Chapter 2
International Attitudes to Teaching Religion and Faith and the Policing of Minority Communities

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Introduction

Much research has been conducted to evaluate the nature and effectiveness of police training. However, there is the need for a more thorough evaluation of the role that the teaching of religion and faith issues play in the education and training of today's law enforcement officials across the globe, with specific attention paid to the context of histories of ethnic, racial, and other sectional conflicts and the attempts to reduce them. The chapter is exploratory in character and draws from initial data obtained from police trainers and researchers involved in police education and training and is a prelude to a more comprehensive survey on the treatment of religion and faith matters in different policing jurisdictions. The underlying assumption underpinning the research is the teaching of these issues as an indicator of the sensitivity to societal differences in efforts to effectively police diverse communities characterised by ethnic, racial, and other important cleavages.

Representative Bureaucracy and Minority Influence

One of the oldest and most common ways in which administrations have dealt with managing diverse communities, especially in the context of histories of political and economic tension and dominance, is the representative bureaucracy route, whereby a member or members of the marginalised group are employed or given positions within the institutions in society. Perhaps the most cynical, and not necessarily

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inaccurate, account of this practice is detailed by Machiavelli (1963) in his classic text 'The *Prince.*' According to Machiavelli's view, the appointment of members of dominated groups serves a largely symbolic legitimising function; in normalising the status quo in the eyes of the group from which they are drawn from, who are characterised by national, ethnic, or religious differences from those in power.

The weakness of this tactic is empirically elucidated by Subramaniam (1967) in his study of ethnic representation in India. Subramaniam argues that the values, beliefs, and worldview of minority members within public administrations are largely marginalised, due to in the first instance their small numbers and lack of organisational and cultural power which reduces their capacity to have significant influence on their environment (see Essed 1991). Moreover, minorities become assimilated and consciously strive for acceptance which can become an important element of their survival strategy. Allport (1987) noted this can take exaggerated or extreme forms which can be seen by the hostility of 'non Jewish Jews' to mainstream Jews in the US during the 1900s (Liebman 1979). In this instance, the former viewed themselves as being more advanced than their backward brethren, who were seen as holding onto ancient beliefs and practices which had no place in modern western society. Shedding traditional religious beliefs in a desire to become more accepted and assimilated into the dominant group is an essential element in minority strategies. According to Subramaniam, the representative bureaucracy approach simply changes the outward appearance of institutions in symbolic ways, with little import for their internal workings. An important example of this was the appointment of a Sikh Major General Kuldip Singh Brar to lead the controversial assault on the Sikh Golden Temple resulting in the massacre of large numbers of Sikhs as part of operation Blue Star (Tully 2014).

The dynamics elucidated by Subramaniam inter alia are particularly pertinent for ethnic minority police officers who are often expected to carry the historical weight of mitigating police racism, the exigencies and interests of their police superiors, and the often ill-informed and unreasonable expectations of the ethnic communities they come from and wider society (Cashmore 2002, Rowe 2016). Another route to making institutions more culturally and ethnically diverse and sensitive to the beliefs of other social groups, is through the education and training, and in this context of police officers specifically (Stanislas 2009). Religion and faith matters can feature within this process because of its importance for individuals and group social identity, communal attitudes, and behaviour (see Sadique and Stanislas 2016). The most obvious example of this is the growing importance of Islam to international law enforcement and other institutions (Hakeem et al. 2012, Mkutu 2017) or the need to understand crime motivated by witchcraft in particular parts of the world (Petrus 2016).

Definition of Religion and Faith

Religion according to Sadique (2014) refers to:

> 'a belief in [God(s), Humans, Nature, Self], that often requires faith in one or more of these having influence over our lives, that is demonstrated through certain practices, rituals, rites and 'ties fast' its followers to itself and other followers (in a non-geographical community) who share the same values.'

