

**IN THE FIRST TIER TRIBUNAL  
GENERAL REGULATORY CHAMBER  
(CHARITY)**

**Claim No: CA/2021/0013**

**B E T W E E N:-**

**Mermaids**

**(Appellant)**

**-and-**

**The Charity Commission for  
England and Wales**

**(First Respondent)**

**The Trustees of LGB Alliance**

**(Second Respondent)**

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**Witness Statement of Kate Harris**

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I, Kate Harris, of LGB Alliance, Kemp House 152-160 City Road London EC1V 2NX, shall say as follows:

**The Founding of LGB Alliance**

- (1) I am one of the two lesbian founders of LGB Alliance. Our goal has always been to fulfil our charitable objects, which include: 'to promote equality and diversity for the public benefit, in particular by: the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation; advancing education and raising awareness in equality and diversity in respect of lesbian, gay and bisexual people; and cultivating a sentiment in favour of equality and diversity for lesbian, gay and bisexual people.'
- (2) LGB Alliance is a charity to give voice, advice, representation, and a space for LGB people who consider, as I do, that sex is immutable; that sex is not a matter of identity. It is not an organisation set up to oppose the rights of trans people.

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- (3) In the course of making this statement, I shall refer to a bundle of documents, which is now shown to me marked '[KH1]'. References take the form '[Exhibit KHX]', where 'X' is the exhibit number.

### **Growing up a Lesbian**

- (4) My father died when I was young. I grew up as a rather lonely, isolated child. I was different from other children, and this became clear when I was at primary school. My much-loved teacher Mr Higgins used to begin PE lessons for our class of 40 by calling out: “Boys and Katharine Harris over there! Girls over there!” Off I went to play football and cricket – at which I excelled. I don’t know what the girls did. I was considered boyish by others.
- (5) Today, I would have been taught in Relationships and Sex Education lessons that we all have a “gender identity” and that I had a gender identity that differed from the sex I was “assigned at birth” and my still-developing brain would have believed that. It is more than likely that a well-meaning teacher who had attended training in “LGBTQIA+” matters would have taken me to one side to talk to me about why I might be different.
- (6) I am certain that I would have jumped at the special attention, and the explanation as to why I might be different from the other girls. I might have fallen for the line that in fact I was a boy – but “born in the wrong body”. I might have pushed for puberty blockers, hormone treatment and surgery, with all the damage that I consider could have followed: such as the loss of sexual function, sterility, osteoporosis, stunted growth, facial hair, male patterns of balding, increased likelihood of cancer, and all the damage that we do not yet know about – as the long-term effects of puberty blockers and hormone treatment are still unclear.
- (7) In fact, I was a lesbian and I have been allowed to grow up and become a happy lesbian. I believe many of the girls today who are much like I was may be getting the message that they may have been born in the wrong body. I believe that it is not only a personal tragedy for them, but could become an unfolding global medical scandal. Even transgender doctors at World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH) are now warning about the dangers of offering

puberty blockers, hormone treatment and surgery to young people [EXHIBIT KH1].

### **Lesbian Activism**

- (8) I have always been an activist as to issues related to my sexuality. I have been involved in promoting lesbian, gay and bisexual rights since the 1970s. I helped run Brighton Women’s Centre, which was set up exclusively for women in 1974 by four groups: Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom; the National Childbirth Trust, an informal group for young mothers, and Brighton Women’s Liberation Group. For my undergraduate degree, I wrote about how the women’s centre came into existence. This is at [EXHIBIT KH2].
- (9) We lobbied Brighton Council for a women’s drop-in centre offering information, advice and free pregnancy testing – for women (that is, natal females). Today the Centre says on its website “We’re Brighton Women’s Centre and we’ve been supporting self-identifying women in Sussex for over 40 years”. <https://womenscentre.org.uk>. This is incorrect, and I have asked the current leadership of the Centre to change this public disinformation. They have declined to do so.
- (10) This is one example of why I have become so active in fighting for freedom of speech, facts and evidence-based policy-making. I will not allow my history as a lesbian to be rewritten and totally distorted in my lifetime.
- (11) When I left Sussex University in 1976 I worked full-time at Brighton Women’s Aid refuge. The refuge was staffed by a group of lesbians who initially worked as volunteers. In my final year there we received salaries from Brighton Council. In February 2021 it was announced that the current group running the present-day equivalent of Brighton Women’s Aid was to lose its funding – as it was not providing what was called “inclusive service provision”, this was reported in The Times [EXHIBIT KH3]. I believe that the new “inclusive” policy leaves women vulnerable. There is a growing awareness that violence against women is overwhelmingly inflicted by men. The defunding was an example, I believe, of the sweeping away of services built specifically to protect those who are among

the most vulnerable in society: women, including lesbians, and children, some of whom are fleeing from domestic violence situations.

- (12) Throughout my career I have been “out” as a lesbian at work – to colleagues, clients and anyone else with whom I interacted. It has always seemed to me to be important to be visible and to demonstrate that LGB people are not very different from other human beings.
- (13) It has always been important to me to support other LGB people who may not feel so confident about their sexuality – and I will always be an outspoken supporter of LGB people wherever I can.
- (14) Equally, I have always been willing to help colleagues or friends with children who are LGB who may be concerned about their future. I can tell them that they need not worry: being LGB in the UK is fantastic – or it was.
- (15) I have lived and worked in UK, France and New Zealand. Latterly, I was employed by American Express Global Corporate Services. I led a global team managing corporate clients with a multibillion dollar annual spend.
- (16) The dominant lesbian and gay rights charity in the UK over the past 20 years or so is Stonewall. During my time at American Express my relationship with Stonewall changed. Originally, I had been an active individual supporter, taking part in fundraising events such as walks in New York and Brighton, fundraising dinners at the Savoy or the Dorchester, awards evenings at the V&A and various other events. At my partner’s and my Civil Partnership we asked guests to donate to Stonewall rather than give us “wedding” presents.
- (17) In the early days, Stonewall was dominated by gay men. I remember at my first Stonewall dinner I sat at the only table of lesbians: all the others were full of gay men with the occasional straight female friend present. I encouraged as many lesbians as possible to support Stonewall and we even formed a lesbian dining group called Violin Girls at one point.
- (18) I was proud to be a Stonewall Ambassador. This meant giving a certain amount of money each month to Stonewall and doing my best to represent the views of Stonewall wherever relevant.

- (19) Once I achieved a certain seniority at American Express I was able to set up an LGB network group and subscribe to the Diversity Champions scheme. American Express completed the Workplace Equality Index (a kind of scoring mechanism that Stonewall uses for employers who are members of the scheme) for several years, and did quite well. In those days it was about ensuring employers knew the law as it affected LGB people and about ensuring that employees would feel able to be themselves at work. There were no demands on changing language or making facilities mixed-sex or using the terms “gender” or “gender identity” (instead of “sex”) as we are seeing today. It is deeply concerning to see Stonewall’s evidence to the Women and Equalities Select Committee in 2015 – where their recommendations included: “A review of the Equality Act 2010 to include ‘gender identity’ rather than ‘gender reassignment’ as a protected characteristic and to remove exemptions, such as access to single-sex spaces” **[EXHIBIT KH4]**.
- (20) Eventually I was able to gain the agreement of American Express to sponsor the annual fundraising walk in Brighton - for £20,000 a year to begin with and then I believe it went up to £30,000 a year. As the senior representative of American Express I launched the walk we sponsored a couple of times. A photograph of me doing this in 2009 is at **[EXHIBIT KH5]**, with an article from Pink News describing the walk.
- (21) I was committed to the success of Stonewall’s campaigning work. Once all our goals had been achieved it was my belief that Stonewall should change focus and work on supporting LGB people around the world – with particular emphasis on those Commonwealth countries in which homosexuality was still illegal.

### **Stonewall Changes**

- (22) In 2014 Ruth Hunt applied for the position of CEO at Stonewall and I supported her – with one proviso. I asked her to confirm that she would not change Stonewall from an LGB to an LGB&T organisation – and she gave me her personal assurance that she would not. The reason for this was not that I had anything against trans people, but because I felt (for the reasons that are set out

in this statement and the statements of the other LGB Alliance witnesses) that there is a conflict between the LGB on the one hand, and the T on the other.

- (23) As Bev Jackson has explained, same-sex sexual orientation and transgender identity are very different issues. Stonewall staff, including senior leaders, always had cordial relationships with various trans people but the two groups agreed that LGB people and T people have different needs and priorities.
- (24) LGB Alliance fully supports the protections afforded to persons with the protected characteristic of “gender reassignment” under the 2010 Equality Act. Trans people have been welcomed at all three of our meetings, and have spoken from our platform.
- (25) Once Ruth Hunt had given her assurance that Stonewall would keep to its original mission, many lesbians supported her application, including me. Ms Hunt got the job in August 2014 and I congratulated her.
- (26) It became clear very quickly that Stonewall was going to change under Ms Hunt’s leadership, contrary to the personal assurance she had given me. By 2015 it was obvious that not only would Stonewall become a trans-focused charity but it would gradually phase out any interest in protecting the rights of people with same-sex sexual orientation – while ironically using the tagline “acceptance without exception”. Over the years this phasing out has been visible in annual reports and in the wording of the Workplace Equality Index. An analysis of wording in Stonewall documents by Professor Michael Biggs of the University of Oxford is at [EXHIBIT KH6], together with a review of the change in wording in the Stonewall Workplace Equality Indices of 2020 and 2022 from the organisation Sex Matters.
- (27) For myself and many others, all the joy had gone from Stonewall. It had changed from being a charity which was well respected for its professional approach to lobbying to one focused on gender identity rather than same-sex sexual orientation.
- (28) Historically, Stonewall had achieved its success through bridge-building. No-one at Stonewall insisted that everyone agree with a certain set of ideas, but we

argued that the need for legal equality and social courtesy should be generally accepted.

(29) Stonewall embarked on a new strategy, one which was summarised in the slogan of “no debate”. This meant that no discussion of Stonewall’s decision to rename “same-sex attracted people” – that is, homosexuals – “same-gender attracted people” could be discussed. The organisation set up to promote our rights had, as far as I and many others were concerned, now decided to deny the very basis of homosexuality – same-sex sexual orientation. Instead, we considered that Stonewall was promoting the belief that sex and sex-related rights should cede priority to gender identity. Stonewall’s position, as reported at the time, is set out at This created a conflict between gender identify and sexual orientation. **Stonewall's revised position is set out in a Reuters report dated Feb 2019 and in a Stonewall web post dated March 2017 entitled Trans Women are Women [Exhibit KH7]**

(30) This refusal to debate can be seen in the communications between me and Stonewall as I tried to initiate discussions [EXHIBIT KH8].

(31) I worked with Jonny Best to launch a petition via Change.org in October 2018 - I will refer to it in more detail below. Stonewall published a response to the petition on their website, saying:

*"The petition asks us to acknowledge that there are a range of viewpoints around sex and gender. Of course we know that these differing views exist, and have existed for many years. The petition also asks us to acknowledge that there is a conflict between trans rights and 'sex based women's rights'. We do not and will not acknowledge this. Doing so would imply that we do not believe that trans people deserve the same rights as others. However, we are unequivocal in our support of trans people's – and everyone's – right to equality and will remain so. Our motto is 'acceptance without exception'."* [EXHIBIT KH9].

(32) Elsewhere, Stonewall said “*Today Stonewall promotes the rights of a wide range of people: “At Stonewall, we stand for all lesbian, gay, bi, trans, queer, questioning and ace (LGBTQ+) people”* [EXHIBIT KH10]. This is a markedly

different group of people from LGB people. The list of identities is laid out in the Stonewall Glossary of Terms: **[EXHIBIT KH11]**.

- (33) One example is the Ace and aro/ace and aro spectrum **[EXHIBIT KH11, pages 1 and 2]**: “Umbrella terms used to describe the wide group of people who experience a lack of, varying, or only occasional experiences of romantic and/or sexual attraction, including a lack of attraction. People who identify under these umbrella terms may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms, including, but not limited to, asexual, ace, aromantic, aro, demi, grey, and abro. People may also use terms such as gay, bi, lesbian, straight and queer in conjunction with ace and aro to explain the direction of romantic or sexual attraction if and when they experience it.”
- (34) There is still life-threatening discrimination against LGB people as can be seen from the situation in Iran and other countries where gays and lesbians are killed for being homosexual. In Uganda, the Government attempted to reintroduce a “Kill the Gays” Bill in 2019. Thankfully this failed but the plight of LGB people in Africa remains a serious concern, as reported in **[EXHIBIT KH12]**.
- (35) My point is that while there are serious issues around the world and in the UK, there must be a charity whose focus remains fixed on real-world problems faced by LGB people. That is the focus of LGB Alliance.
- (36) The old Stonewall did not misrepresent the law. Today, however, I believe that Stonewall describes the law as they would like it to be – not as it is. This was the explicit criticism of Stonewall made in the Reindorf review **[EXHIBIT KH13]** of academics (including lesbian academics) who were “no-platformed” at Essex University. It is common for Stonewall to state that “gender identity” is a protected characteristic in the Equality Act 2010. It is not and never has been. But because Stonewall wishes to replace “sex” with “gender identity” they are happy to repeat this – even on BBC News **[EXHIBIT KH14, page 2]**.
- (37) The Reindorf Review found that Stonewall had misrepresented the law at Essex University **[EXHIBIT KH13 paragraph 243.11]** and that an involvement with Stonewall created “drawbacks and potential illegalities (**Recommendation 28, page 197**), and this was reported in The Times **[EXHIBIT KH15]**. This deliberate

misrepresentation of the law would have been unthinkable from Stonewall pre 2015.

- (38) The Government itself has been expressing concern about the role of Stonewall in public institutions. In May 2021 Liz Truss, the equalities minister "pushed for all government departments to withdraw from Stonewall's employment scheme following a row over transgender rights." **[EXHIBIT KH16]**
- (39) By 2022 advice to use "external assurance and benchmarking organisations by exception only" was published in a Civil Service guide. I believe it is fair to infer that this referred to Stonewall, the original "external assurance and benchmarking organisation" in the field of Diversity and Inclusion, and the one which had by far the greatest reach across the Civil Service for nearly two decades. On page 13 in a section called 'A Civil Service that tests its policies' we read that the Civil Service will in future: "Develop an Internal Assurance Framework and Benchmark Standard which will audit and test delivery of this strategy using internal expertise and experience. Whilst these are in development, *engagement with external assurance and benchmarking organisations should be by exception only and agreed by Permanent Secretaries supported by Civil Service Human Resources and in line with government standards.*" **[EXHIBIT KH17, internal page 13, right hand column]**". This is a significant change from previous years where Stonewall was seen as an exemplar of the promotion of best practice for LGB people in the workplace.

### **A Focus on the Rights of LGB People**

- (40) In her witness statement, Bev Jackson has set out how LGB Alliance came to be formed. My goal in setting up LGB Alliance was to replicate the best of Stonewall as it was before Ruth Hunt took over. That meant a focus on promoting the rights of LGB people, respectful dialogue and fact-based policy recommendations. That has guided everything I have done in the last few years to set up and help steer LGB Alliance.

- (41) There was a two-year process leading up to the launch meeting in October 2019. During that period I held a series of informal meetings to discuss how we could revive a fact-based LGB movement which created friends, not enemies.
- (42) The people I invited to the meetings were in the main former Stonewall Trustees. They shared my concerns at the direction Stonewall was taking and the concern surrounding the “no debate” Stonewall policy. It was a policy that was picked up and echoed by many other groups in the LGBT+ diaspora.

### **Engagement with Stonewall**

- (43) In March 2017 I began my correspondence with Stonewall. My concern had been growing as I saw Stonewall adopting a zero tolerance approach to any opinion that differed from the “new orthodoxy”. This culminated in an inaccurate attack on Jenni Murray **[EXHIBIT KH19]** following an article she had written in the Sunday Times **[EXHIBIT KH18]**.
- (44) I wrote to Ruth Hunt about this, saying “it is tragic to see Stonewall behave in such an irresponsible and damaging way” **[EXHIBIT KH20]**.
- (45) On 20 March I received a reply from Ruth Hunt. She insisted: “The law is very clear: one person can change gender to another and cannot be discriminated against because of this. Trans women are women. This is a fact enshrined in law.” I disagreed (and continue to disagree) that it is in fact enshrined in law that “Trans women are women.”
- (46) At that point I realised how serious the situation had become. The CEO of Stonewall was misrepresenting the law and denying biological reality. In my view this would lead to the complete erasure of homosexuality – as sex was to be removed from law and replaced by the concept of self-identification of any number of “genders”. I believed then, as I believe now, that LGB people who share my views needed a charity to represent their voice, in the same way as Stonewall and many other charities, represent the LGBTQ+ voices. The purpose was to create a voice that would take part in respectful dialogue and be recognised as a valuable part of the debate.

- (47) The first action taken was to launch an online petition in October 2018, which was signed by more than 10,000 people. The petition asked Stonewall to “acknowledge that there are a range of valid viewpoints around sex, gender and transgender politics” and to engage in respectful debate. Comments added to the petition were surprisingly high – and the vast majority came from former Stonewall supporters who were now as concerned as I was at the change of direction and the abandonment of Stonewall’s original mission [EXHIBIT KH21].
- (48) By that time I had been communicating with a number of people who shared my concerns and we followed the petition with a letter to The Times on 4 October 2018, in which we urged Stonewall to “foster an atmosphere of respectful debate rather than demonising as transphobic those who wish to discuss, or dissent from, Stonewall’s transgender policies” [EXHIBIT KH22].
- (49) This was followed, on 9 October 2018, by the first in a series of letters to Jan Gooding, Chair of Trustees at Stonewall. In each of these letters I asked Jan Gooding to meet for respectful discussion and she sent a response outlining Stonewall’s position. The last letter was sent to Jan Gooding on 11 Dec 2019, six weeks after our initial meeting at Conway Hall. It was to be our last attempt to open a dialogue and to avoid having to form LGB Alliance. I wrote: *“To be clear – we do not want to form LGB Alliance. But we feel we have no choice as long as Stonewall will not discuss the concerns expressed by so many LGB people about the direction Stonewall has chosen to follow concerning the issues of sex and gender.”*
- (50) When the new CEO of Stonewall, Nancy Kelley, was appointed 1 June 2020, Bev Jackson and I wrote to her to congratulate her and request a Zoom call. No reply was received [EXHIBIT KH23].

### **Founding of LGB Alliance**

- (51) My primary aim was to move forward on LGB rights through respectful dialogue with the leading LGB organisation, Stonewall: we wanted to discuss the issues. I want to add that it was at no time our aim or purpose that LGB Alliance should be an “anti-trans” or “repeal the GRA” organisation. Neither of these issues has

ever featured in either our thinking or our documentation. LGB Alliance seeks to give a voice and to provide services and help to and for those who believe, like I do, that LGB rights are the rights of people who are same-sex attracted and who consider that “same gender attraction” is something different.

(52) In May 2019 I was introduced to Bev Jackson by someone who knew I was trying to organise an LGB group of some kind to re-build our LGB life and culture. I found out that Ms Jackson, a founding member of the UK Gay Liberation Front (GLF) when she was at LSE in 1970, was also trying to set up a dialogue with Stonewall on the same subject.

(53) Ms Jackson had been asked to sit on the panel of a GLF anniversary meeting at LSE in October which she references in her witness statement. That meeting was cancelled, but on 18 July 2019 Ms Jackson called me to say that she would be travelling to London in any case and that she thought we should call our own meeting on the date that the meeting had been planned for - 22 October 2019. I said to her “That is the best news I have heard all year!”. This was the day when we both realised that we could finally move forward in setting up a group specifically aimed at fulfilling what became our charitable objects:

*To promote equality & diversity for the public benefit, in particular by: the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation; advancing education & raising awareness in equality & diversity in respect of lesbian, gay & bisexual people; conducting or commissioning research on equality & diversity issues and publishing the useful results to the public.*

Our charitable objects are at **[EXHIBIT KH24]**.

(54) Between 18 July 2019 and 22 October 2019 Bev Jackson and I contacted over 70 people we believed would be interested in coming to our meeting. The majority of the people we contacted were lesbian, gay or bisexual, but we also invited people who were straight, and people who were trans.

(55) It was a secret meeting. We were concerned that our aims meant that the meeting would be attacked and we did not want any disruption of the kind that had threatened so many previous meetings of other groups who disagreed with

the ideas that gender was more important than sex. An article in the Morning Star which described an example of such disruption. [EXHIBIT KH25]. This is just one example of such disruption but it had become the norm when any meeting of this nature was announced.

- (56) We asked all our invitees not to tell anyone else about the meeting as we were very concerned that the meeting should not be attacked.
- (57) In the event, 68 people attended the meeting and there was no disruption whatsoever as everyone had kept the details confidential.
- (58) Our speakers at the meeting were Simon Fanshawe OBE, a founder of Stonewall, Miranda Yardley, a trans person and human rights activist, as well as Bev Jackson and myself, the founders of LGB Alliance. In addition, many people made valuable contributions from the floor.
- (59) The first action of the meeting was to send a letter to the Equality and Human Rights Commission asking for their help with our approaches to Stonewall, we wrote: “We believe that it is now time to ask the EHRC to intervene and moderate between so many competing viewpoints” [on sex, gender and transgender politics]. This letter is at [EXHIBIT KH26].
- (60) In addition we set up a working group to devise our Mission Statement and formed a management team.
- (61) The name LGB Alliance was a working title. However, it became fixed and adopted the night of the meeting as hundreds of people began to tweet about it.

## **LGB Alliance**

- (62) Suddenly LGB Alliance became a “thing”. Around the world many people were thrilled to hear of our existence and we received hundreds of tweets congratulating us from every continent, some examples are at [EXHIBIT KH27].
- (63) Many others on Twitter were horrified – and without knowing much about us apart from the fact that we were promoting LGB rights, they immediately posted tweets saying that we were a “hate group” and encouraged Twitter followers to “pass it on” [EXHIBIT KH28].

- (64) It should be noted that when it was decided to form a charity, the application (which was initially drafted by me) was based entirely on the original application of Stonewall, and I have compared our charitable objects at [EXHIBIT KH29]. As a result, we essentially have the same charitable purposes as Stonewall but we serve a different group of people. We were very clear about what we wanted LGB Alliance to be – a well-respected charity which relied on facts to promote our case for social and legal equality for LGB people – which is what we believe Stonewall was before 2015.
- (65) One big difference between us and Stonewall is that Stonewall never had to fight for the right of LGB people to exist. But we did. We set up in 2019 at a time when the view that gender identity was more important than biological sex had become widespread. There was and is a campaign to remove sex and sex-based rights from law and base future laws on gender identity instead of sex. This is a worldwide campaign. From our inception the nature of our charitable aims – that we support same-sex attracted people and provide them with a voice and support – meant that we represented a different point of view. The expression of our views has been attacked – and our rights as LGB Alliance to provide charitable services, debate, and a voice for people who share our beliefs is similarly threatened. I would note that these organisations that now oppose us, such as Stonewall, initially had had the same aims as we have today.

### **My Experience with LGB Alliance**

- (66) From 22 October 2019 until today my life has been spent helping LGB Alliance combat disinformation. We have been targeted and seen views ascribed to us which are not correct. Bev Jackson deals with a lot of this in her statement as much of it is repeated in the Appellants' witness statements. We do represent a different viewpoint from other LGBTQ+ charities because we are an LGB charity – but that is a charitable space that needs to be occupied and no one else is doing so.
- (67) I had initially hoped that what we were doing would be seen as a positive contribution to society. The toll has been heavy. The debate has sadly become

vitriolic. So much so that at times I have been very concerned for my personal safety. There was a time when each time I opened my front door I was wondering whether I would be attacked. My level of fear has receded over the last 12 months but for the first 18 months I was constantly worried about the safety of myself and my family.

- (68) Several times I have thought I would die. This was purely as a result of the daily onslaught of insults, lies and the work needed to try and keep LGB Alliance alive. My health today is poor and I attribute that to pressure and stress. I had no need to do this work and my only intentions in taking it on were positive – to help other LGB people, and especially young lesbians whose lives could be ruined by gender identity theory.
- (69) There needs to be a debate in this area and there needs to be a voice and a charitable service provider for those who believe as I do that sex is immutable. I believe that LGB Alliance has played an important part in giving an alternative narrative to a version of events that a child could be “born in the wrong body”. We have also challenged assumptions that were previously going unchallenged: namely, that all lesbians, gay men and bisexuals are perfectly happy to be redefined as being sexually attracted to others of the same “gender”, and that LGB people are unconcerned by the potential impact of policies based on gender identity on women and girls.
- (70) More than that, given the “no-debate” approach of other organisations, we are the only charity in this space that is providing a narrative to support the fact that same-sex attraction is distinct from “same-gender attraction”, that it is something that should be debated, and that services and a space should be provided for others who share our views.
- (71) We have also done our best – against incredible odds and the most virulent abuse imaginable – to stay cheerful and full of love. We want to demonstrate to young people that being LGB is great! We want to spread the message that there is no need to worry – same-sex attraction has a wonderful history and an even better future. But that means women loving women, men loving men, and bisexual people loving either.

- (72) We could not have done this without our supporters. LGB, trans and straight people have come to our aid repeatedly. We have been delighted by the commitment and dedication of so many highly-qualified and talented individuals, who are happy to volunteer with us. Love brings us together and the hatred directed at us by those groups and individuals who are trying to destroy us will eventually disappear in a puff of smoke.
- (73) I am proud of what we have achieved. I could not stand by, having had a happy and fulfilling life as a lesbian, surrounded by other happy LGB people, without restating that homosexuality, being a lesbian, means being attracted to a person of the same sex.

### **Our conference**

- (74) In her statement, Belinda Bell refers to an incident at our conference regarding a person named Jen Ives who is a comedian.
- (75) We were alerted to the fact that Jen Ives and a friend were at the QE2 centre soon after the conference had begun because of a tweet that Jen Ives had sent.
- (76) The conference was open to all and Jen Ives had tickets so there was no problem in terms of attendance. However the tweet implied that Jen Ives might have been at the conference for less than serious reasons. As a precautionary measure, in case any disruption followed, I advised the head of security at the QE2 Centre that Jen Ives and a friend were present.
- (77) I made it my business to welcome Jen Ives during the first coffee break, as I did with many attendees, with words to the effect – “how’s it going”? As far as I remember Jen replied that all was well - and I ended with the words “I hope you have a good day”. Jen and the friend interacted with other attendees and conversations seemed cordial.
- (78) Later that morning I walked out of the main conference room and saw that there was a noisy discussion going on. I do not know how it started but I could see that Jen Ives was involved and one of the other attendees was very distressed and upset and raising his voice while Jen Ives remained silent. I immediately

intervened, taking the delegate by the arm and asking him to come with me. He did and we sat down together while I calmed him down and he regained his composure. As I was not able to stay with him for long, I asked some volunteers and delegates to take care of him. Other delegates who seemed to know this individual advised me that he was extremely sensitive and possibly on the autistic spectrum. Later on, I was told that the delegate was very upset as he had seen Jen Ives entering and exiting the women's toilets, and he believed this was a deliberate provocation. It also transpired that Jen Ives had a concealed recording device. The intention of this device was to collect "evidence" to be used for articles, podcasts or videos about the conference.

## **Mermaids**

(79) I hope it will be clear from what I have said that our existence as a charity is not in any sense an attack on Mermaids' fundraising efforts. We provide different services to a different constituency from that served by Mermaids, who represent trans people. Of course, we have different beliefs and there is a conflict between them. We express those beliefs and they are different from Mermaids' beliefs. However, our aim is to debate and serve the interests of LGB people who do not see gender identity as something that takes precedence over sex. We express contrasting and different views but the impact is simply that they disagree with our views and we with them.

(80) We believe that LGB Alliance is right to challenge the "born in the wrong body" narrative. But that is very far from suggesting that we are seeking to deprive Mermaids of funding. We are not. We advocate our view although we recognise it may conflict with others. When I began work on challenging the new Stonewall regime, my interest was not at all to oppose trans people but rather to serve the interests of LGB people who believe as I do that sex is immutable – and that remains the aim of LGB Alliance.

(81) The need for freedom drives us forward. We refuse to go back into the closet – we intend to remain out, proud and loud!

## **Statement of Truth**

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I believe that the facts stated in this witness statement are true. I understand that proceedings for contempt of court may be brought against anyone who makes, or causes to be made, a false statement in a document verified by a statement of truth without an honest belief in its truth.



**18 March 2022**

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Signature

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Date

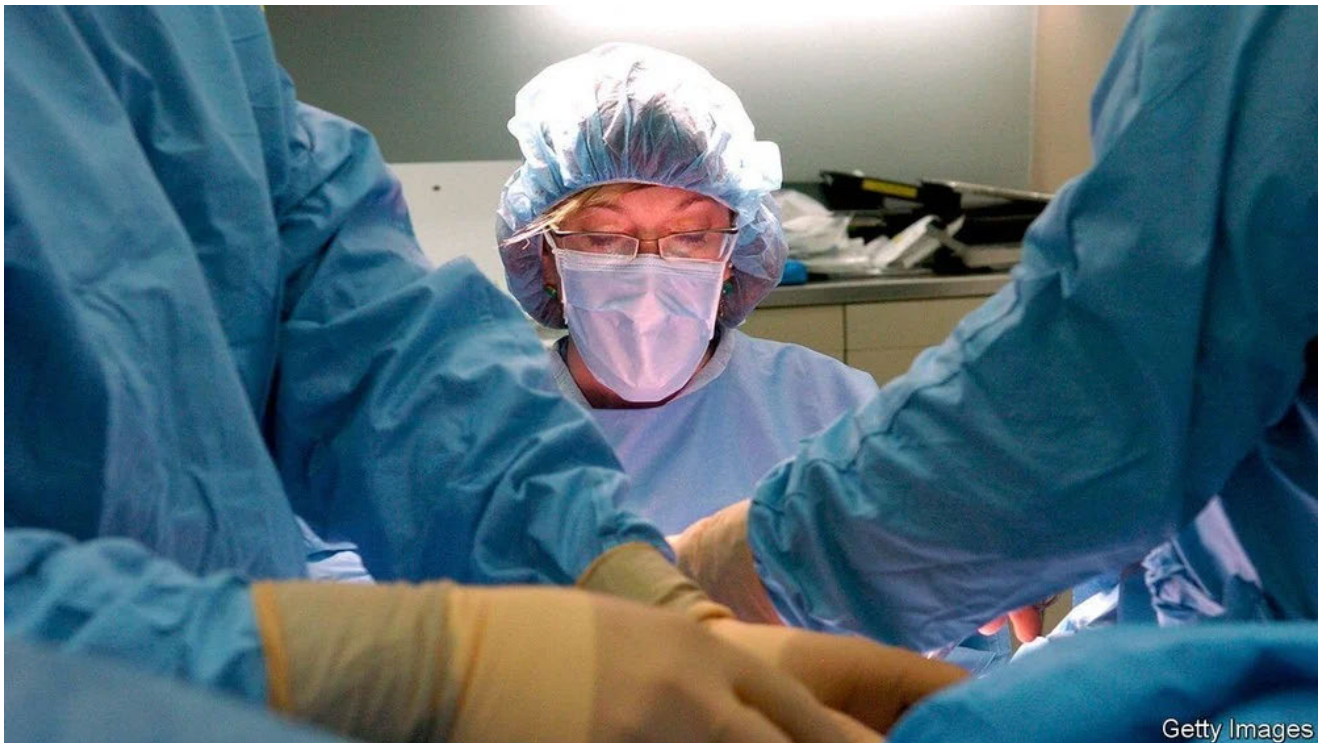
United States

Oct 16th 2021 edition

Anatomy of a scandal

# Opinion on the use of puberty blockers in America is turning

Even members of the World Professional Association for Transgender Health have some concerns



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Oct 16th 2021

WASHINGTON, DC



**W**ORRIES ABOUT the use of puberty blockers, which are prescribed to some children to prevent the development of secondary sex characteristics (like breasts and facial hair) have been mounting in much of the rich world. Some countries have scaled back their use. Not America. Doctors who work in transgender clinics routinely claim that prescribing such drugs is conservative,

<https://www.economist.com/united-states/2021/10/16/opinion-on-the-use-of-puberty-blockers-in-america-is-turning>

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because their effects are largely reversible, and compassionate, because they save children with gender dysphoria (the feeling of being in the wrong body) from enormous distress.

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That may be beginning to change. Last week Abigail Shrier, a writer, published interviews in “Common Sense With Bari Weiss”, a newsletter, with two transgender health-care professionals who suggested that some doctors were irresponsible in the way they treated children. The women, both trans, are on the board of the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH), which endorses the use of blockers early in puberty in some cases. Though blockers are often described as operating like a pause button, most children prescribed them go on to cross-sex hormones. This combination can have irreversible consequences, including sterility and the inability to orgasm.

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This was the chief concern expressed by Marci Bowers, a vaginoplasty surgeon who is due to become the president of WPATH in 2022. Dr Bowers built her career operating on adults, but she has also operated on teens: in 2018 she performed a “penile inversion” on Jazz Jennings, a 17-year-old who had been put on blockers aged 11. But Dr Bowers told Ms Shrier she was “not a fan” of putting children on blockers early in puberty. She worried, she said, “about their reproductive rights later. I worry about their sexual health later and ability to find intimacy.”

In 2018 Lisa Littman, a researcher, was hounded and lost her job as a consultant after coining the term “rapid onset gender dysphoria” (ROGD) to describe the social contagion of trans-identification among teens, mostly girls. Dr Bowers appeared to acknowledge the existence of “this ROGD thing” as she called it. “I

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think there probably are people who are influenced. There is a little bit of ‘Yeah, that’s so cool. Yeah, I kind of want to do that too.’” In some cases, she said, girls

with eating disorders were being diagnosed with gender dysphoria, “then they see you for one visit, and then they recommend testosterone.”

Erica Anderson, a clinical psychologist at the University of California San Francisco’s Child and Adolescent Gender Centre told Ms Shrier that because of “sloppy health-care work”—“rushing people through the medicalisation” and an “abject failure” to properly evaluate patients’ mental health—she expected more young people to regret transitioning. Her clinic had seen twice as many females as males for two years running, she said.

It is exceedingly rare for health-care professionals in America to criticise—or even question—the practices that have become prevalent in the medical treatment of gender-dysphoric youth. Professional bodies, including the American Association of Paediatrics, have endorsed “gender-affirmative” care, a model that accepts patients’ self-diagnosis that they are trans, and the use of blockers. Anyone who publicly dissents tends to be castigated.

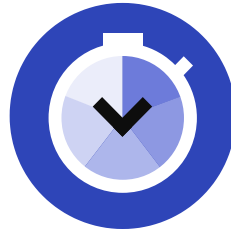
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Will the airing of these views change the way trans-identifying children are treated? Laura Edwards-Leeper, a psychologist who helped found America’s first transgender clinic for children in Boston in 2007, has claimed (including to this newspaper) that too few teens undergo crucial mental-health assessments before starting treatment. She says Dr Bowers’s comments, especially about the effects of blockers on sexual function, have “shaken up” many in the field. Yet she notes some doctors are responding by talking about how they might control or slow treatment, without mentioning the role mental-health professionals should play in all this. That they are discussing the risks at all nonetheless constitutes progress. ■

*This article appeared in the United States section of the print edition under the headline "Anatomy of a scandal"*

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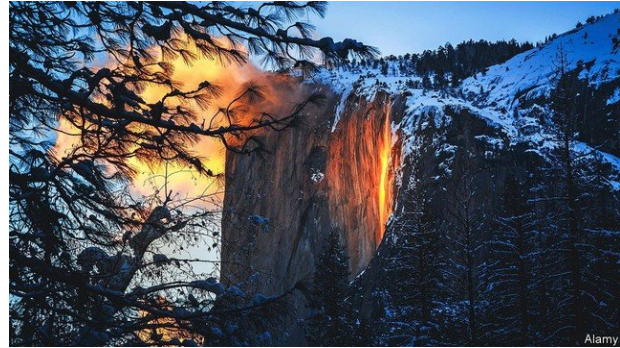


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BRIGHTON WOMEN'S CENTRE; A CASE STUDY OF  
A SUCCESSFUL PRESSURE GROUP

Introduction

History and progress of the group

Factors influencing the decision-making process

Conclusion

Appendix

Bibliography

p 13 is missing.

This is from Kate Harris.  
She was involved in the  
Women's Centre from the  
beginning & took Miss  
181 176 as part of her  
princes degree. She is  
living in London & can  
be contacted 40 me,  
Charlotte, on 477168. Sorry  
I've temporarily mislaid her address  
but can let you have it.

## INTRODUCTION

"Democratic and pluralist theory could not have gained the degree of ascendancy which it enjoys in advanced capitalist societies if it had not been based on one plainly accurate observation about them, namely that they permit and even encourage a multitude of groups and associations to organise freely and openly and to compete with each other for the advancement of such purposes as their members may wish. With exceptions which mainly affect the Left, this is indeed the case."<sup>1</sup> Here Ralph Miliband is pointing to the accommodation by liberal democratic governments of groups specifically designed to guard and promote the interests of a particular section of the population even when this involves organised and powerful opposition to State policy. The right of organised groups to influence decision-making has been established over a long period, dating back to the successful Anti-Corn Law League, whose triumph in effecting the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 "shattered the pattern of politics for a generation."<sup>2</sup> It was not until after the Second World War however that pressure groups of all kinds were perceived as an essential part of the democratic process. Before 1939 "traditional theories of politics still prevailed, and usually ... ignored interest groups either because they were too small or because they did not fit with the principles of representation on which British democracy was said to be founded."<sup>3</sup> In spite of this, pluralist theory became so widely accepted after the war that a situation was reached where it could be argued that "the representative system of government would neither be efficient nor really democratic without interest groups."<sup>4</sup> In short, it was maintained that "democratic government is now established on two columns, parties and interest groups, while it was, before the war, founded on the single-column of parties."<sup>5</sup>

1. R Miliband The State <sup>in</sup> and Capitalist Society p 131
2. C Hall How To Run A Pressure Group p7
3. J Blondel Voters, Parties & Leaders p159
4. " " " " "
5. " " " " "

Local pressure groups have a shorter history, and "still have a long way to go before they achieve the solid recognition extended to their national pressure group colleagues."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, such groups are increasingly being accepted for their role in articulating local opinion. Their influence is of course debatable, and varies in each particular instance, but at the very least they may be used by local and central authorities for consultation, and at the most, they may fight for a particular demand, and win it.

Over the last ten years there has been a proliferation of ad hoc pressure groups, i.e. groups set up to deal with one single issue, and this is significant in that it expresses either a rejection of arbitrary decision-making, or the belief that the governed have a role in initiating policy. Whenever a local or central government department makes a controversial proposal, it is only a matter of time before some kind of organised opposition will appear, and leaving aside the question of success or failure, it cannot be denied that while the feeling of alienation from the decision-making process remains, yet more and more people believe that it may be worth their while to make an effort to pressurise the authorities on an issue they feel strongly about. Brighton is no exception to this phenomenon. A glance at the back page of Brighton Voice<sup>2</sup> gives some idea of the wide range of groups which are active in the town, and besides those with long-term aims of promoting the interests of a particular group, there are a fair number of ad hoc groups as well.

The single issue which has stirred Brighton people on to more action than perhaps any other in recent years, is the Marina at Black Rock. Threatening both the middle class living on the sea-front and in the expensive parts of Kemp Town, and the working class who have been threatened with having some of the Whitehawk housing estate demolished to make way

1. C Hall op cit p7
2. Brighton Voice is the community newspaper with the largest circulation in the town.

for the construction of flats for the patrons of the Marina, the issue has united a variety of groups which for very different reasons wish to see the Marina either modified or else buried and forgotten. Despite the amount of work put into this campaign, its chances of success were low in view of the fact that it was attempting to stop a proposal which had the support of central and local government, and the specially constituted Marina Company. The Women's Centre pressure group on the other hand, which, apart from the Marina campaign was one of the most notable examples of pressure group activity in contemporary Brighton, was in a completely different situation in that it faced no organised opposition. Thus the aim of the group was achieved with ease and speed, and although the 'victory' was only a temporary one in the sense that the premises designated as the Women's Centre are eventually to be returned to East Sussex County Council for demolition and rebuilding as a centre for the mentally handicapped, at least the principle of having a Women's Centre has been established, and the social services committee of the County Council has pledged to help in the search for new accommodation when the time comes to vacate the present premises in Buckingham Road.

My intention here is to consider pressure group theory in terms of the belief that pressure groups have a significant role in influencing decision-making at the local level. Thus I will be focussing on the actual process the Women's Centre pressure group went through to get premises and financial support from the County Council, and see whether the experience of the group tends to confirm or deny the idea that organised individuals can direct policy.

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HISTORY AND PROGRESS OF THE GROUP

There has been an active Women's Liberation group in Brighton since the late 1960s, and from talking with women who were involved in the group then, it emerges that the idea of a Women's Centre was discussed as early as 1969. It came to nothing then, partly because the idea was so new, and partly because it seemed an impractical proposition at the time.

In 1972, Brighton Women's Liberation brought out a publication called 'A Woman's Place'. The June 1973 issue contained an article discussing the idea of a Women's Centre in Brighton. It mentioned the problem of women's isolation, the endless round of cooking, cleaning and child-care inherent in a mother's role, and the psychological damage that results from becoming an "automatic home-maker". While mothers may vent their anger and frustration on the children, husbands take it out on wives, and the lack of refuges for such battered women was described in the article. At this stage then, the Women's Centre was envisaged as a joint project to cope with many aspects of a woman's life, and amongst other things would provide accomodation for battered women and their children. The article says "the space for a women's centre is not lacking and neither is the need. Women must have an alternative to the dead-end solutions now available. It's not enough to have stop-gap measures which help only for the moment but don't change the basic situation. And women can change their own situation, by helping each other, by talking, by trusting. A women's centre could fulfill many of a woman's needs. We could come there just to be, to end the isolation of our homes. We could try, in an atmosphere of support, to question and answer the reasons for our oppression. Children would not be unwelcome guests. Most important, we would not be forced to remain in or return to degrading circumstances."

At the end of the article there was a general request for

information about any house that could be used as a women's centre in Brighton, possibly one of the estimated 2,700 properties empty at that time. Nothing came of this however, and no action was taken to set up a squat for example and use that as a women's centre. It was not until 1974 that premises were finally found. In April of that year, Open Cafe, which besides being a cafe serves as a centre for various community groups, offered the use of a room to the Working Association of Mothers. The room was used once a week as a temporary women's centre, and was staffed jointly by women in the Working Association of Mothers (WAM), and women from the Women's Liberation group. At about the same time, various individuals in WAM and Women's Liberation heard from Chris Miller, a Brighton community worker, that some empty buildings in Buckingham Road were to be offered to community groups for their temporary use. Thus the offer of possible premises was made before most of the pressure group activity began, and it was this offer which gave the final impetus to the formation of a group whose specific and immediate aim was to see a women's centre established in Brighton. The Women's Centre group comprised women from Women's Liberation, WAM, the National Childbirth Trust, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Thus a very broad mixture of women were involved, and this was important for the way it seemed to suggest that the centre would cater for a wide range of interests and age-groups.

As a pressure group it was slightly unusual in two ways; first of all its membership was entirely female, and secondly it was a combination of two kinds of groups. In pushing for one particular thing, i.e. the establishment of an officially supported women's centre, it was behaving as a single issue pressure group, and presented itself as such. However, this desire for a women's centre only made sense within a much broader framework of ideas which questioned the entire structure of a patriarchal society, and believed that for women to survive in such a society it was essential that they should get together and through sharing

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experiences and ideas in a mutually supportive way, grow to understand and that the most overt manifestations of oppression. The Women's Centre would not only be the physical space for women to meet, but would also provide the opportunity for women to have a place run by them, for them, and according to the principles agreed by them. Throughout negotiations for the centre, this belief in the importance of self-direction was emphasised.

It could be argued then, that the establishment of the centre did not signal the demise of the Women's Centre group as a pressure group, for the very existence of the centre is a reminder that women are alienated from a male world, and that consequently they feel a need to organise separately, and try to sort out problems in conjunction with other women. The role of the Women's Centre group after they had got premises, was to maintain the belief in the necessity for radical change to make women's position tolerable in our society, and to exert pressure on relevant issues. For example, the Women's Centre group has been involved in the National Abortion Campaign which was set up to fight the Abortion Amendment Bill's proposals to further restrict access to abortion facilities. Similarly it is concerned to relate the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act to the everyday lives of women in Brighton. Thus it continues as a "partial pressure group." According to Duverger, "these groups do not devote all their activity to political pressure. They have other objectives, and are therefore only partly concerned with acting as pressure groups."<sup>1</sup> This aptly describes the Women's Centre group in its dual function of running the Centre from day-to-day, and also becoming involved in various campaigns which affect the position of women in society. At the moment however, I am only concerned with the original role of the group in fighting for a single issue.

1. M Duverger Party Politica and Pressure Groups p149

The first meeting of the Women's Centre group was held on May 23rd 1974 and was open to all interested women. Each meeting varied in size, but on average they were attended by 40-50 women. 100 women were on the mailing list of the newsletter which reported on the meetings, the decisions taken, and the general progress of the group. Three coordinators were appointed at the first meeting, to deal with administration and organisation, finance, and press and publicity. Liason with the community worker, Chris Miller, was continued at meetings between him and the coordinators.

There seems to have been very little publicity before the Council decision on the proposed centre was taken; articles in the Evening Argus, and Radio Brighton phone-in programmes followed the successful vote, and have continued during the Women's Centre's existence, but there seems to have been little interest beforehand. Equally, there was no lobbying of members of the Social Services Committee by members of the Women's Centre group. In other words, two of the most usual means of building support were not used. All that the Women's Centre group did was to hold meetings where ideas as to why a women's centre was needed and what its function should be were thrashed out, and then pass these ideas on to the community worker, who in turn produced a report for the committee members. Thirty women in the group also attended the meeting of the Social Services committee where the centre was discussed; their support was noted and they were thanked for attending. Nevertheless, the Women's Centre group had largely refrained from using the normal methods by which pressure groups fight for their demands to be both understood and accepted, and yet the Social Services Committee not only voted to accept the principle of having a women's centre, but also allocated large premises for the centre, plus the money necessary for essential renovation work. In short, with relatively little effort, the group met with immediate success. The question then, is why did they come across practically no opposition, (there were no votes against

establishing the centre) and why was the favourable decision taken so easily even without the usual lobbying and building up of support? A fair hypothesis would be that the members of the Social Services committee were already so much in favour of the idea of a women's centre that there was no need for further persuasion. In considering the factors which contributed to the decision to support the Women's Centre, it seems sensible to begin by looking at the attitudes of these committee members to see whether this hypothesis was actually true.

#### FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The decision to support the Women's Centre was taken at the June 21st 1974 meeting of the East Sussex Social Services Committee. At that time the committee was composed of 27 members; 17 Conservative, 7 Labour, 2 Liberal, and 1 Independent. In June 1975, questionnaires<sup>1</sup> were sent to all those who were on the committee in June 1974, to try and find out why individual councillors had voted to support the Women's Centre. Of 27 questionnaires sent out, 17 were returned. Four of the 17 respondents said that they could not remember discussing the Women's Centre and were therefore unable to help. Thus there were 13 completed questionnaires.

In response to questions about the need for, and the expected role of the Women's Centre, nine committee members gave answers which indicated a total confusion of the Women's Centre with Women's Aid - the refuge for battered women and their children. In percentage terms this meant that 69% of respondents were unable to differentiate between the two. Of the others, two replies were so vague as to be almost meaningless, and only two out of the thirteen,

1. See appendix

or approximately 15%, answered the questions in such a way as to show that they were perfectly aware that the Women's Centre was not synonymous with Women's Aid.

