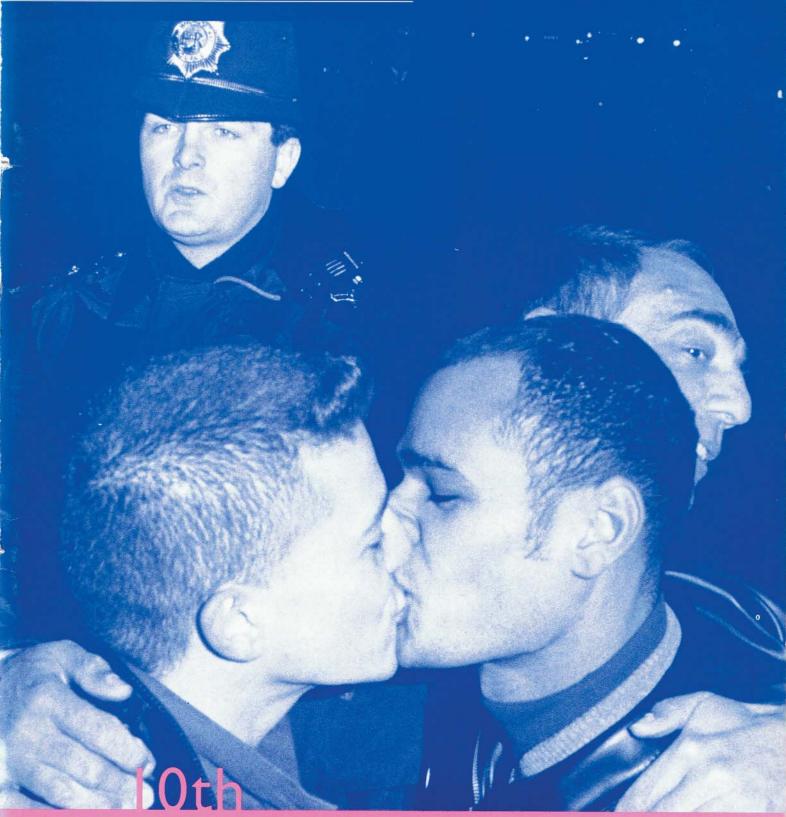
GALOP

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STATEMENT of our

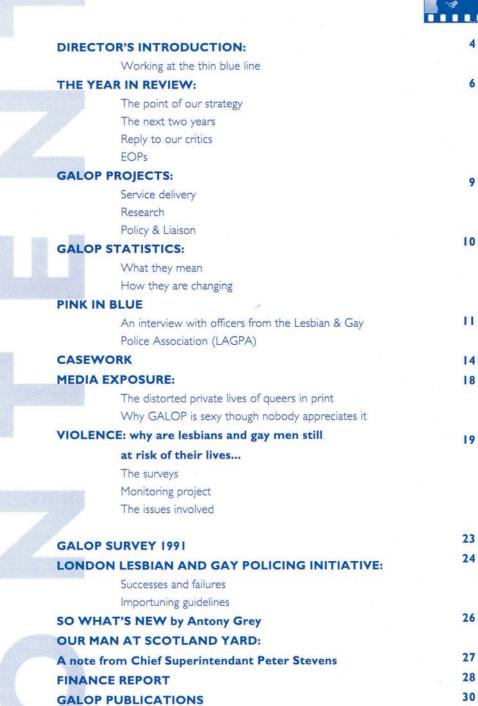
common purpose and values

The purpose of Gay London Policing Service is to see that the Metropolitan Police uphold the law fairly and firmly; that they prevent crimes motivated by anti-gay prejudice; that they pursue and bring to justice those who attack lesbians and gay men; that they keep The Queens' Peace; that they protect, help and reassure homosexual people in London; and that they are seen to do all this with integrity, common sense and sound judgement.

GALOP serves the community compassionately, courteously and patiently, without fear or favour or prejudice to the rights of others, and with positive regard to all those who have felt discriminated against on account of their sexual orientation. We are professional, calm and restrained when dealing with homophobia and we apply only reasoned argument to persuade police forces to improve their services to the lesbian and gay population.

Gay London Policing strives to work with the Metropolitan Police Service to reduce unnecessary public fears towards homosexuals, to build up trust between lesbians and gay men and the police, and, so far as we can, to promote tolerance of diverse sexual identities throughout London's communities. We must ensure that the police respond positively to our well-founded criticisms. We encourage amongst all police officers a willingness to change for the better their attitudes towards lesbians and gay men.

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Cover photograph: Gordon Rainsford

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THE STRUGGLE TO BE RECOGNISED AND VALUED

as sexually different is no less fraught with danger and challenge now than in the 1960s. It is true that lesbians and gay men have forged a sense of community over those decades. Yet our lives are still all too precarious, besieged on the one side by the threat of disease, and on the other by a hostility which seems to circulate amongst large elements of the rest of the community. Our small islands of safety and support are too often fractious and spoilt by in-fighting and petty rivalries. Yet, I would venture to suggest that in the short time I have worked as a part of the movement towards social and legal justice, there has been one significant, perhaps revolutionary change. Put simply, there is a real question facing us for the first time in our struggle: are the police now on our side?

Some readers of this report will laugh at this idea. Our callers who continue to report having been set up, abused or humiliated by police officers for no other reason than that they are lesbian or gay may well be worried, if not furious, at the very suggestion. Yet it is worth considering. The institution of the police, which has systematically harried us as a community in the past, and whose homophobic officers have over the years ruined many individual lives — all in the corrupt and hypocritical 'thin blue line of duty'— is definitely changing its spots.



For one thing, the police are no-longer monolithically antigay, neither politically nor personally. Spots of pink are beginning to appear amongst the blue. A few brave lesbian and gay officers are coming out, and in the process, changing the per-

ception and treatment of other lesbians and gay men by their colleagues.

Policing itself is undergoing change. The dominant image of the 'thin blue line' encouraged police officers to believe they were holding back the collapse of civilisation, were keeping the lid on both explosions of crime-rates and periodical riots; were obsessively concerned with rooting out the enemy within. These paranoiac versions of a policeman's duty are still prevalent, but they are giving way increasingly to a more consensual, possibly traditional view of the British Constable's role. Partnership is now emphasised and a more locally responsive style of authority,

where the police will more often mediate, even educate, away some of their troublesome conflicts and disputes.

GALOP's work has adjusted in that our aim is to ensure an improved police service for lesbians and gay men, as opposed to a force trying to control them. We have seized upon the corporate image change, perfectly legitimately, to widen the constituency of citizens who expect and demand an equal quality of service.

One immediate consequence of this has been the recognition that lesbians and gay men need police protection. The vicious homophobic assaults committed against vulnerable, often isolated, individuals are a far more serious crime problem than the perennial 'indiscretions' many of us are alleged to commit. The Met have now recognised this, and have begun to tackle anti-gay attacks as one of their priorities. As with rape and domestic violence, their best efforts will be increasingly attuned to the sensibilities and particular needs of those who have been victimised.

We should be naive if we didn't recognise there are political consequences to this shift in policing style. In our view, though, it is because the shift can be used to justify real operational departures that criticisms of the changes being merely public relations fall wide of the mark. Equally, the recent queer political debate: whether to assimilate as lesbians and gay men into straight society, or, by reasserting our difference as queers, try to change them to suit our terms, is something of a theoretical cul de sac from the practical point of view of most of GALOP's clients. Nor does political change at an institutional level fit such neat dichotomies. There would need to be a coherent attempt to communicate, even to identify, the diverse policing needs across the lesbian and gay communities before any more definitely politicised strategy were adopted.

This is not a retreat from politics as such. GALOP's advice and legal expertise has consistently mobilised grass-roots activism across the whole political spectrum, even amongst those who would not otherwise have considered themselves political. The brunt of taking on one of society's most powerful, often reactionary, occasionally corrupt and fearfully unaccountable institutions has fallen to GALOP's workers, volunteers and supporters. But fighting our clients' battles is rarely as simple as attracting media attention to a case of injustice, or organising demonstrations. Publicity is often one of the main threats used against our clients by the police or by their attackers.

Some of the areas of our work are intensely difficult, painful incidents. Sometimes they are the kinds of hidden crime which even the lesbian and gay community might prefer not to discover:

AT THE THIN BLUE LINE

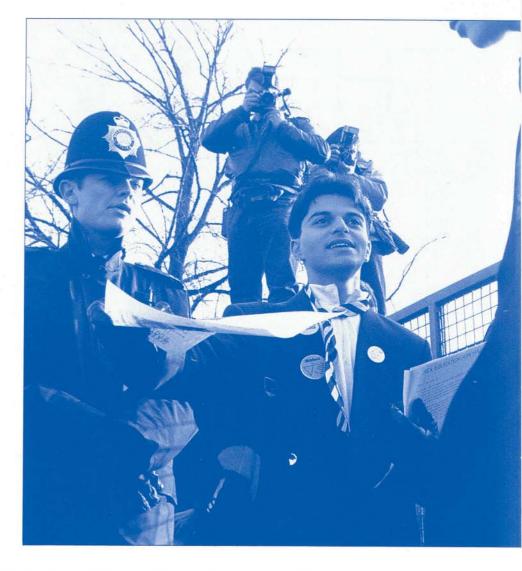
rape, extortion, harassment. The recent visible activities of Queers Bash Back are undoubtedly a useful symbolic gesture: they counter the victim stereotype which feeds the mentality of both the homophobic predator and his prey. But alongside high profile and confrontational approaches there needs to be GALOP's sustained, supportive and specialised client-centred work. Without that bedrock of safety, confidence and trust there would be little possibility of seriously challenging homophobic prejudice in both society, the police and the criminal justice system generally.

There is a more difficult political question behind GALOP's work, however, which defies simplistic formulae or rhetoric. That is: Do we want the police to be on our side anyway? If we expect a level of protection for our safety, we also want a level of opportunity for our sexual practices.

Even if these were mutually compatible goals, they are also different in kind from the demands on policing services which heterosexual communities make. Inevitably, arguing the case for and attempting to secure those demands involves gaining a wider acceptance for our diverse sexual lifestyles, and a wider freedom of acceptable moral choice than has hitherto been recognised.

Few organisations have dared to offer any lead on such contentious issues. Yet if we are to maintain that the police are just as much our public servants, and if we are to insist that the courts are to enforce just as much our standards of right and wrong behaviour, must we not also begin to think in terms of what constitutes a notion of public good, public service, even public decency from a lesbian and gay perspective?

