

ANNEXES TO COMMISSION FOR COUNTERING EXTREMISM TERMS OF REFERENCE

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Annex A: Engagement Summary

Sara Khan announced wide engagement as her priority from the day she was appointed. This commitment to engagement has underpinned the Commission's work over the last six months, from gathering evidence for its study to building a robust, authoritative and independent commission and beginning to build a network of counter extremists.

The Commission has met more than 300 experts and activists in towns and cities across the country. This document provides a summary of the engagement, and a detailed breakdown of who we have met can be found at Annex B. Above all the Commission would like to thank everyone who has given their time to contribute to our work.

Visits to Areas Tackling Extremism

Sara has travelled across the country to meet people in many of the regions confronting extremism, to get a local perspective of people's experiences of extremism.

She has visited East, West and South London, Portsmouth, Bradford, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Luton, Newcastle, Liverpool and Middlesbrough.

Every visit has included a meeting with the statutory bodies, such as the council and police. They are often the first to hear about extremism concerns, and usually on the frontline of tackling them.

Sara has also met with groups and individuals actively countering extremism and those working with people who might be affected by extremism, such as refugees, women and youth groups.

A number of common themes have emerged from the meetings and visits.

Concern about extremism

While not everyone uses the 'E Word' it is striking that from Newcastle to Portsmouth individuals have described extremism-driven incidents, events and harms that they are experiencing.

A common theme was the increasing prominence of Far Right narratives and groups, seizing on local tensions – sometimes involving asylum seekers or sexual exploitation cases – to spread anti-Muslim hatred, sometimes couched in language of human rights and freedom of speech.

Workers at a refugee centre in the North East described the fears of vulnerable individuals they worked with who felt they were being targeted by the far right and used as a scapegoat and how they would warn each other not to go out on the street following Far Right marches. A group of women from a range of BAME backgrounds expressed fears of violence and abuse from Far Right extremists. Council leaders shared with us the disruption marches were causing to their local area and to the lives of residents.

A fear shared across the country was that young people could be susceptible to the divisive, racist and extremist messages on social media. Experts shared their concern about the Far Right – and in particular the need to understand what one expert called the 'new breed' of Far Right extremist, the influential role of social media and the dynamic between local, national and international activists in relation to funding and sharing extremist messages.

Islamist extremism was also raised across local areas. But the authorities and groups we spoke to were less confident when discussing these issues, partly due to a lack of understanding of Islamist extremism and its ideology. In other instances, when local leaders, including elected councillors did challenge Islamist extremist speakers, they were met with accusations of racism and Islamophobia.

Communities told us of their concerns about extremism and sectarianism being promoted behind closed doors. In one city mosque, memory sticks with extremist content were left in the shoes of worshippers. Others spoke about Islamist extremist groups increasing young Muslims' isolation and distrust of democratic institutions. Muslim women shared their experiences of intimidation and bullying from Islamist groups.

Many experts described the need to examine all forms of extremism and the way they can interact, for instance the way Far Right and Islamist extremism exacerbate each other, often known as reciprocal or cumulative radicalisation. Faith leaders, in particular, face a number of challenges. They are grappling with Far Right extremists targeting their places of worship but also the existence of religious extremists from within their communities misusing their faith's teaching to advocate hate and even violence.

Concerns were also raised about the impact of other forms of extremism, such as Hindu extremism, Sikh extremism and Hard Left extremism. Descriptions of all these different forms of extremism suggested they share many characteristics, such as seeking to restrict people's freedom to believe and say what they want, and resorting to the same tactics of harassment and abuse.

Successfully challenging extremism

On each of our visits we met inspiring individuals and groups who are either actively challenging extremists or those who are working with those who try to mitigate the harms of extremism.

But it was also clear that many activists receive significant and persistent online and offline abuse, and need the support of a wider network. Community groups work incredibly hard yet with little recognition and unstable funding.

