



Commission for
Countering Extremism

Three years on:

Achievements and
reflections

March 2021



The Commission's vision:

Our vision is one where, together, we uphold our democratic way of life in a peaceful, plural and inclusive society that opposes intolerance;

where people exercise individual liberty and take personal responsibility for promoting equal citizenship, recognising the harm extremist behaviours cause to everyone;

and where our communities and institutions robustly challenge and resist hateful extremism and support those affected by it.

The Commission defines hateful extremism as:

Activity or materials directed at an out-group who are perceived as a threat to an in-group, who are motivated by or intending to advance a political, religious or racial supremacist ideology:

- a. To create a climate conducive to hate crime, terrorism or other violence; or
- b. Attempt to erode or destroy the fundamental rights and freedoms of our democratic society as protected under Article 17 of Schedule 1 to the Human Rights Act 1998.



Foreword



The growing threat of hateful extremism cannot be underestimated. Across the world, we are witnessing many countries grapple with the modern-day manifestation of diverse extremist movements and trends. But hateful extremism is certainly not new.

My interest in counter-extremism started over 20 years ago when I saw how Islamist extremist groups were radicalising others, promoting anti-democratic narratives, including hatred and discrimination of others in our society. The impact of such activity was profound: from destroying the potential of youngsters, to undermining social cohesion and creating a climate conducive to terrorism. I went on to co-found the counter-extremist organisation Inspire. In the 10 years I worked there, I experienced first-hand the changing tactics employed by extremists, including their use of conspiracy theories and disinformation, and the harm extremism was causing, including the unrecognised impact on victims. Alongside the growing threat of Far Right extremism, I understood why counter-extremism mattered. Yet, during this time, I also saw how national counter-extremism policy was struggling to respond. The lack of a clear definition, poor analysis and a disjointed operational strategy was hampering our country's efforts to curtail the dangerous activity of extremists. Unless this improved, we simply would not be able to respond effectively to the threat of extremism.

That is why I applied for the role as Commissioner and I was honoured to have been selected to lead the newly created Commission for Countering Extremism (the 'Commission') in 2018. Extremism had been identified by the Government as one of the most significant and important challenges of our generation. Many European partners have remarked to me how ground-breaking establishing the Commission was; recognising the value of an independent body providing impartial, expert advice on the tools, policies and approaches needed to tackle extremism.

When I started, I had two members of staff and a blank sheet of paper! In the last three years, I am proud to say the Commission has grown to become an authoritative, independent, expert body on both extremism and counter-extremism, driving forward innovative thinking and engaging widely across the country with thousands of people.

As Commissioner, my primary goal was twofold: firstly, to ensure national counter-extremism policy was based on a firm, evidence based and robust foundation, with a clearer and narrower understanding of extremism which was able to build consensus. Secondly, to chart a path for the Government to demonstrate how it is possible to counter extremism while ensuring protection of our civil liberties and fundamental freedoms; values which are central to our democratic society. And that is precisely what the Commission has achieved.

But this has been no easy feat. Three years ago, when I took on this role, I was struck by the polarised, angry and divisive tone of the extremism debate on the one hand, but on the other, the growing realisation amongst politicians, policy makers and the wider public

that extremism was becoming an acute challenge. Whether it was the problem of online extremism, the fear of extremism radicalising youngsters, concerns about how extremism was manifesting locally and undermining social cohesion, or how in some cases mainstream institutions would provide legitimacy to extremist actors, the mood of the nation has changed as extensive polling indicates. The public believe more needs to be done to counter extremism.

I have always believed that, despite the reaction the 'e-word' often evokes, it is possible to build consensus on the dangerous activity we are most concerned about, and demonstrate that a democratic approach to counter extremism, through both legal and non-legal measures, is achievable. I am pleased to say that there is now greater consensus to not only the activity we have termed 'hateful extremism', but also how we counter it through the use of our country's legal and human rights frameworks. Having charted such a path for the Government, it is now their responsibility to respond to the practical recommendations I have made as Commissioner.

Hearing diverse views and not relying on traditional orthodox opinions about counter-extremism has been incredibly important to me. As this report shows, I have travelled the breadth of our country, meeting members of the public, officials, faith leaders and public bodies. Over the last year, due to COVID-19 restrictions, it was unfortunate that I wasn't able to continue visiting towns and cities. I have learnt a great deal from critics and supporters alike and from counter-extremism experts, and have been inspired by the many stories from members of the public who shared with me how they countered extremist activity in their local area, not because they had to but because they knew it mattered. They knew inaction was simply not an option. This is why, despite the distressing and hateful nature of extremism, I am confident that the majority of British people instinctively recognise the importance of counter-extremism and are willing to support and play their part, appreciating the importance of a 'whole society approach' as I have advocated for.

I want to thank all the people who have engaged with me, who contributed to the work of the Commission and supported me throughout my time as Commissioner. It would be impossible to name every single individual who was there for me at the end of a phone call or an email, but I am incredibly grateful for your encouragement and assistance. Challenging extremism is not an easy role, and it is not a 9-5 job you can switch off from. Abuse, threats and intimidation from extremists and their supporters is a regular occurrence, which you must live with. I have certainly had my fair share from Far Right, Far Left and Islamist actors over the years who have not only sought to smear me, but many other counter-extremists. I have seen how they have been at the forefront of damaging counter-extremism efforts in our country more widely.



Sara speaking to Bradford Lead about how society can respond to extremism and how best to involve young people (October 2018)

It is vital we stand up to such actors and ensure we provide support to those brave enough to counter extremism. Counter-extremists are the backbone of our country. Every day they choose to defend our fundamental and democratic freedoms from extremists who seek to erode these same values. But when over three quarters of them experience such abuse just for doing their job, this is clearly a distinct threat that must be addressed. It takes guts and bags of courage to do this work and that is why I was pleased to see the Government commit to doing more to protect counter-extremists from intimidation and threats. A failure to protect counter-extremists is resulting in the undermining of counter extremism work, and as the modern-day threat of hateful extremism evolves and worsens, it is imperative we champion this field more than ever.



Sara speaks to Victoria Derbyshire on the rise of xenophobic, Far Right and Islamist views amongst young people (March 2019)

I look forward to seeing the Commission continue to drive counter extremism work, strengthening and protecting our country's democracy. In 2019, the Commission put forward a vision for countering extremism, where together as a society, we uphold our democratic way of life in a peaceful, plural and inclusive manner; where people exercise individual liberty and take personal responsibility for promoting equal citizenship; and where our communities and institutions robustly challenge and resist hateful extremism and support those affected by it. This important goal still stands and no doubt there is still much more to be done to achieve this, but I am confident that my policy recommendations to the Government have helped us move closer to such a vision.

Handwritten signature of Sara Khan.

Sara Khan
Lead Commissioner for Countering Extremism

Our Story

2017

“Theresa May to set up commission for countering extremism”

The Independent, 27 May 2017

“Theresa May plans anti-extremism drive if Tories win election”

The Guardian, 25 May 2017



THE COMMISSION IS ANNOUNCED

“Theresa May is expected to launch a major offensive to “drive extremism out” of the public sector and civil society in the wake of the Manchester terrorist attack if the Conservatives win the general election on 8 June.”

The Guardian, 25 May 2017

2018

SARA KHAN APPOINTED AS LEAD COMMISSIONER

“Campaigner Sara Khan appointed to lead Government anti-extremism drive”

Evening Standard, 24 Jan 2018

“I am today confirming Ms Sara Khan’s appointment to the role of Lead Commissioner of the Government’s new Commission for Countering Extremism.”

Home Secretary’s statement made on 15 March 2018, House of Commons

“Help me find the antidote to fight extremists in our own communities”

“But the threat to our communities goes beyond those whose hateful influence may be linked to terror.

Extremists’ bigoted propaganda causes a multitude of harm. Extremists and their propaganda play a part in the rising number of hate crimes — including the increasing instances of anti-Muslim hatred and anti-Semitism.

Extremists contribute to the daily discrimination faced by women, girls and minorities and the isolation of vulnerable individuals from the very institutions set up to protect them.”

