the tests again and see if it's made any difference to the bias levels." Has it changed? We threw a lot of resources

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at that western subdivision. Are they still up there in the 30%, or are the PCs now down at a much lower level?"

- 53. I have been asked about slides 27 and 28 and this data was produced by the testing of Police Scotland officers. You can see at the bottom, it says, "Formidability OST Scotland, N equals 30," so 30 of the trainers who were invited. I don't know whether they were the people who attended the workshop. We sent a test link out by email, which they shared with the trainers, so there could be people who went to the workshop who hadn't tested, which is quite common. There might be people who tested but didn't get to the workshop, but we had 30 people who took the test.
- 54. I have been asked to explain what this graphic shows. We report back on the percentage, or the proportions, of people in the sample who have a bias that is strong enough to affect behaviour - we're less interested in people who have very low-level biases where we don't think it affects behaviour. The benchmarking of the test is into behaviour, so it says, "Look, if you get scores that look like this, you are more likely to act on your biases." You can see that 20% of people got a score at a level where we thought they might act on their biases. What was quite surprising was the bias was perfectly split. Out of those 20% which is six people, three of them had a bias against Black people, so they saw them as more formidable, and three of them had a bias against white people. This would not support the idea that Black people are seen as more formidable in this group of 30 trainers. I would say this is a sample of operational safety trainers in a country that is predominantly white with a lower black population, so we don't really know exactly why. I'd still be slightly concerned that we had 20% of people with a bias but, we have the same bias against black people and white people in that test. We don't have any comparative data on that test as we've never used it outside that Police Scotland sample.

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- 55. The stop-search test is exactly the same in construction, only this time what it's doing is saying, "How strongly do people associate black people or white people with constructs around stop-search?" Do they see them as cooperative, likely to be carrying weapons or drugs, do they see them as problematical and suitable for a stop search? You can see there is more of a skew of the data here, so 19% of that sample of 31 Scottish officers had a bias, and it was skewed about two-thirds against black people, one-third against white people. These proportions fit with our wider samples. We've actually got a much larger sample now than the 348 we had when this slide was created, but about one in four officers in England and Wales have a stop-search bias. It is levered predominantly against black people, which is the blue part of that bar. About an 8% of people who have a white stop-search bias. They're more likely to see white people negatively around stop-search, but the other 17% have a bias against black people.
- 56. I am asked what I remember of the training itself or any discussions. The only thing that I remember from the training, from this element of it, which is the action planning piece, was some ideas they came out with. Over the years, I've learnt my lesson with letting the groups decide where bias might play out because they choose the easier elements. David and I discussed where we wanted to focus their attention. We chose these four areas. From my memory we decided on using four key areas we then asked delegates to generate some ideas around, "what could we do?"
- 57. The only thing that I could remember firmly was there was quite a bit discussion around training materials and not reinforcing stereotypes because they often use video clips, for example, from CCTV or from body-worn video. Then they debrief that in terms of, "What could the officer have done?" etc. The ideas they were coming out with is more careful choice of videos so they weren't reinforcing stereotypes. They did refer, I think, to one particular video, which they use quite frequently, where the aggressor was a black man. They were saying, "Well, perhaps we ought to see if we can find a different video." It's

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because we are reinforcing the black man formidability bias by debriefing in this particular video, and the same discussions around the training delegate side of it.

- 58. There was quite a bit of discussion around body weight, so although we weren't thinking or presenting evidence on body weight, they did talk about how delegates who arrived on training who perhaps were a little visibly overweight might be seen differently by the trainer, and the same with gender in in terms of things like body strength and things like that. So, there was a discussion about the processes inside the training group and how they could come up with ways of either diverting or mitigating their own biases around body weight or gender, or whether they could look at changing the training materials. Certainly, even if it's only a question of the language that they use and the kind of jokes and banter that goes on around body weight and gender, perhaps they were thinking about they should perhaps mute that a little bit so that it didn't reinforce stereotypes about particular groups. Those are the only things that sprang to mind, I have to say. They tended to be seek actions about the process of training, as opposed to what it looks like on the streets.
- 59. I have asked if there was any evaluation work that Police Scotland asked for as part of that training. No. I gave them the testing for free as part of the cost of the course, which has been my model. It depends on how many you buy, but a test ranges between £5 and £2.50. It's not a massive commitment to recheck people's biases, in that we always say at least three months before you try and retest delegates. It's not a massive cost, but certainly, in terms of evaluating, I don't know whether there was any kind of internal evaluation. A lot of organisations conduct basic post training evaluations through short questionnaires. As far as I know, there was no evaluation of the OST session. There might've been some kind of, internal 'happy sheets' after the event. But they certainly weren't shared back with me. There are organisations who do do it, and I'm thinking some of the scientific organisations that I work for where they had a formal process of collecting evaluation data, but it was only

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immediately after the event. It did include, such as, "Was the presenter knowledgeable on the subject? Were they able to ask the questions they wanted to ask?" So, it was more about the process in the classroom than what came out of it rather than, "Have you implemented ideas along the way?" The only organisation I ever seen who have really committed to doing that was the Royal Bank of Scotland, RBS they're now called. They only deliver the training down to manager level, not right the way down to the front, so the evaluation is around, "what have managers done differently?"

