

London Assembly Police and Crime Committee - Wednesday 22 March 2023**Transcript of Agenda Item 6 - Independent Review into the Standards of Behaviour and Internal Culture of the Metropolitan Police Service – Panel One**

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): We now move on to our main item of business and I would like to welcome our guests who are joining us for the first part of this session, Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB; and Sarah Kincaid, Lead Reviewer.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): First of all, thank you so much for coming to our Committee because I do appreciate just how busy you are, especially today. I am going to start with questions, but first of all I would like to say that the report mentions the Parliamentary and Diplomatic Protection Command, and there are clearly some issues there. However, I would also like to point out that, very sadly, it was six years ago today that we lost Police Constable (PC) Keith Palmer [GM] of that group. Therefore, it just shows that there are good and bad wherever we look, and we remember him today. Thank you.

We all have various questions, so I have been very ruthless with my colleagues to tell them to be nice and short with their questions and I would be really grateful if you can be as concise too. I noticed when we were looking at how you did your questioning that around 6,500 people responded to the survey. Can we have sight of that survey? We could not find it when we looked for it.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: May I, Chairman, just start by saying how grateful I am to you and the Committee for giving us the chance to appear before you this morning and I too would like to mark that this is the anniversary of the sad death, due to a terrorist attack, of PC Keith Palmer. I would also like to say - as I said throughout this review - that as we sit here at this time of the morning, and I saw them on the way here, there are police officers out responding to 999 calls. There will be a woman somewhere in London who is probably making her first account of a rape that happened to her yesterday or the day before. We always have to remember that the police have to stand up when we are under duress and there is a threat, and that they stand in the line of duty to do that. In fact, over the weekend, as colleagues will know, there were two off-duty officers who stood up to a crime that was happening in Soho.

Therefore, as much as this report is very grave, it has quite significant findings, I do not think any of us should underestimate - and I have said this on camera throughout and I have said it to colleagues, staff, and officers in the Metropolitan Police [Service] (MPS) by way of an internal video - that I am very conscious of that and that we are grateful to them for that; that happens 24 hours of the day, seven days a week. They are not a profession or a function that can close itself down for a week or 24 hours to think about what it might do next. Therefore, reforming itself is always reforming itself while it is running 24 hours of the day. That is a huge challenge.

In answer to your question, Chairman, and I am not great at being concise, therefore if anyone is going to mess up this morning it will be me, not anybody else in the room. The Ipsos MORI polling is threaded throughout the report. We have given it separately to anybody who wants it and I am very happy to do so.

Sarah Kincaid (Lead Reviewer, Baroness Casey Review): We undertook it in the lead-up to Christmas and then - as well as the survey of officers and staff - we also undertook a survey of Londoners just shortly

after. We had a very, very good response to the officer survey; Ipsos were really pleased at the response rate. We did a couple of questions where we have compared how officers and staff have reflected their views as opposed to the views of Londoners, which you might have picked up in your report.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Thank you. Normally people are prepared to answer something when they have a beef against something. Did you find that, or did you find that you had lots of positive answers to your questioning?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: If I can potentially predict where you may be heading, Chairman, the report asks very open questions. You can see the questions and you can see the answers for yourself. What we have to be mindful of today is that both police officers and police staff completed that survey. We have taken testimony from countless others. I have done visits and listening exercises throughout the last 12 months with hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of officers. What the report reflects is what the staff and officers of the MPS think and feel about the organisation. It is not a report that is attempting in any way to reflect anything other than that. I do not have a beef, quite the opposite, with the MPS --

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): No, not you.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: -- at all, quite the opposite in fact.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Let me correct, I was talking about the people that were coming to answer; I am not suggesting by any means that it is you. I am saying people are more likely to get involved in questionnaires if they themselves have an issue. That was not going anywhere other than saying did you get people that were positive as well as negative. It was not reflecting you; it was reflecting the people that responded.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: Yes, and that is reflected in the report that you will see that we put it all on, both positive and negative. Throughout the review there are answers that are more positive and answers that are more negative and that is what we have reflected.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Thank you. Have you removed anything from the main draft reports that came out, or you have left it more or less as it intended to be?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: Are you referring to the Ipsos MORI survey?

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): No, the report in general, did you present a report anywhere and were asked to change anything, or is it literally as you wanted it to be?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: There is always -- in the terms of reference, there was an agreement, which we have honoured very positively from both sides that the MPS will be able to have full access to the report in draft and could give both factual feedback, and frankly we took factual feedback from the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner, and the organisation, as well as other views. So I decided, given the situation, that I gave them an early copy, around about mid to late February, and we went through a process of receiving their feedback. As you can see, it is a 360 page document, therefore it had a couple of rounds of feedback, and we went through those thoroughly so that we could agree that the contents therein were accurate in terms of the MPS as well as ourselves. I have to say, if there are mistakes in it, then we take responsibility for those, not colleagues in the MPS.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): I just wondered if it had been changed very much, but you have answered that. Very, very briefly, because of my time as well, I am thrilled to see that you are not best pleased with Basic Command Units (BCU) because I have been banging on a long time that I think that is when we started to lose connectivity in the boroughs with them and I appreciate your comments on that. Very briefly because of my time, what is the staff's views of the BCUs as compared to borough-based policing?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: I have concluded, and I think Sir Mark Rowley [QPM, Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis] is in agreement with this, that we have not suggested in recommendations restructuring, either huge - ie the overall MPS - nor indeed have I suggested restructuring in terms of the BCUs. In part, Chairman, because it is always an easy option for review to go down the structural route, but it is much more difficult for colleagues. You cannot restructure your way out of a cultural problem, let me put it that way. That is one of the areas where I would suggest that over the last decade potentially mistakes were made in that the BCUs essentially are very big and they lost their connection on a borough-by-borough basis.