Sara’s op-ed for The Sun, 16 March 2018

“Extremists hate her and she responds ‘well boohoo’...”

What has made her well up is describing the harm that extremists cause. “Young people drawn to extremism, ruining their lives,” she chokes up. “We’ve reached a crossroads where if we don’t realise the threat, our country will become more divided, and we’ll lose a generation of young people. It’s so emotional to me — I live and breathe it.”

The Sunday Times, 15 July 2018

THE COMMISSION GETS TO WORK

“Today, as part of a pioneering new study into extremism, the Commission for Countering Extremism, which I lead, is inviting submissions from the public in a bid to understand what factors cause the spread of radicalisation.

We want to understand the scale of the challenge including the online aspects, the tactics employed by extremists and critically the harms caused by extremism – to individuals, communities and our society.”

Sara Khan for the Independent 11 July 2018

“Those who stand up to extremism ‘vilified’ in UK” says commissioner Sara Khan

She said: “I have been both inspired and heartbroken by stories of ordinary people in our towns and cities who on a voluntary capacity are challenging extremists because they can see how they are trying to divide our communities and groom young people.

Stories of the abuse, vilification, threats, smears to their reputation - and these are brave unsung heroes in our country. They want support.”

Sky News, 11 July 2018

LGA News, 3 June 2019

The screenshot shows an interview article from LGA News dated 3 June 2019. The title is "Challenging the extremists" and the sub-headline is "Extremism threatens our values as a country – and councils have an important role to play in tackling it, according to Sara Khan, Lead Commissioner for Countering Extremism". The article features a photo of Sara Khan and discusses her role and the challenges of extremism in local government.

“Commission for Countering Extremism launches call for evidence on extremism in England and Wales”

Gov.uk, 22 November 2018




Sara gives evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee, 24 October 2018

UK TOWNS ‘POLARISED’ BY RISE OF FAR RIGHT

The Guardian, 27 October 2018

“Councils across the country raised the impact the far-right demonstrations have on whole towns, exploiting tensions and stoking division. I repeatedly heard about a climate of intolerance and polarisation.”



COMBATING JIHADIST TERRORISM IN THE UK

Sara speaking at Combating Jihadist
Terrorism in the UK, 12 September 2018

Extremism 'thriving' in some areas, adviser warns

ITV News, 21 November 2018

"I think what we're seeing now is a new breed of the far-right" - Sara Khan, Lead Commissioner for Countering Extremism, says that the far-right "have professionalised themselves" and are "increasingly using the language of human rights"

BBC Newsnight, 20 December 2018

"Extremism is thriving in some parts of our country, but we do not know the true scale of the problem and the full impact it is having on our society - what we do know is very likely to be just the tip of the iceberg.

I know from meeting more than 400 experts and activists in 13 towns and cities across England and Wales over the last six months that extremism is affecting not just individuals but also our communities and the very fabric of our society."

"Social media is 'a game-changer' for 'brain-washing terrorists,' warns anti-extremism tsar"

The Sun, 29 November 2018

"It is contradictory and unjust to recognise non-Muslim perpetrators yet ignore Muslims who engage in active hostility, abuse, hatred and discrimination against other Muslims.

The murder of 82-year-old Mohammed Saleem in Birmingham in 2013 was an anti-Muslim attack carried out by Far Right extremist Pavlo Lapshyn. Yet the murder of 71-year-old Jalal Uddin in Rochdale in 2016 was also an anti-Muslim attack. He was murdered by fellow Muslims Mohammed Syeedy and Mohammed Abdul Kadir, who were Islamist extremists and ISIS supporters. Both men were killed because of their 'Muslimness.' This failure to recognise that Muslims can be abused, attacked, even killed, by other Muslims because of their 'Muslimness' is a blind spot in our public debate [on Islamophobia] and detrimental to the well-being of British Muslims and those of Muslim heritage."

Sara's op-ed for Huffington Post in response to the APPG British Muslims' definition of 'islamophobia', 3 December 2018

"We Are Still Ignoring Victims Of Anti-Muslim Prejudice"

"We've heard widespread concerns about the impact of extremism in our towns and cities. This includes Far Right and Islamist extremism, but also hatred, intolerance and extremism within and among other groups.

Rabbi Mizrahi has made a series of appalling statements, including towards his fellow Jews. This kind of divisive rhetoric has a real impact on individuals, communities and wider society.

We need a community-led approach to all forms of intolerance, hatred and extremism backed up by strong leadership at all levels. I welcome the robust response to this Rabbi from both local organisations and national leaders in the Jewish community. I hope he gets the message that his abhorrent views aren't welcome."

The Times, 13 March 2019

“Challenge extremists instead of staying silent”

“A lot of extremist ideologies promote an us-versus-them othering. There’s always somebody that you’re othering and there’s hostility advocated against another group. There’s a kind of us-versus-them supremacist view...”

Deutsche Welle, 1 January 2019

“Primary pupils spouting race hate learned at home”

“I’ve come across teachers and youth workers telling me how young primary age children are spouting far-Right, racist, xenophobic points of view, coming from their parents,” she said. “I hear it from the other side, from people providing...”

...support to head teachers dealing with parents with Islamist extreme views. I don’t think people fully appreciate the scale of that.

[Sara] added: Early intervention is so critical when it comes to preventing extremism. I’ve seen first hand that if you deal with people showing the early signs, it is much easier than when they become hardened.”

Evening Standard, 22 March 2019

NOVA

PUBLICATION OF ‘CHALLENGING HATEFUL EXTREMISM’ REPORT

Efforts to combat extremism failing because of way Government has defined it, commissioner says



The Telegraph, 6 October 2019

Far right exploits safety of women to ‘spread hate’

Government guilty of ‘slow and unfocused’ response, report finds

EXCLUSIVE
LIZZIE DEARDEN
HOME AFFAIRS
CORRESPONDENT

Far-right activists are exploiting concerns about the safety of women and children

to target Muslims and ethnic minorities, an official report has found. The Commission for Countering Extremism said some groups “distort the truth to persuade their audience to adopt ... hateful attitudes”. The research examined protests sparked

by a woman claiming she was gang raped by Middle Eastern migrants in Sunderland. It found that prominent far-right figures like Tommy Robinson used rallies to spread “anti-Muslim agendas” and that the government’s response was “slow and unfocused”.

The Independent front page, 7 October 2019

“A survey of activists by the Commission for Countering Extremism shows they are receiving abuse rather than support. Words such as “Islamophobic”, “Uncle Tom” and “sellout” have been used to smear and silence those fighting Muslim extremism, it says, while those battling the far right are also under fire.”

The Sunday Times, October 6 2019

“We’re failing to support those who stand up against Islamist and far-Right extremists”

20 January 2019 *The Telegraph*



Sara gives a speech at the Bridging Northern Communities conference in Leeds

November 2019

“Some of the worst examples of intimidation I’ve come across, however, are faced by those brave enough to challenge extremists’ us-versus-them narratives. They stand up to extremists because they know silence is simply not an option. But there are consequences to demonstrating such courage. I’ve spoken to those who have faced appalling online threats for challenging the far-Right; and others who have suffered horrific abuse and intimidation for calling out Islamist extremists.

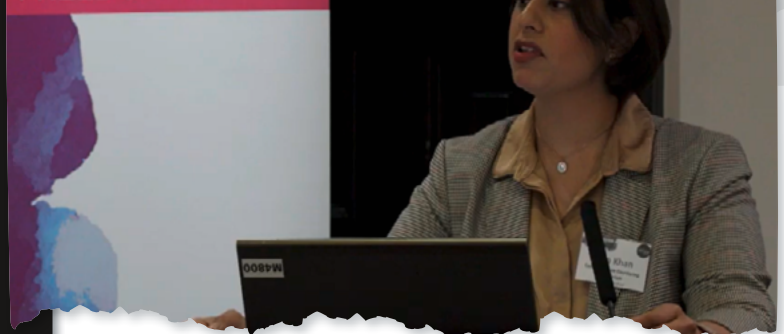
Their plight is unrecognised and support, if any, is often non-existent. We owe these brave, typically unknown, individuals a huge debt as well as better support, not just for the actions they’ve taken, but for not being cowed into silence.”

