

London Assembly Economy Committee - 3 April 2019

Transcript of Item 5 – Ethnicity Pay Gap in London

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Now this brings us to today's main item for discussion on the ethnicity pay gap in London. The main focus of the discussion will be to examine career progression for black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) communities within the workplace and to assess the Mayor's approach and identify further actions that he can take.

First of all, can I welcome all of our guests? We have Simon Woolley, Chair of the Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group; Andrew Fairbairn, Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity (SEO) London; Maxine Albert, Deputy Head of Diversity and Inclusion (D&I), House of Commons; Jennifer Crook, Head of D&I, House of Commons; and Johanna Westhauser, Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community (BITC).

Simon, if I ask you first, do you know why the pay gap is so volatile? For BAME women it was 17% in 2014 but 28% in 2016.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Yes. There are a number of factors generally and then specifically to the volatility. Generally speaking, there are a number of key areas in which we can see why we have this chronic pay gap, particularly to women and young people.

The first point is the race penalty. That has to be perhaps the biggest factor and that is characterised in a number of ways. Whether we like it or not, those from minority backgrounds are still being prejudiced when they apply for work. That has been seen in a number of experiments in which black people have applied for jobs with foreign-sounding names and those applications have gone in the bin and those with English names have been called for an interview, even though it has been the same person. We see the race penalty being a key factor in just getting an interview, much less a job, and then when people get into jobs. For me it is so saddening when you see black talent in positions and they have spent sometimes five or 10 years in the National Health Service (NHS) or the police or other public bodies, and then they will then tell you that somebody comes in to that job with less experience and within five minutes they have been promoted above them and they cannot do anything about it. Therefore, the first point is the race penalty.

That, sadly, starts from entry-level to middle management to senior management. Yesterday, *The Daily Telegraph* reported on the Financial Times Stock Exchange 350 and said that less than 3% are from BAME communities. I am sure the panel will have remembered Operation Black Vote's ground-breaking work with *The Guardian* called "The Colour of Power". In that report - and it is still alive - in 2016 we looked at all those different facets of our society, the men and women who run our country, the local institutions, local political institutions, national institutions, those key areas in business such as law, accountancy, consultancy, publishing, media in general, 28 areas of our society that are critical to who we are and how our society is run. What we looked at, Chairman, was who runs these institutions and these companies. Of 1,030 it was less than 3%. For women it was 0.1%. Of 1,030, 30 were BAME. Most of them, I should say, were in the public sector and/or politics. In the business sector, it was lamentable. That was the top tier.

My worry - and I do not have the data but it is anecdotal - is that it is not just the top tier but is also that tier below where there is a massive deficit. I am sure that during this conversation we will talk about some of the drivers that either impede or make it happen because of course when you look at the drivers, you cannot have this discussion unless you go back to education, early schooling, secondary and university because they are the key drivers that have pathways to either build people in or lock people out.

They are my opening statements around - as we have wanted to see with the Race Disparity Group - laying bare those uncomfortable truths.

Just to add with that opening statement, we lay bare the uncomfortable truths, but here is the upside. It is not surprising we are doing this in London, this kind of scrutiny, but if we get it right here in our capital, if you are bold enough to make the recommendations and drive the change through like we are trying to do with the Race Disparity Group, you will be a beacon. You will be a beacon to not just Londoners but to the rest of the country and beyond because in many ways London is like a city state. People want to come here. If in this capital, Susan [Hall AM], we have these pathways for people to fulfil their potential, everybody benefits.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): I know, Simon. That is why we have this meeting. I absolutely agree with you. It is my last meeting as Chairman and it is something I specifically wanted to look at. Very briefly if you will because I must bring in other people as well, why do you think it is so volatile? To go back, it was 17% and now 28%.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Yes, I forgot the volatility. In many ways, there are two factors for that: austerity and Brexit. The thing about austerity is - and we have seen this time and time again - there is a double impact on people in BAME communities because when people are fighting for what they see as scarce resources, there is a double jeopardy on our communities. With Brexit of course, it is undeniable that the xenophobic genie is out of the bottle. We saw yesterday in *The Independent* that a pensioner was saying, "We voted Brexit", to a black woman and said, "Now eff off home". This climate, Chairman, in which it is OK to be racist translates down that path for this volatility of people not getting jobs or people not getting promotions, widening the pay gap.

Shaun Bailey AM: Both Brexit and austerity are moments in time. This is an enduring problem, is it not? This is much older than both of those situations, significantly so. What are the drivers traditionally?

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Traditionally, the uncomfortable truth is that we still have the institutional disadvantage of race penalty in which black men and black women, particularly with foreign-sounding names, are not valued the same. If they are not valued the same, then their talent is not recognised in employment, recruitment and/or promotion. It is an uncomfortable truth, but to deal with it we have to acknowledge it. It is exacerbated, Shaun, by these other dynamics that make a bad situation worse.

Shaun Bailey AM: I understand that, but I want to get on the record that this is not about Brexit. This is not about those things. This has a much longer tail.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): We are saying that these factors make a bad situation worse.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Briefly then, what is the relationship between other factors such as gender, age and level of qualification?

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): We have this intersectionality. We need a nuanced conversation. A nuanced conversation means that it is not all the same for all ethnic minorities, and we can talk about that. Some of it is cultural. Some of it is economic or class-based within our communities. They need to be factored in. What was the question again, Chairman?

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): It was the relationship between other factors such as gender, age and level of qualification.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Yes, these are all factors, and of course where you live, whether you live in a more deprived area or not. I am saying that we have the intelligence enough not to be crude or that it is simply that crude level of black and white. Within that there are various shades.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): On that then, Johanna, if I can ask you, can you tell us why different ethnicities have different pay gaps?

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): I am very happy to. I cannot tell you why, but I can tell you what our research from BITC has found. We have been working with the Equality and Human Rights Commission and looked at the different cultural attributes and also the experiences of different ethnic minority groups within London and broadly in the United Kingdom (UK) and the impact there. I guess the colour of their skin had an experience in the workplace and we particularly focus on employees in the workplace at the moment.

What we do know is that - no surprise - white British men earn the most. I guess we all knew that. That is a fun fact. We do know that in particular if we look at the Southeast Asian communities, there is a big difference between Pakistani and Bangladeshi colleagues compared to Indian. For example, we know that Pakistani and Bangladeshi colleagues earn the least, particularly if we look at men. If we then split this out to, for example, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, we know that they tend to be more likely to be unemployed and have the highest rates of unemployment. We can already say when we group people as Southeast Asian, then within more than a few miles but within that area, there is a very big difference in terms of the experience they have working here in the UK.

Why is that? I would like to open that up to the group as well. Again, racism comes into this. Economic drivers come into this and potentially cultural factors as well. I do not know if my colleagues here have any other thoughts on that.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Have you finished your comments?

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): I can throw some more facts in, if you like.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): If you finish your facts and then I am very happy to hear from the others.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Sure. Actually - and I again would love to hear the thoughts from others on the panel - we found that black African women earn more than white women because of generally higher educational backgrounds. We know that British-born BAME colleagues have smaller pay gaps than BAME colleagues moving to the UK and working here. We know that the starting pay for a white graduate compared to a black graduate is about £4 [per hour]

different for whatever reason and it really should not be. We know that the groups that experience the most bullying and harassment in the workplace - and what we are talking about here is on a daily basis and within the last two years - are black Africans and Bangladeshi colleagues. Again, to some extent we think that shadism or colourism probably plays into that.

We also know that in terms of comparing BAME and white, in the workplace often BAME colleagues have to have a diversity objective compared to white colleagues who do not in their performance appraisals. To give you stats on that, we know that around 38% of BAME colleagues have a diversity objective at work, whereas only 27% of white colleagues do. Why is that? Race is something we should all be talking about and so all of us should be having objectives around that.

In terms of different minority and cultural backgrounds, I also looked at some education statistics from the Institute for Fiscal Studies from 2015. What I found is that, in terms of who is more likely to attend university in the UK, 75% of Chinese children are likely to attend university. I can read the other statistics to you: 67% for children of Indian heritage; 57% of African heritage; 36% for Caribbean; and the lowest is 30% for white. Therefore, we do know that in terms of education and attainment, BAME students are performing much better once they do have the opportunities to go and attend. I think there is a question coming on that.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): I will take that when I am ready in a minute. Really then, that knocks the education side as a possible reason for the gap.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Hardly. On the other hand, we know that the Royal Academy of Engineering has done great research looking at engineering students from Russell Group universities six months after graduating comparing white and BAME. BAME - and I am sorry I am using the label 'BAME' for a moment - are much more likely to be unemployed. They are from the same university with the same first degrees and are more likely to be unemployed. Why is that?

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): This is what we want to try to get some answers for because until you know why something is happening you cannot fix it and, clearly, fix it we must. Did anybody else want to make a contribution at this stage?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Yes, I will make some comments here. The issues around what is known as differential racialisation are really significant issues. Different minority ethnic groups are treated differently, and it is a phenomenon that we recognise. It is mixed up in all sorts of different things. It is mixed up around culture. It is mixed up around colour. Monochromatism is a concept around colour when people are being treated just because of their colour rather than their culture or their ethnicity. We do need to understand the complexity of this and not try to work it into a simple equation of X equals Y. It is much more complex.