The term 'faith 'appears to be more simplistic referring to 'a specific system of religious beliefs.' Yet, in the context of understanding faith communities and multi-faith training and education there is no consensus as to what 'faith' actually means. In general it refers to communities that share a 'system of religious beliefs' and most commonly to those in the same (or near) geographical area. To confound the issue further, Weller (2005) notes the addition of 'inter-faith' to the lexicon and the use of these terms interchangeably renders unclear what is meant by each term. Weller (2001, 80) tries to delineate these terms, stating:

'When a society or an event or a project is described as 'multi-faith', it usually means that it includes a variety of religious groups. While the use of multi-faith highlights variety, the use of the term 'inter-faith' points more to the relationships between religions and the people who belong to them.'

For clarity, this chapter discusses faith communities and issues of multi-faith education and training in terms of awareness and understanding of the diverse range of religious/faith groups in each society (because this is the term used most often in relation to police training), rather than inter-faith relationships, although it is clear that these 'relationships' within and between faiths are central to social conflict/cohesion and policing thereof.

Religious beliefs can play a significant role in understanding opposition to new postmodern identities around the world, such as growing recognition of same-sex relationships in many societies, which in itself can become a source of conflict with those who hold traditional conservative values that the police have to negotiate in order to effectively carry out their duties (Stanislas 2013). In most societies the state police see themselves as representing the normative order and its religious influences. This can be seen by the Ugandan and Jamaican police where they were the principal tool of the state in tackling same-sex relationships, which was viewed as a form of sexual deviance (Stanislas 2016: 177–178). This inseparability between the dominant normative order, that include religious influences and state policing, can be seen in one of the less well-known roles of the early Metropolitan Police which involved clearing local neighbourhoods and the streets of drunks prior to Sunday church services.

Police, Conflict, and Effective Community Relations

Police concern with issues of religion and faith have their roots in conflicts which contributed to making the issue of community relations important in countries such as the US, England and parts of Britain, such as Northern Ireland; and also linked to the emergence of community policing (Grabosky 2009). However, elsewhere in developing countries such as, India the issue of religious and ethnic conflict has been intrinsic to that country since its birth as an independent nation (Weiner 1978, Varshney 2003). The increasing influence of human rights consideration in policing has led to greater sensitivity to matters around religion and faith. In particular, the Human Rights Standards and Practice for the Police (United Nations 2004) has

numerous recommendations that indirectly and directly touch on religious matters. Among them are calls for:

- Law enforcement officials to demonstrate respect and preserve the human dignity and uphold the human rights of all individuals.
- Develop means to ascertain the specific needs of local communities and respond to them accordingly.
- The police must not discriminate on the basis of race, gender, religion, national origin inter alia.

Good practice in policing around matters involving religion and faith can be found and drawn from numerous sources. How each police jurisdiction responds to these issues is shaped by its own unique history and immediate political and cultural circumstances and challenges.

Methods

The methods used to inform this chapter were largely driven by convenience sampling (Bryman 2008). The authors contacted ten colleagues by mail who were trainers and researchers that specialised in police education and training matters in different countries. The purpose of the communication was to establish whether matters around religion and faith were included in the syllabi of the police training establishments they were associated or worked with, or addressed in other ways. In the majority of cases, the authors were able to contact these individuals directly, but in three cases third parties were approached to ascertain the information in question.

In terms of a sample, countries from the developing world primarily were chosen for this exploratory exercise given the existing working relations between the police institutions in question and the authors. Matters regarding policing diverse community and developing good community relations, and ideas and practices around these issues, are well-established in many advanced western liberal democratic policing jurisdictions. Examples of this are the US, Canada, Australia inter alia (see Stanislas 2014). Moreover, both authors have taught police officers and students interested in policing about many of the aforementioned issues at De Montfort University in England. The research sought to ascertain what activity in the areas of improving minority relations generally, and the role of religion and faith specifically, took place in the education and training of police officers in developing countries.