As experts and activists have made clear, young people are perhaps most vulnerable to extremist messages, but they are also potentially the most vociferous defenders of the freedoms extremists threaten. We saw inspiring projects across the country - in Leeds (Catch), Portsmouth (Music Fusion), and Birmingham (The Feast) – where young people, on their own terms, were given the space, the challenge and the support to enjoy challenging ideas and diversity.

While many experts and activists were unsure how the phrase 'British Values' fitted into their work, towns and cities were confident in using a sense of local pride and commitment to diversity as the antidote to extremism.

We were impressed to see councils share innovative responses and best practice through the LGA and the Special Interest Group on Countering Extremism. Time and again we saw the value of the Home Office-funded Community Coordinators. With the support of the local authority, groups can access a mixture of local, trust and state funding – including the Building a Stronger Britain Together (BSBT) funding the Home Office targets at those groups countering extremism.

Discussing extremism

Finally, while those who have experienced extremism can describe its impact, for many extremism, and in particular religiously-motivated extremism, is incredibly difficult to talk about. People feel that the debate is dominated by loud, angry voices taking polarised positions. This message was echoed by the experts and activists we met.

Workshops and Roundtables

In addition, the Commission has run a number of workshops in its first six months, contributing to the questions set out in the Terms of Reference.

RUSI Roundtable

This was the Commission's first meeting with a wide range of experts. Roundtable participants considered early thoughts on the vision for the Commission's work including the approach for the proposed study on extremism. They agreed that extremism needs a whole of society response, building on the good work already done. To tackle extremism the root ideology behind it needs to be addressed at every level. There were mixed views on the value of a definition of extremism – some thought that the lack of definition limits the response to it; others felt that it is not possible to satisfactorily define extremism. Participants agreed on the importance of understanding the factors that underpin extremism, engaging widely, and on empowering the network of people working to counter extremism.



Human Rights/Freedom of Speech, Religion and Belief workshops

Across two workshops with human rights and freedom of expression and religion/belief groups, including members of the Defend Free Speech alliance, we discussed the harmful impact extremism is having on human rights, but also the possible implications of counter-extremism work on freedom of expression. We collectively acknowledged the challenges extremists are presenting to us, and the need to engage in this agenda, given that extremists regularly oppose human rights. They stressed the importance of the Commission engaging in open, positive, conversations and the need for more robust challenge of extremist views. They were willing to engage with the commission in the future.

Practitioners, Civil Society and Academics

Leading counter-extremism policy practitioners, academics and civil society groups found common key themes in their understanding of extremism including the violation of human rights, opposition to democracy and increasingly divisive worldviews that use fear and anger to dehumanise others.

Attendees discussed the need to create positive communications on counter-extremism through more effective public messaging, the need to establish greater information sharing within government and between it and civil society groups. Practitioners expressed a wish for further guidance on how extremists can be disrupted. Civil society groups explained that by engaging with and countering extremists they were often working in a climate of hostility, intimidation and abuse. They expressed their need for greater support and leadership. The focus of the workshop was on prioritising evidence gaps for the study to fill. Those agreed included understanding how exposure to material online can influence an individual's behaviour; understanding the different types of extremism and the threats they pose and the harms caused by different extremist networks.

UK Government Officials

Civil servants who deal with issues of intolerance and extremism in their roles discussed and prioritised the gaps in evidence around extremism. Departments including the Home Office, Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, Department for Education, Ministry of Justice and the Police were represented. The group felt that it was vital to better understand the range and extent of harms caused by extremism, such as to community cohesion, young people and women, and those harms caused online. Experts were keen to better understand how extremist movements gain credibility, their tactics and objectives as well as which of the available responses to extremism are most effective.

Welsh Government Officials

Welsh officials spanning Crime and Justice, Safeguarding, Equality, Violence against Women and Community Safety discussed the landscape of extremism relative to Wales. Attendees welcomed future engagement to identify which communities are most affected by extremism and how early intervention could be a preventative measure starting with early years schooling. The group was also keen to see communications published in the Welsh language to ensure an inclusive and diverse approach to countering extremism.