“Hate threatens us all – we must challenge it” An interview with Lead Commissioner for Countering Extremism Sara Khan”

25 January 2019 *Voice of Salam*

“Throughout our work, we’ve heard about individuals being intimidated and threatened because they refuse to conform to a hard-line view or because they dare to speak out. We’ve also been told of communities being divided because groups exploit local tensions to spread anti-minority hatred. I think democracy itself is under threat as politicians and campaigners are shouted down by thugs. I am worried that hate crime appears to be on the rise, including Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism.”

**RECLAIMING
RELIGIOUS
FREEDOM**



Sara speaking at Secularism 2019: Reclaim Religious Freedom, held by the National Secular Society

18 May 2019

Countering the threat to religious freedom and of religious extremism

“My commission is seeking to better understand the threat of extremism and find better ways to challenge it.

We are doing this in what I think are challenging times for our country, both socially and politically.”

National Secular Society (speech), 12 June 2019



Sara at the launch of the Challenging Hateful Extremism report, 7 October 2019

“We urgently need to reboot our tactics for countering extremism

Drawing on a whole range of hateful or supremacist beliefs or ideologies, hateful extremism is causing severe harm to individuals, communities and our whole society, and we’re failing to counter those hateful extremist behaviours and the ideologies that inspire them effectively.”

Evening Standard
3 February 2020

“Proposed duty of care laws need to tackle online extremism, says Government tsar”

“Extremism has been profoundly changed by the internet. When groups such as Britain First are kicked off mainstream social media platforms such as Facebook, they simply go on to smaller platforms such as Telegram and continue their activity there.

The Online Harms bill must ensure it addresses the horrific extremist content that is easily accessible online, otherwise it will be a missed opportunity to help make a real difference.”

The Telegraph 16 June 2020

2020

PUBLICATION OF COVID-19 REPORT

Coronavirus: Extremists using 'dangerous conspiracy theories' to exploit pandemic, says report

The Commission for Countering Extremism says “divisive, xenophobic and racist narratives” have been used to sow division.

Sky News, 9 July 2020



“Extremists have been fully exploiting the lockdown to spread racist, extremist narratives through the use of disinformation and conspiracy theories.”

The gov't's chief adviser on extremism Sara Khan says disinformation is “having an impact on our democracy”

#Newsnight

Neo-Nazis telling followers to ‘deliberately infect’ Jews and Muslims with coronavirus, report warns

‘The short and long-term impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic could create conditions conducive for extremism,’ commission says

The Independent, 9 July 2020

Commission for Countering Extremism launches a legal review to examine effectiveness of existing legislation relevant to hateful extremism

The independent Commission for Countering Extremism (CCE) launches a legal review, to examine whether existing legislation adequately deals with hateful extremism.

gov.uk, 10 June 2020



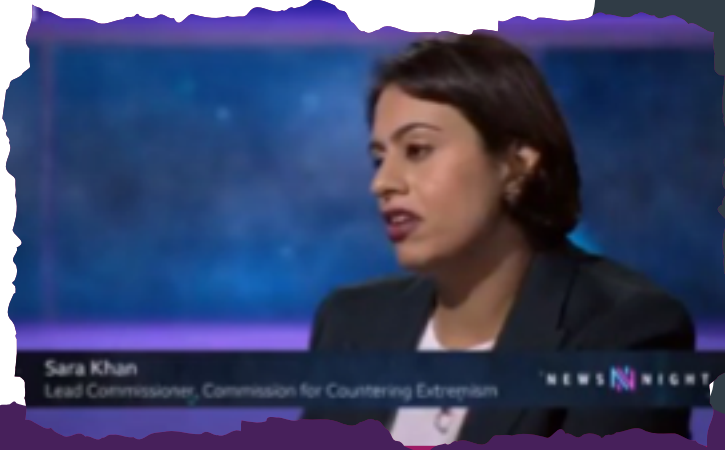
Sara meets civil groups working across Blackburn, Darwen, and Cumbria, February 2020

“Coronavirus conspiracy theories must be taken seriously to avoid ‘serious consequences’, extremism chief warns

We’ve always treated conspiracy theories as being something harmless, wild and wacky but I think that’s been a mistake.

We need to classify them based on harm and the types of behaviours they encourage. If they are inciting hatred, violence or justifying terrorism that’s not harmless. We need a better and more sophisticated policy response.”

The Independent, 23 May 2020



Sara appears on Newsnight to discuss our COVID-19 report, July 2020

Sufyan Ismail: Islamic hardliner invited to address civil servants

“Mend has a reputation for taking a harsh line against those who oppose its approach. Ms Khan said in an official report last year that Mend staff had “posted hostile messages on Twitter relating to several politically and socially liberal Muslims, especially those involved in counter extremism work. One Mend tweet labels some Muslim groups as ‘Uncle Toms’ and the public messaging of Mend’s founder describes civil society groups involved in counter extremism as ‘government stooges.’”

She added: “In 2018 it emerged Ismail has been funding Cage. In our report, we have evidenced how Cage have supported convicted terrorists, and have also published or invited al-Qaeda ideologues to speak at its events.”

The Times, 23 November 2020

“Today Khan speaks proudly of how her Commission has engaged extensively across the UK – including with many Muslims and local communities including critics, plus carrying out opinion polling, publishing papers, producing a new report into extremists (and “hateful extremist” narratives) exploiting the coronavirus outbreak, announcing its recent legal review and undertaking numerous roundtables – and in October last year producing its first ever report, *Challenging Hateful Extremism*.”

Britain has not had a new official counter-extremism strategy since 2015 and the Commission’s report suggested (among other things) creating a new category of “hateful extremism” which would sit outside the existing definitions of terrorism and violent extremism.”

HOPE not hate, 16 September 2020



Sara gives evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee, 23 September 2020

2021



Channel 4 News, 24 February 2021

PUBLICATION OF LEGAL REVIEW

“The review’s findings have been backed by faith leaders, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chief Rabbi and the chair of Mosques and Imams National Advisory Board. Two former prime ministers, Tony Blair and David Cameron have also issued their support. Mr Blair said the proposals required serious consideration by the government.”

Sky News, 24 February 2021

‘New laws needed’ to halt rise of extremism in UK

Terror review finds hate groups exploiting gaps in legislation

LEZZIE DEARDEN
SECURITY CORRESPONDENT

New laws are needed to tackle the “shocking” scale of extremism in the UK, the head of counterterrorism has said. Sir Mark Rowley and the Commission for Countering Extremism found hate groups are “operating with impunity” by exploiting gaps between existing hate crime and terrorism legislation. A review published today will say that people are able to glorify terrorism without facing prosecution, and that some attackers could have been arrested earlier if tighter laws had been in place. Sir Mark warned change was needed to fill a “legal void” as the nature and scale of extremism that is currently lawful is “shocking and dangerous”.

The Independent front page, 24 February 2021.

SARA KHAN AND MARK ROWLEY

Let's take a tougher line on extremism

Sara Khan and Mark Rowley | Wednesday February 24 2021, 12:01am, The Times

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Extrémists are gaining the upper hand. Hate crimes and terrorism are growing, children as young as 12 are being drawn into extremist forums and 25 to 34-year-olds are five times more likely than 65 to 74-year-olds to subscribe to antisemitic conspiracy theories. Not only does this worsening environment favour extremists, the lack of legislation in Britain allows them to operate with impunity, radicalising and recruiting people to their cause.

"The threats we face have changed substantially in the past decade and our laws must evolve too. We call on the government to devise a new legal and operational framework to counter what we define as "hateful extremism" while at the same time protecting our vital freedom of expression. We are at a watershed moment and action is needed now. Inaction risks further growth of hate crimes, more radicalised young people drifting towards violence and terrorism, and democratic freedoms being subverted."

