RETHINKING

RADICALISATION

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Report on Phases 1 &2 of the Manchester Community Dialogue

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MANCHESTER
CITY COUNCIL

1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 - PROJECT PURPOSE

The Manchester Dialogue 'Rethinking Radicalisation' project is a bold approach to engaging communities on issues that have the potential to create tensions, differences and divisions between and within communities – not just in Manchester, but in towns and cities across the UK and beyond.

From the start, Manchester City Council and Greater Manchester Police recognised the engagement challenges around the Prevent agenda nationally but were committed to engaging with and hearing from a range of diverse voices and representatives from across Manchester's communities about these but also how as a city public institutions and communities could collectively work together. To achieve this, the community dialogue events were widely publicised and not just through the usual networks and groups. Manchester was keen to identify and work with a network of diverse, active and interested community representatives on issues related to community safety, community relations and the Prevent agenda. Manchester City Council decided to pause and dig deeper into the needs and concerns of its residents, in an effort to encourage communities to shape and own such efforts.

Instead of ducking the issue the civic authorities opened the door and their ears to community members and other partners. In doing so Manchester city is taking an important lead, setting an example for other cities and towns to follow in putting the community at the heart of responding to these issues.

The Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace was commissioned to facilitate and guide this community dialogue on Rethinking Radicalisation. Work with communities in Northern Ireland, Yorkshire, the South West and beyond has provided an important and useful lens through which to analyse the challenges facing Manchester. We have also drawn upon lessons from other places that have experienced destructive cycles of conflict and violence to help inform the issues raised by residents and agencies in Manchester.

1.2 - WHAT WAS DONE

To this end the Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace was commissioned to facilitate a process of engagement and dialogue. Over fifteen months we brought together over 200 stakeholders from civil society and the public sector to participate in multiple events, as well as drawing on a wealth of expertise and networks of those already engaged in working on related agendas the city. Panels of contributing speakers from many different perspectives provided an important stimulus for critical thought and exploring, posing challenges that helped all those involved in the process to assess the current state of community relations and radicalisation in Manchester—and working out where the city might go next.

Panellists would speak and drop-in on table sessions where community members engaged in discussion about pre-set questions. Pre-set questions were formulated to help provide a line of sight through the dialogue processes engaged in and were specifically designed to help provide focus and promote pragmatism in participants being able to help shape things going forwards. The questions varied from event to event seeking to draw on learning and issues raised in events prior and to facilitate a deeper dive

into said themes. All that said, national and international events dominated at times with incidents such as the Charlie Hebdo attacks in Paris and changes in government legislation relating to counter terrorism providing real opportunities for communities to reflect and respond directly to these live issues.

For a session with young people more interactive elements were introduced, and slightly different activities also shaped the two Action Planning sessions, where public sector and civil society representatives reflected on some of the outputs of the community dialogue events and grappled with potential steps to take next. In addition, there were a number of unsolicited written contributions, including from representatives of safety forums and residential associations, and these important contributions were also analysed in identifying the key themes and recurring viewpoints.

This report reflects on the issues raised by residents in Manchester based on their experiences, perceptions and the realities for those individuals. These perspectives were solicited through the structured process of dialogue and questioning outlined in the table below. The issues raised and responses received were analysed qualitatively as the focus of the engagement was to dialogue with communities rather than produce quantitative analyses of communities' views. This does not mean that responses do not reflect a consensus within groups, on the contrary – this is the aim of the report. It should however be recognised that the responses reflect the views of what was a proactive, interested and engage constituency of attendees who in many cases are politicised around such issues. A useful and important resource for Manchester as it moved forwards in trying to engage and enthuse communities to help it vision collaborative ways forwards on issues relating to Prevent.

In conjunction with this report, the reader may find it useful to refer to other material relating to and referred to within the report. Notably, the Government's' Prevent strategy, the Counter Terrorism Bill, the Extremism Strategy and guidance on the Channel programme as well as Safeguarding policies in relation to Prevent. Throughout the process of Rethinking Radicalisation, these were discussed at different points and as such, are referred to within this report.

1.3 – PROJECT ACTIVITIES

The following table sets out the events delivered during the Rethinking Radicalisation programme. A separate report was provided to Manchester City Council following the initial 'Big Questions' event that took place in April 2014 and led to the development of the programme activity below.

Event	Date	Location	Attendance	Panellists	Questions
1 - South	25/11/14	British Muslim Heritage Centre, Whalley Range	62	Colin Parry OBE, Chairman, The Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace Sheikh Abu Muntasir, Chief Executive, Jamiat Ihyaa Minhaaj al-Sunnah (JIMAS) Duncan Morrow, Senior Lecturer, University of Ulster	1 – Perception vs reality – to what extent are communities in Manchester divided? 2 – Given the state we're in, how do we deal with these challenges around threat and vulnerability? 3 – What do communities need? Is there any learning from this evening (including key takeaways)?
2 - North	22/01/15	Irish World Heritage Centre, Cheetham Hill	72	Professor Ted Cantle CBE, The ICoCo Foundation Rupert Dore, Head of Prevent, Association of Chief Police Officers	1 – How does Manchester make its communities feel safe? 2 – What are the things that people aren't talking about? 3 – What's the one thing that needs to happen to build resilience?
3 - Wythenshawe	12/02/15	Woodhouse Park Lifestyle Centre	68	Dr. Rizwaan Sabir, Edge Hill University Dr. Shamim Miah, Senior Lecturer, School of Education, University of Huddersfield Dr. Duncan Morrow, Senior Lecturer, University of Ulster	1 – Where does the responsibility lie in dealing with radicalisation and violent extremism? 2 – What steps can lead to a shared vision? How? 3 – What questions have not been asked?
Young People	18/03/15	Manchester Town Hall	78	None	1 – To what extent is Manchester made up of different identities and communities? 2 – Do these differences create challenges in Manchester? 3 – Do you think radicalisation is an issue for Manchester? How do you know?
Public Sector Action Planning	10/07/15	Manchester Town Hall	17	None	1 – Where are the gaps? Policy and practice. 2 – How do we hold difficult conversations and support safe spaces? 3 – How do we innovate with regards to: the media; engaging 'unusual suspects; (re)defining radicalism 4 – Manchester values – what are the principles we should be signing up to and how do we uphold them?
Civil Society Action Planning	29/07/15	St Thomas Conference Centre, GMCVO, Ardwick	22	None	1 – What are the gaps in the interim report? How do we fill them? 2 – How do we create safe spaces for real conversations? 3 – Education: How do we manage the challenges of an outdated curriculum? 4 – How do we raise awareness and increase understanding? 5 – How do we engage with families to build resilience? 6 – What's the role of a Community Ambassador?

2 – ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY DIALOGUE EVENTS

This section reflects on the key themes and issues that emerged from the three Community Dialogue events and the young people's event that took place through the Rethinking Radicalisation project.

2.1 - NATIONAL DIRECTION AND CONSTRAINTS

Prevent has been derided by influential critics as both toxic and determined at a national level, indifferent to the supposed localisation of the agenda during the last Parliament.

In August 2014 the national threat level was raised from 'substantial' to 'severe'. This coincided with the eruption of the so-called 'Islamic State' (known various as ISIS, ISL or Da'Esh, but hereafter IS) in Iraq, extending from its base in a Syria wracked by a prolonged, multi-faction civil war fuelled by external actors and 'foreign fighters'. Throughout this project there were several high profile media stories covering the travel of UK residents to Syria—including by startlingly young Britons. Local and national Counter-Terrorism (CT) operations and Criminal Justice System (CJS) proceedings resonated amongst the participants as well as national and local policy makers.

Following on from the recommendations of the prime minister's Tackling Extremism and Radicalisation Task Force (TERFOR) established in June 2013 after the murder of Lee Rigby in Woolwich and subsequent attacks upon mosques across the country, the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act was granted Royal Assent in February 2015. This Act and its implementing orders and regulations notably enhanced essentially administrative (i.e. non JS) powers to withdraw passports and alter Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures (TPIMs), placed Channel on a statutory basis and included a broad Prevent Duty, making it incumbent upon local authorities, schools and other bodies, to have a due regard to prevent people being drawn into extremism. A new Counter-Extremism Bill proposes to go further in introducing Banning Orders and Extremism Disruption Orders, new regulatory powers for OfCom and the Charity Commission, as well as new immigration rules.

Generally, these measures reflected a movement in the policy context towards addressing 'non-violent extremism' and 'permissive environments'. Together they constitute a deepening and a broadening of *Prevent*. This marks a return of national policymaking to the unavoidable overlaps between *Prevent*, community cohesion and good relations, as well as education and public debate in their broadest sense. This trend places new legal duties on statutory bodies, potentially beyond the increased capacity built-up by mainstreaming programmes prioritised by the City Council. Furthermore, as *Prevent* becomes more conspicuous to the general public, there could be more spillovers and potentially sudden aversion to projects such as the proposed 'community ambassadors' project: this was backed up by the fact that some participants voiced scepticism that such a project was desirable, or whether anyone identified with it would be met with suspicion.

In short, just as Manchester was figuring out its own response, international events and national-level political responses were racing ahead. This led many participants to question the effectiveness of consultations and community dialogue: what influence were their contributions really going to have? This must be seriously considered. When asked at the second event 'what's the one thing that needs to happen

to build resilience?' the most important and recurrent of numerous suggestions was that the entire *Prevent* agenda be reworked. Perhaps this indicates that in order to tackle extremism effectively it was necessary to approach the difficult topic obliquely, even to the point of dropping the *Prevent* language altogether. On the other hand, this could be seen as ducking the issue and avoiding sending a clear signal of zero tolerance.

Participant responses when asked about the best way to reduce vulnerability and counter the threat of extremism repeatedly returned to the need to address UK government actions overseas that were held to stoke radicalisation here at home, whether it be from those who saw the UK as being involved in 'state-sponsored terrorism' to those who perceived the government's opposition to the Syrian regime as encouraging those who sought its violent overthrow by making common cause with violent 'Islamist' extremists. One young person spoke of a 'radicalising foreign policy' that the UK government had to 'take ownership' of before its consequences could be tackled. It's clear that participants wanted the frank conversations in safe spaces to tackle this topic rather than implicitly or explicitly ruling it 'out of order' before dialogue had begun – it was referred to many times when the audience was asked 'what are the things that people aren't talking about?' at the second event at the Irish World Heritage Centre. There remain practical difficulties with this, however, though these are not insurmountable: one can imagine a forum in which those grievances can be aired, but in order to avoid it becoming a 'talking shop' in the eyes of communities, it would have to offer some way of constructively redressing grievances which it is challenging to do in a purely local forum. One contributor pointed out how even parliamentary working group papers and Prevent Reviewer Dr. Phylis Starkey's report were 'ignored' to justify a deep scepticism about further consultations and listening exercises that was prevalent and grew in strength over the course of the project.

2.2 – ISLAMOPHOBIA AND HATE SPEECH

The contributions of participants at all events indicated a shared concern about harmful behaviour, evincing a belief that all those inciting or condoning violence must be challenged and brought to account. However, there was a palpable weariness with how this shared concern is often lost in favour of general pressure and specific requests that all Muslims to take responsibility for and repeatedly disavow the violence of a few. This was seen as perpetuating rather than challenging Islamophobia, playing in to the radicalisation of the Far Right and thus ultimately might be called the reciprocal polarisation of disaffected Muslims, especially the young.