There is need for a level of political dialogue which can address these questions in a far less inward-looking way. The police are probably as defensive a culture as exists in our democracy. It would be ironic if they vacated their overtly hostile, anti-homosexual space, only to make room for the representatives of lesbian and gay communities to insist our ghetto remains as entrenched in anti-police attitudes as before. The field of sexual politics, the lifestyles and the communities which grow there, do not stay still even in relation to law enforcement practices.



GALOP's willingness to push forward with the police is a response to already changing needs, perhaps at the expense of political correctness.

Our work on the frontline of that thin blue line remains a risky venture. All the more so now that we have begun the transformation, via constructive mutual dialogue, of that line into something more approaching the 'Colgate ring of confidence'! It is certain that the criticism we bring to bear, and the authority of our interventions, rests ultimately on the risks our individual clients take in bringing forward their complaints; in contesting their cases; and in wanting make a difference for other lesbians and gay men.

The other epidemic, the epidemic of fear, of stigma, and of abuse, which hems in all our lives, can only continue to be imposed by our silence and our self-imposed taboos. Notwithstanding the fact that Britain's laws continue to underwrite antigay prejudice, we should no-longer take for granted a homophobic police force, which can then enforce those laws by default. The existence of GALOP, and a vocal and active support for its work, is crucial to making police homophobia a dead-letter; and to shifting their attention to the crimes of hatred and violence which is their duty to combat.

THE SHORY

IN 1992 GALOP ENTERS ITS SECOND DECADE. ONCE A

tiny hole-in-the-wall Organisation, GALOP now seems set for a major expansion, as we move from the dim corridors of Panther House to the more salubrious surroundings of Westminster — a not-coincidental five minute walk from New Scotland Yard and the Houses of Parliament.

The geographical move signifies a radical overhaul of GALOP's priorities and change in the organisation's agenda, which we gamble will also be met by a change in both our funding base and our reach and influence. The political climate is propitious enough now to make institutional gains that seemed like fantasy only two years ago. GALOP wants to be at the forefront of those changes.

When GALOP was set up in 1982, the Brixton riots had forced policing into the political spotlight. Corruption, racism, and a grotesque lack of supervision and control within the force, and especially inside the Met, had resulted in the Scarman Report, whose recommendations were to feed into later debates on the

Police and Criminal Evidence Bill (PACE). Popular opposition to police malpractice found concrete expression in police monitoring groups funded by Labour boroughs, and the GLC amplified the influence of these groups as it developed an alternative model of policing by consent. Police reaction was almost uniformly hostile, and this was given shortterm support by the "strong state" strategy of central government. A State which took on or-

ganised labour and attempted to quell the near-insurrections of the underclass which its economic policies had produced.

Symptomatically, the appointment of Sir Kenneth Newman, a veteran of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, as Commissioner for the Metropolitan Police, indicated a move to a quasi-military form of hard policing of a two-tier society: the citizens who had rights and were to be protected, and the dregs, dross and

unwanted (slags in the policing argot of the day) to be policed by force. This was a period of open warfare — the Miners' Strike, Toxteth, Broadwater Farm — and also the time when the police felt able to ignore any popular demands for accountability. The same days saw the strenght of Chief Constables as vocal autocrats, arbiters of policy and of morals.

GALOP was born in this milieu. At first a voluntary grouping of lawyers and interested parties, it saw itself initially as providing a service to gay men who suffered from arbitrary and discriminatory policing and who had few resources with which to fight back. Gay men were part of that second tier, the slags, who had no rights as gay men and whose semi-criminality provided ample opportunities for easy arrests, quick convictions and subsequent moral satisfaction.

Funding by the GLC allowed the employment of first one, then two workers: a further grant from the GLC permitted a lesbian project to be set up (and ultimately to secede) under GALOP's auspices. As a police monitoring group, we were tied to the politics of municipal socialism, a stance reinforced by the inveterate hostility of the police to the lesbian and gay communities, an hostility beginning to gain greater force as the AIDS epidemic took its ideological toll.

The first half of GALOP's life was taken up with providing a much needed service for gay men in crisis. Referrals need a reliable set of solicitors and barristers to refer people to: we found those and developed workable defences, giving reliable information to men often crippled with shame and panic. Egregious cases of discrimination need publicity: we hustled the gay media, we hustled the straight media. Our own communities, so often censorious and priggish about unorthodox sexuality, needed education, which we provided. We attempted to ensure that men arrested for consensual sexual acts, regardless of the law's disapproval, received expert, non-judgemental advice. Long before the rolling campaigns of Outrage and Peter Tatchell, GALOP almost uniquely supported publicly the right of gay men to sexual self-expression outside the confines of the Wolfenden perimeter: ie. in the privacy of the adult bedroom.

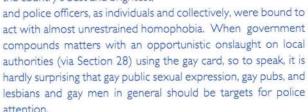
This work was vital at a time when police activity against gay men was on the increase. After a period of slow decline in the number of arrests for offences of gross indecency and importuning, a sure index of police operations in public toilets and cruising areas, 1984 saw the curve for such offences begin to rise, and reports began to surface of increased attention to pornography by police and by Customs and Excise. Police were also harassing men on the streets, using minor public order charges to prevent gay men kissing, or holding hands: no longer merely semi-criminal, gay men were blots on the civic landscape to be eradicated.



THUS FAR...

Parenthetically, it might be noted that it was in 1987 that Operation Spanner, the S&M case, was commenced by Cheif Constable Anderton's Manchester vice squad.

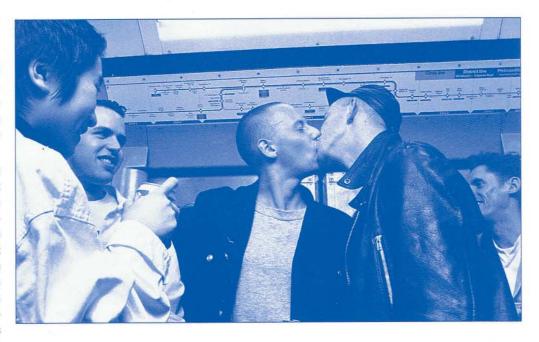
Much of this can be laid at the door of the AIDS panic, that orchestrated vision of gay men as plague-carriers to be quarantined if not cleansed. Police officers by their very recruitment and culture often best indicate the tides of reaction in British society. Couple that panic with a transient sense of being chosen by God and government as the country's best and brightest,



What is perhaps surprising is the relative brevity of this period of untrammelled antagonism, when the gap between police and the lesbian and gay community seemed like a chasm.

In retrospect, one could see Section 28, however grotesque and illiberal, as a sign of the failure of high-Thatcherism, the first symptom of its decomposition rather than its victorious ascendancy. Its passage through Parliament ventilated the issue of homosexuality more than anything since the debates on the Abse Bill in 1967, and the media discussion gave a public profile to the lesbian and gay communities more extensive than any campaigning or lobbying had managed in the previous ten years. Like the epidemic, if less nightmarishly, Section 28 embedded

homosexuality in the public consciousness: as a politically organised community. Mobilising homophobia, government merely promoted homosexuality, and whilst the in-



tention of Section 28 was to mark, like Wolfenden, a limit, a ne plus ultra, its circumscriptive powers were severely delimited both by the waning possibilities of local government finance and by the inherent idiocy of its central concept "promotion". Section 28 was a Pyrrhic victory that perversely enabled the relaunching of lesbian and gay politics: something like a common agenda for lesbians and gay men began to form, and a new generation came out both socially more assertive, and politically more uncompromising.

GALOP, embattled through this period with a rising caseload and fears for its funding future in the first shock of Section 28, began to realise that in fact the weight of community, the sheer demographic presence of lesbians and gay men could be used to back a much more pro-active policy towards policing.

This was facilitated by the fact that the boys in blue ceased to be the blue-eyed boys of the third Thatcher administration. The reasons for this are complicated, and only now coming into focus. Just as apparently monolithic and triumphalist Thatcherism appears, with the corrosive scrutiny of hindsight, to have been a fortuitously successful staggering from shambles to collapse; so, the law and order party's "unwavering support of the police" in retrospect turns into a much more contradictory and scrappy set of strategic ends.

Real spending on the police rose by almost 70% during the eighties, yet crime figures rose ineluctably. In 1989 only 43% of those surveyed had great respect for the police, compared with 83% in 1959. Worst of all for a cost-conscious government, a superficial audit of the police began to show massive waste, and poor value for money. Calls for greater efficiency and cost-effectiveness were coupled with demands that the police stream-

line their top heavy and slow-moving management bureaucracy. There were even the beginnings of demands for privatisation and the selling-off of sectors of this last bastion of nationalised profligacy. As the Economist suggested in an editorial (8.2.92) "the Home Office is looking less like an arm of the Police Federation and more like an arm of government" and went on to point out the initia-

tives being taken to increase recruitment, weed out time servers, abolish redundant tiers of management and change the funding basis of the service.

This aggressive parsimony on the part of the Treasury was contemporary with the radical erosion of public confidence in the Service. The exposure of police malpractice in the several notorious successful appeals of the Birmingham 6, Guildford 4 and so on, and the ever spiralling crime figures, all pointed to a loss of crucial middle-class endorsement. Whilst a criminalised underclass could be safely ignored, the broad ranks of middle-ground opinion could not, and had to be won back. The doctrinal shift from policing by coercion to policing by consent was thus inaugurated. Yet this was as much a case of democratic accountability riding to victory on the back of fiscal rectitude.

It was at this point that the revamped campaigning of lesbians

and gay men intersected with a broad change in direction of policing. Sir Peter Imbert proved a much more attentive ear to the demands of the gay communities than his predecessor, and the structures of the Plus Programme with its emphasis on "community relations" and "training" provided the means to gain access to at least the outer circles of power. GALOP was in a position to conduit popular discontent into policy change, and to suggest the



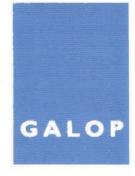
outlines of a new agenda for the policing of our communities. As an effective agent for institutional change GALOP thus proved itself quite different from the street activism of Outrage or the broad brush lobbying of Stonewall, however important these may be.