These results are extremely interesting in that the implication to be drawn from them is that the decision to support the Women's Centre was not, as the pluralist theorists would have us believe, the result of reasoned consideration of the facts put before the committee by interested parties (indirectly by the Women's Centre group, through the community worker's report) but was at least partially the result of a misunderstanding. Of course it is impossible to say whether the members of the committee who did not answer the questionnaire were any more or less informed about the distinction between the Women's Centre and Women's Aid, but an informal interview with one of them - Councillor Bob Mitchell, who was up until last year the Chairperson of the committee, revealed exactly the same confusion. He told me for example, that the "Women's Advice Centre and the Women's Aid Centre" run "in tandem", but when pressed could not really distinguish between the two, and tended to blur them together. While telling me that other voluntary agencies such as the Citizens' Advice Bureaux and the Churches, and full-time helpers such as social workers were all heavily over-worked and therefore unable to cope with all the problems - thus the need for the Women's Advice Centre - he kept branching off to talk about the women whose husbands "beat the living daylights out of them."

Councillor Mitchell did not know who the people were who were pressurising for a refuge for battered women, so one may assume that he did not know who was behind the demand for a women's centre either. He mentioned seeing a "student-type" (presumably one of the Women's Aid group) who seemed to him to be very sensible. She had a germ of an idea, and the committee decided to give these "unknown quantities" a chance to see what they could do. Some members of the committee were apparently surprised that there

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was a need for such a centre (I think that Councillor Mitchell was referring here to the centre for battered women), but he managed to persuade them of its importance. As he pointed out, it is a "crying shame" to have properties standing empty and unused, as the buildings in Buckingham Road were.

However confused the committee members were, (and their confusion cannot be put down to lapses of memory, for the first question in the questionnaire was "Do you remember the discussion over the Women's Centre which took place on June 21st 1974?") they nevertheless granted £6,000 for repair work to two buildings that were to be used as a refuge for battered women and a Women's Centre. The County Council minutes for the Social Services committee meetings of May 24th and June 21st 1974 record the decision and clarify the distinction between the two centres. Under the general heading of 'Buckingham Road projects', the minutes first say that "Discussions are taking place with the Department of Health and Social Security with regard to the proposal to develop the site of the former Sussex Maternity hospital in Buckingham Road, Brighton, for the provision of an adult training centre, a special care unit and a home for mentally handicapped adults." They continue, "In the meantime, applications have been received from two voluntary organisations for the temporary use of some of the existing accommodation. The organisations wish to establish a women's Centre to which women with specific problems may turn more readily than to the statutory service, and a 'Battered Wives Centre' for which it has become increasingly apparent that there is a great need. The Centre will provide accommodation for wives and children at risk while the necessary legal and practical steps are being taken to protect them. The committee have agreed, subject to vivement of £6,000 being approved in respect of the cost of renovations ....to grant a licence to the organisations involved for a period of one year from the date of occupation in the first instance, on terms to be agreed. The committee have

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also agreed that the organisations should be assisted in their search for more permanent accomodation."

It would only give an incomplete picture however, to argue that the Women's Centre came into existence as a result of a misunderstanding on the part of the county councillors, for there are other significant factors to consider. The first of these, and the one most likely to have caused confusion as to the exact nature of the Women's Centre, was the timing of the application for council support. As the minutes quoted above record, the Women's Centre group and the Women's Aid group put forward their proposals and requests simultaneously, and consequently were discussed at the committee meeting. In contrast to the Women's Centre group, the women involved in trying to set up a refuge for battered women had done a good deal of groundwork before their case reached the Social Services committee meeting. They deliberately kept their group small (4 women) so that they could make a concentrated effort to achieve their aim while avoiding the time-consuming administration associated with running a large and cumbersome group of people with different levels of commitment. They started off by writing to various firms who might be interested in helping them in their search for accomodation and financial backing. Getting no positive response in this direction, they turned their attention to the County Council, and in particular the members of the Social Services committee. They wrote to each individual committee member, and lobbied some of them as well. Thus by the time the committee met to decide whether to support Women's Aid, all the members were well-informed about the proposals, and some amongst them were heavily committed to seeing a refuge established in Brighton. At the June 21st meeting, the Women's Aid Centre was discussed before the Women's Centre, and one of the women who attended this meeting pointed out that the result of this was that the committee members were given the impression that a major part of the Women's Centre's role would be to provide support for Women's Aid, and act as a 'front

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organisation' to deal with enquiries about Women's Aid, which of course had to operate at a secret address to keep irate husbands away. The two centres were further connected in the eyes of the committee by the comments of Ron Wallis, the Labour councillor for Hollingbury, who argued that the two projects should be considered together and treated as one subject.

These facts go some way towards explaining the confused responses to the questionnaire mentioned earlier, and are also significant in answering the question as to why support should have been given to the Women's Centre when so little pressure had been exerted by the group to achieve this end. The preparatory work done by the Women's Aid group in building up support, and the fact that the Women's Centre was presented at the committee meeting as being very closely connected with Women's Aid must have contributed to the committee's favourable response to the setting up of a women's centre which, on its own, might seem to have a much more nebulous function than a centre for battered women, whose role and necessity are only too obvious.

However, it was not just the presentation of the Women's Centre in conjunction with Women's Aid that resulted in the committee giving its support to the idea of a women's centre. From the very beginning, the idea was given enthusiastic backing by Brighton's community worker, and also by the town's social services department. Denis Allen, the director of social services for East Sussex, was not involved in negotiations between the Women's Centre group and social services, but supported the idea from the start, and has continued to do so. The fact that his daughter was an active member of the Women's Centre group may have influenced him, but other factors such as the keen interest of some social workers in the project are probably more important. For them, the main argument in favour of having a place run voluntarily by and for women, was summed up in the report on the proposed centre where the

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questionnaire which asked, 'Did you support the establishment of a women's centre and can you give the reasons for your support?' she said that this was "the result of a report...which made it clear to me that this was a working group providing for a need, which view was supported by local councillors in the area who were members of the Social Services committee." She also said that she would like to see the work continued in collaboration with Social Services.'

The Women's Centre group itself then, played a very limited role in the decision-making process. The only way it seems to have influenced the decision was indirectly - through the report of the community worker which was the product of discussions between representatives of the group and Chris Miller. Other factors, over which the group had no control, such as the identification of the Women's Centre with the emotional subject of battered women, seem to have had a far greater influence than anything that the group did.

## CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that there were disagreements within the Women's Centre group over the details of the Centre's structure and function, there was a marked lack of conflict with interests outside the group. Although competition for access to resources is a central strand of pluralist theory, in this case there were no other organisations competing for the same premises, and therefore a major part of a pressure group's role, i.e. to build a strong case to support the conviction that a particular group's demands should receive priority over another's, was unnecessary. In short, the group had no need to take part in most of the activities normally associated with pressure groups, because the achievement of its aim depended not on how strongly the group felt, but on the fact that at the least its demand was innocuous and not costly, and at the most it would "provide a valuable service to the community"<sup>1</sup> and be of positive benefit to the social services department.

The experience of the Women's Centre group in winning premises without resorting to normal methods of exerting pressure tends to illustrate the gap between pluralist theory and what actually happens. While on the one hand the Women's Centre group met with success with very little effort, the anti-Marina campaign, which organised petitions, lobbied councillors and MPs, was featured in the local and national press, and on radio and TV, published pamphlets, articles and so on, was easily defeated. On this occasion, a public enquiry was set up to give the illusion that the decision taken was a democratic one. Objectors to, and supporters of the Marina were to have a chance to convince the Department of the Environment that one or the other of their arguments was more worthwhile. Thus the final decision in favour of the Marina was pictured as the result of an impartial consideration of the opposing views of various sections of the community who are meant to have had

1. C Miller, in his report on the Women's Centre

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equal access to relevant information and resources, and equal opportunities to argue their case, whereas in fact the decision was a foregone conclusion.

In view of this, it would seem that the formation of an ad hoc pressure group, lobbying, getting publicity and building up support in a variety of ways, are largely irrelevant if the statutory authorities or business interests disagree with the demand of a particular group. Equally, there is no need to use such methods if there is no opposition to the demand. While there are exceptions to this, (for example the victory of the Wing Airport Resistance Association which in 1971 prevented London's third airport from being sited at Cublington in Buckinghamshire,) it seems that ad hoc pressure groups are usually only successful when their demands are not controversial. They can only rarely be said to influence decision-making in any significant way, for the examples of single issue pressure groups managing to reverse a decision or win a demand which would act to the detriment of business interests or the statutory authorities are few and far between. If on the other hand, a pressure group makes a suggestion which could be of value to the authorities, such as the Women's Centre which, in a small way benefits the social services department, then chances of success are greatly increased.

While various pressure groups play an important role in bringing to public attention many issues which might otherwise remain submerged, their existence should also be seen as a central mechanism by which local and national governments attempt to legitimate their use of power. While on occasion they may successfully work against the interests of government on a particular subject, by and large pressure groups have a useful function in liberal democratic theories of the State, because they serve to give the impression that in a liberal democracy organised individuals can, and should influence policy-making. While it

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is true that in certain circumstances they do, it seems a gross exaggeration to argue that pressure groups are an indispensable part of the decision-making process; their effort and advice can be, and often is totally ignored.

The fact that the Women's Centre achieved its aim with very little pressure group activity merely serves to point out that the factors which do influence decision-making are often quite unrelated to what a pressure group may do. In this case it was the joint consideration of a Women's Centre with a refuge for battered women, and the support of the social services department which seemed to influence the councillors' decision, but of course in each case the influences are different. Although at times these may include some of the arguments of a particular pressure group, it should be remembered that ultimately, local and national governments, though so concerned to 'involve' ordinary people in the democratic process through pressure group activity, still reserve the right to ignore any advice they may be given. It is only when economic sanctions such as the withdrawal of capital or labour take place, that liberal democratic governments may be forced into a course of action they would not otherwise have taken. A pressure group which lacks economic power, but nevertheless succeeds in having a controversial proposal accepted, is not only exceptional, but is also useful in terms of pluralist theory for the way its very success bolsters up the idea that organised individuals can still play an effective part in the governmental process.

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Minutes Book 1974 - 1976

EAST SUSSEX COUNTY  
COUNCIL

Minutes of Social Services  
Committee 24 June '74, and  
21 May '74

"

Minutes of Policy & Resources  
Committee 2 July '74

CHRIS MILLER

Report on Women's Centre Group

BRIGHTON WOMEN'S  
LIBERATION

'A Woman's Place' June '73

JEAN BLONDEL

Voters, Parties, and Leaders  
Pelican 1963

MAURICE DUVERGER

Party Politics and Pressure Groups  
Nelson 1972

HENRY EHRMANN

Interest Groups on Four Continents  
University of Pittsburgh Press  
1967

CHRISTOPHER HALL

How To Run a Pressure Group  
JM Dent & Sons 1974

RALPH MILIBAND

The State in Capitalist Society  
Quartet Books 1973

COPY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO MEMBERS OF THE EAST SUSSEX  
COUNTY COUNCIL SOCIAL SERVICES COMMITTEE IN JUNE 1975

As part of my Politics BA degree at the University of Sussex I am writing a dissertation on Brighton Women's Centre. One area which I am particularly interested in is the attitude of the committee which took the decision to lend official and financial support to the establishment of a women's centre.

I wonder whether you, as a member of the social services committee in 1974, could cast your mind back and help me in my research by answering these questions:

1. Do you remember the discussion over the women's centre?  
(the discussion took place June 21st 1974)
2. At that time, did you support the establishment of a women's centre?
  - a) If yes, can you give reasons for your support, including what you envisaged the role of the centre to be?
  - b) If no, what were your reasons?
3. Has the centre, as far as you know, lived up to your expectations?
  - a) If no, please indicate why not.
4. Are there any other functions you would like to see the centre take on?
  - a) If yes, please give details:
5. Had you ever heard of a similar centre elsewhere?
  - a) If yes, please give details:
6. The building in Buckingham Rd which houses the centre is due for development at the end of this year. Would you like to see the women's centre move to other premises and continue its work?
7. Why do you think there is a need for a women's centre?
8. Is there a need for a 'men's centre' run on similar lines?
  - a) If yes, please explain why:
  - b) If no, please explain why not:
9. If there are any other comments you would like to make about the women's centre, or about the council's support of it, please write them here:



Rise highlighted its existing work to safeguard LGBTQ+ people  
GETTY IMAGES

# Women’s abuse charity Rise loses £5m contract for not supporting men

Simon Murphy, Social Affairs Editor

Wednesday February 24 2021, 12.01am, The Times

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A domestic violence charity for women has lost its £5 million public contract after the council said it wanted to focus on more “inclusive service provision”.

Rise, which has worked in Brighton and Hove for more than 25 years and runs a refuge and helpline, was sidelined after an assessment presented to councillors identified a need for more support for heterosexual and gay male survivors and raised concerns about “barriers” to services for trans people.

However, the charity highlighted its existing work to safeguard LGBTQ+ people and said that it had explained to the council how it would extend its approach to include heterosexual men.





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Rise said it was “disappointed”, adding that “women remain the group most subjected to, and most severely impacted by, domestic abuse”. An online petition entitled “Rise up! Bring Our Women’s Refuge Home”, has gathered more than 24,000 signatures.

A local authority briefing to councillors last week said: “A commissioned report found that contracted domestic abuse services are viewed as much more accessible to women and that onsite provision is women-only.

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“The EIAs [equalities impact assessments] highlighted the need for more support for both heterosexual and gay male survivors, and highlighted specific barriers to service experienced by the trans community, with trans survey respondents noting that the type of support they wanted was not available.

“The tender specification for community services was therefore intentionally non-gendered and inclusive to all survivors.”

The charity lost the contract, worth £5.1 million over seven years, after a procurement process run as part of the joint commissioning arrangements with East Sussex county council, the Brighton & Hove clinical commissioning group and the Sussex police and crime commissioner. It is being replaced by Victim Support, which will run a community domestic abuse outreach service, and Stonewater, which will provide refuge units.

Rise said 14 years ago it “initiated what became one of the country’s first dedicated LGBTQ+ domestic abuse casework services. Four years ago, we co-piloted an innovative LGBTQ+ refuge.” The charity said it had explained how it would extend its approach “to include heterosexual males”.

Brighton and Hove city council said that to ensure it continued to “offer the best support for survivors of domestic abuse . . . at the end of the previous contract, a fair procurement exercise was run”.

# Women and Equalities Select Committee Inquiry on Transgender Equality

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We have submitted evidence to the Women and Equalities Select Committee on Transgender Equality. Our submission was based on the views we listened to and heard during our consultation with more than 700 trans people.

We are extremely pleased that trans people are being consulted about steps to secure their equality.

Stonewall believe that all of the issues the Committee is exploring are crucial to achieving trans equality in the UK. In our response, we emphasised areas where we believe that the government can make the greatest change, including reforms to the Gender Recognition Act 2004, The Equality Act 2010 and the provision of healthcare for trans people. We also used existing evidence and best practice to support recommendations across each of the areas under consideration.

Our recommendations to the Select Committee include:

- Reforms to the Gender Recognition Act 2004, including the removal of the requirement to provide medical evidence and a process for people under 18 to access legal gender recognition
- Increased provision of gender identity services for adults and young people and a review of healthcare provision to ensure that trans people are fully informed and involved in all aspects of treatment and healthcare
- Training for all health and social care professionals on the needs of trans patients and service users
- A review of the Equality Act 2010 to include 'gender identity' rather than 'gender reassignment' as a protected characteristic and to remove exemptions, such as access to single-sex spaces
- Training and guidance for schools on supporting young trans and gender variant pupils, tackling transphobic bullying and including trans people and issues in the curriculum
- Guidance for employers on supporting trans employees and promoting trans equality in the workplace
- Improved reporting mechanisms for transphobic hate crimes and the extension of 'aggravated offences' to cover transphobic hate crimes
- Media regulators to work with trans people and organisations to ensure a positive, diverse and realistic portrayal of trans people

The full response will be published in due course. If you'd like more information, or if you have any questions, please contact [trans@stonewall.org.uk](mailto:trans@stonewall.org.uk)



Learn how you can help LGBTQ+ people

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We'd love to show you how your support is helping LGBTQ+ people everywhere to thrive. We need your consent to share news, campaigns, events and ways in which you can further support this important work.

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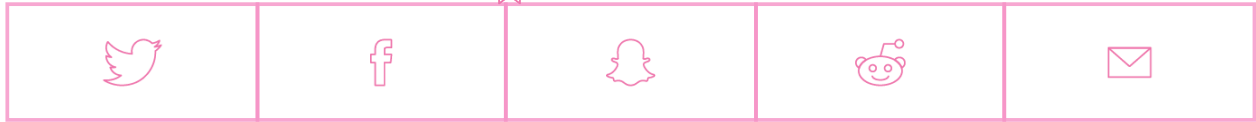


Image of Kate Harris launching Stonewall Fundraising Walk sponsored by American Express with Brian Paddick - 2009

# Brighton walk raises funds for Stonewall

TONY GREW | MAY 7, 2008

SAVE FOR LATER



**More than 300 people took to the streets of Brighton last weekend in support of gay, lesbian and bisexual rights.**

The fifth annual Equality Walk raised funds for Stonewall, and this year GaydarRadio hosts Dicky and Dolly and comedian Amy Lamé were on hand, hosting a post-walk party at gay venue Legends.

ADVERTISING

The 10K sponsored walk has become something of a Brighton tradition, and is complimented by a similar [fundraising weekend in Barcelona](#) in July.

For the first time participants were awarded medals for completing the walk, which was sponsored by American Express.

The event was opened by the Mayor of Brighton and Hove, Councillor Carol Theobald.

The route, set by the Brighton-based lesbian and gay sports group BLAGSS, took walkers along the sea-front, through Brighton's gay village and ended with a prize-giving ceremony for the top fundraisers.

The walk raised £32,000 towards Stonewall's campaign to ensure anti-gay hate crimes are reported with more confidence, and eventually stamped out altogether.

A team of Liberal Democrats including Lewisham councillor Chris Maines and Brighton & Hove councillor Paul Elgood raised £1,137.

"We would like to thank all those who sponsored us including Legends Bar and Revenge Night club," said Councillor Elgood. "It was an excellent community event, with an important message behind it."

At the after-party, Ben Summerskill, Stonewall's chief executive, said that while young lesbian and gay people are a source of constant hope about the future, there are serious problems in schools.

"In the twenty years since Section 28, designed to demonise and stigmatise every single of us, homophobic bullying was fostered in our schools.

"So much has changed in those twenty years that we can be optimistic.

"Millions of lesbian and gay people have a voice, for the first time in history they have a platform from which their voice can be heard.

"In 2008 we can help leave behind a world better than the one we inherited. In 2008 every single one of us can make a difference."

Mr Summerskill said that he was heartened to see hundreds of people on the streets supporting Stonewall.

"This fun day is a great way of increasing the visibility of the gay and lesbian community in Brighton and standing firmly together on the issues that really matter to all lesbian and gay people across the country," he said.

# LGBT facts and figures

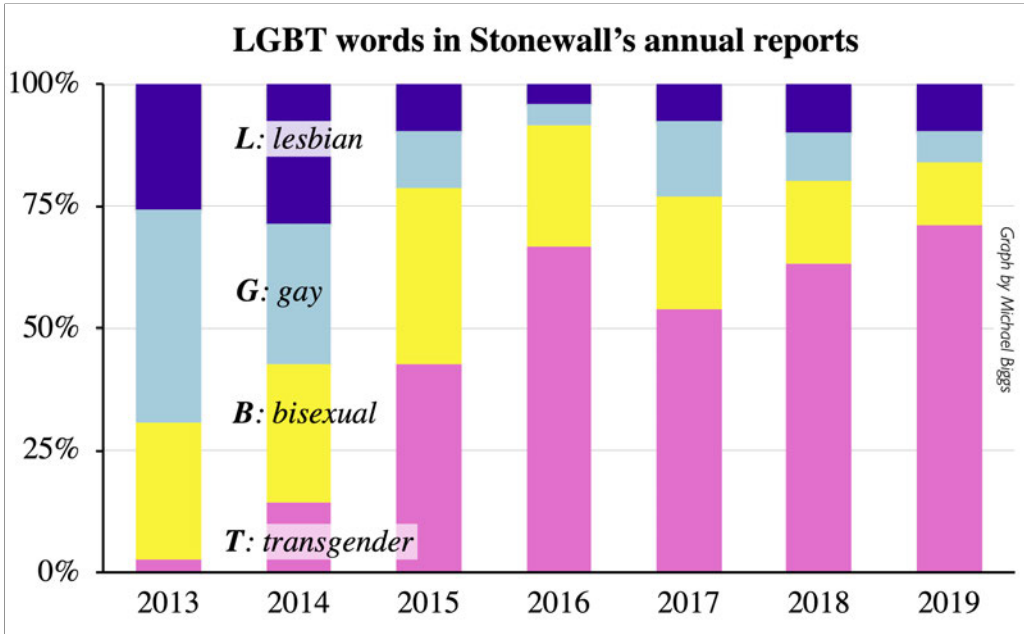
Michael Biggs

Focus of British organizations: [Stonewall](#), [Equality Network](#), [LGBT Youth Scotland](#)

Focus of U.S. organizations: [Human Rights Campaign](#), [GLAAD](#)

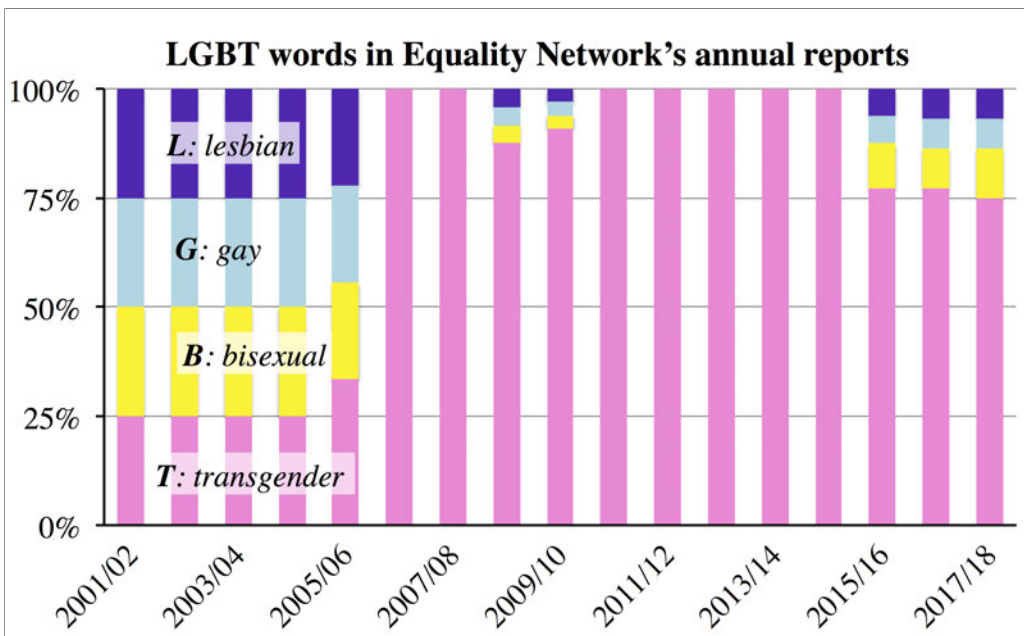
British third-sector grants: [Big Lottery Fund](#), [BBC Children in Need](#), [Research funding](#)

Revenue of British organizations: [Mermaids](#).



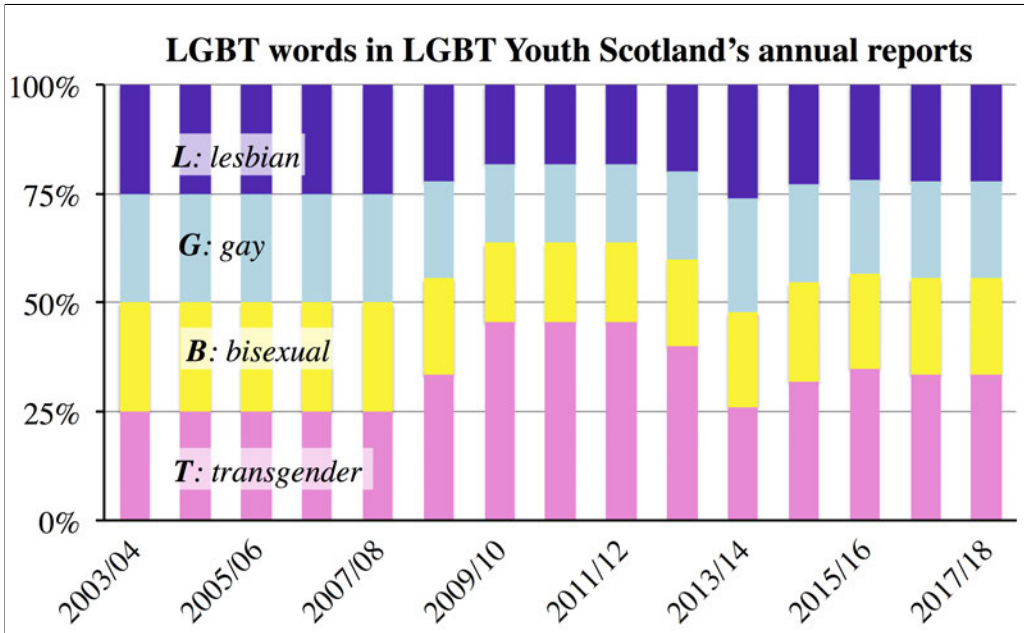
Source: Stonewall's annual reports to the [Charity Commission](#).

Method: Adobe's advanced search used to count the number of whole words in each pdf document: (1) lesbian, lesbians; (2) gay; (3) bi, bisexual, bisexuals; (4) trans, transgender, transsexual, transsexuals.



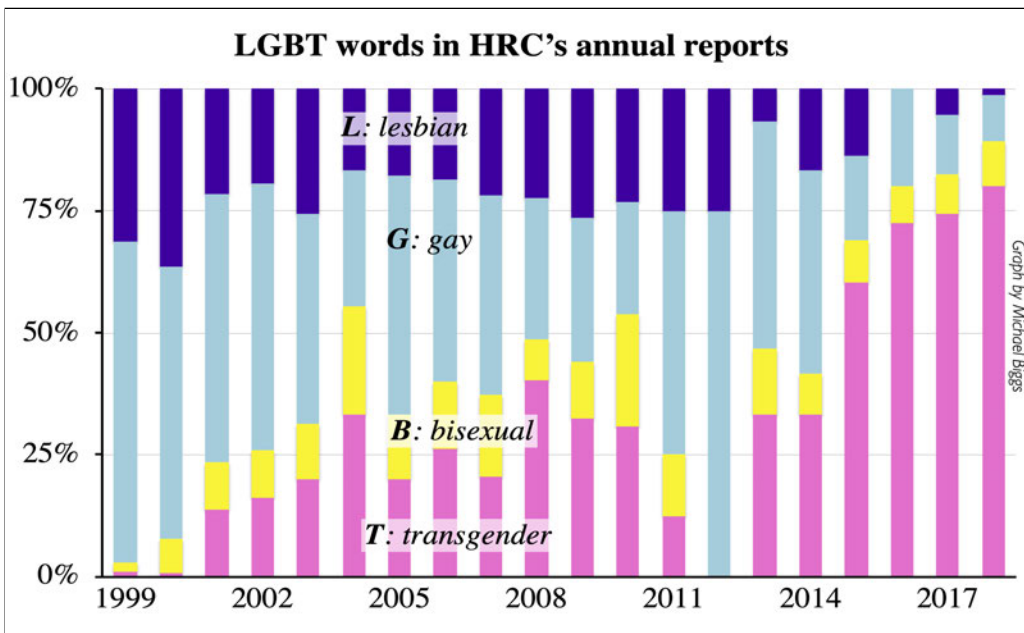
Source: Equality Network's annual reports to [Companies House](#).

Method: A Scottish feminist counted the number of words in each document: (1) lesbian, lesbians; (2) gay; (3) bi, bisexual, bisexuals; (4) trans, transgender, transsexual, transsexuals.



Source: LGBT Youth Scotland's annual reports to [Companies House](#).

Method: A Scottish feminist counted the number of words in each document: (1) lesbian, lesbians; (2) gay; (3) bi, bisexual, bisexuals; (4) trans, transgender, transsexual, transsexuals.

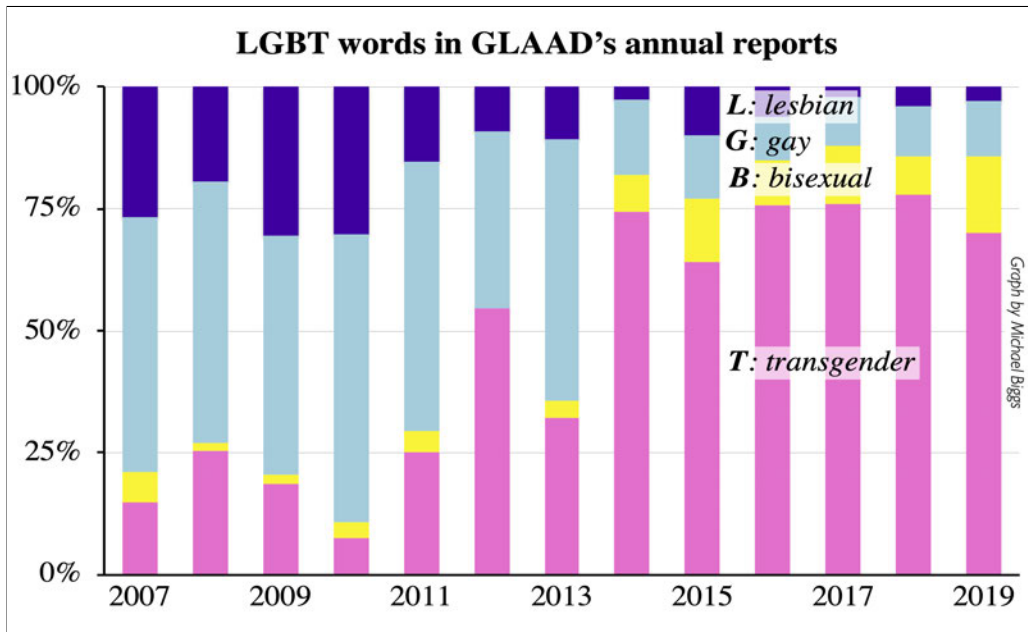


Source: HRC's [annual reports](#).

Method: Adobe's advanced search used to count the number of whole words in each pdf document: (1) lesbian, lesbians; (2) gay; (3) bi, bisexual, bisexuals; (4) trans, transgender, transsexual, transsexuals.



[Women's Liberation Front](#) protesting outside HRC headquarters, Washington, DC, January 2019. ([Video](#))



Source: GLAAD's [annual performance reports](#).

Method: Adobe's advanced search used to count the number of whole words in each pdf document: (1) lesbian, lesbians; (2) gay; (3) bi, bisexual, bisexuals; (4) trans, transgender, transsexual, transsexuals.

#### Big Lottery Fund grants to LGBT sector, April 2004 – August 2018

	2004 - 2014		2015	2016	2017	2018
<b>Total</b>	£19.9 m		£2.1 m	£3.9 m	£3.7 m	£3.0 m
<i>Grant description includes text:</i>						
'lesbian'	£8.8 m	44%	£0.7 m 34%	£0.7 m 19%	£0.9 m 25%	£0.7 m 24%
'gay'	£9.2 m	46%	£0.7 m 34%	£0.8 m 19%	£0.6 m 15%	£0.7 m 19%
'bisexual'	£7.5 m	38%	£0.7 m 33%	£0.7 m 19%	£0.9 m 25%	£0.6 m 23%
'transgender' / 'trans' / transsexual'	£6.9 m	35%	£1.0 m 46%	£0.8 m 20%	£2.1 m 58%	£1.8 m 59%
'LGBT'	£8.5 m	43%	£1.3 m 63%	£3.4 m 88%	£2.0 m 54%	£1.8 m 62%

Source: Database on [360 Giving](#). All grants from Big Lottery Fund whose title or description includes: lesbian OR gay OR bisexual OR transgender OR transsexual OR LGBT OR LGBTQ.

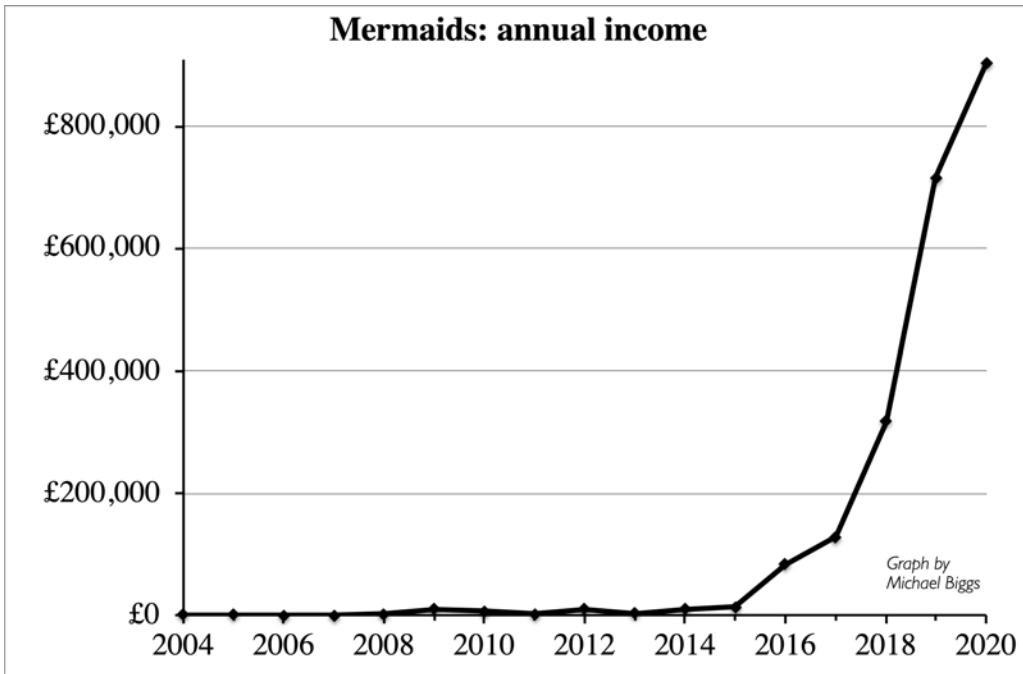
Method: Sum of the value for grants whose description contains the specified text string. Description missing for some grants in 2014 and earlier years.

<b>BBC Children in Need, grant-funded projects at November 2017</b>		
<b>£454,288 Transgender only (30%)</b>		
£125,861	Mermaids	telephone helpline and online support service to yo
£115,953	Gendered Intelligence	monthly group support sessions for trans young pe
£91,353	Leicester LGBT Centre	one to one and group support to Transgender youn
£74,541	Allsorts Youth Project (Brighton)	support sessions and activities for transgender you
£30,000	The Proud Trust (Manchester)	a part time worker who will run a fortnightly supp
£16,580	Hart Gables Tees Valley	weekly activity and support sessions for transgend
<b>£1,069,463 LGBT (70%)</b>		
£122,348	Educate & Celebrate (Islington)	tackle homophobic, biphobic and transphobic disc
£121,593	Space Youth Project (Dorset)	weekly support for young people who identify as l
£117,993	SAYiT (S Yorks)	support LGBT young people from South Yorkshire
£112,812	Intercom Trust Cornwall	support for young people who identify as lesbian,
£107,805	LGBT Youth Scotland	150 LGBT+ young people will have access to a ra
£100,905	Support U Limited (Berks)	outreach service to schools to support LGBT youn
£98,062	Cara-Friend (N Ireland)	work with LGBT young people affected by bullyin
£97,880	42nd Street (Manchester)	engage isolated and lonely LGBTQ young people
£90,240	DISC (Durham)	support to young people aged 11-14 years who are
£81,665	East London Out Project	youth activity sessions with advice and guidance to
£9,160	Push Projects (Warwicks)	support to young people who identify as lesbian, g
£9,000	Swansea YMCA	a youth project for LGBT young people. They will
<b>£1,523,751 TOTAL</b>		

Source: BBC Children in Need, [Grant Funded Projects ... as at November 2017](#).

Method: Grants identified by searching each document for the following words: lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans.

<b>Selected UK academic grants for transgender research/activism</b>						
<i>Body</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>PI</i>	<i>Start</i>	<i>End</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Institution</i>
ESRC	£579,717	Davina Cooper	2018	2021	Reforming legal gender identity: A socio-legal evaluation	Kings College London
NIHR	£1,310,647	Eilis Kennedy	2019	2023	Outcomes and predictors of outcome for children and young people referred to UK Gender Identity Development Services	Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust
NIHR	£618,868	Melissa Stepney	2019	2021	Meeting the transgender challenge: improving the experience of health services for gender diverse young people and their families	University of Oxford
NIHR	£722,897	Richard Holti	2019	2021	Before, during and after adult specialist Gender Identity Services: Improving the integration of care	Open University
ESRC	£79,553	Sally Hines	2008	2010	Gender diversity, recognition and citizenship	University of Leeds
ESRC	£697,084	Sally Hines	2018	2019	Living gender in diverse times	University of Leeds
ESRC	£360,471	Sally Hines	2019	2020	Living gender in diverse times	University of Sheffield
ESRC	£502,251	Sally Hines	2017	2019	Pregnant men: An international exploration of trans male experiences and practices of reproduction	University of Sheffield
ESRC	£165,993	Sally Hines	2019	2020	Pregnant men: An international exploration of trans male experiences and practices of reproduction	University of Sheffield
ESRC	£38,363	Sally Hines	2012	2013	Recognising diversity? Equalities in principle and practice	University of Leeds
	<b>£5,075,844</b>					



Source: Mermaids' annual reports to the [Charity Commission](#); reports for previous incarnation (charity number 1073991) obtained from the Charity Commission under Freedom of Information.

[Michael Biggs](#), Department of Sociology, University of Oxford

[All posts](#) | 25th February 2022

# What does it take to get into Stonewall's Workplace Equality Index?



Stonewall's Workplace Equality Index (WEI) has had a revamp, with new "gold", "silver" and "bronze" awards. Are these medals anything to be proud of?

We compared the 2020 and 2022 submission requirements to see what is new. (The most recent submission document is called the Workplace Index Criteria 2021, for the 2022 Index. We compared this with the 2019 document, which is for the 2020 Index.)

- The word “equality” has dropped in use from 29 times in 2019 to 26 in 2022, despite the document almost doubling in length.
- The word “inclusion” has increased in use from 8 times in 2019 to 30 times in 2021; “inclusive” has risen from 10 in 2019 to 20 in 2021.
- “Gender” is up from 14 mentions in 2019 to 37 in 2021.
- The word “sex” doesn't appear at all.

Organisations that submit to the programme must demonstrate compliance with requirements whose questions and guidance run to over 9,000 words. This document is about twice as long as its predecessor, takes a more authoritarian tone, and requires voluminous evidence.

For an organisation whose main argument for reforming the Gender Recognition Act is to save people the time, money and effort of filling in detailed forms and supplying voluminous paperwork, it seems odd not to consider this in relation to its own scheme.

## Don't talk about sex!

Stonewall describes its WEI as “the definitive benchmarking tool for employers to measure their progress on lesbian, gay, bi and trans inclusion in the workplace”. Leaders of organisations may think this is about promoting and respecting the rights of same-sex-attracted people and transsexual people. But Stonewall has redefined these words, and awards are only given to organisations that adopt its new ideology of gender.

- The phrase “same-sex”, which occurred only three times in the 2019 document, has disappeared entirely from the 2021 version.

- “Trans” gets the highest number of mentions, increasing from 31 in 2019 to 41 in 2021.

Stonewall does not accept the ordinary – legally defined – understanding of the words lesbian, gay, bi(sexual) and trans(sexual), but instead requires organisations to use Stonewall’s definitions, which relate to the concept of gender identity: “trans” including (but not limited to)

“transgender, transsexual, gender-queer (GQ), gender-fluid, non-binary, gender-variant, crossdresser, genderless, agender, nongender, third gender, bi-gender, trans man, trans woman, trans masculine, trans feminine and neutrois,”

and “bi” as

“an umbrella term used to describe a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards more than one gender [...] including, but not limited to, bisexual, pan, queer, and some other non-monosexual and non-monoromantic identities”.

## Demonstrate devotion

Many of the criteria for the award are focused not on addressing the particular needs of homosexual, bisexual or transsexual employees, or protecting them from

Points are awarded for observing days, weeks and months in the awareness calendar, such as LGBT History Month, Pride, "IDAHOBIT" (International Day Against Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia), Bi Visibility Day, Pan Visibility Day, Trans Day of Visibility, Trans Day of Remembrance and Trans Pride and Non-Binary People's Day.

There are no points for allowing lesbians and gays to do anything separate from their straight but gender-bending colleagues. For example, employees are encouraged to attend "LGBT-specific conferences and seminars", "Bi-specific conferences and seminars", "Non-binary specific conferences and seminars" and "Trans-specific conferences and seminars".

## Don't talk about women (unless you include transwomen)

Any use of sex-based language or sex-based data within an organisation's HR systems, or any recognition that women have different needs from men, will see an organisation marked down. Organisations are told:

- to use gender-neutral language for family-leave policy, including maternity and paternity policies
- that they must "make clear that all trans employees can use the facilities (e.g. toilets, changing rooms) they feel most comfortable using"
- to have "andropause" policies alongside menopause policies (the NHS says that andropause is a misleading and unhelpful term to suggest that men experience

# Bring your whole self to work: but only if Stonewall approves

Employers are expected to train staff to profess the beliefs espoused by Stonewall, and to recruit, promote and reward those who do. This is called “empowerment”. It is not voluntary.

All “LGBT and non-LGBT employees are to be ‘empowered’ to step up as change makers and allies” through a series of formal programmes and policies. This starts with recruitment, with recruiters encouraged to introduce themselves with their pronouns.

There should be formal processes “whereby senior employees are mentored on LGBT issues by more junior LGBT employees”. Line managers should “proactively recognise contributions to LGBT inclusion activity during employee performance appraisals”. This must “align with organisational values” to count towards diversity and inclusion objectives.

LGBT networks cannot be self-organised by the gay, lesbian bisexual and transsexual staff in the organisation who might disagree with Stonewall. They must have officially approved terms of reference or a “formal agreement with an external network”.

And don't think you can get away with keeping your head down or turning up once a year to tick off the requirements. The guidance says that performance reviews “should be systematic and applied to all performance appraisals, not just those of the network leads”.

well as verbal.

## The unwritten rule: corrupt your data, ignore data protection, coerce your staff to declare a gender identity

The 9,000-word WEI document, although specific and exacting in many of its requirements, is shy of spelling out what it wants employers to do about diversity monitoring.

It states several times that “the question wording should be in line with latest good practice. Please speak to your account manager if you are unsure of this.” If you have ever been sold an overpriced gym membership, double glazing or timeshare holiday you will recognise this technique.

What the guidance does make clear is that Stonewall wants client organisations to monitor the sexual orientation, gender and trans status of their staff and customers; and it gives more points for higher completion rates. “Prefer not to say” is not a satisfactory answer.

What this means, although it is not spelled out, is that Stonewall doesn't just want employers to collect information from employees who wish to declare themselves as having a gender identity; it wants everyone to be recorded as having a gender identity. It wants employers to stop collecting data on sex, and collect only data on self-declared “gender”.

scrutinising the adherence of your suppliers.

Organisations are asked to “demonstrate to the largest possible audience that your organisation is committed to LGBT equality”. They are told that their largest social-media channels must broadcast the message.

Potential suppliers must be assessed on whether they have a policy “that explicitly bans discrimination, bullying and harassment based on sexual orientation and gender identity” (even though gender identity is not a protected characteristic). Participants are awarded points for describing “how the procurement team is trained to scrutinise each of these areas”.

Points are also given for supporting “LGBT community groups”, such as LGBT Pride organisations, LGBT equality charities, LGBT youth groups and LGBT networks. Such groups or initiatives could focus on LGBT people of colour, LGBT disabled people or older LGBT people, bi people or trans people. Or they could be “intersectional”. Groups specifically for lesbians or gay men are not mentioned.

## Has your organisation done its due diligence on Stonewall?

The gold, silver and bronze awards so proudly displayed today are already beginning to tarnish, with Stonewall's ill-judged attack on the Equality and Human Rights Commission.

A Civil Service policy paper has told [government departments](#) that they should no longer rely on “external assurance and benchmarking organisations”, but should instead take an approach to diversity and inclusion that is focused on:

- eliminating unlawful discrimination

- being mindful of the privacy of individuals in collecting equality data that is proportionate and necessary.

This is in line with the law, and is equally good advice for private-sector employers, police forces, universities and others.

The Stonewall scheme is a byzantine, authoritarian system of thought control that actively undermines the freedom of expression, self-determination and privacy of anyone whose beliefs differ from Stonewall's, including lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual employees. Organisations that adhere to Stonewall's requirements are signalling that they are not welcoming workplaces for anyone who does not share these beliefs, and that anyone who expresses non-conforming thoughts should fear the consequences.

People who are discriminated against or harassed at work for not believing in Stonewall's creed are protected by the Equality Act 2010. The already tarnished medals for ideological compliance may turn out to be a source not only of reputational damage, but also of liability.

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## Head of Britain's leading LGBT+ lobby group quits as trans debate rages

Hugo Greenhalgh



LONDON (Thomson Reuters Foundation) - The head of Britain's leading LGBT+ rights group, Stonewall, said on Thursday that she was stepping down after a tenure marked by debates that have "not always been a comfortable conversation" as transgender rights took greater prominence.

Ruth Hunt has been with gay and transgender lobby group Stonewall for 14 years and chief executive since 2014. She will step down in August with her replacement yet to be announced.

Her decision to leave comes at a time when Stonewall has faced increasing criticism for the group's decision to lobby more for trans rights alongside its fight for lesbian, gay and bisexual equality.

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"Recognizing the diverse experiences and needs within LGBT communities ... has not always been a comfortable conversation for Stonewall to have but it has been a vital one," Hunt, 38, said in a statement.

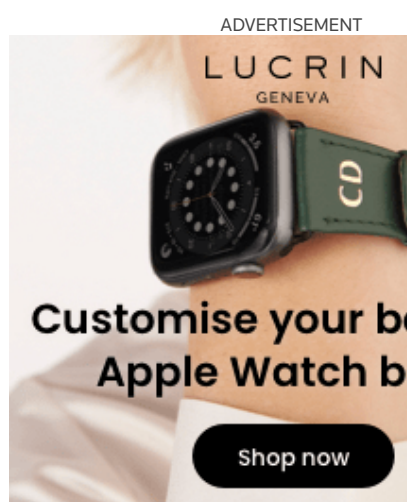
"Expanding our work to ensure we are more closely speaking alongside and sharing power with these communities is a journey we are still on."

Stonewall's message has been clear: "Trans women are women."

But many feminists believe hard-won rights for women should remain ring-fenced for those born into that gender, pitting former allies against each other in the battle for rights.

Stonewall was criticized in a letter to Britain's Times newspaper last year by prominent LGBT+ campaigners for "demonising as transphobic" those who dissented from its line.

Last week, 14 British and U.S. transsexual men and women published an open letter to Stonewall distancing themselves from the organization, saying they disagreed "profoundly" with the organization's decisions and statements.



"As transsexuals we cannot continue as part of this Stonewall umbrella, which, we feel, conflates a sex based medical condition with lifestyle choices and gender expression," they wrote.

Stonewall declined to comment on the letter.

Under Hunt's leadership, Stonewall grew significantly, more than doubling overall staff numbers to 160 and seeing income rise by almost two-thirds to about 9 million pounds (\$12 million).

Stonewall said Hunt's work to include trans issues would remain "integral to our development as an organization".