One of Sir Mark and Dame Lynne's [Owens DL DCB CBE QPM, Deputy Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Service] first suggestions - and they are enacting it - is to put a lead Superintendent into each borough and I am hoping that will restore some of the glue. What we also note in the report is that restructuring, which I personally have made very clear I think was financially driven, essentially that restructuring, alongside neighbourhood policing also disappearing to the degree that it has, what you see in London is a police service that is quite disconnected from boroughs, but also importantly the people living in those boroughs. It is both the accountability and also a reality of the day-to-day experience of Londoners in terms of our glue often being the Safer Neighbourhood Teams and things like that. I think you are right about that.

There has been a cross-party response yesterday in terms of leaders of local authorities across London also saying, "Good to have this recognised in the report and good to talk about it." Therefore, it is a really important place that this is one of the things that this Committee in particular should have more to say on, as it were, than other forums. Because you are also democratically elected by the people of London, therefore it is a very important connection for you to be satisfied with.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Good, thank you. We are coming on to where this Committee stands with another colleague, but I will go now to Assembly Member Desai.

Unmesh Desai AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you, Chairman. Good morning, Baroness Casey, and good morning, Ms Kincaid. Firstly, can I, on behalf of my Labour colleagues, thank you for all the work that you have done in compiling this report, which we accept, we welcome it. Baroness Casey, the culture of the MPS has proven resistant to change over the decades. Even before [Sir William] Macpherson's landmark report [Report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, 1999] there were many, many reports going back to the 1960s and 1970s talking about the issues that you address in your report. The Commissioner has made a good start by accepting that there are serious issues to address. How can he overcome the deeply entrenched attitudes that are resistant to change? Does his failure to accept that these problems are institutionalised within the MPS hinder this?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: The job for the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner is huge. When they probably applied for the job and got the job, they had a sense of the enormity of what they were taking on. In the same way that, as the report shows, the officers and staff of the MPS also feel that things need to change. This review was done with colleagues, it is not a "done to" review. I have been in other places, for example in Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council, where from the arrival we realised that we were not going to get co-operation, we were not getting an open door. To be fair, Deputy Chair, the MPS

has been phenomenal in opening up their organisation. I do not think anybody has had the sort of help, support, and kindness and graciousness, that we have enjoyed and needed, given how tough the job has been.

Therefore, I want to be quite measured today in terms of making sure that I am really clear about this particular issue, because the findings in the report go far beyond the issues of institutional racism, misogyny, and homophobia. Overall, a culture of discrimination and prejudice, which is illustrated fairly graphically in the report, and that prejudice and discrimination is suffered by many of their own officers and staff. When you have statistics that say that close to 50% of the staff and officers are themselves experiencing racism, 33% of women, and I think that having interviewed and listened to so many women their bar on what they would consider sexism is potentially lower, probably, than my bar would be, and many others in other public sector organisations. Therefore, for 33% of them to say that they have experienced sexism and the one in ten, which is a deeply worrying statistic, who says that women officers and staff have experienced harassment and assault, is pretty graphic. Then the issues in relation to gay officers also experiencing homophobia, also are not easy reading.

Do I think that all of that adds up to institutional, organisational, systemic, pick whichever word you want to? Yes, it does. Do I own them at first in definition? Yes, I do. Do I think them at first in definition allows everybody to know that not every single serving officer, it is so clear, and I know that it is really hard because 30 years ago Stephen Lawrence lost his life, 24 years ago [Sir] William Macpherson wrote his report. If I had not found – and I have four tests -- I will be much shorter on the other questions, but it is important that I lay this out - I have four tests that I have put into my report, which gives everybody a fresh start. It gives Londoners a fresh start; it gives the MPS a fresh start; it gives its officers a fresh start; and it gives the Commissioner a fresh start.

Those four tests are these: (1) do you have racists in your organisation? Yes, you do. Does that mean every person working in the MPS? Absolutely not. I am absolutely clear about that. (2) Do you have people in your organisation experiencing - let us take - misogyny? Yes, you do. Not everybody is experiencing misogyny or sexism in your organisation but enough for you to be concerned that you should do something about it. (3) Do you have systemic and therefore institutional, is your institution's processes biased disproportionately? Yes, they are, 81%, I am sitting in a room where nearly everybody in this room is white and I can say to everybody in this room who is white, 81% of people with the skin colour that is Black are disproportionately more likely to be in the misconduct system. That cannot be because their skin colour is not mine. There is another thing happening there. Then, fourthly is it not time that we all had a fresh start on this, the officers and staff, as much as for Londoners? Without a doubt, previous Commissioners, previous politicians have accepted the disproportionality that Black communities suffer. They are over policed and under protected. The use of stop and search, over policing, using force disproportionately to a skin colour that is different to mine. Balanced against that, if a woman is Black she is 65% more likely to be on the receiving end of domestic violence.

If you take all of that together, for me this was the moment to say to [Baroness] Doreen Lawrence [of Clarendon, mother of Stephen Lawrence], to the countless people out there, "Yes, this is institutional, it is organisational", and then you can move on to then have a more straightforward and a direct discussion with the people of London. In a way, it is time, and I wish in a way that we did not have to talk about it today; that we could give the new Commissioner the time and the space to allow himself and his organisation to hear the findings of this review, to consider particularly the ones that have been with the MPS for a long time, and take a moment or a month, or two months, to then consider it. It just rings hollow to say, "I do not like the word, and it is not a word I would use". I know [Sir] Mark Rowley, he is a man of utter decency and integrity. Therefore, we need to give him time and we need to give him the respect that he needs, and he warrants, as does his Deputy Commissioner.

If somebody said to me, "Louise, the MPS is in a terrible place, you should bring in people to take it over to run it", I would think that there are possibly no two more outstanding leaders that I could think of than [Dame] Lynne Owens and [Sir] Mark Rowley. I appreciate that this is difficult, and I appreciate everybody wants to have that sort of debate, but I am just asking for the gift of a little bit of generosity of time and

gentleness as we move into the debate. Therefore, I have asked them to think about how it must feel to wake up if you are Doreen Lawrence in April. I am asking them to think about what it feels like for the countless Black Londoners who are working in their force, let alone people on the receiving end of some of what they do. Therefore, I am asking everybody today just can we just keep this a little bit where it is, give people time to listen to each other.