It is this role that

we now have to develop. The service aspects of our organisation cannot be neglected, but the engagement with the policy making bodies of the Service and the Home Office is now crucial. It is no coincidence that arrests for gross indecency in London are down, that policing of cruising areas has been re-thought; that monitoring of anti-gay violence has been instituted in a number of police stations; that equal opportunities policy of the Met now includes sexual orientation; or that the Home Office Select Committee on Police Complaints should come out with a ringing signal to the police that they should actively "make efforts to gain the support and trust of the homosexual communities". The rapid enactment of the first manifesto demands of the London Lesbian and Gay Policing Initiative are largely the result of the lobbying efforts of GALOP. It is not enough to make noise in the street nor to lobby for change at the level of parliament. Such campaigning will always miss the point or produce merely good intentions unless it is

accompanied by detailed development and liaison work by an authoritative body which can marshal facts, argument and strategies from outside the state agencies. GALOP is superbly placed to achieve that work, given appropriate funding and resources.

The lesbian and gay communities need to recognise this and respond accordingly. It is lesbian and gay lifestyles we are safeguarding; and their safety which we are protecting. We need **your** support in return.



GALOP PROJECTS

GALOP's work concentrates on three main areas: expanding service capacity developing research potential continuing liaison and policy work



SERVICE DELIVERY

Lesbians and gay men are ill-served by the criminal justice system, subject to discriminatory laws and to crime motivated by prejudice and hate. GALOP has met the need of lesbians and gay men as best we can, but to continue and expand our services we will need to enrol and train volunteers to do the following:

counsel lesbian and gay victims of violence accompany and advise victims through the gruelling legal process of prosecution and suing for damages support defendants through the criminal legal process

RESEARCH

GALOP has a central role to play in compiling statistics on the treatment of lesbians and gay men by the criminal justice system. As the movement for sexual law reform grows, so that information will become more and more necessary. We want to set up a research group: to monitor police activity, discriminatory use of legislation, the decisions of the Crown Prosecution Service, conviction rates, sentencing policy, treatment of lesbian and gay prisoners, and treatment of ex-offenders by the probation service. That information and research will feed into draft proposals for change in legislation and in police and Home Office policy.

GALOP, in conjunction with Islington Safer Cities, is researching police service delivery to lesbian and gay victims of crime, assessing the extent of violence, and interviewing both victims and police officers. This work will lead to recommendations around policing, deterrence and treatment of perpetrators of anti-gay violence in particular.

POLICY & LIAISON

GALOP has had great success in developing new perspectives on the policing of London's lesbian and gay communities.

We are drawing up new guidelines for the police in relation to HIV and AIDS

We are developing new approaches to training and Equal Opportunities

We are monitoring police treatment of lesbian and gay victims of crime and developing good practice models in this and other areas

GALOP's work is as professional as it is invaluable, but only the lesbian and gay communities, through voluntary support and expertise, and through donations, can guarantee that we complete it.

GALOP

STATISTICS

APRIL 1990 - MARCH 1991

	CALLS	%
REQUESTS FOR LITERATURE MEDIA CASEWORK RESEARCH ENQUIRIES REQUESTS FOR SPEAKERS GENERAL ENQUIRIES POLICE LIAISON	63 253 535 41 22 130	55 21 44 35 2 11
TOTALS	1205	100

25 requests for publications by post

12 requests for extended information from students, postgraduate researchers etc.

CASEWORK BREAKDOWN

GAY MEN ARRESTED FOR:		
Sex offence in public	232	43
Pornography	14	2
Prostitution	4	1
GAY MALE VICTIM:		
Violence	132	25
Demands with menaces	3	1
Other advice	87	16
Police abuse	63	12
TOTALS	535	100

TYPES OF REFERRAL

43% self referral or via friends

30% from mentions in the press or advertising

13% from other gay organisations

3% from other organisations

11% unknown

BOROUGHS MENTIONED BY CALLERS:

Barking, Barnet, Brent, Bromley, Camden, Croydon, Ealing, Enfield, Greenwich, Hackney, Hammersmith, Haringey, Harrow, Hillingdon, Hounslow, Islington, Kensington & Chelsea, Kingston, Lambeth, Lewisham, Newham, Redbridge, Richmond, Southwark, Sutton, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest, Wandsworth, Westminster & City of London.

GALOP did not ask callers for ethnic identification during this period.

APRIL 1991 - OCTOBER 1991

During this period we amended our statistics in that only CASEWORK was counted in the traditional way. Our liaison with the Media and with the Police themselves has expanded to become part of the day to day work. Whilst we are often critical of the way GALOP's concerns have been represented by the media, to changing an understanding of 'homosexual crime'. Suffice it to say that things are improving, officers do learn, if slowly, and newer recruits often do not share the simple prejudices of their seniors. A refusal to be browbeaten is, however, still a necessary quality for those of us who work in this area.

CASEWORK BREAKDOWN	Calls	%
GAY MEN ARRESTED FOR:		10.5
Sex offence in public	114	45
Pornography	9	4
Prostitution	3	1
GAY MALE VICTIM:		
Violence	59	23
Demands with menaces	0	0
Other advice	40	16
Police abuse	27	1.1
TOTALS	252	100

TYPES OF REFERRAL

41% self referral or via friends

33% from mentions in the press or advertising

14% from other gay organisations

4% from other organisations

8% unknown

BOROUGHS MENTIONED BY CALLERS:

Barnet, Bexley, Camden, Croydon, Enfield, Greenwich, Hackney, Hammersmith, Haringey, Havering, Harrow, Hounslow, Islington, Kensington & Chelsea, Kingston, Lambeth, Lewisham, Newham, Richmond, Southwark, Sutton, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest, Wandsworth & Westminster.

GALOP began to ask callers for ethnic identification from August of this period:

10 clients identified as Black

- 4 clients identified as Chinese
- 3 clients identified as Irish
- I client identified as Turkish

The rest either identified as White or chose not to identify themselves ethnically.



pink in blue

an interview with the Lesbian & Gay Police Association

IN JANUARY OF 1992, THE METROPOLITAN POLICE

altered its equal opportunities policy so as to include "sexual orientation". This brought the Met's policy for its uniformed staff into line with the policy that had governed the civilian staff for some time. It also saw the Met finally catching up with provincial forces like Leicestershire, South Yorkshire etc, which had long had employment policies prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of sexuality in recruitment, training and promotion.

Some time after this, GALOP spoke to members of the Lesbian and Gay Police Officers Association (LAGPA), whose influence on the Met's decision should not be understated.

Yet even given the rapid change in attitudes of the Met, the LAGPA officers chose to remain anonymous, partly so that they could be more forthright in opinion, but also partly so that their views should not be seen as representative, or as committing LAGPA to particular positions.

In the transcription that follows I have made no effort to distinguish different voices. Even so, the opinions expressed seem worthy of attention.

Now that the Met has changed its Equal Ops Policy, what will be the real gains for serving officers and for newer recruits?

For lesbian and gay officers it means you are now protected, but as well as saying that inside the force, the Policy says to the rest of the world that the Service has lesbian and gay officers and that means the Met can't dodge the issue.

There were rumours in the press before the statement. What was management's feelings about how to break the story?

They didn't want stuff in the press. They didn't want to add to the clamour and make it seem that they were responding to another pressure group. They wanted it done quietly. They were worried about negative reactions from the tabloids, but in the end they got half a dozen articles, mostly of a factual basis, saying the change was a good thing.

The problem is inside the Service. There was a piece in the Job [an internal Met newsletter] that discrimination would not be tolerated, but not everyone reads that, and it is quite possible that the vast majority of officers on street duty don't know that there has been a change, though recruits are told. In Avon & Somerset they did it differently: a document was released to every force member and there was a one day course for every officer.

With training it is difficult for the Met because of the size of its complement: logistically, you cannot have every officer take a one day course.

But how then do you make sure that the majority of officers get to know about the change?

Each station has a training day, and sexual orientation will be included.

One problem is that if it becomes a high profile thing, then you get people's backs up. Management in a way is responding to our demand that they don't push it.

There is a feeling that with racial disciplinary offences, the policy was too confrontational. In our case we felt that if you don't highlight the matter too much you will get further.

But if you want EOPs to mean something, then officers must know abut the policy and must know that something will happen to them if they infringe the policy. Otherwise you're just making cosmetic statements.

Grievance procedures will include "sexual orientation", but the matter needs to be raised on a gentle basis, otherwise officers get sick and tired of people getting on their high horses.

You have to convince people that that's what they should do, and that they do it because they want to, as opposed to using grievance procedures.

When the policy is in place it will be operated to the nth degree. People may oppose things before the policy is settled, but once it's there it will be followed. There will be quite dramatic changes. For instance, it will now be possible for two men to share married quarters as lovers, which would have been unthinkable.

In practice there will be loads of discrimination, but it won't be blatant, it'll be by the back door.

What sorts of sanctions will exist, what sorts of disciplinary measures? How rigourously will infractions be pursued?

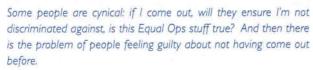
People will put up with an awful lot. They won't want to complain, but if they do then complaints will be taken seriously.

Black officers have already sued the Met, and similar things will happen.

Much will depend on personalities. Some supervising officers will intervene if they hear homophobic remarks. Some won't. Some already ignore racist or sexist remarks in the canteen.

There will be a move to train middle management, who will then be responsible in law. Case law has it that if managers have had Equal Ops training, and then fail to act on that training by countenancing discrimination, they will be personally liable in civil law. It's a way of absolving oneself of responsibility at a corporate level.

The new grievance procedure will also mean that anyone not following it will be in breach of the disciplinary code, for not following a lawful order.



True, a police station can't be the easiest place to come out!

And you don't necessarily always want to be known as the gay PC.

If you hear someone new is coming to the station, you try to find out about them. If you're known as gay even before you set foot in the door, they may well be anti-you, with preconceived ideas and prejudices.

What about recruiting lesbian and gay youngsters, given the age of consent discrepancy? What is management thinking about that?

Well, it's not an offence to be homosexual, even under 21...

I've not heard this problem from the police, only from the gay community.

In Avon, there was a PC with a boyfriend under 21.

Probably, they will dump it back on the individual, saying it's up to them to make sure they don't fall foul of the law.

The issue that comes up all the time is not recruits but same-sex searching. It shouldn't be a problem: police officers are professionals and there are usually two officers present. Gay nurses give bed baths without it being a big issue. But there is an hysterical reaction from some quarters about it.

The Federation hasn't come up with objections around cadets.

Will the Federation oppose the lowering of the age of consent, as they did last time?