Jan Gooding, chair of the board of trustees of the organization, said Hunt had been a "visionary, bold and inspirational leader" during her years at Stonewall.

“Over the course of her tenure, she has changed the organization’s culture, expanded our remit and shown an unequivocal commitment to supporting parts of the LGBT communities that have been traditionally excluded,” she said.

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# Trans women are women

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BY [RACHEL STEIN](#), EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF CAMPAIGNS AND STRATEGY

PUBLISHED 05 MARCH 17

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In today’s Sunday Times, Jenni Murray writes an article in which she enters into what she calls one of the most “vicious, vulgar and threatening debates of our day”. She is talking about trans women, and their right to be called ‘real women’.

Whether you are trans or not, your identity is yours alone. I do not question your identity Jenni, and in return, I wouldn’t expect you to question mine - or anyone else’s. What right would you have to do so? My experiences of being a woman are undoubtedly different to yours. However, their differences do not make them in any way less valid.

**My experiences of being a woman are undoubtedly different to yours.**

Trans women have every right to have their identity and experiences respected too. They are women – just like you and me - and their sense of their gender is as engrained in their identity as yours or mine.

Being trans is not about ‘sex changes’ and clothes – it’s about an innate sense of self. To imply anything other than this is reductive and hurtful to many trans people who are only trying to live life as their authentic selves.

**Why do we think we have the right to debate others’ identities?**

Why must this be so ‘vicious, vulgar and threatening’? And why do we think we have the right to debate others’ identities? In a world of increased hostility, fuelling divisions doesn’t help anyone. Please talk to more trans women Jenni; understand their experiences, understand their identities, understand why being an ally is so incredibly important.

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Jan Gooding  
Chair of the Board of Trustees  
Stonewall  
192 St John St  
EC1V 4JY

cc: Jonathan Best

9<sup>th</sup> October 2018

Dear Jan

You may be aware of our recent letter to The Times newspaper (Thursday 4<sup>th</sup> October) and the petition that was set up to ask Stonewall to debate the many issues around sex, gender and transgender activism. <https://www.ipetitions.com/petition/dear-stonewall-please-reconsider-your-approach>

That same day, Thursday 4<sup>th</sup> October, both Jonathan Best and Ruth Hunt were interviewed on BBC Radio 4's PM Programme. Ruth repeated that "Transwomen are women" and went so far as to say that this is the stated legal position as set out in the Equality Act of 2010. Ruth also stated no debate was necessary.

This was a real disappointment because the whole point of our letter to The Times was to ask Stonewall to start opening up the discussion. We are entirely committed to dialogue, so we would like to meet you to explore possible ways forward. The petition has nearly 6,000 signatures so far and 1,265 comments. Of the people who have left comments, the clear majority have three things in common:

1. A long history of supporting gay, lesbian & transsexual rights
2. A strong belief that all views should be heard on a vital matter of public policy (the GRA Consultation) and therefore Stonewall should change its position and allow debate
3. A sadness – and in some cases anger - that the once respected Stonewall has lost its way and abandoned so many of its former supporters

We urge you to take these comments seriously and to agree to meet us as representatives of a large group of people who want Stonewall to hear them – and consider reforming the current policy.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards

Kate Harris  
[Redacted]  
Former Stonewall Supporter

19 October 2018

Dear Kate,

Thank you for your letter of 9th October, drawing my attention to the letter to The Times on 4th October and the petition you have set up.

I listened to the Radio 4 PM programme too and appreciated Jonathan's honesty when he said no-one from Stonewall had ever bullied anyone who disagrees with us. We haven't and we won't.

When I wrote to The Times in response, which was published on Monday 8th October, they edited my letter and removed a couple of key points that I am sure you would have found useful to read. I am glad to have the opportunity to share what they omitted with you now just to make our position absolutely clear.

*'It is true that we have drawn a line with regard to questioning whether trans people deserve the same level of equality as any other group. This aspect of the debate is not up for debate.'*

*'Giving greater equality and respect to trans people should not negatively impact the rights of women or any other group. The reform of the Gender Recognition Act will simply make it easier for trans people to get the right gender on their birth certificate.'*

Our vision at Stonewall is for a world where all LGBT people can be themselves. We are clear in our values and believe strongly in social justice and equality for all. While the issues we campaign on will continue to grow and change our belief in the fundamental human rights of all people is critical.

I would like to respond to the three points you make about the signatories you have collected so far.

1. I, and the Board, accept that there are a variety of opinions related to these issues. However, this does not surprise me. The LGBT communities have never at any time spoken with one voice on all aspects of the equality we seek. Equal marriage was a recent case where there was a divergence of views from within LGBT communities. So, the disagreements we witness now are not new and we can all acknowledge that opinions within LGBT communities are just as diverse as those outside.
2. Stonewall entirely agrees that all views should be heard, and that this is the point of a government consultation. In fact, it is why such a consultation is vital. We of course recognise that debate on these issues has become incredibly polarised, and we do not wish to undermine those who have their own opinions. However, as my statement in the letter to The Times clarifies, we are not prepared to call into question the validity of people's identities - it is hurtful to trans people just like it was hurtful to LGB people when we were vilified as paedophiles and told we were not real men and women when Stonewall was founded.

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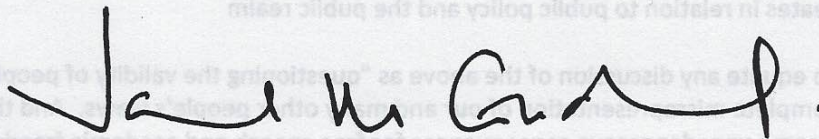
Our strong view is that equality is not a zero-sum game; trans equality does not undermine the equality of other groups, it enhances it.

In order to respectfully contribute to this debate, we have drawn on evidence to determine our position. This includes looking to systems across the world including in Ireland, Malta, Argentina and Norway, which lead the way for gender recognition. We also commissioned research to specifically explore the complexities around domestic violence and rape crisis centres, as we recognised that there are important conversations to be had on this point and wanted to understand how services respond to these complexities. This report can be found on our website.

3. I'm sorry you believe we have lost our way, but I, along with the rest of the Board, do not believe this to be the case. My only regret is that Stonewall failed to embrace trans inclusion and to campaign wholeheartedly for and with the trans and non-binary communities earlier in our journey.

Thank you again for taking the time to write to me and the Board. I do take all the views and concerns of everyone who is contributing seriously and hope this addresses your points. I would be happy to meet you if you would like to discuss further.

Kind Regards



Jan Gooding

Chair, Stonewall

Jan Gooding  
Chair of the Board of Trustees, Stonewall  
192 St John St, EC1V 4JY  
cc: Jonathan Best

30th October 2018

Dear Jan

Thank you for your response to my letter dated 19<sup>th</sup> Oct 2018. I am pleased you "take all the views of everyone who is contributing seriously", but unfortunately your letter doesn't address our main point - which is that, in order to take the views of everyone in to account, Stonewall needs to reconsider its refusal to debate the many conflicting issues round sex, gender & transgender activism.

Stonewall was set up to fight for gay & lesbian rights by building the broadest possible coalitions, to gain the widest and most sustainable support for equality from Parliament and the public. Surely you must now be asking yourselves how you have managed to narrow that public support through a campaign which has alienated many former supporters and led many lesbians to feel betrayed?

These are some of the key points that we would like to discuss in person:

1. the clear difference between sex and gender
2. the fact that many people do not accept Stonewall's view that "transwomen are women"
3. the widespread concern about the proposed changes to the GRA – particularly the issues that self-ID creates in relation to public policy and the public realm

Stonewall continues to equate any discussion of the above as "questioning the validity of people's identities". This is a complete misrepresentation of our and many other people's views. And there are, as you will agree, some very dangerous consequences for free speech and academic freedom when this is used as an excuse to silence serious concerns.

Thank you for agreeing to our request to meet you to discuss further. As we have nearly 7,000 signatures on our petition and 1,500 comments – would you agree to us inviting 2 or 3 of these people to join us in the meeting? We would like to post a report of the meeting on Twitter & Facebook afterwards so that all signatories know what is happening. With your agreement – and this can be discussed at our meeting – we may want to follow up with a moderated and purposefully exploratory round table which could be filmed for public education purposes.

If you have any other suggestions do let me know. Please send us some available dates so we can arrange a time for this important discussion to take place as soon as convenient.

Kind regards

Kate Harris  
[Redacted]  
Former Stonewall Supporter

7<sup>th</sup> November 2018

Dear Kate

Thank you for your letter of 30<sup>th</sup> October.

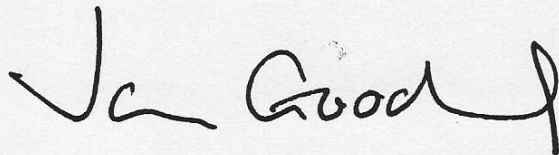
I must confess it left me a little confused, and I think before we meet it would be sensible for us to check our understanding of one another's position, so we save time and do not start off our discussions under any misapprehension.

In particular, I believe I have already addressed all three of your bullet points in my letter to The Times and in my previous correspondence with you. It would therefore be helpful if you can now acknowledge that:

- a. I have already said that sex, sexual orientation and gender identity are different;
- b. we recognise there are a wide variety of opinions on these issues (my letter to you of 19<sup>th</sup> October);
- c. we acknowledge that there are a range of views related to amending the GRA, and where there are concerns, these are best addressed by gathering evidence and acting on the basis of what that tells us (our previous correspondence).

I do need some reassurance that you understand what our position is before we meet, otherwise I fear we will waste a lot of time going over old ground which could more usefully be spent in discussing other matters.

Kind Regards



Jan Gooding

Chair, Stonewall

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Jan Gooding  
Chair of the Board of Trustees, Stonewall  
192 St John St  
EC1V 4JY

cc: Jonathan Best

23<sup>rd</sup> Nov 2018

Dear Jan

3rd Oct -  
Thank you for your reply to my letter of 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 2018. Sincere apologies for the delay in responding.

Given your response I believe it is more important than ever that we meet, as originally requested, to debate the issues around sex, gender, transgender activism and Stonewall's current position.

On your points a), b) and c) we agree. However, Stonewall's public statements and activities appear to be in direct conflict with what you have said – particularly in relation to your point c). In Ruth Hunt's statement of 4<sup>th</sup> October, she equates our Petition's request to open up debate around these complex issues with "debating trans people's rights to exist". Likewise, in your earlier letter dated 19<sup>th</sup> Oct point 2 you seem to draw the same parallel – that debating the issues is the same as questioning the validity of people's identities. As we have said before this is a complete misrepresentation of our and many other people's views and has serious implications for freedom of speech and academic freedom.

Second you mention that where there are concerns relating to the proposed changes to the Gender Recognition Act "these are best addressed by gathering evidence and acting on the basis of what that tells us". We agree here also – but I believe the evidence you referenced in your previous letter is based on 1) the results of Stonewall's own research with rape crisis and women's aid centres and 2) looking at the experiences of the 4 countries (with completely different size, demographics, & cultures to the UK) who have already adopted self-ID. There is a vast range of other research to be considered ranging from science to history to education to psychiatry (particularly with reference to autism) to philosophy. At the moment we see no mention of any evidence being considered by Stonewall if it does not fit the current orthodoxy. Inevitably this limits Stonewall's credibility as a fact based campaigning organisation.

You said in your original letter of 19 October that you would be happy to meet to discuss and I believe that there is now an even more urgent need for this to go ahead. Through discussion we can clarify exactly what it is that Stonewall believes and share the thoughts and ideas of some of the 1,500 people who took the time to write comments to add to our Petition.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards

Kate Harris

Monday 17<sup>th</sup> December 2019

Dear Kate

Thank you for your letter of 23<sup>rd</sup> November.

I believe that Stonewall has been clear and consistent on this subject, both in my correspondence with you and in our public statements. Your position strikes me as being clear too – we just happen to disagree with it, and the same seems to be true in reverse.

To me, it seems that everyone's position is clear and frequently articulated but if you think that, despite this, a meeting is essential then perhaps a sensible next step would be for you to suggest a draft agenda for it?

I look forward to hearing from you and hope, in the meantime, you have a happy Christmas.

Kind Regards



Jan Gooding

Chair, Stonewall

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Jan Gooding  
Chair of the Board of Trustees  
Stonewall  
192 St John St  
EC1V 4JY

cc: Jonathan Best, Mohsin Zaidi, Ros Parker, Catherine Dixon, Simon Blake, Sheldon Mills, Tim Toulmin

4<sup>th</sup> February 2019

Dear Jan

Thank you for your letter of 17<sup>th</sup> December. As you know, we have been very keen to arrange a meeting since October to follow up on our letter to The Times and the subsequent Petition, so we are delighted that it is now taking place.

Our agenda points are as follows:

1. Fact based debate.  
There is a considerable controversy about the issues of sex and gender. So we'd like to contribute, drawing on the work of the many academics now engaged in research about the subject, to encourage frank debate. How can we help Stonewall and all of us to move to a situation where such debate is enabled to take place? Can we draw up some lines of engagement that Stonewall backs publicly which acknowledge the importance of open fact-based debate in the interests of academic freedom and freedom of speech and which reject insulting language?
2. The safeguarding of children.  
Many parents have concerns. How can we contribute to developing guidelines for schools, girl guides, youth hostels, sports teams and so on to help allay those concerns and which Stonewall can publish?
3. Peer reviewed research on transitioning  
There is now a wide, as yet inconclusive, range of research on young people transitioning. How can we make this available in order to contribute to debating the most effective way of supporting young people? There are different opinions amongst experts about the most appropriate way to support young people and the long-term impact of puberty blocking drugs and surgery. The least that can be said is that the medical world knows very little about the subject yet. So how can Stonewall help parents and children by acknowledging this and sharing a broad range of research?

4. Understanding your supporters

We would like to share some of the 1,616 comments from the 7,483 people who have signed our Petition. These comments indicate that there is a significant part of the broad coalition that has in the past supported Stonewall who no longer do so. These are mainly original and/or long-term allies and supporters. How can we help Stonewall bring them back? As many of them are lesbians we have a suggestion to discuss with you. We think it would have a very positive impact were you to set up a Lesbian Advisory Group for women born female. This group would have a similar function to your Trans Advisory Group and be able to help Stonewall present a more balanced range of thinking to the general public.

We are available to meet you at any time in February except the week of 12 – 19<sup>th</sup>. Please can you suggest some dates that are suitable for you? I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards

Kate Harris

PS I enclose a copy for each Trustee as I am hoping they may be interested in our suggestions.

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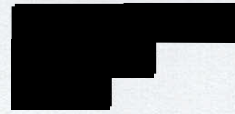
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Jan Gooding  
Chair of the Board of Trustees  
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24<sup>th</sup> June 2019

Dear Jan

As you know we have been trying to set up a meeting with you since our Petition asking Stonewall to discuss issues around sex and gender was launched in October 2018. We have discussed several points by letter, but I do not seem to have a reply from you to my last letter of 4<sup>th</sup> February 2019.

You asked us to provide agenda points for our meeting, which we have outlined in that letter. Could you let me know whether you are happy with these points or you would like to make other suggestions?

I realise that you believe your approach to gender ideology is the right one to continue the ground-breaking campaigning work for which Stonewall has become famous. However, we - and many former supporters, directors and trustees of Stonewall - take a different view and have been requesting that you might debate a change of direction and emphasis. In this the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary year it is more important than ever that Stonewall continues to broaden its appeal and build bridges with a wide group of people.

In order to overcome the current impasse may I suggest that you and some of your current trustees meet with a group of former supporters under the guidance of an impartial facilitator? We hope that this may lead to an increase in mutual understanding and a reconsideration of the current block on talking about issues around sex and gender.

It would be helpful if you could discuss this with the current Board and let us know whether you think this could be a useful step forward. I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards

Kate Harris  
Former Stonewall Supporter

cc: Mohsin Zaidi, Ros Parker, Catherine Dixon, Simon Blake, Sheldon Mills, Tim Toulmin, Andrew Pakes, Reeha Alder, Michele Oliver, Meri Williams

[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

Monday 8<sup>th</sup> July 2019


Dear Kate.

Thank you for your letter of 24<sup>th</sup> June.

You must forgive me for not replying promptly to your letter of February 4<sup>th</sup>. You will have seen the news that Ruth Hunt is leaving Stonewall and I have been rather overtaken by managing that process, so please accept my apologies for not getting back to you.

In terms of your suggestion, it would be helpful to have some clarification before I consider whether to take it to the Trustees for discussion as you request. For instance, I am not quite sure whether, when you mention 'impartial facilitator', you have someone in mind already or whether it is just an idea at this stage and you still need to find someone suitable? Either way it would be helpful if you would elaborate.

Kind Regards



Jan Gooding  
Chair, Stonewall

## Facilitation of our proposed dialogue

Kate Harris

Tue 30/07/2019 12:17

To: Jan Gooding <Jan.Gooding@stonewall.org.uk>

Cc: Maria Arpa <[REDACTED]>

Hello Jan - many thanks for your letter of 8th July 2019.

I've been in touch with Maria Arpa of Peaceful Solutions to ask whether she might be able to act as our impartial facilitator. She and I have just had a 20 minute phone call and she was extremely impressive in understanding the issues I described to her.

Maria has asked whether she could have a similar call with you so that she has heard from both of us. Would you be able to set that up with her and then she can advise you of her proposed process to help us move forward.

Maria will be out of the country from 8th August (next Thursday) until 8th September so it would be ideal if you could find time to speak to her before she leaves.

Kind regards Kate

<https://www.centreforpeacefulsolutions.org/staff/maria-arpa/>



### Maria Arpa - Centre For Peaceful Solutions

Maria has made interpersonal skills a lifetime project. Growing up in London in housing declared unfit for human habitation to immigrant parents, Maria experienced first-hand just how easy it is to become dysfunctional. Her Maltese parents were traumatised by World War Two which added to the

[www.centreforpeacefulsolutions.org](http://www.centreforpeacefulsolutions.org)

**From:** Jan Gooding <Jan.Gooding@stonewall.org.uk>

**Sent:** 02 August 2019 11:46

**To:** [REDACTED]

**Subject:** Re: Facilitation of our proposed dialogue

Dear Kate

Thank you for your email.

I'm afraid I was rather taken aback that you had taken it upon yourself to have a conversation with someone without first discussing this with me. My last letter posed only one question, which was to ask whether your suggestion was just an idea or if you already 'had someone in mind'.

I plainly did NOT suggest you start speaking to third parties before we'd had the chance to reflect on the detail of your proposal, and I am at a loss to understand how you could take this as an invitation to do so.

If your aim is to work collaboratively then clearly the most appropriate response would have been simply to answer the question, which in this case would just have been something like 'yes I would recommend Maria Arpa - please check her out and let me know what you think'.

I am beginning to question whether I have been right to communicate with you in good faith about this and will need to give it some further thought.

Kind Regards

Jan

Jan Gooding  
Chair, Stonewall

---

On 30 Jul 2019, at 14:17, Kate Harris <[REDACTED]> wrote:

Hello Jan - many thanks for your letter of 8th July 2019.

I've been in touch with Maria Arpa of Peaceful Solutions to ask whether she might be able to act as our impartial facilitator. She and I have just had a 20 minute phone call and she was extremely impressive in understanding the issues I described to her.

Maria has asked whether she could have a similar call with you so that she has heard from both of us. Would you be able to set that up with her and then she can advise you of her proposed process to help us move forward.

Maria will be out of the country from 8th August (next Thursday) until 8th September so it would be ideal if you could find time to speak to her before she leaves.

Kind regards Kate



Jan Gooding and Trustees  
Stonewall  
192 St John St  
EC1V 4JY

24th September 2019

Dear Jan, Simon, Mohsin, Ros, Catherine, Sheldon, Tim, Andrew, Reeha, Michele and Meri,

As you know we have been trying to set up a meeting with you since October 2018.

Others have also urged you to engage in dialogue; including Lesbian Rights Alliance; Bev Jackson, founder of Gay Liberation Front; and of course, the 9,400 individuals who have signed our petition pleading with you to engage.

You saw our letter in the Sunday Times yesterday and have since tweeted your response – which is that you will still not talk at all. Not talk to any of the thousands of people who do care about LGB rights and want a voice. We are not “anti-trans equality”. We believe that all people deserve a life free from prejudice and discrimination.

You know that we have had disagreements with Ruth Hunt’s approach in recent years – and you also know that the vast majority of us are long-time supporters of Stonewall. However, we believe that where there are conflicting rights those conflicts need to be thoughtfully resolved. Stonewall has a distinguished history of winning arguments through dialogue, not by refusing to enter into discussion in the first place.

So, can we ask you once again to agree to a consensual meeting? We are happy to meet any time, any place, anywhere.

If you are unwilling to engage at all we fear we may need to set up the alternative group described yesterday, with huge regret. We would far rather work with you. It is entirely up to you.

Kind regards

Kate Harris  
Former Stonewall Supporter

cc Paul Twocock, Interim Chief Executive



Jan Gooding  
Stonewall  
192 St John St  
EC1V 4JY

11th December 2019

Dear Jan

As you know we have been trying to set up a meeting with you since the launch of our petition - in October 2018 - which asked Stonewall to join a discussion on sex and gender. You and I have been in correspondence since then to arrange a meeting for this discussion.

You said that you would raise our request for some former trustees to meet with current trustees at your October Board meeting. I wonder whether you could you let me know what decision was made at that meeting.

To be clear – we do not want to form the LGB Alliance. But we feel we have no choice as long as Stonewall will not discuss the concerns expressed by so many LGB people about the direction Stonewall has chosen to follow concerning the issues of sex and gender.

We would welcome the opportunity to get an informed dialogue going and we would be happy to accept a facilitator for the discussion as we have mentioned before.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience.

Kind regards

Kate Harris  
Former Stonewall Supporter

cc Paul Twocock, Interim Chief Executive

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# Our work for trans equality is at the heart of our mission for acceptance without exception

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BY [RUTH HUNT](#), CHIEF EXECUTIVE

PUBLISHED 04 OCTOBER 18

[CAMPAIGNING](#) [NEWS](#) [BLOG](#) [COMMUNITIES](#) [CULTURE, MEDIA & SPORT](#) [SOCIAL EXCLUSION](#)

Since the planned reform of the Gender Recognition Act was announced a year ago, there have been daily articles and social media threads that question trans people’s right to exist, trying to undermine their ability to go about their daily lives free from fear and abuse. This week, a petition has been launched directly asking Stonewall to reconsider our work on trans equality.

The petition asks us to acknowledge that there are a range of viewpoints around sex and gender. Of course we know that these differing views exist, and have existed for many years. The petition also asks us to acknowledge that there is a conflict between trans rights and ‘sex based women’s rights’. We ~~do~~ not and will not acknowledge this. Doing so would imply that we do not believe that trans people deserve the same

rights as others. However, we are unequivocal in our support of trans people’s – and everyone’s – right to equality and will remain so. Our motto is ‘acceptance without exception’.

Frankly, we are not alone in this support for trans people. A [recent poll](#) by the Thomson Reuters Foundation asked 1,000 women in Cairo, London, Mexico City, New York and Tokyo: "Should transgender women have the same rights as other women?" Women across the world overwhelmingly agreed, including 87% of women in London (and New York).

The petition also calls for respectful debate on this issue. That is something we can sign up to wholeheartedly: the debate as it stands is not respectful. It has become demonising, divisive and shaming. We will always debate issues that enable us to further equality but what we will not do is debate trans people’s rights to exist. This is not and will not ever be respectful. It is also an issue that is already settled in law: trans people’s right to equality is already clear and has been since 2004. To have similar debates around any other part of a person’s identity protected by law is unimaginable: debating whether gay people exist, or whether people of a certain faith should be able to access services, would rightly not be tolerated. It is the same for trans people.

## **We will always debate issues that enable us to further equality but what we will not is debate trans people’s rights to exist.**

We’re proud of the work we do with trans communities to fight for trans equality. It’s central to our goal for every lesbian, gay, bi and trans person to be accepted without exception. Trans people are currently facing horrific levels of harassment and abuse in their daily lives. It’s a situation none of us should accept.

As part of this debate, we have looked carefully at some of the areas that are causing the most concern in these debates. You can [read more](#) on our website.

We know that there is huge support for trans rights from lesbian, gay and bi communities.

The #LWithTheT movement sprang directly, and organically, in opposition to horrible transphobic demonstrations at events this summer, which aimed to make trans people at the events feel intimidated but in the end motivated a whole wave of lesbians and allies to loudly say that those angry voices don’t speak for them. That’s just one example.

Now is the time to make that support even more visible and vocal. Together we are stronger and can raise each other up. That’s as true for trans people today as it has been – and continues to be - for lesbian, gay and bi people through our history.

At Stonewall, we are absolutely committed to continue our work to ensure all trans people, as well as all lesbian, gay and bi people, are accepted for who they are in Britain and around the world.

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### WANT TO HEAR MORE FROM STONEWALL?

We'd love to show you how your support is helping LGBTQ+ people everywhere to thrive.

We need your consent to share news, campaigns, events and ways in which you can further support this important work.

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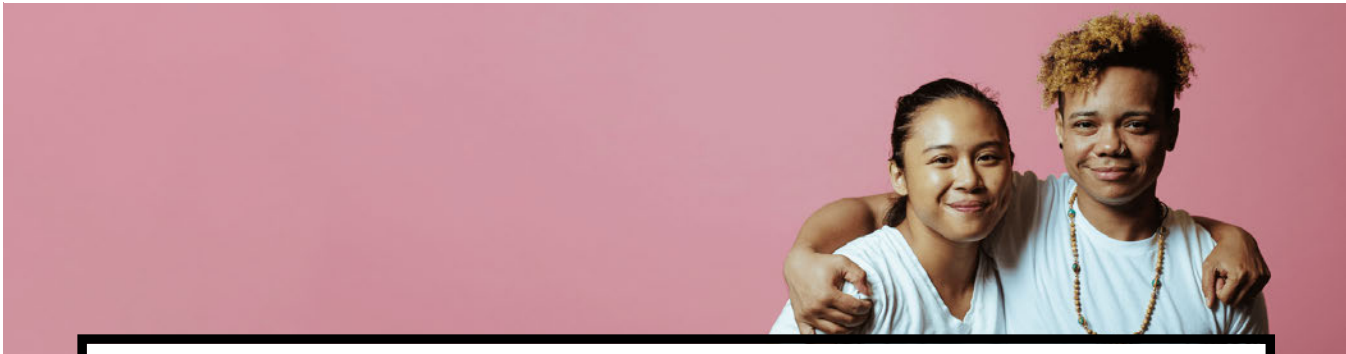
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# Stonewall Strategy: Free to Be

Join us in creating a world where all LGBTQ+ people are free to be.

**At Stonewall, we stand for all lesbian, gay, bi, trans, queer, questioning and ace (LGBTQ+) people.**

We imagine a world where LGBTQ+ people everywhere are free to be themselves and can live their lives to the full.

We know that, as part of a vibrant global movement for change made up of LGBTQ+ people, our allies, families and friends, we will get there. Together.

Our 2021-5 strategy sets out how we will campaign together with our partners and supporters to create the world we imagine.

## Stonewall Strategy 21-25: Free to Be

May 2021





Over the last 30 years, we have helped create transformative change in the lives of LGBTQ+ people across communities in the UK. We have travelled a path from Section 28, and the total suppression of LGBTQ+ identities in schools, to every child learning about our lives, families and relationships as part of the national curriculum in most of the UK. That same path has taken us from a world where our relationships were criminalised to one where we have equal rights to love. And, for those of us who want to, equal rights to marry, or to have children.

We are proud of who we are and what we have achieved together, and we know more change is desperately needed.

Because in every community in the UK, and around the world, LGBTQ+ people are still being abused, thrown out of their homes, and bullied in schools and workplaces. The institutions that should protect us – our governments, communities, faith institutions and families – too often stand silent, or actively harm us.

And for some LGBTQ+ people, these harms are particularly acute. From racism to ableism, misogyny to classism, LGBTQ+ people of colour, LGBTQ+ women, LGBTQ+ people who are disabled, those of us living in poverty, who are of faith, and many more of us, are held back and pushed aside as we make our way through life.

We stand for the freedom, equity, and potential of all LGBTQ+ people. We have organised our goals under these pillars to address these injustices and improve the lives of LGBTQ+ people in the UK and worldwide. Read on to learn more and download the full strategy.

We can't create the world we imagine, the world our communities deserve, without you.

**Join us.**

**Freedom**

We will campaign for:

- A legally enforceable ban on conversion therapy across the UK, with support for survivors and training for frontline professionals.

- Hate crime and hate speech laws in the UK that protect LGBTQ+ communities, as well as advocating for restorative approaches.
- Better UNHCR guidelines on deciding LGBTQ+ asylum claims, and fairer outcomes for LGBTQ+ refugees here in the UK.
- Inclusive legal recognition which respects and protects who we are, and our relationships.

## Equity

We will:

- Campaign for accessible and high-quality healthcare for all LGBTQ+ people.
- Ensure we are properly supporting and working alongside LGBTQ+ people of colour.
- Build strong relations with inclusive faith communities and challenge religiously-informed discrimination against LGBTQ+ people.
- Create a strong evidence base to support activism and campaigning work that tackles the deep inequalities within our communities.
- Support LGBTQ+ people across their lives, from school age to retirement age and beyond.

## Potential

We will:

- Expand and improve our Diversity Champions and Global Diversity Champions programmes so that more LGBTQ+ people are accepted and celebrated at work, wherever we work.
- Expand our empowerment programmes so that more LGBTQ+ people and their allies can step up as leaders, role models, and activists in their own communities.
- Champion LGBTQ+ inclusion across schools and colleges by working with educational institutions across the UK.
- Campaign for LGBTQ+ inclusion across sport worldwide so that every LGBTQ+ person feels comfortable and confident taking part in the sports and physical activities they love.
- Support Pride in all its forms – because all LGBTQ+ people have the right to protest, celebrate, and connect in safe, supportive spaces.

# DONATE TODAY

We imagine a world where LGBTQ+ people everywhere are free to be themselves. Your donation will help us get there. Donate today.

DONATE NOW

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**Stonewall**

**FREE**

**TO BE**

**STRATEGY**

**2021-25**

# STONEWALL STRATEGY: 2021-5

**At Stonewall, we stand for all lesbian, gay, bi, trans, queer, questioning, and ace (LGBTQ+) people.**

**We imagine a world where LGBTQ+ people everywhere are free to be themselves and can live their lives to the full.**

**We know that, as part of a vibrant global movement for change made up of LGBTQ+ people, our allies, families, and friends, we will get there. Together.**

Over the last 30 years, we have helped create transformative change in the lives of LGBTQ+ people across communities in the UK. We have travelled a path from Section 28, and the total suppression of LGBTQ+ identities in schools, to every child learning about our lives, families and relationships as part of the national curriculum in most of the UK.

That same path has taken us from a world where our relationships were criminalised to one where we have equal rights to love. And, for those of us who want to, equal rights to marry, or to have children.

We are proud of who we are and what we have achieved together, and we know more change is desperately needed.

In every community in the UK, and around the world, LGBTQ+ people are still being abused, thrown out of their homes, and bullied in schools and workplaces. The institutions that should protect us – our governments, communities, faith institutions and families – too often stand silent, or actively harm us.

And for some LGBTQ+ people, these harms are particularly acute. From racism to ableism, misogyny to classism, LGBTQ+ people of colour, LGBTQ+ women, LGBTQ+ people who are disabled, those of us living in poverty, who are of faith, and many more of us, are held back and pushed aside as we make our way through life.

Stonewall will continue to stand with, and fight for, the freedom, equity and potential of all LGBTQ+ people. Until the world we imagine is the world we live in.



# How we work

**Founded in 1989, we now work in each nation of the UK and have established partnerships across the globe. Working with our communities, partners and allies to learn together and support each other is at the heart of our approach.**

Stonewall's campaigning work drives positive change in public attitudes and public policy, helping transform the day-to-day experience of all LGBTQ+ people. We lobby governments across the UK to protect and extend LGBTQ+ rights, press for progress with global decision-makers, and work with human rights defenders around the world to achieve change in their home countries.

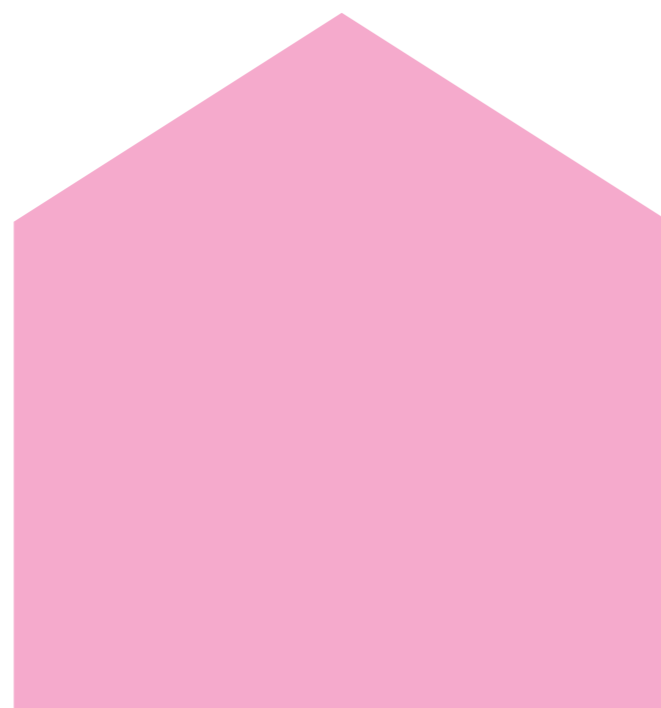
We ensure LGBTQ+ people can thrive throughout their lives by building deep, sustained change programmes with the institutions that have the biggest impact on our lives. We help LGBTQ+ children and young people to feel safe and seen through our schools, colleges and children and young people's services programmes. These programmes support adults who work with children and young people to tackle homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying, and to teach in a way that recognises and celebrates LGBTQ+ history.

We have been at the forefront of making workplaces inclusive for LGBTQ+ people for more than 15 years through our Diversity Champions and Global Diversity Champions programmes. And we make sport everyone's game for all who take part – as participants, volunteers, staff, or fans – through the award-winning Rainbow Laces campaign, and by empowering communities at every level of sport and physical activity to champion LGBTQ+ inclusion.

We are grounded in evidence and in expertise. We make sure that the

world hears and learns from LGBTQ+ communities. As well as commissioning and conducting new research and making the best use of existing data on LGBTQ+ people, we listen to and involve LGBTQ+ communities in research about their lives, and work alongside community organisations to learn more about the issues affecting them.

And we are committed to empowering people to create change in their own communities. By encouraging LGBTQ+ people and their allies to step up as leaders, role models and activists we are all taking a big step – school by school, workplace by workplace, community by community – towards a world where LGBTQ+ people everywhere are free to be.



# Freedom

**Human rights tell a powerful story about the kind of world we choose to live in, and the kind of world we want to build. We imagine a world where LGBTQ+ people have the same rights as everybody else. Where the laws of our home countries, and of countries internationally, shield us from harm and allow us to live openly, unapologetically, and proudly.**

We will fight for the freedoms of LGBTQ+ people everywhere. Alongside our global partners, we will tackle the destructive and harmful anti-trans movement. We will build and protect human rights frameworks so that LGBTQ+ people have the tools we need to protect our lives and our communities.

**Over the next four years, working with UK and global partners, Stonewall will make the case for:**

**1** A legally enforceable ban on conversion therapy across the UK, with support for survivors and training for frontline professionals. Conversion therapy practices are rooted in disgust for LGBTQ+ people, and the lie that our sexual or romantic orientation, or our gender, can be changed. It causes lifelong hurt to survivors and has no place in a society that values its LGBTQ+ citizens.

**2** Hate crime and hate speech laws in the UK that protect LGBTQ+ communities, as well as advocating for restorative approaches. We will also work with our international partners to develop platforms for anonymous hate crime reporting, using the data to press for changes to the law and to policing practices.

**3** Better UNHCR guidelines on deciding LGBTQ+ asylum claims, and fairer outcomes for LGBTQ+ refugees here in the UK. Around the world, LGBTQ+ refugees risk their lives and livelihoods when they flee persecution, only to be met with suspicion and cruelty where they should be welcomed.

**4** Inclusive legal recognition which respects and protects who we are, and our relationships. For example, identity documents – whether birth certificates, passports or driving licences – should be easily changed to reflect trans people's identities, including non-binary identities. And LGBTQ+ couples and parents should have their relationships recognised on all official documents.



# Equity

**When we think of equity, we imagine a world where all LGBTQ+ people experience justice. That means not only equal opportunities, but equitable outcomes. We recognise that equitable outcomes look different for each of us, and that many of us face different barriers in our lives based on our identities and experiences.**

Taking an equitable approach means recognising and addressing the specific needs of our diverse communities not only in our words, but in our actions. We will work to understand and address the particularly stark inequities experienced by our community elders, LGBTQ+ women, trans people, bi people, those of us who are people of colour, have a faith, are asexual and aromantic, are disabled, living in poverty, or from a working-class background.

Through building deep relationships across and beyond our movement, we will focus our campaigning and change programmes on tackling the structural barriers that hold back marginalised LGBTQ+ people throughout our lives. We will work in partnership and act in solidarity with communities facing harm, discrimination and inequity throughout our work.

**Over the next four years, working with UK and global partners, Stonewall will:**

**1** Campaign for accessible and high-quality healthcare for all LGBTQ+ people. Better mental health support is needed urgently, and that support must be relevant to our differing needs, experiences and identities. Trans people deserve affirming and timely transition-related healthcare that takes a person-centred approach, as well as general healthcare from doctors who are knowledgeable about trans lives and identities.

**2** Ensure we are properly supporting and working alongside LGBTQ+ people of colour, who have always been trailblazers within the LGBTQ+ movement, and whose work should be recognised, celebrated and properly resourced. We will continue building relationships with leaders and activists from across communities and working in close partnership with UK Black Pride.

**3** Build strong relations with inclusive faith communities to help LGBTQ+ people of faith to thrive. We will also challenge religiously-informed

discrimination against LGBTQ+ people by supporting LGBTQ-inclusive education in schools and campaigning to ban conversion therapy.

**4** Create a strong evidence base to support activism and campaigning work that tackles the deep inequalities within our communities. We will do this in partnership with local community organisations and leaders who are already doing the work across our towns and cities. We will make the most of our networks and resources to support their direction, needs and priorities.

**5** Support LGBTQ+ people across their lives. We will focus on ensuring that children and young people have an LGBTQ-inclusive education, and that LGBTQ+ adults are supported in family relationships and in forming families of our own, no matter our gender, sexuality or romantic orientation. Elders will be represented in all of our campaigns and resources, and be heard loud and clear as we support campaigns for LGBTQ-inclusive elder care.



# Potential

**We believe that LGBTQ+ people, across the world and across every stage of our lives, have limitless potential.**

We imagine a world where each and every one of us is proud of who we are, whether we're out to the world or just to ourselves. We imagine our pride driving us to use our potential in whatever way we like – whether that's by thriving in our careers, nurturing our creativity, living authentically, building a family, or feeling truly part of our communities. We want all LGBTQ+ people to not only dream big, but to have the resources needed to make our dreams a reality.

**Over the next four years, working with UK and global partners, Stonewall will:**

**1** Expand our empowerment programmes so that more LGBTQ+ people and their allies can step up as leaders, role models, and activists in their own communities. We believe that when individuals share their stories, skills and power with those around them, incremental progress soon becomes a powerful movement for change.

**2** Expand and improve our workplace programmes worldwide. Through our Diversity Champions and Global Diversity Champions we will continue to create change within organisations – until all LGBTQ+ people are accepted and celebrated

at work, wherever we work. We will also increase our knowledge about what meaningful inclusion looks like for LGBTQ+ people working across a range of sectors and in different country contexts.

**3** Champion LGBTQ+ inclusion across schools and colleges. LGBTQ+ children and young people are owed an education that reflects who they are – so they can grow up into proud, self-assured adults. We will continue to improve inclusion by working with educational institutions across the UK. We will provide training and e-learning resources for education professionals, as well as expanding our Education and Children and Young People's Services programmes.

**4** Campaign for LGBTQ+ inclusion across sport worldwide. Every LGBTQ+ person should feel comfortable and confident taking part in the sports and physical activities they love – whether that's at grassroots or elite level, or anywhere in between. To make this a reality, we will build on the success of the Rainbow Laces campaign, deepen our work on LGBTQ+ inclusion in community sport and sport development, and champion trans inclusion in partnership with national and international sporting bodies.

**5** Support Pride in all its forms. For LGBTQ+ people globally, Pride events are vital. Many of us remember the power of our first Pride, and the feeling of being part of a huge, diverse, joyful community. Stonewall will continue supporting and participating in community Pride events around the country. Because all LGBTQ+ people have the right to protest, celebrate, and connect in safe, supportive spaces.



# Nurturing Stonewall

**It is only through the skills, creativity and dedication of our staff, trustees and volunteers that we can change the world for LGBTQ+ people. We will recruit talented people that reflect the communities we serve, and create roles where everyone understands the impact they have. We will support our people to do their best, and to learn and grow.**

We will take particular care to prioritise race equity and trans inclusion in how we work, with commitments and actions that help us focus on improving our culture and practices, and building equity within Stonewall. We will also seek further progress on bi and ace inclusion within the charity.

Over the life of this strategy, we will also nurture our support systems. This means implementing new software that supports our operations, launching our new brand and website, and creating welcoming workspaces for our teams in Scotland, Cymru and London.

## Join us

### Do we imagine the same world?

If you can imagine a world where there is freedom, equity and limitless potential for every LGBTQ+ person, we want you to stand with us.

Whether you've supported us since 1989; you're just coming out; you want to be a champion for your LGBTQ+ friends, relatives or colleagues; you're concerned by the rise of anti-LGBTQ+ hate groups; you've felt overlooked by us in the past; you want to step up as a role model or leader – we can't create the world we imagine, the world our communities deserve, without you. Join us.

**Find out how you can support us at [www.stonewall.org.uk/donate](http://www.stonewall.org.uk/donate)**

**STAND WITH  
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# FREE TO BE STRATEGY Stonewall 2021-25

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# List of LGBTQ+ terms

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[Download easy read definitions of lesbian, gay, bi and trans.](#)

## A

### **Abro (sexual and romantic)**

A word used to describe people who have a fluid sexual and/or romantic orientation which changes over time, or the course of their life. They may use different terms to describe themselves over time.

## **Ace**

An umbrella term used specifically to describe a lack of, varying, or occasional experiences of sexual attraction. This encompasses asexual people as well as those who identify as demisexual and grey-sexual. Ace people who experience romantic attraction or occasional sexual attraction might also use terms such as gay, bi, lesbian, straight and queer in conjunction with asexual to describe the direction of their romantic or sexual attraction.

### **Ace and aro/ace and aro spectrum**

Umbrella terms used to describe the wide group of people who experience a lack of, varying, or occasional experiences of romantic and/or sexual attraction, including a lack of attraction. People who identify under these umbrella terms may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms, including, but not limited to, asexual, ace, aromantic, aro, demi, grey, and abro. People may also use terms such as gay, bi, lesbian, straight and queer in conjunction with ace and aro to explain the direction of romantic or sexual attraction if and when they experience it.

### **Allo (sexual and romantic)**

Allo people experience sexual and romantic attraction, and do not identify as on the ace or aro spectrum. Allo is to ace and aro spectrum identities, as straight is to LGB+ spectrum identities. It is important to use words that equalise experience, otherwise the opposite to ace and aro becomes 'normal' which is stigmatising.

## **Aro**

An umbrella term used specifically to describe a lack of, varying, or occasional experiences of romantic attraction. This encompasses aromantic people as well as those who identify as demiromantic and grey-romantic. Aro people who experience sexual attraction or occasional romantic attraction might also use terms such as gay, bi, lesbian, straight and queer in conjunction with asexual to describe the direction of their attraction.

## **Aromantic**

A person who does not experience romantic attraction. Some aromantic people experience sexual attraction, while others do not. Aromantic people who experience sexual attraction or occasional romantic attraction might also use terms such as gay, bi, lesbian, straight and queer in conjunction with asexual to describe the direction of their attraction.

### **Asexual**

A person who does not experience sexual attraction. Some asexual people experience romantic attraction, while others do not. Asexual people who experience romantic attraction might also use terms such as gay, bi, lesbian, straight and queer in conjunction with asexual to describe the direction of their romantic attraction.

### **Ally**

A (typically) straight and/or cis person who supports members of the LGBT community.

### **B**

#### **Bi**

Bi is an umbrella term used to describe a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards more than one gender.

Bi people may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms, including, but not limited to, bisexual, pan, queer, and some other non-monosexual and non-monoromantic identities.

#### **Biphobia**

The fear or dislike of someone who identifies as bi based on prejudice or negative attitudes, beliefs or views about bi people. Biphobic bullying may be targeted at people who are, or who are perceived to be, bi.

#### **Butch**

Butch is a term used in LBT culture to describe someone who expresses themselves in a typically masculine way.

There are other identities within the scope of butch, such as 'soft butch' and 'stone butch'. You shouldn't use these terms about someone unless you know they identify with them.

### **C**

#### **Cisgender or Cis**

Someone whose gender identity is the same as the sex they were assigned at birth. Non-trans is also used by some people.

#### **Coming out**

When a person first tells someone/others about their orientation and/or gender identity.

### **D**

#### **Deadnaming**

Calling someone by their birth name after they have changed their name. This term is often associated with trans people who have changed their name as part of their transition.

## **Demi (sexual and romantic)**

An umbrella term used to describe people who may only feel sexually or romantically attracted to people with whom they have formed an emotional bond. People may also use terms such as gay, bi, lesbian, straight and queer in conjunction with demi to explain the direction of romantic or sexual attraction as they experience it.

## **F**

### **Femme**

Femme is a term used in LGBT culture to describe someone who expresses themselves in a typically feminine way.

There are other identities within the scope of femme, such as 'low femme', 'high femme', and 'hard femme'. You shouldn't use these terms about someone unless you know they identify with them.

## **G**

### **Gay**

Refers to a man who has a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards men. Also a generic term for lesbian and gay sexuality - some women define themselves as gay rather than lesbian. Some non-binary people may also identify with this term.

### **Gender**

Often expressed in terms of masculinity and femininity, gender is largely culturally determined and is assumed from the sex assigned at birth.

### **Gender dysphoria**

Used to describe when a person experiences discomfort or distress because there is a mismatch between their sex assigned at birth and their gender identity.

This is also the clinical diagnosis for someone who doesn't feel comfortable with the sex they were assigned at birth.

### **Gender expression**

How a person chooses to outwardly express their gender, within the context of societal expectations of gender. A person who does not conform to societal expectations of gender may not, however, identify as trans.

### **Gender identity**

A person's innate sense of their own gender, whether male, female or something else (see non-binary below), which may or may not correspond to the sex assigned at birth.

### **Gender reassignment**

Another way of describing a person's transition. To undergo gender reassignment usually means to undergo some sort of medical intervention, but it can also mean changing names, pronouns, dressing differently and living in their self-identified gender.

Gender reassignment is a characteristic that is protected by the Equality Act 2010, and it is further interpreted in the Equality Act 2010 approved code of practice. It is a term of much contention and is one that Stonewall's [Trans Advisory Group](#) feels should be reviewed.

### **Gender Recognition Certificate (GRC)**

This enables trans people to be legally recognised in their affirmed gender and to be issued with a new birth certificate. Not all trans people will apply for a GRC and you currently have to be over 18 to apply.

You do not need a GRC to change your gender markers at work or to legally change your gender on other documents such as your passport.

### **Gillick competence**

A term used in medical law to decide whether a child (under 16 years of age) is able to consent to their own medical treatment, without the need for parental permission or knowledge.