Unmesh Desai AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you. Chairman, in the interests of time I will leave it at that.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Thank you very much. Thank you. Assembly Member Russell.

Caroline Russell AM: Thank you. The point that you make about the impact on serving MPS officers of this institutional, the systemic difficulties that you have uncovered, really shocking things, is a really important point and very well made. I understand what you say about the gentleness that is required, but Londoners, many Londoners, those Londoners who have been overpoliced and under-protected, need to hear that after decades of knowing about institutional corruption in the MPS that it is being taken seriously. There is a problem that the term “institutional racism, sexism, misogyny, homophobia”, that it has become so politicised that the Commissioner was not able yesterday to just say, “Yes, there is a systemic problem”, because Londoners really needed to hear that.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: May I just say, Assembly Member Russell, from my own bit of London, when people say something has become politicised it is often a get-out-of-jail card for the word “difficult”. I have heard it so many times. I am sorry, you are dealing with a dinosaur, I have been around a long time. Sometimes it is right that we step into what is difficult and particularly when people like me, I say I am independent, I am not political, I do not want to get into that debate, is sometimes a watchword for “it is difficult”. It is difficult, and in a way the gentleness has to go both ways, the MPS has to realise, the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner, that they also owe gentleness to the people of London that want a recognition that their organisation is organisationally, systemically, and institutionally biased. Sorry, I had not thought about this before my mouth opened, I have been trying to think overnight how to guide us all through this difficult process that we respect and acknowledge the extraordinary difficulty. The statistics in the report are so sad when it comes to Black Londoners and non-white Londoners, both in terms of staff in the MPS and its own officers. Therefore, I am asking really today for gentleness both ways. I am asking the MPS to just take a moment and think about what it might feel and what people are hearing when people will not use a particular word, do not die in a ditch over it, and I am asking people to own where we are with this, which is: this is the lived experience of people in the organisation and with people outside of the organisation.

It is the race one, that finding, that people are finding so hard. I doubt - my gut feeling is, and I have not had this conversation, I am having it live probably on camera here - would we be in the same place if this was just about sexism and misogyny or would we all just chalk it up and say it? Would we be in the same place - I do not know - if this was about homophobia? I do not know. The fight to be treated as equal if you are gay is more recent in our memories; it is not that long. It was a David Cameron Government that put through the legislation [Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013] that allowed people who are gay to get married; that is really recent. Therefore, I just wonder that this is deep into the history of London and that in a way means that we should not call it political. What is wrong with being political? You are all political. You are democratically elected; it is your job to be political. It is for civil servants and people in [Sir] Mark’s position to think about how they serve the public and how they serve democratically elected Members. I am not political in that way. I am not affiliated to any political party, but I am very happy to talk politics, and when politics gets difficult let us talk about that difficulty.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Assembly Member, you have had your time. Do you want a very quick and a very short --

Caroline Russell AM: I just wanted to very, very quickly ask about the issue that you raise in the report about the Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) and access to data, and particularly around strip

search. I recognise that massively because I have a question that I put in July 2022 about the locations of more intimate strip searches of children. It was really shocking to see that MOPAC has been unable to get hold of data on the strip searches because the coding of the events was being done in such a random way that there was no consistency, and it was not possible to look at it properly. I just wondered if you would like to comment on that lack of data and the problems that MOPAC has been having getting hold of data from the MPS.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Assembly Member --

Caroline Russell AM: That came in on 12 September --

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): -- we have to be fair to everybody.

Caroline Russell AM: Yes, I know.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): I can see Baroness Casey will be able to answer that very quickly for us.

Sarah Kincaid (Lead Reviewer, Baroness Casey Review): If I could just answer that briefly, and I will be brief. The problem of data in many different forms, not only in relation to the problem that you are talking about, but in relation to the misconduct data, in relation to body-worn video, right across the piece we found very complicated and difficult datasets to understand. They are riddled with inconsistencies, inaccuracies, that were very difficult. If I could just mention one particular issue that we have found very concerning: we looked for about three months to get data on the number of cases each Public Protection Officer was holding, and we never got to the bottom of it. We talked to many, many different officers, we looked right through every system we could. We had to rely in the end on the MPS's latest estimate that it had, which was I think 18 to 21 cases per officer, which I think it put in its Force Management Statement. However, many, many officers we spoke to were carrying an awful lot more than that, and the officers who interview women were also very much carrying double that number.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Thank you. That is reflected in the report as well. Thank you.
Assembly Member Pidgeon.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM: Thank you. Thank you so much, Baroness Casey, for this report. I have spent the last 24 hours reading it really thoroughly, and it is going to be shaping our work over the next year. You talk about toxic masculinity, you talk about oversexualisation in the workplace, carrier culture, how is Sir Mark and his team going to tackle these fiefdoms, these bastions, under the control of this small clique that have been there a long time and have, clearly, some awful views and poor management practices? How many officers do you expect the MPS to be getting rid of as a result of what you have found and if processes are improved in terms of misconduct?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: The first thing to say is that there is a deep recognition by the new Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner that things need to change and specifically in those dark areas where the behaviours are just off the barometer. The challenge will be that people have tried to do it before. What is quite interesting is that the overall report, which is other senior people have gone into some of those units at quite senior levels, but they have gone in and been overwhelmed. This really is almost like a metaphor for the MPS, which is two people cannot change a culture, and therefore what has to happen is there has to be an acceptance. It is interesting that - I have not looked at it in detail yet - certainly as we move towards the end

of the report we felt that we are holding up a mirror to what many people in the organisation already think and believe; so we were not pushing against something, we were with the tide as it were.