Unlikely. Some individuals might, but not the Federation as a whole.

There is a sea-change in policing, even around cottaging issues, where ideas of effective resource use, community priority, accountability are coming to the fore. What justification can there be for devoting such resources to low priority crime when high crime rates demand responses?

The police are beginning to ask questions about what strategy to take up: do we want to stop men having sex in public, or do we want to stop complaints? What makes men do this? Can we divert rather than just displace activity?

There is no policy, just individual officers setting their own priorities. Perhaps progressive policies should be generalised.

Does LAGPA see itself as a conduit for this sort of change in policy, or does it have only a social and pastoral role?

We are just individual officers. LAGPA is legally barred from having policies. But individual officers have a duty to help the force achieve its goals, and we can do this by suggesting better models of practice.

Many of us are in a position where we have an influence, as part of the relief, on what happens. we can help guide things, not only as lesbian or gay, but as ordinary officers. Over the last year, it's become clear that we have been pushing at an open door. Everything we've done has worked. At first we thought we'd fall at the first fence, but in fact things have gone so smoothly.

Why has management taken this route, when they might equally well have closed the matter down and sacked you all?

Prospect of a change in government...

The demise of Thatcher...

They were afraid of the public's reaction and the tabloids, but were surprised that no-one thought the matter outrageous...

They've begun to realise just how varied communities are especially in the cities, and how they need to connect to all of them.

How do you think the general public will respond to out officers; can you be out on the Beat, so to speak? Do the public think that there is something essentially incompatible with being gay and being a police officer?

As far as stereotypes are concerned, that of the lesbian - tough and butch- that wouldn't be a problem. An obviously effeminate man, might have some difficulties. If the officer were someone who fell to pieces in situations of stress, whether he were effeminate or otherwise, he wouldn't be much use to the public who expect police officers to take control of situations.

Do you monitor your behaviour, your public persona, so that it doesn't jar too much with the public's expectations?

These are new questions and we haven't given that much thought to them.

If you can do the job, then that's OK.

You tend to get lost inside the uniform, and become unrecognisable as a gay man or lesbian.

I found myself in a situation with a bloke who'd been sniffing petrol, trying to comfort him, and just sitting there holding his hand. My inspector was a bit taken aback, because it wasn't something he immediately would have thought of, but he said later that he just let me get on with it, because it worked.

Even heterosexuals do that, keeping up an image so they can control situations.

It's a matter of personal style. I'm quite small as police officers go, not much brawn, so with yobby types, I have to go about things differently, and cajole and persuade, where someone else would just say, "here, you do this".

You wouldn't do things that would compromise your job, or your ability to do your job. If being known to be gay would stop you controlling situations, then you wouldn't want to be out.

You still want a private life, and publicity can interfere with that: as when the press tried to photograph us at our social event on the river. It was really worrying, because you didn't know how they would use the photographs and what effect they would have on your colleagues and clients.

This interview was conducted by Philip Derbyshire.

CASEWORK

IN THE LAST ANNUAL REPORTS WE HAVE TRIED TO

give a sample of the cases that have come to our attention and range of issues that our clients have been concerned with. In general they have fallen under the main heads of a) sexual offences, b) violence and harassment c) police abuse and malpractice. This form of presentation gives a brief and graphic account, but has left readers with the impression that nothing much happened after the case was reported to us. GALOP is not just a monitoring organisation. We respond to the demands of our clients, effecting significant change for them as individuals, for the position of the community and in police practice.

Some of the cases we have worked on over the last period have indeed led to quite startling results.

GAY MURDER

In late 1990, Ronald Harrison, an ex-headmaster of a south London school was murdered in his house. He was severely assaulted, perhaps tortured. The case was in many ways typical of murders of gay men: Harrison was out to some of his friends, but not everyone. He had had difficulties at work, and was in poor health, with some problems around alcohol. He was wellconnected with his local church, but there was some distance there too, stemming from his homosexuality. His sexuality had never as such "interfered" either with his work or social life, but on the other hand neither was it well-integrated into his life as a whole. He was in that sense an ordinary gay man of his generation, in his fifties, for whom 1967 and the efflorescence of gay life had provided only a partial modus vivendi. He remained vulnerable on many fronts. His murder was of the kind, too, that often remains unsolved: a similar case, that of Michael Boothe in Ealing, is still open, with no perpetrators having been arrested.

It might well have been the same story with the Harrison case but for the practical assistance that GALOP could offer to the police. The detectives involved in the case contacted GALOP, and we firstly discussed the sorts of difficulties the case might raise — all the problems of confidentiality, mistrust, sensitivity and so on. A breakthrough liaison was thus inaugurated, with the police coming to the gay community for advice, instead of assuming they already knew all the answers, or that there were no problems at all. GALOP's number was included in the information sheets and publicity put out by the police, which led to a number of significant leads from callers to GALOP. Throughout the investigation, there was a steady two- way flow of information, culminating in a joint appearance on Crimewatch. Again, this was a significant first, as GALOP workers entered the private world of police TV, not as a threat but as equals. Instructing the assembled officers on what they could expect from lesbian or gay callers, or from callers who had information but were nervous about talking to the police at all, was a crucial training step for some otherwise rather ignorant and macho officers. Having a GALOP worker appear alongside Nick Ross brought to the case a sense of involvement, concern and responsibility for our community. Having GALOP workers on the Crimewatch phones meant that lesbians or gay men could know that they could give information to sensitive and trustworthy people at the other end of the line. The police response to our involvement was excellent, and the information flow from the public was extensive, eventually leading to the apprehension and conviction of Harrison's killers. These two young men, eighteen and seventeen years old respectively, were convicted of manslaughter and jailed for terms of eight and seven years.

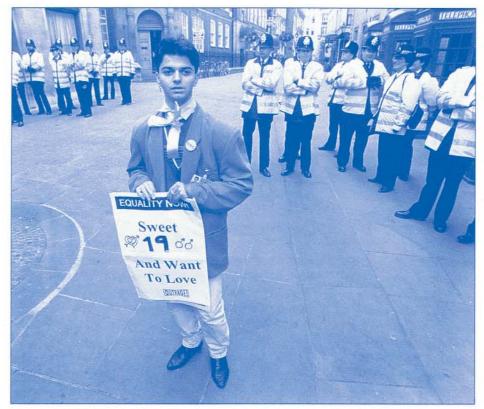
It is clear that the investigative aspect of the case was improved by the involvement of GALOP and the lesbian and gay community at large, even if we must raise doubts about the way the judicial aspect of the case was handled: why was the manslaughter plea accepted? what role did homophobia inside the criminal justice system play in the CPS decision to plea bargain? were the sentences appropriate even for manslaughter?

So successful was GALOP's contribution, that a Crimewatch update has been made to acknowledge that success, and to invite similar contributions in cases in the future. This surely has to be the way to go: why should our communities be denied the media resources we need to prosecute crime against us? The contrast was extreme between Crimewatch's stance and Thames TV's Crime Monthly which produced an item on anti-gay violence in Hyde Park with zero involvement from GALOP or the community. They produced a standard piece of entomology-like investigation of gay wild-life, with little sense that lesbians and gay men had any right to make claims on the police.

The GALOP involvement in the Harrison murder investigation has led on to our routine involvement in subsequent investigations — for example that of the murder of William Lydell, at pretty much the same time, or more recently, that of Alan Bonner, a 43 year old gay man who was found battered to death in his living room in Lewisham.

COLEHERNE INCIDENT

One afternoon in November 1990, a post-funeral gathering took place in the Coleheme public house in Earls Court, west London. The man whose funeral had taken place had died from HIV related disease; his friends were clearly upset, and needed no further pain to add to an already difficult time. The police decided otherwise. Acting on information about an alleged theft, they later claimed, several officers entered the pub and proceeded to



question mourners and other gay men alike, with an insensitivity that showed remarkable stupidity. They eventually arrested one man, after harassing several others.

These events led to a series of individual complaints being made against the police for false imprisonment, wrongful arrest, and so on, but also to an attempt by GALOP to make a more general complaint about police failure to accept complaints on the day, and about the strategic failure of the police in their policing of the gay community in Earls Court. A little time after this incident, a series of assaults on gay men outside or close by the Coleherne, which went unsolved, and even unregistered, led to an understandable perception by the community, that the police were acting in traditional fashion, harassing the gay community and leaving crime against gay men and lesbians undealt with. This fitted in with a tradition of poor police-community relations in the area from the sixties onwards, including a number of raids and riots in the seventies, and a policy of using pretty police as agents provocateurs in the early eighties (see GALOP Annual Reports passim).

The Police Investigating Officer, supposedly supervised by the Police Complaints Authority, refused to allow GALOP to make our complaints, and in fact marginalised our evidence throughout the investigation. We were not kept informed of the state of the proceedings, and the investigation was 'satisfactorily completed' without taking our submissions. [A GALOP worker's notes were the only record of eye-witness accounts from people who had been at the scene of the incident but did not come forward to submit their own complaint, ie: independent witnesses]. This is quite contrary to the intent of the complaints procedure, and led to our engaging in an elaborate correspondence with the PCA. We also submitted criticism of the PCA to the Home Affairs Select Committee, who were taking a long hard look at the Police

Complaints Procedure. The chair of that committee encouraged us to make a more extended contribution, which we did in the form of a major submission on the suitability of the inclusion of a new disciplinary offence within the Police Disciplinary Code, which would make it an offence to discriminate against a member of the public on the grounds of their being lesbian or gay. This submission was the only submission to be taken from a lay organisation by the Committee, the only other evidence being from the three police organisations (ACPO -

the Association of Chief Police Officers; the Superintendents' Association; the Police Federation). In open session the Committee challenged the PCA on the issue of complaints by lesbians and gay men. The important consequence was a sensitizing of the PCA to the whole area, and another formal liaison mechanism between GALOP and the criminal justice system.

When the Home Affairs Committee reported, they declined to support a new disciplinary offence, but exhorted the police to set about improving relations with the lesbian and gay communities, pointing out the dangerous lack of trust that existed between police and lesbians and gay men.

"There is a clear need for an improvement in communication and understanding between the police and the homosexual community....Some police forces need to do more to earn the trustof homosexuals. To help foster that confidence we recommend that all police forces, as well as the PCA itself, make special efforts to gain the support and trust of the homosexual community."

