Police-Muslim Engagement and Partnerships for the Purposes of Counter-Terrorism: an examination

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1 Introduction: Setting the Scene

1.1. In the aftermath of the 7/7 bombings and in the context of a post 9/11 ‘New Terror’ discourse, the prevention of violent extremism has become one of the most significant issues for policy makers in the UK. Within this heightened security context, Muslim communities have become a focus, and a multi-layered, multi-agency approach (Home Office, 2008) has been taken to develop and support strategies underpinned by the now established counter-terrorism maxim ‘communities defeat terrorism’ (Briggs et al. 2006).

1.2. Although counter-terrorism policies and practices have been dominated by ‘hard-sided’ strategies involving surveillance, intelligence gathering, the use of informants and the implementation of a number of anti-terror laws under the Pursue strand of the government’s CONTEST strategy (HM Government, 2006), the ascendency of a community centred notion of counter-terrorism has seen increasing prominence given to the Prevent agenda (Smith: October 2008 http://security.homeoffice.gov.uk/news-publications/news-speeches/speech-to-ippr). With this shift towards interaction and engagement with citizens, the British government has placed the police at the forefront of this work, in relation to the Pursue, but particularly the Prevent strand in which police officers are working with Muslim communities in order to help prevent violent extremism (Lowe & Innes, 2008).

1.3. This enhanced community focus in counter-terrorism and the central role of policing here raises a number of questions relating to the ways in which such engagement is being carried out, its impact on Muslim citizens and its effectiveness in contributing to both state and human security. The following report presents a summary of the main findings of research into this area, from a project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council under the auspices of the Religion and Society programme, headed ‘An Examination of Partnership Approaches to Challenging Religiously-Endorsed Violence involving Muslim Groups and Police’. The project was undertaken by an interdisciplinary team from the University of Birmingham: Dr. Basia Spalek, Institute of Applied Social Studies, Dr. Salwa El-Awa, Department of Theology, and Dr. Laura Zahra McDonald, Institute of Applied Social Studies, with Robert Lambert MBE, Lecturer, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV), University of St. Andrews and Research Fellow, Department of Politics, University of Exeter, as the project consultant.

1.4. The study explored issues relating to the following research questions:

1. What are the key components to effective partnership work between police and Muslim groups for counter-terror purposes? What is meant by ‘partnership work’, and how does this differ from other forms of engagement? How do different participants view partnership?
2. What are the structures and processes of Muslim/police partnership?
3. How, and in what ways, might partnership work be compromised?
4. How, and in what ways, are the experiences and religious knowledges of Muslim groups working with the police important to the development of counter-terror strategies?
5. How do Muslim groups challenge religiously, or other, endorsed violence in counter-terror partnerships developed between themselves and the police?
1.5. Within the context of counter-terrorism, these are key questions, particularly in light of previous research that has established that trust and confidence in the police can be seriously undermined in situations where communities feel that they are being over-policing (MacPherson, 1999; Jones & Newburn, 2001). A breakdown of police-community relations can have serious consequences for policing, and in the context of counter-terrorism can halt the flow of vital information from communities, considered a key issue within the CONTEST strategy (Hillyard, 1993; Hillyard, 2005). For such reasons, it is of vital importance to research and explore engagement and forms of partnership work between police and Muslim communities fully.

1.6. Of course, the terms ‘community’, ‘partnership’, ‘terrorism’, ‘counter-terrorism’ and ‘violent extremism’ are complex with multiple and contested meanings, and even the use per se of ‘community’ for social and criminal justice policy has been questioned. This summary report, although cognisant of these wider academic and policy debates, will not feature an in-depth exploration of terminology owing to the limited word space. Rather, it aims to flag up key issues that may be of interest to community members, counter-terrorism practitioners and policy-makers alike.

1.7. Before setting out the main findings from the research study, the following section will briefly describe the methodological approach that was taken by the researchers.

2 Research Methodology and Approach

2.1. This is a small-scale, but in-depth, research study utilising qualitative research methods involving semi-structured interviews, documentary analysis and participant observations of meetings. This approach reflects a concern to document the experiences and perceptions of police officers and Muslim community members who are involved in partnership work for the purposes of counter-terrorism. Such an approach is significant for two main reasons. Firstly, within counter-terrorism arenas research has often been dominated by state-centric perspectives founded on secondary sources and lacking the input of primary data collection and analysis. For this reason, traditional terrorism studies has been criticised for being analytically and methodologically weak, relying too heavily on secondary information and failing to understand terrorism and counter-terrorism not only through the perspectives and experiences of practitioners, but also through those experiencing state repression (Breen Smyth, 2007; Jackson, 2007). Secondly, individuals’ perspectives and experiences can produce new and different ways of viewing and understanding counter-terrorism policy, and as such constitute a way through which social policy can be explored, and best practice identified. Although narratives are not static and contain elements of contestation, they nonetheless enable researchers and policy makers to explore how individuals locate themselves and how they experience their social worlds (Hopkins, 2004).