That is where I have made a recommendation, that I believe has been accepted, which is in some of the areas where one has the most concerns you would bring in people from outside, which is not a very MPS thing. The MPS is not great, it says it brings in good practice, but it does not really. It is not great at that, it is like, "We are the biggest, we are the best; we are the best, we are the biggest". Today it will recognise that has gone for a bit. I hope it becomes the best for London, I know that it can be. Then I want it to be the best for the world again. But right now, frankly, that is something it has to earn back.

Therefore, I think that is why in some of those areas, for example cleaning up the MPS has to be the top priority for this Commissioner, alongside the deal for women and children in London. In order to clean up the MPS, it needs to bring some people in from outside to help it do that. For two reasons: one is because I think the trust of many people that it can do it for itself does not exist, therefore there is a huge level of cynicism within its own workforce, and we show it very clearly that essentially those patterns of, "If you complain you get side-lined". Let us take the one that for many reasons in a world where we say we are serious about violence against women and girls, if 95% of the police-perpetrated domestic abuse and violence cases have no further action,¹ I ask myself whether that is correct. I now know that is because they do not believe the women who are coming forward and they do not process it.

Firstly, I do not think the MPS can do it on its own because just adding extra officers from one bit of the MPS into another bit of the MPS is not going to change it. Therefore, when people say, "I have added more people", it is not going to work alone. It is helpful, but it will not work. Secondly, it is a metaphor more broadly, which is we have cranked the MPS open, that is our gift to the MPS and to the new Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner. Essentially, while it is open, let us keep it open. That is your borough-by-borough consideration as well, Chairman, I think that is well made. How do you keep it open? Part of that is bringing people in from outside.

I have to say that many police chiefs around the country have said just by text and email in the last 24 hours how refreshing that is and that the thing about [Sir] Mark and [Dame] Lynne is I do not think they are defensive about it. I do not think that they are in denial about it. I think they will go and get some decent people and bring them in. It is just having the creativity to realise who will they be and how will they help. Not as advisors. That is the other thing; you need people in the organisation doing rather than telling the organisation what to do. Do you see what I mean?

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM: Yes, absolutely.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: There is a culture, is there not, in lots of public services that we are long on getting advice in and short on getting people to do the changes. That is clearly what happens in the MPS, but I do not think it is just the MPS.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM: Do you have a feel for the number of officers that could end up being removed as a result of all of this? Because some people, in fact officers have said they felt they were complicit in this because that was just how things were and you just kind of got your head down and carried on with the job.

¹ Correction: Only 14% of police-perpetrated domestic abuse allegations result in a case to answer.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: The answer is on two fronts, we do not know the answer to that question and that is concerning enough in itself, both for myself, you have an outstanding, newly-appointed Assistant Commissioner in Barbara Gray [LVO QPM] who brings with her the experience of moving from the Royal Ulster Constabulary to the Police Service of Northern Ireland. You could not have more brilliant experience and a head held high when it comes to misconduct and professional standards. They have installed a great leader. They now need to install people around her in the team who think differently and act differently. Sir Mark will have a greater sense for himself. I just know that we are not talking hundreds, we are talking several hundreds, that would be my estimation, and that would be the same, I think Sir Mark will say the same thing later on this morning and we have not crossed notes.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM: Thank you very much.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Assembly Member Garratt.

Neil Garratt AM: Morning. Just slightly parochially really, thinking about this Committee, it took me a while to think of the Casey Report not as being about child sexual exploitation, that report stuck with me and, in particular, something that sticks with me in my work now is this sense that there are people in public office who knew things or suspected things or could have found out things and did nothing. That is something I challenge myself with regularly as a result of reading that report.

Therefore, when I read this report and I think what can we, as individual Members of this Committee, and what can this Committee do, it seemed to me there was not much after 360 pages about this Committee. It seems to me there were two things that struck me. One was that transcripts of this Committee, it is a rare forum where scrutiny happens in public, and that was obviously a resource that you drew on in creating your report. Then secondly our job is to challenge MOPAC. One of my colleagues is going to ask about MOPAC and also to air concerns that have been raised by His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS). However, I wondered whether you had thoughts on what this Committee could be doing better, could be doing differently, to make sure that we really are - in the role that we have in this scrutiny ecosystem - making sure that all these problems that are exposed do not just get forgotten.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: This is one of those Sir Humphrey moments where I have to work out do I talk in code and do a Sir Humphrey or do I --

Neil Garratt AM: Let me tell you, it is my question therefore I am going to set the terms, I would like brutal honesty, because there is no point hemming and hawing about an issue that is so serious. If you think we are useless then please say.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: No, I would not say that. Your reputation goes before you. If I was asking for a fresh start for the people of the MPS, and the people of London, and the Commissioners, and MOPAC, and yourselves, I would ask you to put yourselves in that fresh start as well. We have to draw together, politics is important; you get elected, you have to represent your own people, your own party, I understand that. I have not and would not - unless I was asked - I did not do a major deep dive into this particular Committee, but I have noted that people dread appearing before it. It takes up hours and days of their lives. It happens regularly, therefore that is quite a lot of time out of people's lives that they have to get themselves briefed up to know what lines to take. I have worked for Prime Ministers; I have worked for Secretaries of State; I have worked for Ministers, and I respect that process. Nobody should appear before a

Committee like this unless they know what they are talking about and they respect your power and your authority.

Gently, I would ask you that, in the months to come, there is just more a coming together once the Commissioner has a strategy. Remember now he is out for consultation on the [Metropolitan Police] Turnaround Plan [2023-2025]. In the middle of that consultation this review drops. No matter how much he knew, and they knew, because they have been on this journey with us, this was going to be a tough call and a tough ask, tough by their people as much as tough by me. I think they need time to pull together to the next strategy that will go from being a Turnaround Plan to a reform plan for the MPS. They need every single officer and staff member to pull behind them and they cannot do this unless they have that support. Therefore, quibble though I may, and not just quibble, passionately believe about some of the language that I have used, and I will stand by that language, I also think it is time that from April this year, or whenever they publish the next version, that we all hold them to account for that.