If you look at organisations that have tried to unpack some of that complexity, as it were, you start to see the intersectionality issues around class, around age and around gender dynamics. You see those rubbing up against the differential racialisation issues. What you then get are some really interesting patterns coming out. You can either look at the equal pay pattern as a block and the difference between BAME and white or try to find some of the answers and some of the solutions. You need to start to unpick some of those things.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): Just briefly, on the original question around the volatility in the chart, it is reflected by some of the answers. It is hard to say. It is extraordinarily hard to say because there are so many variables that have been discussed. It

can be geography within London. Are we talking about the City of London or [London Borough of] Haringey or somewhere else? What industries was the sample population drawn from? At SEO London we spend most of our time working with elite industries from the City, some the engineering firms and so on. That is a radically different world to folks working at Tesco on an average day. Front office versus back office roles; again, who is in the populations being sampled and how is that carried statistically through the data set? Seniority is also a function of promotion and access. Then also small business versus large business is another key variable. Although I agree with everything that has been said, the complexity and the unpacking, as you say, of these different issues is key.

We work with the Royal Academy of Engineering that was mentioned earlier on that particular project. Two years ago, four out of eight interns at the House of Commons were SEO London-sponsored students. We focus on pathways to power in our world and socioeconomic power. I cannot, I have to say, speak in much detail about the world outside of elite industries and new professions.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): On that elite note, we should be clear that, for example, pathways to the elite universities are too often restricted to many BAME communities. Of course, then that is problematic because if these big companies as the elite companies, as Andrew talks about, are recruiting from that pool, then we are locked out. When you look at it, yes, we are going to university. Parents are telling their kids, “You need to go to university. You need to get an education”, but the universities that our kids are going to - one, because they do not want to travel and, two, because they are the ones where they have been accepted - are too often the universities which too many of our communities are leaving and still struggling to find employment and/or to get into those elite companies that Andrew might be wanting to work with. It becomes by default that we are still being locked out of jobs and good jobs.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Can I add one more thing on the question around diversity between the different ethnic minority groups and what leads to it? When we talk about elites, if we are being honest, they are mainly still run by white folks. Working with our organisation, what we see at the moment is a really big focus and a trend focusing on black African and Caribbean talent because the representation rates for that particular ethnic minority group are ridiculously small and under-represented across most of the public but also private organisations that we work with.

One thing I wanted to share with you I have not mentioned before. We looked at our Race at Work Survey from 2018. We also ran the initial one in 2015 and we looked at what has changed in the last three years. Unfortunately, not much. We are not making progress. I am happy to tell you more about that later, but one of the statistics that I wanted to share with you today is around when we talk about progression and ethnicity pay has been particularly late for senior representation. We found that when in organisations you do performance appraisals and performance reviews, mixed-race colleagues are most likely to receive an outstanding performance review, whereas in particular black Caribbean’s are the least likely to receive an outstanding performance review.

The Bank of England and some other organisations as well have done a fantastic project internally looking at the performance ratings and then splitting them by ethnic minority groups to understand what the differences are. We do know that if we look at performance reviews, which are an element of progression and promotion and pay, white people tend to get more outstanding or towards four or five out of five, and on average BAME colleagues receive around two or three, the average points. We do know that and, in my opinion,, it is mainly unconscious bias that is affecting at this stage and opportunities provided, but we do know this is a massive challenge for promotion and progression.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): It is sad. You said earlier that it is sad. It is really sad. This bias is something that we must be looking at and seeing how we can try to do something.

Shaun Bailey AM: Let me start with Andrew. To what extent do you think the ethnicity pay gap is attributable to lower levels of education, particularly because you were talking about the elites and that education you arrive with is very important as your first judgement point. To what extent do you think that it is contributing to the problem?

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London):

Education is at the core of a lot of all of this, to be sure, but the earlier the intervention the better. We started our programme 20 years ago around a university population and we were able to do very well with that, but we noted in the course of that progress that we needed to be investing in secondary schools and so we created a secondary schools programme.

The thing we find across the spectrum - and Simon [Woolley] mentioned this as well - is that there is a poverty of expectation at the secondary school level that needs to be addressed. You cannot aim for something if you cannot see it and so allowing people to see what is possible is a core intervention. Secondly, people need to feel that there is a chance they are going to get it in an educational setting. Why try harder if it looks like I am never going to make it? That is another material item. Thirdly, finally when you see the thing that you want, how do you get to it? The ability to see the baby steps that can get you to the moon needs to be provided in the educational context.

When you get to the university level, people have succeeded at a baseline level. They have shown up on time and got the grades and they are into university. Again, this is the same standard issue of what people can see at that point. Can you see the moon to start building your baby steps to get to it? It has to be visible. Then the preparation on the way to getting there is also key. The same issues repeat themselves at both levels.

On your question about educational attainment, the attainment itself is not the determining factor. It is the social capital you brought into that context and the social capital you build in that context and then what you do with all of that down the road. We bring in kids from the post-1992 universities. We bring in kids from Oxford, Cambridge and whatnot. In any of those environments - it is more prevalent in the post-1992 universities - you will see kids who may be first generation getting into one of these elite schools, but they still barely know up from down. If you do not have a parent who is an investment banker or a lawyer or a doctor or an engineer or whatnot, you are at an inherent disadvantage. It is not actually the level of attainment. We have seen from the Royal Academy work the view that there are more engineers from BAME backgrounds graduating out of post-1992 universities than there are from the Russell Group, yet we still have these problems of access. It is not the level. It is what happens in that educational context.

Shaun Bailey AM: Is there a lack of BAME representation at senior levels across these industries?

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): Yes.

Shaun Bailey AM: If so, to what extent does that affect the area you are talking about here, the belief, the designation of these baby steps? To what extent does it affect that?

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): It is a good question and it relates to role models and the visibility of a pathway and that sense of, "That is something that I can attain". The lack of role models at senior positions diminishes the visibility of the

opportunity in the first place, limits the ability of constructing a pathway to that, limits the sense of, “That is something for me. If I try hard, I can get it”. Yes, by shifting the balance at the senior levels of all of these entities across society, we would see more aspiration, more positive attainment and more success.

The group has mentioned earlier the notion of promotion. Part of this is retention. Frankly, from where I sit, with the industries we work with, the notion of finding kids on campus to apply is solved in the sense that there are lots of organisations out there now that can provide institutions with access to young people coming from disadvantaged backgrounds. There is enough awareness that while that battle can still play out, the terms of that conflicts are taken care of. It is now retention and promotion and advancement, and that is the new battlefield where the most important wars get fought.

Relating that to your point, if people are senior in these positions, that trickles all the way back down the chain to the schoolkid who is trying to figure out where they want to go, to the university kid who is starting to see what they are studying for and where they are going to apply themselves, to once they are in industry now figuring out ways so that they do not go screaming out the back door as soon as they have come in the front. Otherwise, there is a ton of money spent on recruitment into front-door early-stage careers, which is frankly wasted if the workplace culture into which they are being brought is not inclusive and supportive and including those individuals in some key areas.

I break it down into value creation in a workplace setting and value delivery in a workplace setting. There are those two things. Who in the organisation is creating the product that is going to market? Who is designing it? Who is shaping it, whether it is a spreadsheet or a widget? Who is delivering that? Who is on the sales team? Who is interfacing with the client? Who is having those conversations where the value is being understood and delivered? If people from disadvantaged backgrounds are not being put into that flow, they are not part of the story. They are always going to be back in human resources (HR), back in the mailroom, back in the copy room. That front office-back office dynamic is real. People need to be rewarded for that. Yes, you can do the value creation, like the ladies who put us on the moon. I forget the name of that movie. If they are part of the creation but not valued for it, that is an error. If they are delivering on the sales team but someone else is getting the bonus cheque, that is another problem. Anyway, I will stop there.

Shaun Bailey AM: My follow-up question to that would be: is it the same for all groups? We had the concept entered earlier about how it is not monochromatic. There are lots of different ways. Growing up as a black boy in London, my outlook looked very different to my friend, who is Turkish. Technically we are both BAME, but he never viewed the world and still does not view the world in the way I do. Is that just my personal experience or is that borne out by the statistics?

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): I do not have a ton of statistics but I can tell you that with the name Shaun Bailey you are probably coming out of a West Indian diaspora --

Shaun Bailey AM: Good guess. Well done.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): -- as opposed to an African diaspora, which is a different split. If you are young and African or young and Caribbean, it is very different coming up, actually.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): That is true.

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): There are some things here that need to be really unpacked and looked at. When we ask this question around intellectual property and low educational attainment, we do need to contextualise it because we are having a discussion around the UK and there is a global world out there where BAME people are educationally attaining huge amounts. We need to recognise that.

You are absolutely right about understanding pathways. If you are a young, black, African Caribbean girl like me, raised in this country, the pathways are not very clear for you, but as soon as I went to the Caribbean and as soon as I went to Jamaica and I saw people who could fly planes, people who were doctors and people who were in government and they were all black people, suddenly there was a different story to be had about how you visualise yourself. We do need to contextualise that there are some very limited pathways or limited horizons in this country for young black people. That really impacts on educational attainment and achievement.

