

**Prevent written evidence**

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## Introduction

The stated objective of the UK's official counter-terrorism strategy (CONTEST) is to reduce the risk of terrorism to the United Kingdom and its interests at home and abroad. The CONTEST strategy is split into four strands – PURSUE, PREVENT, PROTECT AND PREPARE. The focus of this submission is on the second component of the CONTEST strategy – PREVENT. The stated objective of PREVENT is, *"...to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism."*<sup>1</sup>

CAGE believes that the PREVENT strategy is based on a flawed evidential basis, which criminalises innocent and democratic political activism and dissent, perpetuates political grievances, and as a consequence, contributes to the radicalisation process rather than counter it. It is CAGE's belief that PREVENT strategy, as it presently stands, therefore makes the UK less safe from the threat of terrorism.

CAGE recognises that these charges are very serious. Therefore, in what remains of this submission, it provides real life cases of organisations and individuals that have been targeted under PREVENT to help contextualise how the UK is becoming less safe from the threat of terrorism and how PREVENT contributes to a process of disenfranchisement, potentially leading to radicalisation. However, before doing so, it is important to provide a brief overview of CAGE's background and to share the instances in which CAGE and other civil society organisations have been unfairly targeted through PREVENT.

## PREVENT interventions at CAGE events

### **Brief background to CAGE**

CAGE is an independent advocacy organisation working to empower communities impacted by the War on Terror. The organisation highlights and campaigns against state policies, striving for a world free from oppression and injustice.

CAGE (originally CagePrisoners) has been campaigning against the War on Terror for more than a decade. Its work has focussed on working with survivors of abuse and mistreatment across the globe. Its website is one of the leading resources documenting the abuse of due process and the erosion of the rule of law in the context of the War on Terror. CAGE has delivered more than 750 lectures across the UK, produced cutting edge reports and provided a voice to survivors of the War on Terror through its media work.

The commitment of CAGE to highlight how to reduce the threat levels to the UK is evidenced through its acceptance of the actions taken by the authorities relating to the Airline Bomb Plot of 2007 and Operation Crevice in 2004. In both instances, the accused were arrested after thorough police inquiries had concluded. CAGE had no reason to intervene in these cases as they considered the authorities to have conducted their operations in an appropriate manner. Contrary to what is often claimed, CAGE is not simply against the police and security authorities. Instead, CAGE advocates against those policies that it feels criminalise, marginalise and perpetuate feelings of insecurity, grievance and fear.

### **PREVENT impact on CAGE and others**

The history of CAGE's knowledge of PREVENT interference relates to events that it has organised, but which have been attempted to be disrupted as well as through its own case work relating to complains and request for assistance by individuals and organisations.

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<sup>1</sup> Home Office, *Prevent Strategy*, HM Government, 2011

CAGE are unaware if there are any internal PREVENT guidance documents on CAGE that may suggest there is any particular position against the organisation. CAGE has written to the police superintendents office and have been informed that there is no formal policy of this sort in place. However, the action of the PREVENT officers seems to be out of sync with their practice, and hence questionable.

CAGE now evidences the challenges it has directly faced through PREVENT by referring to two examples of attempts to disrupt its events. These two examples help contextualise how the PREVENT programme is used against other organisations and charities too.

#### *CAGE Water Lily event disrupted*

On 26 July 2010, CAGE was contacted by Mr Farooq, the centre manager for the Water Lilly venue in East London. He explained that he would have to cancel CAGE' booking due to an intervention by PREVENT officers. CAGE explained that they had a contract with the venue and would not be willing to change venues, particularly as they were only days away from the event. Mr Farooq explained that the police took issue with CAGE's selected speakers. When CAGE pressed for information on which speaker, Mr Farooq was unaware. CAGE' position was that because none of the selected speakers had ever been formally accused of having committed any criminal offences; they would not be willing to change their speaker list.

The venue was adamant that the only way the event could continue was if the police vetted the speaker list. This was unacceptable for CAGE in light of their position and commitment to the ideas of free speech and free expression. CAGE does not believe the police have the right to interfere with its events based on their perceptions of individuals or groups, unless an act of criminality is taking place. What was of particular concern to CAGE was that the police officer who had contacted the Water Lilly Centre suggested that the venue would suffer reputational damage with the local council if CAGE were permitted to continue with the event. CAGE considers this to be a subtle threat that was made against the venue. The venue stated that whilst they supported CAGE' important contribution to human rights work, they did not want to damage their reputation and would only permit the event to proceed at a higher financial cost in order to compensate and mitigate for potential financial and reputational damage.

#### *CAGE Karibou Centre event disrupted*

The attempted disruption of CAGE's event was repeated two years later. CAGE had organised an event at the Karibou Centre in Brixton with a range of reputable and international speakers on the topic of isolation in detention. The event was scheduled for 18 October 2012 at 1800 hours. Three hours before the start of the event, however, Ms Elaine, the venue manager for the centre, contacted CAGE and stated that a police officer by the name of Ian Kershaw had advised her that it would be in the best interest of the venue to cancel the event. Officer Kershaw allegedly stated that the event was 'contentious'. Despite this interference, however, CAGE successfully persuaded the venue to allow the event to proceed on the basis that they would hire SIA approved security staff to ensure the safety of the participants. According to Ms Elaine, officer Kershaw made the following two points:

*"1. Do you know if you continue with this booking the relationship with the Local Authority will be affected?"*

*2. If the media found out it will be negative publicity for the centre."*<sup>2</sup>

Based on the evidence gathered from these incidents, and instances of other events that have been reported to CAGE by other organisations, PREVENT has taken upon itself to 'warn' venues

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<sup>2</sup> Note of conversation between Jilu Miah, CagePrisoners operations manager and Elaine, venue manager for the Karibou Centre, 18/10/2012

that they will suffer reputational damage by allowing CAGE a platform. However, there has been no specific sanction against CAGE. Neither has there been any formal allegation put to CAGE and neither has there been a process by which CAGE's work has been engaged in dialogue from any police officer or authority.

CAGE emailed Chief Superintendent Matt Bell at the Metropolitan Police in order to question the actions of officer Kershaw, and his role in attempting to disrupt our event. On 20 November 2012, CAGE received a response by Superintendent Operations for Lambeth Borough, Andy Howe. The email contained the following explanations for the actions of officer Kershaw:

*"Ian Kershaw is the Prevent Engagement Officer for Lambeth and was visiting the venue having discovered that your event was taking place there. The main reason behind the visit was to ensure that the venue was fit for purpose and that the staff were aware of the nature of your event.*

*As detailed above, there was no hidden agenda and he had no pre-conceived intention to either disrupt or prevent your event taking place.*

*There was no intention to disrupt the event he was purely ensuring that the venue was suitable and the owners were fully sighted on the nature of the event.*

*There is absolutely no intention to disrupt any events or activities undertaken by 'Cage Prisoners'. The police have no powers to prevent such events taking place and nor would we want to interfere with your fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression."*<sup>3</sup>

The email from Andy Howe suggests that PREVENT officers do not have the power to shut down events. However, this neglects the fact that PREVENT officers cite reputational and financial risks and therefore aim to influence venues through fear. Groups such as the Muslim Research and Development Foundation (MRDF), Cordoba Foundation, Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA), Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS), Tayyibun Institute and others have provided CAGE with examples of how they have been affected by attempted disruption in similar ways by PREVENT officers.

The ways in which CAGE has been targeted by PREVENT officers suggests that the UK government is not willing to accept that CAGE are an organisation that have credibility amongst Muslim individuals and communities, and work tirelessly to challenge political and ideological factors which contribute to radicalisation and terrorism. It also suggests that the UK government perceives organisations such as CAGE to be a part of the problem of radicalisation and terrorism rather than the solution. It is CAGE's belief that this is an unfair and anti-democratic perception, which must be addressed to ensure that CAGE can continue its vital work in engaging with, and challenging ideas put forward by, violent individuals and groups for the purpose of addressing the causes of radicalisation and terrorism. The current approach being adopted by the UK government hinders CAGE's empowerment efforts, and thereby sustains and increases the risk of radicalisation and terrorism. This point is now analysed in reference to a number of cases in which PREVENT has been targeted at individuals in different settings, including health, education, social services, the family and social media. The objective behind including these cases is to show how PREVENT is adversely affecting political activism and dissent, and securitising civic activity and settings. Such actions, CAGE believes, increase the risk of radicalisation and terrorism.

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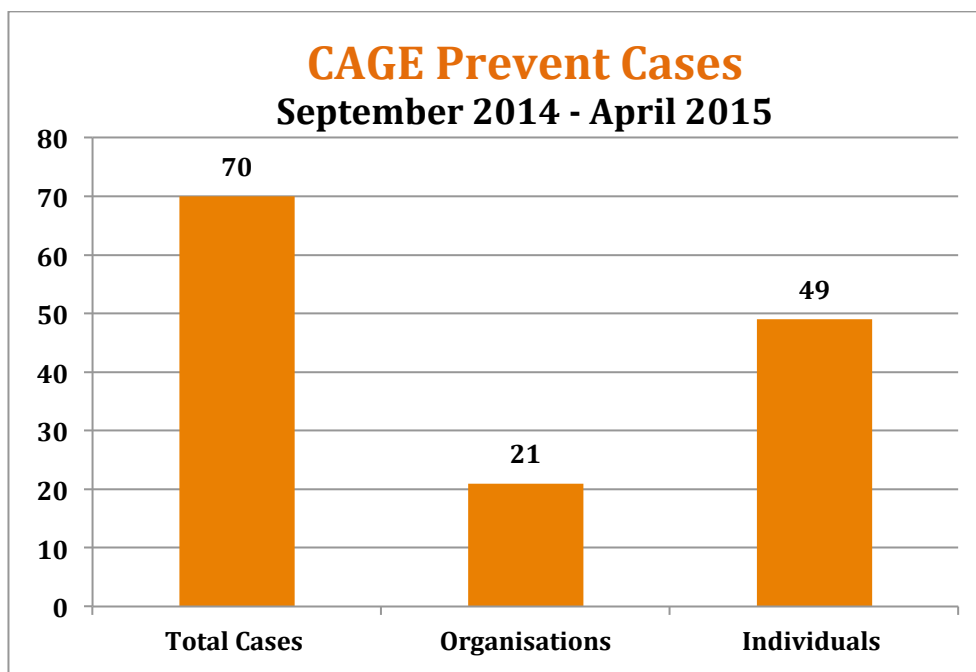
<sup>3</sup> Email communication: Andy Howe, Superintendent Operations, Lambeth Borough to Muhammad Rabbani, Managing Director, CagePrisoners, 20/11/2012

## PREVENT practice in London

For the last five years, CAGE has been receiving a constant stream of reports regarding the actions of PREVENT officers, and since September 2014 alone, CAGE have received almost 60 complaints relating to the actions of PREVENT officers. Key among the complaints is the lack of transparency and inability to challenge the assumptions that are made by the PREVENT officers. The underlying assumption that is built into every case CAGE has seen is that the only way for individuals or organisations to 'prove' they are not 'presenting a risk' or 'at risk', is by engaging with PREVENT. For those at the receiving end, this subverts the criminal justice system, or perhaps what should be referred to as the 'pre-criminal space'. In such an arena, individuals and groups involved in expressing legitimate and democratically compliant ideas are being compelled to prove their innocence

CAGE believes that this form of action undertaken through PREVENT is highly damaging insofar as it creates a climate of mistrust, suspicion and fear. In essence, CAGE believes that attempts to close down and disrupt lawful and democratically compliant events reinforce and create grievances and therefore facilitate radicalisation.