Though the term Islamophobia was not much used, it was clear that there was fear of hate crime, an occasionally specific reference to a sense of insecurity when wearing the hijab in some neighbourhoods, or a heightened concern during incidents such as the attacks on a satirical magazine and kosher supermarket in Paris. These concerns were sometimes alluded to in contrast to a general feeling of confidence and security in progress made in creating a multicultural city at peace with itself. It would be disturbing if this progress was jeopardised by a hunkering down, an acceptance of fearfulness rather than challenging and transforming the behaviour and attitudes that cause it. Many of the young people who participated were clearly particularly struck at the bringing to the surface of intolerance represented by the English Defence League demonstration in May 2015.

It is fair to say that a substantial number of participants saw *Prevent* as institutionalised Islamophobia. However, there were many who, while quite critical, had more nuanced views, attributing any local manifestations of this pressure to the interaction of national direction and constraints with how these issues were covered in the media.

Notably, during Community Action Planning Session, there was a provocative debate about the extent to which references to other forms of extremism as also being targets of the *Prevent* agenda were essentially perfunctory, disguising a debate that was about Muslims and should be admitted to be so, especially given the composition of most of the attendees. There was pushback against this, from a fear that the matters under discussion would be reduced to what are perceived as police-led initiatives targeted at one minority, but this point did highlight issues of trust and suspicion of the rhetoric of a superficial even-handedness. Even a contributor who was keen to publish a 'banned list' of speakers and groups so as to 'ostracise the extremists' was concerned that there was an excessive focus on the Muslim community in prevention work.

Perceived as perfunctory or not, it was clear that hate crime was not just an issue for Muslims as stories about the impact on Jewish communities as well as of other non-Muslim and non-Jewish community members were raised. Whilst these issues and incidents were cited less frequently and as less intense in terms of quantity – the fact is that hate speech and hate crime should be treated with seriousness going forwards as any council should in seeking to safeguard all of its citizens.

2.3 – THE MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION

There was considerable disagreement on the extent of the threat and a recognition of the need for some common agreement on what it is. Whilst the events did not see any formal presentation or delivery of the 'facts' about levels of threat, it was a topic explored with communities to gauge peoples' views and perspectives on this. What was clear is that more information is needed and credibility gaps must be bridged—it is clear that there is a gap in the assessment of threat between many members of the community represented at the events and those with responsibility for pursuing *Prevent* objectives. This problem should not be exaggerated, but would benefit from being addressed as this would help both the police, authorities and communities to at least be on the same page in terms of starting point. Arguably, the police and local authority are very clear and transparent about threat in relation to extremism and terrorism. However some community members either lacked that knowledge or understanding or in some cases--disagreed fundamentally about what threat was being judged as.

It should be borne in mind that the question posed was around how attendees perceived threat. At the young people's event, most participants saw radicalisation as a global issue and therefore an issue for Manchester like other cities. However, a few did specifically state that it was undeniable that radicalisation was an issue for Manchester, as there were examples of individuals resident in the city engaging in extremism or joining in groups that divided communities. Others at the same event saw examples such as 'the Terror Twins' as too few to say anything particularly meaningful or dictating a one-size-fits-all responses.

The media was not seen as a good source of an overview of the threat and vulnerability by participants young and old. Many saw the media as part of the problem that needed to be challenged. It was suggested that some form of local statistical digest of incidents be released, and perhaps the relationship between restricted Counter-Terrorism Local Profiles and communications with communities could be fruitfully re-examined. However, even if disagreement over threat persists, it may still be possible to work around it. If one sees the risk of violent extremism as the vulnerability to radicalisation added to the hazard of actual radicalisers and extremism there may be more of a ground for consensus: people may disagree on the extent of the threat given the relatively small numbers of extremists and lack of trust in publicly available information, but they can still agree on how to reduce the vulnerability to it, especially if such precautions have other benefits.

But concerns in the media where not just about lack of information or trust in that information: anger at the media's representation came up again and again, as much or more than any other issue. As one contributor pointed out, media narratives were more likely to label Muslims as terrorists or extremists, whereas violent acts perpetrated by adherents to Far Right ideology were seen as the work of individual 'deranged killer[s]' rather than the product of any permissive ideology.

At the third event in Wythenshawe potential solutions to the problem of media representation were offered. Some sort of representative and diverse media lobby group was suggested. Others pointed out that as much as social media seemed to be a potential vector of radicalisation vulnerability, it was also a way to go around the entrenched narratives of the mainstream television and newspaper approaches. Social media familiarisation and training may be necessary to reduce the vulnerability here, but also to simply go around the oft-cited national media bias.

It is encouraging and important that ideas were offered to tackle this. It is seductively simple to blame the media and, so to speak, put the problem in the 'too hard' box: how can one hope to change what they report? Telling different stories in different media is one way. In addition it was suggested that some sort of watchdog group could rapidly counter misleading images in the coverage of extremism that actually made it worse. Better still, it could promote alternative positive messages. It was tentatively suggested that perhaps media based locally—and there are many national journalists based in the area, not least at Media City—could be asked to send representatives to work with and hear real view on problems with the representations of radicalisation and certain communities, on or off the record. Alternatively some sort of youth TV or radio could be set up on a community basis to amplify different voices from which all too little is heard.

2.4 – MATTERS OF DEFINITION: PREVENT, RADICALISATION & MANCHESTER VALUES

Participants in the events debated the name, definition and delivery of *Prevent*. Disagreements over the title, language and tactics of security had the potential to undermine the strong shared commitment to a city which is open, tolerant and plural – a city where people address grievances through purely political, non-violent means. For some it was clear that ever since the emergence of *Prevent* as part of the government's CONTEST strategy in 2007, there is suspicion that priorities are too narrowly shaped by the lens of enforcement, with significant negative consequences for some communities. This legacy has not

been overcome by reviews and continued awareness raising efforts of the primary aims or reforms to *Prevent*. Participants were open in acknowledging and even accepting at times that their knowledge and understanding of *Channel (intervention provision for those 'at risk')* and safeguarding processes in the city was inadequate which seemed to add to the anxieties felt by some about an agenda that stands accused of criminalising and spying on communities. That notwithstanding--again and again, even the more sympathetic participants referred to *Prevent* as a 'toxic brand'.

Participants were keen to challenge spoken or unspoken assumptions. When asked the extent to which communities in Manchester were divided there was a high degree of consensus about integration successes, though some participants accepted that a number of communities had relatively few links, even as they lived peaceably in parallel to each other. Evidence of plentiful difference was not thought to be the same as evidence of division, with all its negative connotations. There was occasionally a risk of getting stuck in dialogues of the deaf over competing notions of radicalism, threat, vulnerability. These risks will undoubtedly recur. The young people's event saw such definitions and terms interrogated strongly by participants. When presented with a specific definition of radicalism as 'having an opinion that makes you stand out from the crowd…because you believe something to be right…you hope to persuade other people to come along with you', over three quarters declared themselves to be radical to some extent. 52% indicated unquestionably that they were British, but 52% too the option, voting with their feet, to indicate that they did not primarily identify this way. This led to a discussion of personal values with the young people where educational institutions, local communities and religious affiliations were the primary identities through which they navigated the world.

'Manchester values' or what might be called the 'Mancunianisation' of policy agendas was raised by multiple participants in various forms. The common element linking the various versions of this point was that what was needed was an approach that emphasised commonalities in any localisation of prevention work. Though no one called for 'making the *Prevent* agenda our agenda', there may remain scope for developing a 'made in Manchester' approach. This would certainly be preferred to events to promote 'British Values'; there was a lot of scepticism of this as being potentially divisive when not just banal. Do Mancunian values offer a way of meeting the need for shared values while reassuring those who feel unsafe on unmoved in the face of 'British Values' talk? If so there remain many unanswered questions about how these might be determined in a more representative way, perhaps through surveys, social media or large open events and how this could work alongside efforts to drill deeper with a committed group of volunteers.

There was suspicion voiced, notably at the third event in Wythenshawe, which steps taking to articulate a shared vision of Mancunian values would end up in a series of talking shops without much resulting influence on the direction of policy or the contentious *Prevent* agenda. The very language of 'steps' to a 'shared vision' seemed to imply something organised or orchestrated rather than organic to some participants who preferred to see such values emerge rather than be articulated.

Though Manchester's Radical history may not have much resonance for many today, the value in constructively channelling and championing alternative, strong and bluntly expressed views was expressed by panellists and participants alike. One young person advocated bridging separate

communities by making common cause to protest against injustice (citing the specific example of tuition fees). Others would no doubt suggest yet more radical causes and different ways of living, many of which would not and should not be grouped together with extremism, though many might characterise them as outside the mainstream. There may be value in finding a way for statutory stakeholders to still be involved in platforms that may be politically controversial in ways not necessarily linked to issues of radicalisation and extremism as commonly understood. That said, contributors to such platforms or forums would also want to see these places have influence and impact, something which representatives from statutory bodies cannot promise to deliver (since that is something for the democratic process).

2.5 – UNUSUAL SUSPECTS

Particular concern with extremism among teenagers and young adults featured heavily in our conversations. Many people felt that particular programmes should target resources and energy on this group, in part because they believed that good engagement would identify potential problem solvers who could help meet the challenges of educating and safeguarding communities. It was in this spirit that a young peoples' interactive workshop was added to the programme of events. When pressed in workshops to identify particular divisions or strong differences the bridging of which would best contribute to rethinking radicalisation, a number of contributors suggested the need for inter-generational connections in particular. This could be linked with the separate and also frequent call for workshops entirely devoted to young people—possibly a first step towards greater inter-generational contacts. This would help address the concern voiced that families did not necessarily know what their kinds were up to on the Internet, for example. The acceptance that inter-generational contacts within and without families were needed to explore just what might be going on in that space was evident among many.

One participant helpfully suggested that each attendee of one event brought along someone who wouldn't normally come to such a forum or other safe space/trusted network, but who were essential to the success of efforts to rethink radicalisation and the means of preventing it. Another who was a little sceptical of efforts at mainstreaming *Prevent* in education saw the need to work with young people in different environments 'to teach them critical thinking and harness the energy of young activists who get things done'. This was part of the thinking behind having a young people's event.

Youth were often cited as the key to building resilience, but there was also fewer but notable allusions to the specific, neglected role of women. At the third event one contributor saw a need to generate broader interests if any 'shared vision' of 'Mancunian values' was to be deep and representative: coffee after morning school runs, parents groups, special strategies to involve youth—all these suggestions reflected a common desire to reach beyond the 'usual suspects'.

2.6 – SAFE SPACES FOR CONTENTIOUS ISSUES

Perhaps one of the most oft-cited requests from communities was for 'safe spaces', where permission was given to raise and explore dilemmas and concerns around contentious and difficult challenges. This included opportunities to react to events and international, national and local levels, and to consider relevant responses.