The other thing that we need to contextualise is also that intellect is not biologically determined. That is really important because there are a lot of stereotypes around this, a lot of cultural and ethnic stereotypes about different groups and different kinds of determinations. We have heard those stereotypes. Intellect is not biologically determined, but I do believe that there is a lot of unconscious working and messaging around that which means that some groups are more likely to weave through systems than other groups because of those quite powerful stereotypes about who are the smart people and who are not the smart people. That is important to understand as well. Contextualizing what we are looking at is really important.

Shaun Bailey AM: That is important on a psychological level. When you talk about unconscious bias, that can go one of two ways. I can be biased toward you positively or negatively.

That leads me to my other question. What does unconscious bias look like in an employment sense? If I apply for a job, yes, my name is Shaun Bailey but when I turn up I am still very black. How does that work? My friend is called Kujuret. He may have a foreign name but when he turns up he looks very white. What is the impact of that? Do I get to the interview and get rejected? Does he not get to the interview? Is it the other way around?

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): It is complicated, and it works on a number of levels. Let us say here is your curriculum vitae (CV), Shaun Bailey. Somebody would look at it and think, "Shaun Bailey, a nice English guy with a good CV. Let us bring him in". Then you would show up and all the expectations they had have gone and the prejudices will come forward. You will have then difficulty to prove your worth because they expected a white person and not a black person. However, of course, if your name was African and/or Muslim, you might not even get to go because they have seen your name and have said, "Thanks but no thanks". In terms of African and Caribbean, there are various dynamics going on.

Of course, because of because of slavery and colonialism and the black British experience, Caribbeans in this country through their parents and their grandparents have been worn down by this race penalty and in many ways we expect things not to work for us, whereas the Africans who come to the UK are unencumbered by this and think, "It is opportunity time. I am going to open my business". That can be a benefit sometimes that we also need to unpack.

I want to push back a little bit on Andrew. Maybe I misunderstood him. There is a problem with attainment in universities. Black people can start university with straight As and then leave with a lesser degree. If too few at that starting point are not attaining a first or two-one, it makes a difference when you are looking for a job.

There is a problem within these institutions that we have to say have - shockingly - predominantly white lecturers and professors. If they have a perception of that student and they are then marking them down, then this is adding to this trajectory of not being fully valued.

We let people off the hook when we too often keep talking about unconscious bias. Sometimes it is not so unconscious. We need to confront that. I have been in countless situations, and Shaun [Bailey AM] will know this and I know Maxine [Albert] and Jennifer [Crook] will. When you are black, you know that when you come to the table, to be listened to, to be recognised, you have to dress a certain way. We are always smart and we like being smart, but we know that we cannot turn up scruffy. We have to speak a certain way - the cliché is, "Look how articulate he is" - just to get to go.

I have sat in recruitment situations - and this is another factor that we have to confront - when we have a black candidate who is brilliant and a white female candidate who is not so brilliant. Of course, now there is a tension between tackling gender and tackling race. I have been in situations in which my fellow panellists have said, "One black candidate was not qualified enough, the other black candidate was overqualified, but the white woman was perfect", and I am thinking to myself, "I am here and listening to that, but what happens when I am not in the room with these tensions?" I cannot believe it is so unconscious, but it is a factor and it is troubling.

Shaun Bailey AM: We have another section when we can explore that a bit more. I want to ask this question so I can give the Chairman back some of her time. I am looking at here what sounds like a very horrible statement to me. It is 'imposter syndrome'. I have never come across this and so I am going to tell you what it says on this piece of paper [members briefing] because I am still a little bit horrified. It says, "Where high-achieving BAME candidates doubt their abilities, how does this play into things?" I loathe this term 'imposter syndrome'. It is new to me, but could someone frame that for me?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): One uses the language more and more, psychological language, and how one wants to narrate oneself within that language is really important. Some people feel that it resonates for them and some people feel that it does not resonate at all. Lots of people - and this is not an issue around BAME people - feel that they are not good enough. We know from the surveys we see, particularly when we look at gender issues, that women, in terms of applying for jobs, if they do not feel they have absolutely everything nailed on that, will not apply.

We know that there are some issues around that. How one articulates that on a personal level - you saying you are not comfortable with it - is absolutely right. As I said, it is not in and of itself an issue around race or racism, particularly to do with BAME people. It is a way that some people see themselves.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): The reason why you are running for Mayor is because you do not suffer from imposter syndrome and that is great. When you are being told time and time again, "You are not good enough. You will never be good enough. Get to the back of the queue. You are not getting a promotion", and when you find yourself in those situations where you have the relevance of being there, you feel like an imposter. There is intersectionality on that. It is compounded by race and gender and so it is worse for black women than for black men. Shaun, it is real. It is real and it is debilitating and it serves no institution that that talent cannot be recognised because you feel that you are not worthy of playing that role when actually you are the best person for it.

Shaun Bailey AM: I do not doubt the term. I just do not like it.

Maxine Albert (Deputy Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): I have never heard of imposter syndrome. People talk about being self-limiting. That is what you hear. You hear people who are recruiting saying of BAME candidates that they are self-limiting when they cannot get into the pool. When you look at the talent pool and you do not get the talent pool you want, one of the things you may hear is that BAME people limit themselves and do not believe in themselves to apply for your roles. That is often not the case; it means some employers need to do more to attract and recruit them.

For me, on imposter syndrome, yes, I agree with Jennifer [Crook] and Simon [Woolley]. You see it all the time in the workplace that BAME candidates will need to get every single competency before they feel confident to apply for a role. You will see it in that aspect but you also see it in another aspect when you do not have that talent pool and there is an excuse for self-limiting.

Shaun Bailey AM: I suppose it goes to Simon's comment that it is the reality of constantly being set back every single time. At some point, you capitulate and you accept that.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): Can I add a quick point? This is something we see in our statistics at SEO London. Of all the young people who apply to our programmes, 56% come through word of mouth. Just hold on to that statistic for a second. Social media is 10% to 15%, on-campus recruitment is 10% to 15%, web search is 10% to 15%, and word of mouth is 56%. That tells me that students will see opportunities to arrive through the ether, opportunities to go do this, opportunities to go do that, but they are discounting them unless someone in their trusted network is saying, "Yes, you should check this out".

For me, when I went through SEO in 1995, many years ago, it was a 3.00am card game with a guy saying, "Andrew, you should really check out SEO. It could change your life if you go do it". I said, "Whatever. All right", and I applied the next day. Otherwise, it would not have occurred to me. I could not spell mergers and acquisitions to go for a job in investment banking without SEO.

The notion of word of mouth trickles back to a very clear point: people will discount an opportunity that is right in their face if they do not feel that it is attainable and is something for them.

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): There is also the issue that Maxine [Albert] was talking about. When you finally do get into the workplace, what are you permitted to bring of yourself into that workplace and what bits are not permitted to be in the workplace? Again, I want to contextualise this because we are talking about the UK; we are not talking about other countries. It is very much a firm culture of whiteness in many workplaces and, as a BAME person, you are walking into a very strong white culture, which is not a neutral culture. Most people think workplace culture is neutral. It is not neutral. It is very much white culture. That is the symbolism around the culture, the power dynamics of the culture, the culture itself. It is everything around the culture. A lot of BAME people are having to ask, "What do I have to leave behind? What do I not bring in with me? What am I comfortable with? Do I have to change my accent? Do I have to not talk about certain things?" That can limit who you are in that environment because you are not able to spread your wings in the way that you really can and demonstrate who you are, but instead you are constantly tying yourself up.

Shaun Bailey AM: That is enough from me, Chairman.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): In one of the upcoming questions, can we also have an angle on mental health? It is a really important point Jennifer made

on the impact on the individual's mental health and hence their performance at work and their experiences. Can we discuss that at some point during the questions?

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Yes, I will come back to that.

Sian Berry AM: At the risk of opening a can of worms, I wanted to hear a few more words - because you have all hinted at it and mentioned it very briefly - about class. Andrew, you talked about having connections and word-of-mouth and all of those kinds of things. Simon, you talked about dressing a certain way and speaking a certain way, which are also things that working-class people have to do to fit in. I recently had the diversity inclusion training that we get as councillors in my borough of Camden, and one of the things that was quite new to me as a concept was the idea of 'fit' not being a thing. You need to be really careful as soon as you start thinking about fit that you are being unconsciously biased towards people. That applies across race and also across class and limits people in the same kind of way, and it is intersectional because race and class are intersectional. I wanted to hear a few more words about that aspect of it and whether in the UK, because we have a class system as well as a white workplace culture, which is in other countries as well, we need to be fighting a bit harder against that because we have such a class system in all of our elites.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): Was it England that invented class? I do not know. It is an amazing feature of the landscape here, as an American coming to the UK. We have plenty of issues in the United States (US), to be clear, but here there is an engrained class culture that is remarkable to witness. In fact, when we tried to start SEO 20 years ago, I was patted on the head and told, "Nice American. The diversity thing you are talking about is really interesting. In England, we do not have a race problem. We have a class problem". That carries through to today and just lumps challenge upon challenge.

It is part of the main discussion with London versus non-London. That is a huge aspect of it. The Social Mobility Commission came up with a report two, three or four years ago now that said it was young white boys from non-London who are the most disadvantaged group in a society. That is a remarkable statistic. I do not know the basis of it but let us take it at face value. That is a hell of a statistic and that goes straight to the point about a class.