Of the 10 countries initially approached, responses were received from seven (70%) within the stipulated time frame. In one instance, two individuals were approached in one country i.e. India given the existence of numerous police training authorities at the state and regional level, unlike many countries that had single policing training authorities. According to Neyroud and Wain (2014: 120), there are

162 police training centres in India. The respondents chosen had knowledge of several police training authorities in India. The full study will survey both developing countries and advanced police jurisdictions. The majority of the countries included in the sample were chosen because of histories of ethnic and other tensions.

The countries included in this examination are:

- Trinidad and Tobago
- Guyana (South America)
- Kenya
- India
- South Africa
- St Lucia
- Britain

Summary of Country Findings

A common feature of the majority of the countries surveyed with a history of ethnic and other social group tension, such as India, Guyana, and Kenya is the great degree of sensitivity, if not nervousness, in speaking openly about these matters. In some cases the behaviour of the authorities can be described as duplicitous, which can clearly be seen in Kenya and highlighted in the recent presidential elections in August 2017 and repeat election of October 2017. The dominant ruling elite consists of the Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic groups who monopolise all state security and major economic institutions (Mwakikagile 2007; Mkutu 2017). Moreover, these elite have used their control of institutions to target and orchestrate state violence disproportionately against the Luo ethnic community which was evident during the presidential elections (Human Rights Watch 2017; The World 2017).

Any attempts to draw attention to these glaring facts of tribal dominance in Kenya is met with charges of trying to stir up ethnic tensions by the ruling elite, and its media, and has resulted in opposition politicians and critics being arrested on the grounds of 'hate speech' (Mwakikagile 2007). Kenya provides one of the clearest illustrations of how ethnic sensitivities are managed in many jurisdictions which is to use the full weight of the state machinery to silence discussions on the matter to mask a system of power and rewards based entirely on ethnicity (The World 2017). As a consequence, matters regarding ethnicity are unlikely to play any role in the formal activities or language of the Kenyan Police; especially in the context of training and education. In other countries, such as Guyana, and India matters regarding ethnicity and religion are equally extremely sensitive and not found on the police training syllabus. In Guyana, the ethnic makeup is similar to that of Trinidad and Tobago where members of the African and East Indian elite has played on ethnicity, similar to leaders in South Saharan African countries, in very cynical ways to buttress power and ensuring the survival of their regimes (Hintzen 2006).

While the South African policing education system can be viewed as being very progressive given its sensitivity to matters around human rights, anti-discrimination and minority relations, it stays clear from matters around religion. This is an outcome of the legacy of Apartheid and Afrikaner dominance which was closely related to the Protestant Church (Laloo 2008). The contemporary emphasis on constitutional secularity has made any teaching of religious matters as near taboo in South Africa which is reflected in police education and training matters, which according to sources has left the police service ill-equipped in understanding and effectively policing a very diverse society. Moreover, the reduction of the length of basic police training reduces the opportunity for these types of topics to be addressed.

Case Studies

St Lucia

The small Eastern Caribbean country of St Lucia historically has been a staunch Christian country with the Catholic Church dominating religious matters since the post slavery period (Jesse 1994). The Catholic Church has had a major influence on attitudes to morality, family life, and mainstream education, through its schools which were the first formally established educational institutions in the country (Harmsen et al. 2012). The Catholic Church was once an important influence on the Royal St Lucian Police Service and the behaviour of its officers, such as the highly-regarded Sgt Cyril from Castries, also known for his strong religious convictions which informed his attitude to policing (Stanislas 2017). According to the Joshua Project, 96% of St Lucians are Christians with the Catholic Church still maintaining its dominance in faith matters. This dominance has been eroded by the rise of more evangelic dominations of American origins who over the last couple of decades have made a presence on the island and the Caribbean region generally (Stanislas 2016: 175). Those who belong to Evangelical denominations constitute approximately 14% of the population.