- 60. I have been asked if there were any handouts for this training or further training materials in addition to this PowerPoint. I would've shared the handouts with them because we go through the personal action material. I have got another one of those handouts, which is organisational actions, but I don't know whether we shared it on that course, or whether it was too managerial for those groups, but we certainly have that personal actions, and we have that as a PDF, which we send out. What they do with it is up to them. But we do go through the top 10 tips with them, and then send them the handout.
- 61. I have been asked if I provided any other training to Police Scotland, other than the conference in November 2020 and then the training in June 2021. No. They've not followed up on it and that's true of a lot of police forces. I've never been inclined to chase organisations. If people want it, they'll come to you, and if they don't, they won't.

### **Evidence of Inspector Bradley**

62. I have been shown Inspector Bradley witness statement (SBPI-00408) which states at paragraph 34:

The Operational Safety Training Department used Dr Peter Jones, for instance, who's a national expert in bias and unconscious bias, to be able to provide our instructors with a deeper understanding of issues around bias and help inform

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the development of our own content around bias and how it impacts use of force. Our own instructors would then use that information to look to develop draft product to be inserted into Operational Safety Training programs. What using external experts like that allow us to do is keep abreast of developments nationally and internationally, particularly where we wouldn't necessarily hold that level of expertise internally. This allows us to be able to broaden and deepen our understanding of subject matter that we're able to then contextualise and perhaps integrate into our own training.

I have also been shown the oral evidence of Inspector Bradley on day 75, 06/12/2023, 90:17-93:7:

- Q. You mentioned Dr Jones, Peter Jones. I think you said in your statement at paragraph 34 that he has provided training on unconscious bias?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And how is it you became aware of Dr Jones?
- A. I was aware of Dr Jones through social media actually and his involvement in bias testing in policing and his deep interest in bias and that's where his expertise lies. And it was at a time when we were aware of issues arising in the Inquiry around this and we felt that we wanted to give our instructors a deeper understanding of the potential impacts of bias as they relate to use of force. Dr Jones was a logical individual to approach and we sought permission to be able to have Dr Jones speak to our cadre of full-time instructors at the time to give a day's training on his views and his level of expertise on that, to deepen their understanding, with a view to seeing how that could potentially positively influence our syllabus. At the time the service was discussing whether they would be putting out a more general training product around ED&I, equality, diversity and inclusion, and we expected that would perhaps when it happened include issues around unconscious bias. But we wanted to make

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sure that our instructors had a better understanding around the potential implications of unconscious bias as it relates to use of force, so we were able to get some training and some briefings from Dr Jones.

Then subsequently we were able to then shape that with the help of our equality, diversity and inclusion trainers, to be able to add information to both initial and recertification training around the potential impacts of unconscious bias as they relate to use of force, and that's a product that I think we inserted on 12 June this year and continues -- and it will continue -- it's already in recertification and the initial training module and it will go into the manual as well, as the manual is revised.

- 63. I have been asked if I have any comment as to Inspector Bradley's evidence. It was a half day's training, which is typical of a workshop. We did generate some ideas in the workshop which we discussed earlier about what they could do as an organisation. I expect and hope that they do integrate materials into their day-to-day activities. In that regard I think the assertion that they've integrated the learning into routine processes is what I would hope that they would do. I obviously don't have any evidence as to the degree of integration or the effect.
- 64. I have been asked if the training I provided would have allowed Police Scotland enough information for those people who attended the training to implement those ideas across the organisation. I think most of the organisations where I've seen them implement ideas I've done it at a managerial organisational level because sometimes it's process changes. I know these 30 or 31 OST instructors had control of the process themselves. They were the ones designing and putting together the OST training. One of the problems we have with getting people to generate ideas in training is that they often haven't got the organisational clout to do anything about it. It's not within their gift to change the recruiting process, for example, but I think this group, because they were subject matter experts themselves, they did have the clout to be able to implement the things that they said they could do as the end of the workshop.

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- 65. I'm hoping that they did that and also that they continue to use what they learned in generation of future policy. An example of that is, I did some regular sessions at the University of Sheffield and a man came up to me when we were doing refresher training and said, "Can I just run past you something we've been doing recently?" And it was not one of the ideas that had come out of the workshop, but they had started to generate their own ideas to fit into their processes. It warmed my heart a little that 12 months on, they were still doing the thinking and it would become part of their process in the organisation, I would hope that if I went to Police Scotland I could find it dripped into key processes and training.
- 66. Some of the police training materials I've seen elsewhere in policing have not got the understanding of implicit bias, and they have simply slipped a slide into the normal training materials. That is not integration. Sometimes they've taken material directly from Wikipedia. Police Scotland didn't come back to me for specific help and assistance, but I would hope that since the OT trainers are the subject matter experts and we had spent probably the best part of an hour looking at where are the problems, and what actions can we take, that the actions would be meaningful and robust in terms of the research. They should have had enough, I think, to have implemented their own actions. I think that even the ideas that we offer them, in terms of organisational actions and personal actions, they should be able to take and generate their own context specific actions, because I don't know what it looks like when they design OST training. I don't know what equipment they use, I don't know what techniques and videos they use, only they do, but I would hope that they would have been equipped to do that kind of thinking with it. But I do hear "We're going to embed it in processes," from everywhere I go, but when you look at training materials, there's a mention of it, but it's not actually embedded. So, that'd be the only question I would just ask. Has it truly been embedded, or is it just the occasional mention as you go through?