### **Grey (sexual and romantic)**

Also known as grey-A, this is an umbrella term which describes people who experience attraction occasionally, rarely, or only under certain conditions. People may also use terms such as gay, bi, lesbian, straight and queer in conjunction with grey to explain the direction of romantic or sexual attraction as they experience it.

## **H**

### **Heterosexual/straight**

Refers to a man who has a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards women or to a woman who has a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards men.

### **Homosexual**

This might be considered a more medical term used to describe someone who has a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards someone of the same gender. The term 'gay' is now more generally used.

### **Homophobia**

The fear or dislike of someone, based on prejudice or negative attitudes, beliefs or views about lesbian, gay or bi people. Homophobic bullying may be targeted at people who are, or who are perceived to be, lesbian, gay or bi.

## **I**

### **Intersex**

A term used to describe a person who may have the biological attributes of both sexes or whose biological attributes do not fit with societal assumptions about what constitutes male or female.

Intersex people may identify as male, female or non-binary.

Stonewall works with intersex groups to provide its partners and stakeholders information and evidence about areas of disadvantage experienced by intersex people but does not, after discussions with members of the intersex community, include intersex issues as part of its current remit at this stage.

## **L**

## **Lesbian**

Refers to a woman who has a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards women. Some non-binary people may also identify with this term.

## **Lesbophobia**

The fear or dislike of someone because they are or are perceived to be a lesbian.

## **LGBTQ+**

The acronym for lesbian, gay, bi, trans, queer, questioning and ace.

## **N**

### **Non-binary**

An umbrella term for people whose gender identity doesn't sit comfortably with 'man' or 'woman'. Non-binary identities are varied and can include people who identify with some aspects of binary identities, while others reject them entirely.

## **O**

### **Orientation**

Orientation is an umbrella term describing a person's attraction to other people. This attraction may be sexual (sexual orientation) and/or romantic (romantic orientation). These terms refer to a person's sense of identity based on their attractions, or lack thereof.

Orientations include, but are not limited to, lesbian, gay, bi, ace and straight.

### **Outed**

When a lesbian, gay, bi or trans person's sexual orientation or gender identity is disclosed to someone else without their consent.

## **P**

### **Person with a trans history**

Someone who identifies as male or female or a man or woman, but was assigned the opposite sex at birth. This is increasingly used by people to acknowledge a trans past.

### **Pan**

Refers to a person whose romantic and/or sexual attraction towards others is not limited by sex or gender.

### **Passing**

If someone is regarded, at a glance, to be a cisgender man or cisgender woman.

Cisgender refers to someone whose gender identity matches the sex they were 'assigned' at birth. This might include physical gender cues (hair or clothing) and/or behaviour which is historically or culturally associated with a particular gender.

### **Platonic partnerships**

People who are on the ace and/or aro spectrum may have platonic partnerships. These are relationships where there is a high level of mutual commitment which can include shared life decisions, shared living arrangements, and co-parenting of children. These partnerships can include more than two people. Like allosexual and alloromantic people, ace and aro spectrum people may be monogamous or polyamorous.

## **Pronoun**

Words we use to refer to people's gender in conversation - for example, 'he' or 'she'. Some people may prefer others to refer to them in gender neutral language and use pronouns such as they/their and ze/zir.

## **Q**

### **Queer**

Queer is a term used by those wanting to reject specific labels of romantic orientation, sexual orientation and/or gender identity. It can also be a way of rejecting the perceived norms of the LGBT community (racism, sizeism, ableism etc). Although some LGBT people view the word as a slur, it was reclaimed in the late 80s by the queer community who have embraced it.

### **Questioning**

The process of exploring your own sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

## **R**

### **Romantic orientation**

A person's romantic attraction to other people, or lack thereof. Along with sexual orientation, this forms a person's orientation identity.

Stonewall uses the term 'orientation' as an umbrella term covering sexual and romantic orientations.

## **S**

### **Sex**

Assigned to a person on the basis of primary sex characteristics (genitalia) and reproductive functions. Sometimes the terms 'sex' and 'gender' are interchanged to mean 'male' or 'female'.

### **Sexual orientation**

A person's sexual attraction to other people, or lack thereof. Along with romantic orientation, this forms a person's orientation identity.

Stonewall uses the term 'orientation' as an umbrella term covering sexual and romantic orientations.

### **Spectrum**

A term used to cover a variety of identities that have a root commonality or shared experience.

## **T**

### **Trans**

An umbrella term to describe people whose gender is not the same as, or does not sit comfortably with, the sex they were assigned at birth.

Trans people may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms, including (but not limited to) transgender, transsexual, gender-queer (GQ), gender-fluid, non-binary, gender-variant, crossdresser, genderless, agender, nongender, third gender, bi-gender, trans man, trans woman, trans masculine, trans feminine and neutrois.

### **Transgender man**

A term used to describe someone who is assigned female at birth but identifies and lives as a man. This may be shortened to trans man, or FTM, an abbreviation for female-to-male.

### **Transgender woman**

A term used to describe someone who is assigned male at birth but identifies and lives as a woman. This may be shortened to trans woman, or MTF, an abbreviation for male-to-female.

### **Transitioning**

The steps a trans person may take to live in the gender with which they identify. Each person's transition will involve different things. For some this involves medical intervention, such as hormone therapy and surgeries, but not all trans people want or are able to have this.

Transitioning also might involve things such as telling friends and family, dressing differently and changing official documents.

### **Transphobia**

The fear or dislike of someone based on the fact they are trans, including denying their gender identity or refusing to accept it. Transphobia may be targeted at people who are, or who are perceived to be, trans.

### **Transsexual**

This was used in the past as a more medical term (similarly to homosexual) to refer to someone whose gender is not the same as, or does not sit comfortably with, the sex they were assigned at birth.

This term is still used by some although many people prefer the term trans or transgender.

## **U**

### **Undetectable**

HIV medication (antiretroviral treatment, or ART) works by reducing the amount of the virus in the blood to undetectable levels. This means the levels of HIV are so low that the virus cannot be passed on. This is called having an undetectable viral load or being undetectable.

For more information, visit the [Terrence Higgins Trust](#).



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LIVE

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OPINION

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No, Uganda is not making it illegal to be gay (again)

But the LGBTQI fight for equality in the country – and Africa – is still far from over.



Fox Odoi-Oywelowo

Member of the Ugandan parliament from the National Resistance Movement (NRM) party.

6 Jun 2021



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People walk under a giant rainbow flag as they take part in the Gay Pride parade in Entebbe on August 8, 2015  
[Isaac Kasamani/AFP]

## Is this really happening again? In 2021?

Seven years after an act of parliament made homosexuality a crime punishable by death, the anti-gay campaigners of Uganda are at it again. Last month, the parliament of my country once again voted to make homosexuality a criminal offence, this time with a 10-year prison sentence.

---

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---

In 2014, I played a small part in making sure that anti-LGBTQI forces in Uganda do not succeed in writing their hate into law: I was one of the petitioners in the case that successfully overturned the infamous anti-gay law. Back then, we had the entire political system – every single legislator, both from the government and the opposition, save I and one other – against us. But with an independent and capable judiciary, the Act was annulled. The government chose not to appeal.

Fortunately, this time we are unlikely to need to go to such lengths. Passed in the final days of an outgoing parliament, through a private member's bill introduced by an outgoing legislator, and without government support, this legislation needs assent. The government has already indicated this will not be granted, so the legislation will not become law.

---

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The Ugandan government will not sign this anti-gay legislation into law in part because it was introduced by an outgoing legislator and approved by a now-dissolved parliament. But there is also the fact that granting assent to this law – not least when it was not legislation the government put forward – would trigger an outcry from the international community.

Indeed, after Uganda passed the “Kill the gays bill” – as it was dubbed locally – in 2014, its reputation on the international arena suffered. Not only did the British and American governments, encouraged by global rights groups and LGBTQI campaigners, raise the spectre of retaliation, but the World Bank decided to rescind a \$90m loan to Uganda’s health system. Our sovereign credit rating also took a hit due to the passing of the anti-gay law. Certainly, after the experience of 2014 the Ugandan government is surely less willing to grant assent to similar legislation that would undoubtedly draw condemnation and an unwelcome response from the international community.

While the efforts of LGBTQI campaigners across the globe made it highly unlikely for Uganda to sign into law another “Kill the gays bill”, the fight for LGBTQI rights in the country and the rest of Africa is far from over.

The fear of retaliation from the international community may stop Uganda and other African countries from attempting to officially criminalise homosexuality, but it will not make being gay socially acceptable on the continent. Today, homosexuality is simply not accepted by the majority of African citizens. And the LGBTQI fight for equality and recognition in Africa will not be over until it is.

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This newfound access to knowledge, information and differing points of view is having a vast, transformational effect on the electorate. With our youthful population, so many young, knowledgeable Ugandans, who do not carry strong anti-gay sentiments, and even support LGBTQI rights, are joining the electoral roll in every election cycle.

We are already seeing the consequences of this gradual change. Two years after our legal victory against the “Kill the gays bill”, the Ugandan electorate had rewarded me for my efforts by turfing me out of parliament at the 2016 general election. This year, they turfed me back in by a landslide. Among those rejected at the polls this year was the MP whose anti-gay private members bill brought this issue back to parliament. Another was our country’s opposition leader, Bob Wine, who began his political career in 2014 singing pop songs about burning homosexuals. He was defeated this January by a margin of nearly 2.5 million votes.

Will Uganda pass another law criminalising homosexuality in the future? If it does, we will contest it again, fight it again, and overturn it again.

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But I doubt another such bill will come to pass. The times are changing. The electorate is changing and, consequently, legislators are changing.

The parliament that voted for last month’s anti-gay bill is now replaced. The legislator that proposed the bill is no longer in parliament. And the current government clearly has no intention to die on the hill of criminalising homosexuality.

No, Uganda is not making it illegal to be gay (again). But being gay is still not

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***The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect Al Jazeera's editorial stance.***



**Fox Odoi-Oywelowo**

Member of the Ugandan parliament from the National Resistance Movement (NRM) party.

Fox Odoi-Oywelowo is a Ugandan rights advocate, legislator, and member of the ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM) party. In 2021, he was re-elected Member of Parliament for West Budama North East Constituency in Eastern Uganda.

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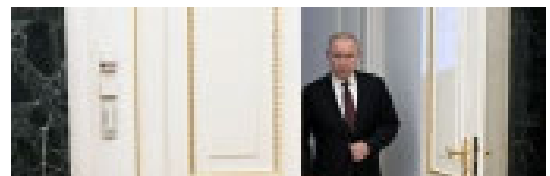
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## **UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX**

**Review of the circumstances resulting in and arising from the cancellation of the Centre for Criminology seminar on Trans Rights, Imprisonment and the Criminal Justice System, scheduled to take place on 5 December 2019, and the arrangements for speaker invitations to the Holocaust Memorial Week event on the State of Antisemitism Today, scheduled for 30 January 2020**

### **REPORT**

**AKUA REINDORF**

**21 December 2020**

**(amended 17 May 2021 following comments from the expert external reference group and University governance)**

16 September 2021 Publication version of report, updated to mirror the form of report disclosed in response to FOI requests and as required for FOIA compliance purposes

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### The Criminology seminar

- On 5 December 2019 the University's Centre for Criminology cancelled a seminar at which [Professor Jo Phoenix](#) of the Open University had been due to speak on the subject of "Trans rights, imprisonment and the criminal justice system". On the day of the seminar, complaints were made that [Prof Phoenix](#) was a "transphobe" who was likely to engage in "hate speech". There were reports that people felt unsafe and threatened by the prospect of her appearing on campus. There was a credible threat that students planned to barricade the room, and a flyer was circulating which bore a violent image and the words "SHUT THE \*\*\*\* UP, \*\*\*\*". The seminar was cancelled due to security concerns, on the basis that it would be rearranged. At a later meeting of the Department of Sociology, however, it was decided by vote to rescind the invitation and to not invite [Prof Phoenix](#) to a future seminar. An apology was made for the hurt caused to the trans community.
- In isolation, the decision to cancel the seminar was unavoidable in the circumstances. However, it could have been averted by proper understanding and timely use of the University's [external speaker notification procedure](#). In the context of the systemic and decision-making failures which led to it, the cancellation amounted to a breach of [Prof Phoenix](#)'s right to [freedom of expression](#) and the associated legal duties to which the University was subject.
- The later decision to exclude and blacklist [Prof Phoenix](#) was also unlawful. There was no reasonable basis for thinking that [Prof Phoenix](#) would engage in [harassment](#) or any other kind of unlawful speech. The decision was unnecessary and disproportionate. Moreover the violent flyer was wholly unacceptable and should have been the subject of a timely disciplinary investigation.
- [Prof Phoenix](#) should be offered an open apology and an opportunity to give a seminar at the Centre for Criminology. Further [recommendations](#) are made below.

### The Holocaust Memorial Week event

- On 30 January 2020 a roundtable discussion took place on the subject of “The State of Antisemitism Today” as part of the Holocaust Memorial Week event organised by the University’s Human Rights Centre. [Professor Rosa Freedman](#) of Reading University was on the panel.
- [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Complaints had been made to the effect that she had published “\*\*\*\* viewpoints” which were “hate speech”, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]
- [Prof Freedman](#) was given an assurance in December 2019 that she would be formally invited to appear at the HMW event. Concerns about her views on sex and gender were then raised and discussed internally. A decision was made not to send her a formal invitation. She wrote to her MP and the Universities Minister complaining of having been “blacklisted”, and gave an interview to the Sunday Times. In response, a member of the University posted a tweet which compared her views on gender identity to Holocaust denial. The invitation to appear at the HMW event was then extended to her on the purported basis that it was felt possible to adjust the timings.
- The decision made on or before 9 January not to invite [Prof Freedman](#) to the HMW event, which was extant until 27 January, was made because of her views on gender identity. The organisers were afraid that if she attended, controversy or disruption would overshadow the event. If the invitation had not been reinstated she would have been subjected to an interference with her right to [freedom of expression](#). This would have been particularly egregious given that the topic on which she was due to speak was entirely unconnected to the question of gender identity and was a matter of academic expertise [REDACTED]
- [Prof Freedman](#) should be offered an open apology. Further [recommendations](#) are made below.

## CONDUCT OF THE REVIEW

1. The Terms of Reference for the review are at [Appendix 1](#).
2. I received several thousand pages of documentary evidence, consisting largely of emails, letters, meeting notes and policy documents. I interviewed 33 witnesses by Zoom in September and October 2020. The witnesses are listed in [Appendix 2](#), other than the two who requested that their interviews remain anonymous. Some of the witnesses gave parts of their evidence off the record.
3. I approached most of the witnesses myself, having identified them from the paperwork as people who would be likely to have relevant evidence to give. Of those I approached, two did not wish to contribute to the review and a third was not able to find a suitable time. I was approached by other witnesses through the mechanisms put in place by the University. I asked each witness to encourage anybody to contact me who might wish to give evidence to the review. Two witnesses contacted me as a result of this. The interviews generally lasted one to two hours each. Agreed notes were produced.
4. I received twelve written submissions, of which five were anonymous.
5. I was empowered by my [Terms of Reference](#) to take anonymous evidence. I was satisfied that it was appropriate to do so given the sensitivities of the matters under discussion. I received credible evidence that people on both sides of the issue (and neither) were afraid of voicing an opinion openly because of the toxicity of the debate. In the event taking anonymous evidence enabled me to form a fair and balanced view of the issues from a wide range of sources.
6. I am grateful to all of the witnesses. Without exception, they participated in the review in a constructive, candid and thoughtful manner. I would like to extend particular thanks to [REDACTED] for their invaluable [REDACTED] assistance [REDACTED]

## FACTS AND EVIDENCE

### The University's values and culture

7. The University of Essex ("the University") is an exempt charity established by Royal Charter<sup>1</sup>.
8. The University's Charter pledges that it will uphold the freedom for academic staff "to question and test received wisdom, and to put forward new ideas and controversial or unpopular opinions"<sup>2</sup>. In a similar vein, the University's Strategic Plan for 2019-25 stresses the importance of "asking difficult questions" and "challenging conventional wisdom".
9. This emphasis on academic freedom and freedom of speech as a core value of the University was reflected in the evidence I heard from senior leadership. The [Vice Chancellor](#) told me that:

*Colleagues and invited speakers should be able to come to any one of our campuses, or events that we are running, and express views that challenge conventional wisdom within the law ... academic freedom and freedom of speech within the law is part of our founding ethos. It lies at the very heart of the values of the University.*

10. [The Registrar](#) gave evidence that:

*I see the University's responsibility as being to uphold academic freedom and freedom of expression within the law, and it would only be in circumstances where free expression was straying into territory that might be unlawful that we would be and should be looking to constrain the types of views that can be expressed on our campuses.*

11. The University has a [Policy on Academic Freedom and Freedom of Expression](#), and an [External Speaker Code of Practice and notification procedure](#). Its "THINK Series" is billed as "rebellious and revolutionary. We engage with controversial issues that cross disciplines and discuss the issues and moral

dilemmas that really matter”<sup>3</sup>. It also runs departmental Speaker Series, in which visiting academics present seminars on a range of topics.

12. Another core value of the University is a commitment to equality, diversity and inclusion. The Charter says that:

*The University shall show no discrimination on account of political belief, gender identity, sexual orientation, disability, age, marital status, race, ethnic origin, nationality, religion or social background against any person in determining whether he or she is to be admitted as a member of the Staff, or as a Student, or to graduate from the University or to hold any advantage or privilege of the University*<sup>4</sup>.

13. The University is a Stonewall Diversity Champion and is ranked 57<sup>th</sup> in the Stonewall Top 100 employers list. It has a suite of [equality, diversity and inclusion policies](#) including a dedicated policy on [Supporting Trans and Non Binary Staff](#). It works on inclusion issues with other local employers as part of the “One Essex” group. It operates an “Inclusion Champion” scheme whereby managers are appointed to act as Champions for different protected characteristics. There are separate Inclusion Champions for sexual orientation, trans, and “gender, pregnancy and maternity, miscarriage and civil partnership”. Within the University there are active LGBT Forum and LGBT Allies staff groups, and an Essex Women’s Network.

14. [The Registrar](#) told me that:

*as a University we have been quite explicit that we want to be a values-driven institution, rather than our approach being defined, conditioned, constrained, by what the law requires of us.*

15. [REDACTED]

16. [REDACTED]

[Redacted text block]

17. [Redacted text block]

18. [Redacted text block]

19. [Redacted text block]

20. [Redacted text block]

21. [Redacted text block]

- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]

22. [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]

**The Criminology seminar**

23. On 2 December 2019 at 6:28pm the Twitter account of the University’s Centre for Criminology tweeted the following announcement:

*Prof Jo Phoenix, The Open University, will give a talk on “#Trans rights and justice: complicated contours in contemporary sex, gender and sexualities politics when thinking about issues of justice and punishment”.*

24. The tweet contained a promotional flyer with the following wording, [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]

*In the spring of 2018, tensions created by difference political positions regarding the placement of trans women in the British prison estate bubbled to the surface and resulted in many heated social media exchanges between abolitionists and scholars holding opposing views about what a just response to the struggles of trans women in prison ought to be. This seminar will explore this debate and argue that there are some conceptual and political problems with the trans rights perspective when applied to the administration of criminal justice in the UK. Q&A will follow – All welcome!*

25. [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]

26. The seminar was due to take place on 5 December at 4:00pm. It was intended that it would be chaired [REDACTED] It was co-sponsored by [REDACTED]

[Redacted]

27. [Redacted]

28. [Redacted]

a paper published in the *Howard Journal of Crime and Justice* in March 2020 entitled “It’s Complicated’: Canadian Correctional Officer Recruits’ Interpretations of Issues Relating to the Presence of Transgender Prisoners”<sup>5</sup>.

29. [Redacted]

30. [Redacted]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the Quality Assurance Agency's "Criminology subject benchmark statement" of 2019, which states:

*Criminology is a contested and often contentious subject which is very likely to reflect current social, political and public disputes. Therefore, students are provided with opportunities to develop awareness of their own values and those of their cultural and political environment, and an appreciation of how alternative values impact upon rival interpretations of evidence<sup>6</sup>.*

31. No [external speaker notification](#) form was completed in relation to this event. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

32. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

33. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

34. The tweet promoting the seminar appears to have received no immediate response. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[Redacted text block]

35.

[Redacted text block]

- [Redacted list item]
- [Redacted list item]
- [Redacted list item]
- [Redacted list item]
- [Redacted list item]
- [Redacted list item]
- [Redacted list item]
- [Redacted list item]
- [Redacted list item]

36.

[Redacted text block]

[REDACTED]

37. [REDACTED]

38. [REDACTED] was brought to [the Registrar](#)'s attention by [REDACTED]

39. [REDACTED]

40. During the course of that morning a flyer was circulated within the University [REDACTED] with the words "SHUT THE \*\*\*\* UP, \*\*\*\*". [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

41. [REDACTED]

42. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It does not appear that any investigation was undertaken into who had produced the flyer. [The Registrar](#) said that when he later became aware of the flyer he decided to defer taking action in relation to it until the conclusion of the present review.

43. [REDACTED]

43.1. [REDACTED]

43.2. [REDACTED]

43.3. [Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

43.4. [Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

43.5. [Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
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[Redacted]  
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43.6. [Redacted]  
[Redacted]

43.7. [Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

43.8. [Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

44. [Redacted]

44.1. [Redacted]

44.2. [Redacted]

44.3. [Redacted]

44.4. [Redacted]

45. [Redacted]

[REDACTED]

46. [REDACTED]

47. [REDACTED]

48. [REDACTED] discussions took place between senior leadership during the morning of 5 December about whether, and if so how, to proceed with the seminar. In the course of these discussions [the Registrar](#) advised that the event should go ahead. He told me that his advice was that the University “should be prepared to respond should a situation develop that required a response, but that there wasn’t any requirement for any particular actions by the University that might be seen to be heavy-handed, or presuming that there will be a disturbance when it’s quite likely that there wouldn’t be”.

49. [REDACTED]

- 50. [Redacted]
- 51. [Redacted]
- 52. [Redacted]
- 53. [Redacted]
- 54. [Redacted]
- 54.1. [Redacted]
- 54.2. [Redacted]

54.3. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

54.4. [REDACTED]

54.5. [REDACTED]

55. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

56. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

57. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

58. Thereafter, [REDACTED] informed [REDACTED] [the Registrar](#), [REDACTED] [REDACTED] that the seminar had been cancelled because of safety concerns in light of information received that a group of students were planning to barricade the door. By return, [the Registrar](#) observed that “This incident raises a number of very important issues relating to freedom of expression with the law, which the University has a statutory duty to protect. It will be important that we reflect carefully on these”.

59. [REDACTED] emailed [REDACTED] as follows:

*This afternoon's seminar from 4-6pm has been cancelled by the organiser. We remain committed to promoting open debate and discussion.*

*The University expects members of the community to uphold and promote the principles of academic freedom and freedom of speech within the law and not to obstruct or interfere with the rights of others to express views with which they might disagree profoundly.*

60. [REDACTED]

61. [REDACTED]

62. The cancellation of the event was announced on the Centre for Criminology's Twitter feed at 5:46pm as follows:

*This afternoon's seminar was cancelled as we were concerned open debate and discussion might be obstructed.*

63. [REDACTED]

64. Other emails were sent to senior leadership which took issue with the cancellation of the seminar on the basis that it was inconsistent with the University's commitment to academic freedom and freedom of speech. For example:

- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]

65. [REDACTED]

66. On 7 December an article appeared in the Times about the cancellation of the seminar, entitled "Trans rights activists halt university gender debate"<sup>11</sup>. It contained a quote from Richard Garside, Director of the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, who said "Appearing to capitulate to a handful of bullies and

ideologues is not a good look". A similar article was published in the Daily Mail<sup>12</sup>.

67. The same day, [the Registrar](#) informed Council that the present review would take place.

68. [REDACTED]

69. On 9 December the [Vice Chancellor](#) announced the present review to all staff in a blog entitled "Upholding academic freedom and promoting freedom of speech". The content of the blog showed that the aim was to explore how best to achieve a balance between academic freedom and equality and diversity commitments. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The amended version is reproduced at [Appendix 3](#).

70. The [Vice Chancellor](#) received a number of emails in response to this announcement. [REDACTED]

- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]

- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]

71. [REDACTED]

72. The meeting of the Sociology Department on 11 December [REDACTED]

73. The minutes of the meeting state that “almost everyone present spoke”.  
However [REDACTED]

[Redacted]

74.

[Redacted]

75.

[Redacted]

76. According to the minutes (as later amended):

[Redacted]

*It was noted that the Department would move forwards in terms of strengthening relationships with our LGBT+ community members and supporting and protecting all minority groups on campus.*

77.

[Redacted]

78.

[Redacted]

79.

[Redacted]

[REDACTED]

80. On 12 December, a meeting of the One Essex Inclusivity Group took place. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

81. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

82. [REDACTED]

83. [REDACTED]

84. [REDACTED]

85. Under cover of an email [REDACTED] sent the [Vice Chancellor](#) an open letter on behalf of the LGBT Forum and Allies. This is reproduced at [Appendix 4](#). Attached to the open letter was a feedback document which had been produced following a meeting of the LGBT Forum on 9 December. This document requested clarification from the University about “whether it is appropriate to discuss human rights (trans rights are human rights)” and why the University was “allowing transphobia onto campus under the guise of ‘academic freedom’”. It noted [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that it was not clear whether there would be time for a rebuttal. The Forum felt that there had been “an unfair painting of trans people (and allies) as aggressors and the cause of the event being cancelled”, which was “obviously false” and needed to be corrected.

86. The feedback document also set out some comments made by Forum members, including one which said that reporting in the national press of academic debates about trans people’s rights to occupy single-sex spaces leads to bullying of and violence against trans people in the community.

87. On 20 December [the Registrar](#) met with [REDACTED] [REDACTED] the LGBT Forum. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] and requested that [REDACTED] act as a conduit for anonymous contributions to the present review. At this meeting there was discussion of various support mechanisms which could be put into place. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

88. On 14 January, an article was published in the Guardian entitled “Sacked or silenced: academics say they are blocked from exploring trans issues”<sup>13</sup>. This contained an interview with [Prof Phoenix](#) about the cancellation of the seminar and a response from the [Vice Chancellor](#), in which he referred to the review and to the University’s commitments to “the rights of others to express views with which they might disagree profoundly” and “an equally clear commitment to being an inclusive community”.

89. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

**The Holocaust Memorial Week event**

90. The University’s Human Rights Centre holds a series of events to mark Holocaust Memorial Day in January every year. This is a high profile event. It is organised by a committee.

91. The 2020 Holocaust Memorial Week (“HMW 2020”) organising committee [REDACTED] As part of the event a roundtable discussion took place on 30 January entitled “The State of Antisemitism Today”<sup>14</sup>, for which the panel included [Professor Rosa Freedman](#).

92. [Prof Freedman](#) [REDACTED] was a signatory to the Guardian letter of 16 October 2018<sup>15</sup> and the Sunday Times letter of 16 June 2019<sup>16</sup> which were also signed by [Prof Phoenix](#) [REDACTED].

93. [Prof Freedman](#) [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] in October 2018 she had given a talk on religion, the politicisation of human rights and the United Nations Council, as part of the University’s Speaker Series<sup>17</sup>.

94. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

95. [REDACTED] a Guardian article on 30 October 2018 (after the talk had taken place) entitled “UK universities struggle to deal with ‘toxic’ trans rights row”<sup>18</sup>, for which [Prof Freedman](#) provided an interview. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

96. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a 2018 BBC article entitled “Rosa Freedman: Professor’s door ‘covered in urine’ after gender law debate”<sup>19</sup>. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

97. [Redacted text block]

98. [Redacted text block]

99. [Redacted text block]

100. [Redacted text block]

101. [Redacted text block]

102.

[Redacted text block]

103.

[Redacted text block]

104.

[Redacted text block]

105.

[Redacted text block]

106.

[Redacted text block]

107.

[Redacted text block]

[Redacted text block]

108.

[Redacted text block]

109.

[Redacted text block]

110.

[Redacted text block]

111.

[Redacted text block]

112.

[Redacted]

113.

[Redacted]

114.

[Redacted]

115.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

116.

[REDACTED]

117.

[REDACTED]

118.

[REDACTED] the Guardian article of 30 October 2018 (see §94 above). [The Registrar](#) responded [REDACTED] that he did not see a compelling reason for not going ahead with the invitation.

119.

[REDACTED]

120.

[REDACTED]

[Redacted text block]

121. [Redacted text block]

122. [Redacted text block]

123. [Redacted text block]

124. [Redacted text block]

125. [Redacted text block]

[REDACTED]

126. [REDACTED]

127. The following day an article was published in the Sunday Times entitled “Lawyer demands inquiry into trans ‘gag’ by university”<sup>20</sup>. The article said that [Prof Freedman](#) had accused senior university managers of “seeking to ‘silence, block and gag’” and “acting ‘in the style of tinpot dictators’”. It said that she feared that she had been [REDACTED] and “disinvited” from the HMW 2020 event “owing to spurious and non-evidenced accusations of transphobia”.

128. [REDACTED]

129. [REDACTED]

130. [REDACTED]

131. [REDACTED]

132. [REDACTED]

133. [REDACTED]

134. [The Registrar](#) was asked on the same day to review a potential formal invitation [REDACTED] for the purposes of the [external speaker notification process](#). He responded by email later the same day. He concluded that he had “no reasonable anticipation that Professor Freedman, or any of the other speakers at the event, are likely to express beliefs, views, policies or objectives that might be unlawful”, and asked that all speakers be sent a copy of the University’s [Policy on Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech](#) and that there should be

a presence from the University's patrol officers. The full text of his email is at [Appendix 5](#).

135. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

136. On 29 January [REDACTED] sent an email to all staff entitled "Media comments re HMW panel". The email said that the programme for HMW 2020 had been altered to enable an extended panel [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

137. [Prof Freedman](#) attended the event on 30 January, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

138. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

139. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

## NOTES

- 1 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/about/governance/charter-statutes-and-ordinances>
- 2 Charter §22. See also Education Reform Act 1988 s.202
- 3 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/event-series/think>
- 4 University of Essex Charter §23
- 5 *The Howard Journal* Vol 59 No 1. March 2020, DOI: 10.1111/hojo.12354, ISSN 2059-1098, pp.86–104. The abstract reads: “Drawing upon semi-structured interviews with correctional officer recruits in training (n = 55), we reflect on recruit interpretations of transgender (trans) prisoner placement within federal prisons in light of recent changes instigated by Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau. Recognising that prison is a carceral and gender binary space, we assert that trans prisoner lives and experiences cannot easily be appropriately recognised or included in prison policy and prisoner management procedures. Our findings reveal that most recruits are supportive and appreciative of the complexities of trans experiences, yet some, especially those with prior experience working in prisons, describe occupational strains tied to accommodating trans prisoners”.
- 6 [https://www.qaa.ac.uk/docs/qaa/subject-benchmark-statements/subject-benchmark-statement-criminology.pdf?sfvrsn=8f2c881\\_4](https://www.qaa.ac.uk/docs/qaa/subject-benchmark-statements/subject-benchmark-statement-criminology.pdf?sfvrsn=8f2c881_4)
- 7 [REDACTED]
- 8 [REDACTED]
- 9 [REDACTED]
- 10 [REDACTED]
- 11 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/trans-rights-activists-halt-gender-debate-at-essex-university-qf9sh5r3q>
- 12 <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7766697/LGBT-activists-force-University-Essex-CANCEL-trans-debate.html>
- 13 <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jan/14/sacked-silenced-academics-say-they-are-blocked-from-exploring-trans-issues>
- 14 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/events/2020/01/30/the-state-of-antisemitism-today>
- 15 <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/oct/16/academics-are-being-harassed-over-their-research-into-transgender-issues>
- 16 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/boris-deserves-to-lead-the-party-he-s-wrecked-v7k7wbf8w>
- 17 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/events/2018/10/16/hrc-speaker-series-week,-c,-rosa-freedman>
- 18 <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/oct/30/uk-universities-struggle-to-deal-with-toxic-trans-rights-row>
- 19 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-berkshire-46454454>
- 20 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/lawyer-demands-inquiry-into-trans-gag-by-university-nbzf95wsc>

## LEGAL AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

### Freedom of expression

140. The right to freedom of expression is contained in Article 10.1 of the European Convention on Human Rights (“the Convention”), which is enshrined in domestic law in the Human Rights Act 1998:

*Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority [...]*

141. The University is a public authority, so it is obliged to uphold this right<sup>21</sup>.
142. The Article 10.1 right to freedom of expression is fundamental, but it is not absolute. Speech which seeks to abuse the rights and freedoms in the Convention is excluded from the scope of Article 10.1 altogether by Article 17. This Article prohibits the gravest form of hate speech, such as Holocaust denial<sup>22</sup>. The Article is only applicable on an exceptional basis and in extreme cases where it is immediately clear that there is an intention to achieve ends which are clearly contrary to the values of the Convention, such as stirring up hatred or violence. It does not cover, for instance, vulgar homophobic slurs<sup>23</sup>.
143. Further, Article 10.2 provides that speech which might otherwise be protected by Article 10.1 may be subject to interference by way of formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties in certain circumstances. Restrictions may only be imposed on speech under Article 10.2 when a constraint is both (a) prescribed by law and (b) necessary in a democratic society in order to pursue one of a limited number of aims<sup>24</sup>.
144. There are several UK laws which may be relied on to show that a restriction of speech is “prescribed by law”. These include prohibitions on harassment and discrimination, limitations placed on types of expression which might be described as “[hate speech](#)”, the criminal prohibition on acting in a disorderly

manner for the purpose of preventing a public meeting<sup>25</sup>, certain public order offences<sup>26</sup> and the [Prevent Duty](#).

145. Importantly, there is a difference between unlawful harassment or "[hate speech](#)" and speech which may be merely offensive, shocking or disturbing, or even speech which may be dangerous or irresponsible<sup>27</sup>. Although speech which is intended to inform attracts more protection than speech which is intended to offend<sup>28</sup>, offensive speech may still be protected by Article 10.1<sup>29</sup>. This is because if the right to free speech did not protect "the irritating, the contentious, the eccentric, the heretical, the unwelcome and the provocative" it would be "not worth having"<sup>30</sup>. It can be difficult to draw the line between harassment or unlawful "[hate speech](#)" on the one hand and merely offensive, shocking or disturbing speech on the other.
146. It is rarely possible to justify interference with speech about political matters or issues of public interest<sup>31</sup>, including peaceful protest on such matters. Political speech is regarded as essential in a democracy in order that "the arguments for and against different [political] solutions and the facts underlying those arguments" can be ventilated<sup>32</sup>.
147. In a recent High Court case, it was found that allegedly transphobic tweets constituted "expressions of opinion on a topic of current controversy ... which are congruent with the views of a number of respected academics who hold gender-critical views and do so for profound socio-philosophical reasons", even though the tweets were "for the most part, either opaque, profane, or unsophisticated"<sup>33</sup>. The court found that it was not proportionate for the police to have interfered by warning the tweeter of the possibility of criminal prosecution, in part because the tweets were part of a "legitimate political debate" which was "complex [and] multi-faceted"<sup>34</sup>. Relevant factors included the fact that the complainant had chosen to read the tweets and the tweets were not directed at her<sup>35</sup>.

148. The requirement that any restriction be “necessary in a democratic society” means that it must reflect “a pressing social need”<sup>36</sup>. The permissible aims of a restriction include: the interests of public safety; the prevention of disorder or crime; the protection of health or morals; and the protection of the rights of others. Relevant factors include: whether the speech was made against a tense political or social background (in which case an interference might be more readily justifiable); whether the speech, in context, could be seen as a direct or indirect call for violence or as a justification of violence, hatred or intolerance; and the manner in which the speech was made, and its capacity to lead to harmful consequences<sup>37</sup>.
149. Any restriction on free speech must be proportionate, in that it must not go further than is reasonably necessary to achieve the aim of the restriction<sup>38</sup>. Relevant factors are: the importance of the aim; whether the restriction is rationally connected to the aim; whether a less intrusive measure could have been used; and whether a fair balance has been struck between the rights of the individual and the interests of the community<sup>39</sup>.
150. Thus, in a university context, the High Court has found that where there was a substantial risk of disorder at a conference about the legality of the State of Israel, it was proportionate to postpone the conference until there was time to plan properly to mitigate the risk. Cancelling the conference altogether would have been a disproportionate interference with free speech<sup>40</sup>.

### **Freedom of thought, conscience and religion**

151. Article 9.1 of the Convention provides that everybody has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. The freedom to *hold* a particular belief is absolute, but the right to *manifest* religion or belief is a qualified right which is subject to similar restrictions to those which apply to freedom of expression (§§142–150 above)<sup>41</sup>.
152. Article 9 does not protect opinions but it does protect non-religious beliefs<sup>42</sup> such as pacifism<sup>43</sup>, veganism<sup>44</sup> and belief in man-made climate change<sup>45</sup>. Such

a belief must be genuine, coherent, consistent with basic standards of human dignity or integrity, and relate to matters more than merely trivial<sup>46</sup>. It must be “worthy of respect in a democratic society ... and not in conflict with the fundamental rights of others”<sup>47</sup>.

153. Applying this test in a different context, an Employment Tribunal found in 2019 that the belief that “even if a trans woman has a gender recognition certificate, she cannot honestly describe herself as a woman” was not “worthy of respect in a democratic society”, was incompatible with the human rights of others and could amount to harassment contrary to the Equality Act 2010. Thus the “absolutist view that sex is immutable” was held not to be a protected belief. The Tribunal observed that it could legitimately be argued that some spaces should only be available to women identified female at birth “without insisting on calling trans women men”<sup>48</sup>. This decision is not binding on other courts and is currently under appeal<sup>49</sup>. In the appeal the Equality and Human Rights Commission has appeared as an intervener supporting the Appellant’s submission that gender critical views amount to a “belief” for the purposes of the legislation. The case should therefore be treated with some caution.

### **Freedom of assembly and association**

154. By Article 11.1 of the Convention:

*Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.*

155. As with the right to freedom of expression, this is a qualified right (see §§142–150 above)<sup>50</sup>. It is also a fundamental right which is “an essential foundation of democratic society and one of the basic conditions for its progress and for each individual’s self-fulfilment”<sup>51</sup>. It is “of such importance that it cannot be restricted in any way ... so long as the person concerned does not himself commit any reprehensible act on such an occasion”<sup>52</sup>.

156. Article 11.1 imposes a positive obligation on public authorities to take reasonable and appropriate measures to facilitate peaceful assembly. However it does not require an absolute guarantee<sup>53</sup>.

#### **Duties under section 43 of the Education Act (No. 2) 1986**

157. Higher education providers are subject to an enhanced duty to protect and promote freedom of expression. Thus the University is under a statutory duty to take reasonably practicable steps to ensure that freedom of speech within the law is secured for members, students, employees and visiting speakers (“the s.43 duty”)<sup>54</sup>. It must, in particular, ensure so far as is reasonably practicable that the use of its premises is not denied to any individual on any ground connected with the individual’s beliefs or views<sup>55</sup>.
158. In order to facilitate the discharge of the s.43 duty, the University must issue and keep up to date a code of practice setting out its procedures in relation to meetings and other activities on its premises and the conduct required of attendees at those meetings and events<sup>56</sup>. The provisions of the code of practice must be enforced, so far as it is reasonably practicable to do so, including by the use of disciplinary procedures where appropriate<sup>57</sup>.

#### **Academic freedom**

159. Article 13 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union<sup>58</sup> provides that “The arts and scientific research shall be free of constraint. Academic freedom shall be respected”.
160. This right is closely associated with the right to freedom of expression. It protects freedom of speech as well as “freedom ... of action, freedom to disseminate information and freedom to conduct research and to distribute knowledge and truth without restriction”<sup>59</sup>.
161. The University is a signatory to the Magna Charta Universitatum (“MCU”), a “declaration and affirmation of the fundamental principles upon which the

mission of universities should be based". This contains a statement of commitment to academic freedom as "the fundamental principle of university life".

162. The principles of academic freedom are also expressed in Recommendation 1762 (2006) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which states that "history has proven that violations of academic freedom and university autonomy have always resulted in intellectual relapse, and consequently in social and economic stagnation".
163. The Office for Students ("OfS") (the universities' regulator in England) must have regard to the need to protect<sup>60</sup>, and in some circumstances must actively protect<sup>61</sup>, the "institutional autonomy" of universities. Institutional autonomy includes the freedom within the law of academic staff to question and test received wisdom, and to put forward new ideas and controversial or unpopular opinions, without placing themselves in jeopardy of losing their jobs or privileges they may have at the University<sup>62</sup>. The need to ensure this freedom must also be given regard by the University Commissioners in exercising their functions<sup>63</sup>.
164. The Equality and Human Right Commission's 2019 guidance on "Freedom of expression: a guide for higher education providers and students' unions in England and Wales"<sup>64</sup> ("the EHRC Guidance") covers both freedom of expression and academic freedom. It provides a wealth of helpful material relating to the application of the legal principles to the sorts of situation which are likely to arise within a university setting, including a flowchart for decision making about how to protect freedom of speech in planning events<sup>65</sup>. Similarly, the legal and practical guidance provided by Universities UK in its 2013 paper "External speakers in higher education institutions" is of considerable assistance (although care should be taken to also consult more up to date sources)<sup>66</sup>.

### **Duties under the Charities Act 2011**

165. As a charity, the University must act only in ways which further its objects<sup>67</sup>. The objects must be for the public benefit<sup>68</sup>.
166. The University's objects are: "to advance education, scholarship, knowledge and understanding by teaching and research, for the benefit of individuals and society at large"<sup>69</sup>.
167. Members of the University's Council, as trustees, bear responsibility for ensuring that this duty is complied with. They must also manage the charity's resources responsibly, protect its assets and avoid taking undue risks.
168. The University's trustees must not promote particular political positions or engage in political campaigning or political activity, unless they are doing so in order to advance the University's charitable objects. They must ensure that the University complies with its legal obligations to protect freedom of speech and to protect students, employees and workers from harassment, discrimination and other unlawful acts.
169. The trustees should be "alert to, rather than averse to" the risks of inviting speakers to the University, and take a "measured and proportionate risk-based approach" to the organisation of events involving external speakers<sup>70</sup>.

### **Regulatory duties**

170. The University is regulated by the OfS<sup>71</sup>. Conditions of the University's registration with the OfS include:
  - 170.1. that its governing documents uphold the OfS' "public interest governance principles", which include a commitment to academic freedom and freedom of speech<sup>72</sup>; and
  - 170.2. that it delivers the public interest governance principles in practice<sup>73</sup>.

171. In its guidance on freedom of speech<sup>74</sup>, the OfS states “We stand for the widest possible definition of freedom of speech: anything within the law”.
172. In March 2020, the OfS Chief Executive Nicola Dandridge made the following statement after Professor Selina Todd claimed to have been “no-platformed” at the International Women’s Festival at Oxford University because of her connections with WPUK:

*We support the widest possible definition of freedom of speech. There is a legal requirement on universities to take steps that are reasonably practicable to secure freedom of speech within the law and protect academic freedom. It is after all a crucial aspect of higher education that students and academics are able to engage with a wide range of theory and opinion, including those which some might find uncomfortable or offensive. This must include the right of academics like Professor Todd to be able to advance views at campus events with which others may disagree. All universities need to demonstrate that they are taking reasonably practicable steps to secure freedom of speech, and that they deal responsibly with any complaints or concerns.*

173. The University must also comply with legislation on equality and diversity, and may be sanctioned by OfS if it fails to do so<sup>75</sup>.
174. In February 2021 the government announced proposals<sup>76</sup> for a new Free Speech and Academic Freedom Champion, to be appointed as a member of the OfS Board, who would have power to investigate alleged breaches of registration conditions related to freedom of speech and academic freedom. The proposal also includes:
  - 174.1. a new registration condition and a redrafted [s.43 duty](#) requiring universities to actively promote freedom of speech on campus;
  - 174.2. an extension of the [s.43 duty](#) to cover student unions;
  - 174.3. the setting of minimum standards for the codes of practice required by [s.43](#);

- 174.4. the introduction of a statutory tort which would give private individuals a right of redress for loss as a result of a breach of s.43; and
- 174.5. contractual protections for academic staff in relation to freedom of speech and academic freedom.

### **Harassment under the Equality Act 2010**

- 175. The Equality Act 2010 prohibits harassment related to a protected characteristic, such as gender reassignment, sex or religion and belief.
- 176. The University may be liable for harassment of this sort perpetrated by its members against its employees, workers and students, as well as (in some circumstances<sup>77</sup>) its visitors. However, as the law currently stands it is not liable for harassment perpetrated by a third party on its premises, unless the third party is acting as the University's agent<sup>78</sup>.
- 177. The protected characteristic of gender reassignment applies to people who are proposing to undergo, are undergoing or have undergone a process (or part of a process) for the purpose of reassigning their sex by changing physiological or other attributes of sex<sup>79</sup>. There is no need for the person to be under medical supervision or to have a gender recognition certificate issued pursuant to the Gender Recognition Act 2004. An Employment Tribunal has recently held that the definition covers nonbinary and gender fluid people as well as trans people<sup>80</sup>.
- 178. The protected characteristic of sex covers only men and women<sup>81</sup>. Under the Act a man is a male of any age and a woman is a female of any age<sup>82</sup>. Holders of Gender Recognition Certificates are to be recognised in the sex stated on the certificate<sup>83</sup> (although this is subject to some exceptions: see §187 below).
- 179. The protected characteristic of religion or belief includes any religious or philosophical belief as well as a lack of belief<sup>84</sup>. It bears the meaning described in §§151–152 above.

180. Harassment consists of engaging in unwanted conduct related to the protected characteristic which has the purpose or effect of violating a person's dignity or subjecting them to an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment<sup>85</sup>.
181. If the conduct has the effect (rather than the purpose) of violating dignity etc, it must be reasonable in the circumstances for the conduct to have had that effect, taking into account the perception of the individual. This is an objective test<sup>86</sup>. Conduct may amount to unlawful harassment if the complainant reasonably perceived it to have violated his or her dignity etc, even if another person might reasonably not have regarded it in that way.
182. The EHRC Guidance says: "The harassment provisions cannot be used to undermine academic freedom. Students' learning experience may include exposure to course material, discussions or speaker's views that they find offensive or unacceptable, and this is unlikely to be considered harassment under the Equality Act 2010"<sup>87</sup>.
183. Note that there is another species of harassment in law, which is contained in the Protection from Harassment Act 1997. Broadly, this consists of a course of conduct which is targeted at an individual. The classic example of harassment which is caught by this Act is stalking. There is a civil wrong of harassment as well as a criminal offence.

#### **Direct and indirect discrimination under the Equality Act 2010**

184. In addition to the provisions relating to harassment, the Equality Act 2010 prohibits direct discrimination and indirect discrimination because of a protected characteristic, including gender reassignment, sex or religion and belief (see §§177-179 above).
185. Direct discrimination consists of treating a person less favourably because of a protected characteristic than you would have treated or would treat others in the same circumstances<sup>88</sup>.

186. Indirect discrimination occurs where a person is subject to a provision, criterion or practice (“PCP”) which is applied to people generally but which puts or would put people with the protected characteristic at a particular disadvantage by comparison to others<sup>89</sup>. If the PCP is a proportionate means of achieving a legitimate aim there is no discrimination.
187. There are exceptions to the law on discrimination in relation to the protected characteristic of gender reassignment. Amongst other things, these include provisions permitting the exclusion of trans people from communal accommodation<sup>90</sup> and sex-segregated services<sup>91</sup> in their “acquired gender”, regardless of whether they hold a Gender Recognition Certificate. These are known as the “sex-based exceptions”. They may only be applied where it can be shown that doing so is a proportionate means of achieving a legitimate aim. The housing of trans prisoners is capable of falling under these exceptions<sup>92</sup>.
188. A report of the House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee of 14 January 2016 recommended the repeal of the sex-based exceptions in respect of trans people who hold a Gender Recognition Certificate<sup>93</sup>. In its submission to this Committee, Stonewall called for the repeal of the sex based exceptions<sup>94</sup>.