2.2. Partnership approaches involving police and Muslim communities are likely to be experienced and perceived differently according to an individual’s social location/identity. As such, it is important to document how different participants in the engagement process view and experience partnership work. Two case studies focussed upon in this research project were the Muslim Contact Unit (MCU) and the Muslim Safety Forum (MSF). In total forty-two individuals were interviewed. Thirteen of these participants were police officers – MCU, NCTT and ACPO officers, and twenty-nine were members of Muslim communities and organisations involved to varying levels in partnership/engagement work with the police, either through the MSF or directly with the MCU or NCTT. Interviews took place between December 2007 and July 2008. At the same time, researchers attended and observed MSF
community meetings and MSF meetings with senior police officers in Scotland Yard. The minutes of meetings were also examined.

3 Key Findings: Community Experiences Post 9/11

"One of the key factors is that because they don’t understand Islam and they don’t understand the Muslim community... everybody is tarnished with the same brush".

Member of community organisation

3.1. A vital context for the study of police engagement and partnership with Muslim communities was the experience of policing, counter-terrorism and the social and political situation in Britain post 9/11, and particularly post 7/7. Research participants informed this understanding as individuals, but also as members of grassroots organisations dealing with such issues within communities.

Muslim Minorities as ‘Suspect’ Communities

3.2. ‘New Terror’ discourses are founded on the construction of Muslim minorities as comprising of communities who are at risk from violent extremism. Young Muslim men in particular have been viewed as constituting a ‘problem group’ and have become the predominant targets of anti-terrorist legislation and counter-terrorism surveillance policing in Britain (Poynting and Mason, 2006) and other countries. The following issues were raised by participants in explaining the negative impact of discourse and practice:

- ‘Hard’ policing approaches - including increased stop and search, non-conviction and high profile raids, and the perception of an increase in aggressive attempts at recruiting informers - are creating barriers to good police-community relations, and subsequent partnership. This has helped create a sense of grievance amongst Muslims, with individuals arguing that they feel that they are suspect communities.
- Suspicion has grave consequences upon an individual’s and their family’s life including job losses, family breakdown, mental health issues and ostracisation from their wider communities.
- Individuals on the receiving end of ‘hard’ tactics are often too frightened to report incidents even to community groups.
- Individuals argue that their experience of anti-terror laws has reduced their motivation to engage with state authorities. This is illustrative of the ways in which ‘hard’ approaches to counter-terrorism can significantly undermine any attempts at engagement between Muslim communities and police.
- Individuals spoke about how they feel pressurised to explain the construction of their Muslim identities, particularly in relation to Britishness.
3.3. Collectively, participants’ narratives exemplify the kinds of frustration and anger that ‘hard’
approaches to counter-terrorism are generating within Muslim communities, significantly
compromising efforts to engage with communities to reduce the terror threat. Individuals’ stories
powerfully illustrate that any initiative set up to counter-terror involving state authorities and Muslim
communities will have to be sensitive to, and be able to negotiate through, the negative and painful
experiences that individuals have suffered, either individually or at the group collective level, in order
to build an effective project whereby Muslim communities feel that they are stakeholders and equal
partners in the initiative.

3.4. It is also important to note that engagement strategies can be influenced by ‘New Terror’ discourses
that make normative assumptions about what kinds of Muslim identities should be engaged, and
which help sustain a binary between ‘Muslimness’ and ‘Britishness’. Muslim identities considered to
value the *Ummah* over feelings of Britishness, or who appear to isolate themselves from wider
society, can be negatively judged as a threat to social cohesion and consequently marginalised from
engagement processes. Experiences of Islamophobia can also negatively impact upon engagement
processes.

**Islamophobia**

3.5. In Britain, under the Anti Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001, a religiously aggravated element to
crime has been introduced, which involves imposing higher penalties upon offenders who are
motivated by religious hatred. The study reported here found that Islamophobia was a significant
issue for the individuals who were interviewed. Instances of Islamophobia that interviewees referred
to include the following:

- Being verbally and physically abused.
- Being threatened.
- Being physically assaulted.
- Having homes or cars firebombed or attacked with acid.