The hybrid seminars/workshops that formed the programme were cited as examples of the sort of safe spaces for difficult conversations that were needed. However, it was noted throughout the events that various forums, spaces and events already existed for this. It was broadly recognised that there was **no need to reinvent the wheel**, but that perhaps there was a need to recognise, revive or refocus safety forums or interfaith dialogues. Some suggested that Manchester needed to do more to promote cross-community dialogue to complement responsiveness to individual communities on the part of police and other authorities. Others would not have accepted this characterisation. Could it be that extensive existing networks are not felt to be the safe or appropriate places for difficult conversations about *Prevent* and radicalisation? Does this mean that participants in these existing networks just need up-skilling? Or does it suggest that new kinds of networks are needed? One participant stressed that it was important that these be spaces where people just talked. A virtual element was by no means seen as a bad thing to this contributor, but interpersonal contacts for cross-community discussion about many issues, not just narrowly defined ones—was what they felt was missing.

Lest such spaces become the preserve of the solely contentious, participants and panellists that they also be places for inter-personal contact of a more mundane type, and places to celebrate universal values. At the third event in Wythenshawe one public sector participant was concerned about how concrete this sort of discussion was for someone looking for practical tips in fulfilling day-to-day duties relating to government agendas.

2.7 - EDUCATION

There was a refreshing self-awareness that just suggesting 'education' as a panacea to the problems of radicalisation and intolerance was not that helpful, accompanying a recognition of its key role. 'Outdated' education came up again and again. Others picked up on the point on the need for mainstreaming efforts to reduce vulnerability through schools. Obviously it was not expressed in precisely these terms: many who called for more to be done in schools would not want 'counter radicalisation' or 'prevention of extremism' to be on the curriculum, but could agree on efforts to reduce vulnerability and bolster resilience.

The young people's event was also attended by teachers and youth workers. Upon discussions with the facilitation team, insights were gained as to the challenges facing them and the young people and how these could be addressed. The adults commented upon the way in which the event had been delivered and facilitated, some expressing surprise at the ease with which young people could be made to feel safe and confident in opening up on contentious, 'thorny' issues touching on identity and politics. Often the young people proved more direct than many adults faced with such topics, as they were not as concerned with being politically correct. In their own curriculum delivery schools are often concerned about broaching topics that the young people participating in Rethinking Radicalisation did not seem offended by or concerned about on the day of their event. The fear of potentially negative parental response is often different in settings away from school, facilitated by third parties; facilitation techniques may also play a powerful role here. It was also acknowledged that there was a greater amount of staff time and

resource available in the delivery of the young people's workshop than would be available in a school setting, and that this helped in dealing with sensitive issues in ways that would not always be replicable without such additional resources. These are important points to be kept in mind when thinking about building on the existing skills and confidence of teachers and youth workers managing difficult discussions.

2.8 – COMMUNITY AMBASSADORS

How can local people be incorporated into steering projects in pursuit of established priorities around community resilience? This was one of the objectives prescribed by the Manchester City Council at the outset of the Rethinking Radicalisation seminars with an eye on increasing participation, representation and to enable genuine engagement with communities on issues of common concern. Debated and discussed throughout the three main events – it was a role interrogated more closely in the action planning sessions towards the end of the process.

The composition of project boards, the creation of community steering groups or independent advisory bodies are all potential models. These would come with real influence over the direction of local policy and implementation. This in turn may be leveraged to provide a channel for influencing national decisions that seem to take no heed of local particularities or concerns and are often resented as such. This could help put real substance behind claims to truly localise delivery of cohesion, good relations and prevention work.

Any *Prevent* 'ambassadors' do however run the risk of being seen as the representatives of a particularly unwelcome brand rather than the community's representatives actively shaping a local agenda to build resilience. This could be counterproductively reinforced if, in an effort to reach beyond the 'usual suspects', community organisations with valuable and deep networks and public esteem are side-lined with all their useful expertise and experience.

3 – ACTION PLANNING

Following the delivery of three Rethinking Radicalisation community dialogue workshop events and the young people's events, an interim report was drafted based on the themes commented on in the analysis section; to shape the deliberations of public sector and community action planning sessions. Specific proposals, next steps and points of departure for continuing the work of the project were identified by smaller groups. Further detail on the Community Action Planning meeting' suggestions can be found in the Appendix.

3.1 – PUBLIC SECTOR

There was broad agreement on the need to address the following key points:

- YOUNG PEOPLE – communication with young people and interacting with them through different institutions, from the school curriculum to social media, is a priority for the public sector.
- MEDIA (social, local, national) – all different forms of media need closer integration with the community; media needs to work with the community and vice versa. Innovation is required here, opening up new channels of communication, reforming or going round old ones that aren't fit for purpose. Community leadership will be the key to success: slickness in counter-narrative is no substitute for authentic, autonomously generated alter-narratives promoting positive alternative messages .
- THE LANGUAGE FOR MANCHESTER – finding a consensus on this still pressing: common understandings of different *Prevent*-related language is lacking. There is still a lack of clarity as to what is extreme or not extreme, which could have an unwanted effect and anticipation looms large in relation to the government's pending Counter Extremism Strategy, and a concern as to whether or not broadening the 'definition' as well as the duty will in fact further intensify the challenge. Concerns around the capacity and capability of institutions (*amongst others*) to provide robust measures and strategies, as well as effective training and competence to tackle the 'issues' uncovered are only part of it. The language of tackling extremism without clarity over where the lines exist could serve to further exacerbate the problem and carries the risk of impacting one of the ideas set out by Mancunians and their public servants - to establish a language that could see them really own Prevent related agendas. If this obstacle can be overcome, narrowing this down will help inform educationalists, media, civil servants and communities. Should a consensus of jargon, as distinct from but related to a potential one on values, come from Manchester communities or from government? The advantages to the former seem clear; co-determination by both communities and government would be better still.
- OWNERSHIP – who should take the lead on local action planning going forward? There was a clear desire on the part of many public sector stakeholders for communities to take the lead on and ownership over local preventative efforts.
- HOME LIFE – the effects of radicalisation and efforts to prevent it upon families were an area of concern: concern that it had been neglected, and concern that the tools were not in place to effectively complement community efforts. The public sector representatives questioned how they could navigate personal differences and changes, which may be influenced by social and other media

or peers, and how could families take a lead on it? Figuring out the appropriate level of support to family efforts to safeguard their own, especially young people, was something the public sector representatives were very keen to have community assistance with.

- SAFE SPACES – needed for the discussion not just of topical issues but also for engagement with policymakers where changes that reflected community views could be proposed, discussed and decided upon.

3.2 – COMMUNITY

3.2.1 - WHAT ARE THE GAPS IN THE INTERIM REPORT? HOW DO WE FILL THEM?

Feedback varied and it was acknowledged by some attendees that their involvement in the events analysed above had been limited, making it difficult for them to know whether or not some matters had already been explored in depth.

Community Ambassadors – the need and function of any Community Ambassadors was interrogated by the groups. The overall message was that this had to be broached with sensitivity. The toxicity of the *Prevent* brand means that people are not just wary of, but often deeply opposed to the agenda as a whole, which posed a risk to anyone perceived as being involved in its delivery. Stakeholders did not consider the title of 'community ambassadors' as being one that referred to an over-arching wider role, but rather something that related to the Government's agenda more directly: i.e. there was a risk that such people would be seen as *Prevent* Ambassadors, rather than Community Ambassadors. Caution was urged to ensure that any ambassadors were not rendered ineffective or even unsafe in such a role. On a related point, some voiced concerns that the ambassador element of this project had been pre-determined without formal consultation. Though the ambassador objective was a key part of the original decision to commission the community dialogue, it was clear that some participants felt that the case for such representatives was still 'not proven'.

Young people – and their involvement was again identified as an area requiring further work. While it was acknowledged that an event had been held to explore the issues for Manchester with young people, it was suggested that there was a need for a much 'deeper dive' and connecting up of the young people's input to the rest of the process. Young people should be consulted and involved widely, at a micro-level. One participant pointed out that Manchester had a real opportunity to seize the initiative in this area and speak to those who were being missed out, but whom needed to be reached, what we have elsewhere termed the 'unusual suspects'.

Media – there was scepticism as to any move to engaging the mainstream media. There was more optimism about using social media better and approaching the media issue from a Manchester-focussed perspective, identifying alternative platforms that would allow for the creation of a more effective, local 'counter-narrative'.

Shared Understanding of Radicalisation using Local Data – this is still an issue, though perhaps it is becoming more of an urgent priority. There's still a lack of understanding—or agreement among those with knowledge—about what radicalisation is, how it occurs, and much of a danger it is. Building knowledge and understanding from a local perspective, using locally collected data was suggested as a potentially more fruitful way of getting this shared understanding. There was criticism of the use of national statistics in a number of discussions – participants wanted to know how Manchester compared to such data. There was curiosity as to what sort of information on local vulnerability and threat was being disclosed and whether there might be more transparent and accessible ways of disclosing this information.

Family safety – securing and getting help and support with loved ones was a matter raised by some groups. Some contributors discussed the possibility of a hotline or service that allows concerned loved ones to seek advice and guidance could provide much-needed practical support for those in need, but only if it dealt with the issues in a non-criminal space as a means to reassure and reduce vulnerability, rather than gather intelligence.

3.2.2 – HOW DO WE CREATE SAFE SPACES FOR REAL CONVERSATIONS?

Some sort of hotline, with Childline suggested as a possible example, was recommended by one participant. Important caveats were swiftly added: any such line had to address fears, prevent undue criminalisation and therefore come from a body that was trusted. The question of the extent to which a community-by-community approach was taken, with separate hotlines was raised as a means of securing this trust.

For teachers, schools, and universities, the need for safe spaces was interpreted the need for time, i.e. for space available. Safety was also interpreted as a question of confidence: feeling that conversations could safely be had about extremism and efforts to prevent radicalisation.

Beyond these institutions there were existing networks through which trust could be built. Credible community voices could be better networked and supported, but there were many public spirited citizens and practitioners already getting on with the work with or without recognition.

3.2.3 – EDUCATION: HOW DO WE MANAGE THE CHALLENGES OF AN OUTDATED CURRICULUM?

Remarks made in response to this question included comments drawing attention to the importance of not just adding one-off bits on to delivery but fundamentally altering mainstream curricula, by representing more religious traditions in history class, for example, and thus making sure the school experience better reflects the community. A counter-point was raised that maybe such instruction was better done *outside* the school. A number of participants were keen to stress the role of the local community around the school twinned with a desire to substitute universal human values for British values, or at least recognising the exploring the connections between them in some way.

It was recognised that OFSTED would be the key to changing how schools operate. There were questions as to whether the organisation would have the appropriate expertise to ensure that work done in fulfilment of the Prevent Duty or British values requirements was effective and not counter-productive.

What training would they receive for this sensitive area? How could their policies be assessed and influenced by the public?

3.2.4 – HOW DO WE RAISE AWARENESS AND INCREASE UNDERSTANDING?