Expert Group

The Expert Group discussed the set-up of the Commission and the status of its recommendations once the study is complete. They felt that a robust public consensus against extremism is missing, and further engagement directly with the public will be necessary to lay the foundations for one. However, such a debate is difficult, especially around Islamism. Examples of instances of extremism can help build understanding, for example extremists' views on gender, which tend to negatively impact women.

Members discussed the lack of evidence on extremism, particularly around how it is affected by the wider context such as public debates on social media or the scale of immigration. It is necessary to better understand the impact of extremism on vulnerable groups such as those with poor mental health as well as the links between someone's attitudes and their behaviour.

Annex B: Transparency Data

Engagement by Sara Khan, Lead Commissioner for Countering Extremism February to August 2018

The Lead Commissioner for Countering Extremism has engaged widely, and we will publish summaries of the meetings she has held approximately every six months. The list below covers meetings held in the period February to August 2018.

To respect data protection requirements organisations' names are listed rather than individuals' except in the case of politicians. In addition, the Lead Commissioner also meets victims of extremism, young people, and other individuals without affiliation.

The Commissioner's engagement includes one-to-one meetings, workshops, conferences and group discussions during visits across the country.

Central government and regulators

- Cabinet Office
- Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport
- Department for Education
- Department for Health and Social Care
- Department for International Development
- Department for Work and Pensions
- Equality and Human Rights Commission
- Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- Government Communications Headquarters
- HM Prisons Service
- Home Office
- IMPRESS
- Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government
- Ministry of Justice
- The Security Service - MI5
- Victims' Commissioner
- Charity Commission
- Ofcom
- Ofsted

Other public sector

- Birmingham City Council
- Bradford Council
- Greater Manchester Combined Authority
- Hackney Council
- Lambeth Council
- Leicester City Council
- Liverpool City Council
- Local Government Association
- Luton Borough Council
- Manchester Council
- Middlesbrough Council
- Newcastle City Council
- Portsmouth City Council
- Merseyside Police
- Metropolitan Police
- National Police Chiefs Council
- Northumbria Police
- West Yorkshire Police
- Elizabeth Garrett Anderson School
- Preventing Hateful Extremism and Promoting Social Cohesion Commission, Manchester
- Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, London

- National Citizen Service

Politicians

- Afzal Khan MP
- Baroness Nicholson
- Baroness Warsi
- Baroness Williams
- Khalid Mahmood MP
- Lord Agnew of Oulton
- Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon
- Lord Anderson of Ipswich
- Lord Bishop of Leeds
- Lord Carlile of Berriew QC
- Philip Lee MP (as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Justice)
- Rt Hon Anna Soubry MP
- Rt Hon David Lammy MP
- Rt Hon Diane Abbott MP
- Rt Hon Dominic Grieve QC MP
- Rt Hon Matthew Hancock MP (as Secretary of State, Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport)
- Rt Hon Sajid Javid MP (as Home Secretary and Secretary of State, Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government)
- Sam Gyimah MP



