

Routledge Studies in Extremism and Democracy

THE PREVENT STRATEGY AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

A CASE STUDY OF THE ENGLISH DEFENCE LEAGUE

Craig J.J. McCann



The Prevent Strategy and Right-wing Extremism

In 2011 the U.K. Government reviewed its counter terrorism Prevent Strategy to include “all forms of extremism” with an emphasis on right-wing extremism. This book – written by the former Head of Strategy and Policy at the Office of the National Coordinator for Prevent – provides the most detailed assessment yet of this shift in emphasis.

It explores how the inclusion of right-wing extremism within the counter terrorism Prevent Strategy impacted local responses to the English Defence League. This is explored through numerous interviews and several case studies which were carried out by the author while he was serving as a senior police officer within the Counter Terrorism Command of the Metropolitan Police Service. The book balances empirical research with practical recommendations for policymakers and practitioners from a unique “insider” perspective.

This book will be of appeal to an array of audiences including scholars and students of Terrorism Studies, professionals working in the areas of counter terrorism, public order policing and the promotion of community cohesion, and to those who have an interest in wider non-political responses to right-wing extremism.

Dr Craig J.J. McCann is an independent counter terrorism consultant and researcher. He was previously Head of Strategy and Policy at the Office of the National Coordinator for Prevent.

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A Case Study of the English
Defence League

Craig J.J. McCann

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**Dedicated to Hannah, Robyn, Georgina & Hugo.
For being My World.**

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Preface

Since the U.K. Government reviewed its counter terrorism Prevent Strategy in 2011 to encompass “all forms of extremism” with an emphasis on the right-wing variant, there has been no empirical research undertaken to explore the impact of this decision on local responses to the phenomenon. In the absence of relevant, objective and timely research, we have been left with a plethora of unresolved definitional issues, muddled policy responses, political posturing, and the continued fuelling of inter-community tensions. Frontline practitioners from a range of statutory and non-statutory services have been left to navigate this interminable white noise against a backdrop of working within the most contentious area of the U.K.’s counter terrorism strategy.

The international literature on responses to right-wing extremism has thus far focussed on its various political manifestations, particularly in relation to both extreme right-wing and populist political parties and the ideology that underpins them. From a U.K. perspective, the emphasis over the last 30 years has been very much on attempting to understand the causal factors underpinning the extreme right-wing, the composition of these groups and how they compare with similar groups throughout Europe.

It is striking that there is very little material available which provides a platform for debate as to how the state should actually respond to movements such as the English Defence League (EDL) who do not seek legitimacy through the ballot box. As a movement at the zenith of its power and influence in 2011 the EDL mobilised thousands of people through its street protests, and although its ability to galvanise large numbers of people to turn out to protest has waned since 2013, the sentiment from which it gained its legitimacy and drew its strength has not, as evidenced by the 15,000 strong “Free Tommy Robinson” movement that protested on the 9 June 2018, highlighting how this constituency of protestors is still very much alive.¹

This is the first book exploring how the U.K.’s counter terrorism Prevent Strategy has been used to respond to right-wing extremism and shines a light on hitherto unexplored accounts utilising data yielded through more than 80 interviews with frontline practitioners spanning the police service, local authorities and third sector partners in the three case study areas of Luton, Newcastle and Waltham Forest. The book’s origins lay in doctoral and postdoctoral research

started at the University of Nottingham (2013–2015) and completed at the University of Kent at Canterbury (2015–2017).²

I conducted this research on a part-time basis while serving as a senior police officer within the Metropolitan Police Service’s Counter Terrorism Command. I had joined the Metropolitan Police Service in 2002 and served in a range of policing disciplines including the criminal investigations department and neighbourhood policing, before moving into counter terrorism policing in 2010. I then worked across various portfolios delivering the Prevent Strategy; as a Channel Coordinator for East London, the Head of the Muslim Contact Unit, and as Head of the Extremism Disruptions Team. In 2013 I was seconded to the National Counter Terrorism Policing Headquarters as the Deputy to the National Strategic Lead for Channel, which led to me taking on the role of Head of Strategy & Policy for the national Prevent Policing portfolio where I led on setting the strategy for Prevent Case Management across England and Wales. I then took the difficult decision to retire from the police service in 2016 having reached the rank of Detective Chief Inspector. References to the academic literature have been mostly consigned to endnotes and a description of the methodology, including my considerations as an insider researcher can be found in the Appendix.