In our work, we talk about the big three in D&I, one being ethnicity and ethnic diversity, another being socioeconomic diversity and another being gender in the old-fashioned sense of women in male-dominated workplaces. We are perfectly sympathetic and empathetic to whether it is disability or lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) or any other category, but those are the big three. You cannot tackle ethnicity issues without tackling class issues and vice versa. You are fooling yourself.

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Even that term 'class' needs a little bit of unpacking. Let us talk about socioeconomic deprivation as opposed to just class in and of itself or social mobility because, again, depending on different groups and how they wind through that, they may be economically deprived but socially they are not, or it may be that in terms of the nature of the group or culture that they belong in, mobility is quite an important aspect of the culture. Again, they may be economically in a position to find that really difficult or may not have had the opportunities to even see what social deprivation really impacts on. When we are talking about BAME people, we really do need to kind of think about that in a more nuanced way when we look at it. Then you have issues around again intersectionality. You have age, you have experience and you have gender dynamics within that, but trying to uncouple economic deprivation from social deprivation is an important way to start thinking about it.

Sian Berry AM: Simon, you mentioned austerity making things worse. That arguably has led to fewer opportunities for social and income mobility recently. Whatever efforts you are making on a cultural and racism point, you are then blunting the ability for that to have an effect.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): It gets compounded. You not only stop going forward but you can go backwards. Look, Andrew [Fairbairn] put it really succinctly. These elements are entwined and you cannot decouple them. What frustrates me sometimes is that people keep saying to me, “It is not a race thing. It is all about class”. For example, Johanna spoke about the Chinese community being the high fliers in education, but when you look at the top jobs they are still not there. When you look at Parliament they are still not there. These things are not fitting.

Of course, if you talk about class in terms of working-class white boys, they still will not be negatively targeted as black boys are by the police and/or getting certain jobs. We need a nuanced debate. As Jennifer [Crook] said, some of the Asian groups have a different mindset and trajectory that allows them to circumvent some of the problems that other communities have. Some of the driven Indian communities that are making sure their kids go to various after-school clubs and just ploughing all their money into that are giving them better pathways throughout these barriers.

Fiona Twycross AM: I am quite interested in the word-of-mouth role models aspect. The Fire Brigade has done some research that has been published on the barriers to women and BAME recruits in relation to firefighting. It feels like it is the same thing, really.

I wondered as there has been a bit of discussion about university and about attainment at secondary school, but are we pitching the level too late in terms of where we need to build in changes to this debate? For example, do we need to change children’s books to ensure that people have those appropriate role models? Do we need to make sure we build it into preschool education and primary school rather than saying, “This is what people are doing. This is how we can reach out to young people in secondary schools”? Sometimes we talk about raising aspirations, but there is no point raising aspirations if you need to know somebody to know somebody to get you in the door as an intern and there is no point getting your foot in the door as an intern if you then cannot afford to do it because it is not paid or not paid sufficiently, particularly in London where costs are quite high. Where do we need to pitch the earliest interventions to make sure that we address this for the next generation?

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): As early as possible. That is the only answer. I try to think about what is sustainable and I try to think about what will get the most broad societal buy-in because it is complicated and there will be resistance. On the notion of changing books, it needs to be done but it has to be done so carefully and so sensitively. You would not want to write a blank cheque and say, “Go change what you want to change”, because you could go down all kinds of dangerous paths.

Fiona Twycross AM: It is not necessarily about changing existing books; it is about making sure that publishers understand the responsibility when they are publishing books for children to make sure that they are not just reinforcing existing biases.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): I agree. The answer is yes. It is a question of qualifying it. We have to be really careful about how we do that.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): There are a number of ways to do it. For me, the biggest deficit that needs to be urgently addressed is the lack of black teachers in schools. The Department for Education or one of the unions stated that there was a shortage of about 70,000 black teachers in schools. When BAME families are pushing their kids through university, they are saying, “I want you to be a doctor. I want you to be a lawyer”, but they are not saying, “I want you to be a teacher”. They are not saying, “I want you to be a firefighter or an engineer”. What are the dynamics that will change that? We have to have a consciousness to say that we have to tell our children, “We want you to think of these roles because they are fantastic, they offer security for you to provide for your family, but they will also change society”.

When we have black primary teachers and in secondary education, we will have teachers that will see these kids. My son had one black teacher in his primary school. The kids loved him. He was doing fist-bumps with them. He was talking about things that they could relate to. He was telling them that he wanted them to aspire and they thrived. This is the biggest deficit, I would argue, that would be most transformative in our society.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): Jennifer [Crook] pointed it out earlier about the trip to Jamaica. I grew up in Jamaica. My mother is Jamaican. Going and seeing black pilots, black politicians and black police officers changes your world all of a sudden. It is making it visible because this is London. We have all kinds of people in London. This is an amazing city. If you can find and highlight those individuals who are making a difference on the whole spectrum of diversity, women and LGBT and all that stuff, and make those people who are different visible, it instantly creates the pathways, “If this guy can do it, I can do it. If this lady can do it, I can do it”. Bring that in as early as you. That is fantastic.

Maxine Albert (Deputy Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Just picking up on Simon’s point about teachers, I would say it is not just black teachers or BAME teachers. It is head teachers. It is the governing body. It is the senior leadership team. It is all that that makes up a school and leads a school. That is the change you need.

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): That is a priority, but we are talking about a systemic issue here. If we only focus on one area, we forget the systemic issue and it is a systemic issue. The question is what do we not look at because we need to look at everything. It is around the education arena. It is around housing and how people live. We know about the whole postcode issue for lots of young black men being fearful to move outside of a postcode and how that limits one’s availability to work, as it were. It is lots of different places that we are seeing this because this is life. It is living in a world where you are not necessarily welcome, you are the alien, you are always told that you are different, and then you are treated in that way in an expectation that you will then be different.

It is trying to think about that and absolutely at the early years of education encouraging young people to have different experiences and see themselves in those experiences. As a black parent, whether the schools were doing it or not, my children were seeing black books. We searched and scoured for black books that were not necessarily from America. We had to think about education and how we could round their education and what they were missing in terms of their identity development within education, talking about things like maths and saying that that came from black societies and those ideas developed in other places, trying to root them into the intellect that they were learning and some of the ideas they were learning in school. Routing that back into culture was really important.

However, schools should be doing some of this. It should not just be the parent who has responsibility to do it. Schools do need to understand that these children at this very early stage in their development do need to see themselves and recognise themselves and need to know that it is OK to do so in a really positive way.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): I want to add one quick thing to that from a white perspective. I really appreciate that my BAME friends' or colleagues' parents had to say, "You need to work extra hard". From age four, when we know children start to understand the concepts of gender and race, BAME children within their families most of the time have those conversations and white children do not. White children and white families do not talk about being white.

The reason I know that is that part of my job is doing 'let us talk about race' training to adult workers and having 40-year-old white men and women sitting in a room for the first time discussing the idea of whiteness, of blackness, of otherness and of the ideas of race. If you are an adult and have gone through life not having even thought about your own race and the impact this has had on your career and on your experience so far, that is a benefit and that is white privilege. At the same time, if we are looking at starting early, it is something that schools should be doing so that not only are BAME children having to learn about their culture but all of them are together. That would support, hopefully, the systemic issue that we are facing in the UK.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): That is a good point as well.

Shaun Bailey AM: This conversation I have had 100 times before in 100 different ways, but there is something missing here. When we talk about early intervention, how do we support parents? Growing up as a black person in London, that is the real difference between me and my white counterparts: what their parents knew, what their parents expected and the network effect. It was silly things. With my white friends, we were all broke, but they knew the cheap places to go on holiday in Britain and we did not because my parents are also from Jamaica. Going to Jamaica and also to the US and seeing high-functioning black people was very impactful for me. How do we replicate that here? How do we support parents to be able to deliver for their children?

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): You must look at the social infrastructure for that and that again comes back to some of the uncomfortable truths. Look, this discussion we are having today is part of a broader discussion particularly over the last couple of days at Downing Street with the Violent Crime Summit. If we get this wrong, if there are no pathways for a good education, for opportunities and for jobs, there are other pathways and they often involve criminality. Unless we ensure that we open up these pathways and opportunities, there are others. There are gang members looking for vulnerable kids that they can recruit to be going on the county lines to sell their drugs and then of course that spirals into a whole other route.

Shaun Bailey AM: If you look at the work that Operation Black Vote did, going into the black community and saying, "It is your responsibility to get involved. Why not join me and become a magistrate?", that was a very powerful piece of work that had a long-lasting effect. In this conversation, we can spend hours talking about how bad it is and what has gone wrong or we can focus on things like that. Not only did some black people become magistrates, but that changed other people's cultures because they are now viewing black people in a very different way.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Shaun, the point is that unless you invest in the infrastructure so that Operation Black Vote and other organisations and other youth centres can survive, then you cannot be that bulwark within the communities that leads people to a different way and that leads

their parents to say, "Look, if you want to change our society, become a councillor. Become a magistrate. Become a school governor". It is saying that we all have a role in ensuring that our landscape has those opportunities. Of course, in impoverished situations you might need to invest more because, if the family structure has broken down but they have an after-school club to go to, then you are giving them pathways in which they can get their lives back on track.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): We must concentrate more on the fact that this is talking about the ethnicity pay gap. It is such an interesting subject and we could sit here all day and we have so much --

Shaun Bailey AM: Sorry. I take full responsibility for leading you astray. I am sorry.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): I am moving us on to the next bit, which is about closing the gap. I appreciate everything you are saying, and it is interesting and important to us, but if we could stick to this because we are trying to find some answers for the reasons for the ethnicity pay gap, at least if we can concentrate on that.