The religious group who has caused the most anxiety for the St Lucian authorities are Rastafarians for a number of reasons. Rastafarianism has been described as a mixture of a Christian-based messianic cult and social movement that is based on preserving African identity, which was attacked and eroded as a consequences of slavery and colonial indoctrination (Gerloff 2006, Stanislas 2016: 174). One of the fundamental assertions of Rastafarianism is that the Jesus of the Christian bible was not white as depicted in western culture, nor was most of the earliest founders of the Christian faith (Beckford 1998, Spencer 2003). For example, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is one of the oldest Churches in Christianity which preceded the establishment of churches in most parts of the world (Casper 2015). Doctrinally and ideologically Rastafarianism stands in stark opposition to the Christian and Roman Catholic Church in particular in St Lucia, which is depicted as the white slave master and colonialist in prayer, i.e. the religion of the oppressor.

As a consequence Rastafarians became the centre of a moral panic (Cohen 1980), as they were in neighbouring country of Dominica and other Caribbean islands. Very often this involved Rastafarians being subjected to fabricated criminal charges, as highlighted in the famous case in Dominica of Desmond Trotter accused of killing a white tourist (Williams 2010), and the passage of the infamous 1974 'Dread Act' where anyone wearing dreadlocks (i.e. a traditional African hairstyle worn by Rastafarians) in public could be arrested (Shillingford 2012). This environment resulted in Rastafarians being subject to constant media attention, misrepresentation, and discrimination and the focus for police harassment and violence; forcing them to retreat to mountainous and inaccessible rural terrain where they established their own camps and communities.

Farming and agricultural-related work was the primary economic means relied on by the Rastafarians to sustain themselves. During the run up to the St Lucian independence in 1979, the country experienced one of its worst bouts of social tension, and public disorder and violence with widespread militancy, from the trade unions in particular, a mass prison break, and acts of arson and sabotage which took place in the context of a revolution in the neighbouring island of Grenada that brought to power a left-wing government. Rastafarians were very active in these protests, given their historical enmity to colonial government and its oppressive police force (Harmsen et al. 2012).

The response of the embattled government was the establishment of the paramilitary Special Services Unit (SSU) (Wayne 2010: 357), due to concern that the mainstream police were unable to cope, which went about aggressively suppressing the public disorder. However, the SSU's most notorious actions occurred in 1981 in the ongoing moral panic, was reserved for the Rastafarian community that resided in the remote Mount Gimmie. A well prepared siege was put in place by the police and its newest division the SSU, resulting in the wholesale slaughter of unarmed and peaceful Rastafarians. To this day the numbers killed is unknown given very few members of that Rastafarian community survived to attest to the events (Unpublished interview). Rather than eliminating Rastafarianism the belief system spread throughout the island among marginalised youth.

While there are no official data on how large the Rastafarian faith and its proponents are in numerical terms, any visitor to St Lucia, and most Eastern Caribbean Islands will confirm its high visibility in terms of individuals, particularly the young who identify with it in terms of mode of dress, vernacular inter alia. Rastafarians are still harassed and victimised by the police and are easy visible targets for opportunistic officers looking for small amounts of marijuana, despite Rastafarians being among some of the most peaceful and law-abiding sections of St Lucian society. Members of this community are also subject to predatory police violence. During previous fieldwork on St Lucian policing one of the authors (Stanislas 2014, 2017), was given numerous accounts of violence against Rastafarians. In the course of one particular interview, the author was asked to feel the head of a young man, who during a stop and search process was hit in the head by a policeman with the butt of a gun, which had fractured his skull leaving a deep and permanent crevice that could be felt.