- 67. I have been shown the continuing evidence of Inspector Bradley:
  - Q. So that's already included in the training to some extent since June?
  - A. Yes, since 12 June.
  - Q. Thank you. And have you noticed that added element of training has had an impact?
  - A. I think it's probably too early to tell realistically. 12 June is an early -- we're six months down the track perhaps. Certainly the training is well received by officers. They understand it. You know, we put it in the context of: this is what unconscious bias is, this is what it can do around issues of use of force, and these are the tactics you can use to mitigate against it, awareness being firstly the key part of that and understanding that, and reinforcing some of those good tactical practices to try and mitigate any impact of it.
  - Q. How many participants in the recertification course or the probationers course have you now taught with this added element of unconscious bias?
  - A. I would have to check but we have probably run over 1,000 courses I imagine in that six-month period perhaps. I would have to confirm how many but quite a significant number because it has been operating forensics months, so we would expect that's roughly half of our recertification audience, so if I was to estimate it would probably be 6,000 or 7,000 officers given we have a training audience every 12 months of about 14,500.
- 68. I have been asked if I have any comment as to this further evidence. It sounds like he's saying the right things about contextualising it and refreshing it, because that's one of the things we worry about is sometimes it's seen as a ticked box and they move on, but we need to revisit it at intervals. Certainly, Narinder Kapur, who is a professor of neuropsychology, often involved in this

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kind of work in the NHS, he's of the belief that people should, effectively, recertify after a period. They should go through the training again; they should pass basic tests of knowledge around the subject.

## Recertification and longer-term change

69. I have been asked if I have any comment on that view of recertification. I think if organisations are serious about dealing with implicit bias in their decision making, they should do it. Obviously, I've got a business interest in bias testing and think that that should be part and parcel of what key decision makers have to do. I put forward a model for implementing bias testing to the Police Race Action Plan leads in England and Wales, including for example in assessing for recruiting, specialism or promotion etc. The periodic testing of frontline officers was one of the things that I suggested. Now, obviously there are issues around testing in terms of, for example, can you mandate it? Because if you don't mandate it, the people who have probably got a problem probably won't take it. There's all the kind of issues around confidentiality; who gets to see the data. Do the organisation have it as some kind of anonymised audit or do they use it to instigate further inquiry around an individual? I think that the principle, certainly from Narinder's work, was that if you don't keep reinforcing, it drops off the agenda, but also drops off the action. We know, for example, in terms of changing behaviour that you need to make it simple. Don't give them complex things to do because a) they haven't got the cognitive resources and b) they haven't got the time. Find the little things that people can do. I'll give you an example, Professor Eberhart in Stanford, in California. They introduced a process in pursuits. So, when a car is chased, the culprits stop, they run off. They introduced a system there in the police whereby they were not allowed to pursue a prisoner on their own, they had to wait for backup to arrive, and they did that to introduce the thinking time for people. It avoided the red-mist which often led to excessive use of force, which in the US is often firearms.



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- 70. A researcher call Jennifer Eberhart talks about had a similar action with a social media platform called Front Door which connects neighbours. Jennifer Eberhart was heavily involved in policing with the Oakland riots. What Jennifer and colleagues did was looked at Front Door, which is a bit like a Facebook group Front Door is also in the UK. They were finding lots of racial profiling going on, and she introduced a two stage prompt which was, "What's the evidence upon which this is based?" and they came up with a little phrase, "If you're going to be suspicious, you have to be specific." What she was saying to people was when you post onto the social media site that you've seen some suspicious activity, you can't just say, "There's some black kids hanging around the end of the street." You have to go on to say why that behaviour is being suspicious, like you've seen them doing this or that. That simple pause for thought and evidence reduced the incidence of racial profiling by about 80%, just by putting those couple of check questions in. She was the same with Oakland police. She started to ask them to put these questions into their decision-making process, and I think if you want people to do this kind of stuff and do it instinctively it has to be easy to implement; it has to be really, really low on demand for them; and they have to have the time to do it; and they have to practice it. They have to keep on going at it, keep on trying, which is why we say don't try and go back within three months to see if you've had an impact because it takes at least three months of practice for this kind of routine to get into our neural pathways.
- 71. One of my criticisms of evaluations of implicit bias interventions is they go back two weeks later having not asked people to do anything in the meantime, and then they wonder why people have reverted back to their old attitudes and behaviour. The answer is because they've got no motivation to implement it and they've not practised it. They've not carried on doing it. It's not just about the knowledge base, and I know Narinder Kapur was very strongly on the knowledge base: what do they know about implicit bias? I'd be more interested in what are they doing differently? What have they implemented into their daily practice to mitigate unconscious bias from the outcomes that they're involved

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in? I quite like what David has said, but it would be great to have that kind of "Well, what have you actually done and how do you know it's working and should we be coming back to it periodically?" But again, I do recognise that you can't expect them to give you another half day every 12 months or three months, whatever it is. You've got to come up with ways of doing that in other formats, and I've had the idea — and this has come out from some of the workshops — of having periodic case studies sent out. So, they say, "Look, there's been this incident, we've reviewed it and it's been anonymised, but we think that you might learn a little bit from this," and kind of drip feed things through for reflection.