More seminars with policymakers including follow-up to how feedback is translated into influence that shapes or changes policy where possible was offered as one answer to this question. Events that went beyond disproportionate representation of Muslims were also called for, as were ones that took care not to alienate 'moderates'. There was still a desire for many to get more of an understanding of how people change, especially as young people grow up, and how this might both increase and reduce the threat over time.

3.2.5 – HOW DO WE ENGAGE WITH FAMILIES TO BUILD RESILIENCE?

It was suggested that resilience building with families could begin through schools in the first instance, complemented by other community facilitators. In order to be effective, it was argued, it would be necessary for the government to be consistent in its policy and communicate clearly why this was an issue now. Social media, and inter-generational differences in the use of it suggested that some capacity and familiarity might need to be built up first. Further needs for capacity building that would help families were identified in mosques, but also in other faith centres. Trust and transparency were thought to be crucial to any efforts in this connection.

3.2.6 – COMMUNITY AMBASSADORS

In response to questioning as to what the role of the community ambassador looked like, what would they do and would training or support they would need there was considerable concern that the case had still to be made about the whole concept. What resources would be allocated? How would time be found to provide support? Who would manage these contentious roles which could easily be perceived as too exclusive? There are already community champions, so maybe, it was suggested, there needed to be a focus on better networking and supporting existing groups or networks.

4 - RECOMMENDATIONS

The Rethinking Radicalisation project is the beginning of a process, not the end. It is for the city to decide for itself whether and how to accept or reject some of the specific suggestions made by participants and highlighted in 4.2. However, based on our analysis of these contributions and the experience of other conflicts, we can recommend that such decisions are made in the spirit of seven key principles.

While the national priorities for *Prevent* are clear, Manchester is a strong and flexible city that has long demonstrated effective leadership of its own at a local level. Towns and cities across the UK and Europe are struggling with increasing radicalisation and the polarisation of communities. Rethinking Radicalisation in Manchester has allowed the city to push forwards in a responsive and flexible process to engage its communities in a meaningful and collaborative way. Communities have been clear about their expectations. Support and interest exists in Manchester that can only help to tackle some of its most challenging problems. It is for the leaders and council officials to take this report and contributions to the action planning sessions to construct a plan that can help move this agenda forwards for all; and identify further opportunities to shape responses to the recommendations and issues raised through the proposed work with community ambassadors.

4.1 – PRINCIPLES

4.1.1 – PREVENT EMERGES FROM SHARED VALUES

Policing and security policy are not ends in themselves but serve shared values. This is critical to unlocking and sustaining community support for *Prevent*. This implies a consistent focus not only on what must be done, but also on how it is implemented.

An approach which supports and engages communities in the protection of shared values has the capacity not only to marginalise those promoting extreme violence but also to enhance community cohesion in Manchester. An approach which over-relies on police enforcement risks provoking what it seeks to prevent: alienation from the authorities, non-cooperation and tacit tolerance of extremist violence.

A successful agenda to prevent violence should consistently reiterate and be designed to protect these shared core values with which the overwhelming majority of the people and communities of Manchester identify. Manchester could develop a short public charter of values and principles for *Prevent*, restating the shared values of democracy and non-violence which unite the community in simple terms. A stated set of shared values would distinguish legitimate debate about community safety and policing tactics from more serious challenges to the fundamental values of democracy and freedom. While there will always be disagreements on tactics and method, clarity about values would create the framework for better policy, providing transparent opportunities for community engagement around the effectiveness of policy without undermining the shared sense of common commitment to the well-being of all the community in Manchester. It would also build on the relationships and values that developed through this engagement process.

Importantly, Manchester should recognise opportunities and what is already being done in this area and build on this. Activity such as emergency life support sessions with Syrian refugees in the community is simply done—'people just get on with it'. This is important prevention work in that it seeks to break cycles of conflict by supporting those in need and reaching out to develop and strengthen cohesion. These people are not waiting for recognition, nor do they necessarily need it. Recognition of this however could prove valuable in highlighting the fact that prevent is not simply about counter narratives or demonising communities as some seem to believe and that there are people and projects operating in accordance with a set of values that sees prevention as much more.

4.1.2 – CONNECTIVITY BETWEEN PREVENT AND WIDER POLICY AREAS

This is key. The 2011 *Prevent* review sought to draw clear distinctions between the agenda and community cohesion policy. This, alongside changes to funding, had the unfortunate result of reducing the practical interconnection between the prevention of violent extremism and community engagement in cohesion. Community representatives in Manchester have repeatedly made recommendations and suggested solutions to create a more robust and joined-up approach to strengthening community relations, thereby avoiding blind spots around emerging issues and tensions that can lead to long-term problems. For example, a focus on violent extremism and radicalisation among young Muslims could also be accompanied by a focus on preventing hate crime, actively dealing with Islamophobia, and supporting education.

4.1.3 – CRIMINALISATION OF BEHAVIOUR NOT DEMONISATION OF PEOPLE

Our consultations identified a shared concern among communities in Manchester that people inciting or condoning violence that must be brought to account. The focus on a shared concern about behaviour is sometimes lost, especially when it is translated into generic pressure on 'Muslims' to take full responsibility for the violence of a few. This appears to be contributing to a negative sense that a whole community is being demonised and a sense that Islamophobia continues not only to be present – but is growing. Care should be taken to agree and use language which clearly criminalises violence and incitement to violence without implying that a whole community is ambivalent or suspicious.

4.1.4 – JOINT AND INCLUSIVE COMMITMENT TO COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM

This must be emphasised and built upon. Rethinking Radicalisation project has been successful in opening up dialogue and discourse more widely on these issues. It should be the start of a new culture of engagement and openness around difficult and contentious issues rather than the end. To ensure that *Prevent* is seen as a joint enterprise on behalf of the whole community, it should not be reduced to a police led initiative or an initiative targeted at one minority. While full police and minority participation is vital, the 'public face' of any strategy in Manchester should clearly rest with elected and community leaders. This would also mean that the leadership is drawn from whole city, including key institutions such as the Council and recognised civic, community and religious leaders from all communities.

Manchester enjoys a wealth of effective, committed and energised practitioners, activists and civil society members. A standing advisory forum, convened by the Council with independent and institutional

membership might provide a vehicle for consultation, advice, review and support for *Prevent*. This would create a shared space where analysis and understanding of the issues could be considered and debated, taking into account emerging local issues, international issues influencing community attitudes and behaviour and national policy initiatives into account. Shared analysis would also enable discussion of the risks and opportunities facing Manchester and allow for burden sharing in relation to future actions to support *Prevent* between the community and key partners such as the City Council and the Police.

4.1.5 – POLICING WITH THE COMMUNITY

The police and their role in *Prevent* has remained a subject of scrutiny and criticism throughout the project. Greater Manchester Police maintained a close connection with the process, engaging with their friends and critics throughout and participating fully in the consultations. The work of the police was explicitly referred to as positive and helpful by many throughout the dialogue events. It was recognised that their role is difficult in the context of the Prevent agenda and that in spite of this, Manchester's police maintain a reasonable record whereas the police nationally may be criticised and more readily associated with a negative perception of Prevent and its objectives. In addition, Greater Manchester police fully participated in the Rethinking Radicalisation process. However, while their participation has been welcomed by many, it is clear from some participants that the policing of *Prevent* is accompanied by strains in some areas.

Manchester's context and its policing experiences the same types of challenge and criticism that police across Great Britain and indeed many parts of Europe experience in relation to Prevent. Emphasis has been placed nationally and locally in the UK on 'community policing' with a focus on strengthening relations between police and communities. Whilst significant work has already been done in Manchester to develop such relationships with many communities – there are clear strains and tensions with others.

Although the context may be different to Northern Ireland, in order to develop and strengthen relationships in the future-some of the thinking which shaped the Patten Commission in Northern Ireland may be useful. This body allowed a police organisation with a difficult and contentious legacy to re-engage with the entire public on the basis of 'policing with the community', defined as 'the police participating in the community and responding to the needs of that community, and the community participating in its own policing and supporting the police'. Whilst the same 'difficult' and 'contentious' legacy may not exist at this stage in Manchester – early and proactive work to try to draw on lessons from Patten could strengthen relationships and help to build on what is a good foundation within Manchester as a whole.

4.1.6 – PEER-LED, INTERGENERATIONAL AND 'UNUSUAL'

Throughout our engagement with audiences, the concern with violent extremism among teenagers and young adults featured heavily in our conversations. Many people felt that particular programmes should target resources and energy on this group, in part because many believe that good engagement would identify potential problem solvers in the challenges of educating and safeguarding communities.

Building on the work already undertaken through the young peoples' Rethinking Radicalisation event - a variety of initiatives ranging from Youth-led peer-education to thoughtful engagement through community leaders and education programmes could help bolster resilience and participation. This would

complement work that seeks to connect young adults and senior community leaders encouraging a more robust and cohesive approach to dealing with the challenges facing Manchester and wider UK communities. Manchester boasts a wealth of practitioners, workers and projects and schools who are keen to support the development and delivery of these kinds of programmes.

Women, faith and single identity groups are amongst those who also have a valuable part to play. Our analysis highlights a multiplicity of existing initiatives, groups and fora in which Manchester can build its knowledge, confidence and capacity on these topics. A commitment to supporting the continuance of some of these groups and their activities will help ensure that meaningful dialogue is taking place to safeguard and strengthen. It should also 'mind the gap' in those areas where such projects and spaces do not exist and seek to provide programmes or support initiatives that could help provide education, support and opportunity.

Manchester should also continue to try to engage with the 'unusual' suspects by drawing on the recommendations made by contributors. Working closely in and with communities to find the places, spaces and projects where they can attract and engage those who may not ordinarily participate – but whose role and involvement could be so influential.

4.1.7 – SAFE SPACES FOR CONTENTIOUS ISSUES

The spaces created to ensure shared concerns are addressed and shared values defended should not isolate communities from one another. Opportunities should be provided for communities to engage internally on difficult questions, but it advisable that these are accompanied by platforms for communities to talk across traditional boundaries and by opportunities to engage directly with relevant organisations and agencies of government including the council, the education authorities and the police. That is to say, any approach should seek to maximise complementary forms of social capital: the bonding within communities, the bridging between communities, and the linking with the authorities. This kind of community network would:

- provide a framework for building and transferring knowledge within communities, between communities and between communities by government
- provide mechanisms to monitor emergent tension in the community at an early stage
- establish opportunities to share reactions and views before they fester

It should not be assumed that these spaces will come into existence without formal support. A strategy and planned activities to help achieve this should be strongly considered.

5- CONCLUSION

This report pulls together what the Foundation for Peace found throughout the engagement and makes recommendations on the basis of what Manchester's communities shared.

The action planning sessions undertaken with stakeholders from the public sector and civil society respectively gives an early indication of a commitment by Manchester City Council to respond to the learning taken from the Rethinking Radicalisation process.

The action planning sessions saw the council share plans to put in place projects and programmes to address some of the priorities identified very quickly. Education projects in school and women's projects are amongst those that will seek to bolster knowledge, understanding and resilience in those areas. The development of an 'ambassador' type network remains a key priority at the time of writing though what this network looks like and does remains a matter for Manchester to grapple with as it moves forwards. Having sought the viewpoints of communities and the public sector – there is much to draw on in shaping this and it could be that through the establishment of such a network, Manchester can truly facilitate a community led response to some of the issues and challenges identified here as well as build on the possibilities and clearly very positive work that already exists.