I cannot really comment too much on this Committee, but I feel scrutiny should be a process that helps, not a process that is dreaded and hindered. It hinders and it is dreaded. I am not speaking for [Sir] Mark Rowley, for [Dame] Lynne Owens, for [Dame] Cressida [Dick DBE QPM, former Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis], for [Sir] Steve House [QPM, former Deputy Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Service], or for any of the others, I am just saying collectively, as the staff association representative this morning, that this has gone beyond a sense of being held to account, to a sort of hindrance. The stakes are just too high, Assembly Member Garratt, and I think you know that, because that is why you mentioned Rotherham, which is seared. We did Rotherham together, Sarah [Kincaid] was the lead inspector on that report. The stakes are high and I would ask you just to step back, consider your role, think about how we help the MPS get on to the next stage. That is probably too blunt, but that is what I think.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Thank you.

Neil Garratt AM: Perhaps, is that my time?

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Your time.

Neil Garratt AM: OK, thank you.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): The trouble is we would all like to ask you so many more questions, forgive us. Assembly Member Moema.

Sem Moema AM: Thank you. It is a pleasure to meet you both. I was up until 8.02am reading your whole report. I did not read the appendices but, while reading it, I was thinking to myself that I was just starting primary school when Stephen Lawrence was murdered, and at the rate that you have outlined in your report in terms of progress around race, misogyny, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) hate, I will be in my 70s before that is fixed with the current rate of progress. I know that Sir Mark has a plan in place, which is a really positive thing. My question is in two parts really, it relates to Assembly Member Garratt's question about the way that the police operate and the structures, rather than who knew what when. The Turnaround Plan that Sir Mark has, we have had - as others have said - report after report after report and it feels like virtually no progress has been made. I worry equally for - I will just use the example of Black Londoners because for obvious reasons that is the example I know best - but also for those Black and minority ethnic staff

and those women who work in the MPS, who run a gauntlet every day going to work and are at risk of losing their jobs and being stuck at the bottom of the ladder in perpetuity if they do stay.

But in terms of the report itself, I was really struck by the fact that you mentioned over and over that at every level, and you mentioned senior management, I know that you are not talking about Sir Mark and Dame Lynne, but there is a withdrawal from wanting to make those changes. Having spoken to one of my three BCU Commanders in the last week or so, the levels of management that you outlined between the BCUs and the senior staff at the MPS, the first layer at Scotland Yard, how does meaningful change happen? Because it strikes me that there is a big problem in this big wedge section that nobody gets to see. The people of London get to see the bit at the bottom, which has been decimated and depleted and they are run ragged, and there also are bad people in their midst and they live in fear of them, Londoners and staff alike. What would be your assessment of how to deal with the resistance from people who have been in the organisation for a long time at all levels, but in particular in the senior parts of the MPS, to make it better?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: First of all, taking the time to read a 360-page review and every thought and every part behind it, to seek to ask their colleagues and staff what they think is behind it, what they have said, what they think, a sort of openness really to question oneself is the starting point. I completely understand that the Commissioner arrives, he cannot not do something, and we would all be all over him if he did not and there would be another bit in my report that said, "Well the new Commissioner arrived and did not do anything for six months". It is a no-win situation, is it not?

Now that we are where we are, what I am looking for is a much more wholesale involvement of officers and staff across all of the layers you have just described, which essentially we did feel/believe - let me be clear, I am a woman, I always use the word "feel", I should woman-up for a minute - I think, believe, and can evidence that the disconnect between the specialisms and what they call the Basic Command Units - I wish we would go back to calling them Borough Command Units, that might make people feel they are a little bit more than a basic cop - and in a way that in itself is symbolic of something, is it not? That they forgot their people when they did that restructuring. They did not just forget the Londoners; they forgot their people.

To my mind, the police officer that responds to me in a 999 situation or is the first person I talk to when I have been sexually assaulted, or when I am an elderly person who has been burgled - true story in my street - and the young probationer cop that comes to see her to talk to her, they are the people who are the most important people. They are the people who carry the responsibility for policing by consent in London. Yet, what did we do? We called them "basic". Worse than that, they talk about being busted back into uniform or, "I had to go back to the borough" or in order to get promoted they had to go and do some specialism over here. This sort of elitism, which I probably think is policing overall, not just London. But you see it writ large in London.

It is time as well, the manner with which they deal with the contents of the review is going to be so important. I hope it is OK that they do not mind me saying this, but [Sir] Mark, [Dame] Lynne, Louisa Rolfe [OBE, Assistant Commissioner for Met Operations], Barbara Gray, all of them spent I think - my days are now getting confused because somebody attempted to spin the report ahead of time, therefore it could have been Thursday - but they had already put a meeting in. We discussed it about how they were going to talk to the vast majority of people in their organisation from Superintendent upwards. They have had a special conversation with the Chief Superintendents that run our boroughs, who in my mind are some of the most important people in the MPS. It is symbolic, is it not, that in their sort of Monday morning roundups they do not have the Chief Superintendents that run those boroughs. You have people who we are all completely

reliant on for policing not involved in those conversations because they report up to a Commander, the Commander reports to a Deputy Assistant Commissioner. The Deputy Assistant Commissioner reports to the Assistant Commissioner (AC). The Assistant goes into the Deputy, and then the Deputy Commissioner reports -- we cannot carry on like this.

You are democratically elected Members. Local authority leaders are democratically elected. Each of those "Basic" - can we just change the name - Borough Command Units are representative, I think most of them are the size of a force outside London. In a way, the leaders and yourselves, it is a different structure, but alongside the Mayor, are the equivalent of Police and Crime Commissioners. Therefore, when I see that colleagues who are leaders across the political divide talking differently about it, not feeling they can get information, they will get communication, but it is not information that they can then work out what is happening in their borough.