The point at issue is that even imperfect regulatory mechanisms can lead to a significant shift in emphasis and values. We could not argue that as a result of GALOP engaging with the Police Complaints procedure, that lesbians and gay men are now unlikely to suffer harassment. Such magical solutions to the problem of long-term institutional change belong in the fairy tales. But we have established a clear gay interest and presence within the invigilating apparatus, and have urged the co-option of openly lesbian or gay members on to the PCA.

VIOLENCE

A young black woman was involved in an altercation in the high street of a north London borough. She felt that she had been C A S E

harassed and assaulted by a number of individuals, and wanted to make a complaint, which she did, again accompanied by a GALOP worker. Her complaint was treated with extraordinary contempt by the officer concerned, whose behaviour was so odious that the GALOP worker had to ask for a recess, both to tend to the complainant who, by this time had lost all faith in the procedure, and to lodge an initial complaint with the officer-incharge. GALOP subsequently made representation to the senior officer of the station and the interviewing officer was moved from complaints work, although not dismissed.

A young man from the Middle East was attacked near Russell Square and forced to perform oral sex on his attacker, whilst being held at knife point for a period of two hours. The victim was clearly traumatised, and even though he felt he had to take some action, could not bring himself to report the matter to the police, or even to GALOP. Eventually, a close friend did bring the matter to GALOP's attention, and the youth came to the GALOP office. After some time counselling him, he decided that he would like to report the matter to the police, and a GALOP worker accompanied him to a central London police station. A

woman police officer had been pre-assigned to the case after an initial phone call, and was waiting for the victim on his arrival at the police station, accompanied by a GALOP worker. A room had been set aside, but was unfortunately in use, and the initial interview was delayed, leaving the victim hanging around. The rape suite was not pressed into service. Once the interview began, the officer was clear in her questioning, informative as to the nature of the procedures involved and encouraging about the chances of apprehending the assailant. The victim was encouraged to tell his story in his own time and words, was absolved from any pressure to collude with the investigation, but every sympathy was shown with his desire for some remedy for his case and preventative action to obviate a repetition of the incident with another victim. (It became clear that a similar incident had occurred some eight months previously, with the description of the assailant matching that given by the youth.) The youth asked for time, and expressed his intent to return at some later time to make a full complaint. He decided not to and did not contact either police or GALOP again.

The two cases illustrate the complications even of developed



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models of good practice. The former occurred in a station where some training had been given to reliefs about the need for sensitivity toward lesbian and gay victims of violence, and where the senior officer had been assiduous in reiterating his public commitment to police engagement with anti-gay crime. Yet, the junior officer still felt able to treat the complainant as a time-waster, and this whilst an independent adviser was present. Notwithstanding the fact that complaint by GALOP had the officer concerned transferred, there are no procedures under current police discipline for bringing effective censure to bear on such officers.

In the second case, the police made a laudable stab at a sympathetic and effective practice. Yet even with GALOP involvement, the victim was still so traumatised that he failed to follow up the initial interview.

In both cases, the upshot has to be a joint GALOP/Police investigation of the procedures used in investigating allegations of anti-lesbian/gay crime, and an even more concerted effort to arrive at ways of dealing with such matters where the above failures have a smaller chance of occurring. These are failures, remember, at the avant-garde end of the policing spectrum. They underline the distance that needs to be travelled by average or backward police forces in dealing with violence.

OTHER TYPICAL GALOP CASES

In early 1991, a young woman came to the GALOP office and gave us a long history of harassment of herself and her girlfriend on her council estate in Wood Green. She had been verbally abused, spat at, and finally assaulted. Despite complaints to the manager of the estate, she had had no success in either ending the harassment (by local youths, and some adults) or in getting a transfer out. GALOP intervened, by contacting the police, estate management, the local council and the client's MP. As in previous instances, such concerted effort had the required result, and the client was rehoused. Whilst, in a sense, GALOP does not formally have this social work-like remit, in the absence of other agencies who can deal effectively with cases of harassment and abuse, GALOP has proven that something can be done by and for victims of such abuse: they do not have to suffer in silence.

A client contacted GALOP because he had been arrested by an agent provocateur, an archetypal pretty police boy, who had importuned our client then promptly charged him with indecent assault. We referred him on to a competent solicitor, and it transpired that the officer in question had charged three other men with indecent assault on the same day, a record that looks like gross bad luck, or suggests something more contrived. Our client was acquitted of the charges, and is currently suing the police for false imprisonment and malicious prosecution. Fighting ludicrously fabricated charges is not only worthwhile for the individual, but by the impact subsequent civil claims have on the career of the eming officers and on police tactics the whole community gains: the police think twice before acting in such a stupid, unjust fashion.

We deal with many of these kinds of cases week in and week out. Our service is entirely confidential; our legal advice is expert, up-to-date in the field, and free; our sensitivity and counselling is second to none. Clients frequently report their praise for our interventions on their behalf.

Yet both our services to clients and our work as an adviser to the Police, government agencies and the Home Office are seriously undervalued. It remains the case, for example, that many men are so frightened of the police, or of publicity surrounding allegations of sexual offences, that they prefer to 'get it over with' by pleading guilty. Apart from the fact that very often they have not committed the offences they are charged with, in gaining a criminal record, albeit for trivial 'crimes', they carry a stigma for the rest of their lives which has serious consequences for, amongst other things, their future employment prospects.

Equally, though, whilst we must bring pressure to bear on the Criminal Justice System which perpetuates these injustices, we must maintain our integrity of adhering to our clients' interests and wishes. It is not our place to make political capital out of the reputations and disgrace of individuals — even where this also exposes corruption in the police. Few outside of this work would appreciate the vital role that GALOP also has in circumventing an expensive and unnecessary court case or police prosecution.

To those who would wish us to be more overtly Political we can only point to our record of persuading and influencing change in both police practice and official government policy towards the lesbian and gay communities. There is always the complaint that we could do more. However, until such time as both statutory recognition of GALOP'S work is backed by funding, and community recognition of our services is backed by more skilled and committed voluntary support, it is difficult to see this being achieved.

GALOP & the MEDIA

MOST PEOPLE IF ASKED TO DESCRIBE WHO GALOP ARE WOULD NOT KNOW.

Yet for such a small organisation our media profile remains high. Last year we appeared, for example, on Channel 4's Out series and Thames Help; we were heard on Radio 5, Newsbeat on Radio 1, and the BBC's World Service. Crimewatch UK asked us to return to give an update on the Ronald Harrison killing (see CASEWORK section).

Yet the media have difficulty enough reporting police stories objectively and informatively as it is. Add homosexuality and the task seems beyond them.

With the straight media, this is perhaps not so surprising. The ignorance that the press and TV display around homosexuality in general is awesome: as a result stereotyping occasionally edges out indifference or total absence of any homosexual dimension to the news. We assisted Public Eye's recent presentation on the age of consent by putting them in touch with progressive police officers here in Britain and gay contacts in Europe. They made no reference to GALOP in the programme. What is typical, even of "progressive" liberal programmes on homosexual law reform, is the inability to analyse or investigate how such laws are actually enforced in Britain. This is, in fact, what makes the situation here different from the Continent or the States.

If anything, however, we have found deeper problems that stem from gay journalists own professional and political preconceptions, that conspire to obscure the real complexity of issues. It is not a blindness exclusive to 'straights'. Why should this be so?

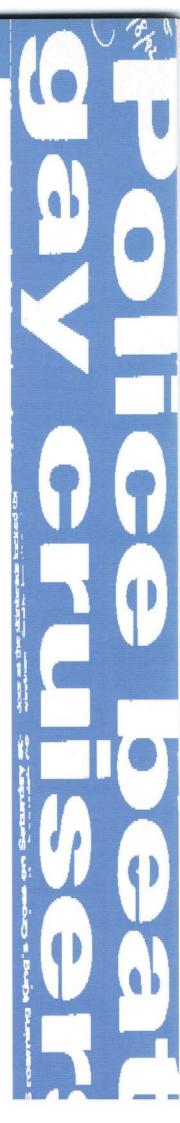
Firstly, there is a sensationalist approach to issues: criminal matters only become newsworthy if there is sex scandal and political/professional reputation at stake (for example, Alan Amos, the former Tory MP for Hexham, who resigned shortly before the 1992 general election after being arrested with another man on Hampstead Heath), or homosexual blood on the streets and the storm clouds of fascism gathering around us.

This tabloid version of what makes a good story endlessly reinforces a vision of a passive, victimised and squalid community, whose representative figures — the queerbashed victim or the cottager in his public toilet — are sought out with prurient glee. GALOP's main role in this stage set is supposedly to provide victims, to act as a clearing house for the visual testimony of the pre-constructed story. Perhaps the most absurd example of this is one TV company ringing to solicit a victim of queerbashing by skinheads: not just any scarred survivor of unprovoked aggression, but one who happened to have been done over by card-carrying fascist boneheads. It seems not to sink in that there might be ethical issues here: confidentiality for one, or the appropriateness of asking a victim support scheme to trace and ask victims to resurrect and relive for the viewer (or producer) an intensely traumatic experience. Nor does it seem to occur that after three or four years of this approach, there might be more empowering representations than the bloody innocent bemoaning their horror.

The second determinant of bad programming and journalism is the simplification of a complex situation. Is queerbashing on the rise? Are the police more repressive now than 1955? Is homosexuality being recriminalised? Such questions merely construct the answers the journalists want to hear. It is also almost as though it would be more satisfactory to the gay press if queerbashing and violence were indeed uncontrollably and ineluctably escalating.

Instead of dragging the victims one more time across the screen, GALOP would like to see courageous film-makers get out there and milk the perpetrators for angst and anger. Instead of scattershot accusation of the police or the law, how about some investigation of the individual officers who do the entrapment work, volunteer for it and happily lie in court to set gay men up? Too often, though, ideas which might be genuinely enlightening and educational about anti-gay prejudice and policing in Britain are left in the 'too difficult' tray.

GALOP is not alone amongst agencies which are marginalised as 'pressure groups' on the one hand ("they would say that wouldn't they") or taken for granted on the other. Whilst this remains the case the injustices occurring to individual lesbian and gay lives will continue to be perpetrated, complacently or otherwise, by our police forces in Britain.



IOLENCE

Two lesbians were walking hand in hand on Hampstead Heath, when a group of teenage boys began to shout out abuse, "lezzie, queer" and eventually let fly with stones. One of the women was hit in the back by a large missile, probably a half-brick. Though not severely injured the woman was terribly shocked and upset: "What were we doing that was so wrong?"