Before illustrating key cases, the following data exemplifies the number of cases that CAGE has monitored, facilitated legal assistance and ensured that due process is upheld across the PREVENT landscape in the UK – this represents a timescale between September 2014 – to – April 2015:



CAGE has documented and witnessed several cases across a spectrum of sectors, and a few of them are illustrated in the case digest overview below. Among the sectors cited, CAGE has noted that there are new emerging areas within the public sector that are being affected by the PREVENT duty, namely, the social services. The PREVENT cases are on the increase, and CAGE is concerned that those tasked with the PREVENT duty are referring cases without adequate training and ill-define guidance which is equating to highly questionable cases.

CAGE now presents some exemplar cases from various public bodies who are required to implement the PREVENT strategy. CAGE recognises that it would most likely be too much for the purposes of this inquiry to detail them all. However, CAGE is willing to meet with members of the inquiry to discuss these cases in more detail. It is also important to note that due to concerns over confidentiality and legitimate fears our clients have around their own safety, CAGE have removed details which reveal the identities of individuals. However, CAGE is willing to discuss methods of providing material to the inquiry panel confidentially if required.

## **The National Health Service (NHS)**

### *Case Study One – IM*

A Muslim sixth form student went to his GP because of a medical problem with his leg. While showing his problem to the GP, he was suddenly asked for his opinions on the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Middle Eastern conflicts more generally. The reasons behind the GP's line of questioning remain unclear. IM told CAGE how this encounter made him feel:

*"I felt as if my doctor was acting like some kind of spy for the government. I know a little bit about the way all of this PREVENT stuff works, and honestly believed that my doctor was fishing for some information about me to pass on to someone else."*

IM's case clearly illustrates how individuals are unfairly targeted and challenged on their political ideas and views based on their ethnic and/or religious background and appearance. This can have a damaging impact on the individual and in fact contribute to an individual's radicalisation. It can do so in two ways. Firstly, it can make the individual lose trust in core civic services and create a friction between their Muslim and British identities, thereby making them feel like outsider. Secondly, it can make the individuals feel targeted and victimised because of their Islamic and racial identities, thereby facilitating the creation (or perpetuation of existing) grievances.

### *Case Study Two – SB*

SB is a Muslim woman who took a year off from work as an admin officer at an NHS hospital in London on medical grounds. During her time away, SB became more devout and began practicing her faith. She also began wearing the headscarf (*hijab*). On her return to work, there were accusations made by senior management that SB had mental health issues because she was now more devout and was adhering to her faith. PREVENT officers subsequently visited her in the work place and asked her for her view on politics, terrorism and religion as well as expressing an interest in her Facebook profile. SB's parents were also questioned on the state of her mental health. Eventually, the PREVENT officers issued a report to NHS senior management explaining that SB had mental health problems, though mental health specialists later denied this claim. The whole experience of having her faith questioned and scrutinised made SB feel violated. It is worth citing her words at length:

*"I feel that the visit to my professional place of work is a violation of my privacy which is unacceptable when I could have been contacted either by phone, in writing or in person. Work should not have been an option, definitely not a first option."*

*My second complaint is that once I went home I looked at all my statuses on Facebook and could not find one status that incited or encouraged illegal behaviour. Most of my posts either related to my children or would ask everyone to pray for the people of Syria and elsewhere in the Muslim World where there is turmoil."*

*I am rather perplexed to say the least, as to:*

*1. Why I was visited at my place of work as a first option*

2. And for what reason as I can see nothing on my page being of concern or inciting illegal behaviour.

*I am a law-abiding citizen and I feel that my rights are being violated and that I am being discriminated against due to my faith. It is already made difficult for me to adorn Muslim attire due to fear of being labelled and attacked in public by people who have a phobia of Islam and Muslims."*

It seems clear that the practice and outward exercise of her faith through the taking up of the *Hijab* was being used by SB's senior colleagues to indicate radicalisation. This is despite seminal academic research by Marc Sageman, for example, showing that there is no correlation between religiosity and terrorism<sup>4</sup>. The initiation of highly intrusive questioning of SB and her family by PREVENT officers was therefore based on ill-informed evidential grounds. The consequence of such an approach is highly damaging. Firstly, by suspecting somebody because of their faith-identity can create a feeling of isolation and victimisation, which causes them to close-off and draw-inward. This point was vividly made by Professor Ted Cante at a Prevent Parliamentary Select Committee hearing as early as 2010.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, it can make them internalise the negative words and ideas being associated with them, which can create a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. In such a case, an individual becomes more likely to become what they are constantly being accused of – radicalised. CAGE strongly believes that any action taken by the authorities based on racial and/or religious profiling serves to undermine community relations and trust. CAGE strongly urges security and police authorities to therefore reconsider their approach on such matters.

## **Social Services**

### *Case Study Three – AA*

AA was referred to social services by his secondary school because he was perceived to be on the path to becoming radicalised. In one of his Home Economic classes, the teacher requested all students to bring in meat or poultry, but AA said to his teacher in front of the class, "*but government is banning halal meat!*" The teacher questioned why, and AA replied, "*...because government hates Muslims*". Additionally, AA would frequently turn up late for registration at school in the mornings, and when questioned by the teacher, he replied, "*because of morning prayer*". The mother said to CAGE that AA had lied to his teacher. Morning prayers are much earlier in the day, and the real reason for going to school late was connected to him being bullied. AA did not, however, want the teacher to know about this because he feared the bullying would become more severe. The school believes that AA is on the path to being radicalised. Social services have therefore been contacted by the school though no contact has yet been made by them. In the meantime, AA has been transferred to an Islamic school in Kent, though the family planned this before the school had made the referral to social services. CAGE is currently involved in providing advice and support to AA's family on this on-going matter.

What AA's case reveals is that his politically held views rather than being challenged by the teacher in the classroom were used to infer radicalisation, and led to his referral to an external agency. Also, the fact that AA was encountering difficulties at school through bullying suggests that his ideas and views may have been influenced by these difficulties he was faced with. It is therefore critical that already existing mechanisms are used to support students to ensure their issues, grievances and ideas are addressed internally rather than escalated to external agencies. Schools have a duty of care to their students, and it is important that this duty of care does not entail the reporting of an individual to an external agency without reasonable cause. Schools and educational institutions deal with student violence and fighting, for example, without resorting matters to external agencies such as the police. CAGE believes that non-securitised

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<sup>4</sup> See Marc Sageman (2004) *Understanding Terror Networks* [University of Pennsylvania Press]

<sup>5</sup> House of Commons (2010) 'Preventing Violent Extremism', Sixth Report of Session 2009-10, *Communities and Local Government*, 30 March 2010. See page 21

and internal measures should be used in all such cases, without discrimination. Failing to engage students internally, and referring them to external agencies, as happened in the case of AA, increases the likelihood that they will move into those spaces, particularly online, in a bid to make their ideas and views heard. In this instant, it is more likely that an individual will become radicalised without hindrance.

## **Social Media**

### *Case Study Four – DF*

DF, a 22 year old law student, was found guilty of possessing a copy of Inspire magazine on her USB flash drive. PREVENT officers approached DF's family home and sought to speak with her mother, and explained that they were concerned about her views based on four YouTube clips uploaded under the account 'east\*\*\*\*\*slima', which she controlled. The PREVENT officers attempted to recruit her as an advocate against extremism in the context of community led projects. DF's lawyers liaised with PREVENT officers and soon realised that authorities did not wish to prosecute her for possessing the videos. DF's solicitor advised her that PREVENT was voluntary, and the PREVENT officer in question would not be making contact anymore. However, the same PREVENT officer returned with a police officer and interpreter with a view to speak with the mother of DF. (NB - This is a common trend in PREVENT cases that CAGE has detected in a number of different cases). On arrival, the PREVENT officer stated that because DF was perceived to be an "extremist", they were worried about her influence on her younger brother, who is eleven years old. Soon after this visit, however, DF was arrested under the Terrorism Act 2000, her home was raided and several items were seized, including a USB flash drive containing a copy of Al-Qaeda's Inspire magazine and several YouTube clips. On 17 March 2015, it was held that DF had contravened section 58 of the Terrorism Act 2000 and was sentenced to 18 months in prison.

DF's case reveals that there was no evidence of terrorist intent or criminal wrongdoing; a point supported by the fact that PREVENT officers had wanted her to work on de-radicalisation projects at the community level, yet she was still prosecuted. Her case also illustrates that PREVENT is being inappropriately used to collect intelligence on an individual, and then the individual, if they disagree to consent to being mentored or work in partnership with PREVENT, is being prosecuted for terrorism offences. CAGE believes that this is a wholly inappropriate way of stopping individuals from being radicalised, and is likely to have the completely opposite effect since it creates an impression that an individual has a choice to participate in PREVENT, though not consenting to the program leads to a terrorist prosecution. Such cases are very likely to create feelings of criminalisation and unfairness amongst the targeted individual, and their networks, and will reinforce and perpetuate a feeling of grievance and victimisation.

## **Education**

### *Case Study Five - AU*

AU is a 14 year old teenager, and currently studying in year nine in a mixed state school. AU is a devout Muslim, and regularly attends his local mosque, and takes a proactive approach in increasing his religious spirituality. Although AU is the youngest in his family, his eldest sisters and parents see him as an inspiration because of his attempts to increase his religious practices. AU's academic achievements are impressive, and he is a good student. However, in March 2015, the school referred AU to a PREVENT officer, without the consent of his parents or guardian. In great concern from learning about the facts, AU's sister proactively contacted the school and asked for a formal meeting as she was intensely angered by the situation, and could not comprehend how not taking part in music lessons warranted the school in contacting a PREVENT. In the meeting between AU's sister and school teacher, it was made clear that the only ground for referring the case to PREVENT was due to AU not proactively participating in music lessons. It is clear that AU deems there to be a tension with music and his interpretation



of Islam, hence he does not wish to partake in music lessons. AU's case illustrates how there is no real ground for referring an individual to PREVENT. It must also be questioned on what evidential basis not engaging in a music lesson is a marker for radicalisation/extremism. The fact that no consent was sought from AU's parents or guardian in referring him to PREVENT – even during his mandatory schooling hours – illustrates how PREVENT is operating under the radar and without the appropriate checks and balances. This is a common trend that CAGE has observed in other cases too and suggests that there may well be several cases across London where parents have no knowledge that their children are being questioned by PREVENT personnel.

### Conclusions

PREVENT is a programme that aims to stop individuals from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism. However, the methods and approaches being used by PREVENT officers in attempting to implement this policy seem to be having a damaging and counterproductive impact. CAGE believes they will do very little to tackle radicalisation and the threat of terrorism, and will, in fact, potentially radicalise individuals and perpetuate the threat.

The closing down of discussion, debate and ideas which are alternative to accepted societal norms, for example, need to be had in public spaces, and without the interference from security and police bodies unless criminal offences are taking place or incitement to murder/hatred. This will ensure those individuals with non-mainstream ideas and views can face organic and legitimate challenge/scrutiny by those organisations and individuals who have the appropriate knowledge and ability to do so. CAGE believes it is uniquely placed to do this and therefore strongly urges police and security authorities to refrain from attempting to disrupt its entirely democratic and lawful activities.