For a ten-year old kid to be tasered by the Territorial Support Group on a borough and it takes the Borough Commander ten days to find out how that happened, undermines him before he can even open his first coffee in the morning. Two answers to the question: one is I detect in the current new leadership a much greater understanding that they cannot just stand at the front and shout or tell, that they realise that this has to go through, right the way through. Jumping over some of your middle and going out directly and listening is one of those important exercises that we did.

Secondly, there is a real challenge here for Chief Executives of local authorities, leaders of local authorities, yourselves, as Assembly Members, and the Mayor and London Councils, to work out what that connection would look like and how you would improve it, not hindering colleagues in the police, but helping the people you represent have more information and more candour. A little target for me would be that the Borough Commander is able to take responsibility for any policing that happens in his or her, God willing, borough and that they are not left behind as other people come in and do things. That has to stop, or else we are all undermining policing by consent if we do not allow cops to be responsible for how they manage that consent.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Thank you. I agree with everything you have said. Assembly Member Prince.

Keith Prince AM: Thank you. Good morning, both. In your report, on page 217, you refer to a "dysfunctional relationship that has developed between the MPS and MOPAC". How long do you think that dysfunctional relationship has been going on? Why do you think it has occurred? Could I also, in the interest of time, ask how you found co-operation from the Mayor's office in general and the Mayor himself?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: I do not have any idea what time it is. As you can see, I can talk for Britain.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): We are running late.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: What time is it now, just so I know how dreadful I am being?

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): It is ten to. You are not being dreadful; everything you are saying is interesting.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: When you have done this work for a year and you really care about it, it is impossible to not want to get it 100% right. I am conscious that I am before you and I need to get every answer right, as it were, because the stakes are quite high for all of us.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Absolutely. If we could go just slightly over, we would be so grateful, because we have all got questions that we are dying to ask you.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: This is fresh-start territory. You are part of that fresh start; MOPAC is part of that fresh start; the Mayor is part of that fresh start. However, the biggest fresh start has to be for the MPS. The MPS has a culture of defensiveness and denial. Let us be honest about it, there is no which way around this. Where do I start? The idea that under the old MPS, not just the last Commissioner, but the previous Commissioner, it had this culture: the biggest and best in the world, nothing is wrong here; nothing to look at here; it is just a bad apple; it is not a culture; it is not institutionally racist, it is just systemically racist. There is a culture, is there not, of not just owning where you are?

They are almost impossible, as Assembly Member Russell has said, to get information out of. It is like a clam that is closed. The more they are under attack, which is how they have seen it, the more they clam up. I would caricature, and I have done in the report, that this seesaw has to stop. The MPS will not give MOPAC information. It will give them loads of information, countless reports that go on like that, it is soul destroying; thank God I did not have to do some of this myself. Long on information, short on candour is a culture within the MPS and possibly, dare I say it, within policing more generally. You are not the only equivalent of Police and Crime Commissioners that are trying to get this.

One of things that I found so illustrative of this, and we were trying to get our heads around it, is -- stop and search is a pretty totemic issue, is it not? Whether you agree with it, disagree with it, think it could be better, think it could be worse, this is London, we do it a lot and we do it a lot to Black people. We then look at -- the really straightforward thing here is: would you not look at having a project that did an overview of body-worn video? To be fair to MOPAC, it has spent since 2018 asking a really simple question, which frankly you could ask MOPAC to do this for you, which is: could we get somebody independently to review a load of body-worn video when it comes to stop and search? Where is the harm in that? That is not anybody's operational independence.

That is like me coming in, but in a mini version, that would say, "Yes, do you know what, they do this right in most of the situations or actually they get this wrong". That is since 2018.

Keith Prince AM: It is done in boroughs, is it not?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: To be fair, Assembly Member Prince, it is very mixed at borough level. It is very, very mixed. I could literally bore for Britain on this. It is done in very, very different ways at borough level, it is done in a way where they pick the people coming in. The people coming in are not people that are necessarily able to scrutinise beyond what is lawful, so there is a real culture of saying stop and search is justified by being lawful. That is a very different thing to whether stop and search is being done well. It is another example of the MPS doing show and tell, it is another example where instead of going -- because some of the times it will be getting things right. Not everything it does is terrible. Some people do stop and search well.

Instead of that, it has this clammed up approach; that is what is dysfunctional. Until it opens it up, I cannot then say whether HMICFRS is doing its job properly, whether the Independent Office for Police Conduct is making its judgments effectively, whether you are able to hold them to account effectively, frankly whether the Mayor is, or the Deputy Mayor. That is why I am saying now is the moment for change. It is dysfunctional at the moment. Who, on balance, do I apportion the responsibility to that to? The MPS.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Thank you very much. Assembly Member Ahmad.

Marina Ahmad AM: Thank you, Chairman. Could I add my thanks, Baroness Casey and Ms Kincaid for the incredible work that you have done, and to your team as well? Baroness Casey, your review talks about what could happen if sufficient progress is not made at various review points. You seem to be suggesting that the MPS is standing at the Last Chance Corral at the moment. Over the next two years, which -- two years being the first review point that you are suggesting, what do you regard as sufficient progress? Secondly, you talked about two years and then a five-year review. Why three years between that and the first review point?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: It is important to give the organisation time to breathe and time to change. Asking people to change something that is so deep set into policing, let alone into the MPS, will take time. It would have been wrong, and I have been gently cautioning the new Commissioner, not to say he can solve everything immediately, that we are going to be in a situation, he has used these words himself, where every week, every month and probably for a while, there will be pretty tough misconduct cases or criminal cases that go into the public domain. In part because, in 2021, it set up its own version, this is a good thing it did, of a special team to target sexual offenders within its own organisation. That is what is bearing the fruit that you are seeing right now.