#### **“Hate speech”**

189. “Hate speech” is not a legal concept and is not prohibited *per se* by UK law.
190. If a person convicted of a crime was motivated by hostility to the victim on grounds of transgender identity (or other specified status), his or her sentence may be increased under the powers in the Criminal Justice Act 2003. These provisions give courts power to increase the sentence of any offence that is aggravated by such hostility<sup>95</sup>, and are known as the “hate crime laws”. However these laws do not contain a standalone offence of inciting hatred on grounds of transgender identity, and indeed no such law currently exists (although there are laws relating to incitement to hatred on grounds of race, religion and sexual orientation<sup>96</sup>). Thus, the University would not be able to restrict a person’s freedom of expression on the sole basis that it suspected that

the speaker intended to incite hatred on grounds of transgender identity, since this would not be “prescribed by law”.

191. Relevant criminal offences which might be aggravated by hostility on grounds of transgender status (and thus attract an increased sentence under the “hate crime laws”) include:

191.1. Intentionally encouraging or assisting another person in committing an offence<sup>97</sup>, for example assault, the sending of malicious communications<sup>98</sup> or criminal harassment<sup>99</sup>. This requires the perpetrator to believe that an offence will be committed by another person, rather than to merely suspect or shut their eyes to the circumstances<sup>100</sup>, so it is a high bar.

191.2. Several offences under the Public Order Act 1986 which prohibit, variously, the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour in particular circumstances. Again, however, there is a high bar for these offences. Speech or behaviour is not threatening, abusive or insulting just because it gives rise to annoyance, anger, disgust or distress<sup>101</sup>, or just because it is vigorous, distasteful or unmannerly<sup>102</sup> or offensive or rude<sup>103</sup>.

192. If the University suspected that an external speaker might commit one of these offences it could potentially justify placing restrictions on the event in question, although the other requirements of Article 10.2 of the Convention would also have to be met in order for speech to be lawfully restricted on this basis (see §§145–150 above).

193. The police are empowered by law to record a “non-crime hate incident” which is “perceived to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice against a person who is transgender or perceived to be transgender”<sup>104</sup>, even where this entails an interference with the freedom of speech of the person against whom the incident is recorded<sup>105</sup>. By definition these records do not relate to breaches of criminal law. It would therefore be surprising if the University were to be

entitled to restrict a person's freedom of speech on the basis that they are likely to commit a non-crime hate incident.

### **The Public Sector Equality Duty**

194. The Equality Act 2010 imposes a general equality duty on public authorities ("PSED")<sup>106</sup>. This means that the University must, when it is exercising its functions, have due regard to the following three aims:
  - 194.1. The need to eliminate discrimination, harassment, victimisation and any other conduct that is prohibited by or under the Act.
  - 194.2. The need to advance equality of opportunity between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and those who do not share it.
  - 194.3. The need to foster good relations between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share it<sup>107</sup>.
195. It is a duty to have due regard rather than to meet the needs directly<sup>108</sup>, but the three aims must be consciously considered in a way which is meaningful, rigorous and substantial, and not a tick box exercise<sup>109</sup>. Equality should be at the centre of policy making, side by side with all other pressing circumstances of whatever magnitude<sup>110</sup>. The University should also pay reasonable regard to any countervailing factors<sup>111</sup>.
196. The EHRC Guidance suggests that the PSED requires universities which are hosting debates on divisive topics to "consider the potential impact on students who may feel vilified or marginalised by the views expressed. They should think about how to ensure those students feel included and welcome within the [university] environment".
197. It is good practice to undertake an Equality Impact Assessment, keep records and gather relevant information when making policy or decisions.

198. The University must publish equality objectives and an annual report to demonstrate its compliance with the PSED.

### **The Prevent Duty**

199. Universities are subject to a statutory requirement under the Prevent Duty<sup>112</sup> to have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism. In doing so they must have particular regard to the duty to ensure freedom of speech and the importance of academic freedom<sup>113</sup>. In 2019 the Court of Appeal directed the government to redraft passages in its Higher Education Prevent Duty Guidance which cautioned against hosting external speakers with extremist views. These passages were held to be “unbalanced”<sup>114</sup>.

## NOTES

- <sup>21</sup> Human Rights Act 1998 s.6(1)
- <sup>22</sup> *Garaudy v France* [2003] ECHR 65831/01 ECtHR. See also *Ioanov v Russia* [2007] ECHR 35222/04 ECtHR; *Norwood v United Kingdom* (2005) 40 EHRR SE11; *Glimmerveen and Hagenbeek v The Netherlands* (1982) 4 EHRR 260 at §16
- <sup>23</sup> *Lilliendahl v Iceland* (Application 29297/18) (12 May 2020) ECtHR. See also *Perinçek v Switzerland* [GC], no. 27510/08, §§ 113-115, 15 October 2015
- <sup>24</sup> ECHR Art. 10.2
- <sup>25</sup> Public Meeting Act 1908 s.1
- <sup>26</sup> Public Order Act 1986
- <sup>27</sup> *R v Central Independent Television plc* [1994] Fam 192 at, 202-203 per Hoffmann LJ
- <sup>28</sup> *Jersild v Denmark* (Application 15890/89) (23 September 1994) ECtHR
- <sup>29</sup> *Handyside*
- <sup>30</sup> *Redmond-Bate v DPP* (1999) 7 BHRC 375 at §20 per Sedley LJ
- <sup>31</sup> See *Vajnai v Hungary* (33629/06) 8 July 2008) at §47
- <sup>32</sup> *R v Shayler* [2003] 1 AC 247 at §21 per Lord Bingham
- <sup>33</sup> *R (on the application of Miller) v College of Policing* [2020] HRLR 10 at §251 (at the time of writing this matter is under appeal)
- <sup>34</sup> *Miller* at §265
- <sup>35</sup> *Miller* at §287
- <sup>36</sup> See eg *R (on the application of Lord Carlile of Berriew QC) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2015] AC 945 SC at §34 per Lord Sumption.
- <sup>37</sup> *Perinçek v Switzerland* (Application 27510/08) (15 October 2015) ECtHR at §§ 113-115
- <sup>38</sup> *Handyside v United Kingdom* (1979-80) 1 EHRR 737 ECtHR
- <sup>39</sup> *Bank Mellat v HM Treasury (No 2)* [2014] AC 700 per Lord Sumption
- <sup>40</sup> *R (on the application of Ben-Dor) v University of Southampton* [2016] EWHC 953 (Admin)
- <sup>41</sup> ECHR Art. 9.2
- <sup>42</sup> *R (on the application of Williamson) v Secretary of State for Education and Employment* [2005] 2 AC 246 per Lord Nicholls of Birkenhead
- <sup>43</sup> *Arrowsmith v United Kingdom* (1978) 19 DR 5, EComHR
- <sup>44</sup> *H v United Kingdom* (1993) 16 EHRR CD 44, ECtHR, *W v United Kingdom* (Application 18187/91) (10 February 1993) ECtHR
- <sup>45</sup> *Nicholson*
- <sup>46</sup> *Nicholson v Grainger plc* [2010] ICR 360 per Burton J
- <sup>47</sup> *Nicholson* per Burton J.
- <sup>48</sup> *Forstater v CGD Europe and others* (Case 2200909/2019) (18 December 2019, unreported) ET
- <sup>49</sup> The appeal was heard on 27 and 28 April 2021. At the time of writing judgment is awaited.
- <sup>50</sup> ECHR Art. 11.2
- <sup>51</sup> *Steel v UK* (1998) 5 BHRC 339 at 358 §101
- <sup>52</sup> *Ezelin v France* (1991) 14 EHRR 362 at 389 §53
- <sup>53</sup> *Plattform 'Ärzte für das Leben'* at §34
- <sup>54</sup> Education Act (No. 2) 1986 s.43(1)
- <sup>55</sup> Education Act (No. 2) 1986 s.43(2). There is also a duty not to deny access to a body of persons, on a similar basis.
- <sup>56</sup> Education Act (No. 2) 1986 s.43(3)
- <sup>57</sup> Education Act (No. 2) 1986 s.43(4)

- 58 To which the UK will no longer be a signatory from 31 December 2020.
- 59 *Commission v Hungary (Higher education)* (C-66/18) (6 October 2020) at §225. See also *Hasan Yazici v Turkey* [2014] ECtHR 403 at §55; *Sorguç v Turkey* (17089/03) at §35; *Sorguç v Turkey* [2009] ECtHR 979.
- 60 Higher Education and Research Act 2017 s.2(1)(a)
- 61 Higher Education and Research Act 2017 s.36
- 62 Higher Education and Research Act 2017 s.2(8)(c)
- 63 Education Reform Act 1988 s.202(2)
- 64 See also “External speakers in higher education institutions”, Universities UK, 22 November 2013, although this is now somewhat out of date.
- 65 Freedom of expression: a guide for higher education providers and students’ unions in England and Wales p.32. See also the Universities UK report on Freedom of Speech on Campus: <https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/our-work-in-parliament/Documents/freedom-of-speech-on-campus.pdf#search=freedom%20of%20speech>
- 66 <https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/policy-and-analysis/reports/Pages/external-speakers-in-higher-education-institutions.aspx>
- 67 Charities Act 2011 s.1(1)(a)
- 68 Charities Act 2011 s.4(1)
- 69 Charter of the University of Essex §3
- 70 Charity Commission guidance “Protecting charities from abuse for extremist purposes” at §10.3
- 71 Established by the Higher Education and Research Act 2017
- 72 Office for Students Regulatory Framework, Annex B
- 73 Office for Students Regulatory Framework, Annex A, Conditions E1 and E2
- 74 <https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk/advice-and-guidance/student-wellbeing-and-protection/freedom-of-speech/>
- 75 Office for Students Regulatory Framework, Condition E2 (Management and Governance)
- 76 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/higher-education-free-speech-and-academic-freedom>
- 77 When acting as a service provider to members of the public or as an association: Equality Act 2010 ss.28 and 101-102
- 78 *UNITE the Union v Nailard* [2018] IRLR 730 CA
- 79 Equality Act 2010 s.7
- 80 *Taylor v Jaguar Land Rover Ltd* (Case 1304471/2018 (30 November 2020, unreported) ET
- 81 Equality Act 2010 s.11
- 82 Equality Act 2010 s.212
- 83 Gender Recognition Act 2004 s.9
- 84 Equality Act 2010 s.10
- 85 Equality Act 2010 s.26(1)
- 86 See *Driskel v Peninsula Business Services Ltd* [2000] IRLR 151 EAT.
- 87 Freedom of expression: a guide for higher education providers and students’ unions in England and Wales p.18
- 88 Equality Act 2010 s.13
- 89 Equality Act 2010 s.19
- 90 Equality Act 2010 Sch.23 §3
- 91 Equality Act 2010 Sch.3 §28
- 92 See “[The care and management of individuals who are transgender](#)”, Ministry of Justice, 27 January 2020

- <sup>93</sup> House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee, "[Transgender Equality](#)", First Report of Session 2015–16, HC 390 14 January 2016 at §132
- <sup>94</sup> <https://www.stonewall.org.uk/women-and-equalities-select-committee-inquiry-transgender-equality>
- <sup>95</sup> Criminal Justice Act 2003 s.146
- <sup>96</sup> Public Order Act 1986 Part 3A. NB the Law Commission is currently consulting on proposed changes to the hate crime laws: <https://www.lawcom.gov.uk/project/hate-crime/>
- <sup>97</sup> Serious Crime Act 2007 ss.44–46
- <sup>98</sup> Malicious Communications Act 1988; Communications Act 2003 s.127. See further *Scottow v CPS* (CO/3202/2020) (16 December 2020) QBD which makes clear that Art 10 considerations must be factored in when considering offences under the Communications Act 2003.
- <sup>99</sup> Protection from Harassment Act 1997 s.2; see §183 above
- <sup>100</sup> *Treacy v DPP* (1971) 55 Cr.App.R. 113; *R v Moys* (1984) 79 Cr.App.R.72
- <sup>101</sup> *Parkin v Norman, Valentine v Lilley* [1983] QB 92
- <sup>102</sup> *Brutus v Cozens* [1973] AC 854 HL
- <sup>103</sup> *R v Ambrose* (1973) 57 Cr App Rep 538 CA
- <sup>104</sup> Hate Crime Operational Guidance 2014 [1.2]
- <sup>105</sup> *Miller*
- <sup>106</sup> Equality Act 2010 s.149
- <sup>107</sup> See further the EHRC's [Technical Guidance on the PSED](#).
- <sup>108</sup> *R (Rahman) v Birmingham City Council* [2011] EqLR 705; *R (Williams) v Surrey County Council* [2012] EqLR 656
- <sup>109</sup> *R (Brown) v. Secretary of State for Work and Pensions* [2008] EWHC 3158
- <sup>110</sup> *Stuart and others v Secretary of State for Work and Pensions* [2013] EWCA Civ 1345 per McCombe LJ at §60
- <sup>111</sup> *Williams*
- <sup>112</sup> Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 s.26(1)
- <sup>113</sup> Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 s.31(2)
- <sup>114</sup> *R (Butt) v the Secretary of State for the Home Office* [2019] EWCA Civ 256

## POLICY FRAMEWORK

### Policy on Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech

200. The University's policy on "Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech"<sup>115</sup> seeks to comply with its [s.43 duty](#) as well as its other legal and regulatory obligations to protect freedom of speech and academic freedom.

201. The policy commits the University to "promoting an environment in which intense inquiry and informed argument generates lasting ideas, and where members of its community have a responsibility both to challenge and to listen fully"<sup>116</sup>.

202. The substantive part of the policy provides that:

*so far as is reasonably practicable, access to the premises of the University shall not be denied to any registered student or employee of the University or to any individual or body of persons invited to the premises of the University by a registered student or employee of the University, on any grounds relating to:*

*the beliefs or views of that registered student, employee or person so invited: or*

*the policies or objectives of that body*

*except insofar as the expression of such belief, views, policies or objectives shall be unlawful and where it is reasonably anticipated that the unlawful expression of such beliefs, views, policies or objectives might occur on the relevant occasion<sup>117</sup>.*

203. The policy goes on to state that the University might apply restrictions where necessary to discharge its legal and regulatory obligations, to safeguard health and safety, or for the purpose of maintaining and promoting the efficient conduct and administration of the University's functions<sup>118</sup>.

204. Finally, the policy states that members of the University are expected not to obstruct or interfere with the rights of others “to express views with which they might disagree profoundly”<sup>119</sup>.
205. I was told by numerous witnesses that the University has adopted a “no no-platforming” policy, which appears to enjoy wide support.

### **External Speaker Code of Practice and notification procedure**

206. I have had regard to the University’s External Speaker Code of Practice dated November 2018 (“the 2018 CoP”). I have also seen an amended version dated 1 August 2020<sup>120</sup> (“the 2020 CoP”).
207. Both versions of the Code of Practice state that the University has an “expectation that [external speakers will] promote academic freedom, freedom of speech and equality and diversity, and remain within the law”.
208. The 2018 CoP contains a mandatory procedure, which requires organisers of events involving external speakers to fill in an electronic form at least 15 working days before the event (other than in reasonable circumstances).
209. The organiser must tick a box on the form to confirm that they have read the Code of Practice, the Policy on Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech and the Equality and Diversity Framework (note that the 2020 CoP does not ask organisers to share the Equality and Diversity policy with the speakers).
210. The form itself has space for basic information, such as the name of the speaker, the subject of the talk and the “purpose of event”. It does not contain any space for the organiser to set out any observations, points of potential concern or possible risks, and nor does it direct them to do so by any other means. There is a box to tick to confirm that all the correct information has been provided to the University so that it can undertake a review.
211. Once completed by a member of staff, the form is sent automatically to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] who conduct the review (forms completed by [REDACTED]).

students are sent automatically to the Students' Union in the first instance). According to the Code of Practice this "is the process by which the University will consider possible risks posed by an external speaker and mitigating actions that may be required in order to reduce the level of risk".

212. [REDACTED]

212.1. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

212.2. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

212.3. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

212.4. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

212.5. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

213. [The Registrar](#) told me that his approach to assessing cases which are referred to him is to take an investigative and evaluative approach to the topic of the talk and to the extent to which he might reasonably conclude there was a risk of unlawful acts taking place. In doing this he looks at the subject matter, and might discuss it with the organisers of the event and / or with other colleagues in the University who have previously been engaged with similar topic areas.

214. On some occasions [the Registrar](#) will “reflect back to speakers what our expectations are, so that they are absolutely clear what our policy is and what that means in terms of our expectations for them”. This has sometimes resulted in controversial speakers dropping out of their own volition. If there appear to be any equality or discrimination issues, his starting point is to look at the relevant internal policy in order to understand the law. He might also seek advice from Equality and Diversity colleagues.

215. Examples are given in the Code of Practice of conditions which might be attached to an approval.

216. [REDACTED]

## Equality, diversity and inclusion policy and practice

217. I have seen the Equality and Diversity Framework and Sub-Strategy 2015-18 (“the 2015 Framework”), the Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Policy 2019–2025<sup>121</sup> (the “2019 Policy”) and the Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Annual Report for 2018-19<sup>122</sup>.

218. The 2015 Framework contains a different list of protected characteristics than that which appears in the University’s Charter (§12 above). It says:

*We expect staff, students and visitors to be treated, and to each other, with dignity and respect regardless of age, disability, gender identity, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, sexual orientation, socio-economic background, political beliefs and affiliations, family circumstances or other irrelevant distinction*<sup>123</sup>.

219. The 2019 Policy gives third list of protected characteristics. These are broadly in alignment with the protected characteristics in the Equality Act 2010, except that “gender identity” does not appear in the Act: the relevant protected characteristic is “gender reassignment” (see §177 above). In the 2015 Framework it is explained that “the University’s policies go beyond the requirements of legislation and protect a broader group of people than those covered by the term ‘gender reassignment’”<sup>124</sup>.

220. The 2019 Policy states “We expect all members of our campus communities, employees, workers, contractors, students and visitors to be treated, and to treat others, with dignity and respect”. It later expresses a “dual commitment” to inclusion and freedom of speech. Similarly, the University’s Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Annual Report for 2018-19, published pursuant to its obligations under the PSED (see §198 above), notes that “balancing inclusion and academic freedom is an ongoing challenge”.

221. Both the 2015 Framework and the 2019 Policy documents contain details of the informal and formal complaints procedures and numerous sources of support,

which now include the University's Report and Support system<sup>125</sup>, through which anonymous reports may be made.

### Supporting Trans and Non Binary Staff

222. The University's Supporting Trans and Non Binary Staff policy<sup>126</sup> was created in May 2019. [REDACTED]

223. Once drafted, the policy went through the University's usual consultation and approvals processes. It is also submitted as part of the University's annual application to stay within the Stonewall Top 100 Employers list. The University's Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Annual Report for 2018-19 states that one of the University's equality objectives is to consistently be ranked in the Stonewall Top 100 employers list. It notes that the University's "trans-inclusion score" under the Stonewall Diversity Champions programme "indicates that there is plenty of room for improvement in this area".

224. In the Introduction to the policy it is said that:

*We recognise that laws, policies and processes alone do not create inclusive environments and this is why we take a holistic approach, which places as much emphasis on how people behave as it does on policy and process.*

*This document sets out our approach to supporting trans and nonbinary staff in the context of our broader commitment to celebrating the diversity of our students and staff, nurturing communities of belonging in which all are accepted without exception, and promoting inclusion, well-being, resilience and empowerment to enable everyone to reach their full potential<sup>127</sup>.*

225. The policy sets out the relevant law as follows:

*Under the Equality Act 2010, it is unlawful to discriminate against or treat someone unfairly because of their gender identity or trans status. Examples of discrimination include outing someone as trans without their permission, refusing to use someone's*

*preferred name and correct gender pronouns and denying someone access to appropriate single-sex facilities*<sup>128</sup>.

226. This does not accurately state the law, since “gender identity or trans status” are not protected characteristics under the Equality Act 2010; rather, the protected characteristic is gender reassignment (see §177 above). Moreover, it cannot be said that the examples given would invariably amount to unlawful discrimination (or, in some cases more accurately, harassment). In particular, “denying someone access to appropriate single-sex facilities” is a contested issue and the Equality Act 2010 contains specific “sex-based exceptions” relating to this (see §187 above). Later in the policy it is said that the University “will not tolerate staff being questioned inappropriately about the facility they choose or being denied access to that facility”<sup>129</sup>. This is a problematic provision. Insofar as its effect is that single sex facilities may be used by whoever chooses to use them in accordance with their gender identity rather than their sex, it is a potential breach of health and safety legislation, which requires employers to provide toilets and changing rooms either on a single-sex basis or in individual lockable rooms<sup>130</sup>.
227. The policy sets out a substantial amount of practical information and guidance for trans and nonbinary staff members and their managers, relating to issues such as coming out, planning transition, time off for medical appointments and sources of additional and ongoing support.

### **Harassment and Bullying Zero Tolerance**

228. I have seen two versions of the University’s Harassment and Bullying Zero Tolerance policy, dated April 2018 and July 2020<sup>131</sup>. They are materially identical.
229. This policy contains dedicated procedures for harassment complaints. Its definition of harassment is broadly similar to that contained in the Equality Act 2010. It explains that the University goes beyond the legislation and “covers all

trans staff, students and visitors i.e. all those whose gender identity, expression and/or history differ from their birth sex”<sup>132</sup>.

230. The policy gives examples of conduct which might amount to harassment, which include “denying a trans person or people access to the appropriate single sex facilities such as toilets or changing rooms”<sup>133</sup> (see §§225–226 above).

231. In the section entitled “Hate incidents or crimes”, the policy gives a definition which I assume to be derived from the law on “hate crimes” (see §190 above).

The policy says:

*Hate crimes or prejudice-based incidents are defined as any incident, which may constitute a criminal offence, which is perceived by the victim or any other person as being motivated by prejudice or hostility based on a person’s ... gender identity or perceived gender identity”*

232. The examples of such “hate crimes” given in the policy include “abuse, such as offensive leaflets and posters, unfounded and malicious complaints and bullying”<sup>134</sup>. These examples are misleading. As set out at §190 above, there is no standalone crime of inciting hatred on grounds of transgender identity. Nor is there a crime of bullying or making offensive comments on grounds of transgender identity. The “hate crime” laws enable a judge to increase a sentence imposed for a crime because the crime was aggravated by hostility on grounds of the victim’s transgender identity. Thus, for example, publishing an offensive leaflet cannot amount to a “hate crime”, unless it is already a breach of the criminal law for some other reason and the person who published or circulated it was motivated by hostility towards a particular victim on the grounds of their transgender identity.

233. The policy refers to the University’s Hate Incident Reporting Centre, which helps with reporting hate incidents or crimes to the police.

234. In the section on “Academic freedom, freedom of expression and inclusion”, the policy states that “neither academic freedom nor freedom of expression can

be used as an excuse for subjecting an individual or group to bullying or harassment or for committing a hate incident or crime”<sup>135</sup>.

## NOTES

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- 115 I have had regard to the version dated 1 October 2016, which has [now been updated](#).
- 116 Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech policy §3
- 117 Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech policy §5
- 118 Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech policy §6
- 119 Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech policy §7
- 120 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/student/event/external-speaker>
- 121 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/information/equality-and-diversity/equality-and-diversity-policy-and-strategy>
- 122 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/-/media/documents/directories/equality-and-diversity/annual-report-to-council-2018-19.pdf?la=en>
- 123 Equality and Diversity Framework and Sub-Strategy 2015-18 §1.1
- 124 Equality and Diversity Framework and Sub-Strategy 2015-18 Appendix B.1
- 125 <https://reportandsupport.essex.ac.uk/>
- 126 <https://tinyurl.com/ycslsuyx>
- 127 Supporting Trans and Non Binary Staff p.4
- 128 Supporting Trans and Non Binary Staff p.3
- 129 Supporting Trans and Non Binary Staff p.6
- 130 Regulations 20, 21 and 24 of the Workplace (Health, Safety and Welfare) Regulations 1992
- 131 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/information/equality-and-diversity/zero-tolerance-of-harassment-and-bullying>
- 132 Harassment and Bullying Zero Tolerance policy July 2020 p.7
- 133 Harassment and Bullying Zero Tolerance policy July 2020 p.7
- 134 Harassment and Bullying Zero Tolerance policy July 2020 p.9
- 135 Harassment and Bullying Zero Tolerance policy July 2020 p.13

## OBSERVATIONS AND ASSESSMENT

### The Criminology seminar

235. It is my view that, taken in isolation, the decision to cancel the Criminology seminar on 5 December 2019 was unavoidable since:

235.1. There was a credible and serious threat that attempts would be made to cause disruption and barricade the room [REDACTED]. The event was taking place against a background of considerable tension in relation to trans rights and gender critical feminism, particularly in the higher education context. Events in other universities had been subject to disruption, including alleged violence<sup>136</sup>. These widely known background facts supported an inference that there was a high risk that disruption would occur.

235.2. A wholly unacceptable flyer was circulating which contained a violent and profane threat targeted directly at [Prof Phoenix](#) [REDACTED]. I unequivocally reject the evidence given to me that this flyer amounted to no more than teenage stupidity, and I find it surprising that once its existence was brought to the University's attention no timely investigation was undertaken into who had produced and circulated it. The University has a statutory duty to use disciplinary procedures where appropriate to enforce the provisions of its [freedom of speech policy](#) (§159 above). Whilst [REDACTED] did not know about the flyer in any detail when [REDACTED] made the decision to cancel the seminar, it forms an important part of the factual matrix and it exemplifies the volatility of the situation. Its existence was known to at least one other member of senior leadership, who had fed into the reports given to [REDACTED] about the threat level.

- 235.3. Crucially, there was very limited time to make the decision. By the time information was given to the organisers about the threats to barricade the room there were only four hours until the event was due to take place. [Prof Phoenix](#) was asking for assurances about her safety before setting off [REDACTED].
- 235.4. It was proposed that the seminar would be rescheduled, rather than permanently cancelled [REDACTED].
236. However, it is accepted by the organisers of the seminar that they had not anticipated the tensions which were likely to be generated by the seminar and they did not follow the [external speaker notification procedure](#). This was caused by a combination of:
- 236.1. The organisers not heeding [Prof Phoenix](#)'s warnings that the topic was likely to be controversial [REDACTED].
- 236.2. Naivety about the fraught nature of public discourse on the subject of gender identity, and the organisers not realising that [Prof Phoenix](#) was a person who was regarded by some as having a particular position on the issue.
- 236.3. A systems failure, in that no automatic [external speaker notification](#) was sent to the organisers because they had block-booked the room (§31 above).
- 236.4. Ignorance and deliberate disregard of the internal [policy](#), as it was incorrectly regarded in the department as only being relevant to events which might engage the [Prevent Duty](#) [REDACTED].
237. I consider that these failures led directly to the cancellation of the seminar on the morning of 5 December. They resulted in a loss of control over the presentation and framing of the event followed by a last-minute panic. There was insufficient time to conduct any proper risk assessment or put mitigating

measures into effect.. In that context the cancellation amounted to a breach of [Prof Phoenix's freedom of expression](#), a breach of the University's [Freedom of Speech and Academic Freedom policy](#) and a breach of the University's [s.43 duty](#).

238. Applying the Article 10.2 test (§§143–150 above), it was not necessary to cancel the seminar in the interests of public safety, for the prevention of disorder or for the protection of health. Nor was it proportionate to do so. This is because if the [procedure](#) had been followed in a timely manner it would have been possible to take a number of steps which almost certainly would have resulted in the seminar going ahead safely and effectively, such as:

238.1. Implementing a more sophisticated communications strategy. This might have avoided the ill-advised use of the hashtag *#transrights* to promote the seminar [REDACTED]. In the context of a highly polarised conflict between trans rights advocates and gender critical feminists, it was inevitably antagonising to badge a person regarded as being on one side of the argument with the insignia of the other. It is notable that no objections were raised until after the hashtag was used on Twitter.

238.2. Having discussions at an early stage about whether the event would be better set up as a debate. Some witnesses thought this would have been unduly polemical and artificially divisive. Others were concerned about whether it would be appropriate to impose a “balance” requirement on a seminar which was intended to present academic research. An alternative idea expressed to me was that the LGBT Forum and Allies could have organised a counter event. The point is that dialogue could have taken place about how best to secure [freedom of expression](#) on both sides as well as the objectors' [freedom of assembly](#).

238.3. Giving consideration to whether the seminar was likely to be distressing for trans and nonbinary members of the University, and to approach Student Wellbeing and Inclusion Services and Human

Resources to request that they provide support for the people affected by these issues.

- 238.4. Involving the Estates team so that security measures could be put into place, if necessary. These could have included setting up and overseeing a space for peaceful protest which would not amount to a barricade of the room.
239. Furthermore, the seminar should have been rearranged after the cancellation. Instead, the standing invitation to [Prof Phoenix](#) was rescinded and she was told that she would not be invited in future [REDACTED]. This decision was not, in my opinion, lawful.
240. It was suggested to me that the right to [freedom of expression](#) does not extend to a right to be invited. That may be the case but it is not relevant here. Firstly, an extant invitation was rescinded. This was a restriction on [Prof Phoenix's](#) freedom of expression. Secondly, she was explicitly blacklisted in circumstances where she was a senior scholar who might reasonably expect to be invited to share her expertise in a specialist academic environment. On the face of it, blacklisting her was clearly capable of amounting to a restriction on her [freedom of expression and a breach of the University's duties to protect it](#).
241. I am entirely satisfied that as at 11 December 2019 – or indeed at any other time – there was no risk whatever that [Prof Phoenix's](#) seminar might amount to “[hate speech](#)” of the sort which would fall within Article 17 of the Convention (§142 above). Nor was there any reasonable basis for thinking that [Prof Phoenix](#) might engage in [harassment contrary to the Equality Act 2010](#) or any other unlawful speech.
242. I do not doubt that trans and nonbinary members of the University felt profound offence at the prospect of [Prof Phoenix](#) being given a platform to speak on campus. It is clear that people felt that it would have violated their dignity and/or created an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or

offensive environment for them. In the law of [harassment](#), conduct is only unlawful if an impact of this sort has been caused deliberately or if it is objectively reasonable for this impact to have been subjectively experienced.

243. I reject the implication made to me by several witnesses that [Prof Phoenix](#) intended deliberately to violate the dignity of trans and nonbinary people or to subject them to an intimidating (etc) environment. I also do not think that it was objectively reasonable for people to believe that her presence or her seminar would have that effect on them, notwithstanding that their fears of this were indisputably genuinely experienced. In reaching this conclusion I take into account the following factors:

243.1. There was no suggestion that anybody thought that the seminar would be conducted in an uncivil manner or that [Prof Phoenix](#) would behave in an uncivil way at any future event. Indeed, the references that were made to “dog whistles” and “gaslighting” indicate that it was believed that [Prof Phoenix](#) would speak in a way which was superficially courteous but in bad faith. This belief was honestly held, whether or not it was well-founded. However, without more it does not objectively show that she would be likely to cause trans or nonbinary people to experience a violation of their dignity (etc).

243.2. Those who voted to rescind the invitation had almost no knowledge of the content of the seminar. It is notable in connection with this that [Prof Phoenix](#) had been asked to provide a copy of her talk to inform the discussion at the meeting [REDACTED]. Many of the witnesses I spoke to agreed that this sort of vetting was unacceptable. The Joint Committee on Human Rights has said that requests of this sort are not a “reasonable condition” to impose upon external speakers. At most the speaker should be asked to give an assurance that the speech is lawful<sup>137</sup>.

- 243.3. The attendees at the 11 December meeting proceeded on the assumption that the seminar would amount to an argument in favour of housing trans women in men's prisons. Even if this were the case, it could not on any basis have amounted to [harassment](#) or "[hate speech](#)". Trans women may currently be housed in men's prisons where doing so is a proportionate means of achieving a legitimate aim (§187 above). Logically, arguing that the law should remain as it is cannot be an attack on trans rights, unless one takes the view that the law itself fails to enshrine rights which exist independently of it. If that is the case, then academic research and discussion would appear to be a good starting point for driving a change to the law. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the enhancement of trans rights in law is to be achieved without such inquiry and discussion.
- 243.4. Nor did I see convincing evidence that those who voted to blacklist [Prof Phoenix](#) had any real knowledge of her views on sex and gender, or that what they did know about this amounted to evidence that she was likely to engage in unlawful [harassment](#) or "[hate speech](#)". Their understanding of what her views were was derived from a cursory examination of a few pieces of evidence in the public domain: her speech to WPUK, her alleged affiliation with that organisation, and the fact that she signed open letters in the Guardian and the Sunday Times [REDACTED].
- 243.5. It cannot be unlawful to present an argument that in some respects there is a conflict of rights between natal women and trans women, as [Prof Phoenix](#) did in her speech to WPUK [REDACTED]. The Equality Act 2010 recognises a potential conflict of rights by providing the "sex-based exceptions" (§187 above). Given that the principle of a conflict of rights is enshrined in the law, the articulation of views about where the boundaries of that principle should lie would have to be very extreme to amount to [harassment](#) or "[hate speech](#)".

- 243.6. The allegation that [Prof Phoenix](#) was affiliated with WPUK was based only the fact that she gave one speech to them. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] I am aware that many people consider WPUK to be a “hate group”. For example, very senior Labour politicians have signed a pledge card to this effect written by the Labour Campaign for Trans Rights, which indicates that those who share WPUK’s position on trans rights and gender identity should be expelled from the Party<sup>138</sup>.
- 243.7. On the other hand, gender critical feminists associated with WPUK have been described by the High Court as “respected academics who hold gender-critical views and do so for profound socio-philosophical reasons” (§147 above), and by the Joint Committee for Human Rights as “leading feminists and LGBT activists with a lengthy pedigree in campaigning for LGBT rights” engaging in “critical debate about issues around feminism and trans politics” which form part of “open debates that democracy needs”<sup>139</sup>.
- 243.8. In any case, membership of or affiliation to a political organisation, whether extremist or not, is not in itself an act of [harassment](#) against an individual or group of people since it cannot be described as “unwanted conduct”, although it may be evidence that other conduct was improperly motivated. Nor does it amount to “[hate speech](#)”.
- 243.9. Similarly, the letters signed by [Prof Phoenix](#) in the Guardian and the Sunday Times do not indicate the possibility that she might engage in unlawful [harassment](#) of trans and nonbinary people or “[hate speech](#)”. The letters express concerns about the proposed introduction of self-ID, and allege that the influence of Stonewall and other advocacy organisations has resulted in the suppression of academic research and discussion of gender identity issues in academia. Some of the language used in these letters may be regarded as objectionable by trans rights

advocates. However it does not, in my view, reach the objective threshold for [harassment](#).

- 243.10. Furthermore the mere discussion of what “trans rights” entail cannot be regarded as a violation of those rights in a context where the proper extent of those rights is clearly not settled either in law or in public opinion, where it is the subject of an extant government consultation and where there is a potential conflict of rights (as discussed in §243.5 above).
- 243.11. It is worth noting that the examples of [harassment](#) in the University’s [Supporting Trans and Non Binary Staff policy](#) might lend credence to the idea that these newspaper letters could amount to or lead to unlawful [harassment](#). This policy is founded on an erroneous understanding of the law (see §§225–226 above). The policy is reviewed annually by Stonewall, and its incorrect summary of the law does not appear to have been picked up by them. In my view the policy states the law as Stonewall would prefer it to be, rather than the law as it is. To that extent the policy is misleading.
- 243.12. In any event, as the law stands the University does not have a legal duty to protect students and staff members from [harassment](#) by a third party such as an external speaker (§176 above).
244. Thus, whether taken individually or as a whole, I do not consider that the pieces of evidence upon which the decision to rescind the invitation to [Prof Phoenix](#) and to blacklist her could reasonably be said to have shown that she was likely to commit unlawful behaviour. The decision was not prescribed by the law of [harassment](#) or any “[hate speech](#)” laws.
245. Furthermore, the subject matter of the seminar was a matter of current political controversy and public interest, and as such should have attracted an enhanced protection (§146–147 above). Therefore even if there was a chance of [Prof](#)

[Phoenix](#) committing an act of [harassment](#), it would be difficult to justify preventing her from speaking rather than pursuing a less drastic course, taking into account the need to act proportionately (§§149–150 above).

246. The University has an obligation under the [Public Sector Equality Duty](#) (“PSED”) to pay due regard to the need to foster good relations between persons with a particular protected characteristic (such as gender reassignment or sex) and others who do not share it.

247. It could be argued that the decision to exclude [Prof Phoenix](#) was in compliance with that duty, and was therefore prescribed by law. I do not share this view, and indeed I consider that the decision was more likely to be in contravention of the [PSED](#). Excluding and silencing individuals does not foster good relations; that can only be achieved by resolving disputes through peaceful dialogue in an environment which supports and protects those who are distressed by the discussion of challenging issues. [REDACTED]

248. Nor, in my view, do the decisions to cancel the seminar and to rescind the invitation and blacklist [Prof Phoenix](#) comply with the [PSED](#) obligation to have due regard to the need to eliminate [discrimination](#) and [harassment](#) (§194.1 above). For the reasons set out above, there was no reasonable basis for thinking that [harassment](#) would be perpetrated against trans or nonbinary people. That reasoning also applies to direct [discrimination](#).

249. As for indirect [discrimination](#), the decision taken in relation to [Prof Phoenix](#) may contribute to indirect sex [discrimination](#) against women at the University, on the basis that more women than men tend to hold (and publicly express) gender critical views<sup>140</sup>. If that can be shown, it can be argued that women are more likely than men to be put at a disadvantage by a practice of excluding gender critical voices. Whilst the University does not owe a duty to [Prof](#)

- [Phoenix](#) personally in [discrimination law](#), pursuing policies of excluding gender critical external speakers might very well be of evidential value in an indirect discrimination complaint by a gender critical female staff member.
250. This is bolstered by the evidence I was given about the “culture of fear” which obtains amongst staff who hold these views or whose views on gender deviate from the majority opinion in support of the trans rights advocates [REDACTED]. This may also indicate that the [academic freedom](#) of these individuals is being inhibited.
251. The [culture](#) which has developed in the University in relation to these issues does not help the University to show that it has paid due regard to the need to eliminate [discrimination](#) or [harassment](#) or to foster good relations between those with the protected characteristic of gender reassignment and others, or between people with the protected characteristic of female sex and others. Certainly, it does not constitute evidence that excluding [Prof Phoenix](#) from the Department of Sociology was a decision which was prescribed by the law contained in the [PSED](#).
252. In summary, I conclude that the decisions to cancel the seminar and to rescind [Prof Phoenix](#)’s invitation and blacklist her were in contravention of the University’s [statutory duty](#) to take reasonably practicable steps to ensure that [freedom of speech](#) within the law is secured for visiting speakers. They were also inconsistent with the University’s [freedom of speech policy](#) and with its [obligations to its regulator](#), and with the University’s [charitable objects](#) of advancing education, scholarship, knowledge and understanding. They may also have amounted to a breach of the University’s obligations under the [PSED](#).
253. I make [recommendations](#) arising from these findings below.

#### **The Holocaust Memorial Week event**

254. Clearly, if an invitation to [Prof Freedman](#) to appear at HMW 2020 to talk about antisemitism was rescinded because of her views on gender identity, this would

potentially contravene the University's [s.43 duty](#) and its [freedom of speech policy](#).

255. I have concluded in light of all the evidence that that was, in fact, what took place in the first instance. Although there were several reasons for it, [Prof Freedman](#)'s views on gender identity were the deciding factor. It was done not out of malice, but out of fear. It was a serious matter, exacerbated by the fact that [Prof Freedman](#) had been invited to speak on an entirely separate topic which was her academic specialism [REDACTED]

256. My reasoning is as follows:

256.1. I received contradictory evidence from the organisers of the event about the timeline as well as the rationale for the decisions which were made. I preferred [Prof Freedman](#)'s account, since it was coherent and consistent with the documentary evidence.

256.2. I reject the claim that was made to me that [Prof Freedman](#)'s views on gender identity were not in the minds of the organisers of HMW 2020 when they decided not to send her a formal invitation on or around 9 January 2020. In light of the background this was not credible.

256.3. In particular, [Prof Freedman](#)'s views on sex and gender had been a constant feature of her interactions with the University [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] there is documentary evidence that her views were flagged and as a result her public profile and social media were vetted.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- 256.4. Furthermore, in December 2019 the cancellation of the [Criminology seminar](#) involving [Prof Phoenix](#) had just taken place, and there was very considerable controversy within the University surrounding that decision.
- 256.5. In any event, it is quite clear from the documentary and witness evidence that [Prof Freedman](#)'s views were very much in the minds of the HMW 2020 organisers in early January. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] On 7 January 2020 it was regarded as so potentially problematic – particularly in light of the controversy surrounding the cancelled [Criminology seminar](#) – that the matter was escalated to senior leadership and to the HMW 2020 organising committee [REDACTED]  
A meeting took place to discuss this [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]
- 256.6. [REDACTED] was then invited to attend the event. There was contradictory evidence about whether this person was invited instead of [Prof Freedman](#) [REDACTED] or alternatively as a Chair for the event.
- 256.7. The decision to reinstate [Prof Freedman](#)'s invitation on 27 January was taken after a number of incidents on 26 and 27 January which threatened to jeopardise the event: [Prof Freedman](#) publicising her complaint of blacklisting and sending it to her MP and the Universities Minister (§127 above), the tweet comparing her to a Holocaust denier [REDACTED], and [REDACTED] letter expressing concern about the matters raised by [Prof Freedman](#) and the fact that the panel would be all male [REDACTED]. It is my view that all of these incidents led to the reinstatement of the invitation to [Prof Freedman](#).

257. My view is that the decision not to issue [Prof Freedman](#) with a formal invitation was not motivated by a desire on the part of the organisers of HMW 2020 to restrict her free speech, or by any objection on their part to her views on gender identity. It was motivated by a wish to avoid the consequences of inviting a controversial figure to appear at the event, including the possibility of disruption. They did not want controversy to overshadow the event, and they did not want to upset colleagues. This was a “ground connected with [[Prof Freedman](#)’s] beliefs or views”, within [s.43 of the Education Act \(No. 2\) 1986](#) and the University’s [Policy on Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech](#).
258. It was plainly not necessary to restrict [Prof Freedman](#)’s freedom of speech for these reasons. There was no reasonable basis for anybody to think that she would say anything unlawful about gender identity, not least because the topic of the debate would not entail any discussion of gender identity issues. Even if it had, there was no evidence that she might engage in unlawful [harassment](#) or “[hate speech](#)” or other unlawful activity. There was no question of the University’s duties under the [Public Sector Equality Duty](#) being brought into play; the mere presence on campus of a person with whom others disagree about gender identity does not indicate a failure on the part of the University to pay due regard to the needs to eliminate discrimination and foster good relations. Moreover no risk of disruption had been threatened or meaningfully investigated.
259. Nor was it proportionate to restrict [Prof Freedman](#)’s freedom of speech, since alternative steps could have been taken to mitigate any risk of disorder. In the event this was not necessary, since those who might have objected to [Prof Freedman](#)’s presence on campus decided to stay away, at least in part in order to signal their respect for the solemnity and significance of the event.
260. I have therefore reached the view that from 9 to 27 January 2020 [Prof Freedman](#) was correct to think that the University was failing to take reasonably practicable steps to ensure that her freedom of speech within the law was

secured. This was a contravention of the University's [freedom of speech policy](#), its [s.43 duty](#), its [regulatory obligations](#) and its [duties under charity law](#).

261. The decision also engages [Prof Freedman](#)'s right to [freedom of assembly](#) and her right to [freedom of thought, conscience and religion](#). In respect of the latter, the law is not settled as to whether gender critical (or similar) views are protected. It is important to note that the recent Employment Tribunal case in which this has been considered concluded only that the "absolutist view that sex is immutable" did not satisfy the legal test on the basis that it was "not worthy of respect in a democratic society", whereas views about the access of trans people to single-sex spaces did not fall into this category (§152 above). The case is therefore of limited application, and is any event not a binding authority and is subject to a current appeal.
262. The decision not to invite [Prof Freedman](#) was rectified within a short time, so ultimately her freedoms were not restricted. This reversal would not have happened if she had not taken the steps that she did to complain and publicise her displeasure.
263. I make [recommendations](#) arising from these findings below.

## NOTES

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<sup>136</sup> For example at the [Open University's Centre for Crime and Justice Studies](#) in March 2019 and at [Edinburgh University](#) in June 2019

<sup>137</sup> [Report of the Joint Committee on Human Right Inquiry into Freedom of Speech in Universities](#), 27 March 2018, §41

<sup>138</sup> <https://tinyurl.com/uhoz3y>

<sup>139</sup> [Report of the Joint Committee on Human Right Inquiry into Freedom of Speech in Universities](#), 27 March 2018, §52-54

<sup>140</sup> This argument is likely to be run in a forthcoming Employment Tribunal case: *Allison Bailey v (1) Garden Court Chambers (2) Stonewall*.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

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### Professor Phoenix

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**Recommendation 1** | The University should issue an open apology to Prof Phoenix for (1) failing to plan adequately for her seminar on 5 December 2019, such that the event had to be cancelled at the last minute because of a risk of disruption; (2) failing to undertake a timely investigation (and thereafter disciplinary action if appropriate) in respect of the flyer circulated on 5 December 2019 containing violent and profane imagery which was targeted at her; (3) inappropriately asking her on 10 December 2019 to provide a copy of her seminar for the purposes of vetting its content; (4) infringing her freedom of speech without justification by deciding on 11 December 2019 to (a) rescind the invitation to present a seminar and (b) not invite her to attend a future seminar in the Department of Sociology; and (5) thereby causing her distress.

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**Recommendation 2** | The Department of Sociology should declare void the decision taken on 11 December 2020 to not invite Prof Phoenix to a future seminar.

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**Recommendation 3** | Prof Phoenix should be invited to present a seminar in the Centre for Criminology.

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### Professor Freedman

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**Recommendation 4** | The University should issue an open apology to Prof Freedman for (1) threatening to infringe her freedom of speech without justification between 9 and 27 January 2020 by rescinding the invitation to her to take part in the Holocaust Memorial Week roundtable debate on 30 January 2020; (2) causing her distress [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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## Policy

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**Recommendation 5** | A facility should be implemented to send an automatic notification where a room has been block-booked to prompt both the organiser and the professional services staff team which manages room bookings that the external speaker notification form needs to be completed.

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**Recommendation 6** | The External Speaker Code of Practice should be amended to clarify that speakers must not be asked to provide copies of their papers or seminars in advance for the purposes of vetting, other than in cases which appear to fall within the scope of the Prevent duty.

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**Recommendation 7** | The external speaker notification form should be amended to add a section within which the organiser must properly set out any concerns they may have about potentially controversial or distressing topics or speakers.

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**Recommendation 8** | The External Speaker Code of Practice should be amended to state that compliance with its provisions will be monitored and that persistent failure or refusal to comply with it may result in cancellation of events and/or disciplinary action. An effective mechanism for monitoring by Compliance should be put in place.

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**Recommendation 9** | The external speaker review process should adopt a decision making structure to be used in cases of potential concern. It should be based on the questions set out in [Appendix 6](#). The EHRC and UUK guidance should also be considered as sources of good practice (§164 above).

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**Recommendation 10** | The University should give consideration to engaging specialist professional legal advice to assist in complex or difficult external speaker reviews.