The responsibility now lies with Manchester city council, its leadership, officers, wider authorities (including police) and communities to decide on how they respond. Having engaged so robustly with this process the message from the communities is clear in that they have spoken: they await a response. The recommendations from the Foundation for Peace and those engaged in the process are outlined clearly within this report presenting myriad possibilities for future engagement, practical solutions to some of the challenges and positive opportunities for innovation and impact.

The Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace would like to thank Manchester City Council for inviting us to the city to facilitate this process as a neutral, third party. Commitment to dialogue and the process has been strong from senior officials and council leadership including Fiona Worrall, Director of Neighbourhoods, Assistant Chief Constable Ian Wiggett from Greater Manchester Police, and the attendance of numerous elected members from across the city throughout.

Thanks also go to those keynote contributors that joined us throughout the Rethinking Radicalisation events providing important stimulus and inspiration to help shape dialogue, and in particular, to Dr Duncan Morrow for his sustained commitment to the project and in his analysis - helping shape the key principles featured here in the report.

Finally, it has been a pleasure and a privilege to engage with such a diverse and vibrant group of individuals, groups and communities – those to whom the greatest thanks should be offered for their commitment, dedication and support to this project.

As stated in the recommendations section of this report, this should not be considered the end of the process but rather the start of something. There is huge energy and commitment to tackling those issues that threaten to divide communities in Manchester. This provides abundant opportunities and the momentum should be sustained in taking this forwards.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1 – EVENT SUMMARIES

RETHINKING RADICALISATION 1 - SOUTH

British Muslim Heritage Centre, Whalley Range

25th November 2015

62 attendees

PANEL:

> Colin Parry OBE, Chairman, The Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace
>
> Sheikh Abu Muntasir, Chief Executive, Jamiat Ihyaa Minhaaj al-Sunnah (JIMAS)
>
> Dr. Duncan Morrow, Senior Lecturer, University of Ulster

FOCUS QUESTIONS:

> 1 – Perception vs reality – to what extent are communities in Manchester divided?
>
> 2 – Given the state we're in how do we deal with these challenges around threat and vulnerability?
>
> 3 – What do communities need? Is there any learning from this evening (including key takeaways)?

1 – PERCEPTION VS REALITY – TO WHAT EXTENT ARE COMMUNITIES IN MANCHESTER DIVIDED?

There were persistent challenges to the contention that the city was a divided community. Firstly, evidence of plentiful difference was not thought to be indication of division. Secondly, there was some objection to linking community divisions or differences to radicalisation. On the other hand, it was generally conceded that in addition to communities being separate owing to location and history, there were parallel communities sharing the same space but barely interacting outside of narrow channels. Strong class and income distinctions which cut across racial and religious barriers in complex and profound ways were also identified. It was raised in some discussions that though radicalisation was a separate issue to these parallel communities, tackling the phenomenon in a low-cost, effective and broadly supported way may involve bringing those separate communities together more effectively.

Some suggested that while communities in Manchester were not divided, there was a division between local community representatives and those in various authorities responsible for achieving *Prevent* objectives locally. There was little suggestion that this was a reference to the City Council, or much specifics at this point, since participant discussion was mostly concerned with parallel communities of

ethnicity, race, faith and class, rather than, for example, any divide between the law enforcement community and local groups.

When pressed to identify a particular division or strong difference the bridging of which would best contribute to rethinking radicalisation, a number of participants suggested the need for inter-generational connections in particular. This could be linked with the separate and also frequent call for workshops devoted entirely to young people—these could serve as a first step towards greater inter-generational contacts. This would help address the concern voiced that families did not necessarily know what their kids were up to on the Internet, for example. The acceptance that inter-generational contacts within and without families were needed to explore just what might be going on in that space was evident among many in the group.

When discussing why there might have been a perception of division where the reality was more positive, many participants cited the role of the media, though few suggested how this might be tackled, or if media representatives could get involved in rethinking their contribution to perceptions of division, or joining in rethinking radicalisation.

2 –HOW DO WE DEAL WITH THESE CHALLENGES AROUND THREAT AND VULNERABILITY?

The most common responses identified a need for safe places for frank conversations, as well as more positive, even celebratory events. This 'semi-shop' as well as the 'Big Questions' event were acknowledged as contributing to the provision of such opportunities. The point was made that forums and events of this kind already exist in Manchester, however, but the identification of the need for 'spaces' indicates that existing options made need revivifying, or refocussing. Still, there's no need to reinvent the wheel, and this was broadly recognised.

Others picked up the point on the need for mainstreaming efforts to reduce vulnerability through schools. It was not put in so many words, however—many of those who made suggestions about programmes in schools emphatically would not want 'counter-radicalisation' or the 'prevention of violent extremism' to be on the curriculum. However, there may be amenable to the raising of awareness and the teaching of skills that would help prevent radicalisation.

Audience responses to this the topic of reducing vulnerability and countering the threat also repeatedly returned to the need to somehow address UK government actions overseas that may be stoking radicalisation here at home, whether it be from those who saw the UK as being involved in 'state sponsored terrorism' to those who saw the government's opposition to the Syrian regime as encouraging those who sought its violent overthrow by making common cause with violent Islamist extremists. It's clear that many wanted the frank conversations in safe spaces to tackle this topic. This would be difficult to do (but not impossible) in such a way as to allow those grievances to be constructively addressed, rather than resulting in something that will be seen as a 'talking shop'.

Some participants accepted that those persons most at risk (and risky) may not be reached within safe spaces and networks. Getting them to the point of participation, and so expanding networks to include

'difficult' participants could be valuable, and may require use of all the tools one contributor identified as being necessary to preventing radicalisation: 'intervention, diversion, education, prosecution and the law'.

Education was returned to again and again as a way to deal with the challenge. Refreshingly, there was a self-awareness that just saying 'education' as a panacea was not helpful. One table discussion called for 'work with young people to teach them critical thinking and harness the energy of young activists who get things done. This way we can reach the most vulnerable and look at controversial issues'.

3 – WHAT DO COMMUNITIES NEED? WHAT ARE THE KEY TAKEAWAYS?

'Don't reinvent the wheel'. Things might need to be rethought and re-done, but much has already been accomplished and the tools to 'finish the job' already exist.

Communities need to feel that they are being listened to, and that their responses are reshaping the content of agendas that are ostensibly about their core interests, and not just that the packaging is being changed to make it look that way.

'Mancunianisation' was raised by multiple participants, though never using this unwieldy term, but instead by focussing on what would strengthen communities, and whether it was possible to emphasise commonalities in any localisation of prevention work. Though no members of the community present were calling for 'making the *Prevent* agenda our agenda', there may remain scope to developing a 'made in Manchester' approach.

Going beyond the usual suspects - one participant suggested each attendee brought along someone who wouldn't normally come to such a forum or other safe space/trusted network, but who were essential to the success of efforts to rethink radicalisation and the means of preventing it. A workshop that entirely featured young people was a pressing need, since they were the most vulnerable to being drawn into extremism.

There was a recognition that there was still profound disagreement on the extent of the threat and thus a need for some common agreement on what it is. More information is needed and credibility gaps must be bridged--it is clear that there is a gap in the assessment of threat between many members of the community represented at this event and those with responsibility for pursuing *Prevent* objectives. This problem should not be exaggerated, but needs addressing and was not really tackled here. The media was not seen to be a good source of an overview of the threat and vulnerability, in that many saw it as part of the problem that needed to be challenged.

RETHINKING RADICALISATION 2 - SOUTH

Irish World Heritage Centre, Cheetham Hill

22nd January 2015

72 attendees

PANEL:

Professor Ted Cantle, CBE, The ICoCo Foundation

Rupert Dore, Head of Prevent, Association of Chief of Police Officers, Chair of EU RAN Police WG

FOCUS QUESTIONS:

1 – How does Manchester make its communities feel safe?

2 – What are the things that people aren't talking about?

3 – What's the one thing that needs to happen to build resilience?

1 – HOW DOES MANCHESTER MAKE ITS COMMUNITIES FEEL SAFE?

Again there was broad acceptance that Manchester made most of its communities feel safe. When discussing local police, the audience emphasised their responsiveness to public needs, suggesting an implicit acceptance of significant progress made and good results obtained. This was tempered by advice that Police should refocus on listening rather than telling when it came to local issues. The generally positive view of local efforts was twinned with an apparent scepticism that local efforts could better protect Muslims in particular from feeling unsafe and targeted in the wake of incidents such as those in Paris. Some voices expressed scepticism of initiatives in response to such events that were designed to promote 'British Values' rather than universal or community ones. The insecurity here was less straightforwardly physical than it was social and psychological: would communities of multiple identities be secure in the face of such drives? Do Mancunian Values offers a potential way of meeting the need for shared values while reassuring those who feel unsafe in the face of 'British Values' talk? If so we are now at the point where concrete steps for outlining such a shared vision may be necessary.

A Hate Crime centre was singled out as a means of making people feel safer, though there was a desire for it to be more active (could it also be linked to something more restorative, too?). An interesting perspective was offered suggesting that things had become precarious now that there was much more community interaction: past illusions of safety in more isolated, parallel communities have been shattered, and there's a need to recover that sense of safety without losing the thicker connections.

2 – WHAT ARE THE THINGS THAT PEOPLE AREN'T TALKING ABOUT?

There were many responses to this question which was designed to uncover not just the subjects that weren't being raised, but also the topics that weren't being talked about in the right places. Foreign policy,

racism & hate crime, unemployment & disadvantage; immigration and changing demographics were among the specific examples cited. However, the event also allowed for the exploration of the extent to which frank discussions with 'difficult' interlocutors were being pushed to the side-lines, while the right things aren't being talked about in the right spaces, often because these were seen as national, even international issues. But if global and national forces are swamping local ones, how can we hope to make Manchester feel safer without somehow 'localising' and 'taming' these issues? Or would bringing such matters up in local forums actually leading to the 'swamping' of grassroots efforts, polarising debate and justifying inaction? Without the appropriate forum and facilitation, we would unsurprisingly argue, there could be a risk of this.

Where there is good work taking place we need to show it/share it/learn from it—that's not being talked about enough. Where are local voices being recognised at a Manchester and local level? Much activity, e.g. emergency life support sessions with Syrian refugees working in the community, is simply done; people just get on with it. They are not waiting for recognition. But even if they don't need it, it could prove very valuable in highlighting alternatives.

Other neglected issues listed included:

- Lots of Muslims feel they don't belong and a discussion about this needs to be opened up
- Positive police work - does this need to be talked about more
- Specifics
- The outdated nature of the school curriculum
- Matters other than money - i.e. it was too easy to suggest there just wasn't enough money to do project work that built resilience or countered extremism
- One participant raised the possibility that there were insufficient places where we just talked. Is it that this has just become virtual and we haven't lost connectivity? Or is it that there is a lack of interpersonal contacts necessary for cross-community discussion about many issues—not just some key ones.