Sara and Sir Mark Rowley's op-ed for The Times, 24 February 2021

David Cameron and Tony Blair want new law to ban 'glorifying terrorism' in bid to target Islamist extremists and far-Right groups

- A report is calling for a new law against glorifying terrorism to tackle extremism
- Calls for a shake-up to thwart 'dangerous' behaviour by far-Right groups
- The proposals could lead to the outlawing of groups such as Cage

Daily Mail, 24 February 2021

Chief Rabbi backs new report calling on government to devise new hateful extremism laws

The Commission for Countering Extremism warns that groups spreading antisemitic hate go unpunished because of gaps in existing legislation

Jewish Chronicle, 24 February 2021

"...as Commissioner, I believe our country's lack of focus on tackling hateful extremist groups, individuals, and platforms is the biggest and most significant failing in our counter extremism response. The world has changed and our approach, laws, and policies need to change with it.

This is even more pressing in light of changing socio-economic factors in a post-COVID Britain, the evolving range and speed of internet communications and international ideologies, and the increased spread we're seeing of extremist ideologies reaching young and vulnerable people.

But throughout my engagement as Commissioner, what has always struck me is that no matter who I speak to, whether faith groups, the police, local authorities – people want to counter extremism, they understand why this work matters and are ready to play their part. So I do believe we can build a whole society response."

Sara's speech at the Westminster Insight 'Tackling Hateful Extremism' Digital Conference, 8 February 2021

Purpose and Remit

The Commission was established to support government, the public sector, civil and wider society to identify and challenge all forms of extremism. Its objective was to “provide the government with impartial, external advice on the tools, policies and approaches needed to tackle extremism; support the public sector, communities and civil society to confront extremism wherever it exists; and promote fundamental, pluralistic British values”.¹ As laid out in the Commission’s Charter, we are a public body operating transparently and independently of government, free to determine our methodologies and the content of our reports, and who we meet and speak with.²



Sara meets the Home Secretary, Priti Patel (September 2020)

Following a competitive and open public appointment process, Sara Khan was appointed Lead Commissioner in January 2018, to build the new Commission. She was tasked to engage widely and openly across society, carry out a strategic assessment of extremism across England and Wales, and advise ministers on the Commission’s future priorities.³

Starting with two secretariat members, the Commission began engagement immediately and soon grew into an expert, authoritative body. Sara also established an Expert Group, made up of 13 specialists to challenge her and provide constructive advice.⁴ Sara also established three foundational principles for the Commission: engagement, impartiality and evidence.

In 2018 and 2019, the Commission carried out the largest national evidence-gathering exercise on extremism as part of its strategic assessment. It also launched the first ever public consultation into extremism, with almost 3000 responses. Having visited over 20 towns and cities across England and Wales, commissioned 19 academic papers, held 16 roundtables with experts, activists and critics, as well as reviewing hundreds of pages of Government data, the Commission published its findings in its landmark report *Challenging Hateful Extremism* in October 2019.⁵ We identified a distinct category of extremist activity outside of terrorism which we called ‘hateful extremism.’

The Commission is the only independent public body to have reviewed the Government’s 2015 Counter-Extremism (‘CE’) strategy. We evidenced some of the good work taking place under the CE strategy but ultimately criticised the confusing and ineffective approach taken by the Government, based on a vague and ambiguous definition of ‘extremism.’ We published a list of recommendations to the Government, civil society and a work programme for the Commission.

Since then, we have published two further reports evidencing hateful extremism in more detail. In July 2020, we published a report examining how hateful extremists have been exploiting the COVID-19 pandemic.⁶ In the summer of 2020, we also launched a legal review led by former Assistant Commissioner for Specialist Operations of the Metropolitan Police Service and Chair of the National Police Chiefs’ Council Counter-Terrorism, Sir Mark Rowley. In February 2021, we published the findings from our legal review, demonstrating how due to a lack of legislation designed to tackle the specific activity of hateful extremism, extremists

were able to operate lawfully and freely.⁷ More information on these can be found in this report.

Alongside our publications, we've devoted a great amount of time to engagement. We have spoken to thousands of people from diverse backgrounds and professions. These range from local councils and law enforcement bodies, to activists and organisers from a host of community groups, as well as victims.

We have also worked hard in influencing government policy on extremism. Since our creation, Sara has twice given oral evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee (2018 and 2020), and has provided submissions to several government consultations, including for the Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport ('DCMS') on the joint DCMS-Home Office Online Harms White Paper (2019), the Intelligence and Security Committee (2020), the Integrated Review (2020), and the Parliamentary Office on Science and Technology (2020). Sara is also a member of several policy steering groups, including the UK Council for Internet Safety.

As an independent body, we maintain independence from Government ministerial priorities but utilise best practice from the civil service where appropriate. Our budget and spending is negotiated with the Home Office, and are subject to Home Office finance policy and HM Treasury rules, including value for money and follow systems and processes for HR and procurement. The Commission's budget allocation and expenditure is in Annex C.

The Commission recognises the importance of transparency. While we are not covered by the Freedom of Information ('FOI') Act, to support transparency in our work we consider requests that come direct to us or via the Home Office. We have responded to numerous FOI requests received across the three years, covering areas such as the finance of the Commission, our engagement, and our work, from members of the public, media, and others.



Sara speaks at a Local Government Association event (September 2018)

How we've delivered our objectives

The Commission was created with three key remits as outlined below. We are pleased to have delivered against each of these goals, throughout the last three years.

This includes providing a clear and operational definition of hateful extremism to the Government, which defends and protects democratic freedoms and individual liberties protected by Article 17 of the Human Rights Act 1998.

Our other key deliverables can be found in the table below.

Provide the Government with impartial, external advice on the tools, policies and approaches needed to tackle extremism	Support the public sector, communities and civil society to confront extremism wherever it exists	Promote fundamental, pluralistic British values
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Published three reports on hateful extremism for the Government, with clear policy and operational recommendations. • Membership of various cross-Government and civil society policy-steering groups. • Submissions to several Government inquiries and consultations. • Created the Expert Group. • Created the Academic-Practitioner Counter Extremism Network (APCEN). • Commissioned and published a wide range of academic and expert research on extremist ideologies and counter extremism. • Undertook a review of the 2015 Counter-Extremism Strategy (the first public body to do so). • Sustained engagement with ministers across departments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Created a pilot Taskforce. • Extensive civil society engagement, visiting towns and cities across England and Wales. • Facilitated first public consultation on extremism. • Delivering public presentations and keynote speeches across the country, including to children, schools and young people. • Engaging academics and experts to fully understand how best we can support the work of counter-extremism. • Engaging the public on the effectiveness of the Government definition of extremism, and using that evidence in formulating our own definition of hateful extremism. • Openly spoken out against extremist speakers, ideologues and groups. • Regular media engagement and commentary. • Highlighted diverse forms of extremism including animal rights and Sikh extremism. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using our call to evidence to fully consult on, and understand, the wider harms of extremism on our democracy and British values. • Highlighted experiences of victims of extremism, and counter-extremists, in particular the impact and harms of extremism on women, young people, and minorities. • Speaking out on extremism and counter-extremism issues, defending individual liberties and freedoms for example, the importance of freedom of expression, freedom of religion, or belief.



Sara speaking with Baroness Williams (January 2020)



Sara visits Interlink to listen to the Charedi community share how they are affected by extremism (December 2019)



Sara visits The Tim Parry Jonathan Ball Peace Foundation hearing about the early intervention work they do with young people (June 2019)

Engagement

Since day one, the Commission has made a sustained effort to engage a diverse range of stakeholders, throughout our work. From civil society groups and politicians, to international governments and faith leaders, we strongly believe that countering extremism requires a whole society approach, acknowledging the diversity and plurality of experiences and opinions across society. We have visited schools, youth groups, non-governmental organisations, churches, mosques, synagogues, sports clubs, art centres and small, medium and large businesses.

Since March 2018, we've...



conducted evidence-gathering meetings with police forces across the country, from Northumbria Police to London Metropolitan Police Service.