Fiona Twycross AM: This section looks a bit more at practical ways that employers can make difference. I wonder if Maxine or Jennifer could explain how the House of Commons Diversity Inclusion Strategy aims to support BAME communities enter employment and progress within the workplace.

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): The Strategy is trying to take a whole-system approach - that is the first thing - within the reach of who we are and what we do.

The first thing around the Strategy is the drive, the business case, why we are doing this, because that is always the question. Why are we focusing on this? There needs to be an evidential base underneath that. One of the things that we are really clear on is that democracy is stronger when it is inclusive and reflects all the people it seeks to serve. That is our case for pushing this D&I agenda forward. This has a significant case for what we do and who we are as an organisation.

The first thing we have really focused on is the evidence base. What is the evidence base? What are the stories telling us? Many organisations are monitoring and looking at that data and really wanting to get that. When I say the 'evidence base', I am not just talking about the quantitative data but also the qualitative data. We are looking things in terms of grades and where people are. We are looking at appraisals and recruitment stages. We break our recruitment stages right down so that we can understand where people, particularly BAME people, are falling off the recruitment process. Pay gaps are part of that. Promotions are part of that. We know where we are in terms of our data. We know we have work to be done and the Strategy is clearly about challenging us to do that.

The quantitative data has been really important as well because it is about the experience of people in the organisation and how they experience the organisation. We have done that through looking at our staff surveys and focus groups and feedback from our equality network. We have an equality network, ParliREACH, which focuses on ethnicity and culture, and it really is useful in terms of feeding back to us.

On targets and benchmarks, we use the data to set the targets and be very clear on why we are setting targets. We know where the under-representation is. We are using the full range of the Equality Act 2010 and are really thinking about that as a dynamic, not just as a piece of legislation, and looking at positive action and the targets within that Act. Particularly at our senior levels is where we see a significant fall-off in terms of BAME groups. That is what we need to target and that is where we need to put targets.

Then we are having smart targets, understanding that we are both a national organisation and also based in London. We understand that at certain levels as you start to hit the ladder, we will be recruiting in a national way, but at the lower grades - what we call the less mobile grades - it will be a local London target. Understanding when we are using London targets and national economically active targets is really important to us.

Attraction and recruitment are big issues. People have a view as to Parliament and the House of Commons and we are trying to work through that. What they think is not what it is. In terms of diversity, we are much more diverse than the civil service. We are quite diverse, but there are challenges because, yes, we know that as staff move up the ladder those figures drop off. We know there our challenges.

We have introduced particular policies, like we have a 'press pause' policy, which is again using positive action and using the dynamics of the Equality Act [2010]. What we are saying is that for roles, we look at what the economically active benchmark will be and we use that as a benchmark to start with so that we know what we are expecting in terms of applications. We test it at application stage. If we have not got there, we can press pause and we can start the whole attraction process again. As we go through the recruitment stages, we can keep testing against that benchmark and asking whether we are hitting the benchmark. For different roles and different functions, it will be slightly different and so, again, we are using lots of evidence bases to do that.

When you get to the final part, you have section 159 of the Equality Act [2010], the tiebreak clause. You can use that. Organisations do not use it but it is there. We are starting to use those mechanisms to try to shift change and using the data to drive that all the time. What should we look like? What should it look like at the recruitment stages?

We are doing a lot of outreach activity. We have a participation team that goes into schools and colleges, but we are doing loads of outreach activity. We are focusing on widening our pools in terms of encouraging people to look at the House of Commons. We are doing activities around internships, paid internships rather than 'who you know' internships. For instance, my team runs the Speaker's Parliamentary Placement Scheme. It is a paid internship programme. It is a fantastic opportunity. It is a nine-month opportunity. We specifically target under-represented groups and people from social deprived backgrounds. That is where we target for that. They get an opportunity to spend nine months on this programme in a Member's office, really at the chalk face of politics, as it were. This is the eighth year we have been doing it and those people absolutely fly. These are people who have come from all sorts of different backgrounds. They may be BAME, which is one of our target groups, but they may come from quite deprived backgrounds. They absolutely fly when given an opportunity and that is an opportunity.

We are looking at development. We are looking at leadership development and sponsorship development. We do things like reverse mentoring so that the senior people get a BAME perspective on what it looks like. That has been quite significant in terms of making change happen in the House. BAME staff have talked about some of their experiences and we have started changing things as a result of that.

We did a large role model campaign so that we could seek out the role models in the organisation. We did a campaign around those. We got their names and we got their images all over the House so that people could see there are people in lots of different functions doing really wonderful work and you have that pathway going through.

We have lots of staff equality networks but I have spoken particularly about ParliREACH because it is the one around race, but we have networks around all the diversity areas. What they are there for is not just a social

meeting space. That is not their role. Their role is to act as scrutiny to the organisation and to tell us when we are doing things wrong and what we need to be focusing on. Importantly, they also are there to support their members and to work with their members and develop their members.

There is work around learning, training, development and unconscious bias. I take the point that you made about conscious bias as well. There are the two things hand in hand and unpacking some of that it is really important.

Then there is performance, making this agenda a performance agenda so that it is not just an added on 'nice thing to do' agenda. There are D&I objectives in everybody's appraisals and we are really drilling that into performance. We are developing a whole performance infrastructure and governance infrastructure around our D&I Strategy to manage that performance so that we make sure we are doing what we have said we are going to do.

That gives you a kind of flavour of what we are doing. We have a long way to go and we still have work to be done, but we understand that it is systemic. It is a whole approach, as it were, not just focusing on one area but focusing across what we do.

Fiona Twycross AM: You have answered quite a lot of the follow-up questions. That was a really thorough answer. The specific question that was not necessarily covered was around whether actions should be specific to different ethnic groups within the BAME community.

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Absolutely. That is positive action. Some people are uncomfortable looking at targeted approaches, but the Equality Act legislates for us to do that and we should use all the drivers we have. Absolutely, if the evidence base is taking us to a targeted approach, then we should be taking a targeted approach because otherwise we are not going to deliver on that. That is about taking the organisation with you. It is about explaining to people why we might be taking a targeted approach but being very clear that it is because of what the evidence is telling us.

Fiona Twycross AM: I have met some young people who were on the Speaker's Scheme a few years ago and I absolutely recognise how you describe that. Politics is one of the worst spheres for who you know and who you have known in your past, which gives you those aspirations but also helps you get on potentially once you are in that sphere.

How hard is it to crack the nut with who gets employed by Members of Parliament (MPs)? How does that work?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): The MP is the employer. We are not the employer of an MP's staff.

Fiona Twycross AM: Your scheme does not relate to that, then?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Our scheme provides interns to MPs. They are the employers. We provide the management of the scheme, but in terms of their own staff they are the employers, but what we want to do is influence them to be good employers and to think about employment as a development opportunity. It is really interesting because we are working with Operation Black Vote at the moment and a number of other partners including Magdalen College in Oxford University on a residential programme called Pathways to Success, which is going to be particularly targeting aspiring people

who are interested in getting into politics and potentially being MPs. We are working with that group and we found that focused activities around this really work, but in Parliament and the House of Commons, as I said, we can influence MPs but it is a different employment relationship. They are the employer with their staff, but we can influence them in terms of how they work.

Fiona Twycross AM: Moving on to Simon, could you tell us a bit about the key initiatives taken by the Government that are aimed at reducing the ethnicity pay gap and maybe comment on whether the initiatives have had any impact?

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): The biggest driver of course is data and the ethnicity facts and figures. This has been the first of any Western government to lay bare uncomfortable truths. We convinced the Prime Minister to go down this path. We had the conversations with her when she was at the Home Office and we wanted a race equality audit of the Home Office. We thought that was critical. It got kicked into the long grass. When she became Prime Minister [Teresa May], she said, "Why not do it right across Whitehall?" She has recognised that the gender pay gap has been a critical driver for beginning to close the gender gap and so it did not take much convincing for her to say, "We need to get that minority pay gap".

Of course, if we want primary legislation, which we do and which we need, we have to begin by consultation. We have begun the consultation and it is now finished, but that once we get the legislation it will focus people's minds on how we get this.

However, we should not wait for that if we want to make these changes. Whether it is us convincing the Prime Minister and/or with Sadiq [Khan, Mayor of London] doing his work on this here, this is about leadership and there are various leaders down that spectrum and we want to drive change. When Theresa May [Prime Minister] had all the data there, I said to her or her team, "Look it is all very well having the data now, but who is going to drive it? Who is going to formulate a plan?"

I have to say that I have known Jennifer [Crook] for some time and I know that she has worked in difficult areas like Northern Ireland and has addressed disparities and inequalities and representation in that difficult area. She has brought that to bear with this. What you see in Parliament is a comprehensive plan. It is not only a comprehensive plan that, as you said, Fiona, looks at a whole range of different areas, but they are bold enough and brave enough to not just have a plan and drive it but to question it. When they look at getting interviews and they think, "Hang on a second. We do not have enough people in those areas, they push back and go again. That is bold. That really is bold and brave because the default position is, "We tried". True leadership is having a comprehensive plan and having those leaders to say, "This is our benchmark. If you do not get that, go back and do it again".