Education and Training of the Royal St Lucian Police Force

Great efforts have been made by the Royal St Lucian Police Force (RSLPF)[1] to transform important aspects of its training of police recruits in order to deemphasise the militaristic elements of colonial policing and its residues (Deosaran 2002, Stanislas 2014). This has seen the introduction of social sciences, and a greater emphasis in trying to understand society and the communities that the RSLPF have to work with. Human rights, community policing and customer relations have also been introduced, including very important components that address vulnerable groups, such as the mentally ill, in order to improve police interaction with citizens. An important feature of this changing ethos has been the opening up of police training to include academics, college tutors, and professionals such as mental health nurses, doctors inter alia. A stand out feature of contemporary training of RSLPF recruits is the recognition of sexuality and teaching new officers to interact respectfully with citizens with different sexuality (Stanislas 2014: 229–230). This development has to be applauded in a society where the influence of the Catholic Church, while not as powerful as in previous generations cannot be totally ignored. Missing from the groups included from special consideration and an important aspect of St Lucian life is the policing of Rastafarians. No particular educational or training input is given on this group, even though Rastafarians and their policing in theory can be subsumed in many of the other topics and issues addressed, such as improving community relations, there is no explicit mentioning of them. This failure weakens the ability of the RSLPF to understand key features and beliefs of Rastafarians and leaves their policing to be informed by ideas and sentiments derived from the social constructions of the institutions and interests who are hostile to them (Cohen 1980: 23–27).

Trinidad and Tobago

The Southern Caribbean twin countries of Trinidad and Tobago like its St Lucian counterpart have similar origins in terms of being heavily influenced by Christianity since its slave and colonial origins. However, this has been tempered by the presence of a significant East Indian population who were brought to the country as indentured labour. This has culturally impacted on the territory in important ways, such as the Hosay festival which is held annually for 10 days and is Muslim in origin. The dominance of Christianity on the police reflects African dominance and influence on this institution and can be seen by the Star of David which forms the

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[1] Contrary to prevailing belief colonial police were often unable to entirely police colonised territories and relied on indigenous structures in the co-production of policing or as in the case of St Lucia in the Eastern Caribbean relied on autonomous community stakeholders.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w96iaNgg9yA&t=1457s 28 February 2019

symbol of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Services (TTPS) and other practices; such as the saying of Christian prayers at important policing events.

According to the CIA World Fact Book (2017), the population of Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) is 1, 220, 479 making it one of the larger English-speaking Caribbean islands. In terms of its ethnic composition those of East Indian origins make up 35.5% of the population, with those of African descent constituting 34.2% and those of Mixed Other origins 15.3%, and individuals of Mixed East Indian and African descent making up 7.7% of the population. The history of ethnic competition is intense in the country with the Africans and Indian political elite resorting to tribal politics as their primary route in maintaining power; and similar to the South American country Guyana, which is populated by the same communities (Hintzen 2006). In terms of official religious affiliation T&T is relatively diverse. 32% of the population are Protestant (which broadly includes Pentecostal/Evangelist, Baptist and Anglican inter alia). Roman Catholics constitute 21.6% of the population, Hindus 18.2%, with Muslims constituting 5% of the population (CIA 2017).

However, these figures are misleading in so far as they do not indicate important changes which highlight dissatisfaction with the religious and normative status quo and movement away from traditional sources of authority with policing implications. The first is the increase of the Pentecostal and Evangelist movement which can be seen in St Lucia, Jamaica, and East Africa and indicates increasing material and economic strain on the population (Stanislas 2016). More troubling is the rise of militant Islam and radicalisation among predominantly young males of African descent in the country, many of whom are economically marginalised and were heavily involved in violent criminal and gang activity prior to conversion (Dearden 2016, Maharaj 2017: 178). Trinidad has become the hub for potential religiously-inspired violence in the Caribbean and Americas and a recruiting ground for the terrorist organisation ISIS (178–180).What is particularly interesting, while Rastafarianism has been one of the traditional vehicles which disaffected young males in St Lucia have used to channel their political and spiritual energies and is almost totally non violent, albeit very anti status quo. Trinidad and Tobago has a much longer history of violence and violent opposition to oppression and the status quo (see Brereton 2010). This can be seen by the general historically benign relationship between most St Lucians and their police, compared to the population of Trinidad and Tobago and their police. Violent social movements and belief systems appear to have greater appeal to the youth of the latter.