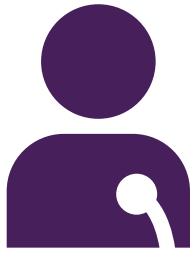


held meetings with over **100** civil society groups

held **over 20** roundtables with a variety of stakeholders, including civil society groups and industry experts.



held over **60 remote meetings** with external stakeholders, throughout the national COVID-19 lockdown



engaged over

50

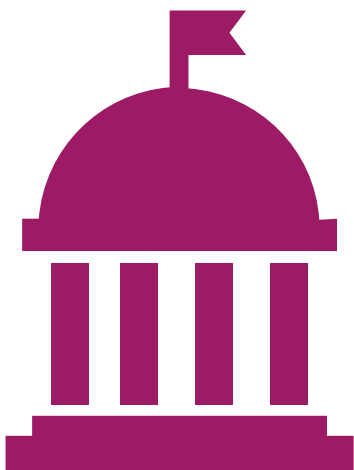
politicians

and made two appearances before the Home Affairs Select Committee.



met with a range of **international delegations**, including the Governments of **France, Australia, New Zealand, UAE, USA, Germany** and the **Netherlands**.

delivered over **30 speeches and keynote presentations**, across the country.



engaged with **over 15** government departments and regulators.



individually met over

50

different **academics, experts and think tanks**

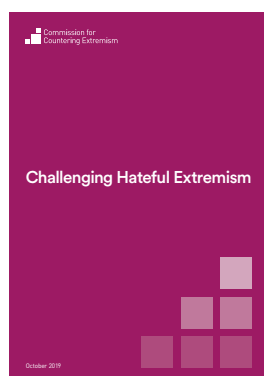
from across the world, from the University of London to Georgetown Law.



written **over 10 op-eds for print media**, focused on counter extremism.

engaged **over 20** regional and international councils, from Tower Hamlets to the European Council.

Reports and Publications (2019-2021)



Challenging Hateful Extremism (October 2019)⁸

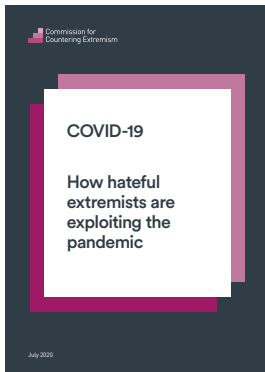
Our landmark report comprehensively assessed the extent of extremism in England and Wales and the effectiveness of current efforts to counter it, following the first ever national conversation on extremism.

The report identified and evidenced a new category of extremist activity, described as 'hateful extremism'. This includes i) behaviours which incite and amplify hate, or engage in persistent hatred, or equivocate about and make the moral case for violence; ii) which draw on hateful, hostile or supremacist beliefs directed at an out-group who are perceived as a threat to the well-being, survival or success of an in-group; and iii) cause, or are likely to cause, harm to individuals, communities or wider society.

The report made the case for a whole society and human-rights-based approach to countering extremism, through detailed recommendations to Government and civil society. Any strategy to counter extremism should be focused on tackling what we have identified as hateful extremism, in particular countering the behaviours and ideological beliefs of extremist narratives as well as mitigating against the harm of extremism at an individual and societal level. This includes ensuring better protection and support for victims.

“At a time when much government policy appears too ad libbed, it is refreshing to read a methodical, evidence-based document, which values the contribution of experts.”⁹

Robert Sharp,
politics.co.uk (2019)



COVID-19: How hateful extremists are exploiting the pandemic (July 2020)¹⁰

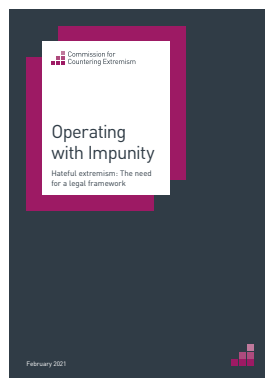
In 2020, at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, we published a report exploring the intersection between hateful extremism and COVID-19.

In our report, we found that hateful extremists used divisive, xenophobic and racist narratives to sow division and undermine the social fabric of our country, using tools such as conspiracy theories and disinformation.

We also warned that extremists have not only exploited the pandemic itself, but are likely to exploit the aftermath, as it presents further opportunities for individuals and/or communities to become more receptive to extremist messaging. Extremists will seek to capitalise on the longer-term socio-economic impacts of COVID-19 to cause further instability, fear and division in Britain, the report urged the Government to invest in counter extremism work and publish a new strategy.



Neo-Nazis 'exploiting the pandemic' to spread propaganda, says anti-extremism tsar Channel 4 News, July 2020¹¹



Operating with Impunity. Hateful extremism: The need for a legal framework (February 2021)¹²

Our legal review examined the adequacy of existing legislation in relation to hateful extremism. Published in February 2021, we used the report to evidence how extremists were exploiting legal gaps, allowing them to operate with impunity and allowing hateful extremism to flourish. The legal review demonstrated how our laws have failed to keep pace with the evolving and modern-day threat of hateful extremism, and highlighted some of the worst and most shocking extremist activity that is currently lawful in Britain.

“At a time when extremism, especially amongst young people, is worryingly on the rise, this is an important contribution towards navigating a path through the complexities of what should and should not be legal in today’s liberal democracies.”¹³

Tony Blair (2021)

The review's main recommendation to the Government was to devise a new legal and operational framework for countering hateful extremism. Hate crime and terrorism are sufficiently damaging that as a society we have built a legal and operational framework to counter such activities. Considering the rapid and evolving extremist threat, we argued that the same is needed to tackle the ever-growing activity of hateful extremism.

Unlike the Government's failed attempt at an Extremism Bill in 2015, the Commission's report and recommendations received widespread public support from several faith leaders, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and the chief Rabbi, former Prime Ministers Tony Blair and David Cameron, and Assistant Commissioner and National Lead for Counter-Terrorism Policing Neil Basu.¹⁵

"I welcome the latest report from the Commission for Countering Extremism as a stimulating contribution to a necessary debate around the sources of extremism and the harms they generate."¹⁴

Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby (2021)

"The fact that someone like Anjem Choudary was able to radicalise and poison the minds of so many people with such tragic consequences for so long without apparently breaking the law demonstrates that the law needs changing.

This report includes many such examples and helps to make the case for change. The government should act on this issue to ensure that we turn the tide in the battle on hateful extremism."¹⁶

David Cameron (2021)

"Sara and Mark's review shines a light on a serious problem, the repercussions of which we see every day within Counter Terrorism Policing.

Driven by access to new technologies, hateful extremism is becoming more widespread and increasingly pernicious. It is creeping into our everyday lives and creating a poisonous environment capable of tipping both vulnerable people and the most extreme ideologues over the edge towards terrorism."¹⁷

Assistant Commissioner Neil Basu, National Lead for Counter-Terrorism Policing (2021)

Academic Engagement, Research and Publications

As part of our key objective of taking an evidence-based approach to extremism and counter-extremism, we have commissioned various research reports alongside our own work since 2018. These include publishing 20 research papers, including 3 forthcoming papers, exploring a range of issues related to extremism. A list of these publications can be found in Annex A. These include how different types of extremism are being mainstreamed; detailed case studies of Far Right and Islamist extremist groups; overviews of the Far Left, Far Right and Sikh activism; online extremism, drivers of extremism and critiquing current counter-extremism approaches.

In 2020 we established the Commission's Academic-Practitioner Counter Extremism Network (APCEN).¹⁸ We believe it is vital to bring practitioner experience, academic insight, and policy-makers together, to ensure a more thorough understanding of both extremism and counter-extremism. One of our key aims with APCEN is to facilitate the dissemination and expansion of new research, ensuring we are up to date with the latest

and emerging research. APCEN comprises members from the Commission, regulatory bodies, and national, regional and local government practitioners working in counter-extremism, and leading academics. APCEN seeks to improve awareness and understanding of research findings to support evidence-based counter-extremism policymaking, practice, and recommendations, alongside supporting research to better understand and tackle extremism.