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**Recommendation 11** | The external speaker review should in every case consider whether the event is likely to cause distress, and if so (1) seek to consult with any relevant staff or student groups as to what support measures might be put into place; and (2) work with Student Wellbeing and Inclusion Services, the Students' Union and/or Human Resources to ensure that appropriate and adequate support is provided.

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**Recommendation 12** | When a potentially controversial or distressing topic or speaker is approved through the external speaker review, the reviewers should seek to consult with staff and student groups who might wish to organise protests or counter-speech (where such groups are reasonably identifiable) and seek to ensure that assistance is provided to organise these appropriately, safely and peacefully. This consultation should form the basis for guidance on appropriate protesting which should be published in good time in advance of the event in a clear and accessible manner and via staff and student groups.

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**Recommendation 13** | All marketing materials for external speaker events (including on social media) should be supervised by the event organiser(s) and not delegated to junior staff or interns.

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**Recommendation 14** | The External Speaker Code of Practice should be amended to add a requirement for Compliance to be notified of any proposal to rescind an approved invitation to an external speaker, and for reasons to be provided. Compliance should review any such proposal and satisfy themselves that it is not based on improper reasons. In difficult cases Compliance may refer this task to the Registrar.

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**Recommendation 15** | The University should communicate to all members of staff that the external speaker notification procedure is mandatory and is not limited to cases which fall within the scope of the Prevent Duty. Staff should be warned that persistent refusal or failure to comply with it could result in disciplinary action.

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**Recommendation 16** | The University should ask all members of staff to confirm in writing that they are aware of the external speaker notification procedure, and to state whether they require any clarification or training in relation to the procedure. If they require clarification or training this should be provided to them promptly.

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**Recommendation 17** | The University should inform all staff that (1) decisions on whether to approve external speakers will be made on a case by case basis within the existing procedure, and must not be made outside the procedure (and in particular must not be made on a departmental basis and/or by way of any kind of vote); and (2) under no circumstances should an external speaker or potential external speaker be blacklisted or no-platformed.

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**Recommendation 18** | The University's equality, diversity and inclusion policy documents, Charter and Strategic Plan should be standardised so that they all accurately describe the protected characteristics in the Equality Act 2010, namely age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation. Any additional characteristics in respect of which the University wishes to extend protection should be clearly identified as such.

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**Recommendation 19** | The Supporting Trans and Non Binary Staff policy and Harassment and Bullying Zero Tolerance policy should be amended to accurately state the law, in particular with a view to ensuring that they are an authoritative source of information for the purposes of the external speaker review process.

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**Recommendation 20** | The Supporting Trans and Non Binary Staff policy should be reviewed by a specialist lawyer and if necessary amended to ensure that it offers adequate protection and is lawful.

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## Culture

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**Recommendation 21** | The University should circulate a statement to staff and students (1) condemning the flyer circulated on 5 December 2019 containing violent and profane imagery; and (2) stating that any similar conduct will be dealt with by way of disciplinary action.

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**Recommendation 22** | The University should set up a Working Group to devise and implement a strategy for repairing relationships between trans and nonbinary University members and those with gender critical views, in particular women. In doing so it should bear in mind its duty to pay due regard to the need to foster good relations between people with particular protected characteristics and others. The Working Group should consult as widely as possible with individual members of the University, staff and student groups, the Inclusion Champions, Human Resources, Student Wellbeing and Inclusion Services and the Students' Union. It should enable University members to contribute to the development of this strategy in a strictly confidential environment or anonymously.

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**Recommendation 23** | The University should implement at the earliest opportunity the measures identified in the meeting of 20 December 2019 between the Registrar and members of the LGBT Forum (§87 above).

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**Recommendation 24** | The University should reiterate to staff and students its commitment to providing a supportive and inclusive environment within which people can expect to learn, grow and develop through challenge; that this means that they will be confronted with people who have different views which may be experienced as objectionable or offensive; but that a line will be drawn at conduct which is unlawful or contrary to the University's policies. The University may wish to consider the wording of the University of Oxford's freedom of

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speech policy ([Appendix 7](#)) in considering how best to communicate this message.

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**Recommendation 25** | The University should review the Inclusion Champion roles to ensure that they cover appropriate constituencies and that the postholders are able to work effectively together.

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**Recommendation 26** | The University should review the mental health and welfare support provided to trans and nonbinary staff and students, and make such changes to it as are necessary to ensure that it is appropriate and adequate to meet existing need.

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**Recommendation 27** | The University should review the “Report and Support” system, and make such changes to it as are necessary to ensure that it is appropriate and adequate to meet existing need.

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**Recommendation 28** | The University should give careful and thorough consideration to the relative benefits and disbenefits of its relationship with Stonewall, bearing in mind the issues raised in this report. In particular, it should consider that this relationship appears to have given University members the impression that gender critical academics can legitimately be excluded from the institution [REDACTED]; the potential effect of this on the University’s obligations to uphold freedom of expression; the effect on University members’ understanding of the values of the institution; and the effect on those members of the University who hold gender critical views (see §§249–251 above). If the University considers it appropriate to continue its relationship with Stonewall, it should devise a strategy for countering the drawbacks and potential illegalities described above.

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1 | Terms of Reference

**Review of the circumstances resulting in and arising from the cancellation of the Centre for Criminology seminar on Trans Rights, Imprisonment and the Criminal Justice System, scheduled to take place on 5 December 2019, and the arrangements for speaker invitations to the Holocaust Memorial Week event on the state of Antisemitism Today, scheduled for 30 January 2020: Terms of Reference**

### Context

The review has been commissioned by the Vice-Chancellor and details have been communicated to students and staff by email (attached as Appendix 2). The review is intended to provide an open and inclusive means of understanding the events concerned and the impact on people from across our University community, drawing learning that can inform the University's practice in future.

Following cancellation of the event on Thursday, 5 December 2019, the following actions were taken:

- The Vice-Chancellor contacted [REDACTED] on 6 December 2019, briefing [REDACTED] on developments;
- In the light of advice from [REDACTED], the Registrar and Secretary briefed all Council members by email on Saturday, 7 December 2019 and feedback was received;
- [REDACTED] were provided with an opportunity to comment on the communication that would be issued to all staff prior to it being sent on Monday 9 December 2019;
- The Vice-Chancellor asked the Registrar and Secretary to contact all staff and students, seeking input to the terms of reference for the review. This was undertaken by email on 12 December 2019;

- Separately, the Vice-Chancellor asked the Registrar and Secretary to contact the [REDACTED] seeking their advice on how to ensure that trans students and staff are well supported, particularly during the period of the review. A meeting took place on 20 December 2019 to discuss these issues.

Following the raising of concerns about the selection of speakers for the Holocaust Memorial Week event on the State of Antisemitism Today, the following actions were taken:

- [REDACTED] was informed on 26th January 2020 of publication of an article in the Sunday Times;
- [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]
- The event took place on 30th January 2020.

### Reviewer

A suitably experienced individual, appointed from outside the University of Essex to undertake the review and prepare a report with recommendations.

The reviewer will have demonstrable experience in relation to University governance and practice, and Equality, Diversity and Inclusion.

The appointment of the reviewer will be made following a presentation by the reviewer to a panel of three members of the University, who will provide assurance that the reviewer is committed to undertaking the review in an inclusive manner and ensure that the experience required of the reviewer can be assessed fully. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

## **Timetable**

### *Approval of Terms of Reference*

- 17 December 2019: Consideration of initial draft by USG
- 14 January 2020: Approval by Senate by circulation
- 31 January 2020: Approval by Council by circulation
- 16 June 2020: Approval by USG of updated timings for the review

### *Selection of Reviewer:*

- 20 July 2020: Reviewer selected and commences review process.

### *Reporting of Findings:*

- 6 October 2020: Report to USG
- 4 November 2020: Report to be considered by Senate, to make recommendations to Council
- 30 November 2020: Report to be considered by Council, for approval of recommendations

Should the reviewer identify any urgent issues during the course of the review, they may draw these to the attention of the Registrar & Secretary who will take action appropriate to the specific issue identified.

## **Approach**

The Review will:

- Assemble and review the evidence, including contemporary documentary evidence;
- Assess how University policies and procedures have been applied on this occasion;

- Assess the evidence available against good practice to identify any gaps or issues arising;
- Identify any recommendations in relation to University policies, procedures and practices that arise from these incidents and the evidence collected through the review;
- Provide any other observations that the reviewer would want to draw to the attention of the University's Senate and Council.

### **Review Process**

In undertaking the review, in pursuit of the approach set out above, the reviewer will:

- Collect contemporary documentary evidence relevant to the events that are subject to the review;
- Make direct approaches to individuals involved in the events, seeking their account of the circumstances relating to the organisation of the events and:
  - the decision that the event on 5th December should be cancelled; and
  - the selection of speakers for the event on 30th January;
- Invite written submissions from members of the University, which may be made by individuals or groups and can be made on a named basis, anonymously or by individuals on behalf of others;
- Provide opportunities for individuals and/or groups to meet with the reviewer to provide input in person or through a representative of their choosing;
- Undertake research into the general application of the University's policies relating to external speakers;
- Draw attention to sources of best practice guidance that might be relevant to the matters subject to review;

- Identify the legal and policy issues (including University policies) relevant to the review and highlight their implications for the University's policy and practice;
- Give specific consideration to wellbeing issues that are relevant to the matters subject to review and to any recommendations made by the reviewer;
- Complete any other tasks that the reviewer considers to be necessary for the conduct of the review.

During the course of the review, the reviewer will be asked to confirm that written or face-to-face input to the review is being provided in a manner that suggests that the review is, itself, being conducted in an inclusive way and that diverse voices are contributing to it.

The University will appoint an expert external reference group of at least three members to comment on the draft report from the review and make comments to assist the reviewer in producing a final version for submission to the University. The expert panel will also be asked to comment upon the way that the review has been conducted by the reviewer, providing assurance that the review has been conducted in an inclusive and open manner. The membership of the expert reference group will be agreed with the panel involved in the selection of the reviewer.

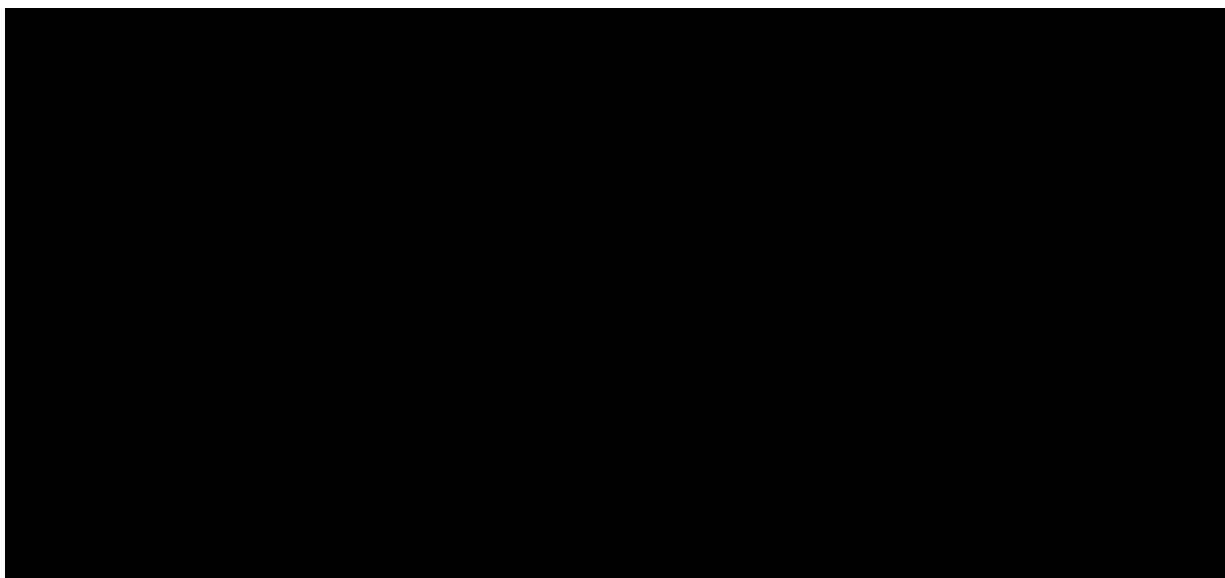
### **Review Outputs**

The reviewer will:

- Produce a report for consideration by the University's Senate on 4 November 2020 and Council on 30 November 2020, addressing the aims of the review and having followed the review process;
- Make recommendations in the report in relation to University policy and practice;
- Make any other observations that they would wish to make, including suggestions for the effective communication and operationalisation of the recommendations in the report.

4 June 2020

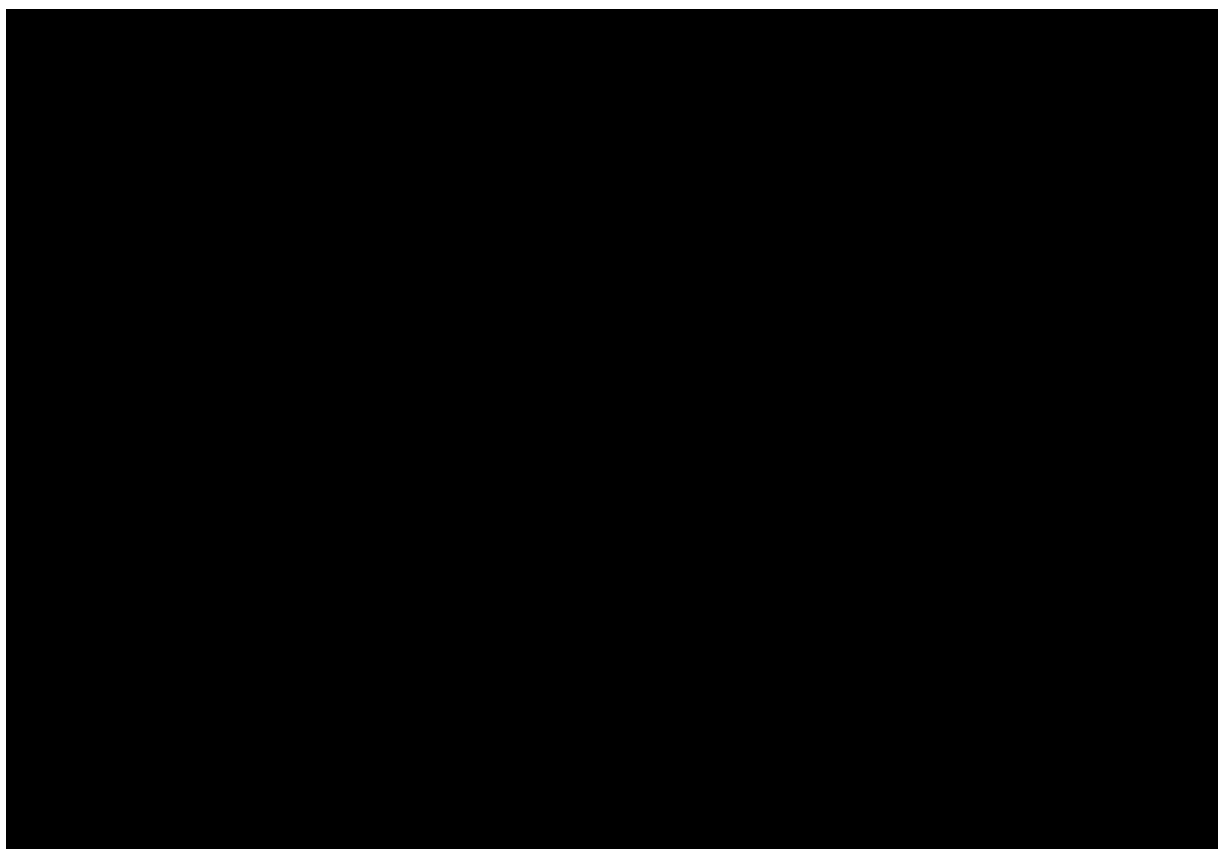
Appendix 2 | Witnesses

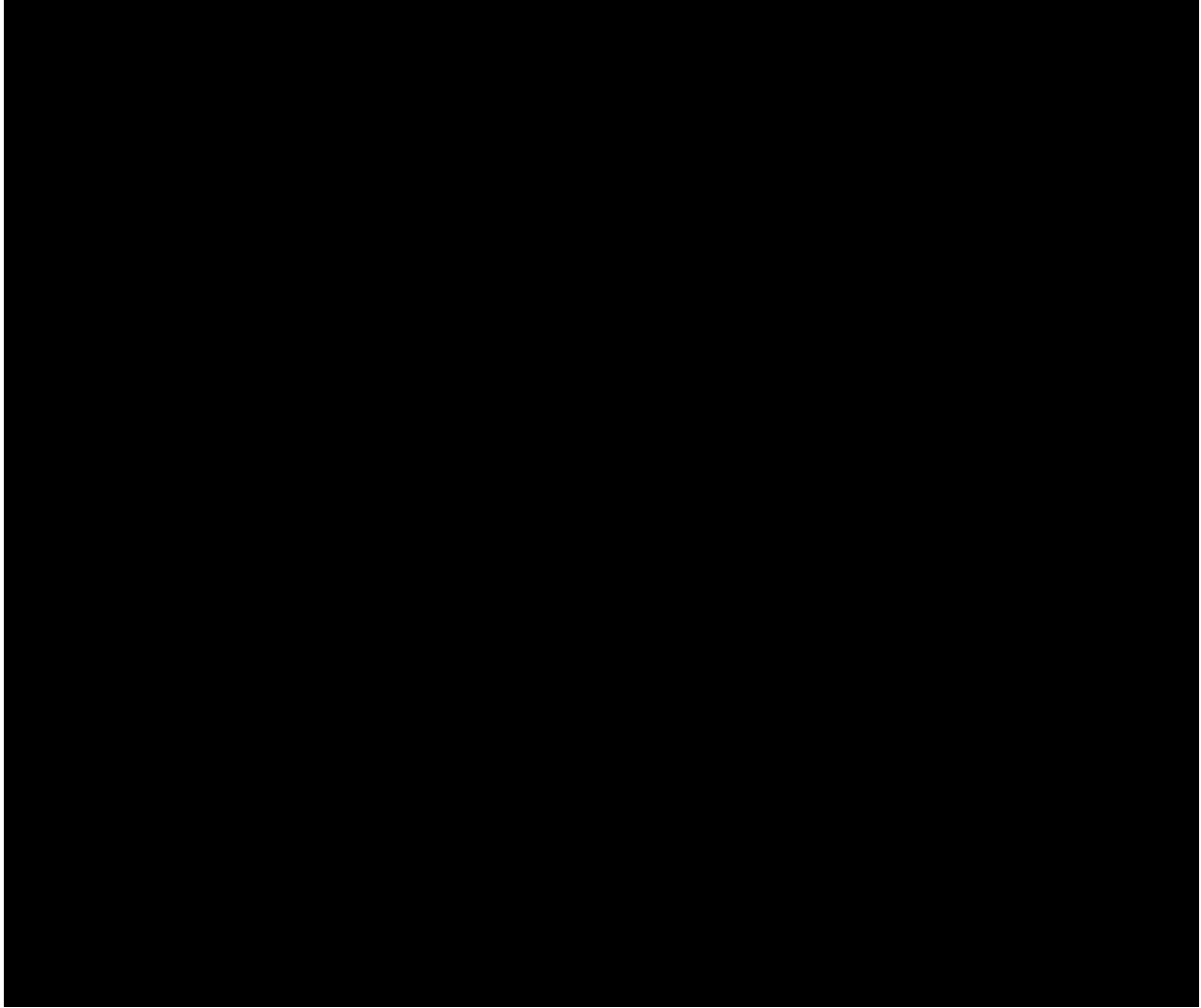


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Prof Anthony Forster

Vice Chancellor

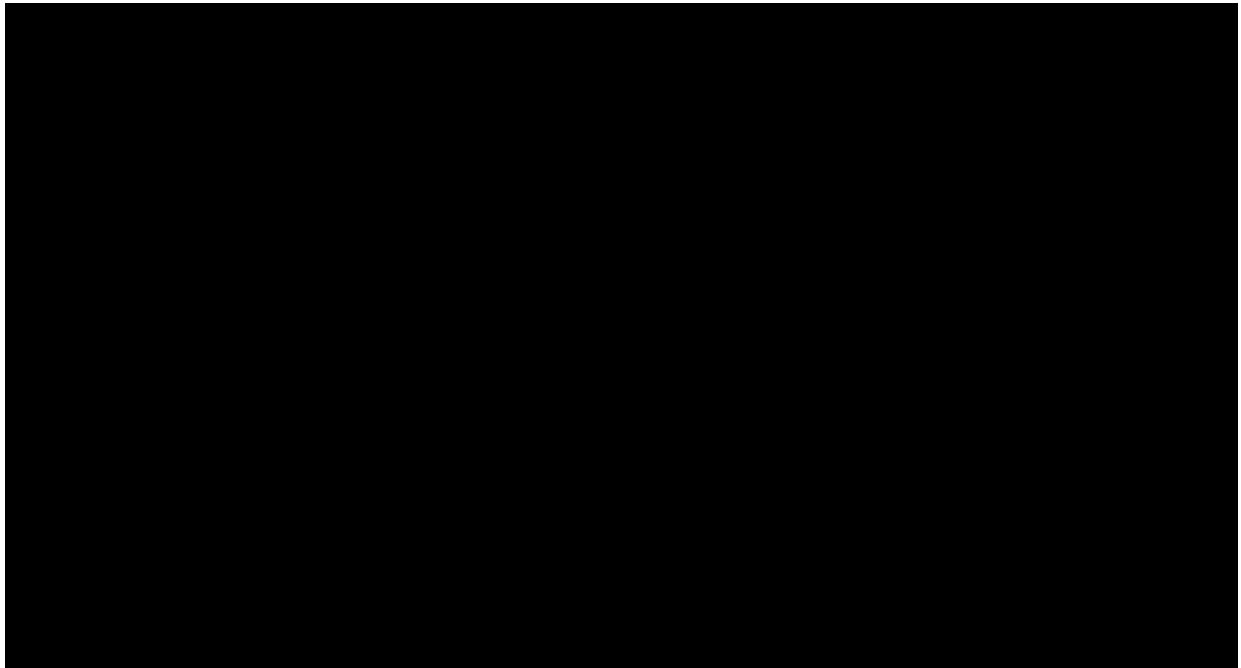


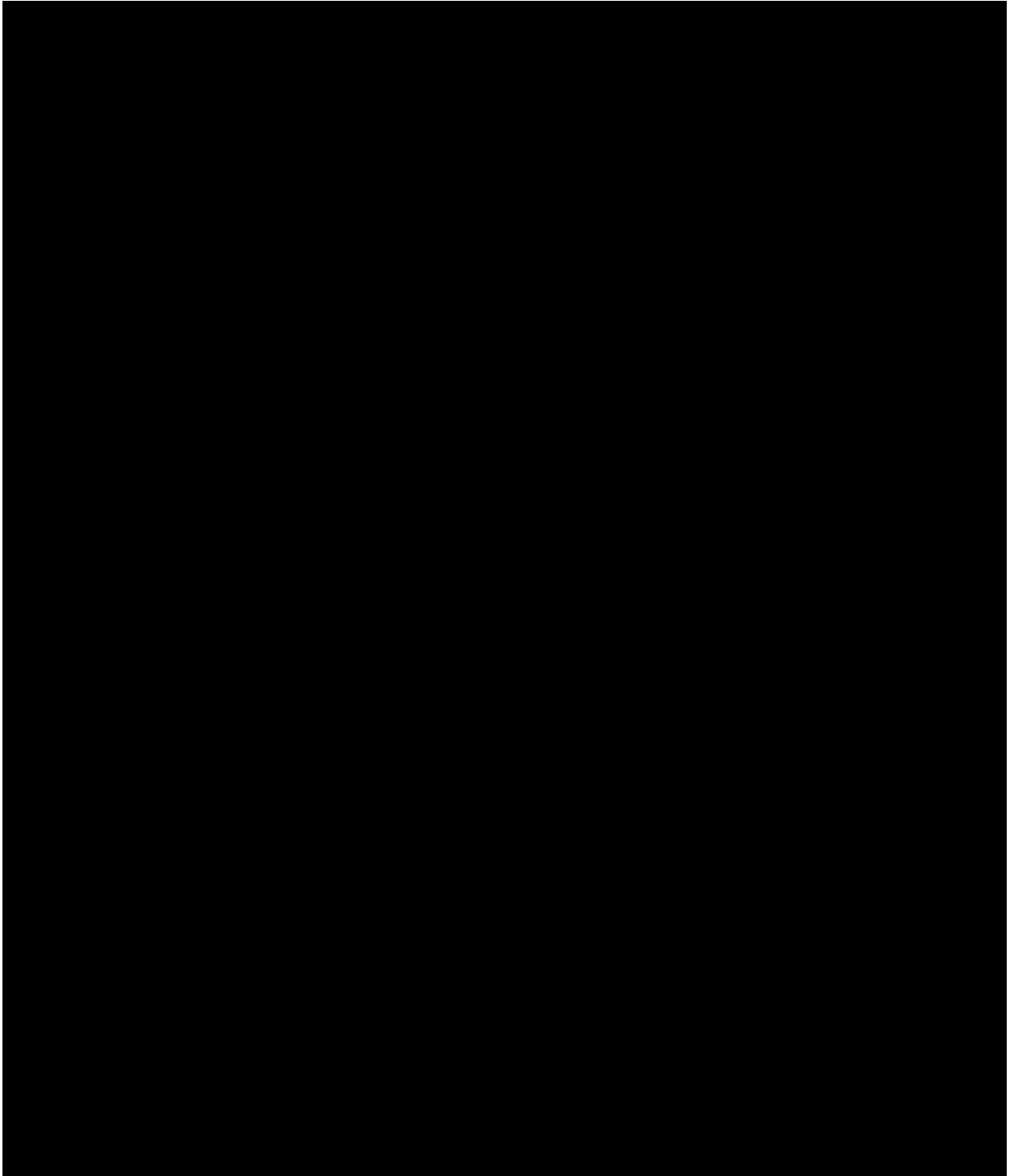


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Bryn Morris

Registrar and Secretary





### **Upholding academic freedom and promoting inclusivity**

Last week a seminar involving an external speaker invited to talk about trans rights and justice was cancelled at short notice by the organising department, as a result of their concerns about safety. Our policy on academic freedom and freedom of speech is very clear, and states: "Just as the University will not restrict debate or deliberation simply because the views being expressed might be considered unwise or even offensive, so it also expects members of the University community to show commitment to this same principle by not obstructing or interfering with the rights of others to express views with which they might disagree profoundly."

We also have an equally clear commitment to being an inclusive community and our policies are set out in our Equality and Diversity Codes of Practice with our Equality and Diversity Policy Statement affirming: "The University of Essex celebrates diversity, challenges inequality and is committed to sustaining an inclusive and diverse community that is open to all who have the potential to benefit from membership of it and which ensures equality of opportunity for all its members."

We have well-established procedures in place to reflect these values and govern events with speakers from outside the University, so it is very important that we understand what happened in this case and what lessons we should draw.

Accordingly, I have commissioned a review of the circumstances that resulted in the event being cancelled. We will appoint a suitably experienced person to lead this review.

They will be asked to:

- Assemble and review the facts;

- Assess how University policies and procedures have been applied on this occasion;
- Identify any recommendations in relation to University policy and practice that arise from this incident;
- Provide any other observations that the reviewer would want to draw to the attention of the University's Senate and Council.

The report will be considered by our Senate meeting on Wednesday 29 April and Council on Monday 18 May, with any urgent issues being highlighted earlier should that be necessary.

I hope the review will give us complete confidence in our processes for upholding academic freedom and promoting freedom of speech within the law, in a context of being an inclusive community.

If you do have comments or observations that you would like to share please email: [review@essex.ac.uk](mailto:review@essex.ac.uk)

Once the review is underway we will also ensure that there are other opportunities to engage our community on these issues that matter to us all.

- I welcome your comments and feedback – please e-mail me at: [vc@essex.ac.uk](mailto:vc@essex.ac.uk)

## Appendix 4 | Open letter to the Vice Chancellor 18 December 2019

Dear Vice Chancellor,

Following recent coverage of the University of Essex's cancellation of a seminar, which was due to be presented on Thursday 5th December 2019, by Professor Jo Phoenix (The Open University), we would like to address the issue and detail our stance on this matter.

As members of the LGBTQ community and allies at the University of Essex, we appreciate that academic freedom of speech plays a key part in the production of intelligent and useful debate, particularly in a research environment where creativity, discussion and challenging various perspectives breeds impactful output. However, an area of which we feel should not be up for discussion or debate is the existence of Trans/nonbinary communities and identities.

Being Trans/nonbinary is not a topic for debate: it is a reality.

We were disappointed to hear, on the morning of the 5th December, that Professor Jo Phoenix had been invited to present a seminar, which was going to "explore that there are some conceptual and political problems with the Trans rights perspective when applied to the administration of criminal justice in the UK"

(<https://www.essex.ac.uk/events/2019/12/05/trans-rights-and-justice>).

Trans/nonbinary people having equal rights is not a 'perspective': it is a human right.

The right for trans people to access so-called 'single-sex spaces' (such as bathrooms, prisons, changing rooms, etc) has been sensationalised and often negatively portrays Trans people. The narrative specifically against Trans women being able to access 'women's spaces' has been largely negative: framing Trans women as posing a 'threat' to cisgender women, as being predators, attackers or criminals. The talk proposed by Professor Jo Phoenix showed evidence of a similar narrative: an 'argument' that there

are 'conceptual and political problems with the trans rights perspective when applied to the administration of criminal justice in the UK'

(<https://www.essex.ac.uk/events/2019/12/05/trans-rights-and-justice>).

We emphasise, Trans/nonbinary people having equal rights is not a 'perspective': it is a human right.

What the media often fails to cover is that Trans/nonbinary people are subjected to widespread abuse, invalidation and discrimination simply for existing. What the media fails to reinforce is that Trans women are women, Trans men are men, and all gender identities are valid. What the media fails to report is what the GRA reform means and what existing rights exist within the Equality Act 2010.

As per the LGBT in Britain: Trans Report 2018 from Stonewall, 48 percent of Trans people do not feel comfortable using public toilets. Two in five Trans people and three in ten non-binary people have experienced a hate crime or incident because of their gender identity in the last 12 months. Younger Trans adults are at greatest risk: 53 percent of Trans people aged 18 to 24 have experienced a hate crime or incident based on their gender identity in the last 12 months. For a community who are constantly having their occupancy and existence in everyday spaces questioned to see that an academic with the profile of Professor Jo Phoenix – someone with an academic status of power and influence – has been given a platform at a University to present a seminar on the implications of allowing trans women into women's prisons is not productive or helpful. It is harmful and validates public questioning of the Trans experience.

We emphasise, being Trans/nonbinary is not a topic for debate: it is a reality.

On the news of this seminar, several members of our LGBTQ Forum & Allies individually contacted the Head of Department for Sociology and the Director for the Centre of Criminology, along with contacting the Chief of Staff, the Compliance Manager (Safeguarding) and relevant Inclusion Champions, to ask questions and express our concerns. We feared that the organisers might not be aware that Jo Phoenix is in fact a vocal member of the transphobic lobby that has emerged in

academia. She was one of the signatories of a letter to the Guardian in October 2018 which expressed the concerns of a group of academic who claim to be “concerned about the suppression of proper academic analysis and discussion of the social phenomenon of transgenderism” and about the Gender Recognition Act reforms. Jo Phoenix is also affiliated with Woman’s Place, a vocal lobby group that has publicly voiced its disagreement with the reform of the Gender Recognition Act.

Jo Phoenix was also a signatory to a letter in the Sunday Times which claimed that, in part, "As academics we are writing to register our disquiet over the inappropriately close relationship between the LGBT charity Stonewall and UK universities, via the Stonewall Diversity Champions programme. The membership requirements of this programme are in tension with academic freedom. For instance, university members must instigate specialist trans policies, in addition to general equality policies, which outlaw “transphobic” teaching and research material but offer no clear definition of what would count as such." Jo Phoenix is thus not just tacitly but openly hostile to the proclaimed inclusivity policies of our institution which have been carefully and collectively arrived at. Huge amounts of institutional energy and collective goodwill was put towards recognition that this community supports the Diversity Champions initiative. It is therefore contradictory that someone who is openly hostile to our stated community position on this issue was invited to speak.

We appreciate that “academic staff shall have freedom within the law to question and test received wisdom, and to put forward new ideas and controversial or unpopular opinions, without placing themselves in jeopardy of losing their jobs or privileges” (as outlined in the University’s Royal Charter). However, the University of Essex policy on Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech also states that the university may itself apply restrictions in circumstances where they are necessary to safeguard the safety, health and welfare of its registered students, employees and other persons lawfully upon the premises or engaged in activities associated with the University: including giving effect to the safeguards set out in the Equalities Act 2010.

Discrimination against those who fall under the protected characteristic ‘Gender Reassignment’ (which the University of Essex recognises is an outdated term) can be direct, indirect, harassment and victimisation. The debate around the ‘legitimacy’ of

Trans/nonbinary people is direct discriminative speech. Hailing academic freedom of speech as a justification for introducing such a party into the University environment is directly creating an offensive and unsafe environment for those who are Trans/nonbinary.

The University states a zero-tolerance approach to hate crime: this is inclusive of hate speech. We believe that the talk, as well as the speaker presenting this seminar, was conducive to hate speech and bigotry: not academic freedom. As a zero-tolerance approach, this 'debate' is not welcome here at our campus. The safety and wellbeing of a marginalised community, our Trans/nonbinary community, is paramount above that of the need to express bigoted views.

We would urge those who disapprove of the cancellation of this talk to consider their own privileges and seek to position themselves as allies for the Trans community. The statistics published by Stonewall (Trans Report in Britain: 2018) recently conveyed the harrowing reality for Trans/nonbinary people seeking an education within the academic sector:

- More than a third of Trans University students (36 per cent) have experienced negative comments or conduct from staff in the last year.
- One in seven Trans university students (14 per cent) have considered dropping out or have dropped out of a higher education course because of experiencing harassment or discrimination from students and staff in the last year.
- Half of trans and non-binary people (51 per cent and 50 per cent respectively) have hidden or disguised the fact they are LGBT at work because they were afraid of discrimination.

If we were discussing academic freedom of speech, we would hope that this would extend to ensuring equality of freedom of speech: allowing Trans/nonbinary people equal opportunity and rights to education, to research, to impactful study. What they do not deserve is to have their existence questioned by those who not only are already in a place where they have gained academic accolade and privilege, but also have such

people influencing and addressing the majority with their discriminatory stance and viewpoint under the guise of 'academia'.

We welcome a review of the external speaker notification form and the process in which talks are vetted at the University. We also welcome a review of how marginalised communities are discussed within academia, to ensure not only adherence to the Equality Act 2010, but also a respectful environment that allows marginalised communities to access academia freely, without fear of being used as a topic for debate and scrutiny. If the university continue to handle this incident poorly, it has the potential to further alienate the LGBTQ community at Essex, including the many students who are affected by these issues.

We have attached our comments and concerns from the Forum, collated on the 9th December 2019. We request a response from the Vice Chancellor on these matters, with the hope that in consultation with the Forum, a preventative strategy can be created and put in place, to ensure that a situation such as the events of the 5th December 2019 do not occur again.

We would like to thank all those who raised their concerns and expressed their support for our cause. We also encourage students, staff and visitors to the University to continue to utilise the Report and Support service available online, and to challenge discrimination against the LGBTQ community when safe and able to do so.

Yours Sincerely,

The LGBTQ Forum & Allies

## Appendix 5 | Email from the Registrar 27 January 2020

I am writing to follow up on our conversation about the Holocaust Memorial Week event on The State of Antisemitism Today, scheduled for later this week. As I understand the situation, in the light of the public comment about the event, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This has opened up an opportunity to extend the panel by inviting additional speakers. As a consequence, you indicated that the organising committee was minded to extend an invitation to two additional speakers, [REDACTED] and Professor Rosa Freedman. You were seeking my views on this, given the specific role that the Registrar and Secretary plays in relation to external speaker invitations, as set out in our Code of Practice.

[REDACTED] For Professor Freedman, our normal arrangements require a period of notice to be provided for consideration of proposed external speakers at University events. However, I had already received a request, on 8<sup>th</sup> January, exploring the possibility of Professor Freedman being invited to this event and seeking my view from the perspective of the University's Policy on Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech and External Speaker Code of Practice. I had replied, at that time, saying that I saw no compelling reason why Professor Freedman should not be invited, although I understand that no invitation was then issued. As I had already expressed my view in line with the timescales set out in the Code of Practice, I consider it to be in line with the Code to proceed with the request you have now made.

As a consequence, I have given further consideration to the issue, in particular in relation to the element of the policy that states:

so far as is reasonably practicable, access to the premises of the University shall not be denied to any registered student or employee of the University or to any individual

or body of persons invited to the premises of the University by a registered student or employee of the University on any grounds relating to:

the beliefs or views of that registered student, employee or person so invited: or

the policies or objectives of that body;

except insofar as the expression of such belief, views, policies or objectives shall be unlawful and where it is reasonably anticipated that the unlawful expression of such beliefs, views, policies or objectives might occur on the relevant occasion.

I have no reasonable anticipation that Professor Freedman, or any of the other speakers at the event, are likely to express beliefs, views, policies or objectives that might be unlawful. However, I would ask that you ensure that all speakers at the event receive a copy of the University's Policy on Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech in advance, and are asked to make themselves familiar with the policy.

I have also considered the event within the test of reasonable practicability described in the policy. I can see no reasons why it should not be reasonably practicable for the event to take place with Professor Freedman as a speaker. Given the public interest in the event, it would be appropriate, however, to have a presence from the University's patrol officers for the event, to ensure that it progresses smoothly.

On the basis outlined above, I am content to confirm that you may proceed with the invitation to Professor Freedman.

## Appendix 6 | Decision making structure for external speaker reviews

1. Is it immediately obvious that the speaker intends to engage in very serious hate speech which seeks to abuse the human rights of others, such as directly inciting violence? If so, the request for authorisation should be refused.
2. Is it likely that the speaker will engage in speech which may be unlawful, in that for example it may amount to harassment or discrimination against people with protected characteristics? Be careful to distinguish between speech which may be merely offensive, shocking or disturbing and speech which may be unlawful.
3. If so, taking into account the relevant factors (§148 above), is it necessary to impose a limitation or condition to protect:
  - the interests of public safety;
  - the prevention of disorder or crime;
  - the protection of health or morals; or
  - the protection of the rights of others?
4. If so, what limitations or conditions is it proportionate to impose? Take into account that:
  - limitations or conditions must go no further than is reasonably necessary to achieve their aim(s);
  - a fair balance should be struck between the competing interests;
  - speech which is about a matter of political or public interest should be given enhanced protection; and
  - speech which is intended to offend rather than to inform may be subjected to tighter restrictions.
5. Are there any issues relating to freedom of thought, conscience or religion?
6. Are there any issues relating to freedom of assembly and association? The rights of any protesters should be protected.

## **Appendix 7 | University of Oxford Freedom of Speech policy**

### **Free speech is the lifeblood of a university**

It enables the pursuit of knowledge. It helps us approach truth. It allows students, teachers and researchers to become better acquainted with the variety of beliefs, theories and opinions in the world. Recognising the vital importance of free expression for the life of the mind, a university may make rules concerning the conduct of debate but should never prevent speech that is lawful.

Inevitably, this will mean that members of the University are confronted with views that some find unsettling, extreme or offensive. The University must therefore foster freedom of expression within a framework of robust civility. Not all theories deserve equal respect. A university values expertise and intellectual achievement as well as openness. But, within the bounds set by law, all voices or views which any member of our community considers relevant should be given the chance of a hearing. Wherever possible, they should also be exposed to evidence, questioning and argument. As an integral part of this commitment to freedom of expression, we will take steps to ensure that all such exchanges happen peacefully. With appropriate regulation of the time, place and manner of events, neither speakers nor listeners should have any reasonable grounds to feel intimidated or censored.

It is this understanding of the central importance and specific roles of free speech in a university that underlies the detailed procedures of the University of Oxford.

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# Stonewall boss defends new strategy amid criticism

By Jessica Parker & Eleanor Lawrie  
BBC News

🕒 29 May 2021



Nancy Kelley: "I'm comfortable with our direction as an organisation"

**Stonewall head Nancy Kelley has defended the organisation's position amid a freedom of speech row and criticism from a founder.**

Matthew Parris said in the Times that Stonewall had become "tangled up in the trans issue" and "cornered into an extremist stance".

But Ms Kelley told the BBC she was "really comfortable" with the direction the charity was going in.

She likened so-called "gender critical" beliefs to anti-Semitism.

The Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) has said its defence of the right to hold "gender critical beliefs" - that sex cannot be changed - "does not have an impact on our commitment to uphold the rights of transgender people".

## Freedom of speech 'has limits'

The new EHRC chair, Lady Falkner, **has said women have the right to question transgender identity** without being abused, stigmatised or risking losing their job.

Ms Kelley said while Stonewall believed in freedom of speech, it was "not without limit".

"With all beliefs including controversial beliefs there is a right to express those beliefs publicly and where they're harmful or damaging - whether it's anti-Semitic beliefs, gender critical beliefs, beliefs about disability - we have legal systems that are put in place for people who are harmed by that."

Challenged as to whether it might be considered offensive to compare anti-Semitic beliefs to gender-critical views, she insisted it was appropriate.

"We're talking about protected groups. We're talking about people that are protected on the basis of their sexuality, people that are protected on the basis of gender identity, people who are protected on the basis of race and that's why I think the analogy is apt."

Journalist and former Tory MP Matthew Parris, one of Stonewall's 14 founders, recently suggested the charity had "lost its way".

In an article for the Times, he said: "The organisation is tangled up in the trans issue, cornered into an extremist stance on a debate that a charity formed to help gay men, lesbian women and bisexual people should never have got itself into."

Ms Kelley said while Mr Parris was entitled to his views, being trans-inclusive was the "absolute norm" for LGBT organisations.

She also denied Stonewall had approved incorrect advice on transgender issues for the University of Essex, which is part of its Diversity Champions workplace inclusion scheme.

A **recent report** found the university had unlawfully blacklisted a speaker after some protesters labelled her a "transphobe".

Ms Kelley said Stonewall had "nothing to do" with the university's process for deciding external speakers and was "really confident" in its legal advice.

Stonewall's been criticised for using the term "gender identity" when referring to the Equality Act's protected characteristic of "gender reassignment".

But Ms Kelley described that as "the difference between natural language and statutory language".

She also expressed frustration that the volume of media coverage and debate around trans rights meant "it can be difficult to get across all the work we do... focusing on the experiences of LGB [lesbian, gay and bisexual] people."

She said the organisation's work could still benefit people, whether or not they agreed with its position, such as improving access to IVF.

That aim is part of **the organisation's new "free to be" strategy**, which includes campaigning for "hate crime and hate speech laws in the UK that protect LGBTQ+ communities" and a pledge to champion inclusion across schools.

- [Human rights body quits Stonewall diversity scheme](#)
- [Groups criticise conversion therapy 'Groundhog Day'](#)

## Conversion therapy ban delay 'unnecessary'

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| Liz Truss is Equalities Minister as well as Secretary of State for International Trade

The strategy also prioritises a "legally enforceable ban on conversion therapy".

Ms Kelley said the consultation process, planned for September, was an "unnecessary delay" but promised to work closely with the government on the ban.

**Conversion therapy** is defined by health groups, including NHS England, as attempts to change someone's sexuality or gender identity.

It is understood part of the consultation will look at how to ensure certain medical or other accredited professionals will not be criminalised.

Ms Kelley said a therapist, helping someone explore their gender identity or sexual orientation, wouldn't be caught by a ban, "because that's not seeking to suppress or change something. That's exploring with you."

A government Equality Hub spokeswoman said: "The consultation will seek further views from the public and key stakeholders to ensure that the ban can address the practice while protecting the medical profession; defending freedom of speech; and upholding religious freedom."

Ms Kelly has also called for an "individual cabinet level post" to focus on the equalities brief. Liz Truss holds the role as well as being international trade secretary.

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Jo Phoenix, a professor in criminology, was due to speak at a Centre for Criminology seminar on trans rights, but the event was cancelled after protests about her inclusion

## Stonewall 'gave bad advice' to university in free speech row

Nicola Woolcock, Education Editor

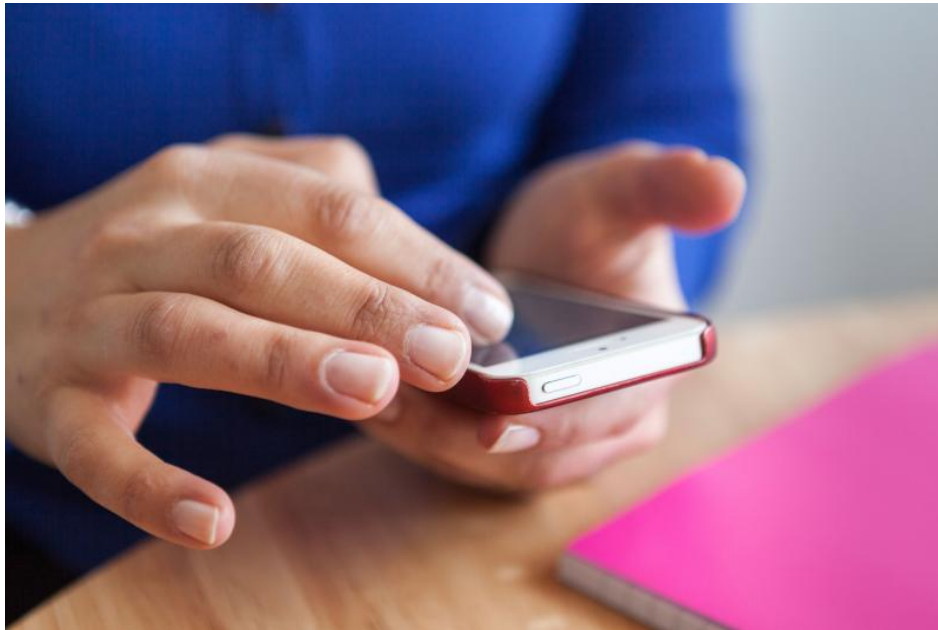
Thursday May 20 2021, 12.01am, The Times

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Stonewall has been accused of misrepresenting the law in its advice to Essex University, which failed to uphold free speech when it dropped speakers accused of transphobia.

A barrister, Akua Reindorf, warned of “potential illegalities” and said the university should reconsider its ties to the campaigning group. Her report was commissioned by Essex after two professors were disinvited from events.

Stonewall provides expert advice to hundreds of organisations, including employers, schools, universities and police forces, through its “diversity champions” programme.



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Jo Phoenix, a professor in criminology at the Open University, was due to speak at a Centre for Criminology seminar on trans rights, imprisonment and the criminal justice system in 2019. After protests about her inclusion, the event was cancelled. [Rosa Freedman](#), a professor of law development and global conflict at Reading University, was told she would be invited to speak at an event on antisemitism. She was dropped but reinstated after she complained. The women were accused of being “transphobes” or having engaged in hate speech that would cause harassment to students.

The report by Reindorf, a barrister specialising in employment and discrimination, has been accepted by the university, which promised to act on its recommendations.

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It says that the wording of the university's policy on supporting trans and non-binary staff could have been used to lend credence to the idea that newspaper letters on trans issues, written by the two women, could amount to or lead to unlawful harassment.

She said: "This policy is founded on an erroneous understanding of the law. The policy is reviewed annually by Stonewall and its incorrect summary of the law does not appear to have been picked up by them.

"In my view the policy states the law as Stonewall would prefer it to be, rather than the law as it is. To that extent the policy is misleading."

The policy said it was unlawful under the Equality Act 2010 to discriminate against someone because of their gender identity or trans status. But Reindorf's report said this did not accurately state the law, since "gender identity or trans status" are not protected characteristics; rather, the protected characteristic is gender reassignment.