A young gay man was with friends in a pub in central London. He began to chat with a couple of people in the pub, and decided to go off to a party with them. Walking through St James' Park, he was set upon by the two men, kicked to the ground and given such a beating that he was still in hospital a week later. The assailants were off-duty army recruits, with no other motive for the assault than that the man was "queer".

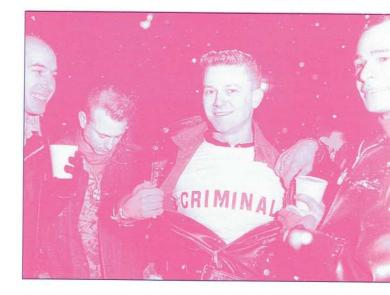
Two gay men got a night bus, and briefly put their arms around each other. They were set upon by a group of four men, and were beaten with a fence post, and given blows and kicks to the head. One was knocked unconscious. All the while the assailants were yelling "queer", "faggot", "We're queerbashers" and so on. Eventually, the assailants ran off. The two gay men have sustained no long term injuries, but were bruised & bloody and very shaken up.

Violence is a pervasive feature of our lives as lesbians and gay men. As the table on page 23 shows, GALOP's most recent survey (June 1992) suggests that 40% of gay men and 25% of lesbians have suffered at least one assault in their lives because of their sexuality. The fear of violence — be it abuse shouted as we walk down the street, or the windows of our flat being smashed, or being beaten up as we leave a gay bar — is an effective constraint on how publicly we declare and manifest our sexuality: do we let the neighbours know we're gay, do we hold hands in the street, do we kiss our lovers goodbye in the airport? If the law controls and disempowers us, then the threat and fact of violence are the informal ways our lives are policed.

That said, there has been surprisingly little research into antigay violence and victimisation. Although GALOP has done two small-sample surveys, there have been no large-scale surveys done in Britain to find out the extent of the problem. There have been no studies done on the long and short term effects of violence on the lives of individual gay men and lesbians. There have been no studies of perpetrators and what motivates and enables their recourse to violence. Policing strategies, both preventative and post facto, remain embryonic and underdeveloped. In short, we know next to nothing at a formal level about a phenomenon whose importance we all recognise and adapt to in semi-conscious ways: part of the art of being out is an intuitive assessment of risk and negotiation of potential danger.

Two major projects have been set up this year to investigate

anti-lesbian/gay violence, one in Lewisham run by the SaferNeighbourhoods project there and one in Islington run by GALOP and Islington Safer Cities. Both look to find out the real extent of the violence by means of questionnaires and inter-



views, and in addition the Islington Survey will look at how individual police officers respond to lesbian and gay victims of crime. The results of both surveys should be available by the end of 1992 and will give us a better vision of the problem.

But whilst we await these results, what broad features can we perceive so far?

GALOP organised a seminar in April of 1992 to address these questions. Attended by over forty police officers, local authority workers and interested lesbians and gay men, what emerged was a cautious and more thoughtful approach that reflected the degree of uncertainty we have in construing the area.

For example, surveys like the ones that GALOP has done have to be qualified by further analysis. Firstly, the identity itself -gay or lesbian -was lived in quite a complicated way. Not everyone defines themselves as lesbian or gay, even if they are having same-sex relations. People move in and out of such an identity, just as they move in and out of gay-defined spaces. Secondly, vectors of gender, age, ethnicity, location and lifestyle further complicate the picture. For instance, the incidence of anti-lesbian violence seems to be less, but how much of that is accounted for by the different experience of lesbians as women: they are less on the streets at night for instance, or alone in cruising areas. Were one to begin to catalogue domestic violence, a different pattern might emerge.

Violence is not uniform across the country. GALOP surveys indicate that the majority of assaults take place outside gay venues, suggesting that in non-metropolitan areas the incidence of violence might be less given the absence of specific gay facilities. American experience suggests that people of colour are more likely to experience victimisation than white people. Lifestyle has contradictory effects. On the one hand there are indications that being out increases the chance of victimisation, but that such victims who are secure in their orientation have better coping mechanisms and support systems than those who are closeted. On the other hand, murder victims are often those who have not been living an openly gay lifestyle and have a sexual history outside the gay scene.

Is the violence that lesbians and gay men suffer an additional violence, surplus to the sorts of victimisation that happen in the inner city anyway, or is it a different kind of violence that replaces the sorts of victimisation that happens to heterosexuals? It might be, for example, that gay men and lesbians are unlikely to socialise in places where they might well be exposed to other forms of victimisation. One route to elucidating this question might be to add a question to the British Crime Survey around sexual orientation, which would allow us to compare self-defined populations.

Is the problem one of fear of crime, and how might that differ amongst gay men and lesbians, as opposed to the "general population"? Perhaps, there is an amplifying effect of stories in the gay press about assaults, or attacks or murders. Fear of crime was certainly high amongst the sample but for good reasons: that is based on accounts of actual attacks from friends, neighbours or gay press reports.

This suggests that while there may be political gains there are also potential theoretical (and practical?) drawbacks to the highly dramatic but simplified picture of queerbashing and queerbashers that are the stable fodder of much of the gay media. Violence and victimisation take on a metaphorical weight, standing in for the whole of social hostility toward us. Thus our political representatives can use the fact of violence, and often in an exaggerated way, to give a density to the claims of discrimination and oppression. In the process the specificity of different kinds and sites of violence becomes lost in a welter of outrage, useful for mobilisation at the level of propaganda, but actually counterproductive in both understanding the perpetrators and in deriving useful and effective prevention and remedial strategies. The simplified model collapses all sorts of victimisation into one crude figure of the baseball-bat- wielding thug, and suggests that a straightforward increase in "policing" (ill-defined and vague as this term is) would prove an effective deterrent.

Apart from flying in the face of much current thinking about the effectiveness of policing anyway, this simplistic approach to 'controlling' crime, reminiscent of much law and order rhetoric from quite a different political perspective, blurs real distinctions:

are the people who harass their neighbours on the council estate the same type, or operating from the same motivations (and lack of restraints) as those who deliberately seek out gay men in cottages or parks to beat up, and do they have anything in common with those individuals who have sex with men and then murder them? Some have argued that such distinctions are nice but unnecessary: we could operate a deterrent strategy equally well without such sophistication, if only the police would cease abdicating their role because of their own homophobia. The strong view endorsed by the conference and by GALOP was that we do need these distinctions, and that we need also to escape the tyranny we impose on ourselves through exaggerated and naive accounts of the nature of "queerbashing" violence.

Such views however should not be construed as endorsing a strategy of policing by neglect. Quite the contrary: GALOP has balanced constructive support with critical advice in helping set up the anti-gay violence monitoring project.

This project was set up in August 1991 as a direct response to representations from the lesbian and gay communities that the police begin to monitor the extent of homophobic attacks in the Metropolitan area. A pilot scheme was inaugurated, coordinated by Scotland Yard's Community Liaison Branch, at four sites in the city which had a gay connection: Hampstead; Holloway -which takes in Highbury Fields, a well-known cruising area; Kensington which covers some of Earls Court, but also Holland Park; Battersea, which takes charge of a large wedge of Clapham Common. Officers at these divisions were instructed to monitor those assaults which could be categorised as homophobic according to the following criterion:

"any incident for which a crime report sheet is completed and which appears either to the victim or to any other person including the reporting or investigating officer to be motivated by homophobia (animosity toward lesbians or gay men)."

The scheme was launched through the gay press and a poster campaign was produced encouraging lesbians and gay men to report assaults on them. Training was given to the officers at the four stations — both at the level of the reliefs and of the CID — and there was an encouragement to officers to attend to the problem of homophobic violence as a hidden area of crime. Over 6 months some 35 assaults had been reported to the four areas, which break down as follows:

Holloway 13 Hampstead 7 Kensington 9 Battersea 6

GALOP and the London Lesbian & Gay Policing Initiative have been involved from the beginning in the scheme. It shows a willingness to take on board well-founded criticism, in line with the Plus Programme's basic strategic commitment to policing by consent. It demonstrates a commitment to exploring the needs

of the lesbian and gay communities as a newly legitimate constituency, and further indicates a positive direction in terms of future police-lesbian/gay relations.

The following criticisms have to made with hindsight, and if not attended to could seriously undermine the credibility of the project:

- a) the timescale of the project is woefully short. Granted, an extension beyond the initial six months was made, but such a scheme really needs three years to make a full assessment;
- b) four sites are insufficient, given the capital's seventy eight divisions:
- c) publicity has been disappointing, both in terms of press and other media coverage, and in terms of the poster and leaflet campaign. Posters have not been displayed prominently in police stations, or if they have they have been very quickly taken down, and they have not been distributed widely to adjacent institutions and neighbourhood centres. There has been no concerted effort to maintain publicity amongst the target communities, and poor communication with the gay press has meant that the pilot scheme has been downgraded in the eyes of the community. (It must be said parenthetically that the gay press have taken an unjustifiably jaundiced view of the scheme: see MEDIA.);
- d) there have been no new resources allocated to the scheme: any training or documentation has come out of existing budgets with the result that the project has run on a shoestring to the detriment of efficiency and effectiveness. This has been most clear in the area of training, where the scant hour or so given to relief officers has barely touched the issue. It has to be realised that homosexuality is the subject of more misunderstanding perhaps than any other human difference, and that misunderstanding is rife and flourishing within police culture: to expect to deal with that and to instruct officers in the various practical issues at stake in such a short space of time is to ask the impossible. Extensive and repeated training is a sine qua non for the success of the scheme, and officers have failed to receive it;
- e) under-reporting, though expected by all parties concerned in the experiment, has perhaps been accepted too phlegmatically, and has not led to a continuous monitoring, not only of the factors mentioned above, but also of officer efficiency and propriety—do officers actually carry out the stipulated monitoring, questioning and recording?—, further outreach work to local lesbian and gay communities, and assessment of recording and investigative practices;
- f) this latter is crucial to the main problem we face which is the building of trust between the lesbian and gay communities and the Met. Failures within the service incidents of discrimination or bad practice, insensitive policing or inappropriate allocation of resources have an immediate knock- on effect in terms of the willingness of victims of homophobic victimisation to come forward. The legacy of mistrust is huge and the impact of positive

initiatives is small and terribly recent. Any "reversion to type" by officers sets the process back, merely adding to the disincentives of victims to come forward.