Based upon four years of fieldwork the major conclusions presented in this book are that; (1) the impact of the decision to explicitly include right-wing extremism within the Prevent Strategy has been minimal. With the exception of the Channel intervention programme, there are for instance no specific counter narratives that have been created as a response to the expansion of the policy to include “all forms of extremism”. Instead, this has led to a generalised approach to countering extremism without a clear understanding of right-wing extremism as a distinct phenomenon, separate and non-contingent upon Islamist extremism; (2) the EDL is understood by local actors as a threat to the public order and community cohesion, but not as a terrorism threat. Notwithstanding this position, the case studies highlight the continued role of counter terrorism Prevent officers in the pre, during and post phases of EDL attendance in maintaining community cohesion and providing reassurance with reference in particular to Muslim communities; and (3) right-wing extremism is poorly understood and articulated at a national policy level. There is a lack of synergy on this issue between the integration, cohesion, hate crime, the Prevent Strategy and Counter Extremism policy areas, the interpretation of which at a local level has led to inter-agency tensions that have been further negatively impacted by Government imposed austerity measures on public sector resourcing since 2010.

Studying for a PhD part-time and writing this book have been a challenge not only for me, but for my family and friends, none of whom signed up for this. I will be forever profoundly grateful to my long-suffering (her words) wife, Hannah, for her unending patience, encouragement and belief in me during the dark days, and for keeping my feet on the ground when I needed it. I’d like to express my thanks to our beloved children; Robyn, Georgina and Hugo, for making me smile and reminding me of what is important. Words cannot express

how grateful I am to my parents, my brother and sister for the start they gave me in life. I am where I am today in large part because of you all.

I would like to thank my academic supervisors both from where I started this PhD at the University of Nottingham, and latterly, the University of Kent at Canterbury, namely Dr Philip Cowley of the University of Nottingham and Dr Laura Sudulich of the University of Kent. I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to Professor Matthew Goodwin for his direction and encouragement throughout my work. I am also grateful to the three anonymous reviewers who provided valuable suggestions for improving the manuscript.

Finally, I have to thank all those front-line practitioners who allowed me to interview them and for trusting me with their accounts. The responsibility I have had to accurately depict their experiences and observations and critically analyse them within the parameters of my research has weighed heavily on me. I hope I have done them justice. I have found police officers, safeguarding practitioners, members of local authorities, politicians and local activists to be incredibly open about these issues and extremely passionate in their desire for their voices to be heard by those authoring policies governing their operational roles. In keeping with promises made during my fieldwork, their names have been kept anonymous.

Craig J.J. McCann
October 2018

Notes

- 1 BBC News (09/06/2018) "Police Officers hurt at 'Free Tommy Robinson' protest".
- 2 C.J.J. McCann (2017) How did the U.K. Government's decision to include right wing extremism within its counter terrorism "Prevent" Strategy in 2011 impact on local responses to the English Defence League?

Introduction

This book analyses how the U.K. Government's decision to explicitly add right-wing extremism (RWE) within its counter terrorism "Prevent Strategy" impacted on local responses to the English Defence League (EDL). As the first research into this subject matter, through data yielded from more than 80 qualitative interviews with frontline practitioners across three case study areas conducted by a serving counter terrorism police officer specialising in the Prevent Strategy, it will explore the ways in which this shift in the strategy played out at a local level among statutory actors interpreting and implementing it in their operational roles against the backdrop of central government imposed austerity measures since 2010.

While I will briefly address the political responses of mainstream political parties to RWE manifested by populist groups across Europe who seek legitimacy at the ballot box this book will focus on the non-political means of responding to RWE in the U.K. as set within the wider political context including engagement, prevention, and enforcement when identifying and managing individuals and groups carrying out activities in furtherance of their extreme right-wing world view. While the discourse regarding the threat posed by RWE has steadily gained prominence in the U.K., the focus has thus far been on the British National Party (BNP)¹ and latterly the radical right populism of the U.K Independence Party,² and has followed the same narrow focus on how to respond to party-political manifestations of right-wing extremism as is the case for similar parties across Europe such as the Front National in France,³ Jobbik in Hungary,⁴ Vlaams Blok in Belgium,⁵ the Danish People's Party in Denmark,⁶ and the Swedish Democrats.⁷

This book however, focuses on the non-political state responses to the EDL, a movement forged in 2009 from the response of local Luton residents to Islamist extremist marches and demonstrations in the town. There are now several similar groups that have developed as off-shoots to the EDL or that have been established in parallel and include The Infidels, The Casuals, Britain First and more recently the Football Lads Alliance. These groups, unlike the BNP and UKIP, have no such desire to engage in the political process, but instead articulate their views through a nation-wide street protest movement that is increasing linked with similarly minded "counter Jihad" groups across Europe and the United