Responding to Extremist Threats

The Commission's work over the last three years goes well beyond our written reports, commissioned research, and advice to the Government by way of oral evidence, written submissions, and steering-group membership. Throughout her time as Lead Commissioner, Sara has been proactive in providing expert analysis and opinion on ongoing issues and breaking stories concerning extremism, in order to inform the public debate.

From providing specialist commentary on current stories and cases, to delivering keynote speeches and presentations, the Commission has always been at the forefront of exploring and evaluating developing news in the extremism sphere. Sara has provided comment on a variety of topics, including the 2019 protests against LGBT-based learning in schools, the definition and use of the term 'Islamophobia', prominent extremists entering Britain, and conspiracy theories centred around the COVID-19 pandemic.

Extremists travelled to city to exploit Parkfield School LGBT row, warns counter hate chief

"There is evidence people travelled from other parts of the country, including South Wales, to exploit the situation at Parkfield School," said Sara Khan, a human rights activist who is heading up the independent Commission on Counter Extremism. It is a tactic used by extremists - they get involved in an issue they have no stake in, handing out leaflets, posting videos and flyers online, to create a climate that is not helpful. We know that is what was happening here."²⁰

Sara Khan, Birmingham Mail, March 2019

"Extremists who turn young people to terrorism get away with it because of a chasm in the law.

The internet has a magnifying effect with children as young as 12 increasingly being drawn into extremist ideologies. Nearly 1 in 6 young people believe official accounts of the Holocaust to be lies. Hate crimes and terrorism are growing and extensive polling shows the public are worried and believe more needs to be done. Law enforcement agencies and regulatory bodies are frustrated at the lack of powers and operational capability inhibiting their capacity to bear down on persistent hateful extremists."¹⁹

Sara Khan and Sir Mark Rowley, The Telegraph, February 2021

From written op-eds to broadcast interviews, we've also made it our priority to engage with the media as we progress our work, making sure our priorities, concerns, and policy recommendations to the Government are open, transparent, and shared with the public. We have endeavoured to facilitate wider, national discussions on extremism, counter-extremism, and to empower those affected by extremism to come forward and share their own experiences. As Lead Commissioner, Sara has written pieces for several publications, including The Times,²¹ The Telegraph,²² the Guardian,²³ and The Independent.²⁴

The Future of Counter Extremism

As the Commission's work has evidenced, the threat of hateful extremism has not dissipated but instead is evolving and worsening. Concerns about extremism have traditionally focussed on reducing terrorism, but the harms are far wider and include social division, crime and violence, and economic harms. Counter-extremism work is also linked to the wellbeing of our democracy, as extremist actors seek to erode and destroy the democratic rights and freedoms essential to our society. That is why counter-extremism should be recognised as an essential policy for any government and that it is given the necessary investment and infrastructure. It should also be understood as a distinct activity in its own right, which should not be conflated with terrorism. We also strongly believe that any counter-extremism strategy or framework must be able to respond to the diverse extremist ideologies that exist in our society.

As the Government re-examines its counter-extremism policy, we urge it to consider the following eight points, based on our work over the last three years:

- 1** Without a legal and operational hateful extremism framework, we will not be able to successfully counter persistent extremist actors, organisations and online platforms, or mitigate against the harm that extremism is causing in our country. Law enforcement agencies, regulators and other public institutions lack the necessary powers required and are not clear as to what their role entails or what levers they should be employing.
- 2** The success of counter extremism also relies on building a whole society approach and through the essential use of non-legal interventions. It is not just the job of Government to counter extremism. We all have a role: from social media companies, to teachers and schools, to faith leaders and civil society groups. Understanding what that role is and what should be done needs to be part of a new Counter-Extremism Strategy. Investing in research and building understanding of which interventions are effective and which are not is critical. Interventions such as conflict mediation, counselling, use of theological counter-narratives to extremist ideology and educational awareness programmes are all needed.
- 3** Strengthening societal resilience and cohesion are essential in ensuring extremism is unable to establish roots in communities. While distinct to approaches required to directly counter extremism, which has traditionally been the responsibility of the Home Office, a societal resilience and cohesion strategy should be the responsibility of Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government to help complement the work of the Home Office and other government departments.
- 4** Online extremism has grown substantially in the last few years, with the lack of regulation of online platforms helping to facilitate and propagate extremist content in an unprecedented way. The Government's proposed Online Harms Bill is an important piece of legislation that has the potential to make a real

difference. However, the Government needs to elevate hateful extremism as a priority threat alongside terrorism and child sexual exploitation offences, making clear such material and activity is illegal online. We have put forward a number of recommendations on what more can be done to tackle online extremism in our report *Operating with Impunity* (2021).

- 5 Prevent and Counter-Extremism strategies should complement and support one another. Currently there is some overlap and blurring of boundaries. This needs to be addressed by the Home Office. Furthermore, it is important that there is permanent and regular independent oversight of the delivery of both strategies and greater transparency.
- 6 The role of the Commission as an independent body plays an important task. In the absence of a legal framework, the Commission currently lacks any statutory powers. Such powers could enable the Commission to carry out inquiries and investigations and publish assessments and recommendations. It could also establish a research and analytical hub, gathering and publishing data, research and trends on hateful extremism in Britain and the effects of countering extremism interventions. It could also help devise and independently implement a classification framework for hateful extremism, as recommended in *Operating with Impunity*.
- 7 As outlined in Sara's foreword, the abuse of counter-extremists is shocking, disproportionate, and unjustified. No-one should experience such threats and abuse for doing their job. Their role is essential in helping to ensure the success of counter extremism efforts in our country. The Government have committed to doing more to protect counter-extremists. It is important that our institutions and our society also supports counter extremism work and those that deliver it, ensuring that those who engage in such abuse are dealt with through the appropriate channels which may include accessing the criminal justice system.
- 8 If we are to be successful in reducing the extremist threat in Britain we need to ensure the three key pillars of counter-extremism are robust, effective and are all invested in. These pillars include i) countering terrorism, ii) countering hateful extremism and iii) strengthening societal resilience and cohesion. Britain has a strong legal and operational infrastructure and strategy (CONTEST) to tackle terrorism. However as the Commissioner's work has shown, we lack the legal, operational and required counter-extremism strategy to tackle hateful extremism. We also need a dedicated approach to help strengthen societal resilience and cohesion which acts as a vital bulwark in rejecting extremist narratives and activity at a local community level. If we choose to focus on one or two of these pillars and not all three, we will continue to lack the tools required to mitigate against extremism and terrorism in our country.

The Commission has put forward a number of recommendations in our reports; which we call on the Government to implement. Collectively, we must all take this threat to our citizens, our communities, and our democracy seriously and act decisively to ensure, as a nation, that we are able to respond to activity that seeks to normalise the incitement of hatred and violence, or damage and undermine social cohesion or our democracy. This is critical if we are to uphold our democratic way of life within a peaceful, plural and inclusive society which respects individual liberty and equal citizenship.