During the preparation for a training course in 2014 to test the operational responses of the TTPS to major critical incidents, led by the author and co-author of this book Professor James Albrecht, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police force raided the property of a T&T citizen and suspected terrorist and found details of plans to attack the Trinidad and Tobago Carnival, which is one of the largest events of its type in the world. What is particularly concerning is unlike other Caribbean countries, Trinidad has a long history of Islamic motivated violence, despite Muslims constituting a small minority in the country.

On July 261,990 a group of Muslim fanatics called Jamat al Muslimeem launched a carefully coordinated attack on the country's Parliament while in session, and its

main television station, which they occupied and held individuals hostage for 6 days. The attack on Parliament was particularly violent and resulted in a police officer being shot dead and the Prime Minister being shot and beaten, along with six cabinet members receiving similar treatment, including the Minister of National Security; with MP Leo des Vignes dying from his injuries. In total, 24 people died as an outcome of these events (Report of the Commission of Enquiry 2004: 7, Gold 2014).

Education and Training of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service

Similar to its St Lucian counterparts the TTPS is attempting to phase out its traditional mode of colonial- informed approach to recruit training, which emphasises order maintenance that is buttressed by the learning of public order and other legislation, tough physical training, use of weapons and strict military- type discipline (Stanislas 2014, Mathura 2018). The new approach to police education being adopted by the TTPS is in line with regional best practice and broader international trends in terms of the greater reliance on social science in understanding society, groups, and individual behaviour and involves more partners and stakeholders than hitherto. These changes have been accompanied by the improving educational calibre of those coming into the TTPS (Stanislas ibid., Mathura 2018) which has led to the usual discussions about the pros and cons of such developments.

What is particularly striking, is while there has been an increase in education of new recruits about the police's crime fighting role and crime matters generally, which is a response to Trinidad and Tobago having one of the highest crime and homicide rates in particular in the English Caribbean region that is driven by drugs and gang-related activity (United Nations Office of Drugs and Wallace 2012, Jaitman 2017). Little educational input is given to new TTPS recruits on radicalization and terrorism which underscores the largely reactive nature of this organization, despite the pioneering preventative work of individuals like Dr. Wendell Wallace (see Wallace 2013a, b). This hiatus is especially interesting and indicates the challenges of institutional learning given the history of Islamic radicalization in Trinidad and Tobago.

The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the events in 1990 explicitly stated that one of its aims was to understand:

'The consequences of any historical, social, economic, political and other factors that may have contributed to the attempted coup.'

Despite these comments the reports emphasis in terms of its recommendation was on improving the effectiveness and efficiency of security agencies and their coordination and response. Very little emphasis was given on understanding the origins of the problems in question, in terms of why black males are more likely to

become radicalized. As has argued elsewhere, in the context of East Africa (Mkutu et al. 2017), this silence by government on this and related issues is due to the awareness that important aspects of this problem is caused by their economic and social policies and intrinsic corruption, which have excluded key population groups, causing deep resentment. Hence the government and police's focus on hard policing responses in the form of: better coordination, improved intelligence-gathering and better security hardware is both convenient and self-serving.

Britain

The legislative framework and policing context of Britain has been heavily dominated by Christianity (and more directly the Church of England), with some of the earliest hate crime laws being articulated in the Criminal Libel Act 1819 (Blasphemy laws) which stated that the offence of Blasphemy was committed through the publication of: contemptuous, reviling, scurrilous or ludicrous matter relating to God as defined by the Christian religion, Jesus, the Bible or the Book of Common Prayer, intending to wound the feelings of Christians or to excite contempt and hatred against the Church of England or to promote immorality.