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States.⁸ It is this international dimension to the RWE movement, as well as right-wing motivated incidents such as the 2011 attacks committed by Anders Breivik in Norway, and the campaign of right-wing motivated terrorism carried out by the National Socialist Underground (NSU) movement in Germany, whose very existence was only identified in late 2011, as well as data from the Global Terrorism Database depicting the true scale of RWE-related incidents,⁹ that have challenged the continued dominance of preventative measures against Islamist extremism in the post 9/11 counter extremism landscape.¹⁰ The Europol Terrorism Situation and Trend Report for 2018 references the EU Security Commissioner Sir Julian King who in March 2018 highlighted the growing “menace” of RWE and that he was not aware of a single EU Member State that is not affected in some way by the phenomenon.¹¹ Recent EU-funded research undertaken to explore “lone actor” terrorism found that;

the threat stemming from far-right lone actor terrorism across Europe is significant ... right-wing lone actors were less likely to have been under active investigation by authorities than religiously inspired individuals. Policymakers and the police must give greater consideration to the threat from far-right lone actor terrorism, and not underestimate its capacity when compared with Islamist extremism.¹²

From a U.K. perspective, the recognition that threats of extremism emanate from non-Islamist forms of extremism has been emphasised by recent extreme right-wing motivated attacks such as the 2013 murder of Mohammed Saleem, an 82-year-old British Muslim from Birmingham, killed by Pavlo Lapshyn, an extreme right fanatic who went on to bomb mosques in Walsall, Wolverhampton and Tipton. In January 2015, Zack Davies attempted to murder Dr Sarandeve Bhambra in a racially motivated attack in a supermarket in North Wales and was sentenced to life in prison. He had claimed the attack was “revenge for Lee Rigby”, and extreme-right publications were found at his home.¹³ In June 2016 Jo Cox, the British Labour Party Member of Parliament for Batley and Spen was murdered by Thomas Mair while she was on her way to meet with her constituents at a routine surgery. Mair was motivated by his belief that Cox was a “collaborator” in the betrayal of white people because of her pro-European Union stance in the run-up to the 2016 referendum on the U.K.’s membership of the European Union.¹⁴ Amid a wave of Islamist extremist attacks in 2017, on the 19th June Darren Osborne drove a van into pedestrians near Finsbury Park Mosque targeting the group of Muslims as they were leaving Ramadan night prayers, killing Makram Ali and injuring 12 others.¹⁵ In late 2016 we also saw the U.K.’s first proscription of a far-right group, National Action, using counter terrorism legislation.¹⁶ Over the last two years there have been a slew of arrests of individuals, including members of the British Army, for offences ranging from membership of the organisation through to planning terror attacks such as a plot to murder Labour MP Rosie Cooper.¹⁷ As an indication of the increased threat profile emanating from right-wing extremism, in February 2018 the U.K.’s

head of counter terrorism policing, Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Service, Sir Mark Rowley, announced that since the Finsbury Park Mosque attack four further terror plots that demonstrated a level of organisation not seen before within the far-right had been thwarted.¹⁸

What is “right-wing extremism”?

Throughout this book, I will use the term “right-wing extremism” as this is how it is articulated within the Prevent Strategy, although it is not defined within the strategy.¹⁹ Definitions of right-wing extremism are subject to wide variation with some scholars grounding the term within illiberal forms of ultra-nationalism, which at the most extreme take the form of fascism, neo-fascism and neo-Nazism.²⁰ Others define right-wing extremism in the modern context more expansively, capturing less extreme but still “far right” groups and political parties who may not necessarily ostensibly reject democracy as they operate within political systems but nonetheless continue to galvanise populist sentiment in relation to key issues associated with “far right” narratives.²¹ For the purposes of this book, amid the lack of consensus on terminology to be used, I will be using the definition presented by Carter, which consist of two elements: (1) A rejection of the fundamental values, procedures and institutions of the democratic constitutional state, and (2) A rejection of the principle of fundamental human equality.²² It is important to highlight this as a fundamental issue that needs to be addressed in devising an effective response, that is, to clearly define the problem. I have adopted Carter’s definition of right-wing extremism as in my view it very simply distinguishes the necessary ideological components of the phenomenon without being overly distracted by the wider discourse concerning populist political parties. More expansive definitions risk conflating the rejection of democratic institutions and fundamental human equality as necessary components of right-wing extremism with wider issues such as immigration, integration and social cohesion, rendering them operationally irrelevant when considering the stark reality facing practitioners.