An interim assessment of the project must conclude that it has had but limited success, even within its own terms. On the one hand it has raised awareness, inside the service and amongst the community at large, of the hidden problem of homophobic victimisation, and in doing so it has provided an important wedge to prise open policing so that it begins to take our needs seriously. On the other hand, it has been carried out with too few resources, with inadequate training and communication, and in the absence of a wider policing strategy to combat social intolerance and victimisation of lesbians and gay men. One response would be to extend the scheme both in time and geographical extent, allocate the necessary funds and personnel, and involve a wider cross-section of the target communities, otherwise the scheme would risk being abandoned after a token attempt.

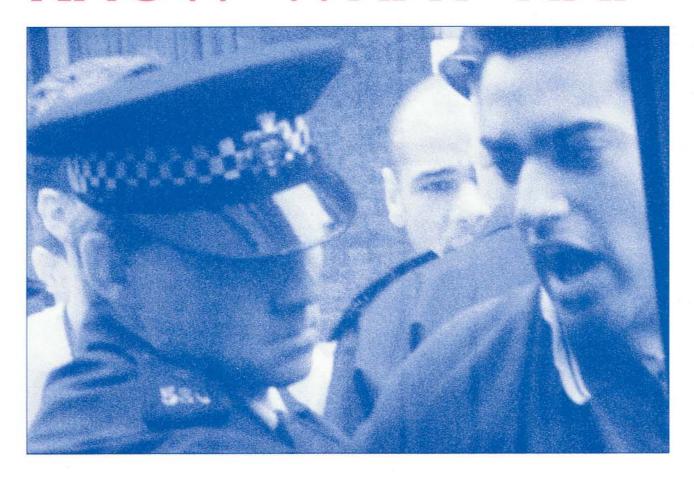
CONCLUSION

The experience of lesbian and gay communities in the States has been that as their infrastructure and social visibility increase, so violence and victimisation rise. It would be tendentious in the extreme to suggest the British experience will parallel the American trajectory, but it would be equally foolish to assume that as our communities continue to deepen and extend themselves, as the AIDS epidemic makes demands on national resources, as our political voices increase in volume and reach that no increase in "informal" measures against us will happen. Violence will remain high on our agenda, and it is important that we have the appropriate resources to deal with it. GALOP is currently the only funded organisation dealing with advice and counselling work, as well as research and policy development. The scope of the problem demands a much larger institutional response. It might well demand something of an altogether different scale in the future, from the pilot monitoring scheme described here.

Ou communities have to take responsibility for getting that response in place: by campaigning, by putting demands on central and local government for cash and resources, and by raising revenue from within our own communities, just as we have done to fight the epidemic. We have to move from a position where violence is a convenient trope of political rhetoric, to one where we know the extent of the problem, we know the hurt and harm that is done and we know how to set about preventing and remedying the damage. GALOP is leading the way, but we need an awful lot more support than has been forthcoming so far.

GALOP 1997

MOST RESPOND-ENTS DID NOT KNOW WHAT HAP-



PENED TO THE CASE AFTER THEY HAD RE-PORTED IT; II% BELLIEVED CULPRITS HAD BEEN CAUGHT.

FINDINGS OF THE 1991 GALOP SURVEY

	MEN	WOMEN		ALL
	(%)	(%)		(%)
I. Experience of physical violence:			4. Perceptions of Violence:	
Assaulted because of their sexuality	40	25	Respondents believing violence against lesbians & gay men:	
Experienced assaults before	50	50		
			to be increasing	58
Experienced assault in last year	54	68	to be decreasing	6
Experience and a series of the			to be remaining constant	29
Reported assault to police	23	30	Respondents having changed their	
1.000			behaviour for fear of assault 2	39
			(MEN) (WOMEN)
2. Experience of victimisation				
			5. Character of respondents:	ALL
Physically threatened	48	44		
11/21031/			Aged 21-40	86
Experienced harassment			Aged 41-50	9
between I & I0 times	33	25	Self-described as entirely or mostly gay	94
Verbally abused	80	72	Socialising on the scene regularly/very	
Verbally abdocd			often/almost every night	75
Verbally abused between 1 & 10 times	45	42	500 S 50	
Verbally abused between 1 st 10 times			Living in Inner or Outer London	64
3. Police Response		ALL	Living in SE England outside London	14
3. Folice Nesponse		(%)		
		(,-)	Self-described by ethnicity as:	
Those finding police courteous or helpful		26	White	84
Those finding police indifferent		35	Black	4
Those finding police incompetent		16	Asian	4
Those experiencing harassment				
from police when reporting incidents		22	Employed/Self-employed	72
Hostility		10	PARK INCOME STORES STORES STORES	
Verbal Abuse		8	Gender of respondents	74% MEN
Actual physical violence		4		26% WOMEN
Correspondents knowing that the		*		
police took action over incident		13	The survey was carried out by volunteers at the	1991 Lesbian &
police took action over mercene		100	Gay Pride Carnival, and had 138 respondents.	
MOST RESPONDENTS DID NOT KN	ow w	HAT HAP-	made by Matthew Jones, Research Assistant at	
FIGST RESPONDENTS DID NOT KIN	AD DED	OPTED IT.	Hertfordshire	

SLEEPING WITH

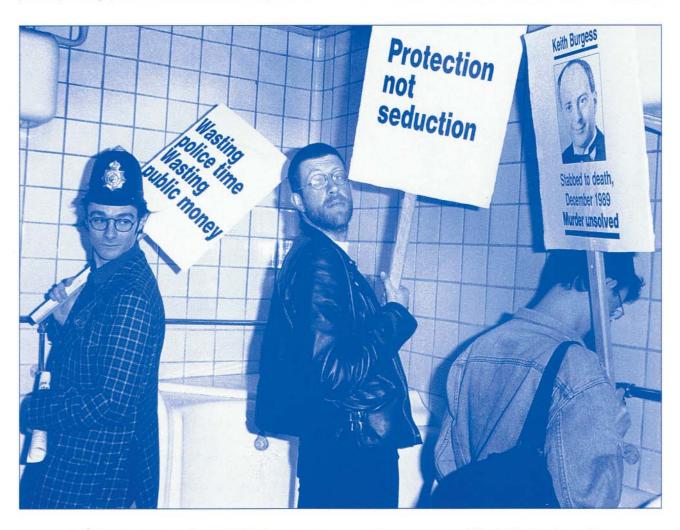
Gay London Policing and the New Scotland

HISTORICALLY, THE LESBIAN AND GAY COM-

munities have been divided over the question of whether or not we should talk to the police. The Gay Business Association took the initiative in the mid-late 80s by beginning informal talks. They were immediately criticised for being divisive, self-interested and naive about the police's intentions. Yet the late Brian Kennedy, a passionate critic of "insensitive negotiations...bullish attitudes...(and) political posturing" persevered with these talks aiming to achieve

police intentions and activities must be rejected and exposed for what they are."

Divided attitudes still exist, but police liaison has come a long way since the formation of the London Lesbian and Gay Policing Initiative in July 1990. The formalised structure, the well-coordinated and representative approach of the lesbian and gay groups, the documented and publicly accountable meetings can claim to have influenced a number of important policy and



a "responsive, fair and courteous police service" for the community as a whole. Steadied by the common-sense attitude of Mike McCann at the GBA, they and community liaison officers weathered the storm of opposition from, amongst others, GALOP: "Don't talk to Police", we warned at the time, suspicious of the intelligence- gathering motives of the police; "attempts by the police to reassure the gay and lesbian communities about

operational changes within the Metropolitan police.

Quarterly meetings at Scotland Yard take place with the Community Relations Branch. Other branches, such as the Equal Opportunities Unit can then take advantage of lesbian and gay expertise in counselling and training, for example, in the production of their training manuals. Awareness of homophobic prejudice is now expected of police officers, much as awareness of

1 THE ENEMY

| Yard Meetings

issues of sexism and racism are built into their training. The Equal Opportunities Policy in the Met. now refers to sexual orientation specifically as an area where discrimination is illegitimate.

Through the Lesbian and Gay Forum the safety of lesbians and gay men on the streets of London was raised with the police. They had consistently refused to monitor anti-gay attacks, as they do for ethnic minorities: "ethnicity is easier to determine than sexuality", (for police officers presumably). It transpired that they were also worried their officers might falsely accuse a victim of being homosexual: "such questioning may seem offensive... to many people sex is a private matter". It has taken persistent and rational argument to overcome these misgivings, and to point out, reasonably gently, some of the assumptions and prejudices behind them. In August 1991, a pilot scheme was launched by the Met. and GALOP to monitor such attacks (see elsewhere in this report).

The Forum does not shy away from contentious issues. The enforcement of sexual offences which involves police operations targeting cottages and cruising areas has been challenged. Despite the fact that these are 'victimless crimes', the police response was that "if complaints are received about the activities of homosexuals police have a duty and will act against what is a criminal offence." This is a prime example where 'community-style policing' is reduced to nothing other than the enforcement of neighbourhood bigotry. GALOP's pragmatic policy-lead, though, contrasted sharply with the defensiveness of the police. Our insistence in raising the issue has made it much more difficult for senior levels to defend those officers who commonly abuse their powers when prosecuting — persecuting — homosexuals caught out by covert surveillance tactics or entrapped by plain clothes operations.

Aware of such criticisms, Assistant Commissioner Hunt, head of Territorial Operations, issued a new Force Instruction in September 1991. A preventative approach, involving consultation with groups such as GALOP, is preferred before costly operations. Our arguments about their ineffectiveness were partially taken on board, though the counter-productiveness of large numbers of indecency prosecutions has not been fully acknowledged. Nevertheless, a marked decrease in such prosecutions has occurred.

In some ways, the success of the Lesbian and Gay Forum at Scotland Yard marks one of the most important political developments of the 1990s. The impact of our police force on lesbian and gay lifestyles, our safety and the prospects for legal equality should not be underestimated. The fact that the Forum has successfully contained both the creative energies of OutRagel, on the one hand, able to work alongside the more conservative lobbying approach of Stonewall, for example, has ensured its

effectiveness. Lesbians and black groups are consistently under- represented at the Scotland Yard meetings. A



more positive off-shoot, though, has been the formation of support groups for lesbian and gay police officers, whose more open existence challenges the institutionalised homophobia within police culture. This development, too, would be regarded as retrograde by some political persuasions amongst lesbians and gay men.