- 72. Organisationally I also had a tool I developed for recruiting, professional development and training. It basically takes them through a sequence of really simple yes/no questions – "Do you do this? Do you do that? Is this happening? Is that happening?" It outputs a very quick ten-action review of a process. We also developed a version for a client working in schools to review their key internal processes to mitigate bias. The idea behind that was that could go into this web portal and you could tell it what you did. On recruiting, for example, "Do you assess CVs without the names on the top? Do you train assessors in how to do it and what they're looking for? Have you run the person spec through some kind of equality scan?" Then if they've answered no to any of those questions, it gives them a list of things to do: "What you need to do is to implement a system of reviewing CVs where you haven't got the name at the top, so people can't tell the gender and ethnic origin of the applicant". The idea was that you could revisit that periodically. If you've implemented a system that reviews CVs without the names on, you're now answering "Yes, we do that," and it drops off the list, and now you've got a new list of ten things to do.
- 73. NYPD had a system, with body-worn where the sergeants and lieutenants have an obligation in their performance plan to review a certain number of body-worn videos every month and they have a checklist that they go through and it says, "Did the officer remain polite throughout? Did they do this? Did

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they do that? Did they did the other?". The Captain has to review a certain number of BWVs and the reviews as well, and the idea is the body-worn video becomes a way of reviewing that behaviour. One of the other things we talk about as mitigation is holding people accountable, so if you knew that for every time your body-worn video was turned on you stood the chance that your sergeant, your inspector, was going to dip-check that it brings a personal focus on behaviour. Equally with the testing I would say if you've got somebody who's producing quite high scores on a race-based test, you probably want to be dipchecking their body-worn video more frequently and asking the question about, "has it been turned off? Have they been turning the video off more frequently?" I think there's lots of easy technical solutions which take the demand away from the officer but hold them accountable for what's happening on the streets. I don't know how much body-worn video there was in 2015, but you can imagine now having that video to review, people knowing that that video was going to be reviewed. I think it probably would change behaviour; people would be a bit more thoughtful about behaviour.

74. Trish Devine's has work on the motivation to change. She finds some people respond only to the sanction; they don't have a moral compass. For them it's about the risk of sanction, it's about how they're going to be viewed by colleagues, how they're going to be viewed by the organisation. Sometimes you might have to have different things for different people with the idea of watching and censure. I think 25% of people are in that boat - they don't want to change, but they will change if you can create the right conditions. About a third of people are quite prepared to try and be as tolerant, as helpful, as they can, and get some people who are prepared to change their behaviour if they think they're going to risk censure. Then you get this percentage of people who don't give a stuff, but I think they will give a stuff if they thought their job was hanging on it.

### Training provided to other police forces

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- 75. I have been asked about other significant training I have provided to other police forces. I did training for Cleveland Police - it's going back a few years Before COVID, they provided a half day workshop for all of the managers, support staff and police officers, and in fact I even had the Chief Constable and the Policing and Crime Commissioner who sat in and participated. We ran a variation on the course because they had other issues to talk about in addition to implicit bias. They had some senior officers suspended for not taking action, etc., but they provided this half day for all of the supervisors. We'd had the front end which was around awareness of implicit bias. The second part of it - the application piece, as I did with the Police Scotland group, "Well, here's some ideas. Where do you think it plays out? What ideas have you got?". We had some other exercises that we ran that allowed people to start to discuss things like gender discrimination in the organisation, career development of women and the treatment of black people. The exercise is called 'the wall' where you read out a statement, and people have to go to one side of the room if they agree with it and the other end if they disagree with it. Then you just choose a couple of people at random to say, "Well, why have you gone there and why have you gone there?" It gets them to talk about the issues. The statement might be "women in this organisation stand as much opportunity of being promoted now as a male officer," and then you get people who disagree, and you say, "Well why are people saying"-"Well, because this is going on" or, "That's still going on." Other people are saying, "Well, I think women are treated better than men in the organisation now. The recent promotion board - there were more women got promoted the men." It was all about talking about those issues.
- 76. They still had the action piece at the back end, but I think that was driven by this culture they had where they wanted to talk about the issues that they had around prejudice and discrimination inside the organization. They also had a Equality, Diversity and Inclusion manager who was well regarded in the organization and sat at a senior level in the organization. She had the ear of the Chief, and it was the Chief who'd instigated the training, signed it all off and

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insisted on a senior officer being there at every single session, even if it was only for five minutes, to introduce the importance of the session, but they all had to attend as well. There was no exemption from going just because you were the Chief Constable. I think that that was really important because, first of all, there was a time commitment involved, and secondly, people got to talk through some of the issues that were going on in the organisation, particularly around gender and race. It also brought up disability and lots of other things and promotion and the problems they had with it. I don't know how far they took this, but because we were face to face, we actually kept all of the flip charts from the actions that came out, and I collated them back together and fed them back to the organisation right from the day one. The EDI manager there said, "We want some quick wins. We want to be choosing some of this stuff that we can implement tomorrow that have come from these workshops to show that we value what people are saying, this is not just another tick-box course."