We cannot say clean up should take forever. That, essentially, if you think about it, I am sure many of you work in your own organisations, that what we find with the misconduct system is two things. First of all, at the outset, I am not sure that everybody is clear pre-vetting, during vetting, in training, about what ethical standards in the police are and what consent means. Consent is not about being lawful when you stop and search. Consent is making sure people understand why it is happening and give you permission to do it. We give permission to the police to stop me, to search me, to handcuff me, to arrest me and to keep me in a custody suite for 24 hours of the day. I give them that permission on the basis of my consent. The stakes around the starting point of ethics.

Again, you are in a world of the College of Policing doing ethical good practice. Somebody else having some more good practice here, good practice there, good practice everywhere. Let us get the ethical standards in place, and let every cop know what they are. Less good practice more determination. We do not need another document telling us what good practice is, we know it. Why do we not make sure it is clear? Why do we not change our vetting process so people know if they fall foul of it, we will come for them? They are not sufficiently clear about the standards in the first place. When you have made those things clear, you need to make sure that your recruitment, your vetting, and your training gives you every standing possibility to root out problem-makers.

You also have an organisation that is 45,000 strong. At the moment you do not believe people who are Black or women when they come forward and make allegations. In fact, you do the opposite. Change it. You cannot say to an organisation where the stakes are as high as they are – because I give them consent to police me – “you have ten years, five years to sort out your misconduct system.” You should see a massive rooting out, frankly, in the next year, two years and then you should see it settle. They could employ specialists that

could do a lot better job of organising that for them than I am. We do need to clean up the MPS. It has happened previously, back in the decades of other Commissioners. This is the time, if Sir Mark does nothing else, he has to clean up the MPS.

That will not necessarily make him popular with everybody, but it is absolutely the right thing to do. If I have to trust a police officer or have confidence in them when I am sexually assaulted or they are stopping and searching my son, they have to have standards I can trust. The clean-up thing has to happen pretty quickly. I do not want to say you have five years to do that. The clean-up thing, they should be determined, and they should get it done. The issue about how you reconnect, how you rebalance, how you re-earn the trust of Black Londoners is so vital. It is on the floor; trust and confidence has been on the floor for a long time now. It has been joined by women and now it has been joined by white people. Therefore, it has become a much more mainstream issue.

Let us go back to the root and sort out that first and foremost. We do not need to be in this place, in this country, with Black Londoners. Then finally, the other thing that would be a test for me is when those officers have decent places to put specimens, and I am not the first person to have found that, HMICFRS did. Also, when we have good specialist teams that have in-place learning that they could take from elsewhere in the country, but they are reluctant to. This new lot will not be, so we will get a much better service for women who are raped, who are sexually assaulted and people -- 50% of the child abuse detectives have not been on the Advanced Child Abuse Training. These things do not take five years. Those things take a shorter period of time.

The Commissioner could set himself a Reform Plan; we do not need to impose it. We have given some ideas in the report about the type of indicators we would look for if we were trying to respond to our review. They are recommendations. I do not want them watered down, obviously. They could own that themselves and work out what their indicators would be. Would that not be amazing? Particularly on the race one, that you reversed the number of racists in your organisation. You meant the experience of cops in the organisation instead of being the words used about them, it goes down. You sack the people that use them, that you rebalance your misconduct system, which we know is so unbalanced. That is not an impossible task in two years.

You had a different dialogue with London, where Black people and non-white people's confidence in the police would be, at least a little bit, restored. Would that not be an amazing achievement for the new Commissioner and a new MPS? That is what we should get behind.

Marina Ahmad AM: Yes. Yes, it would, Baroness, thank you. Thank you, Chairman.

Sarah Kincaid (Lead Reviewer, Baroness Casey Review): Could I add to that, very briefly? In terms of when they come back in a couple of years, it would be very important that it is not other police officers that are doing that. It could be civilians who decide whether it is good enough for them as well.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Yes, I think we all agree with that as well. Assembly Member Devenish.

Tony Devenish AM: Good morning. You spoke earlier about public sector consultant versus doers. MOPAC is a very large organisation at the moment. Do you bluntly think that some of the tens of millions from MOPAC could be moved into the MPS to have more doers and less overseers?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: I did not review MOPAC, so I do not know the answer to that question. I do know that if you look at Police and Crime Commissioners around the country, including Conservative Police and Crime Commissioners, they do have people that support them in that work. In the much more direct relationship between those Police and Crime Commissioners and Chief Constables there is a much, in some case, more open way of being accountable and giving information. You have a pretty tough situation here, which is that the previous MPS Commissioners and the organisation do not share information in an open and candid way. I am not going to criticise MOPAC because I see no reason to at the moment.

To be honest, you have to remember that Baroness Nuala O’Loan [Chair of the Daniel Morgan Independent Panel] could not get her report out for 12 months, because the MPS did not want it to go public and it refused to be engaged. That does not help anybody. I do not want to get into some political battle between the Conservatives and Labour. We have to get behind the change needed. That includes the relationship with this Committee; it includes the relationship with MOPAC; the Mayor; the Commissioner; and the Home Office as well. This pull between somebody at 2 Marsham Street and somebody at City Hall -- let us all try and get behind them there.

Tony Devenish AM: Thank you. In terms of the BCU model, you have been quite damning about that model today. Do you think we need smaller BCUs going forward?

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: If I could wave a magic wand, I would reverse the decisions that were made in 2014/2015/2016 and I would not have, in some cases, such huge BCUs. When cops cannot drive from one end of their BCU to another without it taking ages it is a worry to me. That is not a top priority right now. If I am honest, I would have put it in my report, Assembly Member, if I thought it was. My preference would be that over time they did some restructuring that made sure that there was a more direct connection. It is not a priority for now; it is much more of a priority that they are able to give information and explanation with candour and transparency to people like yourselves and your equivalents as leaders and chief executives at borough level.

That is really what I want to change in the immediate months to come. At the moment, if you are a leader of a local authority or the Chief Executive, you are a bit “done to” by the MPS, as opposed to “with”. That is a cultural change that is needed. You get a call when you are needed but otherwise in peace time nobody talks to you. When there is a problem, the phone goes off the hook. That is across the political divide. I have relationships with many leaders in London. To be honest, that would be my starting point.