ANNEX A – List of research papers commissioned by us

Benjamin Lee. 2019. 'Overview of the Far Right', (accessed: 16 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834424/Ben_Lee_-_Overview_of_the_far_right.pdf>

Joe Mulhall. 2019. 'Modernising and Mainstreaming: The Contemporary British Far Right', (accessed: 16 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834417/Joe_Mulhall_-_Modernising_and_Mainstreaming_The_Contemporary_British_Far_Right.pdf>

Chris Allen. 2019. 'National Action: Links between the far right, extremism and terrorism', (accessed: 16 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834342/Chris_Allen_-_National_Action_Post_Publication_Revisions.pdf>

Daniel Allington, Siobhan McAndrew and David Hirsh. 2019. 'The values of the Far Left and their acceptance among the general British public and the self-identifying 'very leftwing'', (accessed: 16 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834429/Allington-McAndrew-Hirsh-2019-Jul-19.pdf>

Ajmal Hussain, Hilary Pilkington, Kelly Simcock, Jon Nicholas, Harriet Vickers and Lee Rogerson. 2019. 'Talking our way out of conflict: Critical reflections on 'mediated dialogue' as a tool for secondary level CVE', (accessed: 16 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834431/Ajmal_Hussain_Hilary_Pilkington_-_Talking_Our_Way_Out_of_Conflict_Post_Publication_Revision.pdf>

Noémie Bouhana. 2019. 'The moral ecology of extremism: a systemic perspective', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834354/Bouhana-The-moral-ecology-of-extremism.pdf>

Charlotte Heath-Kelly. 2019. 'Drivers of extremism: global political antagonisms reproduced in Cypriot and Italian insurgencies', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834403/Heath-Kelly-Drivers-of-Extremism.pdf>

Imran Awan, Hollie Sutch and Pelham Carter. 2019. 'Extremism online – analysis of extremist material on social media', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834369/Awan-Sutch-Carter-Extremism-Online.pdf>

Mark Littler. 2019. 'Exploring radicalisation and extremism online – an experimental study', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834358/Littler-Exploring-Radicalisation-and-Extremism-Online.pdf>

Kurt Braddock. 2019. 'Belief, attitude, and behaviour change: leveraging current perspectives for counter-radicalisation', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834365/Braddock-Belief-Attitude-and-Behavior-Change.pdf>

Katherine E Brown, Fiona De Londras and Jessica White. 2019. 'Embedding human rights in countering extremism: reflections from the field and proposals for change', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834398/Brown-de-Londras-White-Embedding-Human-Rights-in-Countering-Extremism.pdf>

- Helen Fenwick. 2019. 'Critiquing approaches to countering extremism via certain preventive measures', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834362/Fenwick-Critiquing-approaches-to-countering-extremism-and-terrorism-via-Prevent.pdf>
- Diane Webber and Alison Struthers. 2019. 'Critiquing approaches to countering extremism: the fundamental British values problem in English formal schooling', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/834353/Webber-Struthers-Critiquing-Approaches-to-Countering-Extremism.pdf>
- Usama Hasan and David Toube. 2019. 'Mainstreaming Islamism: Islamist institutions and civil society organisations', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/836965/mainstreaming-islamism-islamist-insitutions-and-civil-society-organisations.pdf>
- Damon L Perry. 2019. 'Mainstream Islamism in Britain: Educating for the "Islamic Revival"', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/836571/Mainstream-islamism-in-britain-education-for-the-islamic-revival.pdf>
- Michael Kenny. 2019. 'What is to be done about al-Muhajiroun? Containing the Emigrants in a democratic society', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/836686/what-is-to-be-done-about-al-muhajiroun.pdf>
- Jagbir Jhutti-Johal and Sunny Hundal. 2019. 'The changing nature of activism amongst Sikhs in the UK today', (accessed: 17 February 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/841033/the-changing-nature-of-activism-among-sikhs-in-the-uk-today-221019.pdf>
- Benedict Wilkinson, Armida van Rij, Ipsos MORI. 2019. 'An analysis of the Commission for Countering Extremism's call for evidence. Report 1: Public understanding of extremism' *The Policy Institute*, King's College London. (accessed: 16 March 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/836759/WP1_final_report.pdf>
- Benedict Wilkinson, Armida van Rij Kirstie Hewlett, Ipsos MORI, 'An Analysis of the Commission for Countering Extremism's call for evidence. Report 2: Tactics and harms' *The Policy Institute*, King's College London. (accessed: 16 March 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/836762/WP2_final_report.pdf>
- Hannah Shrimpton, Joe Wheeler and Imogen Drew. Forthcoming. 'Exploring the intersection between hateful extremism and COVID-19: A qualitative study of public attitudes, experiences, perceptions and beliefs', *Ipsos Mori*.
- Kate Cox, Theodora Ogden, Victoria Jordan and Pauline Paille. Forthcoming. 'COVID-19, Disinformation and Hateful Extremism: Literature Review Report', *RAND*.
- Jeffrey DeMarco, Lana MacNaboe and David Denney. Forthcoming. *Hateful Extremism and the Law*, *NatCen*.

ANNEX B – Engagement list from the Lead Commissioner (2018 – 2021)

Engagement List February 2018 to August 2018

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
- 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 (Parliamentary UnderSecretary of State, Ministry of Justice)
- Anna Soubry MP
- David Lammy MP
- Diane Abbott MP
- Dominic Grieve QC MP
- Matthew Hancock MP (Secretary of State, Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport)
- Sajid Javid MP (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 Women's 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
- Tell MAMA
- 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
- Unitas Communications Ltd
- West End Women and Girls, Newcastle
- Women Acting in Today's Society, Birmingham
- Women Against Radicalisation Network, Birmingham
- Young Lambeth Co-op
- Defend Free Speech

Academics, Experts and Thinktanks

- London School of Economics
- University of Birmingham
- 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
- TRENDS Research and Advisory
- International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ISCR)

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

Engagement List September 2018 to September 2019

Central Government and Regulators

- Academi Wales
- Aileen Campbell MSP, Cabinet Secretary for Communities and Local Government
- Baroness Williams, Minister for Countering Extremism
- Ben Wallace MP (Minister for State for Security and Economic Crime)
- Department for Education
- Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- Home Office
- James Brokenshire MP (Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government)
- Julie James AM (Leader of the House and Chief Whip)
- Lord Agnew (Under Secretary of State at the Department for Education)

- Lord Ahmad (Minister for the Commonwealth, the UN and South Asia), Prime Minister's Special Representative on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict and Prime Minister's Special Envoy on Freedom of Religion or Belief
- Lord Bourne (Minister for Faith) Ministry of Justice
- No 10
- Sajid Javid MP (Home Secretary)
- UK Council for Internet Safety Executive Board – *Victoria Atkins MP, Margot James MP, Nadhim Zahawi MP, BBC, Facebook, Microsoft, Google, Tech UK, Twitter, UK Interactive Entertainment, Anne Longfield Children's Commissioner for England, Welsh Government, Scottish Government, Northern Ireland Executive, National Police Chiefs' Council, Ofcom, NCA – CEOP, GCHQ, NSPCC, Childnet, Parentzone, Independent Advisory Group on Hate Crime, Internet Matters, Internet Watch Foundation, End Violence Against Women Coalition, Catch 22*
- Ministry of Justice
- Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government
- Home Affairs Select Committee

Other Public Sector

- Eden Girls School, Waltham Forest
- Local Government Association Special Interest Group on Countering Extremism
- London Borough of Croydon
- Metropolitan Police
- Michaela Community School, Wembley
- Leeds City Council
- Luton Borough Council
- Lewisham Council
- Tower Hamlets London Borough Council
- Birmingham City Council

Politicians

- Barry Copping Police and Crime Commissioner for Cleveland
- Iain Duncan Smith MP
- John Mann MP
- John Woodcock MP

- Khalid Mahmood MP
- Lord Anderson
- Lord Carlile
- Nicky Morgan MP
- Sir Edward Davey MP
- Stephen Doughty MP
- Wes Streeting MP
- Yvette Cooper MP
- Luciana Berger MP
- Mark Burns-Williams (Police and Crime Commissioner West Yorkshire)
- Nick Thomas-Symonds MP

Civil Society

- Anti-Muslim Hatred Working Group
- Bradford Young Leaders
- Brap
- Campaign Against Antisemitism
- Challenging Youth Racism
- Christian Institute
- Community Security Trust
- Eton Road Mosque
- Faith to Faithless
- GlitchUK
- Gesher EU
- Henna Foundation
- Independent Press Standards Organisation
- Muslim Inspire
- Muslim Women's Advocacy Project (MWAP)
- NAHAMU
- National Association of Head Teachers
- National Education Union
- Nation builders
- PeaceJam Wales
- Pears Institute
- Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS)
- Remembering Srebrenica
- Rights Info
- Quilliam
- SAFE Project
- Show Racism the Red Card
- St Giles Trust
- St Phillips Centre