It added: “Moreover, it cannot be said that the examples given would invariably amount to unlawful discrimination or, in some cases more accurately, harassment.”

Reindorf recommended that the university give careful consideration to its relationship with Stonewall. She said: “In particular, it should consider that this relationship appears to have given university members the impression that gender critical academics can legitimately be excluded from the institution.”

Liz Ward of Stonewall said: “Our advice on the Equality Act is based on guidance provided by the Equality and Human Rights Commission, which was recently reaffirmed in the High Court.”

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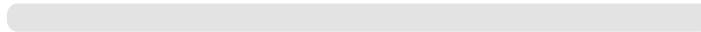
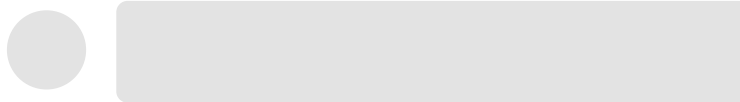
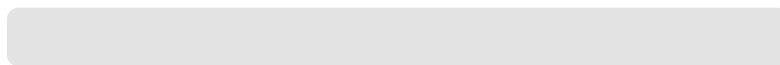
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Liz Truss is understood to share concerns raised by the Equality and Human Rights Commission

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## Liz Truss urges official withdrawal from Stonewall diversity scheme

Eleni Courea, Political Reporter

Monday May 31 2021, 12.01am, The Times

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Liz Truss, the equalities minister, is pushing for all government departments to withdraw from Stonewall's employment scheme following a row over transgender rights.

Truss, also the international trade secretary, has told officials that she believes that government bodies should withdraw from the diversity champions scheme run by the equality group.

Several organisations and bodies, including the [Equality and Human Rights Commission](#) (EHRC) and the employment dispute service Acas, have both withdrawn "for cost reasons". A

source close to Truss said she shared the concerns raised by the EHRC over the scheme's value for money, particularly as the civil service has its own in-house workplace diversity programme.



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*The Times* understands that responsibility for co-ordinating participation in the scheme rests with the Cabinet Office. The scheme counts 250 government departments and public bodies among its 850 members, which pay for guidance on issues such as pronouns and gender-neutral spaces.

Stonewall says the scheme is “the leading employers’ programme for ensuring all LGBT staff are accepted without exception in the workplace”. Nancy Kelley, its chief executive, came under fire at the weekend for likening “gender-critical” beliefs to antisemitism. Lady Falkner, the EHRC’s new chairwoman, has said that women have the right to question transgender identity without being abused, stigmatised or put at risk of losing their jobs.

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Kelley said that although Stonewall believed in freedom of speech it was “not without limit”. She told the BBC: “With all beliefs, including controversial beliefs, there is a right to express those beliefs publicly and where they’re harmful or damaging – whether it’s antisemitic beliefs, gender-critical beliefs, beliefs about disability – we have legal systems that are put in place for people who are harmed by that.”

Several bodies, including the House of Commons and the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency, have withdrawn from the scheme in recent weeks. The Crown Prosecution Service has said that it is reviewing its membership.

Participants in the scheme are ranked on a workplace equality index. Among its top employers last year were Newcastle city council, the Ministry of Justice, GlaxoSmithKline, Citi Banking Group and the Welsh government.

Essex University, another member of the diversity champion scheme, apologised this month for dropping two speakers after they were accused of transphobia. The university published an independent report that concluded that Stonewall had provided officials with misleading and potentially illegal advice. The report expressed concern that Stonewall had misrepresented the provisions of the Equality Act 2010 to suggest that the legislation included “gender identity”. Academics have claimed that the alleged misrepresentation has resulted in speakers being prevented from debating trans rights.

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Speaking to the BBC, Kelley denied having provided the university with incorrect advice. She said that Stonewall had

had nothing to do with the university's process for deciding external speakers and was "really confident" in its legal advice.

In an interview with *The Times* this month, Falkner said that it was "entirely reasonable" for people to challenge the biological status of women who were born as men. She said it was a "freedom of belief" that the commission was determined to protect.

Stonewall said: "All employers need to ensure that their staff, including LGBTQ+ staff, are free from discrimination and prejudice at work but it is up to them how they meet this statutory requirement. Since we set up the diversity champions programme in 2001 many large employers have developed major internal programmes to promote diversity and inclusion across their staff."



ANALYSIS

Stonewall earns millions of pounds a year from its "diversity champions" scheme, a training programme pitched to companies, public bodies and charities (Jonathan Ames writes).

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The gay rights campaigning body, which was launched in the UK 32 years ago, markets the scheme as "the leading employers' programme for ensuring all LGBTQ+ staff are free to be themselves in the workplace".

It is understood from those with knowledge of the scheme that fees start at about £2,500.

The organisation's financial statement for 2019 showed that fee income from the scheme — combined with that from its “global founding partners programme” and its “school champions” and “education champions” schemes — was £3.27 million, a 20 per cent increase over the previous year's income from those ventures.

Stonewall markets the diversity champions scheme by telling employers that membership will provide them with support in qualifying for the organisation's workplace equality index, “the definitive benchmarking tool for employers to measure their progress on lesbian, gay, bi and trans inclusion in the workplace”.

Employers are also told that becoming diversity champions will boost their recruitment performance.

Stonewall's online promotion argues that “a diverse workforce creates diversity of thought, action and innovation. But in a competitive market, your workplace and culture needs to stand out to jobseekers.”

Members are listed on Stonewall's “proud employers careers site”, which is described as an “LGBTQ-inclusive jobs board, enabling you to attract diverse talent and position your organisation as an inclusive employer of choice”.

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Liz Truss

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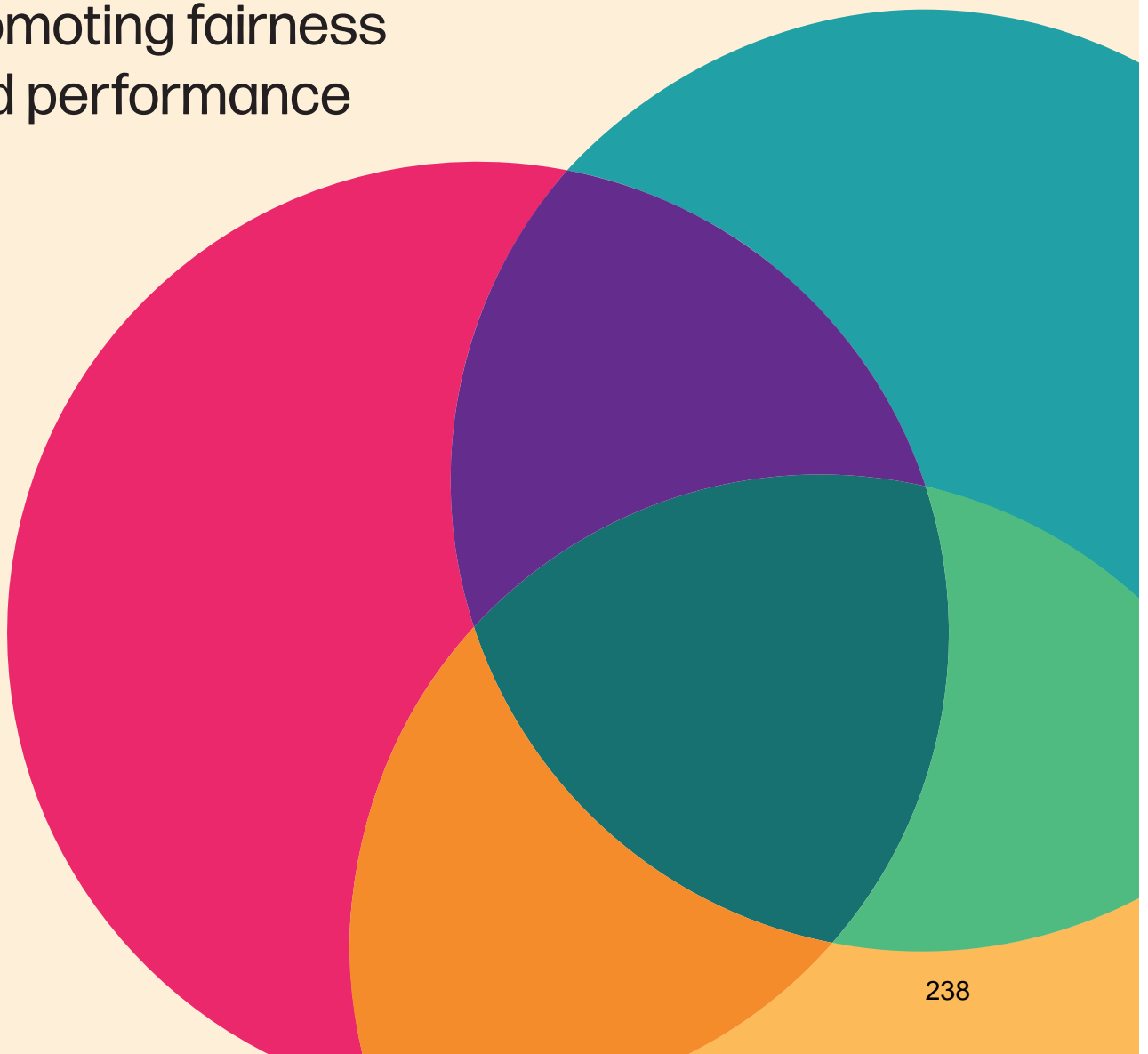
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Nicola Woolcock, Education Editor

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# Civil Service Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2022-2025

Promoting fairness  
and performance



# Foreword

This government is committed to Levelling Up by driving improvements in the day-to-day lives of all citizens, spending taxpayers' money with care and providing excellent services. To deliver those commitments requires a Civil Service that can attract, retain and invest in talent wherever it is found. It is for this reason that we want the Civil Service to have a truly diverse workforce and culture of openness and inclusivity, as a means of delivering better outcomes to the citizens we serve.

A person's background must never be seen as a limiting factor in the Civil Service, rather an asset that can be drawn upon to improve policy making and service delivery. We will encourage a broader range of people into the Civil Service to give depth to our understanding of contemporary society in the United Kingdom. We will build teams where alternative perspectives to current challenges are welcomed and the interrogation of received wisdom is encouraged so that we constantly refine our approach. We believe a diverse workforce should be bound by a common commitment to public service and united by shared values of integrity, honesty, objectivity and impartiality.

We already have superb people at every level of public service, working at home and abroad. But we must do better at attracting an even wider range of talent from more diverse backgrounds and helping people feel encouraged and confident in assuming positions of leadership throughout the Civil Service, challenging any sense that roles in the Senior Civil Service are only for a certain type of person.

With the merit principle front and centre, this diversity and inclusion strategy sets out a series of practical ways in which we will deliver against the commitments made in the **Declaration on Government Reform**. We will more effectively draw on the talents of the widest possible range of geographical, social and career backgrounds. We will make sure that people from minority ethnic backgrounds, those living with disabilities and those who have experienced disadvantage in their early lives can flourish in public service. We will develop an ethos of a connected government across the UK - with career opportunities in every part of the country open to all, a dismantling of barriers and a willingness to question how we can best channel our efforts to help all citizens tackle disadvantage in their daily lives. We will guarantee fairness at work, take a zero-tolerance approach to bullying, harassment and discrimination and grow a culture that welcomes challenge and demands rigour in how we assess delivery for citizens, with civil servants managed against how they perform not how they look, who they are or where they work.



*Your name,  
Nigel Adams*

Rt Hon  
Nigel Adams MP



*Alex Chisholm*

Alex Chisholm,  
Chief Operating  
Officer for the  
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*Sarah Healey*

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and Senior  
Sponsor for the  
Civil Service  
Diversity and  
Inclusion Strategy

# Purpose

The Civil Service Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2021 maintains our focus on mainstreaming the delivery of inclusion, and achieving our key priorities as outlined in the [Declaration on Government Reform](#).

We will continue to build a more inclusive Civil Service going further than the current Equality Act provisions by building on and expanding a previous focus on Protected Characteristics to deliver for all of our people. Incorporating a broader definition of diversity

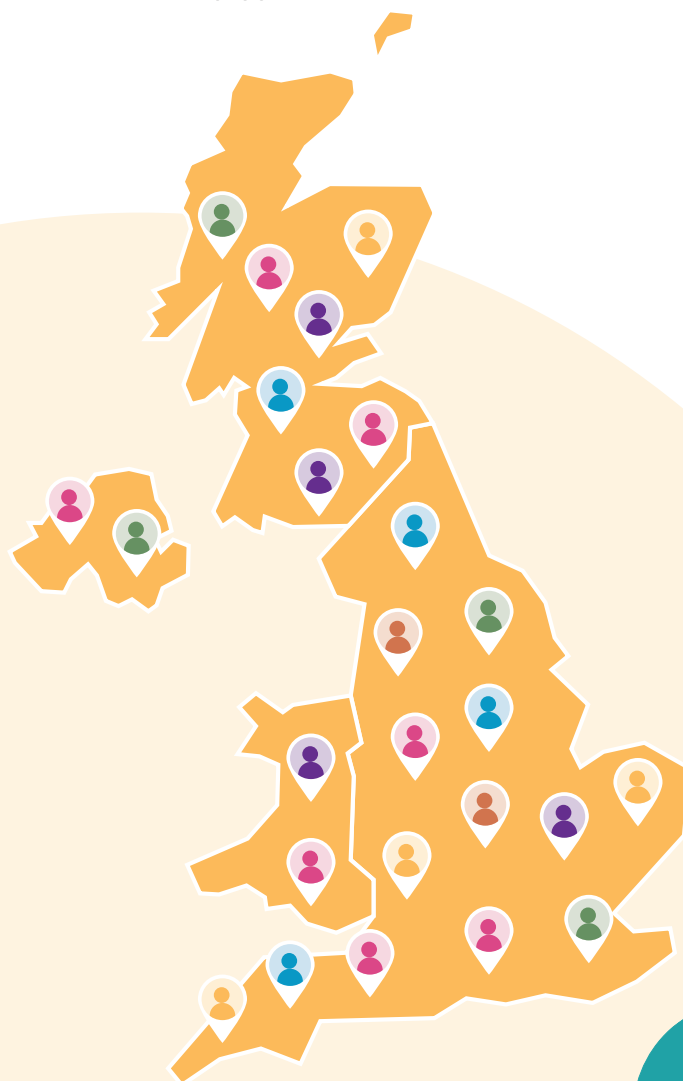
(such as socioeconomic, work experience and geographic backgrounds) and embedding activity in our strategic priorities will enable the successful delivery of our corporate objectives.

This strategy is essential to deliver on our shared ambition of A Modern Civil Service where our values are to serve with integrity, honesty, objectivity and impartiality; driving our vision to be a skilled, innovative and ambitious Civil Service equipped for the future.

## Objectives

To enable a Civil Service that:

- **understands and draws from the communities it serves** - drawing from a range of backgrounds, experiences and locations
- **is visible to everyone** - engaging the communities we serve and showcasing what the Civil Service offers
- **is flexible** - supporting innovation, performance and engagement
- **welcomes talent from wherever it comes** - attracting the best talent from all backgrounds



# Approach

Taking a data-driven, evidence-led, and delivery-focussed approach, this strategy will support the delivery of reform by attracting and retaining the very best people, leading and working in government; ensuring that the right people are working in the right places with the right incentives. In our diversity and inclusion delivery, as Civil Servants we will ensure individual personal and political views do not influence our advice or actions.

This strategy frames an approach where diversity and inclusion is not an end in itself, but an integral means of delivering better outcomes for our citizens by supporting the delivery of a Civil Service that:

**values diversity of teams** – challenging groupthink and inspiring a greater diversity of thinking



**values and invests in its people** – enabling career development through accessible and universal training



**has collaborative partnerships underpinned by our values** – systems and communities working collectively to deliver improved inclusion



**tackles bullying, harassment and discrimination** – with specific actions for departments to take in continuing to address bullying, harassment and discrimination



**tests its policies** – with activity to be data-driven, evidence-led, and delivery focussed



# A Civil Service that understands and draws from the communities it serves

More than **one in five Civil Servants are currently based in London**. A more regionally dispersed workforce would benefit the Civil Service as an organisation.<sup>1</sup>



Our **Places for Growth** programme will help realise the opportunities to create a more inclusive approach to working, better career pathways for Civil Servants across the whole of the UK and the access to new talent and experiences that will enrich our policy making and connection with the communities we serve; contributing significantly to Levelling Up.

## We will:

- Reform entry-level talent programmes to make sure that in line with ambitions for Places for Growth, departments are attracting a broader range of talent into the Civil Service from across the country, including, but not limited to, working with five local authority areas (Greater Manchester Combined Authority, Birmingham, Nottingham, North East Local Enterprise Partnership, West of England Combined Authority) to link it up with our skills strategy.
- Develop plans, working with departments and public bodies, to ensure that roles across all grades, including grade SCS1 and above, are relocated to enable sustainable career pathways regardless of their location and to ensure unintended consequences do not occur, for example concentration of those from professional/managerial backgrounds in London.
- Adopt a 'regional campus' model, to ensure roles are moved to a range of locations, including large cities, smaller cities and towns.

<sup>1</sup> Annual Civil Service Employment Statistics 2021



# A Civil Service that is visible to everyone

The Civil Service is one of the largest employers in the UK, with over **481,000 colleagues** across the UK.



The work we do affects citizens' lives on a daily basis and yet many people, particularly younger people, may not understand the broad range of services and roles we provide. Interactions may range from attending a local Jobcentre Plus, applying for a driving license or going through airport security, and behind each process lies an expert team within the Civil Service. To serve our communities is a privilege and one we can underline more in our engagement, outreach and attraction.

## We will:

- Use role models from a diverse range of backgrounds to increase the visibility of the broad range of experiences and opportunities available across the Civil Service. For example, Senior Civil Servants who have progressed through both the policy and operational roles, from different backgrounds, showcasing the various routes such as apprenticeships to progression in the Civil Service.
- Strengthen and expand our schools outreach programmes, targeting schools that have a higher proportion of students on free school meals than the national average. Engagement in this activity will be seen as an important duty in a civil servant's career, with all civil servants encouraged to be actively 'paying it forward' by working with local schools and Further Education Colleges.
- Develop Entry and Progression Routes principles to increase support already begun in schools outreach for the Places for Growth strategy, presenting a joined up, coherent narrative that inspires young people from a broader range of backgrounds to pursue a career in the Civil Service. As part of this strategy we are reviewing our entry level talent programmes (for example our **Fast Stream** and Early Talent offerings), redesigning assessments and refreshing our eligibility criteria to broaden representation and accessibility to people from all backgrounds.
- Take an evidence-based approach to progression, using external reports and expertise such as the **Navigating the labyrinth** report to consider how we ensure routes to progress to the Senior Civil Service are transparent, accessible and supported.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Annual Civil Service Employment Statistics 2021

# A Civil Service that is flexible

Flexibility is important for our people and performance. It is key to increasing innovation, performance, and engagement.



Flexibility in our ways of working and location helps in attracting diverse talent and enabling civil servants to flourish and progress. We want to represent the UK as a whole, not just pockets in our larger cities. We are supporting Levelling Up and the locations agenda, enabling departments to hire people in new locations. This is a key aspect to seizing the full potential of our people and enabling us to find new ways to solve problems and deliver better outcomes for citizens.

## We will:

- Continue to develop our published model guidance for managers, ensuring that the advantages of increased flexibility for parents and carers are realised.
- Create workspaces that enable collaborative and flexible working, driving engagement and enhancing productivity as well as more joined up policy development and delivery through the **Government Hubs Programme**. It will support the attraction and retention of top talent by establishing attractive working environments and by supporting inclusivity, health and wellbeing in the way we work, ensuring that all civil servants have the support and workplace adjustments they need to carry out their role.
- Ensure that hybrid working arrangements are used effectively, balancing the needs of the business and the individual to enable colleagues better perform their roles, particularly those with disabilities, caring responsibilities or school aged children; while delivering value for money.
- Continue to implement the Civil Service Carers' Strategy launched in June 2020, setting out our vision and strategic priorities for carers over the next five years.

# A Civil Service that welcomes talent from wherever it comes

The **Declaration on Government Reform** published in June 2021 focused on creating a Civil Service with the widest possible range of talent, skills and experience to ensure we have the capabilities we need to deliver outstanding public services.



We must draw on the talents of a workforce with a diverse range of experience, skills and backgrounds; providing an equality of opportunity for all our people and to embed challenge in everything we do and deliver better outcomes for all citizens.



## We will:

- Develop a new, innovative and data driven Civil Service Porosity and Pathways Action Plan with a focus on building a clear understanding of our roles and responsibilities, drawing on insight across the Civil Service to ensure the right outcomes are achieved.
- Improve how we reach out and attract external talent. Building upon existing good practice, and in partnership with colleagues across the Civil Service departments and professions, a Talent Attraction specialist will support the development and implementation of a Senior Civil Service attraction strategy.
- Enhance porosity, using secondments, to enable the Civil Service to draw on critical skills from across sectors and at the same time, give those outside the Civil Service exposure to the work of government departments in delivering on policies and serving citizens.
- Emphasise to suppliers supporting the Civil Service the importance of inclusive workplaces, aligned to Places for Growth and which will be tested and measured through regular strategic dialogue between suppliers, strategy teams and customers in the Civil Service to ensure that the services they supply are aligned and can help us deliver our strategic priorities.

# A Civil Service that values diversity of teams

## Team diversity is crucial to organisational performance.

Establishing teams with differing perspectives, experiences and insight is integral to tackling complex problems, promoting innovation and delivering stronger decision making, where people feel safe and supported to provide their perspective, and positively recognised for doing so.<sup>3</sup>

There is a clear correlation between diversity and organisational performance enabling better attraction of top talent, improvement of employee satisfaction, and decision making leading to improved outputs.<sup>4</sup>



### We will:

- Attend to both individuals and teams. Both need to be effective and the latter must maximise both aggregate individual capability and team diversity of thought (derived from background and experience, including the varied geographical, social and career backgrounds highlighted in the Declaration on Government Reform).
- Recognise the role that line managers play in delivering the diversity and inclusion strategy in particular, managers have a critical role in developing diversity of thought and avoiding groupthink.
- Review our training offer, especially for managers, helping them understand the value of diverse viewpoints and perspectives and their role in making them happen. In particular, leaders and managers will need to understand their role in ensuring individuals feel psychologically safe, able to deploy their skill, ambition and innovation in the workplace, without fear of tired prejudices restricting performance.
- Provide managers with practical tools or examples which can be used to help them gauge whether they are achieving and unlocking diversity of thinking.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Syed, The Power of Diverse Thinking, 2019.

<sup>4</sup> McKinsey&Company, Diversity Matters, 2015.



# A Civil Service that values and invests in its people

We are committed to providing people with accessible and universal training to support them at each stage of their career, to enable them to be effective in their role and develop in their chosen career path.



This includes a comprehensive induction programme that ensures people are supported to be effective in their new role quickly, and understand how they contribute to their department and wider Civil Service goals. Comprehensive accreditation opportunities will be available, from apprenticeships to specialised qualifications and continuous professional development.

## We will:

- Encourage rigorous professional development for every employee with a consistent training offering across departments and transparent metrics against which delivery will be measured so that we are at the forefront of best practice.
- Ensure clear and accessible induction for all, to overcome the sense of 'navigating a labyrinth', and provide the knowledge, skills and networks that are necessary to thrive in government for everyone throughout their Civil Service careers.
- Provide a clear, precise and rigorous new standard of knowledge and skills for managers and leaders to ensure **a zero-tolerance approach to bullying, harassment and discrimination.**
- Support talented people regardless of background to develop their skills and build their career through using their strengths and to access qualifications for roles in their chosen career path.
- Use positive action where needed in relation to training, support, recruitment and promotion to ensure the broadest range of diversity is achieved and there is an equality of opportunity for all.
- Develop Performance Management systems which, in line with our values, fairly measure both the what and the how of people's delivery.

# A Civil Service with collaborative partnerships underpinned by our values

In order to mainstream diversity and inclusion and embed activity successfully into our everyday delivery we know that supportive systems, networks and communities (**individuals, teams, HR leads, Champions, Employee Networks and leaders**) within the Civil Service will need to work collectively and collegiately, embodying Civil Service values.



## We will:

- Respect that, as Civil Servants, we make an active choice to join an organisation that requires its people to carry out their duties with dedication and a commitment to the **Civil Service Code** and its core values of integrity, honesty, objectivity and impartiality.
- Ensure political views do not influence Civil Service advice or actions in diversity and inclusion delivery. The boundaries between debates which are about the workplace and debates which are about society can sometimes be blurred and we all must be mindful to prevent well-intentioned initiatives and communications straying into matters of public policy.
- Promote British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs.
- Build the Senior Civil Service community, through providing a series of opportunities for our senior leaders to build networks and effective leadership and professional and functional communities, across boundaries and in support of colleagues from a range of backgrounds. This will ensure the experience of joining and being a part of the Senior Civil Service is an inclusive and supportive one.
- Invest in our cross-government employee networks that are important change agents providing significant input, support and reflection as we seek to develop market-leading HR policies, respond quickly to change, respond to new challenges and as we seek to increase the diversity of voices in our decision and policy making processes, supporting us to avoid groupthink.

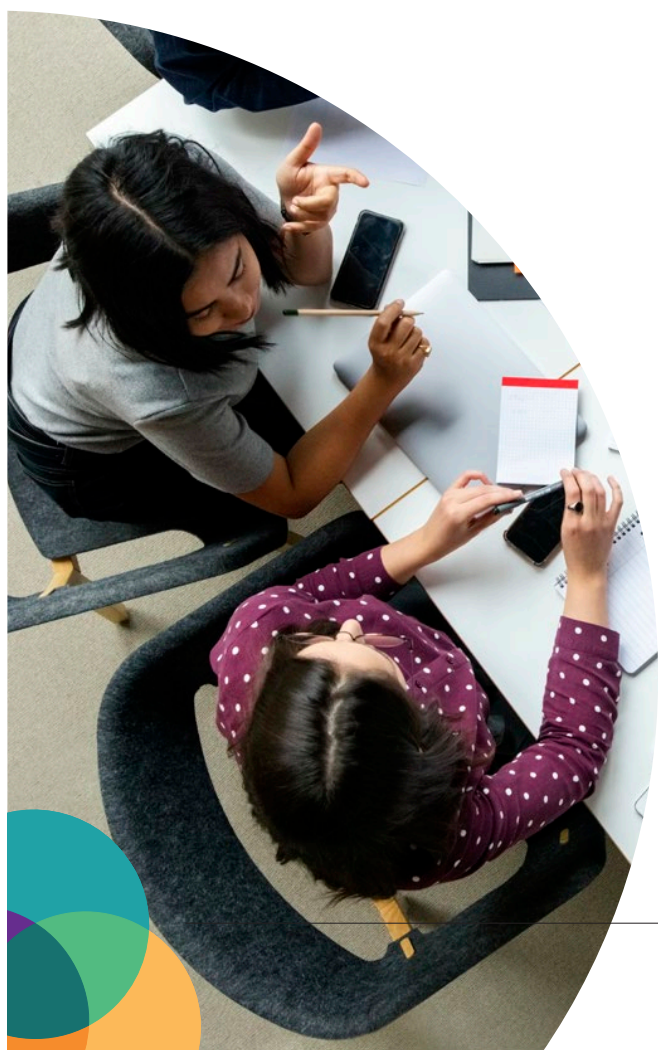
# A Civil Service that tackles bullying, harassment and discrimination

The Declaration on Government Reform is clear that there will continue to be zero tolerance for bullying, harassment and discrimination within the Civil Service. This strategy sets clear and specific actions for departments to take in continuing to address bullying, harassment and discrimination.



## We will:

- Review progress made within departments on implementing the recommendations from the **major review** (by Dame Sue Owen) of the Civil Service arrangements for tackling bullying, harassment and discrimination; to identify what more we can do to continue to make progress.
- Monitor progress on bullying, harassment and discrimination through the Civil Service People Survey, with increased reporting of instances, as a result of individuals feeling able to raise concerns, providing the data and evidence for robust interventions.
- Create and maintain an open and transparent culture, through standards for annual 'Speak Up' campaigns across government, encouraging reporting of issues where they arise while providing case studies highlighting actions taken as a result.
- Develop our central policies around sexual harassment, safeguarding and domestic violence, building on those already in place, along with clear employee assistance routes to support victims.



# A Civil Service that tests its policies

It is important for our Diversity and Inclusion activity to be data-driven, evidence-led, and delivery focussed. It must align with the Declaration's ambition of coherence and convergence across the Civil Service and we must be mindful not to take action, though well intentioned, that might diverge from that ambition.



We should regularly review these interventions to ensure they are meeting our expectations, having the impact we designed and take the opportunity to refresh in line with updated thinking. In order to optimise delivery, prior to creating interventions we must be ruthless in our approach to ensure our policies and processes are robust.

## We will:

- Ensure our more specific, clear, and accessible management training and leadership development builds the capability and confidence to ensure diversity and inclusion through attraction, recruitment, retention and performance management. Demand for this will be shaped by 'Strand 3' of the curriculum, and supplied in the skills Campus.
- Develop an Internal Assurance Framework and Benchmark Standard which will audit and test delivery of this strategy using internal expertise and experience. Whilst these are in development, engagement with external assurance and benchmarking organisations should be by exception only and agreed by Permanent Secretaries supported by Civil Service Human Resources and in line with government standards.
- Continue to measure diversity as an employer. In our departments, professions, regions and across all grades. We will also continue to measure inclusivity through our People Survey and inclusion metrics.



# A Civil Service that tests its policies (continued)

## We will:

- Mainstream our success measures with our broader organisational priorities, such as Places for Growth, Senior Civil Service Workforce Planning, talent schemes and recruitment priorities. Rather than relying on standalone targets, our ambitions will be embedded in these key deliverables designed to improve our delivery for citizens. Where our data indicates progress is not being made, action will be taken.
- Embed evidence and evaluation in the design, trialling, implementation and delivery of diversity and inclusion interventions in departments.
- Establish a broader and more rigorous evidence base about what delivers tangible outcomes for Diversity and Inclusion in the Civil Service. This should include costs and benefits, ensuring any collection of equality data is proportionate and necessary, being mindful of the privacy of individuals; when testing the efficacy of our policies.
- Underpin our approach through the Public Sector Equality Duty under which we are bound as a public sector employer to eliminate unlawful discrimination, advance equality of opportunity and foster good relations between those who share a protected characteristic and those who do not. The assessment of the equality impact of new policies through the lens of the duty and legal compliance should be part of the broader decision-making process. When assessing equality impacts, departments should consider all the equality impacts of policies – this means considering the positive equality outcomes from policies, as well as potential negatives. For example, policies which promote economic growth, jobs and prosperity will benefit everyone – including those with different protected characteristics. Also, by ensuring any collection of equality data is proportionate and necessary, being mindful of the privacy of individuals; when testing the efficacy of our policies.





# A strategy that enables the Civil Service

The areas of focus outlined in this strategy are those that we feel are most integral to the delivery of A Modern Civil Service that reflects the country we serve, creating opportunities around the UK, finding new ways to solve problems and improve people's lives, achieving excellence in public service delivery and making it easy to collaborate and provide a seamless experience for the public.

By mainstreaming diversity and inclusion delivery into Civil Service Reform priorities and collective key deliverables, inclusive practice will move away from being a distinct activity, to one central to building a more inclusive Civil Service that delivers better outcomes for our citizens.

We will trust departmental accountability, and enable departments to deliver key objectives. This will be supported by a smarter centre (CS Inclusive Practice Team) who will assure there is transparency over what departments are expected to achieve with guidance and sharing of best practice.

The successful delivery of these commitments and priorities will not be left to chance. At the centre (CS Inclusive Practice Team) will monitor progress made, assure activity and report into the CS People Board to promulgate inclusive practice. Using data we will measure the impacts of our actions on the Civil Service workforce diversity by grade, location, department and profession. We will also track measures of inclusion through the annual People Survey and Inclusion Diagnostic to measure improvements to inclusion and fair treatment; supporting us to achieve the commitments made in the Declaration on Government Reform.

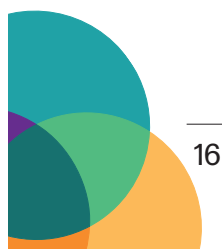
Currently members of the Senior Civil Service should have a diversity and inclusion related objective as part of their suite of management and leadership priorities. Objectives will be updated to reflect the focus established in this strategy and to support accountability for the mainstreaming of inclusion delivery.

Taking a data-driven, evidence-led and delivery-focussed approach to our D&I activity, with clearly defined measures of success, will enable us to continually improve in our delivery of improved workplace culture for our people and excellent outcomes for the communities we serve. Supporting the creation of A Modern Civil Service not simply for today, but for tomorrow too, by enabling the Civil Service to be skilled, innovative and ambitious; serving with **integrity, honesty, objectivity and impartiality**.

# Annex – Actions

This Annex outlines specific actions to be taken.

1. Provide greater transparency by publishing plans for Place for Growth target locations.
2. Deliver our commitment for 50% of Senior Civil Servant roles to be based outside of London by 2030.
3. Establish progression pathways for Civil Servants in all of our locations across the UK.
4. Monitor diversity data throughout Places for Growth's rollout to identify and address any unintended consequences.
5. Reinvigorate our secondment/ interchange scheme between the UK Government and the Scottish Government, Welsh Government and Northern Ireland Executive.
6. Deliver the National Disability Strategy commitment by increasing the number of Civil Service organisations signed up to the Disability Confident Employer scheme.
7. Deliver an additional 50 Enterprise Advisers to work directly with a school/ college's senior leadership team to support them develop and implement their careers strategy.
8. Publish new Public Appointees guidance to help broaden the range of people applying for oversight roles.
9. Complete Carer Confident accreditation up to and including level 3 across departments.
10. Launch a new Civil Service Porosity and Pathways Action Plan supporting the identification and development of talent at all levels and across all professions.
11. Ensure temporary promotions are being filled consistently through Expressions of Interest or a similarly fair and transparent process.
12. Deliver a new online induction that provides all new starters information on their benefits and responsibilities and how to access career and development opportunities.
13. Deliver increased uptake of internship programmes such as Summer Diversity Internships, Autism Exchange and Leonard Cheshire Change 100.
14. Expand recruitment data, developing innovative tools to ensure consistent recruitment outcomes regardless of background.
15. Review policy role job adverts to ensure that an emphasis is made on the importance of skills and experience, not qualifications, to attract the broadest talent.



16. Deliver the recruitment of 1,000 prison leavers to Civil Service roles by the end of 2023, as part of a wider Life Chances recruitment target covering veterans and care leavers.
17. Launch the new Permanent Recruitment Frameworks for delegated and executive recruitment, working closely with Crown Commercial Service.
18. Establish external engagement to attract diverse skill sets and individuals from a range of backgrounds and broaden the experience of our own people.
19. Complete recruitment campaign data analysis to inform how we improve diverse hiring.
20. Ensure monitoring of Annual Civil Service Statistics, to draw insights into the diversity of organisations to drive resourcing discussions.
21. Monitor our approach on equality of opportunity to ensure that all our people have the same opportunities to progress.
22. Launch a new ambitious apprenticeship strategy for the Civil Service from April 2022, building on our current offer ensuring high quality training across core skill gaps.
23. Deliver a Civil Service wide review into the practices to tackle bullying, harassment and discrimination focussing on data, reporting and processes across the entirety of bullying, harassment and discrimination incidences.
24. Refresh our policies, procedures and guidance outlining options and clarity for employees about how they can confidentially raise concerns.
25. Review how investigations are resourced to ensure independence and efficacy.
26. Set an approach to encourage innovation with support from internal consultancy hub, behavioural insights and innovation teams.
27. Deliver evaluation frameworks, underpinned by data, to support departments and professions to evaluate effectively their diversity and inclusion interventions and programmes.
28. Establish a broader and more rigorous evidence base about what delivers tangible outcomes for Diversity and Inclusion in the Civil Service aligned to the Government's Equality Data Programme to better understand the barriers people face across the UK.
29. Ensure the impact of new policies are assessed based on our legislative duties alongside holistic considerations (economic growth, job creation, prosperity) to include potential positive, as well as potential negative, equality outcomes.
30. Ensure collection of equality data is proportionate and necessary when testing the efficacy of our policies.
31. Deliver an Internal Assurance Framework and Civil Service Benchmark Standard to audit and measure the delivery of our strategic priorities, to ensure a consistent, effective and value for money approach is taken in line with government standards.



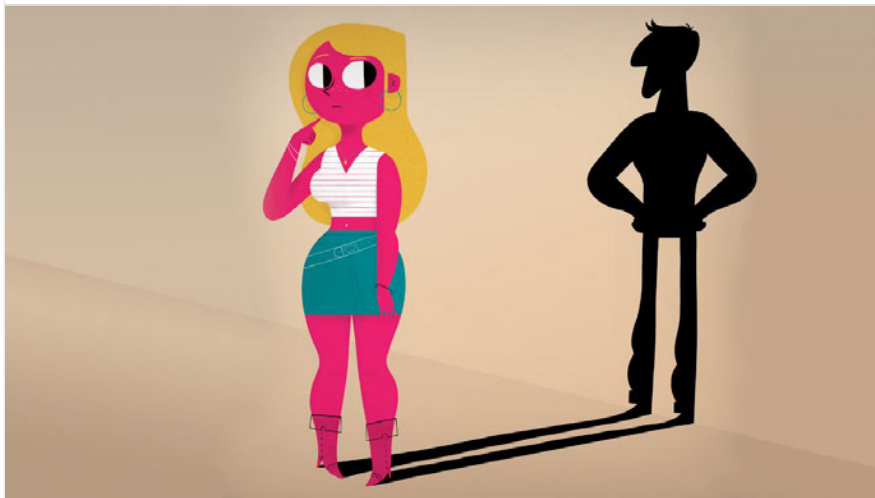






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## Jenni Murray: Be trans, be proud — but don't call yourself a “real woman”

Can someone who has lived as a man, with all the privilege that entails, really lay claim to womanhood? It takes more than a sex change and make-up

Sunday March 05 2017, 12.01am, The Sunday Times

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Let me make something absolutely clear at the outset. I am not transphobic or anti-trans. Not a Terf in other words. That's trans-exclusionary radical feminist, to use one of the often-confusing expressions that have entered the language in this age of gender revolution.

I'll admit to feminist, but radical or separatist? No, on account of spending the past 37 years of my life as a woman married to a man and, together, raising two fine sons. I make my position plain because I know that in writing this article I am entering into the most controversial and, at times, vicious, vulgar and

threatening debate of our day. I'm diving headfirst into deep and dangerous waters. I've no difficulty with men doing whatever they choose to express their feminine side. Indeed I welcome it. I find Grayson Perry and Eddie Izzard quite delightful and a glorious antidote to those men who obey the more familiar and often unpleasant rules required of conventional masculinity.

I firmly believe that transsexuals, transvestites, gays, lesbians and those of us who hold to the sex and sexual preference assumed at birth should be treated with respect and protected from the bullying and violence so many of us have suffered. But I do not approve of the more extreme statements that have been thrown around by both sides of the debate.

I can't agree with Julie Burchill or Germaine Greer, whose language in their expression of revulsion at the trans woman (a man who becomes a woman) claiming to be a real woman has been unacceptably crude. Why demean yourself and the feminist politics to which you've devoted your life by saying, cruelly and distastefully, "Just because you lop off your penis ... it doesn't make you a woman," (Greer) or referring to transgender females as "screaming mimis" and "bed wetters in bad wigs" (Burchill)?

Equally, I'm appalled at the repulsive misogyny evident in the response of trans activists who have accused Nimko Ali, a Somali and a courageous campaigner against female genital mutilation, of "practising white feminism" or who have demanded the "no platforming" (banning from speaking in public) of women, such as the lesbian feminist Julie Bindel, who have questioned the claims of trans women to be real women. But my concern, which I know is shared by numerous women who are now to be known as "cis" (short for "cisgender" — natural-born women, in the language that's more familiar to most of us), is for the impact this question of what constitutes "a real woman" will have on sexual politics. And for who has the right to be included in gatherings or organisations that are defined as single sex.

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The first time I felt anger when a man claimed to have become a woman was in December 2000, when the Rev Peter Stone announced he had undergone the radical surgery to transition from male to female and was now called Carol. Her primary concerns, she told me, were finding the most suitable dress in which to meet her parishioners in her new persona and deciding if she should wear make-up or not.



Goodbye from hymn: the Rev Peter Stone, who in 2000 underwent surgery to become the Rev Carol Stone, below  
ALPHA PRESS



SWNS

Her transition had taken place a mere six years after the Church of England ordained the first 32 women priests, at a time when the idea of a female bishop was still regarded as impossible and when parishes were allowed to refuse a female vicar if there were objections.

I remember asking Carol what she owed those women who had struggled for so long to have their calling to the priesthood acted upon. His calling, as a man, had never been questioned. I had nothing but a blank look and more concerns about clothing. “I know it sounds silly,” she said. “But I’ve nothing to wear.”

Too right it sounded silly. I thought of all those women who had spent years and years challenging what being female had meant as they sat in the pews on a Sunday morning: 2,000 years of institutionalised patriarchy; no woman but a virgin mother and a handful of tortured saints to look up to; women only good for refreshing the flowers, raising the kids and making tea for the vicar.

Even after women’s ordination had been allowed, the discrimination continued to rage. In 2000, the Rev Vivienne Faull became provost of Leicester Cathedral, the most senior

woman in the Church of England at the time. She told me then that the church was awash with believers who thought a woman's place was in the home or in a pew, wearing a hat. She had to contend with a canon who refused to celebrate services with her and would not receive holy communion from her hand.

I wondered when Carol would experience what so many newly ordained women had heard from fellow priests as they passed through the vestry. "Pulpit pussy", they told me, was the favoured insult, and they found it demeaning, disgusting and it hurt.

It was news to Carol that life as a woman, especially a middle-aged woman, stepping into male territory in which she was unwelcome would be extremely tough. I prayed Carol would not find it so hard. Experience told me otherwise. It wasn't going to be all about frocks and make-up. It was about sexual politics and feminism — ideas of which she seemed woefully unaware.



Trailblazer: India Willoughby, who last November became the first transgender woman to host the TV talk show Loose Women  
REX

The fury that a male-to-female transsexual could be so ignorant of the politics that have preoccupied women for centuries hit me again last year — 16 years after I had met Carol. This time I was speaking to another trans woman, India Willoughby, who had hit the headlines after appearing on the ITV programme Loose Women.

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India held firmly to her belief that she was a “real woman”, ignoring the fact that she had spent all of her life before her transition enjoying the privileged position in our society generally accorded to a man. In a discussion about the Dorchester hotel’s demands that its female staff should always wear make-up, have a manicure and wear stockings over shaved legs, she was perfectly happy to go along with such requirements. There wasn’t a hint of understanding that she was simply playing into the stereotype – a man’s idea of what a woman should be.

“

**We are taught as boys that assertiveness and aggression are good things. There’s a danger, even now, that I’ll act as a man. In a group of women I can become dominant**

She described hairy legs on a woman as “dirty”. But hairy legs are not considered dirty in a man. Did she not know that the question of whether a woman should shave her legs or her armpits had been a topic of debate among women for an awfully long time? And that to describe a woman who chose not to shave as dirty was insulting and again suggested an ignorance of sexual politics?

Unsurprisingly, my polite and informed line of questioning exposed me to a barrage of criticism on social media. I was a Terf and didn’t understand what Simone de Beauvoir, the author of one of the great feminist tracts, *The Second Sex*, meant when she wrote: “One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman.”

As a matter of fact, I have understood perfectly what de Beauvoir meant ever since I read her as a teenage girl. Her subject was that “second sex”. She used the word sex advisedly.

Your sex, male or female, is what you’re born with and determines whether you’ll provide the sperm or the eggs in the reproductive process. What de Beauvoir was analysing was gendered socialisation.

In other words, the girl who grows into a woman goes through a lifetime of pressure to become the socially constructed idea of what a woman should be, regardless of her innate talents, abilities or ambitions. It's what feminism has sought to challenge. She did not mean that an individual born into the male sex, socialised into the expectations of the masculine gender, can simply decide to take hormones and maybe have surgery and "become a woman".

There are some trans women who willingly accept they cannot describe themselves as women and who agree that sex and gender are not interchangeable. I met Jenny Roberts about 15 years ago; she's now 72 and made her transition, including hormone treatment and surgery, when she was 50.

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"I'm not a real woman," is the first thing she said to me in a recent conversation. "I understand that a lot of trans women want to believe they are women, but we're not. We bring our male traits and habits with us. We're taught as boys that assertiveness and aggression are good things in a man. There's a danger, even now, that I will act as a man, for instance interrupting and leading a discussion. In a group of women I can become dominant. It makes it difficult for other women.

"I walk differently and I know I look quite male. I don't have a woman's waist or hips and I have broad shoulders. I'm often addressed as 'sir' on the phone. Yes, I've had the private part of my male body made to resemble a female body, but the maleness never really goes away. If I have a problem with my waterworks, my doctor has to know my origin and account for it in my treatment. It's a hard thing to move from one gender to another, but it is as it is. I could be upset and angry, but I can live with it."

As Bob, Jenny had been what she calls a late developer, although she's aware that there are

others who feel in childhood the sense of being different that she sensed in her twenties. She was married, then divorced, and married for a second time, a relationship that lasted 25 years and produced two children. She ran a successful printing business, but was increasingly drawn to wear her wife's clothes and make-up in secret. "I needed to do it. I didn't know why. I tried to stop, but I couldn't put it back in the box."

She began to split her life into two, partly living at home as Bob and partly travelling to Manchester as Jenny and hanging out as a transvestite in the gay community there.

"I was totally accepted and it felt wonderful to be able to be me. But the transvestites were happy to revert to being a man. It made me miserable. I began to realise I was transsexual not transvestite."

Of course it was hard for her family. Her wife loved her husband, but her husband was gone. They separated. Her son said it didn't matter to him whether she was male or female, but her daughter didn't speak to her for several years. She's grateful that her wife was kind and, eventually, she was reconciled with her daughter.

“

The worst part about being a woman is being treated as a sex object. I felt I still had a male brain, but when I tried to talk to men they didn't take me seriously

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The most significant part of Jenny’s understanding of the trans woman/real woman debate came about as a result of her selling the printing business and, instead, opening a feminist bookshop in York, which she called Libertas. She read and understood everything that had been written about sex, gender and sexual politics. She got it and now lives happily with her civil partner, whom she describes as a “pretty radical lesbian feminist”.

“Of course I suffer discrimination as a woman,” she says. “All the little things – being sidelined in conversation with men, people offering to carry my cases for me, young men offering me seats. It’s done for the right conditioned reasons, but I never accept!”



To her and back: Charles Kane was born male and changed sex...

There are numerous trans women who, like Jenny, have chosen to be “happy to be me and reclaim my past as a man”. Others, like Charles Kane, have found life as a woman intolerable. He began life as a man, became Samantha in 1997, and then, in 2004, had the surgery reversed. He believes he saw himself as an unusually sensitive man, but feels that he had surgery too soon. He said recently: “The worst part about being a woman is being treated as a sex object. So much depends on your appearance at the expense of everything else. Even though I was a woman physically, I felt I still had a male brain, but when I tried to talk to men about blokey things they didn’t take me seriously.”

Ah yes, the male brain. How often do we hear about the male or female brain and the oft-repeated mantra, applied to males and females alike, “I was born into the wrong body”. Research carried out by the distinguished scientists Cordelia Fine and Lise Eliot can find no evidence for such claims. They hold to the fact that all children are born with the potential to develop their own unique characteristics of behaviour, talent and personality, regardless of biological sex. They say that the idea that the brain and the body are split, meaning it is possible to have the brain of one sex and the body of the opposite, is very recent and is not supported by credible scientific evidence.