77. I've run a similar kind of event in lots of clients over the years, hundreds of them, and I started to collate the ideas – what ideas have they got on recruiting, what ideas have they got on performance management, what ideas have they got on promotion, what ideas have they got on discipline - and I developed a website. It was called I Commit, and effectively individuals could commit to making a change. So, if you work in a law firm, you might say, "The next time I'm involved in recruiting, I will go to that outreach event at Queen Mary University where they've got a more ethnically diverse group of law students." The idea was that you went onto the website, you put your name and email address in, you said what you're going to do, what the time period involved was, and then it would send you an email after the time passed asking what have you done. We offered that as a freebie. We didn't really get much takeup. Everybody thinks it's a great idea, but nobody actually takes it up and does it, but the idea was that we could cream off the ideas. If people in another part of the organisation are suggesting an action, we could say, "Well, let's not just happening here. We've got this list of ideas to help solve it," We asked them

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to review it after 3 months, "How did you get on with it? Were there resource issues?" They might say "I just didn't have the time. They wouldn't give me the IT tech person to sort that out for me,". We just wanted the organisational learning to be there, and it was a really simple tool in that regard.

## Data on race and policing

- 78. I have been asked about data on race and policing, how this feeds into training and would be used by a trainer. I feel there are two ways. Sometimes you have trouble convincing delegates that they've got a problem and you can see people sat there with their arms crossed because they're saying, "We haven't got a problem. It's black people's problem. They're the problem." They never say that, of course. They just sit there with their arms crossed. So, sometimes you have to present them with the evidence for it. Sometimes you do need some really pithy bits of information. You can highlight, why is it that spit hoods are used more predominantly with Asian people than Black people or White people? Why is it that we're more likely to use taser and firearms are drawn with Black people than White people? There's no evidence to say that Black people are carrying weapons. That is not borne out in the data. Some of it's about convincing them that they've got a problem to address because until they know they've got a problem, they really won't do anything about it. I used to run an exercise in training which was around the implications of not getting it right. What are the benefits of an inclusive diverse organisation, but what are the implications of not getting it right? For example, a guy who's running a surveillance team says, "Well, if I don't have a diverse surveillance team, there's places I can't go. I can't go into women's changing rooms. I can't go into a place that's predominantly patronised by Black people if all I've got is white men." So, they started to look at, "Well, what are the benefits to our organisation".
- 79. The other thing that you tend to get, and I've had it myself and I've had it from chief constables, they start of with the data. The first thing they'll say is, "Yes

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but that research was from America. That doesn't apply in the UK," and then if you find a piece of UK research, they'll say, "Yes, but that wasn't in our force area, was it?" So, the more specific you can make it pertinent to them, both the context of the job they do but also their data, then they can't really argue against it. Most people will see a piece of research from America and see that it's got legs over here. They'll see a piece of research done in the Met, and they'll say, "Well, it's got legs here" but some people won't. They'll use it as an opportunity to knock it down. They'll say, "Yes, that happens in the Met but that could never happen here" because all police forces think they're unique. They all think they're special, and they do things in a particular way, but they've got way more in common than they've got in difference.

- 80. I think the data has got use in shaking off the perception that it's not our problem. You have to anticipate the pushback that you're going to get, and prepare if you present American data, they're going to say it's not UK data; if you present English data, they'll say it's not Scottish data; if you present data from Glasgow, they'll say, "Well, that's not from Edinburgh"; vice versa you present data from Glasgow or Edinburgh, they'll say, "Well, that's not from the Highlands."
- 81. There is a limit on how detailed you can get with data but that's why in when testing for a police force we can know exactly which division respondents are from. We'll know what job they've got, we'll know what rank they hold, so we can say, "Well, here's our problem. We seem to have a problem with constables on that western division." That seems to be where our hotspot is.
  I think it's got use both in opening up discussion but also dealing with the objections who say, "But that's not here."
- 82. I have been asked if having data on race and policing assists with planning any interventions and improvements as a result of the training. Yes, on the issue of use of spithoods on Asian people. There are people who say, "Well, Asian people spit." That's what they'll say, "They spit more." Let's dig into that

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and find out whether that actually is the truth. If we go back to some of the statements, did they actually spit or was it just fear of them spitting that led to us putting the hood on? I think it enables the targeting of attention and resources. Rather than using a broad brush we can use a much more precise brush to say, "The problems seem to be here, here and here," but we're often lacking in data. The Equality Act's been out since 2010. Forces should have some data, such as recruitment data, in detail. This data should be at hand, and West Yorkshire are a good example where they clearly put an effort into breaking their use of forced data by ethnic origin to give them this picture of what they needed to know and to understand why officers were doing that. I don't know what they've done with it since. Different problems and different solutions, I think, rather than one big broad brush.

83. I have been asked if, in my experience, the focus on tackling racism in the police and policing changes over time. Yes, and I think there's a bit of lack of authenticity with it, and I'll give you the example of the Police Race Action Plan. So, 44 chief constables in England and Wales and British Transport Police signed up to that plan, but anybody who's got any knowledge inside knows that that's not what they believe. There were a number of chief constables who privately have made it quite clear that they don't think the Race Action Plan is needed, etc. So, there's an element there of saying one thing but really, behind the door, they don't believe it. Often, when they implement unconscious bias initiatives, it is led either by somebody within the force who has got the ear of the chief, or there's an incident which has cropped up and they think it will sound good for the crime commissioner when you come to ask the awkward question, but they've got no commitment to it. There's no strategy in terms of saying, "Well, we'll do this every 12 months. We'll embed it in our training packages. We'll be monitoring this. We'll have the data being monitored," and it does often become flavor of the month. So, "We've gone through implicit bias. Our equality, diversity inclusion stuff, then we'll move on to something else, menopause seems to be massive at the moment. We'll get on top of the menopause, we'll have some workshops, College of Police will produce a

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package and an app for it, then I'll move on to something else." It'll all get forgotten and the Race Action Plan is a classic example of that.