Terrorism and political violence is accepted as being a form of political action that is used largely in those societies that are closed, restricted and repressive. In such societies, individuals feel their attempts to bring about a desirable change through the existing political system will most likely be met by fierce, coercive and forceful action by the authorities. CAGE therefore believes that it is critical for the UK to refrain from closing down and repressing the exchange of ideas and views in public spaces. If not, there is an increased chance that individuals will attend hidden venues – online and offline - to seek answers to their questions and find support for their views. In such instances, it is more likely that they will become radicalised because nobody will be able to challenge these individuals or their ideas. CAGE believes that closing down discussion, debate and alternative ideas in public spaces therefore increases the risk of radicalisation and makes the UK less safe from the threat of terrorism.

Many of the methods being used under the PREVENT programme are based on highly dubious and questionable evidential foundations. For example, in the above case studies, the non-desire of AU to attend musical lessons, AA's comments about the UK government disliking Muslims and SB's taking up of the headscarf being are not appropriate grounds for making referrals to PREVENT. Such actions are likely to create or perpetuate existing grievances, and are very likely to make individuals feel demonised, targeted and victimised. This increases the likelihood of them internalising the negative words and ideas being associated with them, which can create a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. In such a case, the person may well become what they are constantly being accused of – radicalised.

Finally, CAGE are concerned with the lack of transparency surrounding PREVENT as well as the strategy's unaccountability. There are no formal processes for challenging assumptions of the PREVENT programme, and there is no formal way of redressing highly discriminatory and unfair practices of PREVENT officers. It is the very foundational conceptions of 'radicalisation' and 'deradicalisation' that must be rethought if threat levels are ever to be reduced in the UK. By continuing on the current path of PREVENT, with its workings not open to public scrutiny, we risk failing to the very communities we wish to reach.

## **London Assembly – Preventing Extremism overview**

The following points were raised in the letter from the London Assembly sent to all boroughs.

### **1) Staffing and governance of Prevent in Croydon**

Prevent activity in Croydon is overseen by the Safer Croydon Partnership Board.

Prior to 2011 Prevent activity was overseen by the multi-agency Counter Terrorism – Preventing Violent Extremism sub-group, which oversaw the implementation of the Croydon CONTEST Action Plan.

This sub-group ceased activity when funding for Prevent activity was withdrawn in 2011.

Prevent activity within the council is covered by one officer in the Public Safety service, who coordinates counter-terrorism work with it as part of his larger workload along with a number of other crime and disorder topics.

He works with the police Prevent Engagement Officer, the CT Intelligence officer, the CT Focus Desk and with officers from SO15. Prevent activity is dealt with through monthly Problem Solving Meetings.

Channel is the most significant area of activity. There were 23 referrals in Croydon in 2014 (calendar year). It would appear that a similar number of referrals is likely to be reached in 2015.

### **2) Organisations engaged with in delivering Prevent**

Prevent delivery is shared between the police and the council. Contact is maintained with former PVE sub-group partners such as the main Croydon Mosque and a number of third sector organisations, but there are currently no active counter-terrorism projects.

### **3) Impact of new statutory Prevent duty**

The new duty will have a significant impact on the borough.

The main need will be to raise the profile of Prevent within the council and for partners. This will be achieved, largely through WRAP sessions for staff in the council and elsewhere. WRAP training for social workers commences next week and will continue over the following months. Sessions will be organised for other front-line staff.

Raising the profile of Prevent in schools is underway. The Prevent coordinator and a police officer from SO15 attended a meeting of Primary School heads recently and spoke about the counter-terrorism strategy and offered training /

awareness raising for staff as well as awareness raising for pupils. This is to be repeated through attending a secondary heads meeting in early May.

#### **4) Identified objectives and priorities of London-wide Prevent Board**

A London wide Prevent Board should be concerned with:

- a) Coordinating multi-borough activity;
- b) Facilitating information exchange between boroughs;
- c) Identifying funding sources for Prevent related activity for non-priority boroughs;
- d) Spearheading a Londonwide campaign to improve the image of Prevent to the public and to the media



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Via email: [matt.bailey@london.gov.uk](mailto:matt.bailey@london.gov.uk)

Dear Ms McCartney,

## **Preventing Extremism**

Thank you for your letter dated 31<sup>st</sup> March 2015 regarding the CONTEST Strategy and Preventing Extremism.

I detail our response below regarding the three questions you are interested in understanding:

### **What organisations you are engaging with in delivering activities aimed at preventing extremism, particularly how you work currently with the Met Police and MOPAC?**

We meet frequently with the dedicated police officer from SO15 who covers Havering, as well as Barking and Dagenham, and we have worked together to develop a joint Prevent Plan which he has presented plans to our Community Safety Partnership as well as other groups. There is a local monthly Security Review Meeting where PREVENT as well as the other three strands of the CONTEST Strategy are discussed. This is attended by a Counter Terrorism Security Advisor as well as SO15.

Schools Officers (Police) and the Community Safety Team have recently been trained to deliver WRAP (Workshop to raise awareness of Prevent) to key frontline staff and management teams around the Borough.

A network meeting of staff from Havering Council and Health Partners is about to be set up also

### **What the new statutory PREVENT duty will mean for your Borough and the level of support you have so far received from the Home Office in meeting it?**

The Home Office have 'licensed' the training detailed above. As Havering is not a Priority Borough we do not receive any direct funding for this activity from the Home Office at present.

### **What the objectives of a London wide Board to oversee Prevent should be?**

- Ensure that funding is split as equitably as possible (not just made available to Priority Boroughs).
- Ensure that mechanisms exist in each Borough regarding PREVENT and other aspects of the CONTEST strategy
- Provide help and support to Boroughs in implementing their PREVENT Plans
- Provide a forum for the exchange of best practice between Boroughs

If you have any other questions regarding PREVENT, please do not hesitate to contact Diane Egan , Community Safety Team Leader on 01708 432927 or [diane.egan@haverling.gov.uk](mailto:diane.egan@haverling.gov.uk).

Yours Sincerely,



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Date: 30 April 2015

RE: Preventing Extremism

Dear Joanne,

I am writing in response to your invitation to comment on the proposed pan-London Board to oversee elements of the counter-terrorism (CONTEST) strategy. The idea of a new CONTEST board in London was discussed at the March meeting of the London Crime Reduction Board by the Mayor and London Councils. It was envisaged that the proposed board would look across the CONTEST strategy, encompassing Protect, Prepare and Pursue as well as Prevent.

In our view, a CONTEST board has the potential to add value to local and pan London activity, and we are keen to see that it is structured in a way that avoids duplicating the work of existing local and pan-London structures, with the aim of:

- Introducing a strategic overview of work to tackle threats, risks and vulnerabilities;
- Bringing greater transparency;
- Improving the disclosure and sharing of information from the police to local authorities through the embedding of a consistent information strategy.

These features would provide a strong foundation for the proposed board's work to support decision-makers and partners (locally, regionally and nationally) in delivering an improved response to violent extremism in London.

Further discussions are in hand, involving London Councils, MOPAC and other partners, with a view to developing the board, and a note with further details should follow over the next month.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Lib Peck".

**Cllr Lib Peck**  
**London Councils Executive Member for Crime and Community Protection**

I write in response to the letter dated 2 April from Joanne McCartney AM to the Director of LSE, Professor Craig Calhoun. I have been asked to reply.

We would be delighted to assist the Committee in its investigation as soon as we are able. However, any answer to the first question at this stage would be misleading, and we could not give substantive answers at the moment to the second or third.

To explain: unless a new Government after 7 May decides otherwise, the Prevent duty in respect of the further education (FE) and higher education (HE) sectors will not come into force until the missing part of the statutory guidance, on speakers and events on campus, has been reformulated, consulted on and approved by both Houses of Parliament. It is quite possible that the target start date of 1 July will be missed. Government Ministers made their intentions clear in the Houses of Lords and Commons on 23 and 24 March respectively, when the Houses approved the statutory guidance in partial form. This was confirmed at a Prevent network meeting I attended just this morning, by a senior civil servant from the Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism.

The original draft statutory guidance was highly contentious in the HE sector and there was also substantial debate in the Lords stages of discussion of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Bill, which the guidance accompanies. This resulted in important changes to the Act and to that part of the guidance that has now been approved, but also explains the delay in finalising the guidance on speakers and events. It is there that some of the most contentious issues emerge. Primarily these have to do with the current Government's intention that universities should place curbs not just on illegal activity such as encouraging terrorism, which is a given, but also on non-violent, legal "extremism" using a definition of extremism which is open to very wide interpretation. Put simply, many involved in this issue continue to fear that universities may be required by law to curtail legal free speech despite the longstanding legal requirement on them to ensure free speech within the law.

This issue therefore not only goes to the heart of what much of liberal higher education, featuring the critical challenge of orthodoxy within the law, is all about. It also seems perfectly possible that given the significant changes that have emerged from the Parliamentary and consultative processes so far, the current Government's intentions may not be realised in their current form.

By themselves, the above factors would not stop us from planning on the basis that the new duty will come into force as the current Government wishes, just in case. But in addition, the proposals have been highly contentious with student and indeed staff bodies throughout the HE sector, and LSE has been no exception. At LSE (and doubtless elsewhere), it is clear that any attempt to formulate a response to legislation and statutory guidance in advance of a legal requirement to do so would severely damage trust and good relations between the university and its staff and students. Therefore, while following the issue very closely, LSE has agreed not to formulate implementation plans until required to do so.

In summary, if required to answer the three questions now, we would have to reply "very little" to the first and "we don't know" to the second and third. The Committee would doubtless regard that as unhelpful; but it would also give a very misleading impression of the seriousness with which LSE will address this matter when the time comes. We shall of course implement all of the legal requirements upon us conscientiously and in full.

I apologise if this non-answer is less than helpful, but repeat that we should be very pleased to help the Committee when we are able to do so.

Yours sincerely,

Robin Hoggard

Director of Government Relations

London School of Economics and Political Science

Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, UK





## **Response to a request for views on the implementation of Prevent from the London Assembly Police and Crime Committee.**

**Our Mission:** Promoting human rights and holding governments to account, drawing upon the lessons learned from the conflict in Northern Ireland.

**Our Expertise and Achievements:** Since 1990, Rights Watch (UK) (formerly British Irish Rights Watch) has held the UK Government to account for human rights abuses in the context of counter terrorism operations both domestically and abroad. We work with victims and communities to expose human rights abuses, to obtain redress and to hold those responsible for such abuses to account. Our interventions have reflected our range of expertise, from the right to a fair trial to the scope of the government's investigative obligation under Article 2 of the European Convention in Human Rights. We have a long record of working closely with NGOs and government authorities to share that expertise. And we have received wide recognition, as the first winner of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe's Human Rights Prize in 2009 alongside other honours.

### **How well you believe Prevent is being delivered locally by the Met Police, MOPAC, and other organisations involved in tackling extremism in London?**

In our experience, individuals, community groups and other NGOs with whom we have spoken to about the Prevent programme have been generally negative. In general the sentiment has been that the programme is discriminatory, increases community tensions, and is widely discredited within the community. The overriding perception is that Government and the police are seeking to work against, rather than with, the community, and are unwilling to engage with the communities concerns. We believe that a key lesson from the conflict in Northern Ireland is that Government must seek to work with communities, and build cohesion, otherwise risk increasing factors that put individuals at greater risk of engaging with terrorist activity. We expand on the relevant lessons from the Northern Irish conflict in our answer to the third question below.

We would also like to draw the Police and Crime Committee's attention to the following information which we believe will be of some use in answering this question:

<https://www.dur.ac.uk/research/news/thoughtleadership/?itemno=23932>  
<http://cageuk.org/report.pdf>  
<http://mabonline.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Claystone-rethinking-radicalisation.pdf> [http://www.schedule7.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/hillyard\\_essay\\_2005.pdf](http://www.schedule7.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/hillyard_essay_2005.pdf)

### **What impact the new Prevent duty will have for the Met Police, MOPAC and other statutory bodies specified under it?**

The new prevent duty found in the Counter Terrorism and Security Act 2015 (CTSA) is unlikely to have a significant impact on the operation of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) or Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC), comparative to other bodies specified under it.