... and then Kane changed back again (pictured with his fiancée, Victoria)



So what brings about the desire to switch gender? There are plenty of examples of boys dressing as girls and vice versa. I spent most of my childhood in dungarees because, even then, I could see boys had more freedom and I refused my mother's exhortations to keep my knees together when I sat. The actor Rupert Everett told *The Sunday Times Magazine* last year how he dressed exclusively as a girl as a child. "Thank God the world of now wasn't then because I'd be on hormones and I'd be a woman," he said. "After 15 I never wanted to be a woman again. It's nice to be able to express yourself, but the hormone thing, very young, is a big step."

Miranda Yardley, like Jenny, is a male-to-female transsexual. She explains that some boys who are gay want to adopt the female gender because they're considered effeminate and bullied for it. Others may simply refuse to become the kind of men they know, or want to emulate the mothers they love. Others, generally those who come to transition later in life, having lived as heterosexual men, are sexually aroused by the idea of becoming a woman or say they simply feel more comfortable living life as a woman.

Whatever the reason, the numbers have risen in recent years. At Charing Cross Hospital's gender-identity clinic, the number of people seeking treatment has quadrupled in 10 years. At the Tavistock, which helps children, referrals rose last year from 697 to 1,398. Equally, the trans activists have enjoyed remarkable success in changing perceptions. Transgender issues was the first subject tackled by the parliamentary Women and Equalities Committee after it was established in 2015.

There's a lot of fear, though. Numerous professionals in the field refused to talk to me, often quoting the experience of Kenneth

Zucker, a Canadian psychologist who specialised in helping children and their families make their decisions about whether the child should transition or not. He was accused of employing the therapeutic tactics once used to persuade gay men that they were not homosexual. He has denied that this was the case. Nevertheless, he lost his job.

Stephanie Davies-Arai was prepared to talk. She is qualified to train teachers and parents in communication skills and runs a website called Transgender Trend. Her concerns centre on the power of the trans activists to shut down debate on the gender question. She mentions a line she hears often from parents, “I want a happy daughter, not a dead son,” inspired by a widely misinterpreted survey carried out in 2014 by the mental-health charity Pace. In its survey of more than 2,000 people in England, Pace had found that 59% of trans people aged 26 or under had considered suicide, 48% had actually attempted to kill themselves and 59% had self-harmed. The suicide risk was mentioned eight times in the House of Commons debate on transgender equality last December.

One charity, Mermaids, claimed that the Pace survey had been of 2,000 trans people — and this was widely shared on Twitter. But in fact Pace had surveyed 2,078 people of all sexualities and genders, — and only 27 of them were young people who identified as trans. So although the percentages were accurate — and, of course, it’s tragic that any young person should consider suicide — the number of young trans people surveyed was far smaller than many people realised.

Stephanie is also deeply concerned, as is Miranda, about the hijacking of language and single-sex spaces that are so precious to women. The Guides announced last month that any boy who “identified” as a girl could join the movement and trans women could become leaders. A worried parent who asked the NSPCC whether the charity would be concerned about any safeguarding issues — regarding the girls’ privacy or the risk of sexual harassment — was told there was none to worry about.

The British Medical Association now recommends that its employees do not refer to “expectant mothers”, but instead use the term “pregnant people” so as not to offend transgender people. Meanwhile the more radical trans activists want breast cancer and breastfeeding to be renamed “chest cancer” and “feeding”. Sorry, but I breastfed my kids and it was my breast that was cut off when I had cancer. No debate.

Miranda told me she would like to be empathetic and compassionate to the boy who “identifies” as a girl and wants to join the Guides, but personally thinks that for it to be regarded as progress is regressive. A female space should not be open to males. She asks: “Can someone who has lived as a boy, and then a man, with all the privilege that entails, really lay claim to womanhood and demand unrestricted access to women’s spaces like changing rooms and refuges — spaces that exist for the dignity, comfort and protection of women?”

Now that’s a “woman” after my own heart.

*Woman’s Hour is on BBC Radio 4, weekdays, 10am*

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## How transgender went mainstream

The transgender community has become increasingly visible in recent years thanks to legislation and popular culture embracing its stories, here is a timeline of the key milestones

- ◆ JUNE 2014  
The American actress Laverne Cox, who stars in *Orange Is the New Black*, becomes the first trans person to appear on the cover of *Time* magazine. The following month she is the first trans person to be nominated for an Emmy
- ◆ JANUARY 2015  
The television series *Transparent*, which follows a family of adult children coming to terms with their father's transition, wins the Golden Globe for best TV series — musical or comedy
- ◆ JANUARY 2015  
Barack Obama is the first president to mention transgender people in a State of the Union address
- ◆ JUNE 2015  
Caitlyn Jenner, formerly Bruce, an Olympic gold medallist, reveals her transition on the cover of *Vanity Fair*

JULY 2015

The Irish Government passes the Gender Recognition Act, which allows transgender people to change their legal gender with no medical or state intervention, making it only the third European country (after Malta and Denmark) to do so



SEPTEMBER 2015

The sitcom *Boy Meets Girl* airs on BBC2. It is the first mainstream UK comedy or drama series to star a transgender character, played by the transgender Rebecca Root



OCTOBER 2015

Students at Cardiff University campaign to prevent Germaine Greer from delivering a lecture following her comments that transgender women are not "women". The event goes ahead with police monitoring a crowd of protesters



MAY 2016

Following the controversy over North Carolina's "bathroom bill," which states that school children must use the bathroom corresponding to the gender on their birth certificate, President Obama tells schools that pupils should be able to use whichever lavatory they like



JUNE 2016

The Pentagon announces an end to the long-standing ban on transgender Americans serving in the military



FEBRUARY 2017

Companies such as Apple and Google join protesters in speaking out against President Trump's decision to overturn the Obama directive and repeal federal protection for transgender students. Caitlyn Jenner, previously an outspoken Trump supporter, records a video calling the move a "disaster"

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# Trans women are women

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BY [RACHEL STEIN](#), EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF CAMPAIGNS AND STRATEGY

PUBLISHED 05 MARCH 17

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In today’s Sunday Times, Jenni Murray writes an article in which she enters into what she calls one of the most “vicious, vulgar and threatening debates of our day”. She is talking about trans women, and their right to be called ‘real women’.

Whether you are trans or not, your identity is yours alone. I do not question your identity Jenni, and in return, I wouldn’t expect you to question mine - or anyone else’s. What right would you have to do so? My experiences of being a woman are undoubtedly different to yours. However, their differences do not make them in any way less valid.

**My experiences of being a woman are undoubtedly different to yours.**

Trans women have every right to have their identity and experiences respected too. They are women – just like you and me - and their sense of their gender is as engrained in their identity as yours or mine.

Being trans is not about ‘sex changes’ and clothes – it’s about an innate sense of self. To imply anything other than this is reductive and hurtful to many trans people who are only trying to live life as their authentic selves.

**Why do we think we have the right to debate others’ identities?**

Why must this be so ‘vicious, vulgar and threatening’? And why do we think we have the right to debate others’ identities? In a world of increased hostility, fuelling divisions doesn’t help anyone. Please talk to more trans women Jenni; understand their experiences, understand their identities, understand why being an ally is so incredibly important.

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-----Original Message-----

From: Kate Harris [REDACTED] [k]  
Sent: 18 March 2017 13:10  
To: Ruth Hunt <ruth.hunt@stonewall.org.uk>  
Subject: Trans Women Are Women

This is total nonsense in several ways Ruth. It misrepresents what was said by Jenni Murray and it is factually incorrect.

It is tragic to see Stonewall behave in such an irresponsible and damaging way.

When are you going to take an adult factual approach to this subject?

Kate

[http://www.stonewall.org.uk/our-work/blog/trans-women-are-women?utm\\_source=Stonewall+Newsletter&utm\\_campaign=b169cc82fe-SWMCGBGEN+Newsletter+March+2017&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_2efb92031c-b169cc82fe-206163109&mc\\_cid=b169cc82fe&mc\\_eid=9dfec41465](http://www.stonewall.org.uk/our-work/blog/trans-women-are-women?utm_source=Stonewall+Newsletter&utm_campaign=b169cc82fe-SWMCGBGEN+Newsletter+March+2017&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_2efb92031c-b169cc82fe-206163109&mc_cid=b169cc82fe&mc_eid=9dfec41465)

20 March

Dear Kate,

Thank you for your email and various messages via social media. I know that this is a subject that is causing you concern and taking up a lot of your time. Would you like to meet and discuss further in person? We do, of course, disagree with your description of Stonewall and our actions. This does come down to a fundamental difference of opinion on the issue of gender.

Stonewall, and the board of trustees, are clear that transgender people, including those who have transitioned, are living real and authentic lives. The binary boxes of masculine and feminine, factually and without doubt, no longer apply to everyone (if they ever did). Those lives deserve to be celebrated, included and protected from discrimination, hatred and hostility. They do not deserve to be ridiculed, dismissed, diminished, on the receiving end of hatred and told they are not 'real'. The law is very clear: one person can change gender to another, and cannot be discriminated against because of this. Trans women are women. This is a fact enshrined in law and it is a fact we will continue to reiterate.

A male dominated society defines women as a discrete biological group. This definition has not and will not lead to the liberation of women. It is the essence of patriarchy to set and maintain a strict set of rules for recognition of female identity. This applies to all aspects of all our lives, how we live, how we earn money, how we dress, how we care for people, who we love, how we have sex, and includes, of course, our lesbian identity. The claim that there is a conflict between feminist self-determination and recognition of

trans women's identities is a product of patriarchy, and it serves patriarchy to have groups of women and feminists set against each other. The only group to suffer from such divisions are women.

We can achieve far more by working together, Kate. I do not expect you to change your view on biological determinism and I know that you would like Stonewall to follow that school of feminism. It is a school that would have us campaigning against same-sex marriage, denying bisexuality and setting hard lines about who 'counts' as a woman. Stonewall is not that organisation. We are an organisation that embraces the fact that feminism is only possible if we leave no-one behind. We consider it our responsibility - indeed duty - to avoid obstructing the freedom of others whether they are black, disabled, trans, bisexual, older or younger - and to find ways to reconcile and bring people with us.

We are clear that the vast majority of our supporters want us to be inclusive. Diversity Champions are clear that any diversity work must be inclusive and not trans-exclusionary. The 2000 schools we work with share this view. I am genuinely sorry that you do not.

What saddens me is the fact that the conflict between some women and some trans people is a diversion. It stops us working together on issues of mutual importance. I work extremely hard - as does Stonewall more widely - to raise the profile of lesbians and lesbian identity. Stonewall is utterly committed to eradicating the inequalities experienced by lesbians in health care, the workplace, in their experiences of sexual harassment and sexism. Any conflict between us detracts from these efforts and, frankly, we all lose.

Stonewall will do everything in our power to attempt to build bridges not walls between the people we work to support.

With warm wishes

Ruth

Ruth Hunt  
Chief Executive  
Stonewall

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*This petition from 2018 appears to have been tampered with. An investigation is underway. If you wish to donate to LGB Alliance please go to [lgballiance.org.uk](http://lgballiance.org.uk)*

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*Kate Harris*

*LGB Alliance*

Stonewall was founded in 1989 to fight for the civil rights of gay, lesbian and bisexual people. It has played a leading role in advancing these rights, from the abolition of Margaret Thatcher's hated Section 28, to securing an equal age of consent, civil partnerships and gay marriage.

Since 2015, Stonewall has also campaigned on trans issues. We believe the organisation has made mistakes in its approach. These mistakes are undermining women's sex-based rights and protections, and damaging the relationship between transsexual people and women - a relationship which had been positive for many years.

On Oct 19th the Government's public consultation on proposed changes to the Gender Recognition Act closes, so it is important that there should be debates amongst us all about transgender politics and the rights of women and girls. Stonewall disagrees and calls debate on this matter of public policy transphobic.

Stonewall's promotion of the concept of 'gender identity', which has it that a man or woman is anyone (of either sex) who identifies as such, is also undermining the basis of lesbian, gay and bisexual identities as orientated around same-sex attraction. Lesbians in particular are coming under pressure to accept male-bodied trans women into their spaces and as sexual partners.

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At the moment, Stonewall is failing in three key ways:

- By uncritically adopting a form of transgender politics which undermines the sex-based rights of women and the concept of homosexuality itself
- By refusing to recognise the diversity of viewpoints on these issues, including among LGBT people.
- By seeking to prevent public debate of these issues by branding as transphobic anyone who questions Stonewall's current trans policies.

We call on Stonewall to:

- Acknowledge that there are a range of valid viewpoints around sex, gender and transgender politics
- Acknowledge specifically the conflict that exists between transgenderism and sex-based women's rights
- Commit to fostering an atmosphere of respectful debate, rather than demonising as transphobic those who wish to discuss or dissent from Stonewall's current policies

Founding signatories, in alphabetical order:

Venice Allan, privately prosecuted for live-streaming Linda Bellos OBE

Frances Barber, actor

Jonathan Best, former director of Queer Up North International Festival

Julie Bindel, journalist and feminist campaigner

Paul Burston, author

Maureen Chadwick, screenwriter

Beatrix Cambell OBE, writer

Hannah Clarke, co-founder of ManFriday

Rachael Dartnell & Louise Paine, co-founders of Let A Woman Speak

Stephanie Davies-Arai, founder of Transgender Trend

James Dreyfus, actor

Simon Edge, former editor of Capital Gay and writer for Attitude

Eileen Gallagher OBE, television producer

Claire Graham, intersex advocate

Darren Johnson, London Assembly Member 2000-2016

Dr. Jane Clare Jones, writer and philosopher

Judith Green, co-founder Woman's Place UK

Kate Harris, former Stonewall supporter

Jane Harris, author

Kristina Harrison, socialist campaigner and transwoman

Philip Hensher, author

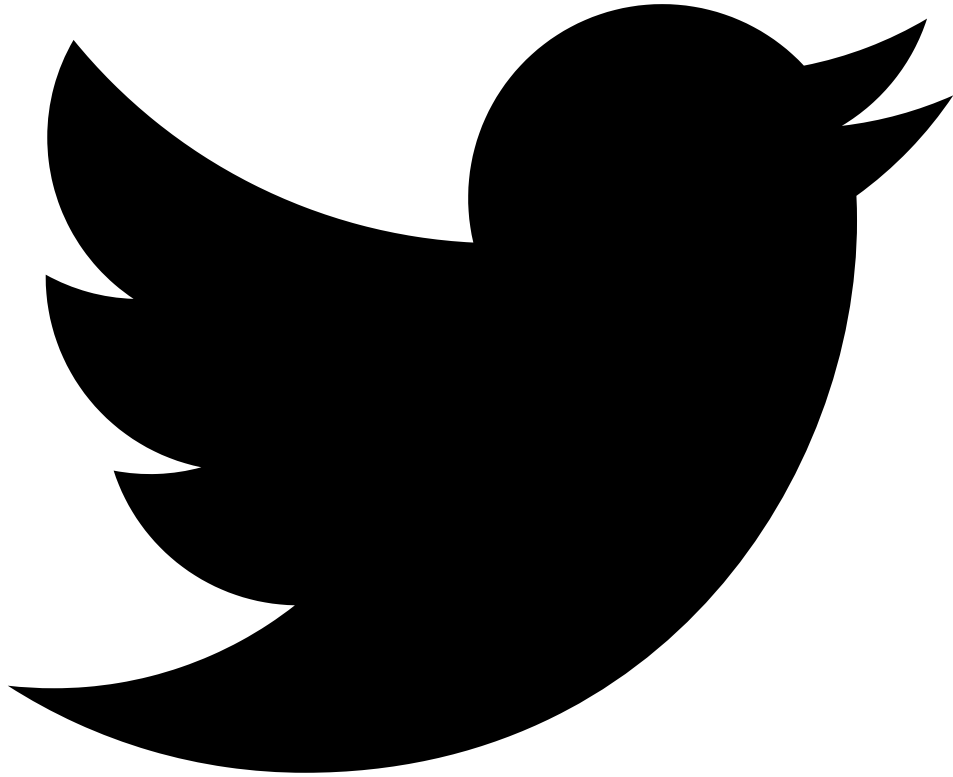
Graham Linehan, writer

Ann McManus, screenwriter

Rose of Dawn, social commentator and transsexual  
Anne Ruzylo, feminist activists and ex-Prison Service  
Gita Sahgal, founder of the Centre for Secular Space  
Ruth Serwotka, Co-Founder Woman's Place UK  
Ann Sinnott, former Labour councillor  
Kathleen Stock, philosopher  
Professor Sophie Scott, cognitive neuroscientist  
Caroline Spry, television producer  
Helen Watts, former leader at Girlguiding UK  
Nicola Williams, director of Fair Play For Women  
Miranda Yardley, transsexual rights activist

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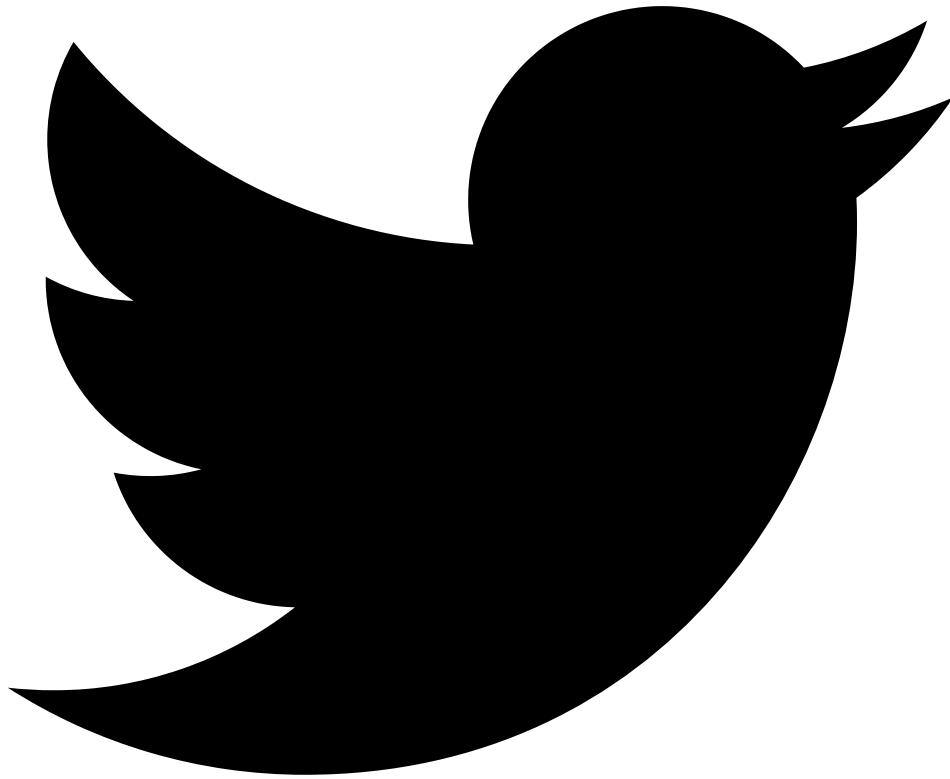
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## STONEWALL CRITICISED

Sir, Stonewall has played a leading role in advancing the rights of lesbians, gays and bisexuals; it has also campaigned on transgender issues since 2015. We believe that it has made mistakes in its approach that are undermining women's sex-based rights and protections.

The government's public consultation on proposed changes to the Gender Recognition Act closes on October 19, so it is vital for there to be a debate about transgender politics and the rights of women and girls. Stonewall disagrees, and calls debate on this matter "transphobic".

We urge Stonewall to acknowledge that there are a range of valid viewpoints around sex, gender and transgender politics, and to acknowledge specifically that a conflict exists between transgenderism and sex-based women's rights. We call on Stonewall to commit to fostering an atmosphere of respectful debate rather than demonising as transphobic those who wish to discuss, or dissent from, Stonewall's transgender policies.

*Jonathan Best, former director of Queer Up North; Julie Bindel, journalist and feminist campaigner; Maureen Chadwick, TV writer; Beatrix Campbell, writer; James Dreyfus, actor; Kate Harris, former fundraiser for Stonewall; Philip Hensher, author; Kathleen Stock, philosopher; Caroline Spry, TV producer; Miranda Yardley, transsexual rights activist; Alison Moyet, singer; Paul Burston, author; Kristina Harrison, paramedic and transwoman; Darren Johnson, London Assembly Member 2000-16; Eileen Gallagher, television producer; Claire Graham, intersex advocate; Jane Harris, author*

OW  
2018

Nancy Kelley  
CEO in waiting, Stonewall  
192 St John St  
Clerkenwell  
London EC1V 4JY

Also sent by email to [nancy.kelley@natcen.ac.uk](mailto:nancy.kelley@natcen.ac.uk)

13<sup>th</sup> May 2020

Dear Nancy Kelley,

## LGB Alliance and Stonewall

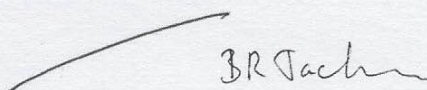
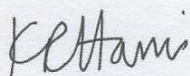
Many congratulations on your appointment as CEO of Stonewall, announced today. We believe you may be aware of the existence of our organisation, the circumstances in which we formed and our history as LGB rights activists.

We hope you are also aware of the very many sincere attempts we have made to establish a constructive dialogue with Stonewall over the past two years – starting long before we reached the conclusion, with some reluctance, that we would have to set up LGB Alliance.

We, and many of our supporters, are waiting in anticipation to hear that your appointment signals a change of tone and direction. As you may know, we believe that there are issues around sex and gender that must be discussed in an open and respectful manner. We urge you to take us up on our invitation to a Zoom call in which we can start to map out a constructive way forward.

You take on this post at an extremely challenging time in every respect: not least in the history of the LGBT rights movement. We wish you well and look forward to a positive response to our invitation.

Yours sincerely,



Kate Harris and Bev Jackson  
LGB Alliance

# LGB ALLIANCE

Charity number: 1194148

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## Governing document

Details of the type of governing document the charity has and when it was established.

It is not the full text of the charity's governing document.

MEMORANDUM AND ARTICLES INCORPORATED 28 NOV 2019

## Charitable objects

2. OBJECTS THE OBJECTS OF THE COMPANY ARE: 2.1 TO PROMOTE EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY FOR THE PUBLIC BENEFIT, IN PARTICULAR BY: 2.1.1 THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION ON THE GROUNDS OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION; 2.1.2 ADVANCING EDUCATION AND RAISING AWARENESS IN EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY IN RESPECT OF LESBIAN, GAY AND BISEXUAL PEOPLE; 2.1.3 CONDUCTING OR COMMISSIONING RESEARCH ON EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY ISSUES AND PUBLISHING THE USEFUL RESULTS TO THE PUBLIC; AND 2.1.4 CULTIVATING A SENTIMENT IN FAVOUR OF EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY FOR LESBIAN, GAY AND BISEXUAL PEOPLE. 2.2 TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS (AS SET OUT IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND SUBSEQUENT UNITED NATIONS CONVENTIONS AND DECLARATIONS) AND PARTICULARLY THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF THOSE WHO FACE DISCRIMINATION ON THE GROUNDS OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION, INCLUDING BY: 2.2.1 MONITORING ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS; 2.2.2 OBTAINING REDRESS FOR THE VICTIMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES; 2.2.3 RELIEVING NEED AMONG THE VICTIMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES; 2.2.4 RESEARCH INTO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES; 2.2.5 EDUCATING THE PUBLIC ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS; 2.2.6 PROVIDING TECHNICAL ADVICE TO GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS ON HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS; 2.2.7 CONTRIBUTING TO THE SOUND ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW; 2.2.8 COMMENTING ON PROPOSED HUMAN RIGHTS LEGISLATION; 2.2.9 RAISING AWARENESS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES; 2.2.10 PROMOTING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS: 2.2.11

PROMOTING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AMONG INDIVIDUALS AND CORPORATIONS; AND 2.2.12 ELIMINATING INFRINGEMENTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. 2.3 TO PROMOTE ANY OTHER PURPOSE THAT IS CHARITABLE UNDER THE LAW OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

 [Print charity details](#)

# Women's meeting besieged by raging crowd

The Morning Star reports from Woman's Place UK's Labour Party conference unofficial fringe meeting



(Left to right) Kiri Tunks, Dani Ahrens, Kay Green and Onjali Rauf

Enter your keywords

Protesters chanted that “WPUK is a hate group,” repeating claims by some trans activists that the feminist organisation is hostile to trans people’s rights, an assertion rejected by speakers at the event.

One woman was doused in water as she entered while a young PhD student was reduced to tears and missed most of the subsequent meeting because the “terrifying” experience brought on a panic attack.

The protest against WPUK’s A Woman’s Place is At Conference event was endorsed from the platform at Momentum’s The World Transformed event, leading to a larger turnout against the meeting, but protesters were heavily outnumbered by the 100 or so women and a few men who braved the demo and attended.

One retired female police officer said the policing of the demo was “a disgrace,” saying one protester had leaned in and screamed: “Shame on you” in her ear.

Socialist feminist campaigner Dani Ahrens said the leadership of the LGBT movement had moved away from a liberating vision as it became closer to corporate sponsors.

Opposing proposals that exemptions under the Equality Act allowing some women’s services to restrict access to natal women be removed, she said: “I’m not suggesting that trans women should be denied support. But I do think it is unreasonable to demand the removal of female-only spaces that allow traumatised women to

“Everyone must acknowledge that there is a discussion to be had. We are well past the point where women will accept being silenced. The Labour Party should be enabling this discussion,” she said to cheers.

Author and campaigner against trafficking of women and girls Onjali Rauf said the attempt to prevent the meeting going ahead showed “how little women actually possess in terms of safe spaces to speak our minds. Everyone who made it through the crowd outside — well done.”

She argued that “all the labels being given us” in terms of multiple genders “instead of freeing us are boxing us in,” and perpetuate stereotypes of masculinity and femininity.

“If you want to step out of the social ‘he-man’ box and feel more comfortable in the social ‘she-woman’ box feel free,” she said, “but please don’t take away spaces women are still fighting for. Make your own spaces, or better still, take space from men — they’ve got loads!”

Having worked with trafficked victims of sexual abuse, she cautioned that for many “women who have been punched, beaten, raped, being made to accept the presence of former men in their safe spaces will lead to further trauma and distrust of the services that have been set up to help them.”

Final speaker, socialist and Labour Party activist Kay Green, asked how many of the audience were Labour Party members — almost

'gender identity.'

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"You cannot be against gender stereotypes because it is sexist and support gender identity which is based on those stereotypes.

"Appeasing noisy complainers doesn't work: they get more confident and more unpleasant. By complying with bullies and gossips you silence the quiet people.

"In this context and this debate, that means the vulnerable people — abuse survivors. The not-that-out lesbians, the transexuals who have the misfortune not to agree with Stonewall."

She rejected the monsterring of "gender-critical feminists," saying: "We are attacked as if being critical of gender is some aberration rather than the core principle of feminism that it is. But where women's groups have led the way the left is lagging behind."

National Education Union joint general secretary Kevin Courtney was in attendance and he tweeted that he had come to the meeting to find out "what it was all about" but that the protesters were "banging on the windows so loud that you can't hear yourself think — that can't be the right way to deal with the issue."

Later, as the meeting closed, he tweeted that he was pleased to have attended and that "I've heard opinions that the protesters wouldn't agree with. I haven't heard any hate speech."

A WPUK spokeswoman told the Morning Star: "The volume, the intensity of the chanting, and the size of the crowd — it was intimidating. It was very aggressive and threatening, and intended

Enter your keywords

had liquid thrown at her as she tried to enter. Even the men who

“The police were there but the protesters were allowed to continue their harassment and banging and kicking on the windows for the entire meeting and we felt trapped inside.

“We planned the event for a week in collaboration with the police — and they didn’t step up.

“We will be lodging an official complaint over their failure to protect women's right to freedom of association.”

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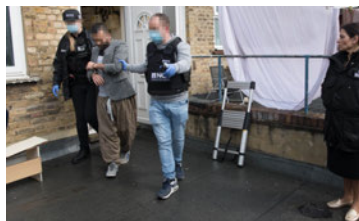
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202  
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# OFFICIAL investigation finds evidence of Trump's 'criminal conspiracy' to overturn 2020 election

**WORLD** AN OFFICIAL investigation into the January 6 2021 insurrection at the US Capitol said on Wednesday said that its evidence suggests former president

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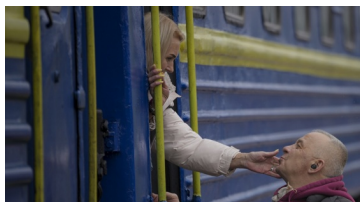
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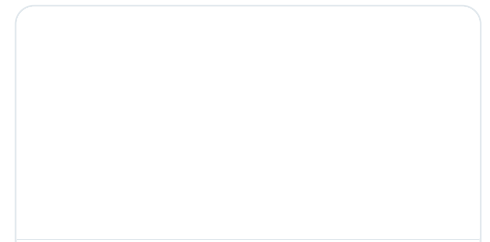
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**Morning Star**

@M\_Star\_Online

The Ukraine war is a catastrophe – we must cool down the rhetoric and start the search for diplomatic solutions, argues KEVIN COURTNEY [morningstaronline.co.uk/art icle/cool-d...](http://morningstaronline.co.uk/article/cool-d...)



**Cool down the rhetoric and start the ...**

The Morning Star reprints the speech given by KEVIN COURTNEY at the Stop [morningstaronline.co.uk](http://morningstaronline.co.uk)

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**PRIVACY POLICY RETURNS POLICY TERMS OF USE**

Attention Rebecca Hilsenrath,  
Chief Executive Officer,  
Equality and Human Rights Commission,  
Fleetbank House,  
2-6 Salisbury Square,  
London  
EC4Y 8JX

23 Oct 2019

Dear Rebecca

### **Formal request for EHRC intervention at Stonewall**

A group of influential lesbians, gay men and bisexuals resolved at a meeting in central London last night to set up a new LGB Alliance to counteract the confusion between sex and gender which is now regrettably widespread in the public sector and elsewhere.

The participants – who included former employees and supporters of the lobby group Stonewall, plus doctors, psychiatrists, academics and lawyers with expertise in child safeguarding – agreed a mission statement for the new organization, focusing on biological sex rather than the gender theories which many regard as pseudo-scientific and dangerous.

This follows a continuing refusal by Stonewall, originally set up to fight legal discrimination against gay men lesbians and bisexuals, to respond to a petition (attracting 9,500 signatures), asking it to acknowledge the range of valid viewpoints around sex, gender and transgender politics in 21<sup>st</sup> century Britain.

We believe that it is now time to ask the EHRC to intervene and moderate between so many competing viewpoints. Stonewall is in receipt of very significant public funding and the wider public must be reassured that this money is being spent in a responsible way, particularly in light of the disproportionate monies being dispensed toward the trans community and the relative paucity of funds dispensed toward the lesbian community.

We think that you may want to review what might soon be termed “Stonewall Law”. The instructions now given by Stonewall to public bodies, with no legislative authority or public discussion, replace the Equality Act’s reference to gender reassignment with “gender identity”. So successful has “Stonewall Law” been that the planned compulsory education in Primary and Secondary schools from 2020 will tell children that “gender identity” is a reality which they need to understand. We believe this is dangerous and misleading.

In addition, we fear that Stonewall, in a wide range of public sector interventions, including its educational activities, may be in breach of its quasi-statutory duty under the 2010 Equality Act to foster good relations between those of a protected characteristic and those not. Both its most recent Chief Executive and current Chair have dismissed out of hand the widespread concerns of thousands of other lesbians at the erosion of their most basic rights and dignities. We hope you might want to review the neglect of lesbians in all areas of the work of Stonewall with often catastrophic consequences for young lesbians.

Incredible though it may seem, Stonewall, originally set up to promote the rights of people who are same sex attracted, may also be in breach of the Equality Act so far as sexual orientation is concerned. Under the law "Sexual orientation means a person's sexual orientation towards persons of the same sex". Stonewall has redefined the meaning of this by stating that "homosexuality ..... might be considered..... a term used to describe someone who has a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards someone of the same gender." Here we see a clear example of Stonewall's purposeful elision of sex and gender. Combined with Stonewall's view that everyone "chooses" their "gender identity" this theory surely contradicts the wording of the law and need to be formally reviewed.

We would be most grateful for your earliest response and stress that we are happy to work with the EHRC in a positive and constructive manner.

Yours sincerely

Kate Harris  
on behalf of LGB Alliance  
[lgballiancefuture@gmail.com](mailto:lgballiancefuture@gmail.com)

## Praise:

- 

**Simon Edge** @simonjedge · Oct 23, 2019 ...  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB  
It was a triumph. Thanks for all your hard work, and for making the evening enjoyable as well as uplifting

3 1 49
- 

**inji duducu** @injiduducu · Oct 23, 2019 ...  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB  
Thank you so much!

1 1 28
- 

**Marcel Wave** @stewilpo · Oct 23, 2019 ...  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB  
Gay man desperate for this organisation, happy to help in any way I can xxx

1 1 16
- 

**Belstaffie** @Belstaffie · Oct 23, 2019 ...  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB  
LGB is the way forward. T has poisoned Stonewall and Ls have no support from anyone. It's disgusting and immoral. I will support you, but my efforts will be solely for lesbians, as we are the ones who have been abandoned.


2 1 16

 **JD Ghassan Robertson** جوليا @JuliaDRobertson · Oct 23, 2019  
Replying to @BluskyeAllison  
I'm in! 😊

3 3 119

 **Sultana Begum** @Sultanaginger · Oct 23, 2019  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB and @dr\_hormordr  
At last ❤️❤️❤️❤️❤️

1 6


 **Kristina Harrison** @KJ\_Harrison · Oct 26, 2019  
What's transphobic is not Alison's perfectly reasonable position, one that a number of trans people agree with, it's the notion all trans people are a homogenous mass defined by a gender extremism that denies established sexual reality & the EA2010 rights of females. We are not.

1 7 64

 **Carina** @Carriedenne1 · Oct 23, 2019  
The mission statement of @AllianceLgb is compassionate and positive. Their desire to work in cooperation alongside great organisations like transgender trend will benefit children.

 **Andrea Spina (Dr)** @socialworkanon1 · Oct 23, 2019  
Some things feel instinctively right and the inaugural meeting of #LGBAlliance was one of them. The right organisation at the right time with the right mission. I could not have felt more happy listening to the core commitment to children's safeguarding. What wonderful people!

2

 **Ruth Alinek** @ruth\_alinek · Oct 23, 2019  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB  
Congratulations! So sad that it's so needed but all power to you!

1

 **Rebecca** @Mimmy\_P · Oct 23, 2019 ...  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB  
Congratulations. A really positive and wonderful development. ❤️


   13 





 **Oiorpata** @Oiorpata · Oct 23, 2019 ...  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB  
So happy that this is starting to happen. How can I join/help?

   2 

 **Siobhan Scullion** @scully1066 · Oct 23, 2019 ...  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB  
Wish you all the best. Please know there are so many allies supporting you.

 3  1  42 

 **Dolly Dhalay** @dollydhalay · Oct 23, 2019 ...  
Replying to @ALLIANCELGB  
Positive vibes coming your way. 💪👏❤️👏

   5 



**Ryan Vance**  
@ryanjjvance



#LGBAlliance is a hate group, pass it on.

10:18 AM · Oct 23, 2019



815 298 Copy link to Tweet



**Joss Prior** 🌈 \*High-Grade Goods\* 🌈  
@joss\_prior



#LGBAlliance

Is yet another mainly cishet, right-wing driven group of cranks, with a handful of t.e.r.f.y. lgbt pet gobshites.

The exact same overlap of people at WPUK, fairplay for women, lesbian strength march, resister groups etc etc.

Bigots and anti-social weirdos.

10:37 AM · Oct 23, 2019



539 112 Copy link to Tweet



**What The Trans!?**

@WhatTheTrans



The @splcenter tends to define hate groups as "hav(ing) beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics"

By this definition, the new #lgballiance is a new hate group (thread time, content warning, transphobia)

11:13 AM · Oct 23, 2019



♡ 176    💬 43    🔗 Copy link to Tweet



**TransHealthNow**

@DadTrans



The #LGBalliance is an anti trans hate group. They want trans people including my daughter to disclose their trans status. What's their endgame? Passbooks? Genital inspections? Chromosome checks? You want her to wear a badge or get a tattoo so you know she's the scary trans kid?



**LGB Alliance**

@AllianceLgb

Replying to [redacted]

There's a very simple solution to that. You explain that you are trans long before you are in a vulnerable position. Right when you get to know someone, in fact. Then you are being honest, there will be no misunderstandings, and no dangerous situations.

13:09 · 02/10/2019 · Twitter for iPhone

4:01 PM · Oct 23, 2019



♡ 189    💬 57    🔗 Copy link to Tweet



**Patrick Harvie** 🇪🇺 🌈  
@patrickharvie



With talk of an explicitly anti-trans [#LGBalliance](#) being formed, it's time for a reminder of where the strategy of "splitting the T from the LGB" came from... the US religious right:



Christian Right tips to fight transgender rights: separate the T from  
Last week, from Thursday, October 13 through Saturday, ...  
[splcenter.org](https://splcenter.org)

5:28 PM · Oct 23, 2019



👍 859    💬 575    🔗 Copy link to Tweet



**Christine Burns MBE** 🇬🇧 🇺🇸 🇬🇧 🇬🇧 ⚡  
@christineburns



[#LGBAlliance](#) is a hate group, pass it on

**Theresa Davis** @helresa  
#LGBAlliance is a hate group, pass it on  
[twitter.com/SennaLoveAlway...](https://twitter.com/SennaLoveAlway...)

5:39 PM · Oct 23, 2019 from Manchester, England



👍 187    💬 67    🔗 Copy link to Tweet



**Amrou Al-Kadhi** 

@Glamrou



#LGBAlliance is nothing more than a hate group. Transgender people are not an 'ideology' or an organised anti-women's movement. Transgender people are just human beings, each one different. Trans people exist, have always existed, and will continue to. What's hard to understand?!

6:53 PM · Oct 23, 2019



 871  269  Copy link to Tweet



**jack rem x** 

@jackremmington



Times are SHIT at the moment for trans and gender non conforming people but please let it be known that those engaging in the LGBAlliance (which is nothing more than a hate group) are a very very SMALL minority. You're so loved and we are here for you. Always. ❤️

7:11 PM · Oct 23, 2019



 142  17  Copy link to Tweet



**TransHealthNow**

@DadTrans



#LGBAlliance is a hate group pass it on.

Also a large number of the official backers appear to be straight, white, cis, people.



**Christine Burns MBE** 🇺🇸 🇺🇸 🇺🇸 🇺🇸 @christineburns

#LGBAlliance is a hate group, pass it on  
twitter.com/helresa/status...

9:49 PM · Oct 23, 2019



28



12



Copy link to Tweet



**Alison Phipps is not here** ✓

@alisonhipps



#LGBAlliance is a hate group

10:14 PM · Oct 23, 2019



88



14



Copy link to Tweet



**David K Smith**

@professor\_dave



With respect to the newly formed #LGBAlliance - if the core of your idea of standing up for people's rights is based on trampling all over other people's, then you are less of a human rights alliance and more of a hate group. It's LGBT+. We all stand & work together.

@AllianceLGB

5:23 AM · Oct 24, 2019



410



95



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 **Dan Hett**   
@danhett 

#LGBAlliance is a hate group, pass it on.   
[twitter.com/KatyMontgomeri...](https://twitter.com/KatyMontgomeri...)

9:12 AM · Oct 24, 2019 

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 18  8  Copy link to Tweet


 **A Japanese Feminist**  
@Ishikawa\_Sachi 

#LGBAlliance is a hate group, pass it on.   
[twitter.com/KatyMontgomeri...](https://twitter.com/KatyMontgomeri...)


9:30 AM · Oct 24, 2019 


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 52  19  Copy link to Tweet

 **Rob Anderson**   
@RobAnderson2018 

#LGBAlliance is a hate group, pass it on

 **Ryan Vance** @ryanjvance  
#LGBAlliance is a hate group, pass it on.

11:22 AM · Oct 24, 2019 

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 16  12  Copy link to Tweet



**Tom Knight** ✓  
@TJ\_Knight



It's incredibly sad a small group of LGB people have formed an 'alliance' against trans people. Especially at a time when attacks are high and we endure protests against our community. The [#LGBAlliance](#) is a hate group. They don't speak for me, or any [#LGBTQ+](#) person I know.

11:47 AM · Oct 24, 2019



♡ 92    💬 22    🔗 Copy link to Tweet



**Unseen Japan**  
@UnseenJapanSite



[#LGBAlliance](#) is a hate group, pass it on.



**A Japanese Feminist** @Ishikawa\_Sachi

[#LGBAlliance](#) is a hate group, pass it on. 🏳️‍🌈  
[twitter.com/KatyMontgomeri...](https://twitter.com/KatyMontgomeri...)

1:16 PM · Oct 24, 2019



♡ 14    💬 6    🔗 Copy link to Tweet



**The Lady Weird Sloth Cow**

@CaseyExplosion



If anyone was wondering if this "LGBAlliance" thing was yet more astroterfing from US religious fundamentalists, there's your obvious Heritage Foundation connection.



3:01 PM · Oct 25, 2019



♥ 2.3K    💬 1.1K    🔗 Copy link to Tweet



**David Paisley** ✓  
@DavidPaisley



@CHIMPSINSOCKS Hey Amanda, just so you're aware, @LGBAlliance\_uk that you follow on twitter isn't an LGBT+ inclusive rights organisation, it's an anti-trans hate group. See the following article:



The 'LGB Alliance' has 12 questions for potential MPs and none of them are about lesbian, bi or gay...  
The brave new 'LGB Alliance' has 12 questions for prospec...  
[pinknews.co.uk](https://pinknews.co.uk)

10:30 AM · Nov 13, 2019



1 ❤️ 1 💬 [Copy link to Tweet](#)



**Caspar Salmon** ✓ @CasparSalmon · Oct 23, 2019



Replying to @BluskyeAllison

Disgraceful. I will never stand with you. Trans and queer people are the bedrock of our community. Shame.

1 💬

1 ↻

62 ❤️



**Liam Hackett** ✓ @DiageoLiam · Oct 23, 2019



Replying to @BluskyeAllison

So cringe

1 💬

↻

40 ❤️





**Helen** 🏳️‍🌈❤️👉 @mimmymum · Oct 23, 2019

Who they align themselves with tells you everything you need to know about this group!

It's clear that their sole purpose is to exclude and hate on transgender people 😞

Cue them being cited in this weeks Sunday Times (the ultimate transphobic propaganda machine!) 😞 [twitter.com/BluskyeAllison...](https://twitter.com/BluskyeAllison...)

**@SoniaPoulton**

At #LGB Alliance and we're off. Speakers tonight include Miranda Yardley, Simon Fanshawe, Charlie Evans...

saying female is not a feeling. Gender heretic. Lesbian ally. Still on the left. Women's rights are human rights.

**Julie Bindel** @bindelj  
Journalist, author, broadcaster, feminist campaigner against sexual violence. Agent, Becky Thomas: johnsonandalcock.co.uk/becky-thomas/

**FairPlayForWomen** @fairplaywomen  
Defending the sex-based rights of women.

**Womans\_Place\_UK** @Womans\_Place\_UK  
Violence against women and sex discrimination still exist. Women need reserved places, separate spaces and distinct services. Join our campaign to keep employers, agents, employers...

**Dr. Jane Clare Jones** @janeclarejones  
Writer. Philosopher. Feminist. Princeologist. Daughter of the witches they forgot to burn.

**Simon Fanshawe** @SimonFanshawe  
Change maker with a purpose. co-founder

This Tweet is unavailable.

4 replies 6 retweets 19 likes



**Roz Kaveney** @RozKaveney · Oct 23, 2019

What exactly are they going to do except ask for donations from people who don't like Stonewall? Not support GRA reform. Not record hate crimes against trans people. Not ask trans people to their cocktail parties. But what are they actually going to do?

2 replies 5 likes



**Helen** 🏳️‍🌈❤️👉 @mimmymum · Oct 23, 2019

Replying to @RozKaveney

I suspect @alliancelgb will hold meetings, crowdfund money and petition influencers, legislators & organisations to remove/ restrict equality rights for transgender people... basically the definition of a "lobby group" (the very thing they call @stonewalluk with such disdain)!

1 reply 2 likes



**Roz Kaveney** @RozKaveney · Oct 23, 2019

Will they campaign for trans people to lose the rights we already have?

3 replies 2 likes



**Helen** 🏳️‍🌈❤️👉 @mimmymum · Oct 23, 2019

Replying to @RozKaveney @ALLIANCELGB and @stonewalluk

They're already starting!

1 reply 2 likes



**Roz Kaveney** @RozKaveney

Replying to @mimmymum @ALLIANCELGB and @stonewalluk

They're recruiting a lot of heterosexual bigots and trolls

<b>LGB Alliance Charitable Objects</b>	<b>Stonewall Charitable Objects</b>
<a href="https://register-of-charities.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-search/-/charity-details/5154625/governing-document">https://register-of-charities.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-search/-/charity-details/5154625/governing-document</a>	<a href="https://register-of-charities.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-search/-/charity-details/3992465/governing-document">https://register-of-charities.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-search/-/charity-details/3992465/governing-document</a>
To promote equality and diversity for the public benefit, in particular by:	To promote equality and diversity in the United Kingdom and in particular the elimination of discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation for the benefit of the public by:
Advancing education and raising awareness in equality and diversity in respect of lesbian, gay and bisexual people.	Advancing education in equality and diversity whether by teaching or producing materials.
Conducting or commissioning research on equality and diversity issues and publishing the useful results to the public.	Conducting or commissioning research on equality and diversity and publishing the results of the same to the public.
Cultivating a sentiment in favour of equality and diversity for lesbian, gay and bisexual people.	Cultivating a sentiment in favour of equality and diversity by the use of publications, codes of practice, schemes for employers, award schemes, the media and public advocacy.
To promote human rights (as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent United Nations conventions and declarations) and particularly the rights and freedoms of those who face discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, including by:	To promote human rights (as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent United Nations conventions and declarations) throughout the world by all or any of the following means:
Monitoring abuses of human rights	Monitoring abuses of human rights
Obtaining redress for the victims of human rights abuses	International advocacy of human rights
Relieving need among the victims of human rights abuses	
Research into human rights issues	Research into human rights abuses
Educating the public about human rights	Educating the public about human rights
Providing technical advice to government and others on human rights matters	Providing advice to government and others on human rights matters

Contributing to the sound administration of the law	Contributing to the sound administration of human rights law
Commenting on proposed human rights legislation	Commenting on proposed human rights legislation
Raising awareness of human rights issues	Raising awareness of human rights issues
Promoting public support for human rights	Promoting public support for human rights
Promoting respect for human rights among individuals and corporations	Promoting respect for human rights among individuals and corporations
Eliminating infringements of human rights	Eliminating infringements of human rights in furtherance of that object
To promote any other purpose that is charitable under the law of England and Wales	Promoting the sound administration of the law relating to equality issues by; i) the provision of specialist legal advice, assistance and representation to people who are unable to obtain such legal advice, assistance and representation as a result of their lack of resource; ii) the provision of specialist legal intervention to assist the courts; and iii) the provision of advice on the institutions, structures and mechanisms by which such law is enforced; to relieve poverty; and to promote any other purpose which is charitable according to the law of England and Wales.
	The trustees shall have power to engage in political activity provide that the trustees are satisfied that the proposed activities will further the purposes of the charity to an extent justified by the resources committed and the activity is not the dominant means by which the charity carries out its objects.
	Raising awareness of all aspects of discrimination in society by publications, lectures, use of the media, public advocacy and other means of communication.