- 84. George Floyd was killed in May 2020. We're just a couple of months away from the fourth anniversary of that, and they're only now just about rolling the plan out. I think had it not been for fact that they've got the independent scrutiny board set up who were on their back, I think they would have been happy to let it die and just move on, and I think that's one of the problems in policing. Because the demands from central government from particular types of incident are so strong, they don't have the resources to stay the course or revisit. Often they've not got the kind of the moral commitment to particular issues along the way to keep their nose to the grindstone on it.
- 85. It wasn't helped in 2010 when the new Government got rid of the equality impact assessments. Because I know they were tedious to do, but they did ask people to ask the question, "How will this impact specific groups? What data do you have to say that? And if you haven't got the data, how could you get the data?" I thought they were a really good tool for that. I think when we lost the equality impact assessments which did a lot of the thinking work for us, It also only takes a chief officer to move or even to retire for focus to be lost. I can think around half a dozen forces where I've lost my contact my superintendents, who's been promoted or retired or moved on, and all the enthusiasm and commitments they made get flushed away. I think some of it is a lack of long-term strategy to say we will build this in.
- 86. They are some people in police forces who basically whisper in the ear of chief constables. They send an email with a headline link which says, "Diversity training doesn't work" to discourage the initiative. Many times they'll come across an opinion article saying unconscious bias training doesn't work, for example. Then they'll send it to the EDI officer saying, "Well, what do you think about this?" I then spend two hours explaining why it was an opinion piece. It's not based on any evidence. This is where the evidence lies but, in the

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meantime, it's chipped away at what you're trying to do. I think some of it's malicious. They're just trying to throw hand grenades into the water to cause disruption. However, I can think of at least one police force where I got a very negative superintendent given to me to work with. He did a fantastic job because the chief constable was paying personal attention to it. He was asking him, "How's that going? Where are we with that?" But I think if he'd just had it dumped on him and said, "get on with that," without the chief paying attention that would have been the end of that.

- 87. West Yorkshire has had some success in terms of longevity of the Chief Constable. It's been going on for four or five years and he's still there. He's still asking the awkward questions. He's still saying to people, you know, "Why is this not getting done? Where are we with that?" but I don't think that happens in a lot of forces. Senior leaders move on. It was flavour of the month. It's done their little bit for their career progression. They've sat on this board. They've got their KPM out of it. Now, they lose their commitment to it. I think it's particularly difficult when Black officers are put in charge of work like that because they get a double whammy. They get the exposure but also the non-operational role. They also get the stereotype threat of, "what will people think of me? I'm a black officer pushing forward the work on equality." Will they think I've just got a vested interest in it? "He would say that, wouldn't he?"
- 88. I think it's a really tricky one in terms of finding the right people to lead on it, but whoever they are, they've got to be very senior in the organisation. Or you need to have the strategy. I don't know what the arrangement is in Scotland for the appointment of chief officers. In England and Wales every time a crime commissioner appoints a new chief constable they are not being asked, "what are you doing on the Race Action Plan? What progress have you made on that in your force area before I appoint you as my chief?"
- 89. When you get a chief that is not committed to EDI, they put out often subtle but clear signals or messages about the end of "woke" policing without actually

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understanding what the word woke means in the first place. That's the message you send to more junior officers. "You know what? This stuff doesn't matter. I'm not going to be asking you awkward questions on a promotion board about what you've done on equality, diversity, inclusion." So, I think the leadership from the top has got to be consistent. It's got to be long term, and it's got to be authentic. There has to be a longer-term strategy - a commitment from the organisation to say, "This is what we're doing on this," and it's not two years, three years or the tenure of this chief. It's a longer term, and it doesn't get turned over because they get a new chief constable arriving who's got slightly different ideas, or a chief constable who - when the going gets tough, the boss whisperers get in their ear and convince them to pull the plug or just call it something else.

90. I think there is a leadership strategy issue. Otherwise, everything is short-term. Nothing gets evaluated. We don't know what the effect is, and why would you put 9,000 officers through a half-day course and not know whether it works? The cost must be astronomical to do that without building in that, "Well, how do we know it works? What will our metrics be? How can we do that easily and on an ongoing basis?" That's been one of the issues with College of Policing. A lot of the work that they do, they don't monitor it in real time. They do an annual report sometimes, but by the time that annual report's been written, which is three-six months in the writing, we're 18 months from the end of the year they're talking about, but what possible use is that? There has to be some kind of real-time proactive element to it. A lot of organisations now have got these diversity dashboards where the chief constable can click on it and it will instantly tell him or her, in the last recruit cohort, how many Black and Asian officers have been recruited? One of the things I know from my contacts in West Yorkshire is when the Chief Constable goes down the corridor and starts asking questions, things get done. Nobody wants to be there when the Chief Constable says, "Where are we with our targets on recruiting? Where are we with this?" I can't underestimate the power of the senior leader; most importantly, one who's committed to doing it, not just talking about it for the

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Chiefs' Council and signing up to the Race Action Plan when really, they're not really very interested in it.