Tony Devenish AM: I will leave it there, Chairman, thank you.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Thank you very much. Assembly Member Duvall.

Len Duvall AM: Thank you very much. I welcome your report. It is timely, no matter how difficult it is -- about some of the changes that had already been identified, your report gives added value to this process that we are in, whether we like it or not or however uncomfortable it may be. For me, it causes me to reflect on actions in the past that I might have been involved with or not and thinking about some of the issues today. What I am taken with is some of the recommendations here have all been before this Committee in one form or another and we have reached some of the same conclusions, which is interesting, from different avenues, and I recognise yours is an evidence-based report.

The drivers of change, you rightly focus on what the MPS should do itself. We know externally there are some Government changes that need to be made, that only Government can make, around some of that to spur the MPS on to do that. Equally, one of the other drivers that you promote within the report is the Police Board and the quarterly meetings and how you see that working. Of course, we need to reflect whether we need to change or not, in terms of how we do our work. We are not immune from this issue as well, but primarily it is the MPS that needs to change in the way it carries out its business. What role do you see, or could you foresee, for this Committee? Also, could you build on a little bit about how you saw the Police Board working in driving that change and oversight arrangements?

On the MOPAC issue, I do not necessarily see it as a political issue. Some may want to make it a political issue. Surely, we should be considering whether we review the MOPAC issues in a -- not in a positive way. Reviews always say bad things. However, your report talks about some difficulties, inconsistencies, bad practices, discrimination that goes on, you can do better, you can make things better. In that sense, I take it from that, that maybe we should be reviewing about how MOPAC works. I was very much taken by what you said in the report about MOPAC not being given the information. I do not understand that, and I do not understand how reviews can be denied information as well. That has to stop in some ways on the way forward. The MPS has got to make that decision that it is never going to engage in those tactics ever again.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: Thank you very much for that question. Thank you for what you said about all of us needing to reflect our own responsibilities. To be honest, I have been a public servant in this space for a long time. It has given me cause to think about when I was in the Home Office. I was critical of accountability. What did I say? What do I think? It is important that that is very much the spirit with which we come at this too. Too much is marked within. You have a Management Board in the MPS which is not really a Board in the way we would think it is a Board. It talks the language of Executive Committee as if it is a company. It is not. [Sir] Mark Rowley is trying to shake that down and make that much more senior leadership management of the organisation.

Then the Turnaround Board is people who are largely from within the system. Partly the Turnaround Board is to meet the responsibilities that they have to HMICFRS. It is their way of managing the engage issues, which are not the same as special measures. I keep trying to explain to the BBC that special measures do not exist in policing. There are no levers in policing, none, in the way that there are in other public sector organisations. That is one of the big issues that falls out of this report. What I talked to the Mayor about - and he got ahead of me if you think about the Transport for London Board. What we need is something that, again, we have prised it open: keep it open in a positive way; this is now supporting the changes needed in the MPS, not knocking them over.

The report lays it bare, says what the diagnosis is, gives people a way to have hope and change. It cannot be any worse than this, so the only way is up, as long as you do it properly. Fake change is the worst type of change, so if you are going to make change, do it properly. Do less, get it done properly, right throughout your system. Part of that is having a different type of Board, which again brings outside people in. It could be representatives from here; it could be representatives from different parts of the world outside; it could be people that understand what oversight is; it could be a specialist in race. What the Mayor needs to create, as the Police and Crime Commissioner for London, is a much more open Board. When we use the word "scrutiny", it should not be seen as a negative thing. It should be seen as a "how can I get behind you and problem solve?"

That is why I wanted, again, a fresh start. All this is about saying to the world, "Let us have a fresh start. Let us acknowledge our problems, reach in and understand them and work out what is next". The new London Policing Board should be a Board that has left to it, deals with strategy and how strategy is enacted, hopefully takes what we have done here and lets it be operationalised by the police and then held to account in a very different way than this, people come before you and have a line to take or MOPAC cannot prise them open. Let us try and jump over that to a world where we are trying to be open, direct and honest with each other. That is why, Assembly Member Duvall, I thought this was a different way of doing it.

You do not always have to criticise the past to suggest a fresh start is needed. You do not always have to diagnose everything and review everything; what matters more is the service to Londoners and how we get that right. All we need to think about when it comes to structures is what structures that you are democratically elected to hold, and to hold the police to account for, enact that change you need on the street. That is very much where I have been coming from. This is not a knocking report. This is an opening up report, allowing people to see what it is that they think should change and that is very much where I have come from.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Thank you. We have got to the end. I know each and every one of us has got loads more questions we would love to ask, so perhaps another time we could ask you to come back. Certainly, we take from this that we all have to work together to make sure that we end up with a better police service, one that we can all be proud of and one that we all assist with, quite frankly. We cannot do without a good police service. Thank you very much to our guests for attending the meeting today.

Baroness Casey of Blackstock DBE CB: Chairman, may I thank you for having us today and being so open to the type of answers and discussion that we have had? I feel so strongly, as I publish this report, I want to mention the fact that my review was commissioned in the light of the abduction murder of Sarah Everard, and it is book-ended by the multiple rapes of David Carrick, and Mina Smallman's girls, which is the way we can only think of them, they were girls to her though adults to the rest of us, that police officers that were there to be our guardians of their bodies. That was their job that night and they stand for all of us to do the things that we might find difficult. They were the guardians of her children that night and they took photographs.

I feel that whatever you do as we go forward, I will step out of this at some point and try and see if somebody will give me something else to do, that we hang on to the fact that the stakes are so high. That is why getting this right is so important. That is my final request before you see [Sir] Mark and Sophie [Linden, Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime]. Thank you.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): It is important getting it right. It is also important, say, for the parents of serving police officers who know that their lads and lasses go out to do their very best. For everybody's sake we need to get this right. Thank you very much.