3 – WHAT'S THE ONE THING THAT NEEDS TO HAPPEN TO BUILD RESILIENCE?

The overwhelming response was that there was not one thing that needed to be done to build resilience. But when asked to prioritise there was recurrent suggestion that the entire *Prevent* agenda needed to be reworked to avoid persecuting Muslims (and not just the perception of that). Perhaps if preventing violent extremism needed to be done it needed to be done obliquely, dropping the *Prevent* language altogether? Or would this be just a way of ducking the issue, and avoiding sending a clear signal of zero-tolerance? There were what may be taken to be dissenting notes from this line, that somewhere there was some community responsibility to challenge the few, simple and misleading media narratives about Muslims.

Inter-faith events were suggested, such as 'faith trails', with some suggesting that Manchester needed to do more to promote cross-community dialogue to complement responsiveness to individual communities on the part of police and other authorities. Others would not have accepted this characterisation. Could it be that extensive existing networks are not felt to be safe places for difficult, contentious conversations about the complex of matters surrounding *Prevent* and radicalisation? Does this mean they just need upskilling, or that new kinds of networks are needed?

Perhaps the locus of resilience was to found in youth—this seemed to be the consensus. How to go about building youth resilience? Suggestions included supporting teachers and providing a platform through which issues such as those discussed at this event could be addressed in a manner appropriate to (and led by?) young people and those who work with them.

Safe spaces for community dialogue like the Rethinking Radicalisation events were also suggested as the one thing that could buttress resilience. But these events are one-off, rather than a something that could be quickly convened in response to crisis, or to help facilitate the everyday contacts that build such spaces. There are many such spaces already, but are they thought inappropriate forums for such topics? Other suggestions included quarterly MCC surveys of opinion and a positive note on the perennial media matter: one participant proposed the greater use of media—especially social media, but also radio and newspapers—to offer alternatives to the dominant narratives in the press and on television.

Finally, there was an interesting suggestion that resolutions on what do to needed to come from communities and specific subsets thereof—the role of women was singled out in this connection.

RETHINKING RADICALISATION 3 - WYTHENSHAWE

Woodhouse Park Lifestyle Centre, Wythenshawe
12th February 2015
68 attendees

PANEL:

>   Dr. Rizwaan Sabir, Liverpool John Moores University

>   Dr. Shamim Miah, Senior Lecturer, School of Education, University of Huddersfield

>   Dr. Duncan Morrow, Senior Lecturer, University of Ulster

FOCUS QUESTIONS:

>   1 – Where does the responsibility lie in dealing with radicalisation and violent extremism?

>   2 – What steps can lead to a shared vision? How?

>   3 – What questions have not been asked?

1 – WHERE DOES RESPONSIBILITY LIE IN DEALING WITH RADICALISATION AND EXTREMISM?

Unsurprisingly, many respondents indicated that the responsibility lay everywhere. But there were interesting emphases and interrogations of the question (e.g. does radicalisation or non-violent extremism have a locus distinct from violent versions? Is 'the problem' a media-political construct that media and politicians have responsibility to dismantle?). Vigorous discussion was had over whether the

police should lead or be seen to lead, or whether local authorities and politicians should be in the forefront. Religious institutions and grassroots organisations were repeatedly emphasised. What this seemed to suggest was that, beneath the consensus that 'everybody' should have responsibility, there was genuine disagreement as well as reservation of judgement. This possible vacuum could be an opportunity as much as a problem.

2 – WHAT STEPS CAN LEAD TO A SHARED VISION?

Finding a shared space not just to have difficult conversations such as those involved in rethinking radicalisation or constructing a shared vision, but simply to celebrate universal values was identified as important to a shared vision. In such shared spaces intercultural dialogue would occur and such a vision would grow organically, with different emphases and forms across different wards. One dissenting voice did observe that this did not offer much in the way of guidance for the individuals in attendance seeking to fulfil their current roles. Another pointed out that dialogues of faith networks existed and could prove safe space with proper open discussions without judgement. But was a shared vision coming from this? One that could inform the rethinking of radicalisation?

An interesting if potentially divisive distinction was drawn between talking shops where discussion was held without much resulting influence, and community-led visions. There was undoubtedly some suspicion that steps to a shared vision of Mancunian values would end up as the former rather than the latter: the very language of 'steps' to a shared vision implying something more organised than organic. But even those who held to such views would probably recognise the alternative observation that there was a need to generate broader interest if such a vision was to be deep and representative. Coffee after morning school runs, parents groups, strategies targeted at involving youth—all these suggestions indicated efforts to resolve this lack of participation. The implication of this is that something may be needed to get the ball rolling towards shared vision(s).

A more active approach was suggested via altering and extending school programmes to include faith-based institution as part of a community out-reach approach that addressed the drivers in a responsive fashion—listening particular to the concerns of young people. Others proposed challenging the media, perhaps via a representative and diverse media lobby group of some kind. Could positive role models take the lead? Or would this be more of the same?

3 – WHAT QUESTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN ASKED?

- Isn't the danger in creating something so generic as a 'shared vision' of 'universal values' or 'Mancunianess' that we end up with something meaningless?
- Are we really fully informed enough about the problems to go about figuring out solutions?
- Are we putting too much responsibility on certain people in certain communities, pressing for them to do things we wouldn't do ourselves?
- What happens next? What's the investment going to be? Where have previously allocated resources gone?
- Will there be a report and a response to that report? Will it be circulated?

RETHINKING RADICALISATION YP – YOUTH RETHINKING RADICALISATION

Manchester Town Hall

18th March 2015

78 attendees

This event was more of a workshop that a 'semi-shop'. There was no panel but a series of activities which introduced ways of thinking about identity and radicalisation so that the young people were primed to engage with the three key questions.

FOCUS QUESTIONS:

1 – To what extent is Manchester made up of different identities and communities?

2 – Do these differences create challenges in Manchester?

3 – Do you think radicalisation is an issue for Manchester? How do you know?

The preparation for discussion and the subsequent facilitation of the smaller groups worked to build confidence in the young people that there was 'safety' in the process—i.e. they were encouraged to express themselves openly and without prejudice while being mindful of their peers and others involved.

1 – TO WHAT EXTENT IS MANCHESTER MADE UP OF DIFFERENT IDENTITIES AND COMMUNITIES?

Overwhelmingly, all the small groups into which attendees were sorted suggested that Manchester is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious community, which encompasses many diverse and varied identities. In an exercise on what was essential to their identities within such a context, the although young people overwhelmingly saw themselves as both Mancunians and British , they also classed religion, culture, political beliefs and even on occasion, football team, as being part of their identity (amongst a number of other identifying factors).

Reference was frequently made to specific geographical areas of Manchester in which one culture, religion or ethnicity made up the majority. Participants suggested that this was due to a number of factors, including but not limited to familiarity ("feeling at home"), a sense of security, the desire to inhabit an accepting, tolerance, shared cultural or religious beliefs, or possibly because of limitations of language skill or other communications difficulties. It was observed by the young people that, in some of these areas which are dominated by a single culture/ethnicity/religion, there was a risk of their being perceived as threatening and feeling unsafe, because of a apparently 'overbearing' local majority.

It was stressed repeatedly, however, that a very positive aspect of Manchester was its schooling system and how a number of schools within the Manchester area encouraged and engaged with different cultural, religious, or ethnic considerations and backgrounds, reducing any risk of segregation.

2 – DO THESE DIFFERENCES CREATE CHALLENGES IN MANCHESTER?

With a multiplicity of communities and identities, built upon different religious, cultural and political beliefs and traditions (to cite but a few), problems will arise, participants suggested. For example, several young people pointed out that tensions between religious and non-religious people were frequent. The EDL march of 7th March 2015, as an oft-referenced example of community tensions.

However, it was also suggested that difference need not be seen as a problem or a challenge, but an opportunity to learn about different cultures, religions, political beliefs and family traditions. There was a resounding call to learn about other traditions and beliefs, in order to prevent extreme, fearful perceptions from being perpetuated. People drew attention to religious intolerance (or perhaps ignorance) within the wider Manchester community, and stated that in order to tackle this challenge, people must take up the opportunity to learn about different parts of the community.

As at the other Rethinking Radicalisation events, the media was accused of misinterpreting and misrepresenting certain groups, mainly Muslims. The point was made that the media actually creates hostility between communities, not just in Manchester, but nationally and even globally, as much because conflict and emotive debate was a form of drama—even a kind of entertainment—which garners greater audiences than balanced, fully informed, proportionate coverage. Attendees also expressed a frustration with certain groups within Manchester, who preach intolerance and ignorance, legitimise their beliefs and actions though political parties, and create similar tensions, often in the pursuit of media attention or in response to media stories.

The current political climate was omnipresent throughout the evening. Some participants were soon to be first time voters and were particularly attentive to how the upcoming general election seemed to have inflamed tensions.

3 - DO YOU THINK RADICALISATION IS AN ISSUE FOR MANCHESTER? HOW DO YOU KNOW?

There was a split within the groups in attendance: some people stated that radicalisation is a global issue, and therefore a Manchester issue, just as much as it is for many other cities. However, a few individuals, did specifically state that it is undeniable that radicalisation is an issue for Manchester, as people resident in the city had engaged in extremism or joined groups that divide communities.

In contrast, many participants suggested that since radicalisation is a global issue, it need not be a specific issue for Manchester and even that Manchester has gained unwarranted attention as a result of the actions of a few individuals and how they are covered in the press and other media, such as the case of the 'Manchester Terror Twins', two girls who have travelled to Syria to join IS.

Interestingly, those who saw radicalisation as a global issue with only a handful of Mancunian examples were also keen to stress that any activities to prevent radicalisation, violent extremism and terrorism, would be best practiced or implemented on a local community level: one size doesn't fit all, suggesting less of a place for a distant national government.

However, some young people were keen for national government to 'take ownership' of its 'radicalising foreign policy'. One participant observed that "no wonder people have become prey to radicalisation [process]'; government action had reinforced stereotypes. This was a strong current in all the discussions. But it was not the only view. The evening presented a wide range of different perspectives from young people highly engaged in the debates, who clearly felt comfortable discussing extremism in this context— possibly even more so than many adults and professionals.

Given the risk of a lack of response or a 'dialogue of the deaf' featuring unreconciled definitions of 'radicalisation', the Foundation team suggested some proposed definitions in advance of this question and engaged in preparatory exercises to lead up to it. These exercises produced interesting insights into what the young people understood radicalisation as and how they linked it to questions of identity, notably what was meant by 'Britishness'.

One potential definition of radicalisation was suggested to the participants, who were asked to what extent they saw themselves as radical in the terms of this definition of 'radical':

> *"taking a stand on certain issues, having an opinion that makes you stand out from the crowd / you want change because you believe something to be right… you hope to persuade other people to come along with you / change their mind…"*
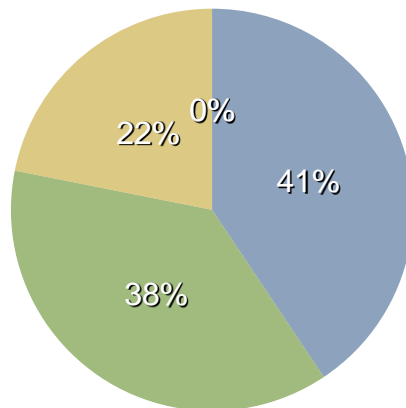

The results indicated that a third of people who participated in the exercise saw themselves as radical according to such a definition. Over three quarters declared themselves to be radical to some extent.