This is because it is not so much a new duty, as making a previously non-statutory that applied in specific situations to specific bodies as to a more general statutory duty. The Government states that the intention of this action is 'to make delivery of [Prevent activity] a legal requirement for specified authorities and improve the standard of work on the Prevent programme across Great Britain'<sup>1</sup>.

As MOPAC and the MPS have both been participating in Prevent activity prior to the enactment of the CTSA, it is therefore unlikely for it to place any additional burden upon them. Any statutory bodies who have not yet been engaging with Prevent activity will be required to ensure that their policies and procedures take this duty into account. This may have a limited impact on their functions, depending on the changes needed to bring such policies and procedures into line with this duty.

### **What the priorities and objectives should be for a London-wide Board to oversee Prevent activities?**

Rights Watch (UK) believe a London-wide strategic Board should refocus the Prevent strategy by aiming to engage communities and individuals deemed vulnerable to extremism. The current Prevent strategy has damaged community relations in London and other areas of the United Kingdom. The Prevent strategy intends to prevent people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism, and wants to challenge extremist ideologies. However, the Board has to address the mutual suspicion and alienation of communities that the policy has created. There should be a clear objective to prevent isolation, focus on cross-community relations and minimise the risks of continued stigmatisation. It has to be a priority to demonstrate that Muslim communities feel included in the process because otherwise communities will fail to engage with the strategy. This is imperative because otherwise the Prevent strategy risks not learning from the lessons in Northern Ireland. The Muslim community feels alienated and stigmatised by the policy, and this occurred to communities in Northern Ireland throughout The Troubles. Not only did this ensure members of that community felt isolated and disengaged in the decision making process, but it made an element of the community more sympathetic to groups such as the IRA. If the Prevent strategy is serious about tackling extremism and learning from mistakes of the past, then there must be different priorities and objectives for the Prevent strategy.

On a strategic level, the Board should be aware of potential counter-productive consequences of targeting a particular community with anti-terrorism measures. The Board must draw lessons from the conflict in Northern Ireland and learn from them to prevent

<sup>1</sup> Counter Terrorism and Security Act 2015, Explanatory notes, Part 5, para 176

history from repeating itself. Tactics like internment without trial, the arrest of community members for intelligence gathering purposes and the erosion of procedural rights damaged the trust between the British State and the Catholic community in Northern Ireland. The Prevent strategy risks repeating such mistakes with the Muslim community by attempting to infiltrate community groups with informers and the continued surveillance of 'suspect' communities. For example, by using video surveillance as part of Project Champion in Birmingham mistrust of the authorities was bred and the community felt stigmatised. Although it occurred in Birmingham and not London, this increased the perception of stigmatisation amongst the Muslim community in the UK. Not only does this demonstrate the dangers of radicalising communities in attempts to stop extremism, but it indicates that there must be new methods of the Prevent strategy if it is to engage the Muslim community.

It is apparent the trust between the Muslim community and the police and local authorities has been damaged due to the Prevent strategy. Aminul Hoque, a lecturer and author on British Islamic identity, has stated the policy has 'widened the schism' between the Muslim community and other Britons.<sup>2</sup> Former Muslim police officer Dal Banu recently went as far to label the strategy a 'toxic brand' that failed to understand the needs of the community and treated young Muslims separately to other vulnerable young people.<sup>3</sup> It therefore has to be a priority to demonstrate that Muslim communities feel included in the process and prevent a feeling of isolation. This would ensure that people within the Muslim community do not feel ostracised from other areas of British society, and as consequence help to insulate them from the influence of extremists. There must be a clear priority to include community groups in the policy and dialogue that surrounds the Prevent strategy to help achieve that aim.

The Muslim community are currently not engaged in the Prevent strategy, and as a result this means Muslims are less likely (or feel unable) to engage with the strategy. The ex-radical turned community worker Hanif Qadir has openly stated the government is struggling to find members who engage with Prevent. Due to a pervading mistrust of the authorities and police, Muslim communities feel excluded. This has striking parallels with the Catholic/Nationalist community in Northern Ireland. This mistrust fostered division between the community and the authorities. Unfortunately steps towards rectifying that situation were only taken relatively recently, and meant that an entire community did not feel like it could speak to the police or relevant authorities. This situation continues in Northern Ireland to this day. This meant that those within the community who might have provided information about groups such as the IRA felt completely unable to do so. Evidently, this is a clear problem. To avoid a repeat of such division, the Board should prioritise community engagement as a method of reaching the more vulnerable members of the community.

<sup>2</sup> <http://mabonline.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Claystone-rethinking-radicalisation.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/mar/09/anti-radicalisation-prevent-strategy-a-toxic-brand>

It should be of the highest priority to learn lessons from the Northern Irish conflict; to be careful of treating the Muslim community as a 'suspect community', or ensuring the Muslim community believes this to be the case. Respected Academic Paddy Hillyard, in his study of anti-terror legislation, has noted that the police treating the Irish as a suspect community in Britain resulted in the public doing the same.<sup>4</sup> He argues that this contributed to the criminalisation of the Irish throughout Britain and led to their isolation. It is apparent that there are parallels between the approaches taken towards the Irish and Muslim communities, which has to be addressed. Not only does the current strategy ostracise the Muslim community, limit community engagement with anti-extremism and fail to prevent extremism, it contributes to a sense of isolation and demonisation by the community. Not only should a Board wish to stop British citizens feeling this, it should realise that continued harassment of a particular community does nothing to prevent extremism and can actually lead people towards extreme ideas.

Rights Watch (UK) strongly believe the Board should take immediate steps to change the current Prevent strategy. The Prevent strategy should be more accountable, with the Board having powers to amend or modify strategies that are patently not working. It is clear current methods are alienating the Muslim community, damaging the trust between that community and local leaders, struggling to engage Muslims in anti-extremism and leading to disengagement with the wider British state. Furthermore, the recent examples of Mohammed Emwazi and Michael Adebolajo demonstrate that the strategy is failing to prevent extremism. It is clear a different, more inclusive approach is needed to ensure that the strategy has the support of the Muslim community and work with the community in order to prevent home grown terrorism. It should be clear that there are pertinent lessons to be learned from Northern Ireland; that the criminalisation and stigmatisation of a community was actually counter-productive. When the state employs arbitrary policies, it alienates the communities that are required for good intelligence. It is apparent that the Prevent strategy again misunderstands the crucial importance of police – community relations. Instead of perpetuating the feelings and perceptions of alienation and exclusion, the Board should prioritise respecting local communities to ensure a good working relationship focused on combating extremism.

<sup>4</sup> Hillyard, Paddy, 'Suspect Community: People's Experience of the Prevention of Terrorism Acts in Britain'.

Please see the response from the London Borough of Sutton below:

**Staffing and governance structures for Prevent in place in Sutton**

Despite receiving no funding for this duty Sutton has allocated funding to ensure strategic and tactical lead and coordination to meet requirements. Governance is compliant with and follows recommendations under the statutory duty.

**The organisations Sutton engages with in delivering Prevent, and how we currently work with the Met Police and MOPAC**

Sutton engages with those defined under the duty. This includes the MPS. There is no defined role for MOPAC under the duty.

**What the new statutory Prevent duty means for Sutton, and the level of support so far received from the Home Office in meeting it**

The new duty has increased the administration, bureaucracy, training and referrals. As training increases we anticipate referrals will further rise. There has been no assistance for Sutton in meeting this duty from the Home Office contrary to the New Burdens doctrine.

**What the objectives and priorities of a London-wide Board to oversee Prevent should be**

There is no statutory remit for a London-wide Board to oversee Prevent. The duty lies with local authorities not MOPAC. There is therefore no remit for London-wide direction or oversight. A London-wide Board could possibly add to understanding of regional risk, share good practice and promote cooperation; though the extent to which a London-wide Board could reasonably represent the various Borough interests would need to be understood.

Ian Kershaw

Head of Planning and Performance

Safer and Stronger Communities

Environment, Housing and Regeneration



## LONDON BOROUGH OF WALTHAM FOREST

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Joanne McCartney AM  
London Assembly  
City Hall  
The Queen's Walk  
London, SE1 2AA

24 April 2015

Dear Joanne,

### **RE: Preventing extremism**

We would like to thank the LAPCC for this opportunity to contribute to the investigation into how Prevent is being delivered across London, and possible future changes to its procedures.

We have set out our response to your questions on the attached sheet and would welcome the opportunity to comment further on any future changes. We also attach a copy of our Prevent brochure for your information.

As you will know, the London Borough of Waltham Forest (LBWF) has been working with the local community since 2006 to build resilience and deal positively with what is a delicate and complex issue. As Chair of the London Prevent Board, our Chief Executive Martin Esom plays a role in Prevent delivery across London, and applies his strategic understanding of tackling extremism at a local level. Martin, as well as our Cabinet Members, would be very pleased to present oral evidence to provide further insight into the effectiveness of relationships between local authorities, MOPAC, Special Branch, and local community groups.

We would also be keen to present a case study of our highly regarded 'Digital Resilience' programme, which looks to safeguard secondary school age children from potentially harmful information online and has been successfully delivered to 1650 students in all 22 of Waltham Forest's secondary schools.

LBWF are keen to raise awareness of the good work of Prevent, and to help develop and share good practice across London. To this end we have organised an event in Walthamstow on **Tuesday 7 July 2015** to raise the profile of Prevent within the education sector, build on relationships with partners, and to debate the issue of radicalisation in schools. We will be sending out invitations to the event shortly and we hope that you will be able to attend.

Please contact Sarah Finnegan, Head of Policy & Public Affairs on 020 8496 4933 for details of our Prevent event, to discuss Waltham Forest presenting oral evidence, or for more information about our work.

We hope that our submission is useful and we remain committed to working with you to build informed, resilient communities and prevent extremism throughout London.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. Robbins', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

**Chris Robbins**  
**Leader of Waltham Forest Council**

London Borough of Waltham Forest response to the London Assembly Police and Crime Committee's call for evidence on 'Preventing Extremism'

**1. What your current level of engagement is with Prevent, and the Met Police, MOPAC, and other organisations involved in tackling extremism in London?**

Having been a Prevent priority borough since the strategy was launched in 2011, the LBWF has well established links with the Met Police, MOPAC and a host of community organisations with grassroots credibility. Prior to 2011, Prevent has been delivered through the community safety team following the Operation Overt Terror arrests in 2006.

LBWF receive an annual funding envelope from the Home Office to fund key posts and projects vital to delivering Prevent. Our work is coordinated from within the Council's Community Safety Team, and is done in close partnership with voluntary organisations.

We have a good level of engagement with both Borough police and special branch (SO15). Historically, local SO15 officers have been involved in joint delivery of Prevent initiatives in schools and in the community, and we continue to have a good working relationship with the special branch.

**2. What changes, if any, you will be making to your policies and procedures to meet the requirements of the new Prevent duty?**

LBWF has been successfully delivering proactive and reactive Prevent since the initiative was introduced in 2011, so will not be significantly disrupted by the new regulations.

We do plan to establish a new, comprehensive Prevent framework to sit alongside our strategy, to ensure we are delivering all new requirements of the Prevent duty. This will include our responsibilities to partner agencies in Higher Education and the police, as well as to those in Health and social care.

The framework will set out our planned actions, and progress against these actions will be monitored and scrutinised at the Council's bi-monthly Prevent Steering Group, which is overseen by the SafetyNet Executive.

**3. What the priorities and objectives should be for a London-wide Board to oversee Prevent activities?**

LBWF would welcome further details about whether the board would concern itself with all elements of Prevent delivery across London or just the Police element - where MOPAC have a clearer oversight function in respect of the Metropolitan Police Service.

If it is intended that the Board covers Local Authority work, it is possible that there may be some conflict with statutory guidance which makes individual LA's (rather than London wide bodies) responsible for doing what is needed.

A useful pan-London Prevent body would be one that is not in direct competition with existing Home Office and local authority structures.



If the new body is to provide oversight on the overall risk and threat posed by extremism across London, its focus should be on strengthening the Local Prevent Board and ensuring it has the appropriate connections to the oversight board and contest board.

Regardless, if a new London-wide board is to be set up, it should focus on monitoring and developing London CTLP processes, as well as an Assessment of SO15 preventative and disruption activities.

Building  
**Resilient**  
and  
**Responsive**  
Communities

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Delivering Prevent in Waltham Forest



Waltham Forest

# OUR VISION AND APPROACH

In recent years Waltham Forest, like many other areas in the UK, has had to confront the reality that not everyone in our community wants to live in peace and harmony. The London tube bombings in 2005, the English Defence League marches in 2012, and the public murder of military drummer Lee Rigby in 2013 have all issued direct challenges to the individuals and organisations dedicated to strengthening our communities.

As a Council we have therefore been working hard with our partners to build community cohesion and prevent conflict or extremism in Waltham Forest and have been a proactive partner in the Government's Prevent agenda since 2011.

Our local Prevent programme is both proactive and reactive and aims to safeguard our residents and young people from harmful views. It is delivered in line with our safeguarding responsibilities. There are three strands to our work: early intervention, targeted prevention and focused enforcement.

We believe that this work is most effective when it is led by a partnership of statutory and community organisations with grassroots credibility. In order to take Prevent forward, we have developed a partnership model that involves the Waltham Forest Community Safety Team, the Active Change Foundation (ACF), Fida Management, and the Metropolitan Police. This partnership has been integral in securing external funding to deliver innovative work around the Prevent agenda.

Almost all of our Prevent work is funded by the Home Office's Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism. The success of our approach and our interventions is reflected in the continued support of the Home Office for our work as well as interest in what we're doing by other local authorities and the appointment of our Chief Executive, Martin Esom, as the Chair of London Prevent Board.

Our partnership Prevent programme has also received international recognition. In 2014 Barack Obama quoted a local Active Change Foundation counter-narrative project, calling it an example of best practice internationally, and in 2015 Fida Management's work was presented as best practice at a White House summit on countering violent-extremism.

The Prevent programme deals with sensitive community issues and often some very vulnerable residents. I think the programme we have developed here in Waltham Forest responds to those challenges and I'm proud of the way it works with families, schools and communities to build resilience and cohesion as well as protecting people and communities from extremism.



A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "L. Ali".

**Cllr Liaquat Ali MBE JP**

Cabinet Lead Member for Community Safety and Cohesion  
Waltham Forest Council

# EARLY INTERVENTION

Our early intervention work is based on an understanding of what makes young people vulnerable to radicalisation and working together to equip them and their families with the skills and tools they need to address those issues. Our early intervention projects enable us to identify individuals at risk of radicalisation, and ensure they do not become a threat to themselves or their community.

## Digital Resilience

One of our flagship programmes, Digital Resilience is a suite of education resources for secondary school staff and students in Waltham Forest. It is designed to safeguard young people from potentially harmful information or views found online. Digital Resilience was developed by Waltham Forest Council in partnership with local schools and includes lesson plans, peer education schemes and teacher training. It is delivered alongside the curriculum and is used by all 22 secondary schools in the borough.

The programme was developed in response to two needs: a pressing need to support young people to become more discerning users of the internet and social networking sites in particular; and subsequently the Department of Education Prevent duty requiring us to safeguard children and young people from extremist views in school. We found that if young people lack the tools to make sense of their increasingly digital world it has a direct impact on their vulnerability to harmful information and agendas.

Since the programme began in 2012, Digital Resilience lessons around themes such as critical thinking, radicalisation and conspiracy theories have been delivered to 1650 students in Waltham Forest schools.

In November 2013, 23 young people took part in a peer education project to explore the themes of radicalisations and peer pressure. Their work culminated in a dramatic performance which they have now delivered to over 300 people from their community,

including a performance at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts.

## BRIT programme

Our Building Resilience Through Integration and Trust (BRIT) programme takes a family-focused approach to working with primary school children and their families to prevent extremism and radicalisation. It is based on the idea that radicalisation is exacerbated by alienation and that it can be tackled by better supporting integration. BRIT is a two-year programme, developed in partnership with a leading charity in this field, Family Action, and funded by a £350,000 grant from the European Commission. This is our only programme not funded by the Home Office.

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Being part of the peer education group has actually changed me as a person this year. I wasn't turning up at school before and didn't really see why I should bother. Then my teacher asked me to get involved in this. We started to meet every week and I had a whole new group of friends from different schools. Then I got to perform at RADA... wow! I didn't think things like that happened to people like me.

”

Student, Digital Resilience Project

Through the programme we will work with 20 different primary schools, encouraging children to reflect on themselves, the communities in which they live and any challenges or grievances they may be experiencing. The programme comprises teacher training, curriculum resources and teaching support around issues such as identity, belonging and radicalisation. Family Action then deliver workshop sessions to small groups of children, building on the activities and issues addressed in the school

sessions. More in-depth support work is also provided to young people should they find themselves in potentially vulnerable situation.

An important element of the BRIT programme is the whole-family approach, and in particular the links to a bespoke education, training and employment programme. This is based on the idea that young people are more likely to be vulnerable to radicalisation the less integrated they are and that they are less likely to be integrated into mainstream society if they are not in education, employment or training. Furthermore, we know young people are more vulnerable if their families are also vulnerable to radicalisation, so the programme works with the whole family to support them into employment, not just the young person.

### IBE Programme

Our Identity, Belonging and Extremism (IBE) programme has been developed for secondary schools to ensure that students, parents and teachers have a better understanding of the risks faced by young people in the modern world. We have commissioned Fida Management, specialists in providing counter-narratives to extremist material that young

people are exposed to, to develop a series of short films and lesson plans that encourage young people to analyse and discuss many aspects of radicalisation and the risks it can pose, and empowers them become positive members of their community. This innovative technological approach engages young people in story boarding and it's the first of its kind in the UK. This programme began in 2014 and will be upscaled to reach a wider audience throughout 2015.

As an early part of this programme, students at Willowfield Humanities College in Walthamstow worked with Fida Management to produce #wearewalthamforest, a film which has now been shown to over 250 people including all Waltham Forest Councillors. It responded to classroom discussions expressing anger at the English Defence League choosing to demonstrate in Waltham Forest in 2012. The project taught young people legitimate ways of channelling these frustrations constructively, demonstrating the value of 'peaceful protest'. The film was then submitted by the students as part of their citizenship coursework.

## Case Study 1: Ali

**A**li was referred to the Community Safety Team at 21 years of age. During his time at university he had become increasingly involved in political affairs and demonstrated strong feelings of anger and grievance towards what he perceived to be injustice in this world. Ali had left university in the middle of the academic year and didn't want to continue his educational career. Through a multi-agency meeting with the Local Authority, we discovered Ali had a long history with the Mental Health Services and demonstrated clear signs of paranoia. We further learned that Ali had been in close contact with known local extremists as he searched for a sense of identity and belonging. A combination of his vulnerabilities left Ali in a sensitive situation. He felt isolated from mainstream society and found solace with these groups.

Initially, we worked with Ali through his mental health worker who provided him with support through this difficult time. Ali began to question the reasoning of the extremist groups he had been linked to and gradually he began to refocus his energies on obtaining employment. We introduced Ali to an employment worker who supported him to identify opportunities for paid employment that would help him reintegrate into mainstream society. The one to one work between Ali and the employment worker has been very successful. Ali no longer has any contact with the individuals he did previously, he demonstrates less anger and grievance and has secured a job in retail. He and those in contact with him have said he is much happier and more confident and as a result has been discharged from the mental health service.

# TARGETED PREVENTION

In addition to early intervention, we also undertake targeted work to ensure we are able to take appropriate action when we identify individuals at risk of radicalisation.

## **Community Outreach and Engagement Project**

The council works very closely with Walthamstow-based Active Change Foundation (ACF) to deliver targeted prevention work in the community. ACF outreach workers use priority locations around the borough and make a continual assessment of how the threat of extremism is manifesting itself on the ground. They also use the ACF Youth Centre as a safe and accessible space for young people to interact with others and access targeted support in a safe community space.

ACF's Young Leaders programme enables young people to spend seven months exploring a cause that they feel strongly about. It aims to turn young people into community leaders by teaching leadership skills, crisis management and critical thinking as well as educating them about community cohesion, civic responsibility and extremism. The young people can then act as peer mentors and train other young people. 30 young people Waltham Forest have already graduated from the Young Leaders programme, with another 30 graduating later this year.

ACF also run a programme of monthly workshops on personal development, radicalisation and current issues being discussed by young people. The workshops generate discussion and ensure that young people have access to a wide variety of views on these issues so they can make informed and rational choices. The workshops are complemented by Newgen, a monthly magazine, published by ACF with contributions from young writers, which focuses on current topical debates including foreign affairs and local issues.

## **Capacity and Resilience Building Project**

A core part of our targeted prevention work is to build capacity and resilience in the borough's workforce, ensuring that staff in the council and partner organisations are aware of the Prevent agenda, the risks facing vulnerable services users and the support pathways they can access. The council has again worked with Fida Management to develop bespoke training resources, available at general and advanced level, which has already been delivered to over 300 staff and will have reached 500 staff by March 2016. These resources include a Practitioner Support Manual.

We know that this training means staff feel better informed about Prevent processes in Waltham Forest and more confident identifying and referring individuals who may be vulnerable to radicalisation. We hope that this work will lead to an increase in relevant referrals to Channel.

**Channel** works with young people in the 'pre-criminal' space. It is a collaboration between local authorities, the police and other statutory partners such as education institutions, social services, children's and youth services and offender management services. These partners work with the local community to identify individuals at risk of being drawn into violent extremism, assess the nature and extent of that risk, and then develop the most appropriate support for the individuals concerned. As with all Prevent work, Channel is a consensual process and is firmly rooted in safeguarding procedures.



# FOCUSED ENFORCEMENT

We know that radicalisation does not just occur in schools, and that people with extremist views will try to use borough venues to spread their message. Our focused enforcement work is about providing support and information to private and community venues, including council buildings, around the threat of extremist bookings and how they can help mitigate that threat. It is focused on the activities of proscribed groups and individuals who are actively breaking the law.

This main element of this work is the **Premises Protocol**, developed by the Council with Fida Management. This support ensures that bookings staff and managers feel better informed of our Prevent processes and are able to use the bookings procedure to ensure community space is not hired out to individuals or groups who may be intending to use it for a malicious purpose.

Another element of our focused enforcement work is around leafleting in community spaces. When proscribed groups try to distribute extremist materials in town centres, we make sure council staff are aware of their powers to disrupt this activity.

In 2014 Waltham Forest Council was the first local authority in the country to obtain a five year pan-London Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO) against an individual promoting extremist views in the local community. This order has imposed a range of restrictions including preventing them from being in possession of extremist leaflets in public places, associating with known affiliates and entering education institutions without permission. Our relationships and contacts in the community were crucial in making this happen.

## Case Study 2: Jack

**J**ack is a young person that converted to Islam whilst in prison. On release, Jack obtained an apprenticeship and worked towards staying out of trouble whilst developing his understanding of Islam. Jack regularly attended a local mosque and supported that learning on the internet. He soon came across social media sites that triggered his anger at the treatment of Muslims in places such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and Syria. Jack wanted to do something to change the plight of his Muslim brothers and sisters and found support amongst his friends. He started attending meetings. A family member brought the issue to an ACF outreach worker. Jack was

then invited to attend a number of personal development and ideology workshops at ACF. There he expressed some challenging beliefs and spoke of his support for Muslims to apply Sharia law. The plan ACF put in place enabled Jack to articulate his concerns in a manner that did not frustrate him. They allowed him to develop his arguments and then hold discussions with the likes of representatives from the United States Embassy. In doing so, Jack began to become aware of the negative impact that his rhetoric would have on the very community he wanted to assist. With support from ACF's staff, Jack progressed into employment and is now married. He now works to support other young people.

“

I'm proud of our Prevent programme in Waltham Forest, particularly those projects we have developed with our schools and community. However the risk has never been greater, with complex and ever changing national and international events. This makes it ever more important for partners at all levels to share information and work together, and it is incumbent on us all to work with colleagues around London and nationally to share what we have learned and build upon good practice everywhere.

”

Martin Esom, Chief Executive Waltham Forest Council, Chair of the London Prevent Board

“

As Waltham Forest Borough Commander, I have been delighted to be part of the Prevent Steering Group. It is a privilege to witness first-hand the excellent work being carried out by the Prevent team in delivering so many engagement programmes within the communities of Waltham Forest. Their hard work and dedication has resulted in the Waltham Forest model being upheld as best practice across London and the UK.

”

Mark Collins, Waltham Forest Borough Commander

## Case Study 3: Nazima

**N**azima regularly attended the ACF centre for advice and guidance. At one of these meetings she expressed an interest in the work staff were doing around extremist recruitment. This triggered a concern and she opened up to staff about her two brothers who are in gangs. Her concern was not their criminal behaviour but the fact that they were now trying to justify to their friends that this behaviour was sanctioned according to a 'state of war' mentality. She was of the view that her brothers were being radicalised. The brothers were part of a gang that ACF engage with regularly. They decided to organize a FIFA tournament in order to get a group of the gang members

to come along to the centre. This gave ACF an opportunity to assess the situation before potentially referring the issue. In discussions with the gang it became clear that there was an individual meeting them in the streets and trying to attract them to meetings aimed to radicalise opinion. This individual was already known to ACF and they set about a course of action to reduce his impact on the young men in the gang. Part of this was to provide the entire gang with the awareness about the steps of recruitment, including empowering them with counter narratives. ACF continues to work with the young men and their families.



## GET IN CONTACT

We will be continuing this work over the course of the next year and always welcome your comments and input. Please get in contact, email:

Community Safety Team – [communitysafety@walthamforest.gov.uk](mailto:communitysafety@walthamforest.gov.uk)

Active Change Foundation – [enquiries@activechangefoundation.org](mailto:enquiries@activechangefoundation.org)

Fida – [enquiries@fidamanagement.com](mailto:enquiries@fidamanagement.com)

From the Leader of the council

Our Ref: Leader/2015-05/016



Tuesday, 12 May 2015

Joanne McCartney AM  
Chair of the Police & Crime Ctte  
GLA  
City Hall  
London, SE1 2AA



Dear Joanne,

### Preventing Extremism

Thank you for your letter of 16 April 2015 in which you asked local authorities for their views about the delivery of Prevent at local level. I have already responded in my role as London Councils Executive Member for Crime and Community Protection on the proposal for a London-wide board. As leader of Lambeth council, I want to set out some of the areas where the board might assist local delivery, based on our experiences as a priority area for Prevent.

Lambeth is fully committed to tackling extremism and radicalisation. We have long experience as one of the original Prevent priority local areas and also a pilot area for the Channel programme. We share the government's view, as set out in the statutory guidance that underpins the Counter Terrorism and Security Act, that Lambeth and other local authorities have much to contribute to reducing the risk of radicalisation, particularly amongst vulnerable young people.

In order to fully achieve this vision, we think that the proposed board could usefully address the following:

- **Resources:** The additional resource implications of this work remain a serious concern. Funding for local authority Prevent work has been significantly reduced since the introduction of the revised strategy in 2011.
- **Local flexibility:** Local authorities need to retain the flexibility to respond to local risks and concerns. The current government approach to Prevent delivery and monitoring risks becoming too proscriptive and top down, making it more difficult to engage citizens in longer term action to tackle extremism and radicalisation.
- **Pan-London working:** We need local flexibility but also to work more effectively across London when required. Much has already been achieved at officer

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

level, but there is a case for a stronger political voice for local authorities to champion this agenda and to engage with government.

I hope that these comments will be helpful as the board's potential role continues to develop.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Lib Peck". The letters are cursive and fluid.

**Cllr Lib Peck**  
Leader of the London Borough of Lambeth  
[lpeck@lambeth.gov.uk](mailto:lpeck@lambeth.gov.uk)

## **London Borough of Bexley**

In relation to the call for evidence by the Police and Crime Committee around violent extremism as attached please see the response from the London Borough of Bexley. We appreciate the deadline has passed and this may not be considered.

### **What organisations you are engaging with in delivering activities aimed at preventing extremism, particularly how you work currently with the Met Police and MOPAC?**

London Borough of Bexley meet monthly with the Met Police Prevent and Engagement Officer (PEO) which we share with Greenwich. We also meet quarterly with PEO's and Prevent local authority leads from Greenwich and Kent to share best practice and look at up and coming events. London Borough of Bexley provide a reactive service by chairing, co-ordinating and arranging multi agency meetings to discuss cases that have been referred to the Channel panel. These meetings are usually held monthly where various organisations are invited such as Children's Social Care, Schools, Probation, Police, Registered Social Landlords and others that may be relevant to the individual referred.

### **What the new statutory Prevent duty will mean for your Borough and the level of support you have so far received from the Home Office in meeting it**

London Borough of Bexley are not aware of any support from the Home Office apart from notification of the duty and guidance notes. Bexley is not a designated Prevent Borough and therefore receives no Funding or support to deliver the new duty. London Borough of Bexley have always called Channel panel meetings with relevant agencies to discuss referrals and in the past these have been mainly adult related. However with the recent Working Together to Safeguard Children legislation we are starting to see an increase in young people being referred to the Channel panel and also an increase in expectation and requests for assistance and support from Children's Services, related agencies and schools. Consequently, this will be an increasing agenda for the Borough's Community Safety staff who have a lead role in coordinating multi agency panels and who are preparing to provide additional training and awareness to schools to assist them in meeting the new statutory Prevent duty and also consider how we align with assessments carried out under the Children's Act. The duty will enhance current practices and will mean that local policy will need to be reviewed to ensure it links with the adult and children's safeguarding policy. WRAP sessions for Head Teachers, Social workers and other professionals are in early planning stages. An e-mail has been sent to Home Office asking if there are plans for 'train the trainer' sessions for the Wrap training as there is likely to be an increase on demand of the prevent and engagement officers.

### **What the objectives and priorities of a London-wide Board to oversee Prevent should be.**

The Board should have a specific objective to consider how it can provide support to non-prevent Boroughs to help them deliver the new duty. This could be by sharing of best practice across all Boroughs/areas and by sharing pan London resources or providing funding opportunities to support local delivery.

Regards

Mark Usher

Project Officer  
London Borough of Bexley

## **Prevent Submission for London Assembly Police and Crime Committee - Prevent investigation– Imran Awan**

What should the objectives and priorities of a London-wide Board to oversee Prevent be?

### **Key Summary Recommendations**

The London-wide Board must do the following:

1. Provide transparency around Prevent. This must be much focus on operational methods in which Prevent is used. This means allowing the wider public the opportunity to understand and oversee the rationale behind the guidance of Prevent.
2. Begin a process of engagement that can help remove the 'suspect' community label that has been associated with the Muslim community.
3. Young people must be empowered to engage politically in society. This means Prevent should be used more at a grassroots level. It must help build focus on this through engagement programmes with all communities.
4. Communities should be able to speak openly about their identity and belonging. This means allowing them safe spaces both online and offline and could be through the use of a webpage. Furthermore, this means supporting and creating those safe spaces and giving communities the opportunity to provide feedback and working together.
5. The board should also look at the wider impact of racism, victimisation and anti-Muslim hatred upon communities. Prevent should be focused not just on preventing people becoming terrorists but understanding these wider elements which should also be part of Prevent and working out how to tackle and prevent racism and the other issues mentioned here.
6. Policing and counter-terrorism work (OSCT) and Prevent should be detangled. Sadly, the notion and links between the prism of security and policing in particular has led to some communities feeling they are officially under suspicion.
7. Reinforcing messages of the rule of Law, democracy and liberty. This should be promoted and Prevent should attempt to create this shared language. This includes using British values or the 'big society' vision as a share common goal.

8. Looking for positive connotations and role models is required and also equipping young people with these skills.
9. Empowering local communities which means promoting free speech and creating a safe space for dialogue.
10. Using technology to create a counter-narrative. Getting communities to work together on social messaging and building resilience based activities. For example, better understanding of faith such as the 'Not in my Name' campaign. This can be overseen through a digital revolution and videos.
11. Creating long-term objectives of supporting people through identity programs (role play exercise).
12. Using group based forums owned by communities (goals and outputs). Deconstructing online extremist views.
13. Increasing resilience of communities to engage with and resist violent extremists by effectively dealing with grievances.
14. Following Woolwich there is an excellent opportunity for the government to ensure it does not simply focus on Muslim communities and this could be achieved with a more robust research evidence base which helps improve understanding the causes of extremism and radicalisation including issues with the far right. Such a policy would examine the various socio-economic, racial, ethnic and cultural barriers that exist between law enforcement agencies and Muslim communities.
15. Policy should focus on ensuring the police are given better training and understand cultural sensitivities when dealing with Muslim communities which would help rebuild trust.
16. This could include preparing information and circulating the advice about the opinions of Muslim groups to local government departments and the police which would highlight sensitivities surrounding certain facts since the 'war on terror.' This could be done through a media advertisement or a special programme dedicated to understanding different religions and viewpoints.
17. There also needs to be greater awareness amongst politicians about the concerns of Prevent and the notion of Islamophobia in relation to it. Therefore a policy which helps improve dialogue with Muslims and at the same time build leadership capacities within the community would be useful.
18. Furthermore, there is an urgent need to focus on getting a wide ranging opinion and view from British Muslim communities about future policy recommendations and ideas. This could be through the use of focus groups

and interviews with Muslims groups, charities and various other stakeholders who would explore and investigate the sensitive issues such as UK domestic and foreign policy. This could include working more closely with groups such as the Muslim Contact Unit, Tell MAMA, Islamic Relief (UK) and MCB (Muslim Council of Britain) which could help foster dialogue and accountability.

19. Community engagement and liaison could help in a number of ways. For example, by creating positive group based activities for young people which the Prevent strategy acknowledges can help to build resilience and as such support those young and vulnerable people who may be at risk of being radicalised. Community liaison may also take the form of one-to-one mentoring and targeted support through the use of community mentors whom the community respect and whom they can trust. Members of the community can also act as key role models and therefore help to raise awareness of problems and issues raised around extremism. They can also give young people the important space where they can discuss their faith, identity and raise genuine concerns without fear of prosecution.
20. The response to the concerns of Muslims about anti-terror laws should be examined further and ensure that police counter-terror arrests are evidenced based and proportionate to the risk.
21. Another way forward for Prevent is for it to be more transparent and fair which could help ease community tensions and at the same time a policy aimed at de-glamorising the notion of extremism and terrorism would help young people become less vulnerable to Al-Qaeda/Isis propaganda and indoctrination.
22. There should be a multi-faceted approach which deals with the root causes of radicalisation. Such initiatives could involve British Muslims talking to former counter-terrorist offenders who have been rehabilitated after serving a prison sentence and are able to openly express and challenge such views. This would allow more empowerment of Muslims in this debate and at the same time allow them to voice their opinions. Indeed, a new policy on Prevent should also look at helping use positive Muslim role models and empowering communities to raise their opinions. Prevent and the words Engage perhaps should be used more.



## **London Borough of Tower Hamlets**

1. The staffing and governance structures for Prevent in place in your borough;

Delivering Prevent sits within the remit of the Community Plan Delivery Group for 'A Safe and Cohesive Community' (our local Community Safety Partnership).

The Prevent Programme Board, chaired by the Service Head for Community Safety, operates as a distinct board with responsibility for delivering the Prevent work and monitoring the threat from extremist organisations and groups. Membership is as follows: officers from Community Safety, Parental Services, Youth Service, Tower Hamlets Police, Prevent Team at SO15 in the Metropolitan Police and NHS Tower Hamlets.

The Community Cohesion Contingency Planning and Tension Monitoring Group (CCCPTMG), chaired by the Service Head for Corporate Strategy and Equality, acts both as an operational tension monitoring group and as the Project Assurance Board for the Prevent Programme. This includes independent monitoring of the programme's performance and provides a mechanism to ensure that all stakeholder needs and expectations are being met and managed. Membership is as follows: representatives from the Interfaith Forum, the London Muslim Centre, the Council of Mosques, Rainbow Hamlets, Tower Hamlets College, the Tower Hamlets Housing Forum, Metropolitan Police, LBTH Youth Services, LBTH Community Safety, LBTH Communications, , LBTH Corporate Safety and Civil Protection and LBTH One Tower Hamlets.

We have one full time Prevent Programme Manager and a full time Prevent Education Officer.

2. The organisations you engage with in delivering Prevent, and how you currently work with the Met Police and MOPAC;

Since 2012, we have worked alongside the following partners:

London Tigers

Faith Associates

Ocean Somali Community Organisation

Mile End Community Project

Tower Hamlets Cricket Club,

Soul FC

Council of Mosques

Association of Islamic Teachers

RecoRa

Peace Project

The Met Police are members of the Prevent Board and also sit on our Prevent Safeguarding Panels alongside S015.

3. What the new statutory Prevent duty will mean for your Borough, and the level of support you have so far received from the Home Office in meeting it; and

There was some concern from community groups, namely Muslim faith groups, which felt the Prevent duty would stigmatise the Muslim community. There was some misunderstanding about what the Duty would entail.

The Duty has helped to ensure that key stakeholders such as local schools are engaging in Prevent activities. The Home Office guidance was helpful in addressing misunderstandings of the bill.

## London Borough of Lewisham

Lewisham currently employs a dedicated Prevent Manager and a Prevent Institutions Officer. These posts report to the Service Manager for Crime Reduction.

The prevent agenda sits within the responsibility of the Community Safety Partnership but also feeds into the children's safeguarding board and children's board.

The prevent board, chaired by the service manager for crime reduction has representation from a range of statutory agencies and community organisations. This board has worked together to develop provision and community engagement on Prevent throughout the borough.

Examples of work commissioned through this Board include:

- bespoke work with the Afghanistan and Central Asian Association who have developed and implemented a Muslim Women's Project
- Second Wave arts have developed a youth led drama production called Shadow Games - this has been very positively received and a number of schools have sent students to the viewings
- Development of a comic - led by students from a local college (This enables young people to begin better dialogue about issues of radicalisation)

The Council have also begun work on grooming across a number of issues including CSE, drug dealing and radicalisation. This work will open up an opportunity for young people across Lewisham, alongside young people from a number of European countries to have an international conversation about on line grooming.

Through the Prevent institutions officer we have delivered WRAP training to teachers across most of Lewisham's schools and worked with schools to update their safeguarding policies and enabling teachers to feel better equipped to discuss the issues of radicalisation.

We work closely with the home office and meet regularly about the work.

Improved links across agendas such as organised crime and prevent would assist.

The Crime Reduction Service works closely with the SO15 Channel officers on cases of those vulnerable to radicalisation.

The Prevent board for London would benefit from understanding the wider context of issues and risks for young people. Transition issues from young to young adults appear to be of note and what systems are in place for this

Prevent need to look at wider community cohesion issues and impact of current approaches and issues around terrorism and its effect on children - consideration about how communities see the agenda and requirements for funding is an important consideration to avoid alienation.

A regional approach to schools would benefit all

For a local borough having better joined up approach from the Met Police's many departments dealing with different strands of CT would assist us in our local understanding but also our approach. There is lack of info sharing and clarity about what the local issues are through the CTLP with for example no discussion about locations of concern.



Executive Director for City  
Management and Communities:  
**Stuart Love**

This matter is being dealt with by:  
**Stuart Love**

Direct line/Voicemail: 0207 641 7940  
Email: [slove@westminster.gov.uk](mailto:slove@westminster.gov.uk)

28 May 2015

Ms Joanne McCartney  
Chair of the Police and Crime Committee  
London Assembly  
Greater London Authority  
City Hall  
The Queen's Walk  
LONDON SE1 2AA

Dear Joanne

**LONDON ASSEMBLY POLICE AND CRIME COMMITTEE CALL FOR EVIDENCE - PREVENT**

Many thanks for your letter dated 24 April 2015 regarding preventing extremism and the specific request for information concerning the four points you raise.

There are two full-time officers who work within Prevent in Westminster. Governance is provided by the tri-borough Prevent Steering Group. The Council's Executive Management Team provides strategic direction and oversight for CONTEST as a whole, including Prevent. The Safer Westminster Partnership has recently chosen CONTEST as a strategic priority and will therefore also play a role in oversight and delivery of partnership activity across CONTEST, including Prevent.

We engage with a wide range of local organisations, particularly the voluntary sector. We are developing closer relationships with Health and Probation services. Frontline relationships with the police are positive and supportive, both from a Borough and a SO15 perspective. We would like to see more communication and engagement from the MPS around pan-London or national Prevent initiatives. Previously, this has not been done and opportunities for effective partnership and joined up local delivery have been missed. Similarly communication, consultation and engagement from decision makers within SO15 regarding Prevent Case Management or Channel processes and protocols needs to improve significantly. Westminster does not work with MOPAC on CONTEST or Prevent.

As an existing Prevent priority area, with an established Prevent programme, the proposals and changes set out will not have a significant impact on the delivery of Prevent work in the City. Overall the contents of the statutory guidance are likely to facilitate and improve the delivery of Prevent within Westminster.

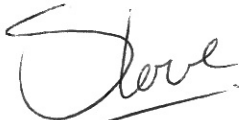
Continued/....

Westminster has recently made combatting extremism and terrorism a priority for our Community Safety Partnership and we will be taking forward specific actions at an operational level to deliver against this priority. In order to further our understanding and ability to respond to threats which manifest themselves locally, we also recently announced that Westminster will run a Community Cohesion Commission. The Commission will consider the effectiveness of existing approaches to identify and work with children and young people who may be vulnerable to harmful behaviours. Further, it will review levels of community cohesion, develop specific proposals, which improve the ability of local public services and communities to respond to risks and consider the new Prevent Duty. It is therefore important that what is created at a pan-London level to consider approaches to preventing extremism takes account of what is already happening at a local level. There are however, two specific areas where a pan-London governance structure could add value:

- Links with related services which currently operate at a level beyond individual borough boundaries, for example Probation and health services.
- Ensuring better strategic links between the Metropolitan Police and local authorities on prevent and wider CONTEST issues. This should include establishing consistent approaches to data and intelligence sharing between agencies.

As part of your deliberations on the establishment of a pan-London CONTEST Board, I would also urge that you take into account the work of the London Prevent Board which already operates at this level in a similar space, albeit with a narrower focus.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Stuart Love', with a stylized flourish at the end.

**STUART LOVE**  
**EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR (CITY MANAGEMENT AND COMMUNITIES)**

Community, Health and Well-being Directorate

Joanne McCartney AM, Chair of the Police  
and Crime Committee  
London Assembly  
The Queen's Walk  
London  
SE1 2AA

29<sup>th</sup> May 2015

Dear Ms McCartney

## Re: London Assembly – Preventing Extremism

**Harrow is not a Prevent 'priority area' and as such the local authority receives no Home Office funding for this area of work.**

- **The staffing and governance structures for Prevent in your borough**

### **Governance:**

Safer Harrow (the local Community Safety Partnership) has overview of the Prevent area of work, with linkages on this agenda with the Local Safeguarding Children's Board and the Local Safeguarding Adults Board.

### **Staffing:**

As Harrow is not a priority area there is no designated Home Office Prevent funding for Prevent work in Harrow, as such there is no post solely funded for Prevent. All of the below mentioned officers undertake Prevent work and are Council funded posts. Competing demands on time mean that Prevent is not an exclusive focus:

- The Senior Professional for Community Cohesion (a Council funded post) is the lead officer for Prevent within the Local authority, and leads on Prevent engagement with the wider community, education providers, the Police, the Home Office and the London Prevent Coordinators Working Group etc. The Senior Professional for Community Cohesion is the principal line of communication within the local authority on changes to legislation, guidance, Channel, WRAP training and security updates, and is the Council representative on the monthly problem-solving panel meetings with Harrow Police and SO15.

Harrow is not a Prevent priority area yet the Prevent duty applies to equally to Harrow as other London boroughs (and authorities nationally). Harrow neighbours priority areas (Brent, Ealing and Barnet) and as such often liaises on cross-borough issues.

As there is no designated Home Office funded Prevent post in the borough the local authority Prevent lead is dealing with competing demands on time meaning that Prevent is not an exclusive focus. Clearly the new Prevent duty means that there is extensive demand for training, support and guidance locally.

The local authority will also be undertaking a risk assessment and drawing up an action plan – guidance and support around this would be helpful.

There has been limited support from the Home Office as Harrow is not a designated priority area. There is no direct funding for posts or project work. The support that has been received has mainly been information updates via the London Prevent Network (now London Prevent Coordinator's Working Group), rather than directly from the Home Office.

- **What the objectives and priorities of a London-wide Board to oversee Prevent should be**

It would be helpful to establish whether this would be the exiting London Prevent Board. If not, then how any new arrangement would fit in with the current arrangements.