The term “right-wing extremism” is used as an umbrella concept encompassing a plethora of actors, including legitimate political parties with a “right-wing” mandate, most notably in relation to immigration and integration policies, those groups who have rejected the ballot box and articulate their views through street protest movements, and those lone actors who perpetrate acts of terrorism acting upon the ideology of the “extreme right-wing”.²³ It is therefore exceptionally difficult to identify a singular policy response which effectively meets the challenges to a liberal democracy as posed by each of these groups in turn.²⁴ It has become increasingly challenging to define the actors within this new extremism “scene”. Due to the proliferation of different ideologies, movements and leaders that are available through the internet, we now live in an age of Supermarket Extremism, with individuals shopping around the marketplace of ideas for narratives that conform and/or build upon their pre-existing world view, selecting content for instance from the AfD in Germany, the alt-right in the U.S. and

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Britain First in the U.K., re-interpreting it and making it their own. There is as yet very little understanding as to how inter-connected organisations and individuals are within the extreme right-wing milieu that now extends internationally, not just operationally but significantly from an ideological perspective.

Mudde describes the “terminological chaos” evident in academic literature in this area, whereby numerous definitions of the target group are used interchangeably, creating an ambiguous platform on which to develop further thinking.²⁵ In exploring how we define “far right” parties as opposed to “anti-immigration” parties, this argument is endorsed by Spanje who emphasises that “such conceptual problems create methodological difficulties, for example, they are conducive to the violation of the assumption of unit homogeneity, which is a key assumption for drawing valid causal inferences”.²⁶ Jamin explored the concepts of “populism” and “the extreme right” and highlighted the difficulties caused by how these concepts are used just as much to pass judgement on a reality as to describe it.²⁷ The truth of it is that nowadays, it’s very difficult to talk about subjects like uncontrolled immigration or child sexual exploitation without being dragged into and unwittingly contributing to the very polarisation of debate we are seeking to avoid, which is only further aggravated by the identity politics driven value judgements we find chipping away at the centre ground. In a world in which we have shifted from fact-based to emotion-based discourse, we’re all extremists.

Why the EDL?

At an organisational or movement level, the EDL does not subscribe to RWE ideology or fulfil the criteria as set out in Carter’s definition discussed earlier.²⁸ The EDL website contains their mission statement, setting out its role in “protecting and promoting human rights”,²⁹ framing the EDL as a “human rights organisation”.³⁰ The movement distances itself from the label of “the far right”, stating; “The EDL are, in fact, one of the best safeguards this country could have against the rise of the far right”.³¹ Adrian Tudway, the former National Coordinator for Domestic Extremism was quoted as saying;

In terms of the position with EDL, the original stance stands, they are not extreme right wing as a group, indeed if you look at their published material on their web-site, they are actively moving away from the right and violence with their mission statement etc.³²

That is not to say that the movement has not attracted individuals who do adhere to this ideology, indeed its leader, Tommy Robinson (real name Stephen Yaxley-Lennon), left the movement in 2013 citing his concerns that it was being infiltrated by the far-right.³³ However, there was evidence that for many frontline practitioners, in the absence of experiencing smaller, less visible RWE groups such as National Action and The Aryan Strikeforce, the EDL is the only manifestation of the extreme right-wing that they would be likely to recount. Treadwell describes the EDL as being synonymous with the “face of the far right”³⁴

since 2009. During my preliminary research it became clear just how true this was. Frontline practitioners had very little experience of responding to extreme right-wing groups, organisations, movements other than the EDL and subsequently the movement had become a shorthand for referencing the practitioner experience of the “extreme right-wing in the U.K”. The definition of the EDL matters because it determines not only the policy response but also provides direction for state actors who are responsible for implementing this policy within their operational context.

We can see how the definitional difficulties surrounding the movement presented themselves even within the public consultation which fed into the Prevent Review in 2011. Of note, in reference to the EDL; “some respondents viewed this threat as distinct from terrorism, but others saw no barrier to dealing with counter-terrorism and the EDL under the same Prevent Strategy”.³⁵ It is significant that the EDL was presented as the only example of the “right-wing extremism” that should be included within the updated strategy. Subsequent commentary including statements from senior politicians, academics and commentators has referenced the EDL as “extreme right-wing” and an example of “the new far right”³⁶ in the U.K. It is significant that in a speech entitled “The new far right” in 2013, the then Security Minister, James Brokenshire MP, depicted “the far right” only by way of reference to the EDL,³⁷ a group who fit within the category of an organisation who have rejected political legitimacy through the ballot box and utilise street-based protest as a means of articulating their mandate. However, later in the same speech he went on to state that the EDL would not be subject to the Prevent Strategy but to work led on by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). And herein lays the contradiction. If the EDL are referred to as “extreme right-wing” and/or the “far-right” and yet the movement does not fall within the “right-wing extremism” to which the Prevent Strategy now refers, then what are the implications for state actors interpreting this highly contentious policy area for their local communities? How representative the EDL are of RWE more broadly and the implications of devising policy responses that cater for this one manifestation of RWE will be explored further in this book.