3.6. Participants related that the reporting of instances of Islamophobia is rare. There is a certain level of
acceptance that Islamophobic instances are the norm rather than the exception, a part of individuals’
everyday lives. In addition, individuals do not want to ‘create a fuss’ around their experiences.

4 **Key Findings: Counter-terrorism and Policing**

“There was a need to carry out work that was quite separate from [the] military led
approach, that was separate and distinctive from that George Bush style, ‘you are either
with us or with the terrorists’. We could see from the outset that that was not only
flawed, but also likely to be counterproductive. Our experience was that you had to
retain the support, indeed you had to try and have pro-active support from the very
sections of the community that the terrorists were trying to make into terrorists.”

*MCU Officer*
Policing in the ‘New Terror’ Context

4.1. A fundamental focus of the research was the way policing is carried out in Britain, against the background of academic and political discourses of ‘New Terror’ – the belief that counter-terrorism work is now operating against a new and unprecedented form of terrorism. Providing a critique of this scenario, and highlighting its potential reduction of police effectiveness, the research looks at the evidence presented by police officers and community members regarding the safeguarding of community policing and counter-terrorism.

4.2. It is important to stress that police engagement with Muslim communities is multi-layered. Engagement in its differing forms is carried out by a cross section of policing, at a local level ranging from community liaison to counter-terrorism officers to national units such as the National Communities Tension Team (NCTT). There is also diversity in relation to the different parts of Muslim communities with whom engagement takes place, from grassroots youth groups, to various national representative bodies and religious institutions. The overall picture is therefore highly complex, with a host of different objectives and approaches being used at any one time.

4.3. A particularly pertinent case study in police partnership work is the Muslim Contact Unit (MCU) based in London. After 9/11, the MCU was established by two Special Branch police officers within the Metropolitan Police Service whose skills had been honed through long-standing work with a wide range of communities for the purposes of countering terrorism, and which provided an ideal skills set for community engagement with the diverse Muslim populations of London. Empirical evidence gathered during the course of this study highlights that the MCU has built upon the tradition of community policing, now more commonly referred to as community engagement, which itself has a long history within British policing.

4.4. The following points were seen to be vital:

- Acknowledging the value of working with specific communities, in this case Muslim communities, so as to develop specialist knowledge and strategic, effective partnerships.
- Recognising the efficacy of specific remits for policing units to focus skills and resources tactically.
- Using in-depth understanding of complex communities to contextualize and filter intelligence for the benefit of policing and community welfare.
- Dedication to grassroots connection and trust building, including building bridges between police and members of communities who have been previously marginalised or alienated.
- Facilitating community participation as mutually beneficial, even if forms of participation are not routinely of direct police interest.
- Negotiating conflicting values: as the values and goals of police and community members are not always in concordance, it is vital that conflicts are addressed to the satisfaction of all partners, and that commonalities are used to consolidate partnerships.
- Negotiating potentially conflicting values in terms of community-based policing values and national security policing values. Effective police practitioners are able to manage conflicting values.
• Intelligence gathering, particularly community intelligence, should be viewed as a secondary benefit of partnership work, which seeks primarily to empower communities to develop approaches to tackling violent extremist ideology and its propagators. A focus on cultivating informer-handler relationships can be counterproductive and can isolate community members.
• The importance of providing Reassurance Policing in the context of racist and Islamophobic attacks.
• Excellent interpersonal skills are necessary for police officers to approach and forge partnerships in such sensitive circumstances. The research found numerous examples of these skills from observing interactions as well as through information gleaned through the interviewing process.
• The unique position of Muslim police officers is important to partnership work for the purposes of counter-terrorism. The research discovered the challenges facing individuals who are both members of Muslim communities and the police, and who are able to negotiate and develop key facilitatory and bridging roles for themselves.
• Muslim police officers have brought with them not only operational policing and community policing experience, but also social and cultural capital that may enable them to build partnerships with particular minorities of the Muslim population.