The young people were also asked whether they would describe themselves as British. 52% 'voted with their feet' to indicate they were. 42% took the option of emphasising upon questioning the extent to which, though they were British, their or their parents' cultural and religious heritage made them feel it was more appropriate to stress their complex identities. This led to a discussion on personal identities and

how many others were composites of their educational institutions and local communities as well as national or religious affiliations.

To conclude the event, the participants were asked what can now be done to help Manchester communities mix in a positive way. People responded with suggestions including the holding of inter-cultural/inter-faith events or festivals, such as food festivals, or music festivals, celebrating different traditions; inter-faith conventions or open days; youth forums and youth community leadership roles; and a resounding call for more such events.
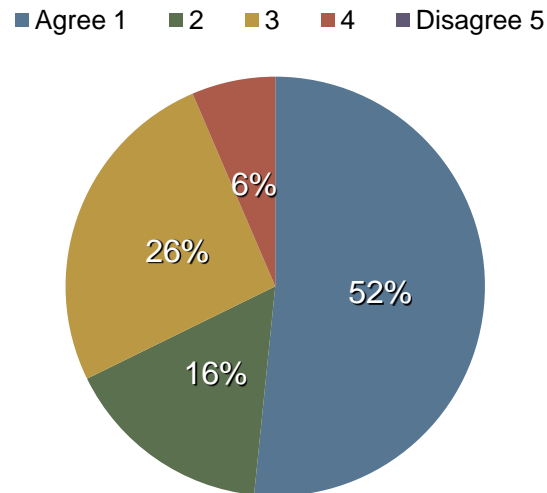
The young people's event was also attended by teachers and youth workers. Upon discussions with Foundation team members, further insights were gained as to the needs facing them and the young people and how these could be tackled. The adults commented upon the way in which the event had been delivered and facilitated, expressing surprise at the ease in getting the young people to feel safe and to open up on contentious, 'thorny' issues. Simple techniques of open questions and mixing groups up had proven effective. In some senses, the young people were more honest than many adults faced with such issues, as they were not as worried about being politically correct. In their own curriculum delivery schools are often concerned about mentioning topics that the young people did not seem to be offended by or concerned about on the day. The fear of potentially negative parental response is often different in 'away' events with third parties; sensitive facilitation was also likely a factor. It was also acknowledged that there was a greater amount of staff time and resource in the delivery of the workshop which helped in dealing with sensitive issues and would not always be replicable in schools. The points raised here by the teachers and youth workers pointed to the need for greater confidence and further equipping these professionals to be able to manage such discussions.

APPENDIX 2 - PANELLISTS

The three main Rethinking Radicalisation events featured a panel of expert speakers who both reflected and stimulated the debate among all participants. These brief summaries highlight some of the most important and resonant points made.

3.1 – DR. SHAMIM MIAH, EVENT THREE (WYTHENSHAWE)

Dr. Shamim Miah specialises in looking at the association between social policy and governance of the Muslim community. He is a senior lecturer at the School of Education at the University of Huddersfield. His academic interests include the sociology of race, religion and public policy. Shamim has a PhD in Sociology, MA in Humanities and BA (Hons) in Social Science. He attended the third and final Rethinking Radicalisation event in Wythenshawe in February 2015 and focussed on education in his address.

Shamim argued that the definition of extremism has changed over time. It began as a extremism, then 'violent extremism' and now seems synonymous with 'cultural/social conservatism', with huge implications for the Muslim Community. He noted the *Trojan Horse* case in Birmingham, in which it was suggested that there was an organised attempt to introduce an 'Islamist' ethos into several schools, as important in this connection. He interpreted the Clarke Review into the incident as suggesting there was no evidence to support the original.

Radicalisation, according to Dr. Miah, was not necessarily something negative—it could be a positive force for change. He noted the suffragette movement, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King as prominent examples that have shaped how we think and talk about equality. Radicalisation in these and other cases should be looked at as self-determination, much as it was by Gandhi and others who used civil disobedience as a way of bringing about necessary, positive social change. Radicalism can be undertaken in pursuit of social justice, a trick the current education system is missing. There needs to be a distinction between legality and morality; not all laws are moral that young people should be exposed to. Education, he averred, should not just be about knowing—it should be about bringing about the capacity for social change. This would truly help prevent violent extremism and lead to more cohesive societies.

The current UK school curriculum has taken citizenship out altogether. According to Shamim, even when it was on the national curriculum it was narrowly communitarian rather than looking at citizenship through the prism of human rights.

Importantly for this particular discussion in Manchester, Shamim asserted that discourse on values did not exist as an ontological reality. Britishness is socially constructed and politically defined. That being the case, he argued that such values should never be created in a top-down fashion: they should be negotiated, coming out of a particular discourse. This could be crucial for Manchester in its current process.

3.2 – PROFESSOR TED CANTLE, EVENT TWO, CHEETHAM HILL

Professor Cantle set up the Institute for Community Cohesion (ICoCo) and has since established the ICoCo foundation to build on this work and to develop the policy and practice of interculturalism and community cohesion. In August 2001 Ted was appointed by the Home Secretary to chair the Community Cohesion Review Team to enquire into the causes of the summer disturbances in a number of northern towns and cities. The ground-breaking Cantle Report published that December made 70 recommendations.

Professor Cantle attended the second Rethinking Radicalisation event in Cheetham Hill in January 2015. His address was wide-ranging, exploring the prospects for reducing vulnerability and increasing resilience in Manchester. Ted began by reminding attendees that it was not unusual for communities 'to be in conflict and indeed conflicting' over *Prevent*, citing the failures of multiculturalism, the 'War on Terror', and the alienation of Muslim communities that had contributed to the challenge.

He asserted that the Prevent Strategy had failed at the outset owing to the key characteristics of the UK government's position, which focussed on a number of 'mad and bad individuals', who were on a pathway to terrorism aided and abetted by ideologues with the tacit support of 'their' communities. According to Professor Cantle, the evidence simply doesn't support this view. This misguided approach has instead alienated Muslim communities by associating them with terrorism and extremism. Although the new *Prevent* strategy has changed, CT programmes and cohesion policy remains (mostly) Muslim-specific. This has hardened and homogenised Muslim identities, in a direct counter to what it seeks to do.

Cantle encouraged a wider perspective. Al Qa'ida (and increasingly Da'esh) remains a threat. How do we build support for action against them? How do we recognise the diversity within the Muslim community? He invited the audience to look at Far Right extremism and terrorism too reminding them that there were currently 17 people serving in prison for terrorism related offences; lone wolf terrorism/hate crime, Northern Irish related terrorism.

Ted argued that Muslim communities were part of the solution to these challenges, citing specific examples such as Tariq Jahan, a father whose son was killed during the riots that swept the UK in 2011. Mr. Jahan became an inspirational figure who called for calm and non-violence in the aftermath of his son's death, arguably crucially diverting what could have been a violent backlash.

At the heart of Professor Cantle's address was the need to address issues of security and cohesion across all communities. He argued that the government should scrap *Prevent* and develop a more positive Promote agenda focussed on 'bringing Muslim communities in from the cold' and engaging with diversity in all communities. Ted maintained that counter-terrorism operations designed to identify threats needed to avoid assumptions and follow the evidence closely. Working with community partners to anticipate minor issues and then predict tensions could be highly successful – the tracking of events from EDL marches to international tensions, community disputes and riots was one way of involving community majorities and minorities in solving problems, indirectly producing 'counter-narrative' by the simple demonstration of other ways of doing things.

Working with community partners in such fashion had to include responding to real grievances and concerns, promoting multicultural societies as the new reality. 'Super diversity', as he termed it, and globalisation meant that 'cultural navigation' skills were essential for people to be at ease with others and with this new reality. Currently, we are possibly not doing enough to support our young people for this form of global citizenship. Initiatives in the UK addressing these important aspects of education tend to take place outside of the school system. Voluntary, Community and Social Enterprises/Non-governmental Organisations are currently taking the lead in filling this gap and holding 'dangerous conversations'. This was important work, but Ted suggested that it must be built upon with more robust efforts to shore up a schools system that has so many demands placed upon it. He suggested that rather than 'religious instruction' classes, what was needed was more emphasis on a broad education to develop more rounded, relevant and resilience-building approach to working with our young people.

Professor Cantle concluded by emphasising that civil society and local authorities were amongst those who needed to play an active part in these matters. The various partners needed to have a shared vision of success and provide positive support for a multicultural society.

3.3 – DR. RIZWAAN SABIR, EVENT THREE, WYTHENSHAWE

Dr. Sabir specialises in how the threat from militant Islam is perceived by policymakers. He argued that unless there was recognition of the causes of political violence there would be no solution. Recognition of the nature of the problem was a prerequisite of addressing it.

Rizwaan maintained that the government and others in policy circles understood militant Islam as a new form of terrorism, different from the old form of IRA/PLO/ANC/ETA. But what was the basis of this claim. Government understanding of militant Islam saw the phenomenon as a horizontally structured movement rather than something vertical or hierarchical: there's no leadership or command structure of the kind associated with 'old' terrorism. Because such a structure is lacking, groups are unaccountable and, as a result, the danger posed to the UK by transnational groups is much greater. As they were not limited to one state or territory, such groups could not be easily confronted through military or law enforcement alone. Hard power thus constrained, soft power became more prominent: this is where the *Prevent* strategy is important.

Dr. Sabir argued that the government perceives militant Islam as exploiting globalisation, often using the Internet, hence state security services pushing for increasing surveillance, evincing a new policy interest in cyber-warfare, for instance.

There were other differences between 'old' terrorism and the 'new' terrorism of militant Islam that also play a role in government thinking. Militant Islam is often seen as being fundamentally oriented around the use of violence for religious and ideological reasons rather than political purpose. By this reading the targeting of civilians is not a strategy, but is somehow intrinsic. This interpretation is allied to a refusal see the 'new' terrorism as a reaction to Western historical involvement in the Middle East or to errors such as the Iraq War.

For Rizwaan, *Prevent* is supposed to challenge the ideas and views that lead to terrorism yet it has since its inception been deeply involved in the collection of overt and covert intelligence, closed down the discussion and debate of alternative ideas and views, as well as dissent more generally. This approach, he argued, is based on the flawed assumption that ideas lead to terrorism or violence, for which he argues there is no evidence. This sort of speculative basis for action leads to an endless list of suspects who can never be rid of suspicion.

Instead of fearing alternative ideas, allowing discussion of them is a great strength for Britain. Now, however, the country is becoming a hypocritical nation that champions free speech but criminalises those who engage with 'radical' ideas. Dr. Sabir heavily criticised this, before concluding by recommending the opening up of spaces where frustration can be vented, where alternative ideas can be aired, discussed and challenged openly. This would help stop individuals closing off and looking inward. Far from reducing terrorism, current policy sustains and arguably even increases the threat—for Rizwaan, it just makes us less safe. In order to reduce the threat policymakers must recognise why groups and individuals are using violence against Western democracies at home and abroad. Ideology and religion may give legitimacy and justification for violence, but this is not the same as being the chief cause. Religious ideology only takes one so far; ultimately it is politics that one must look to.