Given the problematic identification of the EDL within the RWE categorisation and the perceived normalisation or “mainstreaming” of the narratives that underpin its support,³⁸ going forward it will be vitally important for policy makers and practitioners to demonstrate a comprehension of the strata within “the extreme right-wing” scene when developing effective response tactics. It is within this context that I have used the movement as the entry point to explore how the Prevent Strategy has been utilised to respond to this form of extremism. This book explores practitioner experiences of the EDL as the movement most likely to have precipitated local response strategies, and to have been conceptualised as a RWE group for the purposes of the revised Prevent Strategy, through which an analysis to assess the impact of the Prevent Review is possible.

Although many believe the English Defence League to be a spent force, there has never been a definitive end to the movement, brought about either by social

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change or policy innovation. The broad constituency of people who turned out for EDL events has not simply disappeared, and we are reminded of this during flashpoints such as the protests of June 2018 in support of its former leader, Tommy Robinson. In framing the responses to the EDL solely through the prism of reactive public order policing the movement will continue to limp on in one guise or another, awaiting a perceived social injustice or the anointing of a charismatic and influential leader in the mould of Tommy Robinson to once again galvanise social grievances and expose the absence of strategic thinking at both the central and local government levels in ensuring white working class communities are not left behind by social change.

Site selection

This book makes use of case studies to explore the experiences and perceptions of frontline practitioners regarding how they have responded to the Government's decision to explicitly include RWE within its counter terrorism Prevent Strategy in 2011. It is the very nature of the central "how" that makes this methodology so appropriate within the context of the research question. A case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly defined.³⁹ This book explores the impact of this policy direction within the context of governmental Prevent Strategy prioritisation in relation to local resource allocation to realise the aims of the Prevent Strategy, namely to challenge RWE ideology, to support vulnerable individuals and to work with key sectors and institutions. This is only possible through the exploration of the real-world accounts of those frontline practitioners who are charged with the management of risk, threat and vulnerability for their communities. A case study allows investigators to focus on a "case" and retain a holistic and real-world perspective, such as in studying individual life cycles, small group behaviour, organisational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change, school performance, international relations, and the maturation of industries.⁴⁰ In identifying the three sites which are central to this book I used two variables to triangulate those local authorities which most aptly demonstrate the operational environment which possesses the following characteristics;

- 1) Those local authorities which are afforded Prevent prioritisation, "Prevent Priority Areas".
- 2) Those local authorities with significant experience of responding to the EDL.

The research underpinning this book does not seek to attain findings which are generalisable to the larger population. The very fact it is focussed on the two variables discussed instead marks the case study areas as "crucial" or "extreme" cases,⁴¹ thereby telling us something of a phenomenon from where it is most

Table I.1 Table depicting site selection criteria

	<i>Significant experience of responding to the EDL</i>	<i>Lack of significant experience of responding to the EDL</i>
Prevent Priority Area	Site 1	Site 3
Non-Prevent Priority Area	Site 2	X

likely to occur.⁴² If we were to consider the external validity of the research supporting this book, i.e. to what populations, settings and variables can this effect be generalised, it is clear that it is of most relevance in those locations where the variables converge.⁴³ I have not included a fourth case study area to explore a non-Prevent Priority Area without significant experience of responding to the EDL as in my view a negative case would not contribute to the thinking on statutory service response strategies.

Prevent prioritisation was set out in the 2011 Prevent Strategy with reference to the additional funding (in addition to ring-fenced staff), which would be made available with which to deliver specific project work;

Funding will be made available by the Home Office to the 25 priority areas for project work on a grant basis and for activities which address specific local risks and are designed to establish specific Prevent benefits. OSCT will have oversight of funding for projects and will work with local authorities to agree associated evaluation and monitoring procedures.⁴⁴

In identifying those local authorities with significant experience of responding to the EDL, I have used data depicting the number of EDL demonstrations over the period of June 2011 to June 2015 with the expectation that those areas which have accommodated the most EDL demonstrations, both in terms of frequency and numbers attending, would have developed appropriate response strategies.