If you are persistent in that way, Fiona, then we will begin to make progress. What we are trying to do with the with the [Race] Disparity Group is to look at those critical areas that converge, if you like.

Fiona Twycross AM: You have looked at this in some depth and you mentioned the need for legislation. What other actions do you think the Government should take to tackle this issue, if we go back to the Government actions and what we would like the Government to do?

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Sure. The other Government action to me around the pay gap discussion is procurement. It is using the multibillion-pound purse to drive change. You

need, one, the acknowledgement that it is a potential driver, two, the plan for what it looks like and, three, the driver. London is ideal for that. The [London] Assembly is ideal for that.

The third element of course in terms of a plan has to be education and it has to be with the universities and schools. We have to get the universities into a better place on entry-level attainment and promotion because, if this piece is not there, then the full-flow pipelines are also inadequate because the big elites will say, "Where are they? We need greater numbers?" If we get them willing and nodding, "Yes, we are open for business", we have to have the pipelines.

Fiona Twycross AM: Great. That is really helpful. My final area of questioning is aimed at Johanna. Could you tell us what impact the Race at Work Charter has had since its launch?

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): The Race at Work Charter was launched in October 2018 and at this moment in time we have had 147 signatories. I updated them earlier this week. There are five commitments to the Charter. They are fairly broad because we want to have a Charter that employers can sign up to and then make it bespoke for their context.

Just quickly, the five commitments within the Charter are to appoint an executive sponsor for race, have that leadership element, have someone who is guiding the conversation, and someone in a powerful position who can do that and can make a broad agenda. The second commitment is to capture ethnicity data and also to publicise the progress. A lot of organisations, as we know, are already starting to look at it. Some already have it but have not published it yet. We wanted to make it transparent, communicating it internally and externally. The third commitment of the Charter is around zero tolerance towards bullying and harassment, which we know is a really big challenge for employers in particular. Taking that back to what Simon [Woolley] said in the very first statement around Brexit, we do know that bullying harassment for BAME colleagues has increased by 3% since 2016. The only thing that massively changed in our society is the Brexit vote and the open racism and discriminatory atmosphere. Coming back to the Race at Work Charter and commitment number four, we want to make sure that all leaders and managers are accountable. Again, everyone needs an objective around that leadership element. Commitment number five is around career progression and making sure there are lot of opportunities like mentoring and sponsorship programmes available in organisations.

This is the Charter that we launched. This is the first UK charter around race. There is another around gender and LGBT, but there was not anything on race. Regarding the impact of it, we will have an event in October [2019] seeing one year on. It has been half a year now since it launched, if I get my numbers right, and we have 147 signatories. That is fairly impressive. If we look at the quality of the organisations that have signed up, we have a really great mix across industries. We have a mix of private, public and also third-sector organisations that have signed up and have committed to it.

We are currently running from the beginning of March [2019] until the end of May [2019] what we call the Race at Work Charter Survey. It is a very long title but actually a very short survey with two parts. The first part is about 15 questions that relate to each of the five commitments. Organisations that have either signed up or not yet can just check through, "Am I doing this, yes or no? Am I doing this, yes or no". They can see how they are performing. Then the second part is a short case study of an initiative that you are doing internally for BAME progression, recruitment or leadership. At the end of May, that survey closes, and then we will then create a report. From there on we will be able to say, "At this point in time the participants who have taken part have done X, Y and Z", and then we will be more able to bring an impact report, probably publishing around October time this year [2019]. Does that answer your question?

Fiona Twycross AM: Yes. Thank you. One of my colleagues wants to come in in a moment, but I wanted to finish by asking whether you think it is more effective to tackle bias head-on alongside other initiatives such as giving managers performance objectives to support fairness for staff?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Absolutely. We do know that the way unconscious bias training is currently run does not work and that is because we are doing one day of training. People feel better about themselves, learn something and then go back to their desks on Monday morning and it is like, “What was it that I learned about?”

If we look at how we have run learning and development within any organisation - and I come from a business angle here - and if we look at the learning and development professionals in our workplaces whose day job it is to design learning initiatives, workshops and training programmes. There is always a refresher element. There is a reiteration element. You need to consistently talk about an issue to understand it and fully grasp it. That is what is lacking at the moment. Therefore, yes, the answer is that unconscious bias training, while we should still have it embedded in anything that we do in our organisations, publicly or privately, also needs to go along with processes that reduce the impact of unconscious bias.

Taking it back to Shaun’s question initially, if he comes to an interview, how do we get bias with his name and the name of Shaun’s Turkish friend? It is not only at that point. Unconscious bias is through all the processes. I am sure that Maxine [Albert] and Jennifer [Crook] will know that having structured interviews where he and his friend are both asked exactly the same questions will reduce unconscious bias. We do know that if there is no structured interview, he would probably get more difficult questions and hence might not perform as well and they will say, “Shaun did not really do so well, did he?” Was that up to his merit or not? It was not. He had a very different experience.

There are a lot of ideas and processes that we advise organisations on to remove the unconscious bias - or try to limit the effect at least - by using more processes. One of them is also the one that Jennifer [Crook] mentioned around challenging lists and anything that you are being given, but the challenge is the key thing.

Fiona Twycross AM: How effective is name-blind recruitment?

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): It is very effective. However, it is not only the name that needs to be removed, but ideally the university as well and any personal identifications. For example, we know that students sometimes list hobbies and interests. It is like, “You like kayaking as well”, and then suddenly you have that affinity bias within the interview.

Fiona Twycross AM: Also, age?

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Age as well, yes, absolutely. We do know that that is effective. However, one thing to flag is that there has been a resurgence in Australia of name-blind CVs and it created negative results because sometimes D&I teams are trained to have that positive action element. With that being name-blind, sometimes BAME people and women were singled out. I am saying that while we really need to improve and, yes, name-blind to remove unconscious bias, we need to do it in a really process-driven way to still sense-check with the data on who is getting through and whether it is working. It is not just name-blind; it is the solution that needs to be kept in check.

Leonie Cooper AM: I am so sorry I was late. I am substituting on this Committee for someone else and had another engagement. This is a really important area. Me being late it is not a reflection of my consideration of its importance.

I have worked in the private sector, the public sector and the third sector and my perception has been - perhaps this has changed more recently - that there has been probably more resistance to training for things like unconscious bias, name-blind recruitment and positive mentoring in the private sector than in the public sector or the third sector.

I wondered if you felt that that was the case. It will be quite interesting to see what comes out of your survey when it is finished and you review it in a year's time.

If that is the case - and then we will probably broaden that out to Maxine [Albert], Jennifer [Crook] and maybe Simon [Woolley] as well at that point - do you think that outsourcing from the public sector to the private sector has had an impact in terms of the ability to have a properly fair recruitment process?

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): If I just take the first half of the question and then --

Leonie Cooper AM: Yes, just start first. I am very happy for Andrew [Fairbairn] to come in as well if he feels he wants to contribute or not.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): In terms of fatigue of training, absolutely, but simply because if you do not see an outcome, why do you go? As part of my job I also deliver training to a range of senior leaders and frontline staff around unconscious bias, around race and around inclusive leadership. They all come out of the training wide-eyed, having had that lightbulb moment, "This is a great experience", but again how do you translate that in an ongoing training element within the workplace?

My experience has not been that private organisations have a fatigue or resistance with that. Actually, it is the opposite. Over the past two years, our engagements of how our partners use our expertise in training, delivering training, mentoring or helping with developing sponsorship programmes has increased. There is a clear demand for it in the private sector. That is fuelled by things like the gender pay gap because you have to do something now and you have to write in your action report that you are taking action to solve the 38% pay gap in the finance sector that has been brought to life. There is a really big increase.

What we do see particularly from advanced organisations - and by 'advanced' in terms of D&I, I am talking about professional services, the likes of KPMG and the other big four - is a really clear focus on black representation, leadership, mentoring and sponsorship programmes and we have seen an increase in the last few years in that. I would argue that, yes, people wanted to run those programmes more.

Leonie Cooper AM: There has been good buy-in in the last couple of years. I wonder if I can throw that over to the rest of you. My feeling from my observations over the years is that there has been better practice in the public sector.

Has outsourcing now impacted on that? With local authorities being very strapped for cash, that has always been an area, I always felt, where there was possibly more fairness in terms of who was being recruited into posts. This is not necessarily in terms of who then got promotion and the whole snow-capped issue and how

you would find people at all levels but never at the top and how it was always white men who were still in the upper posts. Has that started to change? Is outsourcing an impact on that?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): I think it is back to the point that the other speakers were making about how one deals with one's outsourcing and procurement. Is diversity part of your D&I strategy? It is clearly part of our Strategy. In terms of the House, most of the employment relationships are actually employment relationships. We do not outsource as much as civil service and local authorities. Our cleaners are our own, our caterers are our own, our security people are our own, and that means that in terms of ensuring that people get the same message about what is important, ensuring that we can look at how people are developing the organisation, that helps as well.