- Cllr Anita Lower, Newcastle
 - Cllr Deborah Coupar, Leeds
 - Cllr Habib Rahman, Newcastle City Council
 - Cllr Hazell Simmons, Luton
 - Cllr Kirk Master, Leicester
 - Cllr Manjula Sood, Leicester
 - Cllr Mick Thompson, Middlesbrough
 - Cllr Mohammed Aslam Khan, Luton
 - Cllr. Mohammed Seedat -Lambeth Council
 - Cllr Mustafa Malik, Leicester
 - Cllr Naseem Ayub, Luton
 - Cllr Sarah Russell, Leicester
 - Cllr Simon Blackburn, Blackpool Council
 - Cllr Sue Murphy, Manchester
- Civil society**
- Academy of Ideas
 - Ahmadiyya Muslim Community UK
 - Al Hilal, Manchester
 - Allied Network, Birmingham
 - Amnesty International
 - Angelou Centre, Newcastle
 - Article 19
 - Balsall Heath Young Women, Birmingham
 - Bangla Bantams, Bradford
 - Bangladeshi Youth Organisation, Bradford
 - Barnardo's
 - Baytree Centre, Lambeth
 - Big Brother Watch
 - Birmingham Council of Mosques
 - Birmingham Progressive Synagogue
 - Board of Deputies of British Jews
 - Bradford City Community Foundation
 - Bradford Hate Crime Alliance
 - Bradford Reform Synagogue
 - British Future
 - British Rohingya Community
 - Building Futures East, Newcastle
 - Campaign Against Antisemitism
 - Care for Women and Girls, Birmingham
 - Community Action to Change Harehills, Leeds
 - Centre for Secular Space
 - Church of England
 - City Sikhs UK
 - Clifton Road Mosque, Birmingham
 - Community Security Trust
 - English PEN
 - EPIC Teesside CIC / Primrose Hill Community Partnership, Middlesbrough
 - Faiths Forum for London
 - Faith Matters
 - Faith to Faithless
 - Families Against Violence, Manchester
 - Football for Peace, Manchester
 - Forum for Peace in Muslim Societies
 - Freedom Association
 - GoldHill Play Association, Leicester
 - Hamaya Haven, Birmingham
 - Hindu Council of Birmingham
 - Hobmoor Community Centre, Birmingham
 - HOPE Not Hate
 - Humanists UK
 - Index on Censorship
 - I4GiveH8, Manchester
 - Investing in People and Culture, Middlesbrough
 - Investors in People and Culture, Leicester
 - Jami Mosque, Portsmouth
 - Jo Cox Foundation
 - Justice First, Middlesbrough
 - JW3 Community Centre
 - Karma Nirvana, Leeds
 - Leicester Peace Foundation
 - Leicester Women's Forum
 - Linx Youth Project, Middlesbrough
 - Marcus Lipton Community Enterprise, Lambeth
 - Me & You Education
 - Merseyside Inter Faith Forum
 - Middlesbrough Environment City
 - Middlesbrough Environment Town

- Middlesbrough Football Club Community Foundation
 - Middlesbrough Voluntary Development Agency
 - Music Fusion, Portsmouth
 - National Secular Society
 - NEESIE, Bradford
 - New Horizons in British Islam
 - Nishkam Centre, Birmingham
 - Nisa Nashim, Manchester
 - North Manchester Sisters
 - ODARA, Birmingham
 - Open Cultures, Manchester
 - Pakistan Youth and Community Association,
 - Peter Tatchell Foundation
 - Poplar HARCA, Tower Hamlets
 - Rethink Rebuild, Manchester
 - Reporters Without Borders
 - Riverside Community Health Project, Newcastle
 - Saathi House (Aston), Birmingham
 - Sampson Hall
 - Shama Womens Centre, Leicester
 - Sikh Women's Action Network, Birmingham
 - Sikh Women's Action Network, Leeds
 - Singh Gurdwara School, Bradford
 - Smart Women, Birmingham
 - Smile Aid, Manchester
 - Somali Development Services, Leicester
 - Southall Black Sisters
 - St Barnabas & St Martin's Churches, Heaton Bradford
 - St Peters Church, Birmingham
 - St Philips Centre, Leicester
 - Streets Ahead, Middlesbrough
 - Street Vibe, Leicester
 - Takeover Radio, Leicester
 - Talk Radio, Manchester
 - TellMAMA
 - The Christian Institute
 - The Feast, Birmingham
 - The Halo Project, Middlesbrough
 - The Spearhead Trust, Birmingham
 - The Tony Blair Institute for Global Change
 - Tyne and Wear Anti-Fascist Association, North East, Newcastle
 - Unbound Philanthropy
 - Uritas Communications Ltd
 - West End Women and Girls, Newcastle
 - Women Acting in Today's Society, Birmingham
 - Women Against Radicalisation Network, Birmingham
 - Young Lambeth Co-op
 - University of Bradford
 - University of Bristol
 - University of Coventry
 - University of Essex
 - University of Lancaster
 - University of Leeds
 - University of Leicester
 - University of Manchester
 - Woolf Institute
 - Centre for Academic Shi'a Studies
 - Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right
 - Centre for Global Policy
 - Civitas: Institute for the Study of Civil Society
 - Counter Extremism Consultancy, Training, Research and Interventions
 - Demos
 - European Eye on Radicalization
 - Henry Jackson Society
 - iCoCo foundation
 - Institute for Strategic Dialogue
 - Policy Exchange
 - Quilliam
 - Reform
 - Resolution Foundation
 - ResPublica
 - Royal United Service Institute
- Academics, experts and think tanks**
- London School of Economics
 - University of Birmingham
- International**
- American University
 - Department of Home Affairs, Australia
 - Center for Global Policy