My rationale for selecting this time span is that the Prevent Strategy review was published in June 2011. The review for the first time explicitly set out that the Prevent Strategy was applicable to “all forms of extremism”⁴⁵ and drew out its utility in responding to RWE. As this book is intended to explore the impact of this shift in policy, its date of being published is a sensible starting point. That is not to say that the applicability of the Prevent Strategy to RWE pre-2011 will not be explored, as it will be vitally important to understand how service delivery changed if at all as a result of the review, and so participants were also asked about their responses to RWE pre-2011 to provide this context. The end date was selected as the Prevent Strategy statutory duty was enshrined into law as of June 2015 by virtue of the Counter Terrorism & Security Act 2015. The impact of this statutory duty is that all local authorities now have a legal obligation to “have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism”.⁴⁶ While the “Prevent Priority Area” system of prioritisation is still in

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place (and the sites remain under review by the Office for Security and Counter Terrorism (OSCT) within the Home Office), the scope of this duty extends to all non-priority local authorities who will be held to account on their delivery of the 2011 Prevent Strategy, despite for the most part not receiving any further resources in the form of staff and/or funding. This therefore represents a natural break for the purposes of this book as although there will still be differentiation between priority and non-priority sites, the level of Prevent Strategy related activity conducted in each will likely not be as markedly different given the increased level of government scrutiny on local authorities to deliver Prevent Strategy related outcomes.

Structure of this book

It is within the context of the definitional issues surrounding the EDL that this book explores how local practitioners interpret the new breadth of focus for the Prevent Strategy, drawing upon unique first-hand accounts of those mandated to safeguard their communities while managing not only public expectations but also those of local politicians and media when responding to the attendance of the EDL, a movement which acts as a “stressor”⁴⁷ to even the best community cohesion plans when it comes to town. Chapter 1 sets out the broad context of known responses to right-wing extremism in Western Europe and the United States, drawing on research into political manifestations of the phenomenon and exploring non-political responses spanning counter extremism, hate crime and public order approaches. Chapter 2 serves as an introduction to the evolution of the U.K.’s Prevent Strategy with a particular emphasis on its utility in responding to right-wing extremism, drawing upon the perspectives of policy makers and practitioners. It was necessary to dedicate a chapter of this book to an exploration of the Prevent Strategy in order to provide the reader with an understanding of what has been the most controversial area of U.K. counter terrorism policy since 9/11, and the years of development that culminated in the review published in June 2011. Even though the Prevent Strategy has existed in a number of iterations since 2006, it is still a relatively new area of policy provision. Furthermore, since its expanded mandate to address “all forms of extremism” in 2011, there is very little in the way of empirical research into its applicability to non-Islamist forms of extremism, which had been the focus thus far. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 focus on the three areas selected as case studies to explore in more depth the impact of the policy shift on frontline practitioners delivering the Prevent Strategy through analysing how they have incorporated RWE into their work streams, how they relate to their work under associated policies in this area, and whether the threat and/or service delivery varies according to location.

It is important to note that the organisations mandated to safeguard the public are very much entrenched in far ranging Crime and Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs), often referred to as “Community Safety Partnerships”. Under the Crime and Disorder Act of 1998 these partnerships were placed on a legislative

footing in recognition of the fact that no one organisation could deal with crime and disorder in isolation. These partnerships increased information sharing and risk management coordination across organisations such as the police service, local authorities, probation services and a range of voluntary services. My research has cut across these collaborative responses and intends to identify how the state responds to the challenges posed by the EDL with an emphasis on the applicability of the Prevent Strategy. It is the essence of these inter-organisational responses to this phenomenon that are brought to life in this book through the first-hand accounts of those charged with managing risk, threat and vulnerability under the auspices of this contentious and high-profile area of public safety policy provision. Chapter 6 summarises and compares the findings of the case studies and the final chapter offers a set of firm conclusions and associated policy recommendations based upon the rich data gathered and analysed in support of this book which is intended to contribute to the wider debate not only on how we respond to non-political forms of right-wing extremism but also on the relationship of the Prevent Strategy with policy areas governing integration, social cohesion and counter extremism in the U.K.