But where we do procure - and we all procure; we all procure services, faculties and various other things - it is really important to ensure that diversity inclusion is absolutely central to that, to get that. If you are going to be spending money, use that power to be able to put into your contractual relationships, "This is what we expect". In our contractual relationships, in fact, Maxine [Albert] has developed a really good process through which we can assess the quality of the contractual relationship and say, "This is at excellence level in terms of diversity and inclusion. This is what we require of you in terms of monitoring, in terms of thinking about your staffing and delivery, training, etc". We can do that because it is our contract. That is really important.

Leonie Cooper AM: That is really interesting and it is an important point about the quality element of procurement. It is one of the things I come up against all the time. In my two boroughs, Merton and Wandsworth - I am also a Wandsworth councillor - if it is not nailed down we outsource it and we assess all of the tenders on 'MEAT', most economically advantageous tender. I have argued in many meetings that we do not look at quality and we do not look at any of those issues, and obviously if you are not putting those in in the first place then you can end up with unfairness, can you not?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Right.

Maxine Albert (Deputy Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): That is good, diversity and inclusion into your --

Leonie Cooper AM: At the beginning.

Maxine Albert (Deputy Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): At the beginning, that is important, and then measuring. It is not just being satisfied with responses, it is measuring those responses.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): There is variance between the private sector, the public sector and the third sector. There are certain private sector companies that see diversity and closing pay gaps for gender and race as an economic imperative, and that is a really positive driver. Look, these companies that Johanna [Westhauser] talked about are global companies and they need a global workforce. They recognise that the bottom line is affected if that is not covered. Then, like McKenzie's, they are telling other companies too, "The stronger you are on this area, the better you will be".

In some ways, when you look at the public sector and the third sector you will have found there is lots of talk about wanting to be fairer and having all this diversity, but when you look at the structure itself, nothing much changes. They are patting themselves on the back for talking about this but too often there is not the driver. Before you came in I spoke about "The Colour of Power". In the third sector and in the public sector, too often women are not at senior levels, and that is chronically so among black and minority communities. All

these sectors that talk lavishly about diversity. Critical to it - Jennifer [Crook] was talking about this - are the drivers. Of course, the big driver that we have not had time to look at in any meaningful way is procurement. Again, I keep coming back to meaningful procurement.

One example that we looked at, very quickly, was with universities. Speaking with Government officials, I was saying, "How can we ensure that they have a plan for tackling race inequality?" Somebody said to me, "All you have to do is look at what they are doing with gender". I think it was Professor Dame Sally Davies [Chief Medical Officer for England] who said that for medical research, universities would not get that money unless they signed up to Athena SWAN [Charter]. Athena SWAN was the framework to deliver gender parity. You know what? Within two years, almost all of them had signed up to it. Yet the Race Equality Charter is still only taken up by a small number of universities.

Leonie Cooper AM: That is really interesting. I have a follow-up question, Chair, if I may, having explored whether there is a difference. I think what you are saying is that at the top, there is no difference. Snow-capped everywhere.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Right.

Leonie Cooper AM: We do have some legislation. I have not done recruitment now for some time but I did use it quite extensively and we ended up with a very diverse organisation from top to bottom, very reflective of the people it was serving and so on and so forth. I know it can be used. Is the legislation good enough for what we want to do? It is very different in America. We do not use the words "affirmative action" over here. Obviously positive discrimination is not a good thing but positive action is a good thing. Are we in need of further legislation or is the legislation sufficient for our purpose and should people be using it more effectively?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Do you know, it is really interesting when we start talking about positive discrimination and positive action that we are sitting in a very particular paradigm. The first equality legislation in this country in the 1940s after the [Second World] War was positive discrimination because it was about people coming back from the war who had disabilities and ensuring that they got jobs. The agenda has moved on. It is really interesting in Northern Ireland when I worked with the Northern Ireland Police Service (NIPS), which was then the Royal Ulster Constabulary, transforming it into the NIPS, the first thing we had to look at was not the legislation. How were we going to do this very quickly? You can get thrown into this bad/good argument and in lots of ways you need to understand the history of this legislation that we have been using and how it works in different places in different ways.

Leonie Cooper AM: That is why I quite like the American terminology of "affirmative action", because it kind of takes out the --

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Discriminatory language which people --

Leonie Cooper AM: I mean, I do not like the language either.

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): When there have been times in our history in the UK when we have felt the need to make change happen very quickly because it has been absolutely urgent and vital - like people coming back from the Second World War who needed to get jobs, when they were disabled and nobody wanted to give them jobs - we put legislation in. When we recognised as

part of the peace process that we needed to ensure that the police service was a service and not a force, and that it included all the communities and not just a particular community, the legislation was changed. It is really important to recognise how you are using the legislation and why you are using the legislation.

I do not think that most organisations use a full spectrum of positive action or stretch that envelope of positive action and see what that actually means. There is more work to be done around positive action but if the evidence base leads you to a place where you are saying, "Something urgent needs to happen", then there are examples where we have changed the legislation.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): If you look at areas like the police force, for example, you could stretch it there because you have to police by consent, you have to get trust and you have to build confidence. This is true of teachers too. How can it be you have sometimes 80% or 90% BAME students and you have 10% BAME teachers? We have to be able to have a mechanism. You talk about removing the language. People bunker down when you say, "positive discrimination". For example, all-women shortlists are a good thing because you are addressing a chronic imbalance that cannot be addressed, in the short term, any other way, by saying, "Look, we need to fast-track talented women".

Leonie Cooper AM: There might be a bit of a split in the room on that one.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): There might. Can we --

Shaun Bailey AM: Can I just quickly nip in? I have a few small ones. You say that you have had a lot more organisations sign up. Are small organisations signing up? A lot of young black people get their start with a local, small organisation that is prepared to look beyond colour, class and creed. How many small organisations are signing up?

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Not too many, if I am honest. Generally, if we look at our reach with our partnerships at BITC, it is any businesses, private or public, but it tends to be more the bigger ones. Not to particularly bring up KPMG again, but they are using suppliers and we are advising all the time and making an impact on bigger organisations to look at supply chains to spread the message and enable them as well. To your question, not many are currently signed up. I wish they would and I would be happy to hear your thoughts on how we can reach out better to those.

Shaun Bailey AM: Just to go to Simon's point about third sector organisations and public organisations talking very lavishly about it, do they sign up? Some of the worst organisations are Government Departments and unions. They talk lovely about it but they are --

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Shocking.

Shaun Bailey AM: -- behind private businesses on this. Do they sign up? Are they in this conversation?

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Yes, we have also public organisations who have signed up.

Sian Berry AM: My questions are about what the Mayor is currently doing in London. There are quite a lot of initiatives in the Greater London Authority (GLA) at the moment. We have the Vision for a Diverse and Inclusive City, which is the broader Strategy for London as a whole. Then internally within the GLA we have our own action plan, the Ethnicity Pay Gap Action Plan, which has lots of specific actions.

Some things have already been done. Anonymised recruitment was introduced. They have introduced training on unconscious bias. There are things coming in the coming year, things like making sure that interview panels are gender-balanced and ethnically diverse, which is reasonable, I think. There is an awful lot in there. Separately, the Mayor also has a Good Work Standard, which may clash with what you are doing, Johanna [Westhauser], a tiny bit. Within that there are diversity and inclusion requirements that are similar but not exactly the same as are in your Charter.

I just wanted to ask each of you in turn, what do you think of what the Mayor is doing externally and internally in regard to this set of issues? Is he doing enough? Is it coherent enough? Is he missing anything? What more would you like to see? I do not know which direction to go in.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): I have no idea what the Mayor is doing. I first heard about anything in this briefing. I am not particularly proud of that but that is just a fact. We work in a world that is very focused on kids and sponsors of our activities.

Upon reading this, it looks fantastic. The one thought I had was within this concept and the standards that are given. There are one to five and I would say all of them are great. On the one around workforce representation and ensuring that the workforce represents the London labour market, I would just say, "Yes, but close is probably good enough in that context". You do not need to be draconian about it beyond a certain extent. But no, I have very little visibility into what the Mayor is doing today.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): I would agree with that and I would argue that one of his special skills is actually public relations and talking about the great things he is doing. It would be great to have that angle on internally including diversity breaking out into the open a bit more. The GLA is a member of BITC so we are advising them in detail and your dedicated adviser would be happy to give more details on the specific plan.

One thing that I think the Mayor has the power to do is in relation, in particular, to the campaign he is currently running, London is Open or campaigns like that. Where is the diversity link to that? Again, in the external marketing it is visible. There is visible diversity in what we are doing. How does that translate into how he holds the businesses in the city to account to do their part? It would be great to see a bit more push because what we do know is that - again, leadership - you need someone driving that and currently that is not coming from the senior leaders of the country. Perhaps he as the Mayor of London has a role to play in that.

Sian Berry AM: Can I just follow up with a quick factual question to you? The BAME Pay Gap Action Plan references that we have signed up to the BITC Charter, but has the Mayor talked to you about developing the Good Work Standard? That, as far as I can tell, is the thing that might leak into procurement. It does not yet and it has been soft-launched quite recently, but it says in relation to procurement, "They would be able to use their accreditation to demonstrate social value when competing for public sector procurement opportunities within the GLA Group". It is a bit indirect. It is not saying, "You must be signed up to the Good Work Standard in order to bid", but it is saying it may be a way to demonstrate social value. Obviously, you are probably quite well versed in all of this. I just wondered if you were advising the Mayor on this Standard.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Me personally, no, but I will pick up with my colleagues to find out if they do. I would question why it is not a requirement that they are. You mentioned that they should be signed up but they do not have to be to bid for it. Why is that not a requirement?