## Macpherson 20 years on

- 91. I have been shown a written submission containing evidence in relation to the Macpherson report 20 years on. (WIT-00064) I am the author of this document. It was a written submission in response to a call for evidence.
- 92. I have been shown paragraph 2.4:

I have had some very positive experiences with individual police services engagement with how unconscious bias may impact key decision makers. One police service trained in the use of the bias test and three undertook the three day Training the Trainers course. A number of other contacts with police services showed initial interest in testing and training but lost momentum and was not followed up.

I have been shown paragraph 3.1:

The publicity around the pilot of police unconscious bias training around stop search was, I feel, misleading. My experience of the training materials and hearing the evaluations suggests that the 15 minutes allocated directly to unconscious bias was inadequate to make a difference to behaviour or to bias levels. The 2018 review by Atewologun, Cornish and Tresh for the Equality and Human Rights Commission suggests that short awareness sessions on the underpinning principles coupled with testing and review may reduce implicit bias. This was not the model adopted by the police pilot, either in terms of length, content or in terms of the likelihood of behavioural change. The Elearning packages used in some forces have not, in my opinion, been effective. I have met officers who have taken these courses and do not understand the underlying principles.

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I have been asked if this is still my experience, given that this was drafted in January 2019. Yes. I think it's got worse rather than better, only in the sense that I think that COVID stopped a lot of training. It took away almost all face-to-face training. When they've gone back to face-to-face training, people have got other priorities. They've got other work they're catching up on, work which required face-to-face training in more urgently than an implicit bias training in their agenda.

- 93. Certainly, my contacts in police forces have gone very quiet. I think they've moved onto other priorities, frankly. I think they're often now talking about inclusive leadership. I think that their target market has shifted a bit. Now it's about, "Well, what can leaders do to be more inclusive and create this inclusive work environment?" and although the unconscious bias work is probably still in it, it's certainly shifted away from the pure unconscious bias training. It's not been helped by a conflation with the critical race theory stuff controversy which has got some really vocal critics.
- 94. I think the little positive things I said there are probably still true, but I've not seen it because I've been more disengaged, from that for a couple of years now because once COVID struck I was delivering everything online. I wasn't getting out and speaking to people in coffee breaks or lunch breaks anymore and I wasn't speaking to EDI managers who were ringing me up saying, "We're thinking about doing this, what would you suggest?" I still get an occasional call like that, but I get the sense that it's no longer the flavour of the month. Things have moved on. You can get attention now for mental health. You can get attention for menopause work. A lot of the wider EDI conferences and events have gone.
- 95. I think it's a great pity as there's a lot of value still in implicit bias, in particular embedding it into organisational processes. It doesn't necessarily have to be training, but you do need people who understand it and the idea of building it

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into equality impact assessments, for example. So that you're asking the questions about, "Where are my unconscious biases?" and that's what happened in Sheffield. A guy came up to me one day and said, "Oh, I came to your session 12 months ago. I've come to do the refresher session, and we introduced a process whereby at the end of every meeting, the last agenda item was to review all the decisions that we've made and ask ourselves the questions, "How might unconscious bias have played out in these decisions?" Now, it took them two minutes at the end of the meeting but the fact is they'd started to think for themselves, they put that into the process and it took two minutes at the end of every meeting to ask that question.

- 96. I think that it's mainly about organisational processes. You can ask individuals to do better, be different, to mitigate their biases, but it is much easier to get the organisational processes in line. I thought it was really interesting that we've had adverse impact in the National Recruit Assessment Centre in policing in England and Wales for the last, to my knowledge, about eight/nine years. Last year it massively reduced against most minority groups. What have they done? They had a review of their training materials. They got a subject matter expert to go through and say, "That word's wrong, we're rephrasing that." It often is those little, tiny bits. It's not the massive costly things, it's the little things that says, "You know what? Perhaps we shouldn't be using that video in OST training. Perhaps we should review with the National Black Police Association the way that vetting is carried out," because we know, for example, that there's adverse impact in vetting and nobody seems to understand why. I suspect if you ask somebody from a Black or multi-ethnic background, they'd tell you what the problem was in a few seconds.
- 97. If you want to solve these problems long term, it's in the systems. You've still got to be cautious about who you take into the organisation to run those systems and to refine those systems, because we all know with the Sarah Everard murder, and the other subsequent incidents that there is a problem as to who gets through the door and the problems that they then bring with them.

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I think if the systems are right, it mitigates and mutes the opportunity for bias to play out, but you do need that understanding of how bias works and what it's likely to do. Those intel officers in my example never thought for a second that sending through a half-completed intel form to that subdivision was likely to lead to Asian men people being stop searched more, but it was glaring when I looked at it.