Notes

- 1 See for example: Copsey, Nigel, *Contemporary British Fascism: the British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Goodwin, Matthew J. "The extreme right in Britain: still an 'ugly duckling' but for how long?" *The Political Quarterly* 78.2 (2007): 241–250; Bowyer, Benjamin. "Local context and extreme right support in England: The British National Party in the 2002 and 2003 local elections". *Electoral Studies* 27.4 (2008): 611–620; Rhodes, James, "The political breakthrough of the BNP: The case of Burnley [U.K]". *British Politics* 4:1 (2009): 22–46; Goodwin, Matthew J. (2010) "Activism in contemporary extreme right parties: the case of the British National Party (BNP)". *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 20.1 (2010): 31–54; Copsey, Nigel, "Sustaining a mortal blow? The British National Party and the 2010 general and local elections". *Patterns of Prejudice* 46.1 (2012): 16–39; Goodwin, Matthew and Jocelyn Evans. "From Voting to Violence". *Far Right Extremism in Britain* (2012); Cutts, David, Robert Ford and Matthew J. Goodwin, "Anti-immigrant, politically disaffected or still racist after all? Examining the attitudinal drivers of extreme right support in Britain in the 2009 European elections". *European Journal of Political Research* 50.3 (2011): 418–440.
- 2 See for example: Goodwin, Matthew and Robert Ford "Why UKIP and the radical right matter for progressives" (Policy Network 2014); Goodwin, Matthew and Robert Ford, *Revolt on the Right – Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain* (Routledge 2014).
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- 5 Coffé, Hilde, Bruno Heyndels, and Jan Vermeir, "Fertile grounds for extreme right-wing parties: Explaining the Vlaams Blok's electoral success". *Electoral Studies* 26.1 (2007): 142–155.
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- 8 See Goodwin, Matthew J., David Cutts, and Laurence Janta-Lipinski, "Economic losers, protestors, Islamophobes or xenophobes? Predicting public support for a counter-Jihad movement". *Political Studies* 64.1 (2016): 4–26.
- 9 START – National Consortium for the study of terrorism and responses to terrorism website. www.start.umd.edu/.
- 10 See Kundnani, Arun (2012) "Blind Spot? Security narratives and far-right violence in Europe" – International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT), The Hague, ICCT Research Paper, June 2012; Lambert, Robert, and Jonathan Githens-Mazer (2010) "Islamophobia and anti-Muslim Hate Crime: U.K Case Studies 2010 – An introduction to a ten-year Europe-wide research project". European Muslim Research Centre and University of Exeter.
- 11 The Europol Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2018, p. 51.
- 12 Smith, Melanie, Sabine Barton, and Jonathan Birdwell (2016) "Countering Lone-Actor Terrorism Series" No. 7 Lone-Actor Terrorism Policy Paper 3: *Motivations, Political Engagement and Online Activity*, p. 1.
- 13 Counter Extremism Strategy (Cmnd. 9148, p. 10).
- 14 Telegraph Online (17/06/2016) "It's time to call the killing of Jo Cox what it is: 'An act of far-right terrorism'".
- 15 The *Guardian* (02/02/2018) "Darren Osborne jailed for life for Finsbury Park terrorist attack".
- 16 "National Action becomes first extreme right-wing group to be banned in UK" (16/12/2016) www.gov.uk/government/news/national-action-becomes-first-extreme-right-wing-group-to-be-banned-in-uk. In September 2017 the Government proscribed Scottish Dawn and NS131 (National Socialist Anti-Capitalist Action) as aliases of National Action – see www.gov.uk/government/news/further-extreme-right-wing-groups-banned-in-the-uk.
- 17 The *Independent* (23/02/2018) "National Action: Suspected neo-Nazi arrested in terror raid amid crackdown on extremist group".
- 18 The *Independent* (26/02/2018) "Four far-right UK terrorist plots foiled since Westminster attack, police reveal".
- 19 "Extremism" is defined as
vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. We also include in our definition of extremism calls for the death of members of our armed forces, whether in this country or overseas.
Prevent Strategy Review (Cmnd. 8092, June 2011) p. 107,
Appendix A: Glossary of Terms
- 20 See Griffin, Roger, (ed.) *Fascism, Totalitarianism and Political Religion*. (Routledge 2013); Roberts, David, *Fascist Interactions: Proposals for a New Approach to Fascism and Its Era* (Berghahn Books, 2017): 379–381.
- 21 Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press 2017).
- 22 Carter, Elisabeth. "*The Extreme Right in Western Europe – Success or Failure?*" (Manchester University Press 2004): 17.
- 23 See Chermak, Steven M., Joshua D. Freilich, and Zachary Shemtob "Law Enforcement Training and the Domestic Far Right" *Criminal Justice and Behaviour* V36.12 (December 2009) 1305–1322; Bowen, John. "Commentary on Bunzl". *American Ethnologist* 32.4 (2005): 524–525; Mouffe, Chantal; "The 'End of Politics' and the Challenge of Right-Wing Populism", in F. Panizza (ed.), *Populism and the Mirror of*