Sian Berry AM: It is quite voluntary, as far as I can tell, and not that many employers have signed up yet although it has only been soft-launched. That is what the Mayor has been saying in response to questions on this.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Just in terms of experience, again, make things mandatory as much as you can. The moment it is voluntary, no one will do it.

Sian Berry AM: Yes. We experienced that with the Living Wage, for example, and spreading that out of the public sector into contractors. It has to be mandatory.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Sorry, I know we are talking about the ethnicity pay gap but with the gender pay gap we have been arguing for this for years and nothing has happened. The moment it has become law, suddenly everybody obviously has to do it and the conversation is there. With the ethnicity, it just cannot get here quickly enough so that we can finally get this topic discussed more broadly.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): That is exactly right. In regard to what the Mayor is doing, I think we should applaud that initiative on the ethnic minority pay gap because he is the first significant mayoral leader to champion this. I would say that I am always impatient, I am always --

Leonie Cooper AM: Can I just ask you, do you mean globally or just in this country?

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): In this country. I do not know, globally, but let us stick to this country, which is significant.

Leonie Cooper AM: But even so, the first here? That is shocking, really, in a way.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): It is truly shocking but --

Sian Berry AM: He has been doing it for a little while, as well.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Right.

Leonie Cooper AM: Sorry to interrupt.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): That is OK. Theresa May [Prime Minister], to add that balance, is the first leader to publish the ethnic minority disparity across Whitehall, laying bare uncomfortable truths.

The first thing is to applaud the Mayor for that, but then to push him, because being a leading figure he should convene the top businesses and say, "Look, I am doing it because it is the right thing for good governance, but you have to do it too". Use that leadership position to spread that word and cajole leaders into that.

The second point - and I guess this is for the Assembly holding him to account - is that it is important, particularly with the other Strategies, to say to him, "OK, so you have set this framework. Who is going to drive it? What are the benchmarks? What is your timescale?" As Jennifer has said, you can have a framework but unless you are driving it and pushing and pushing and pushing, I tell you and you all know that slippage -

not being focused, not getting to your place - easily happens. I think it is your role to hold him to account and push as hard as you can.

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): From our perspective, we are politically impartial so we cannot really make comments directly about what the Mayor is and is not doing, but what we can say in terms of recommendations in terms of developing a strategy is that you do need to make it a whole-system approach, it does need to be focused, it does need to be evidence-based, and it should be pulling those drivers of influence, leadership, and, as Simon has said, managing performance, being very clear what you want to do, when you are going to do it and how you are going to get there. Are there targets? What are those targets? How are you going to meet those targets?

Maxine Albert (Deputy Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): And constantly monitoring and doing the assurance bit. That is the most important, to measure.

Sian Berry AM: Obviously maybe you cannot comment, I was just hoping to draw out where there might be slight differences in some of the practical things that you are doing. One of the things the Mayor has said that they will start doing by this April [2019] is analysing gaps in honorariums, additional payments, bonuses and that kind of thing. I cannot see in the document whether they are also analysing disciplinary and other things because there seem to be disparities in both sides of that. Are you doing that within the House of Commons? Are you looking at bonuses and payment and whether that is disparity there?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): We have been doing that particularly with the gender pay gap. We specifically looked at that because that is where we realised that there are differentials. It was in regard to bonuses and so we had to do some action around that.

As we start to formalise - we are not at the moment publishing but we are starting to look at the data around ethnicity and pay gap - we will do the same, because once you start to see where the gap is you need to start to dig under that and work out why the gap is there. Sometimes it is because of, as you say, bonuses or honorariums or just the nature of the way the employment is prescribed in the organisation. Once you start to get that data you really need to uncover, and that is what we have done with the gender pay gap, unpick it and try to understand. Generally we have not seen a differential across most of our staff but at the senior ends we have seen a little bit and that is because of bonus payments. We have had to unpack that and now we are developing new policies around that.

Sian Berry AM: Do you have requirements for diverse interview panels in the same way?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Yes.

Sian Berry AM: Right, OK. Just one final thing. The police service in London has recently relaxed a requirement for residency in London. They say it is because of the need to recruit new officers rapidly. I just wondered if any of you have any comment on the effect that might have on the diversity of the police service. I think they have roughly admitted that it might have an effect.

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): I used to work for the police service some time ago in their training arm, in the 43 boroughs rather than the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), as the head of diversity there. The thing about the local police services is that you need to understand the local issues. Police services always move people around and the challenge with that, particularly in London, and why the MPS has been set up in such a different way, is that you really need to understand the

nature of London. You really need to understand the nature of those communities and those diverse communities. It is not just about recognising them, it is understanding at a very emotional level because this is a real, significant power dynamic.

When you go in as a police officer you have a huge amount of power and if you do not understand where you stand on issues of ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, whatever those issues may be, the way that you perform your function will be limited by that. If you are experienced in living in diverse communities, you have picked up some nuances that those that have not will learn. It is learnable, I am not saying it is not learnable, but we do need to recognise that if you do not recognise and understand diversity then that is a gap, a knowledge, experiential and skill gap, and my question would be: how do you therefore meet that?

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): The worst-case scenario of that situation is somebody who has not lived in a multicultural, metropolitan area and their view of, for example, black men, is one of aggression, is stereotypical, and this person comes with all that power and all that prejudice that we have seen in those video nasties where the interaction has been awful.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): One of my staff got stopped by the police just a few days ago with exactly that dynamic. God bless the police, but this guy was an idiot.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): It is troubling.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): He could not relate at all.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Right, and of course that interaction then can quickly spiral into something quite dreadful.

Sian Berry AM: Sorry, I am just trying to stick to the pay gap rather than the general diversity of the police but if we have a wave of recruitment now that is less diverse, that is going to ripple upwards, is it not, in terms of changing the pay gap later on?

Shaun Bailey AM: It was not like we were recruiting from London and getting a really diverse group of people so that wave will not be --

Sian Berry AM: It was marginal. It was improving a tiny bit.

Shaun Bailey AM: Yes, but it will not stop that. It is an addition. It is not saying we will not recruit from London, it is saying we will recruit from a wider pool. I cannot see the change being significant or even any at all.

Sian Berry AM: In proportional terms. Yes, you are right, it is because they need to recruit more numbers and they are not getting enough numbers from London.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Police officers who do not understand will not help.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): It goes back to what Fiona Twycross AM was asking about earlier --

Shaun Bailey AM: It is not necessarily direct like that.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): One at a time.

Shaun Bailey AM: Again, it goes back to Jennifer's [Crook] point. No matter where you get the police from, I think it is about how they are trained. They have to learn that interaction.

Sian Berry AM: They are getting unconscious bias training. It may just be a one-off though, like you say.

Leonie Cooper AM: If they are diverse and they are working alongside colleagues from all different backgrounds and interacting on the street with people from all different backgrounds, it definitely has an improving aspect --

Shaun Bailey AM: We are making an assumption here that they are diverse because they came from London.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Yes, and we have to also appreciate the fact that we need police officers and if we cannot get them from London then we will have to go -- but we must go back to the ethnicity pay gap. Have you finished your section?

Sian Berry AM: I think I have asked all the questions.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Lovely, thank you. While we are on that subject of the gap, this is clearly an issue for the Mayor. The GLA has a pay gap of 11.4%. The MPS has a pay gap of 16%. The Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, which is MOPAC, is 10%. The London Legacy Development Corporation is 24%, which is shocking. The London Fire Brigade I see is zero. A lot of work has gone into that but I am not sure that is right. Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation, 70%. Transport for London, 10%, but that could link into such high bonuses that have been given to the hierarchy. That could have made that worse.

Just very briefly because I am mindful of time, how can the Mayor address this? It is good that he has mentioned it and he has to, and it is good that he has brought it to the fore, but you have been saying it is no good bringing it to the fore without doing something about it. If you had one very brief, quick comment to make on what he could do, how would he change it?

Maxine Albert (Deputy Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): He needs to unpack it. That is the first thing. Why is it occurring?

Jennifer Crook (Head of Diversity and Inclusion, House of Commons): Once you get to the unpacking stage, is there intersectionality in there? Is it BAME women, is it Asian, it is black British? What is going on there in terms of trying to understand? Then you could do the targeted work around that.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Yes, because it is so much more complex than it looks.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Nuanced understanding. A comprehensive programme. A dynamic driver that delivers change.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Based on all of that, to add looking at senior appointments in particular and the pipeline before there, just below the Board level or whatever the equivalent is.

Simon Woolley (Chair, Race Disparity Audit Advisory Group): Good point.

Johanna Westhauser (Inclusion and Diversity Adviser, Business in the Community): Sponsorship in particular.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): Yes.

Andrew Fairbairn (Chief Executive Officer, Sponsors for Educational Opportunity London): Mine is related. It is about retention, promotion and the incentives that drive that.

Susan Hall AM (Chairman): This has been so interesting. We could all have gone on for a lot longer because it gets more and more interesting as we broaden it out. Do any of my colleagues have anything else to ask with regard to this? No, OK. Can I thank our guests for their contributions to today's meeting? It has been very interesting. Thank you.