Developing effective police –community engagement and partnership

4.5. Multiple forms of police-community engagement and partnership were documented and explored by the research, which concludes that there are a number of key factors in the development of successful long-term engagement and partnership approaches:

• The centrality of dialogue and trust-building between partners.
• The need to acknowledge grievances on both sides, for example the frustration with foreign policy for some community members, and the perception by some police officers that community members may apportion too much responsibility regarding political matters on police rather than politicians.
• Understanding and making space for emotions: counter-terrorism and related issues are emotive subjects and areas of work. Recognizing emotions on the part of police and community members allows participants to address negative sentiments, and use the energy and commitment underpinning positive emotion to drive partnership work.
• Developing individual and community empowerment: supporting independent community interests, especially within the highly politicised environment of counter-terrorism, may be particularly problematic for police officers.
• Identifying those members of communities who can partner with police: in-depth knowledge of the complexities of communities allows for strategic partnering between police and communities, and the development of relations with those best placed to counter terrorism, including in some cases, Muslim groups normatively deemed ‘radical’.
Building on the mutual goal of the prevention of violent actions and drawing upon and utilizing community experiences, ideas and knowledge.

The importance of a multi-agency approach, whereby the police, communities, statutory and other agencies work in partnership to address violent extremism.

Counter-terrorism methodologies and future developments

4.6. The traditional dichotomy between 'hard' and 'soft' forms of policing within counter-terrorism has served to marginalise 'softer' approaches because of the dominance of 'harder' policing tactics and strategies. However, there is a history of successful policing using 'soft' methods such as community engagement, and much evidence to suggest that such approaches are as effective as 'hard' practices. The MCU, for example, may represent an alternative model of policing through its integration of 'soft' community policing as propounded by the National Community Tensions Team, within the traditionally 'hard' arena of counter-terrorism. Of particular interest to developing counter-terrorism methodologies is the unit’s focus on engagement with grassroots Muslim community groups and activists, and its development of long-term, mutually beneficial partnerships with them. As such, the unit successfully bridges the 'hard'/‘soft’ dichotomy to produce an effective approach to counter-terrorism through inclusivity and openness with community members, opening space for the kind of dialogue and trust-building necessary to the long-term success of counter-terrorism strategies. The work of the unit highlights that although engagement in the context of counter-terrorism has almost exclusively been viewed negatively, engagement in this context can be positive for both communities and police officers.

Measurements of success in counter-terrorism

4.7. The research addressed the challenge of measuring success with regards to counter-terrorism work, suggesting that the benefits of lasting, preventative practices demand more nuanced and holistic forms of assessment. Demand for instant and quantifiable results is not only unfeasible, but damaging to the creation of effective policy and practice.

4.8. With policing placed at the heart of community based counter-terrorism, it is important to examine the nature of police-community partnerships, identifying the factors which help or inhibit their efficacy and exploring what is meant by ‘effective partnership’. Such analysis should act to further inform future policies and practices in relation to the prevention of violent extremism.

Engaging Radicals

4.9. The research study highlights the tensions for policing in a counter-terrorism context in having to negotiate adopting a pragmatic ‘what works’ approach within a highly politicised arena. The research found that engaging with effective partners from within Muslim communities, including ‘radicals’ such as those labelled ‘Salafi’ or ‘Islamist’, is paramount. The following points are important to consider within this aspect of the discussion:

• The problematic nature of the term ‘radical’ as highly subjective, multifariously defined, and embedded in politicised, often ethically questionable discourses.
• The purpose of counter-terrorism needs to be clearly defined in engagement work. It might be argued that engaging in political debates over the status of Muslims and their beliefs regarding citizenship, values and cohesion is not of relevance to counter-terrorism work. Rather, the overriding aim within counter-terrorism should be the prevention of acts of violence, tackling the individuals and ideologies behind it. If the most effective community partners are those with whom politicians would prefer not to deal, this should not influence police decision-making in relation to which community members should be engaged.

• Successful engagement with marginal and marginalised Muslim groups is especially dependent on trust building and mutual gain, including the support of grassroots initiatives, the acknowledgment of ‘taboos’ such as the effect of foreign policy on the recruitment of individuals to violent extremism, and the need to locate, highlight and develop common goals and values.

Community perspectives on engagement & the Muslim Safety Forum

4.10. A central aspect to the research study was to record and analyse the ideas and experiences of community members who have disengaged, or continue to engage with the police regarding counter-terrorism. These are the grassroots experts whose opinions are highly relevant to the subject, yet whose voices are often unheard.

4.11. The Muslim Safety Forum was used as a case study within the research, and is explored in-depth in the main report. This well-established forum has helped to create a space for dialogue between police officers and members of Muslim communities, and also drives several projects within which partnerships are key. This research study explored the challenges and successes of the Muslim Safety Forum as a way of exploring practice in community–police engagement and partnership work.