- Stamford Hill Shomrim
- Swadhinata Trust
- The Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL)
- TUC Cymru
- Wolfson Foundation
- Women Acting in Today's Society, Birmingham
- Women Against Radicalisation Network, Birmingham
- Young Lambeth Co-op
- League of British Muslims UK
- Association of British Muslims
- Identity and Belonging Initiative
- Qadria Trust Community Education Centre, Birmingham
- Open Democracy Holocaust Memorial Day Trust
- Voice of Salam
- Birmingham South Asians LGBT
- Ahmadiyya Muslim Community UK
- Radlett Synagogue

Academics, Experts and Thinktanks

- Birkbeck University of London
- Cardiff University
- Centre for Countering Digital Hate
- Centre for the Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR)
- Civitas
- Combating Jihadist Terrorism and Extremism (CoJiT)
- Counter Extremism Project
- Coventry University
- Institute for Strategic Dialogue
- Institute of Community Cohesion (iCoCo)
- International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR)
- Internet Association
- Kings College London
- London Metropolitan University
- London School of Economics
- Policy Exchange
- School of Oriental and Asian Studies
- Teesside University

- The Lokahi Foundation
- Tony Blair Institute for Global Change
- University of Birmingham
- University of Bristol
- University of Nottingham
- The University of Manchester
- University of Westminster
- University of Sussex
- University of Wolverhampton
- Woolf Institute
- Doughty Street Chambers
- Cornerstone Global Associates
- Brick St Chambers
- CREST

International

- David Elliot MP (New South Wales Minister for Counter Terrorism)
- Royal Commission on Christchurch, New Zealand Government
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the UAE
- Michael Pompeo (US Secretary of State)

Engagement List September 2019 to April 2020

Central Government and Regulators

- Colin Bloom (Faith Engagement Advisor)
- Baroness Williams of Trafford (Minister of State Home Office)
- John Woodcock (UK Special Envoy for Countering Violent Extremism)
- Qari Asim (Government Advisor on Islamophobia)

Other Public Sector

- Neil Basu QPM (Assistant Commissioner Specialist Operations of the Metropolitan Police Service, and the National Police Chiefs Council lead for counter terrorism policing)
- Martin Hewitt QPM (Chair of the National Police Chiefs' Council)
- Blackburn College
- Blackburn with Darwen Council
- Dame Vera Baird (Victims Commissioner)

- Deputy Chief Constable Mark Hamilton
- Equalities and Human Rights Commission
- Judge Lucraft QC (Chief Coroner for England and Wales)
- National Online Hate Crime Hub
- The Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology
- University College London Institute of Education
- Yesodey Hatorah Senior Girls School

Politicians

- Jane Hutt AM (Deputy First Minister for Wales)
- Lord Carlile
- Lord Mann
- Leanne Wood AM
- Preet Gill MP
- Yvette Cooper MP

Academics, Experts and Thinktanks

- Centre for Countering Digital Hate
- CREST
- Institute for Strategic Dialogue
- Royal United Services Institute
- Tech Against Terrorism
- Tony Blair Institute for Global Change
- Twitter

Civil Society

- Anti-Muslim Hatred Working Group
- The Accord Coalition
- The Arc Project
- Archbishop of Canterbury
- Bikum Cholim Satmar
- Blackburn Interfaith Forum
- Blackburn Rovers Community Trust
- Care Network Hub
- Healthy Living, Blackburn
- Holocaust Memorial Day Trust
- HOPE Not Hate
- Interlink Foundation
- Independent Advisory Group on Hate Crime
- North London Mosque Community Centre
- Tell MAMA
- Wish Centre

Engagement List May 2020 to March 2021

Central Government and Regulators

- Law Commission
- Colin Bloom (Faith Engagement Advisor)
- Lord Walney (Independent Adviser on Political Violence and Disruption)
- Ofcom
- Baroness Williams of Trafford (Minister of State Home Office)
- Priti Patel MP (Secretary of State for the Home Department)
- Jonathan Hall QC (Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation)
- John Whittingdale MP (Minister of State for Media and Data)
- Caroline Dinenage MP (Minister of State for Digital and Culture in the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport)
- Lord Mann (Independent Advisor to UK Government on Antisemitism)
- Home Office
- No 10
- Anti-Muslim Hatred Working Group
- IMPRESS
- UK Council for Internet Safety Executive Board
- Home Affairs Select Committee
- Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
- Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government
- Cabinet Office
- William Shawcross (Independent Prevent Reviewer)

Other Public Sector

- David Cameron
- Deputy Chief Constable Mark Hamilton
- Counter Terrorism Policing
- Sarah Whitehouse QC
- London Assembly Police and Crime Committee
- The Grey Coat Hospital School
- Dame Vera Baird QC (Victims Commissioner)

- Hate Crime Policing
- Crown Prosecution Service
- All Party Parliamentary Group for the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community

Politicians

- Bambos Charalambous MP
- Yvette Cooper MP
- Robert Halfon MP
- Lord Anderson of Ipswich KBE QC
- Lord Carlile of Berriew CBE QC
- Jane Hutt MS (Deputy First Minister of Wales)
- Nick Thomas-Symonds MP
- Sajid Javid MP
- Siobhan McDonagh MP

Academics, Experts and Thinktanks

- Policy Exchange
- Tony Blair Institute for Global Change
- Centre for Countering Digital Hate
- NatCen
- Professor Hilary Pilkington
- Ahmed Shaheed – OHCHR Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief
- Institute for Strategic Dialogue
- RAND Europe
- CREST
- Antisemitism Trust
- Dr Sadi Shanaah
- Professor Paul Thomas
- Royal College of Psychiatrists
- Ipsos MORI
- Dr Kurt Braddock
- Human Digital
- Dr Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens
- Twitter
- Professor David Denney
- Royal United Services Institute
- Westminster Insight
- Academic-Practitioner Counter Extremism Network (APCEN)
- Suzanne Raine

Civil Society

- Community Security Trust
- British Future
- Since 9/11
- Index on Censorship
- English PEN
- Peter Tatchell Foundation
- Christian Institute
- National Secular Society
- Tell MAMA
- Hope Not Hate
- Faiths United Forum

Faith Leaders

- Imam Qari Muhammad Asim (Chair of Mosques and Imams National Advisory Board)
- Cardinal Vincent Nichols, Diocese of Westminster
- Nick Baines (Bishop of Leeds)
- David Porter (Chief of Staff and Strategy to the Archbishop of Canterbury)
- Chief Rabbi Ephraim Mirvis

International

- Government of France – French Embassy in London
- Government of New Zealand – Classification Office
- No Hate Alliance – Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
- National Initiative Against Organised Crime (NIOC), Pakistan

ANNEX C – Commission finances (2018-2021)

The Commission’s budget is £1,350,000 per annum. This is in line with HM Treasury (HMT) Guidance on Managing Public Money (the consent for our expenditure was based on HMT consent under the guidance in Box 2.6),²⁵ and agreement from the Home Office.

In year 1 (2018-2019) the Commission spent £717,917.26, in year 2 (2019-2020) a total of £1,118,428 was spent. Up to the end of January 2021, we have spent £703,195 in year 3.

Sara Khan has claimed £501.74 in expenses across the three-year period of the Commission.

Budget for the Commission, 2018/19

	Year 1 – 2018/19
Total budget	£1,350,000
Expenditure	£717,917.26
Pay	£491,460.97
Non-pay	£226,456.29

Budget for the Commission, 2019/2020 and 2020/2021

	Year 2 – 2019/20	Year 3 – 2020/21 ⁱ
Total budget	£1,350,000	£1,350,000
Expenditure	£1,118,428	£703,195
Pay	£659,015	£530,340
Non-pay	£459,412	£172,855
Study and recommendations	£293,706	£115,519
Research	£97,294	£32,216
IT and accommodation	£68,412	£25,120

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- 2 Commission for Countering Extremism. 2018. *Charter for the Commission for Countering Extremism*, 15 March 2018, (accessed: 5 March 2021), <<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/charter-for-the-commission-for-countering-extremism/charter-for-the-commission-for-countering-extremism>>
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- 5 Commission for Countering Extremism. 2019. 'Challenging Hateful Extremism', (accessed: 8 March 2021), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/874101/200320_Challenging_Hateful_Extremism.pdf>
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