The work of the Forum will, if anything, become more controversial as questions about the policing of pomography, homosexual consent, and public expressions of homosexuality are raised. Parts of the police force will wish to 'hold the line' on what they may still regard as immoral, unnatural, offensive, corrupting and bizarre sexual activities and identities. Sado-Masochists and those who would wish to see explicit homosexual imagery in safer sex campaigns, without the threat of police prosecution, have an equal right to be represented at the Forum. It remains to be seen whether the 'unrespectable' elements of the lesbian and gay communities will be able to push back the boundaries of oppressive policing of homosexuality even further. For this to happen, no thanks to some of the 'purist' elements of the lesbian and gay communities, they must first get their hands sticky in discussions with, amongst others, the Obscene Publications Branch. Watch forthcoming reports for the results....



SO WHAT'S NEW?

Antony Grey asks how far attitudes to homosexuality have changed since the 1960's

IT IS THIRTY YEARS SINCE I BECAME SECRETARY

of the homosexual reform society and twenty five years since parliament changed the law to decriminalise private homosexual behaviour between consenting adult men over the age of 21.

As Jeffrey weeks has pointed out, the "Wolfenden strategy" was not to make homosexuality acceptable — never mind respectable — but to make it less controversial and less visible in public, by grudgingly allowing a limited tolerance in private. "Out of the closets" was no part of parliamentary thinking. An Osbert Lancaster cartoon of the time epitomises the matter: "What I particularly admired about the debate", says one character "was the way that every speaker managed to give the impression that he personally had never met a homosexual in his life".

Such attitudes persist, with rare exceptions (Maureen Colquhoun, Chris Smith), and were exhibited yet again by Alan Amos' ignominious exit from the Commons just before the General Election. Having been arrested and cautioned for an alleged sexual offence on Hampstead Heath, he was prepared to admit childishness and stupidity, but denied he was homosexual.

Mainstream politics has changed little. Has anything changed appreciably? Most markedly, gayness is no longer invisible: Pride marches, gay media, gay organisations, openly gay facilities and meeting places — all were unthinkable in the law-reforming years of the 60's. It might even have been the case that the reforming process would have been slowed down had the "general public" realised just how many of us were in that closet!

Despite a frequent lack of effectiveness, the very existence of a gay movement is an enormous gain. The closet remains, however, buttressed by a censorious climate which makes being hidden an attractive option for many.

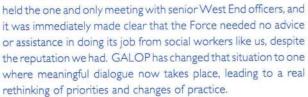
The media have deteriorated. The 50s saw homosexuality as the great unmentionable, save in the lurid context of the Sunday populars' court reports: vice chains, erring clergy, and mysterious "serious offences...spreading like a cancer through the community". However, into the 60's, with the law reform campaign in full swing, responsible discussion became increasingly common in the serious press. By the time of Lord Arran's first reform bill in 1965, most of the press supported change.

Today, homosexuality is an endlessly fascinating topic, reported by the tabloids in an aggressively homophobic way, or couched in infantile, nudge-nudge mockery. The continuing injustice that gay people suffer is obscured.

In short homophobia is alive and well, feeding on ignorance

and stupidity just like the 50's, only now getting in the way of urgent public education campaigns, made even more necessary in the face of the calamity of AIDS.

Organisations like GALOP would have been inconceivable in those early years. Immediately after the successful reform, we



There are still echoes of the bad old days: there is nothing new, to me, in allegations of entrapment or other heavy-handedness. In the early years of the Homosexual Law Reform Society, a constant procession of bewildered and shaken individuals came to us with stories about their arrest and treatment.

This grotesque state of affairs led to us joining forces with the National Council for Civil Liberties to produce a "bust card" — a pamphlet called "Arrest — a guide to the citizen's rights" — back in 1963. GALOP continues a long and honourable tradition to safeguard the rights of gay people, and improve relations between the gay community and the police.

Prejudices so old, so inculcated and so repeated take more than a quarter century to eradicate. The battle will continue: but we can hope the latter phases will be more in the nature of mopping up operations.

How best to proceed into the 90's? We need a clear strategy, and need equally to pay careful attention to each tactical situation as it arises. The broad strategic end must be to change public attitudes so that the "policing of desire", as Simon Watney puts it, is no longer acceptable, and that the great majority hold that "the State has no place in the bedrooms of the nation", as former Canadian premier Trudeau put it.

A first step should be an immediate and high-profile campaign to repeal all victimless sexual offences, whether or not they take place technically "in private". Sexual acts in a public place, which involve or annoy non-consenting members of the public, who are prepared to testify to that effect, can be dealt with as an ordinary public nuisance, just as any other offensive public behaviour: there is no requirement for a separate category of sexual offence.





(As was pointed out to the Criminal Law Revision Committee a decade ago, prying police officers and prurient snoopers who involve themselves willingly, should not be counted as rightfully aggreed persons.)

Police standards will only improve when there is sufficient public concern to make the matter a priority: after all, the Wolfenden Committee was set up because of massive public disquiet about the investigations of Lord Montagu & his codefendants (on charges of homosexual acts). GALOP's role in making this happen, and in maintaining and furthering useful dialogue with the police, is invaluable. I wish you every success.



NOTE

FROM PETER STEVENS



During the past year there has been a significant increase in the dialogue and cooperation between GALOP and the Community Involvement Branch at Scotland Yard. For that reason I welcome this opportunity to contribute to the Annual Report.

One of the principal tasks in relation to lesbians and gay men that the Metropolitan Police Service has sought to undertake during 1991 and 1992 has been the monitoring of homophobic victimisation within Battersea, Hampstead, Holloway and Kensington Police Divisions. GALOP has been involved from the beginning in this project and the advice and assistance provided by GALOP representatives has ensured that the gay perspective has been incorporated into police guidelines issued at the beginning of the pilot scheme.

Representatives of GALOP have also been involved in the training of some of the officers who are responsible for implementing monitoring. I know that the training has led to a better understanding of the problems faced by lesbian and gay victims in reporting offences to the police.

The wider dialogue taking place between GALOP and my Branch has, I believe, been of mutual benefit to the Police Service and to lesbians and gay men in the capital. I say this because I am aware of an increase in the number of occasions when the services of GALOP are called upon around such grave incidents as murder or serious assault, or indeed around problems relating to known "cottages" or cruising areas.

I suspect that there may be some people who object to the interface that now exists between GALOP and my Branch. I believe however that the dialogue that we now have with GALOP ensures that the Police Service does not become complacent about the way it deals with the lesbian and gay communities.

Chief Superintendent Peter Stevens,

Community Involvement &

Crime Prevention Branch.

FINANCIAL

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS OF GAY POLICING GROUP

We have audited the annexed financial statements in accordance with Auditing Standards.

In our opinion the financial statements give a true and fair view of the state of the Group's affairs at 31 March 1991, and of its deficit and source and application of funds for the year then ended.

SAYER VINCENT Chartered Accountants Registered Auditors 41, North Road LONDON N7 9DP

NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH 1991

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I. Acco			IILICS
	-	0	

- a) These accounts have been prepared under the Historical Cost Convention
- b) Depreciation: Office Equipment is depreciated fully in the year of acquisition, and Capital Grants are credited to the income and expenditure account to the extent to which they are applied for their purpose in the year. Any remaining unspent grant is carried forward as a creditor.

2. Grants Receivable 1990	£	£
London Boroughs Grants Unit Revenue Grant Capital Grant Received & Spent	36232 3654	36762
	41886	36762

GALOP has applied the grants received during the year to the purposes for which they were made, as follows:

Capital Grant received in year	3932
Less: Spent on Computer Equipment	(2904)
Spent on Computer Training	(750)
Unspent at 31 March 1991	278
3. Salaries	

Salaries	28,440	27347
Social Security Costs	2670	2199

31110 29546

4. Taxation

Taxation is provided on bank deposit interest receivable gross during the year, at 25%.

5. Fixed Assets - Office Equipment

	£	£
At April 1st 1990	3937	3475
Additions in year	2904	462
At March 31st 1991	6841	3937
Depreciation	3937	3475
Charge for year	2904	462
	<u>6841</u>	3937

Net Book Value At 31 March 1991 At 1 April 1990

6. Creditors: Amounts due within 12 months

Taxation & Social Security Charges	922	
Unspent Capital Grant	278	
Creditors and Accruals	3642	1520
	4842	1520

GALOP PUBLICATIONS

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THE FOLLOWING GALOP PUBLICATIONS ARE AVAILABLE ON REQUEST. PLACE YOUR ORDER BY PHONE OR DROP US A LINE. WE INCLUDE AN ORDER FORM BELOW.

BUSTCARD - a handy, pocket-sized summary of your rights on the street and in the police station.

Bustcards are FREE, though for large orders there will be a charge.

GALOP GUIDE TO POLICE POWERS AND

YOUR RIGHTS - a 6-part, 24 page guide, described by the New Statesman as "Highly recommended. Easily the clearest such guide...equally applicable to all people and organisations likely to have hassle with the police."

£2.50 each inc p&p

ANNUAL REPORTS - this is our seventh Annual Report: the previous six are also available.

Reports 1-4 £1.50 each & 55 pence p&p Reports 5 & 6 £2.50 each & 55 pence p&p

GAY MEN & BINDOVERS - a response to the Law Commission Working Paper on Binding Over, detailing the way in which the procedure discriminates against gay men.

£2.95 plus 55 pence p&p

SEXUAL OFFENCES: Some Consequences - a guide to the effects a conviction for gross indecency or other sexual offences could have on employment, visa applications etc. It outlines too the offences gay men are charged with and the sentences they can expect if convicted.

£3.50 plus 55p p&p

A NEW DISCIPLINARY OFFENCE FOR THE POLICE SERVICE - a discussion document on the pros and cons of including a new offence of anti-lesbian/antigay discrimination in the regulations that govern police conduct. This document was presented to the Home Affairs Committee, under the Chairmanship of Sir John Wheeler, during their hearings on Police Complaints. We are grateful for permission to publish this document.

£4.25 plus 55 pence p&p

INDECENCY BYELAWS - a report on the discriminatory use of local authority byelaws against gay men by the police, with a series of policy recommendations.

£2.95 plus 55 pence p&p

* NEW *

VIOLENCE PREVENTION CARD - pocket-sized card advising on how to avoid queerbashing & what to do if does happen.

Like the Bustcard these are FREE, but

1.0