4.12. The following findings are of principle significance:

• Forms of community connection with the police can be classified under three broad categories – engagement, disengagement and partnership. The nature of these forms of relations relates directly to their impact on counter-terrorism work, with disengagement – which may be divided into active and passive, temporary and long-standing forms – working against the long-term success of counter-terrorism. At the opposite end of the spectrum, partnership instigated and supported within communities has proven highly effective, as demonstrated by operations carried out by the Muslim Contact Unit studied for this research. It is also useful to make a distinction between reactive and proactive styles of engagement. While there is often a tendency, particularly in the light of major events and tragedies, to initiate engagement reactively, the experiences of police officers and community members suggests that proactive engagement that seeks to tackle issues before they escalate, with the luxury of time rather than pressure to find immediate solutions, is likely to be more effective. In addition, proactive and reactive styles of engagement differ in the dynamics generated
between police and community partners. For example, under the model of proactive engagement, communities become actively involved in the development of initiatives with police, having a decision-making role whereby communities are consulted and actively engaged at all stages of a project. In the case of reactive engagement, communities are expected to respond to initiatives/events that have already been developed/taken place, so that feedback is sought rather than active involvement in decision-making. The research suggests that engagement is in a state of constant flux, often between the two models. In addition, it is important to acknowledge the power differential between communities and police in engagement processes, wherein police may at times assert authority over communities and thereby limit scope for actual partnership.

- There may be considerable tension in engagement because whilst some stakeholders may almost exclusively be seeking proactive engagement, others may be expecting and following the model of reactive engagement.

- The breadth and scope of engagement may lack clarity. Whilst some stakeholders in the process may view engagement as largely comprising the airing of grievances, others view it at as an opportunity for strategic-level thinking. Thus, the process is understood as allowing individuals to give their feedback on, and input into, policing processes and dynamics at a structural rather than an individual level.

- Other tensions within may be linked to capacity issues: the ability of communities to engage when considering the limited access to resources.

- Partnership work between communities and the police requires a high level of sensitivity and diplomacy if it is to avoid creating or exacerbating intra-community tensions and competition, which impacts negatively on security as well as wider community relations.

- Partnership work for counter-terrorism is supported by community members for many reasons, including a sense of social justice, desire for peace and security, and as a religious duty. Equally, disengagement may be justified by a concern for social justice, a belief that engagement with police is ineffective in tackling violence, and a sense that the concerns of Muslim communities are being marginalised despite, or even because of, engagement. Understanding these motivations and concerns is thus vital to promoting partnerships of mutual benefit.

- Success of partnership work and engagement is measured by communities in different ways, including the positive and negative impact it has on inter and intra community relations.

- The wider social and political context since 9/11, as well as the history of police-community relations in any one area, directly influences the extent to which members of communities are willing to engage. While intra-community tensions may impact negatively on engagement, police-community tensions almost always lead to some degree of disengagement.
5  **Key Findings: Religion and Religious Knowledge**

I think many have missed the mark - the battle is first and foremost ideological and then you get those who try to politicise the ideology in some respects. So we fought against that. We said no, what you’re saying is wrong, these are the tenets of Islam, this is what the scholars are saying in this instance, this is where politics is in its place, this is where it’s not in its place. So they [individuals holding violent extremist views] became aware of that.

‘Radical’ mosque representative and youth worker

5.1. Another key aspect of the research was a focus upon the centrality of faith and religious knowledge in counter-terrorism. Historically, in a pre 9/11 world, communities were viewed by the police as primarily ethnic groups. Tensions giving rise to crime and meriting police surveillance were not understood as arising from specifically religious questions. But the events of 9/11 and 7/7 brought religion - Islam in particular - to the forefront of policing issues.

5.2. Against this background, the research looked into the role of theology, religious knowledge and personal faith for some members of the Muslim community partnering the police for the purposes of counter-terrorism. Research questions relating to this area included:

1. Does religion come into counter-terrorism work?
2. Does it help or hinder this kind of work?
3. Has partnership with individuals and groups with particular religious affiliations been useful to counter-terrorism, or has religion been a cause of tension?