3.4 – DR. DUNCAN MORROW, EVENTS 1 & 3 (WHALLEY RANGE, WYTHENSHAWE)

Dr. Duncan Morrow is a lecturer and director of community engagement at the University of Ulster. In 1998 he was appointed as sentence review commissioner with responsibility for implementing the early release arrangements for prisoners set free following the Good Friday Agreement. This has since expanded into work as a Parole Commissioner.

In 2002, Duncan was appointed Chief Executive of the Community Relations Council, where he championed the concept of a shared future and developed the Council's role in research and active learning, policy development and work on interfaces, parading, regeneration, as well as work with victims and survivors of conflict.

Dr. Morrow attended the first Rethinking Radicalisation event in November 2014, the third in February 2015, and also participated in the second Action Planning session in July 2015. At all three events he drew on the experience of Northern Ireland to illuminate parallels, contrasts, and lessons learned that could be of value when confronting contemporary challenges in Great Britain in general and Manchester in particular.

Duncan talked about the cycle of polarisation, drawing on what happened in Northern Ireland, a circumstance in which a destructive dynamic emerges so that 'the only justice is "we win" and the "other side loses"'. The emergence of violence increases the demand for security, which doesn't necessarily stop the violence and is perceived by communities as an indiscriminate attack which must be resisted, increasing separation or violence. This in turn leads to a vicious cycle with increased demands for measures to improve security, engendering more resistance, and on and on. This vicious cycle could be seen across the UK, undermining hard-won relationships between communities and public authorities. The social reality of 'them' and 'us' can become one of 'friend and foe'. The mentality which suggests that

'I can't meet you until I know if you wish me ill' feeds suspicion and this suspicion becomes the currency of the relationship, preventing any form of cohesion between people.

In trying to escape such traps, Duncan identified a number of issues:

- The need to develop different relations where channels are robust enough for difficult conversations to be held in safe spaces – not just where parties to disputes say 'nice things' to each other.
- 'We know about each other but we don't know each other'. This has to change. We only know our radicals well and this does not represent the wider community, the majority.
- Mentalities based on the principle that 'I'm only doing what I'm doing because of what you did before' need to be challenged in order to break the cycle of conflict. This must be done in a constructive and safe manner so as to avoid escalation and demonstrate understanding of people's needs and grievances.
- The need to rehumanise 'the other'; a process of dehumanisation justifies certain behaviours.
- Gaining such expanded knowledge – humane understanding of 'the other' and knowing each other rather than just 'about' each other's radicals—should be a key priority of education and integrated into the education system.
- The need for self-criticism and self-understanding. We must identify the real issues and grievances felt, not the collective positions.

In short, Dr. Morrow perceived a need for safe spaces for have differences, not just to live out harmony. It is in those safe spaces where we can openly acknowledge what we fear and hear from other people what is normally not said. If there are not safe and constructive space sin which people can hold such difficult conversations the conversation about issues such as rethinking radicalisation becomes trapped in 'who started it? Who is responsible?' The answer, depressingly, ends up being 'them', but this is a dead-end when seeking to solve problems and prevent threats to shared values taking holds.

Duncan acknowledged that Manchester was not Northern Ireland, but hard-earned experiences and difficult lessons learned could be usefully drawn upon in the city. Northern Ireland spent 40 years trying to rebuild itself in the aftermath of a conflict where society polarised and feel apart. Seeking just to 'Prevent' other people's behaviour was not the key to avoiding some semblance of this. Instead we needed to look at what it is really that we were trying to prevent and the importance of the role of all in doing so. Preventing the division of our community and the radicalisation of those vulnerable to such influences is not something to be left to security agencies and the authorities, but will emerge from developing our relationships with each other. 'While trying to find practical solutions to community problems, we need to talk about what it is we're trying to prevent—not just one group of people doing something; we need and want to prevent the perverse cycle from destroying our future relationships'.

APPENDIX 3 – COMMUNITY ACTION PLANNING SESSION

Table	The Gap	Solutions/ responses
1	Importance of social media	Need greater understanding of recruitment/radicalisation; Counter narratives
1	Language used by government - creating 'them' and 'us'	Finding common ground through arts, politics; showcasing what we people are actually contributing. Government consult with comms.
1	No gap identified	Supporting [illegible writing] programmes, western values vs. cultural/religious values
1	Reaching out to young people through mosques – importance of English	Opening mosques and making them attractive places Building elegance between Muslims and non-Muslims
1	Safe haven for those who feel vulnerable or families	Free place [word illegible] – not criminalising
1	Mental health	
2	The net for capturing what we think is an extremist has widened. This means that conservative Muslims now are under more scrutiny	
2	Can we have an open conversation about the fact the consultation process is about targeting Muslims	Recommendation: Manchester has a high Muslim community, can we invite more relevant guest speakers (guest Muslim speakers?)
2	Can we look at Manchester statistics – the Huffington Post does not necessarily represent Manchester	Can we have a Manchester Audit?
2	Make light of the positive cohesions	Media to represent positive stories more fairly

3	**Defining and accepted definition of terms**	**What is radicalisation accepted tersm? E.g. neglect is)left & right) standard terminiology. Could we have clearer signs and symptoms?**
3	**Organisations that challenge the media**	**Can establishments challenge and give better information out/responses. Hard to get media to report responses. Power of social media to challenge main stream media positive stories**
3	**Apprenticeship and pathways for young people**	**Man City – never use Muslim investment**
3	**Local positive use media by non-traditional outlets. Gov/Council/Establishment has little control of media**	**But could they do more, because how can we prevent**
3	**Gov. to take responsibility**	**Might make things easier**
3	**No point in targeting mosque**	**Side [illegible] gathering.**
3	**How can we meet these groups**	**Gov [illegible] – lack engagement with communities and young people** **Better challenging negative mainstream media** **Accept terminology and definitions**
4	**Resources for the ambassadors**	
4	**Why do we need community ambassadors?** **Where is the capacity going to come from?**	
4	**Young people not been engaged – deficient** **Grassroots young people not been engaged** **No incentive to be honest**	**Informal consultation need to carry on – organisation by organisation, community by community – neighbourhood delivery level**

QUESTION 1: HOW DO WE CREATE SAFE SPACES?

Who	What	When	Where	Why	How
Childline/national Charity; Independent body (Q. about who do people trust? Muslim led?)	**Anonymous helpline/safe haven**			**Prevent criminalisation Address fears**	
Teachers; schools; colleges; Unis	**Having the discussion**				
Credible voices/role models across community e.g. GPs	**A safe turning point or individuals and families; build trust not through prevent, but existing networks**				

QUESTION 2: EDUCATION: HOW DO WE MANAGE THE CHALLENGES OF AN OUTDATED CURRICULUM?

Who	What	When	Where	Why	How
Schools encouraging a broad set of values	Mainstream curriculum i.e. history. Should represent all religions			Make sure the curriculum reflects the community	Concentrate on 'human values' not 'British values' Schools to teach the exam syllabus
City Council reign in more power	Head teachers OFSTED to be trained and influenced by appropriate diverse experts	OFSTED is a priority	Is the national curriculum the place to teach specific religion? Should it be devolved to outside religious schools OR would this encourage more of a split within the community	Too much focus on one religion will encourage a fear of the 'other'	Eid should be national holiday

QUESTION 3: HOW DO WE RAISE AWARENESS AND INCREASE UNDERSTANDING ON VULNERABILITY AND THREAT?

Who	What	When	Where	Why	How
	Is the threat	Continuous regular	Threat is [illegible] anywhere	People need to be aware	Videos
Social media	Where does it come from?	Not just in anger	Events where people go	Perceives and real risk	Social media
Who is vulnerable	Markers are used		More seminars with policy makers	Threat levels	But too much can work against you
Not just Muslims	Are Muslims			How do people change?	In context [illegible] Grad understanding
Leads to greater isolation	Are the markers				
Are we alienating moderates?					
Teachers, 4 trained	Challenge the accepted norm	Now	Schools	Look at current and concerning issues	Locally derived
	Organic; not [illegible]	Continuous	Social media		
	Use of current issue	Sermons	Mosques	Captive audience	Agreed community programme: locally derived.
Illegible	To engage		CAMS: child adolescent mental health	Challenge media	
MEND			Look at where the	ETC	Bringing groups together
Parenting groups			People are going	What agenda	
Bringing lots of groups together enabling them to deliver peer to peer			Youth community and family groups	Who sets agenda?	

QUESTION 4: HOW DO WE ENGAGE WITH FAMILIES TO BUILD RESILIENCE?

Who	What	When	Where	Why	How
More in schools	Resilience in what context – young people				GWD community facilities – possibly schools
Parents	Gov. needs to be consistent with policy				
Muslim families which families are vulnerable				Why is this an issue now?	
	Housing policy				Social media; ongoing consultation
					Mosques – capacity building
					All faith centres need confidence to play their role
				Trust and transparency needed to engage with families	
Talk - everyone			Mosques – building capacity Community centre Schools		
	Promotion of neighbourhoods				

Schools – safeguarding					
	Awareness – families not concerned about it - drugs, gangs are higher up – extremism is down at number 10.				

COMMUNITY AMBASSADOR

Table 1:

- Representative of faith Scholars
- Local professionals e.g. lawyers, GPs
- Community groups
- Learning culture
- Development of comms
- Active in community
- IAG model;
    - Fluid representation
    - Continuously strengthening community and resilience
- Young people
- Not given a title, instead a network
- Strengthening families
- Strengthening communities
- Responsibility & values; articulate these
- Success stories elsewhere; across Europe
- Building awareness pf the media
- Safeguarding & channel, using anonymised

Table 2:

- Community network
    - Continuing training for other willing participants
- Role of ambassador = needs to be more of a coalition
- This role will not work because leaders within communities will not want to lose their trust and reputation
- A network of people who have been on a journey together
- Community network rebuke violence as a starting process.
- Accept that the network will have differences

Table 3:

- Medical/Psychological/ Criminal
- Approachable:
    - Non-judgemental
    - Independent
    - Must be known
    - Community selected
- Virtual and real

- A space that people can go and not end up in the criminal justice space
- Big coalition/consortium of people to cover most basis
- Trained:
    - Mental health
    - Defuse
    - Trust building
    - Physiological
    - Defined guidelines
    - Religious training
    - Legal risk training
    - Liability protection
- Core values:
    - Supportive
    - From the community
    - Immunity
    - "tie into NHS safeguarding", or similar
    - Add value to communities

Table 4:

- Active citizens
- Community guardians
- Too selective
- Too much responsibility
    - Upskilled on too many thigs
- Community ambassador organisations
    - Already safeguarding champions
    - Few people can be trained
- Same people so will lose elsewhere
- Why invent the wheel
- Complicated/complex agenda
- Stigma attached to this agenda
- How do you challenge somebody's views
- Some sort of fluid forum that can be built on

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