As noted above, Christianity has also underpinned the religious (and policing) landscapes in countries previously under colonial rule. Even today, Britain (or at least the British Government) would openly state that this is a Christian country. In a speech in Oxford in 2011 to mark the 400th Anniversary of the King James Bible, David Cameron averred "We are a Christian country and we should not be afraid to say so…Let me be clear: I am not in any way saying that to have another faith – or no faith – is somehow wrong" (BBC 2011). Mr. Cameron also said it was "easier for people to believe and practise other faiths when Britain has confidence in its Christian identity"(*ibid*). But this does not reflect the changing religious landscape seen in Britain over the last decade or so. In the UK, the 2011 Census figures show a decline from 37 million citizens (72%) identifying as Christian in 2001 to 33.2 million citizens (59%) in 2011, with those stating they were not religiously affiliated/no religion increasing from 7.7 million (10.3% to 14.1 million (25.7%) (Office of National Statistics 2011). Paganism is the 7th largest religion in the UK and the 2011 census recorded 76,459 people identifying as Pagan or adhering to a Pagan path such as Wicca, Druidism, Shamanism or Witchcraft. In 2008 the Home Office introduced the Pagan Oath for use in the courts, and in 2009 the Police Pagan Association was founded to 'tackle the issues surrounding Paganism in the police service and in the community' and to better represent and support police employees and their communities (policepaganassociation.org n.d).

Whilst Christianity as a whole is on the decline, like many of the countries included in this chapter, Britain has seen an increase in some Christian denominations, particularly the Pentecostal and Evangelical movements, as well as in those identifying as Muslim. It has also experienced similar problems with both the marginalisation and radicalisation of particular groups, often the former leading to

the latter. The past and present of Britain is therefore marred by social problems (mis) attributed to religion in terms of terrorism, hate crime, child sexual exploitation and issues regarding 'faith' schools.

In terms of the policy context, the years of New Labour (1997–2010) saw a determined effort on the part of policy-makers to engage with faith communities. Dinham (2012) notes that this was driven firstly by the view of faith groups/communities as 'repositories of resources' which could be utilised for the public good, but also driven by an increasing anxiety about relationships 'between and beyond' faith communities and religious traditions following a number of incidents; in Burnley and Oldham in 2001 and later, as noted above the 7/7 terrorist attack on London in 2005. The scene was now set for the development of 'community cohesion' policies as a way of managing cultural and religious pluralism in Britain.

Community-cohesion policies were bifurcated with Active Citizenship, the engagement of people of all faiths and none in public activities, being used to foster 'good relations' and understanding across the spectrum of religious and ethnic differences and the Prevent strategy which sought to tackle religious radicalisation and violent extremism (particularly in terms of Islam). More recently under the Coalition government, the revised version of *Prevent* (Home Office 2015) has attempted to take account of Far- Right extremism and British nationalism and yet the focus is still clearly on Islam as the 'problem' and is grounded in a 'risk-based' approach (*ibid*).

Education and Training of the British Police

The launch of the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP) in 2005 was a response to the criticisms set out in Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary inspection report, Training Matters (HMIC 2002: 72), which concluded that current police training provision was 'not fit for purpose'. At the heart of the problem was 'insufficient community engagement' during initial training and a key recommendation from HMIC was that the training delivered to new recruits should be 'restructured to provide an in-depth understanding of the community to be policed' (HMIC 2002: 107).

The IPLDP was therefore specifically designed with community engagement at the heart of it, incorporating 80 h of community engagement activities as part of this initial training (Home Office 2005). It should be noted that although the current system of police officer training in Britain is 'fragmented' (Heslop 2010), with some police services working in partnership with academic institutions and others providing in-house training, the majority sent their officers on placements similar to those highlighted here.