5.3. Significant features of the findings include the following:

- Religious knowledge is essential in fighting violent ideology, both with regards to understanding and developing counter arguments for the motivations of individuals and groups supporting and using violence, and also in the motivations of those seeking to prevent violence from an Islamic paradigm.
- The role of faith and possession of religious knowledge are a fundamental aspect to the positionality and roles of Muslim police officers working in counter-terrorism.
- In the case of Muslim community members, religious convictions provide strong motivations to co-operate with the police's efforts to fight violence committed in the name of Islam. Conversely, religious interpretations and perceptions may in some cases hinder co-operation with counter-terrorism, for example when policing methods utilise techniques understood to go against principles of Islam.
- Communication, openness and acceptance of difference in religion and religious matters are essential components of successful partnership work.
6 Key Findings: Inclusivity, Gender and Youth

“Intervention has got to be grass roots; it’s got to be on the ground. It’s got to be face to face. And you can’t do that if they don’t relate to you, you don’t relate to them.”

Youth worker on tackling violent extremist ideas

6.1 Recognizing and connecting with the most effective partners from Muslim communities is essential to long term counter-terrorism success. The research found compelling evidence for developing an awareness and inclusive approach to women and young people within counter-terrorism. A review of literature relating to terrorism and counter-terrorism studies reveals a distinct marginalisation and stigmatisation of women’s roles in both countering and perpetrating violence, and a highly disconnected, othering stance to young people.

6.2 Pertinent points include the following:

- The data suggests that the marginalisation of Muslim women within counter-terrorism – as police officers and community members engaging in partnership work - is preventing greater levels of success for the counter-terrorism effort.
- Many Muslim women have the knowledge and skills to communicate and work with the most marginalised members of communities, not only in relation to wider Prevent work, but also in their ability to connect with women who are already supporters or potential perpetrators of extremist violence. The research findings suggest that this is a massively underdeveloped area of counter-terrorism work.
- A multitude of barriers currently act to inhibit the participation of women in engagement and partnership for the purposes of counter-terrorism including:
  - A lack of conceptual policy-based and academic support for women’s involvement.
  - The experience of prejudice by those already involved in or disengaged from police-community work.
  - The impact of ‘hard’ counter-terrorism approaches including the pressure to act as informers.
- The pathologising of Muslim youth through ‘hard’ counter-terrorism practices and New Terror discourses is increasing the high sense of alienation experienced by many young people, which decreases the likelihood of positive engagement, and may also contribute to the complex process of violent radicalisation.
- Empirical evidence suggests that youth-focussed grassroots organisations – especially those categorised as ‘radical’ - are intervening at several levels to prevent violence. Muslim youth workers, including those able and willing to deal with the most challenging issues that are of direct relevance to security, must therefore be supported in their work.
Policy may be more thoroughly informed and therefore effective, if it connects with grassroots practitioners rather than ‘representatives’, including youth workers and grassroots based women activists.

7 Questions for further research

7.1. While answering many of the research questions, the study also uncovered areas which demand further attention, particularly regarding the ways in which young people - who are a major focus for the British government’s Prevent strategy - are able to interact with police. The following questions are of particular interest to the research team, and it is hoped that future projects will contribute to knowledge in this area:

- What empirical evidence exists of partnership work with youth in preventing violence?
- How do police work with Muslim communities to prevent religio-political extremism amongst Muslim youth? Do partnerships as we have explored them actually exist with young people? Or through mediation with youth workers in some way?
- To what extent is trust an important element of partnership work, and how is it built?
- How do police officers and young people manage potentially conflicting values in relation to issues such as multiculturalism, Britishness, religious identity and so forth?
- What specific issues for partnership work in relation to the prevention of violent extremism does working with Muslim youth raise? For example, are young people actively involved in mosques, or do they feel alienated from them? How does this impact upon, and influence, prevention work that involves mosques and madrassas?
- How and to what extent is religion used in the processes of violent radicalisation, and de-radicalisation?
- How important and how effective is religion, religious text and knowledge in work aiming to prevent violent extremism amongst Muslim youth? How is it used?
- How are contemporary Islamic jurisprudential approaches addressing questions for Muslims living in modern, non-Islamic states, particularly regarding religious and legal obligations and the balance of priorities?
Further information

The points briefly highlighted in this summary report will be developed more fully in a range of outputs that will be produced by the research team in the near future. For further information, please do not hesitate to contact the following team members:

Dr Basia Spalek: b.spalek@bham.ac.uk
Dr Salwa El Awa: s.m.elawa@bham.ac.uk
Dr Laura Zahra McDonald: l.z.mcdonald@bham.ac.uk
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Notes: