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Notes

Introduction: A new threat of violent extremism?

- 1 The only injuries sustained were by the two attackers, one of whom subsequently died.
- 2 See Atran 2010 for a detailed account of the Madrid attacks.
- 3 See, for instance, Cobain 2008.
- 4 See Burke 2008.
- 5 Dodd 2010b.
- 6 Thomas 2011.
- 7 Masood 2006.
- 8 Cantle 2001, 2005.
- 9 David Cameron's speech to the Munich Security Conference, 5th February 2011.
- 10 Neumann 2011: 9.
- 11 The CLG Select Committee Report was published in March 2010.
- 12 See Mycock and Tonge 2011.
- 13 See HMG 2011, Husan 2011 and Qurashi 2011 for early critical reactions to it.
- 14 DCLG 2007b: 7.
- 15 BBC Radio 4 2011a.
- 16 Home Office 2003, 2009.
- 17 Thomas 2011.
- 18 See Thomas 2006, 2007, 2011 and Thomas and Sanderson 2009.
- 19 See Hewstone *et al.* 2007.
- 20 McGhee 2006.
- 21 See House of Commons 2010.
- 22 Monro *et al.* 2010.
- 23 See CRE 1999 and Thomas 2002.
- 24 See Gunaratnam 2003.
- 25 For fuller discussion see, for instance, Roy 2004, Lewis 2007 and Githens-Mazer and Lambert 2011.

Chapter 1 The threat of violent extremism

- 1 English 2009: 23.
- 2 Gupta 2008: xvii.
- 3 Clarke 2004.
- 4 Sederberg 2003.
- 5 Neumann 2011.
- 6 See Rai 2006 for a fuller account of the 7/7 attacks.
- 7 See Addley 2011a, 2011b.
- 8 Gardham 2008.

- 9 Taylor 2008.
- 10 See Burke 2007.
- 11 Roy 2004.
- 12 Husain 2007.
- 13 Roy 2004: 46.
- 14 Phillips 2008.
- 15 Atran 2010.
- 16 McGhee 2008.
- 17 Atran 2010: 5.
- 18 Roy 2004: 6.
- 19 See Stevens 2009.
- 20 Roy 2004: 200.
- 21 Cited in Rai 2006: 131.
- 22 McGhee 2008: 66.
- 23 Rai 2006: 15–16.
- 24 English 2009: 104.
- 25 Bux 2007: 273.
- 26 Malik 2007: 17.
- 27 See Burke 2008 for more on these plots.
- 28 Brighton 2007: 3.
- 29 Dodd 2010b.
- 30 Githens-Mazer 2010b.
- 31 Burke 2007.
- 32 Rai 2006.
- 33 Burke 2008: 23.
- 34 Gupta 2008: 91.
- 35 Atran 2010: 98.
- 36 Leiken 2005.
- 37 See Thomas 2011 for a fuller discussion of France’s approach to ethnic identity.
- 38 See Diamond 2011.
- 39 With truth replicating fiction at times – see John Updike’s prescient novel *The Terrorist*.
- 40 See Neumann 2011.
- 41 See Malik 2007.
- 42 Submission to CLG Select Committee Inquiry.
- 43 Cited in Rai 2006: 45.
- 44 Finney and Simpson 2009.
- 45 Burke 2008: 16.
- 46 Bux 2007: 269.
- 47 FCO/Home Office 2004: 12–13.
- 48 See Modood *et al.* 1997.
- 49 Atran 2010.
- 50 Addley 2011a.
- 51 Malik 2007.
- 52 Swinford 2011.

- 53 Phillips 2008.
- 54 Malik 2007: 10.
- 55 Roy 2004: 324.
- 56 A prime example of what Eatwell (2006) terms 'cumulative extremism'.
- 57 Burke 2008.
- 58 McGhee 2008.
- 59 See *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.
- 60 See Warnes and Hannah 2008.
- 61 Burke 2008: 16.
- 62 Malik 2007: 2.
- 63 Atran 2010: 37.
- 64 Atran 2010: 162.
- 65 Atran 2010: 220.
- 66 Rai 2006: 33.
- 67 Gupta 2008.
- 68 FCO/Home Office 2004: 13.
- 69 Dodd 2010b.
- 70 Atran 2010: 276.
- 71 Addley 2011b.

Chapter 2 Community cohesion: A changed policy context

- 1 Solomos 2003.
- 2 Masood 2006.
- 3 See Prins and Salisbury 2008.
- 4 Cantle 2001 and Denham 2001.
- 5 See Thomas 2011 for a more detailed account of these riots.
- 6 Malik 2007: 11.
- 7 Modood *et al.* 1997.
- 8 Leiken 2005: 129.
- 9 See Ritchie 2001 and Clarke 2001.
- 10 Ouseley 2001.
- 11 See the Commission for Multi-Ethnic Britain Report 2000.
- 12 Home Office 2005.
- 13 Monro *et al.* 2010.
- 14 See Burgess, Wilson and Lupton 2005.
- 15 See Thomas and Sanderson 2009.
- 16 For instance, Finney and Simpson 2009.
- 17 See Carling 2008 and Thomas 2011 for a fuller debate on this.
- 18 Dorling 2009.
- 19 See CRE 2001.
- 20 See Ritchie 2001.
- 21 Bryson and Fisher 2011.
- 22 For instance, by Trevor Phillips in 2005 and David Cameron in February 2011.
- 23 Law 1996.

- 24 See Kundnani 2007.
- 25 McGhee 2006.
- 26 See, for instance, Back *et al.* 2002, Amin 2003, Alexander 2004, Flint and Robinson 2008 and McGhee 2008.
- 27 See Thomas 2006, 2007, 2011.
- 28 Goodhart 2004.
- 29 Putnam 2000. Putnam's initial findings suggested that community cohesion declines in areas of significant ethnic diversity, but he suggests that this is an initial response to immigration and demographic change in an area, rather than as a permanent response to the presence of 'others'.
- 30 Amir 1998: 163.
- 31 See Brown 1995 and Hewstone *et al.* 2007.
- 32 Robinson 2005.
- 33 Amir 1998: 170.
- 34 Lewis 2007.
- 35 Thomas 2006, 2007, 2011.
- 36 Yuval-Davis 1997.
- 37 See Thomas 2011.
- 38 Monro *et al.* 2010.
- 39 Travis 2001.
- 40 Goodhart 2004.
- 41 Prins and Salisbury 2008.
- 42 Phillips 2005.
- 43 Cameron 2011.
- 44 Phillips 2008.
- 45 Mirza, Senthilkumaran and Ja'far 2007. See Mills, Griffin and Miller 2011 for a critical analysis of the role of right-of-centre think tanks in the political and media portrayal of British Muslims.
- 46 Mirza *et al.* 2007: 37.
- 47 Mirza *et al.* 2007: 62.
- 48 Mirza *et al.* 2007: 88.
- 49 Modood 2005.
- 50 See Malik 2009 for a detailed analysis of this episode.
- 51 Roy 2004: 133.
- 52 McRoy 2006.
- 53 Malik 2009.
- 54 Thomas and Sanderson 2009.
- 55 CRE/Ethnos 2005a, 2005b.
- 56 Fenton 2007.
- 57 Din 2006: 76.
- 58 DCLG 2007d: 26.
- 59 Bagguley and Hussain 2005.
- 60 Saeed, Blain and Forbes 1999.
- 61 Saeed *et al.* 1999: 839.
- 62 Roy 2004: 23.

- 63 Roy 2004: 117.
- 64 Mirza *et al.* 2007: 87.
- 65 Lewis 2007: 22.
- 66 Shavit 2009.
- 67 Gilroy 2004.
- 68 Din 2006.
- 69 Lewis 2007: 51.
- 70 Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert 2007.
- 71 Roy 2004: 42.
- 72 Malik 2007: 18.
- 73 Macey 1999.
- 74 Kintrea *et al.* 2008.
- 75 Malik 2007: 1.
- 76 Roy 2004: 52.
- 77 Roy 2004: 310.
- 78 Cited in Malik 2007: 9.
- 79 Malik 2009: 25.

Chapter 3 Preventing violent extremism

- 1 Githens-Mazer and Lambert 2011.
- 2 Gupta 2008.
- 3 English 2009: 71.
- 4 Neumann 2011.
- 5 Home Office 2009: 15.
- 6 English 2009: 131.
- 7 Hewitt 2008.
- 8 Clarke 2004.
- 9 Phillips 2008: 55.
- 10 Home Office 2009: 80.
- 11 Husband and Alam 2011.
- 12 All-Party Parliamentary Group on Homeland Security (APPGHS) 2011: 103.
- 13 House of Commons 2010: Ev. 72.
- 14 Hewitt 2008: 69.
- 15 Hewitt 2008: 98.
- 16 FCO/Home Office 2004.
- 17 FCO/Home Office 2004.
- 18 Hewitt 2008.
- 19 DCLG 2007c.
- 20 SEU 2001.
- 21 Majid and Malik 2009: Ev. 214.
- 22 DCLG 2007a.
- 23 Phillips 2008: 265.
- 24 Kelly 2006.
- 25 DCLG 2007a, 2007b.

- 26 Hewitt 2008.
- 27 HAC 2009: Ev. 29.
- 28 Evidence to APPGHS 2011: 106.
- 29 McGhee 2010: 33.
- 30 McGhee 2010: 34.
- 31 DCLG 2007b.
- 32 DCLG 2007a.
- 33 See RICU 2007.
- 34 Winnet and Leppard 2004.
- 35 Department of Innovation, Universities and Skills (DIUS) 2008.
- 36 Evidence Submission to CLG Select Committee Inquiry 2009.
- 37 LGA 2008.
- 38 House of Commons 2010.
- 39 DCLG 2008.
- 40 Thomas 2008.
- 41 DCLG 2009a.
- 42 House of Commons 2010: Ev. 19.
- 43 DCLG 2009d.
- 44 Husband and Alam 2011: 161.
- 45 TPA 2009.
- 46 TPA 2009.
- 47 Kundnani 2009: 6.
- 48 Dodd 2009.
- 49 House of Commons 2009, 2010.
- 50 Husband and Alam 2011: 74.
- 51 House of Commons 2010: 3.
- 52 House of Commons 2010: 33.
- 53 House of Commons 2010: 61.
- 54 House of Commons 2010: 3.
- 55 House of Commons 2010: 62.
- 56 Dodd 2010a.
- 57 Conservative Party 2009.
- 58 Neville-Jones 2009b.
- 59 Warsi 2009.
- 60 Cameron 2008.
- 61 Neville-Jones 2009b.
- 62 Neville-Jones 2009a.
- 63 Mycock and Tonge 2011: 62.
- 64 House of Commons 2011.
- 65 Mycock and Tonge 2011: 63.
- 66 Dodd 2010c.
- 67 Cameron 2011.
- 68 Husan 2011.
- 69 Godson 2008.
- 70 Doward 2011.
- 71 Husan 2011.

- 72 Fekete and Merz 2011.
- 73 BBC Radio 4 2011b.
- 74 HMG 2011: 40.
- 75 HMG 2011: 1.
- 76 HMG 2011: 30.
- 77 HMG 2011: 97.
- 78 HMG 2011: 98.
- 79 HMG 2011: 34.
- 80 HMG 2011: 63.
- 81 HMG 2011: 20.
- 82 HMG 2011: 34.
- 83 Travis 2011.
- 84 HMG 2011: 35.
- 85 HMG 2011: 84.
- 86 HMG 2011: 53.
- 87 HMG 2011: 75.
- 88 HMG 2011: 8.
- 89 HMG 2011: 13.
- 90 HMG 2011: 15.
- 91 HMG 2011: 15.
- 92 Fekete 2011.
- 93 HMG 2011: 15.
- 94 Milne 2011.
- 95 Watt, Dodd and Taylor 2011.
- 96 Gable 2011.
- 97 Personal correspondence with author.

Chapter 4 British Muslims: A suspect community?

- 1 See Hewitt 2005 for an incisive analysis of the ‘white backlash’ to anti-racist measures, and CRE 1999 and Thomas 2002 for discussion of how practitioners such as youth workers have struggled in the face of such a backlash.
- 2 See Modood *et al.* 1997 and Solomos 2003.
- 3 See Thomas 2006, 2007, 2011.
- 4 Knight 2010.
- 5 See DCLG 2007c.
- 6 DCLG 2007a: 9.
- 7 Cited in Knight 2010.
- 8 See Thomas and Sanderson 2009.
- 9 See Cantle 2001, Denham 2001 and Ritchie 2001.
- 10 See Husband and Alam 2011 for a fuller discussion of this.
- 11 Birt 2009.
- 12 House of Commons 2010: Ev. 19.
- 13 Byrne 1999.
- 14 See Copsey 2008.

- 15 DCLG 2009c.
- 16 DCLG 2009c: 50.
- 17 DCLG 2009c.
- 18 DCLG 2009c.
- 19 DCLG 2008 and Thomas 2008, 2009.
- 20 Thomas and Sanderson 2009.
- 21 Putnam 2000.
- 22 Denham 2001: 11.
- 23 Submission to CLG Select Committee 2009.
- 24 Flint and Robinson 2008.
- 25 Thomas 2006, 2007.
- 26 See Monro *et al.* 2010 and Husband and Alam 2011.
- 27 DCLG 2007b: 2.
- 28 DCLG 2007b: 2.
- 29 DCLG 2007b: 7.
- 30 Finney and Simpson 2009.
- 31 Kundnani 2009: 24.
- 32 DCLG 2009b.
- 33 APPHSG 2011: 106.
- 34 Birt 2009.
- 35 University of Central Lancashire 2009.
- 36 Neumann 2011: 21.
- 37 Birt 2009: 54.
- 38 Kundnani 2009.
- 39 DCLG 2007b, 2009b.
- 40 McRoy 2006.
- 41 Kundnani 2007.
- 42 House of Commons 2010: 37.
- 43 Gardham 2011a.
- 44 Personal correspondence with author.
- 45 Githens-Mazer 2010a.
- 46 Githens-Mazer 2010a: 50.
- 47 Maher and Frampton 2009.
- 48 Thomas 2008.
- 49 Peacemaker 2009.
- 50 House of Commons 2010: 21.
- 51 Neumann 2011: 41.
- 52 Kundnani 2009: 35.
- 53 Macdonald 1989.
- 54 See Hewitt 2005 for fuller discussion of this research.
- 55 Dadzie (1997) discusses the experiences of the Bede House anti-racist youth initiative in south London.
- 56 See CRE 1999 and Thomas 2002 for fuller discussion.
- 57 Thomas 2008.
- 58 Knight 2010.
- 59 Travis 2008.

- 60 See Husain 2007.
- 61 See <http://www.ukyouthparliament.org.uk> for more details.
- 62 See Leeds Muslim Youth Association/Hamara 2008.
- 63 See Lowndes and Thorp 2010.
- 64 Cited in Gable 2011.
- 65 Copsey 2008.
- 66 Gable 2005.
- 67 Wainwright 2007.
- 68 Denham in Gable 2011: 3.
- 69 Gable 2011.
- 70 Gable 2011.
- 71 Denham in Gable 2011: 5.
- 72 Fekete 2011: 1.
- 73 Fekete 2011.
- 74 Milne 2011.
- 75 Lowles and Creasy 2011.
- 76 Townsend 2011a.
- 77 Jackson 2011.
- 78 Copsey 2011.
- 79 Jackson 2011.
- 80 Duodo 2006.

Chapter 5 Confusion on the ground? *Prevent* in operation

- 1 Husband and Alam 2011: 133.
- 2 Monroe *et al.* 2010: 33.
- 3 House of Commons 2010: 7.
- 4 Lowndes and Thorp 2010: 127.
- 5 Husband and Alam 2011: 73.
- 6 Butt 2010.
- 7 Birmingham City Council 2009.
- 8 Birt 2009: 54.
- 9 Monroe *et al.* 2010: 32.
- 10 Monroe *et al.* 2010: 32.
- 11 Kundnani 2009: 18.
- 12 Lowndes and Thorp 2010: 132.
- 13 Lowndes and Thorp 2010: 130.
- 14 Lowndes and Thorp 2010: 131.
- 15 Turley 2009: 6.
- 16 Husband and Alam 2011: 157.
- 17 Lowndes and Thorp 2010: 134.
- 18 Personal correspondence with author.
- 19 Husband and Alam 2011: 180.
- 20 Turley 2009: 12.
- 21 Monroe *et al.* 2010.
- 22 HMG 2011: 28.

- 23 HMG 2011: 30.
- 24 See Thomas 2009.
- 25 Monro *et al.* 2010: 39.
- 26 Husband and Alam 2011: 133.
- 27 Monro *et al.* 2010.
- 28 Monro *et al.* 2010: 5.
- 29 Husband and Alam 2011: 189.
- 30 Monro *et al.* 2010.
- 31 House of Commons 2010: 45.
- 32 Husband and Alam 2011: 169.
- 33 Thomas 2008 and DCLG 2008.
- 34 Birt 2009.
- 35 APA 2009.
- 36 LGA 2009.
- 37 English 2009.
- 38 LGA 2009 Submission to CLG Select Committee Inquiry.
- 39 DCLG 2009c.
- 40 Denham 2001.
- 41 Phillips 2008: 149.
- 42 Malik 2009: 25.
- 43 BBC Radio 4 2010.
- 44 See Universities UK 2011.
- 45 HMG 2011: 72.
- 46 See Malik 2007.
- 47 BBC Radio 4 2010.
- 48 APPGHS 2011: 35.
- 49 APPGHS 2011: 52.
- 50 Universities UK 2011: 3.
- 51 Stratton, Wintour and Vasagar 2011.
- 52 Universities UK 2011: 19.
- 53 For example, DIUS 2008.
- 54 HMG 2011: 74.
- 55 Husan 2011.
- 56 Townsend 2011b.
- 57 HMG 2011: 86.
- 58 HMG 2011: 87.
- 59 Warnes and Hannah 2008: 409.
- 60 Spalek, El-Awa and Lambert 2008: 45.
- 61 Warnes and Hannah 2008: 403.
- 62 HMG 2011: 88.
- 63 HMG 2011: 91.
- 64 HMG 2011: 91.
- 65 HMG 2011: 91.
- 66 Foster 2010: 39–40.
- 67 Foster 2010: 31.
- 68 See Neumann 2011.

Chapter 6 Spooks?

- 1 Neumann 2011.
- 2 APPGHS 2011: 107.
- 3 Knight 2010.
- 4 Hewitt 2008: 41.
- 5 Hewitt 2008: 41.
- 6 Hewitt 2008: 98.
- 7 Gregory 2010.
- 8 Gregory 2010: 94.
- 9 BBC News 2007.
- 10 Hewitt 2008: 109.
- 11 Rayment 2007.
- 12 DCLG 2009b: 25.
- 13 Husband and Alam 2011.
- 14 HMG 2011: 99.
- 15 Gregory 2010: 96.
- 16 Gregory 2010: 94.
- 17 Spalek and Lambert 2010: 110.
- 18 Spalek and Lambert 2010: 114.
- 19 See Hickman *et al.* 2010 and forthcoming associated publications.
- 20 HAC 2009: Ev. 21.
- 21 RICU 2007: 2 and 4.
- 22 RICU 2007: 4.
- 23 RICU 2007: 7.
- 24 Bleich 2010: 71.
- 25 HMG 2011: 53.
- 26 HMG 2011: 29.
- 27 HMG 2011: 48 and 81, respectively.
- 28 English 2009.
- 29 Kundnani 2009: 8.
- 30 Husband and Alam 2011: 152.
- 31 See House of Commons 2010 and Dodd 2009.
- 32 Birt 2009: 58.
- 33 Lachman 2009.
- 34 Birmingham City Council 2009.
- 35 See Charles Farr's evidence to the CLG Select Committee Inquiry.
- 36 Kundnani 2009: 8.
- 37 Kundnani 2009: 28.
- 38 Kundnani 2009: 32.
- 39 Kundnani 2009: 28–29.
- 40 Kundnani 2009: 24.
- 41 Turley 2009.
- 42 English 2009.
- 43 Kundnani 2009: 32.
- 44 Neumann 2011: 22.

- 45 Turley 2009: 12.
- 46 Neville-Jones 2009c.
- 47 Dodd 2009.
- 48 House of Commons 2010: Ev. 75.
- 49 House of Commons 2010: Ev. 76.
- 50 Lambert and Githens-Mazer 2009.
- 51 House of Commons 2010: 63, paragraphs 39 and 40, respectively.
- 52 HMG 2011: 6, 3.15.
- 53 HMG 2011: 6, 3.14.
- 54 Fresco 2008.
- 55 Fresco 2008.
- 56 HMG 2011: 57.
- 57 House of Commons 2010: 16.
- 58 House of Commons 2010: 55.
- 59 House of Commons 2010: Ev. 72/3.
- 60 Neumann 2011: 41.
- 61 Monro *et al.* 2010: 42.
- 62 HMG 2011: 60.
- 63 Bux 2007: 269.
- 64 Kundnani 2009: 34.
- 65 Qurashi 2011.
- 66 See Charles Farr's evidence to the CLG Select Committee Inquiry.
- 67 HMG 2011: 60.
- 68 HMG 2011: 61.
- 69 Gregory 2010: 88.
- 70 Thomas 2009.
- 71 Neumann 2011: 9.
- 72 English 2009.
- 73 Turley 2009: 22.
- 74 House of Commons 2009, 2010.

Conclusion: Failing to *Prevent*?

- 1 See <http://www.ukyouthparliament.org.uk>.
- 2 See <http://uprising.org.uk/>.