Whilst placements are a conventional pedagogical approach in other areas of professional education such as youth work, nursing and social work, this was the first time that this method had been utilised in police officer training. The IPLDP consisted

of a combination of classroom-based and experiential learning as well as reflective practice with the explicit aim of providing student officers with 'an understanding of other organisations, diverse communities and groups within their local policing areas' (Heslop 2011: 331, Stanislas 2009: 105). In the authors' academic institution up until 2014, police student officers undertook a module in Diversity and Community Engagement, within which the placements were situated. Additionally, there was specific input on religion and belief from a local Centre for Multi-Faith Engagement. Diversity and Community Engagement training was delivered (to varying degrees) to both student police officers and those training to become Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) see Crisp (2014). As part of their studies, the student police officers and PCSOs were encouraged to reflect on their own 'values', 'beliefs' and their professional role policing 'in the community.'

Nationally, police education and training has recently been impacted by public sector funding cuts at the same time as a policy shift towards further 'professionalization' of policing (Stanislas 2014: 59–60, see College of Policing) and this has, in some cases, changed the content and length of degrees, local partnership training provision etc. Between 2014 and 2017, there was a noticeable absence of 'community engagement' within the police degree curriculum. Although some of the 43 Police Services continue to include education and training in the area of religion and belief the drivers for and focus of such training has in general shifted towards a more risk-based approach in light of the heightened 'terror threat levels'. Developing notion of 'suspect communities' and the role the introduction of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (Temporary Provisions) 1974 had on constructing the Irish Community as a 'suspect community', Pantazis and Pemberton (2009) suggest that recent legislative changes and political discourse have branded Muslims as the 'new' suspect community. Although police education and training regarding religion and faith has been seen (and was intended to) develop awareness and understanding of the diverse range of faith communities in Britain and foster 'good relations' and policing by collaboration not just by consent, the authors' argue that the focus on multi-faith awareness rather than inter-faith engagement exacerbates the notion of community-targeted policing of identified suspect communities.

In December 2017, new police degree curriculum guidance was sent to accredited policing degree HE providers by the College of Policing for mapping against current provision. Within this document was a section entitled Policing Communities. However, much of the language used in the initial mapping seen by the authors was focused around information gathering, intelligence and tension indicators regarding problems within and between, monitoring of and 'interventions' in communities. Only once was the term 'community engagement' referred to, and this was used in relation to 'identification of emerging issues, problems or concerns' and 'encouraging community ownership of community issues'. Nowhere does this document advise policing degree providers to re-establish placements or experiential learning opportunities to ensure student officers truly understand their communities. This indicates that the focus remains on intelligence and information gathering about, and in the policing of, 'suspect' or problematic communities.

Conclusion

The status of religion and faith matters in the developing countries of the English-speaking Caribbean was found to be very similar to that in South Africa, in so far as these issues play little role in the education and training of police officers. What is particularly interesting in the case of St Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago is that the marginalisation of poor young black males has contributed to their attraction to faith and religions, which tend to be particularly critical of the government and the status quo, and in the case of the latter, contributes to radicalisation and the possibility of violence which has already been experienced in that country. The lack of attention to matters around radicalisation and its attraction to particular sections of the population is especially worrying given the crucial role this territory plays in nurturing and exporting Islamic militants throughout the region and North America.

In the British context, while officially a religious country, committed affiliation and participation in organised religion seems limited to only newer formations, which are largely critical of the religious establishment and reflect postmodern changes in being more linked to the identity of local communities and their diverse needs. Unlike the two Caribbean countries in the case studies, British government has sought to address religious matters in the context of being responsive to changes to its demographic composition and some of the problems associated with it at the policy and institutional level. The police have been at the forefront of these developments given their pivotal role in the administration of justice and in providing services requiring sensitivity and understanding of people and their values. More recently, and in common with the police in Trinidad and Tobago, there has been a greater emphasis on the crime control model, which is largely driven by the desire for more and better quality intelligence, which in the British context has been achieved at the expense of more richer approaches to police education and learning on matters of religion and faith.

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