- European Council
- Georgetown Law
- Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, Netherlands
- Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
- The Soufan Center

Non-affiliated individuals including victims of extremism and young people

To respect data protection requirements individuals' names are not included.

Annex C: Polling Data

YouGov conducted a survey for the Commission using an online interview administered to 1495 members of the YouGov Plc GB panel consisting of 800,000+ individuals who have agreed to take part in surveys. An email was sent to panellists selected at random from the base sample according to the sample definition, inviting them to take part in the survey and providing a link to the survey.¹

A clear majority of the public appear to recognise extremism when they see it and are concerned about rising extremism.

However, there are significant differences, by age and political viewpoint in particular, in how the public consider some aspects of extremism, and in how relevant to it they consider particular words, phrases and concepts.

While the public are most likely to associate extremism with “terrorism” or “violence”, a substantial proportion associate it with “hate” too. The public are most likely to perceive extremism as damaging to “national security”, “tolerance”, “British values” and “freedom of religion” or “belief”.

Three quarters of the public are worried about rising extremism in the UK, with limited variation by gender (women more worried than men) and significant variation by age (older groups more worried than younger groups)

More than half are confident that they understand what extremism in the UK looks like, one third are not confident - there is limited variation by gender.

Three quarters believe more should be done to tackle extremism in the UK with limited variation by geography and significant variation by age. 18-24-year olds polled were more likely to associate extremism with “discrimination” than older groups and less likely to associate it with “intolerance”.



Q: Which of the following words to you most strongly associate with extremism?
Please select up to three options (by age group)

1. All figures, unless otherwise stated, are from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 1,495 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 20th - 21st June 2018. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+).



	Total	Gender		Age				Region			
		Male	Female	18-24	25-49	50-64	65+	London	Rest of South	Midlands / Wales	North
Weighted Sample	1495	725	770	166	627	354	349	219	531	351	395
Unweighted Sample	1486	650	836	140	621	376	349	169	560	353	404
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

How worried are you about rising levels of extremism in the UK?											
Very worried	29	26	33	19	28	33	33	29	30	29	29
Fairly worried	44	43	45	36	40	49	50	40	48	44	42
TOTAL WORRIED	73	69	78	55	68	82	83	69	78	73	71
Not very worried	16	20	13	25	17	14	14	21	16	15	15
Not at all worried	4	5	2	7	5	2	1	3	2	4	5
TOTAL NOT WORRIED	20	25	15	32	22	16	15	24	18	19	20
Don't know	7	7	7	13	10	2	2	7	4	7	9

How confident, if at all, are you that you understand what extremism looks like in the UK?											
Very confident	11	14	9	6	12	15	9	12	12	11	10
Fairly confident	46	48	44	50	44	46	46	47	48	47	41
TOTAL CONFIDENT	57	62	53	56	56	61	55	59	60	58	51
Not very confident	25	21	29	19	22	27	32	24	26	21	28
Not at all confident	6	5	7	5	6	7	7	5	4	7	9
TOTAL NOT CONFIDENT	31	26	36	24	28	34	39	29	30	28	37
Don't know	11	11	11	20	15	5	7	12	10	13	12