- 98. I have been referred to my recommendations in this document including:
  - 3. That Police services provide bespoke and functionally driven unconscious bias training for work teams (highlighted by Atewologun, Cornish and Tresh (2018)).
  - 4. That police recruiting include implicit bias testing around ethnicity
  - 5. That Police services, or the College of Policing on their behalf, offer confidential ethnicity implicit bias testing and feedback on test scores for all staff
  - 7. That the College of Policing introduce unconscious bias training and testing on all command courses

I have been asked if my view on these recommendations has changed at all. I think these days people might say, "I know about unconscious bias, it's been spoken about here, there and everywhere." Certainly, the idea that David talks about embedding it into probationer training. If that is actually being done, I think it is the way forward. That becomes part and parcel of stop search training, OST training, all of those kind of pinch points have got their elements of implicit bias built into them. I'm obviously a big fan of bias testing. The problem I've had with bias testing is I've tried to engage at a national level in England and Wales without much success, even if I suggest we could come to an arrangement for them to use the tests nationally in a way which enables them to use the existing test platform in a cost-effective way.

99.	That was one of the things I put forward in the Police Race Action Plan; how
	to implement bias testing into each of the themes in the plan? What impact
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could it have on, for example, use of police powers, including the use of force? What impact could testing have on recruiting? I'm obviously a big advocate of testing, but there are a number of issues around confidentiality. It's got a place, I think, to play as a development tool, in which case it doesn't need to be mandatory, but if you're going to use it to ask, "do we really want police officers who have race bias in the job? Do we really want to allow people into the organisation and bringing their race biases with them?" Then it's a much trickier question. You've got all sorts of implications, legal implications, to say, how does that sit within the employment law?

- 100. The model we've put forward in Canada, with the Royal Canadian Mountain Police where have got a pilot using it in the recruiting process, is we're saying "You will not use it as a single point of decision making." You will not say, if a person scores over X then there is no job for them in the police. The model put forward was that you can use it in the process, but provided it's only one data point. So, you might seek some references, you might run a specific exercise in the assessment centre, you might have some additional interview questions for that individual to talk about their attitude towards immigrants in this country, for example, but you can't use it as a single data point.
- 101.I think there is the potential for saying you can do your awareness through YouTube videos or through NCALT packages, however you want to do it. If you then provide people with an opportunity for personal bias testing, with feedback, and some tools that they can implement you stand a chance of reducing bias with a minimum of input of time and money. However, we must then put the systems around them that support change and bias mitigation if they've got a race bias. Ultimately, if you are recruiting then having a system that makes it difficult for that race bias to play out is a better response that expecting individual assessors or interviewers to be continually vigilant. In West Yorkshire Police unconscious bias just forms part of the recruit training. They've also got a big community engagement thing going on as well. How do we understand our communities? They've got guest speakers from the

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community coming in. So, unconscious bias will be part of the course, but it won't be the whole course. Anti-racism training has been put together by the College of Policing with the support of the National Black Police Association in England and Wales. I suspect it'll have chunks of implicit bias built into it because I think you get such a pushback asking or staff for three and a half hours for implicit bias training alone," especially when you get the likes of Minister Julia Lopez and the boss whisperers saying, "No".

I think that probably is a really good model, if that's what's being done, Sometimes my experience has been it's labelled up as unconscious bias training for three/four hours but there's 20 minutes of half-baked unconscious bias at the front end and they go off into talking about other issues which are not necessarily relevant to EDI at all, but they've just used it so that they get the resources and the time to be able to do it. I am slightly sceptical about that, but I think if Police Scotland do what David has said, so it's integrated into the training and it becomes part of the thinking of the organisation that every time you do something critical, you have to go through this checklist, use the tools, ask yourself the questions it does get embedded. I don't think training needs to drag everybody off the streets for a day because I know what resistance you get to that, and also that tends to be a one-off. It is better to redose periodically in the workplace. You know very well that face to face training for a day or half a day is not going to be repeatable. It's just too costly.

## Miscellaneous

103. I have been asked is there anything else that I would like to include in my statement. The thing that has been missing, I think, from the last 20 years really – certainly, 15 years of my practice and experience – is there is so little in terms of evaluation. There is literally nothing. It's a few 'happy sheets' at the end of it if you're lucky. I think that there does need to be a model developed of robust evaluation - what is it you're trying to achieve? If you're trying to achieve

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behavioural change, then what are your metrics? If you're just trying to reduce officers' bias levels and you're going to take a leap of faith then that it affects behaviour, what are your metrics? If you're just trying to do awareness, then the happy sheet and knowledge tests will do it. Perhaps you need to do that every six or 12 months just to make sure people are still keeping on top of that. I think evaluation is the one thing that is really let down, and everybody has failed to do that, by the way. Organisations have not asked for it, training providers have not pushed it. I'm guilty of that myself. If I had a tender for a contract, was I putting in 20% on the end of it for evaluation? No, I wasn't, because I knew very well that if that made me 20% more expensive than the other provider, I wasn't going to get the gig, but I think it needs to be built in.

- 104. I remember the Crime Reduction Programme, that was at the Home Office in 1998/1999, when the government rolled out the Crime Reduction Programme which was something like a £200 million initiative to look for ideas for reducing crime. I think it was 10% set aside for evaluation, it might even have been more,. It's so rare these days that you see even a big initiative rolled out with a proper timely evaluation. Proper evaluation allows you to recommend 'what works' to leaders and managers without it decision makers are running blind and may be wasting time and money.
- 105. I believe the facts stated in this witness statement are true. I understand that this statement may form part of the evidence before the Inquiry and be published on the Inquiry's website.