- Democracy* (Verso 2005); Maussen, Marcel, “Anti-Muslim sentiments and mobilization in the Netherlands: Discourse, policies and violence”. In Cesari, Jocelyne, “Securitization and Religious Divides in Europe: Muslims in Western Europe after 9/11: Why the Term Islamophobia is More a Predicament than an Explanation”. *Report Submitted to the Changing Landscape of Citizenship and Security 6th PCRD of European Commission, Paris* (2006).
- 24 See also Goodwin, Matthew, Vidhya Ramalingam and Rachel Briggs (2012) “The New Radical Right: Violent and Non-violent Movements in Europe”. Institute for Strategic Dialogue.
- 25 Mudde, Cas. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007): 12.
- 26 Spanje, Joost Van “The wrong and the Right: A comparative Analysis of ‘Anti-Immigration’ and ‘Far Right’ Parties”. *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (2011): 296.
- 27 Jamin, Jérôme. ‘Two different realities’ in Mammone, Andrea, Emmanuel Godkin, and Brian Jenkins. . “*Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe*”(Routledge 2013): p. 39.
- 28 Lord Macdonald’s review counselled against expanding the scope of proscription legislation in order to capture movements such as the EDL (and Hizb ut-Tahrir) as “labelling their activities as ‘terrorism’ risks the negation of society’s values for the sake of remote threats which are better dealt with by other means” – see Home Affairs Committee – Nineteenth Report: “Roots of violent radicalisation” (HC 1446, 2012) p. 19.
- 29 Mission Statement on the EDL website www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/.
- 30 Note 29, Introduction, *supra*.
- 31 Response to James Brokenshire speech on the English Defence League website, Note 29, Introduction, *supra*.
- 32 The *Guardian* (02/09/2011) “Muslims criticise Scotland Yard for telling them to engage with the EDL”.
- 33 BBC News (08/10/2013) “EDL leader Tommy Robinson quits group”.
- 34 Treadwell, James. “Controlling the new far right on the streets: policing the English Defence League in policy and praxis”. In Chakraborti, Neil and Jon Garland, *Responding to Hate Crime: The Case for Connecting Policy and Research* (Policy Press 2014): 127.
- 35 “Prevent Review: Summary of Responses to the Consultation” p. 9 – https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97978/prevent-summary-consultation.pdf.
- 36 See Jackson, Paul and Feldman, Matthew, 2011. “The EDL: Britain’s ‘New Far Right’ social movement”. <http://nectar.northampton.ac.uk/6015/>
- 37 Brokenshire, James MP – Security Minister, speech for ICSR on 13 March 2013 – “What is the new Far Right?”.
- 38 See Kassimeris, George and Leonie Jackson. “The ideology and discourse of the English Defence League: ‘Not racist, not violent, just no longer silent’”. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 17.1 (2015): 171–188; Kassimeris, George and Leonie Jackson. “The English Defence League’s ‘rational Islamophobia’ is a racist discourse, but it is not confined to the EDL”. Democratic Audit Blog (2014). <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/57545/>
- 39 Yin, Robert K., *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Sage Publications, 2014): 16.
- 40 Yin, Robert K., Note 39, Introduction, *supra*, p. 4.
- 41 See Gerring, John (2007) “Is there a (viable) crucial-case method?” – *Comparative Political Studies* 40 (2007): 231; Yin, Robert K., Note 39, Introduction, *supra*, p.52.
- 42 Flyvbjerg, Bent. “Five misunderstandings about case-study research”. *Qualitative Inquiry* 12.2 (2006): 229.

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- 43 Campbell, Donald Thomas, Julian C. Stanley, and Nathaniel Lees Gage, *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research* (Houghton Mifflin, 1963): 5.
- 44 See Section 11.17, p. 98. The list of Prevent Priority Areas was listed as follows: (Prevent Strategy, Cmnd. 8092 p. 97).
- Barking and Dagenham
 - Birmingham
 - Blackburn with Darwen
 - Bradford
 - Brent
 - Camden
 - Derby
 - Ealing
 - Hackney
 - Hammersmith and Fulham
 - Haringey
 - Kensington and Chelsea
 - Lambeth
 - Leeds
 - Leicester
 - Lewisham
 - Luton
 - Manchester
 - Newham
 - Redbridge
 - Stoke-on-Trent
 - Tower Hamlets
 - Waltham Forest
 - Wandsworth
 - Westminster
- 45 The Prevent Strategy, Note 19, Introduction, p. 60, para. 9.30.
- 46 Prevent Statutory Duty Guidance 2015 p. 2.
- 47 Interview 61 – Walthamstow MP, May 2014.