How much more or less do you think needs to be done to tackle extremism in the UK?											
Much more	49	49	49	35	43	56	59	43	47	51	53
A little more	29	28	29	32	27	31	29	31	35	25	23
TOTAL MORE	78	77	78	67	70	87	88	74	82	76	76
Neither more nor less	10	11	10	15	13	8	7	16	8	10	10
A little less	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
Much less	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL LESS	2	2	1	3	2	2	0	0	0	2	2
Don't know	10	9	11	16	15	4	6	10	9	12	11

	Total	Gender		Age				Region			
		Male	Female	18-24	25-49	50-64	65+	London	Rest of South	Midlands / Wales	North
Weighted Sample	1495	725	770	166	627	354	349	219	531	351	395
Unweighted Sample	1486	650	836	140	621	376	349	169	560	353	404
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Which of the following words do you most strongly associate with extremism? Please select up to three options.											
Terrorism	60	59	60	59	59	63	57	56	61	60	58
Hate	54	52	56	42	53	57	59	53	55	56	52
Violence	44	41	46	49	41	41	48	38	46	44	43
Intolerance	31	34	29	18	25	39	41	33	31	37	26
Racism	21	23	18	14	19	22	26	19	21	20	22
Propaganda	18	16	19	15	20	17	15	19	17	16	19
Division	14	15	13	16	15	14	10	15	16	14	11
Discrimination	8	9	7	14	6	9	7	8	8	7	9
Homophobia	5	6	4	3	4	6	6	6	5	5	5
Misogyny	4	3	4	3	3	5	4	7	2	5	2
Inequality	4	3	4	3	3	3	5	6	4	3	2
None of the above	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Don't know	7	5	8	13	9	2	4	8	5	6	8

Which of the following, if any, do you think extremism does most harm to? Please select up to three options.											
National security	44	42	47	35	41	48	51	37	48	46	42
Tolerance	36	37	34	19	34	40	41	34	36	38	32
British values	35	39	32	21	28	41	48	29	38	40	31
Freedom of belief or religion	34	32	36	37	32	35	37	34	38	31	33
Human rights	25	26	24	34	24	25	22	30	21	26	26
Democracy	21	26	17	9	14	27	34	26	22	21	17
Diversity	14	14	15	18	17	16	6	17	14	14	13
Shared values	14	15	13	12	16	13	12	15	14	14	12
Equality	13	12	14	21	14	10	9	13	13	11	14
Other (please specify) [See Tab 1]	1	1	2	2	2	0	1	2	1	1	1
None of the above	2	3	2	2	4	1	0	2	2	2	3
Don't know	10	9	12	19	12	6	7	11	8	10	12



Annex D: Ongoing Review of Evidence - Academic Literature

We are carrying out an ongoing review of existing literature, including academic literature, think tank reports and government data, to inform our approach. Working with the National Centre for Social Research we have initially identified 25 academic papers which have contributed to our Terms of Reference. These were identified through a standard academic approach, and then assessed for their relevance, methodology and quality for our purposes.

Very few papers were directly relevant to our purposes, often focusing on counter-terrorism rather than extremism. Few of the papers were based on empirical research, often being discussion or theoretical in basis. Separating anecdotal research from analysis was noted at peer review as problematic. Most of the research only covered either Islamist or Far Right extremism. Further work around other types of extremism were highlighted as being worthwhile.

There is limited evidence on the scale of extremism. Studies explore methodologies for how the prevalence of extremist ideas and behaviours could be better understood, such as measuring risk factors for those who could be drawn into extremism, case studies, interviews with a range of relevant individuals, or tracking membership of Far Right groups online, but these are few in number and criticised as being unrepresentative.

The evidence base relating to harms of extremism is also limited. The most frequently cited harms were those of community cohesion, social exclusion and isolation, which were also suggested as drivers of extremism.

Partnership working between government and civil society organisations is seen as the most positive and worthwhile form of intervention. Some, mostly theoretical, literature suggested that counter-terrorism policies are perceived as alienating to British Muslims. Education on shared values and citizenship was suggested as an especially effective way to build resilience to extremism.

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