In respect of objectives and priorities it would be helpful if the London-wide Board could assist with:

- 1) Resources to be able to meet the new duty
- 2) Awareness raising with Members and Senior Officers
- 3) The sharing of best practice
- 4) Quality and timeliness of information sharing and intelligence
- 5) Training

Yours sincerely



**Marianne Locke**  
**Divisional Director – Community & Culture**



**LONDON ASSEMBLY POLICE AND CRIME COMMITTEE INQUIRY INTO  
PREVENTING EXTREMISM**

**Memorandum from the City of London Corporation**

*Submitted by the Office of the City Remembrancer*

1. Radicalisation presents a real risk to communities across London. The City of London has experienced the consequences of radicalisation first-hand in recent years, including the bombing of the London Underground at Aldgate in 2005 and marches by far-right organisations in 2014. Prominent examples of radicalisation have also occurred in immediately neighbouring boroughs, notably the grooming of several schoolchildren by an international terrorist group in 2015.
2. The Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 places the City of London Corporation, in its capacity as a local authority and as a police authority, under a duty to have “due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism”—the ‘Prevent’ duty. The duty has required the City Corporation to take measures to raise awareness of Prevent, and to embed the duty within its existing activities. The City Corporation’s non-local authority functions, such as its management of open spaces and venues across London, are not subject to the statutory prevent duty. Nevertheless, the City Corporation has adopted a Prevent strategy which goes beyond the statutory requirements of the 2015 Act by seeking to counter extremism across the full range of the City Corporation’s functions and activity.
3. Compliance with the Prevent duty and implementation of the City’s Prevent strategy is led by the City of London’s existing Community Safety Team, which works closely with the City of London Police. As a non-priority area, the City of London receives no funding from central government to undertake the additional work required to comply with the duty—compliance must be carried out within existing resources.

***Prevent Work of the City of London Corporation***

4. The City Corporation aims to have due regard to preventing extremism across all areas of its work, irrespective of the scope of the statutory duty. For example, the City of London Corporation is responsible for a number of public venues and spaces. These range from major cultural attractions such as the Barbican Centre and Tower Bridge to community halls, libraries and large open spaces such as Hampstead Heath and Epping Forest. The City of London Corporation is working to ensure that its venues and their facilities (such as public ICT equipment) do not provide a platform for extremism and are not used to disseminate extremist views.
5. An essential component of the City Corporation’s Prevent strategy is focused on ensuring that safeguarding leads and other key staff across the organisation are aware of the Prevent duty and the City’s Prevent strategy and receive role-appropriate training on the requirements it imposes. For example, staff involved in letting venues are being trained to incorporate Prevent duty considerations into their booking procedures. Similarly Prevent considerations are being incorporated into procurement arrangements.

6. The City Corporation works with the City of London Police and other partners to raise awareness and understanding of Prevent amongst businesses, employees, residents and schools. The City of London's Community Safety Team and City Police's Prevent Engagement Team work together to deliver WRAP training (workshops raising awareness of Prevent), designed by the Home Office, to businesses, education establishments and staff within City Corporation departments. The training looks at what makes a person susceptible to the risk of radicalisation.
7. The City Corporation has built strong relationships with its resident and community interest groups over many years. For example, officers regularly take part in Bengali community awareness days and provide support to an Islamic women's group. The Corporation aims to utilise these existing relations and structures to counter extremism and radicalisation. In a recent example of this work, the City of London Police's Prevent Engagement Team arranged a Prevent workshop specifically aimed at preventing young Muslims from travelling to Syria. The majority of participants were mothers from the Muslim community.
8. The City's worker population is far larger than its resident population—around 400,000 workers compared to around 9,500 residents. It is important, therefore, for the City Corporation to use its strong connections with the business community to raise awareness of radicalisation and prevent extremism. The City of London Police have delivered WRAP training in local businesses, and will continue to utilise existing links with programmes such as Project Griffin and Project Argus—two existing counter-terrorism initiatives—and the Safer City Partnership's Hotel Forum, which provides a platform to raise awareness with the hotelier industry across the City.

### ***Governance Structures in Place***

9. In order to counter radicalisation and extremism effectively, the City of London cannot act in isolation. The City will continue to make use of the existing Safer City Partnership—the City of London's crime and disorder reduction partnership—and Strategic Resilience Forum to co-ordinate Prevent activity amongst partner organisations. The Safer City Partnership involves representation from the City of London Corporation, the City of London Police, London Fire Brigade, Public Health, National Probation Service, British Transport Police, Transport for London, Community Rehabilitation Company, Her Majesty's Court Service, the British Bankers Association, Crime Prevention Association and residents. At an operational level, a Prevent Partnership group will be formed to carry out the actions of the Prevent Delivery Plan and assess potential risks.
10. Under Section 36 of the Counter Terrorism and Security Act 2015 the City is required to undertake a process of risk assessment and support for any individual identified at risk of becoming radicalised using a multi-agency Channel Panel. The City of London Channel Panel core membership consists of the Prevent leads from the Community Safety Team and City of London Police and will be chaired by the City's Community Safety Manager.

***August 2015***

# IMPLEMENTING PREVENT: FROM A COMMUNITY-LED TO A GOVERNMENT-CENTRED APPROACH

*A consultation for London Assembly and MOPAC*



**FAITH MATTERS**

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**Implementing Prevent:  
from a community-led to a  
Government-centred approach**

**A consultation for London Assembly and  
MOPAC**

**Faith Matters**

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Bharath Ganesh

30 June 2015

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## Summary and recommendations:

This report argues that the current Prevent strategy's centralised and top-down deployment markedly reduces local capacity to find tailored solutions that make sense in for a given community. The strategy's move away from community engagement to a centralised approach is not likely to assemble the necessary resources, partners and stakeholders to address the above concern. This is in part due to a fixation on ideology and religiosity as a proxy measure for 'radicalisation'. There is little evidence that ideology and religiosity lead to a propensity for political violence. This gap makes community partnership in delivering Prevent difficult and hotly contested. This focus on ideology will alienate useful partners that have the reach, penetration and information to actively challenge extremism. Further, the fixation on 'ideology' and 'non-violent extremism' will alienate Muslim communities who under the previous Prevent agenda were able to access spaces to express dissenting voices. The danger today is that these spaces will be suffocated, along with space for dissenting voices.

In particular, the approach taken in the current strategy is centralised, focused on disrupting extremists and runs the risk of deteriorating the healthy liberal public sphere crucial to countering violent, extremist views. Local actors can play an important role by pushing to incorporate Muslim voices in the process and review of Prevent.

While making Prevent leaner and more focused is commendable, this review has not been done in dialogue with Muslim communities. Rather, the strategy was redeveloped through centralised decision-making structures.

In essence, the move in the strategy is one away from addressing radicalisation through communities, securitising them instead of treating them as partners and leaders. Where Prevent implementation was previously conducted in partnership with the local Muslim community, the new strategy clearly sees Muslim organisations and institutions as targets and recipients of training without any capacity on their own to challenge extremist views rather than equal stakeholders in countering-terrorism.

## Key Recommendations

- Encourage the Metropolitan Police Service to focus Channel referrals on clear cases of illegal, violent speech and use alternative measures such as working with families for cases of 'non-violent extremism' or deviation from 'British values'.
- During the commissioning process for the CTLP, ensure that the Local Authority representative has consulted with various community groups from all faith groups and is able to represent their voice and ensure that the CTLP commissioning process benefits from a balanced approach.

- Encourage the Metropolitan Police Service to engage with and be aware of the dynamics of Muslim communities and work with them to tackle anti-Muslim hate and intra-Muslim tensions, viewing them as real partners and not through a simple securitisation agenda.
- Local authorities should engage with groups critical of Prevent without funding them. Their views should be taken seriously when planning Prevent projects alongside a diversity of other voices.
- Ensure that safe spaces for young people to voice their opinions are available without fear of referral to Channel.
- Universities must have clear policies about speakers but also err on the side of freedom to debate and challenge, teaching students how to challenge views in a nuanced and critical manner.
- The pool of authorised Prevent providers must be widened to more diverse voices to produce local solutions. Local authorities should be able to work with a variety of partners to provide balanced and effective training to any individuals tasked with exercising the Prevent duty.

## I. Introduction

The Prevent strategy has a significant impact on community policing and counter-terrorism in London. The strategy was initially deployed in 2007 by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), outlined in a report titled *Preventing violent extremism: winning hearts and minds*. The strategy was communities-focused, evidenced by the types of projects funded under the Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) Pathfinder Fund and the projects funded after 2007 under Prevent. Since the change in government in 2010, the Home Office, led by Theresa May MP, significantly revised the strategy. The Prevent strategy in 2011 is more risk-based and heavily reliant upon police resources. Further, it is being delivered by the Home Office and not DCLG.

It is necessary for police, government, and public authorities to challenge and counter violent extremism, but in the Prevent strategy's current form, community leadership is secondary to an approach led by the government. Rather than engaging communities, the strategy fixates on ideology and deviance from 'British values' to identify so-called 'extremists' for police and governmental intervention. This policy perspective is based on a theorisation of radicalisation as a religious and political process rather than one related specifically to violence. Instead of understanding the decisions a terrorist makes to take violent action, the strategy seeks to use religiosity, political beliefs, and specific interpretations of Islam as a proxy for approval of political violence. This has led the strategy to identify 'extremism' as both violent and non-violent and presents serious concerns to civil liberties and blurs the lines between religious conservatism and violent extremism.<sup>1</sup>

Little evidence is available for the theory that Islamism ultimately leads a person to political violence; the picture is likely more complicated:

'Most British Muslim groups came out of youth movements originally attached to Islamist organisations. These groups, almost unanimously, expressly support the development of an indigenous, British Muslim identity...[the suggestion] that all types of an undefined "Islamism" leads to terrorism resonates with a McCarthyism of the past'.<sup>2</sup>

The designation of certain groups as Islamists or 'non-violent extremists' presents a political risk to the strategy by alienating community partners.

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<sup>1</sup> See Klausen, J. (2010). "British Counter-Terrorism After 7/7: Adapting Community Policing to the Fight Against Domestic Terrorism". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35:3, p. 403-420; Spalek, B and MacDonald, L Z. (2010). "Terror Crime Prevention: Constructing Muslim Practices and Beliefs as 'Anti-Social' and 'Extreme' through CONTEST 2". *Social Policy and Society*, 9:1, p. 123-132.

<sup>2</sup> Hellyer, H. (2008). "Engaging British Muslim Communities in Counter-Terrorism Strategies". *The RUSI Journal*, 153:2, p. 10.



While the Prevent strategy acknowledges that community-led Prevent delivery has positive outcomes, the approach has been to regulate and centralise the groups that local authorities work with.<sup>3</sup>

We argue that the current strategy's centralised and top-down deployment markedly reduces local capacity to find tailored solutions that make sense for any community. This, we believe, creates barriers by excluding useful partners that can sustain Prevent work in the future. In particular, after the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 and the establishment of a Prevent duty, we have seen the erosion of the ownership local governments have over the implementation of Prevent.

While there are positive contributions that a Prevent programme can make—some of these are detailed in our case study on Tower Hamlets below—we feel that the step away from local solutions will impede attempts to prevent violent extremism.

The current implementation of the Prevent strategy identifies Muslims as the segment of the population most 'at risk' of terrorism,<sup>4</sup> leading some to claim that the strategy constructs Muslims as a 'suspect community'.<sup>5</sup> The recent shift in the strategy to a safeguarding framework in the Prevent duty may be a welcome change. However, the strategy's continued prioritisation of Muslims (despite mentions of far-right extremists) will not assuage the frustrations articulated by Muslim communities that have led to alienation and disengagement.<sup>6</sup> Given that the Prevent strategy is intended to counter terrorism and extremism where the government perceives that the greatest risk exists, it needs to ensure that Muslim voices are taken seriously when articulating concerns regarding how communities are affected by the implementation of the strategy. In general policing (assessed in the British Crime Survey), Muslims were likely to report a higher level of positive attitudes toward the police than non-Muslims.<sup>7</sup>

Prevent and other counter-terrorism policing measures, such as stop-and-search under Section 44 (now discontinued) and Schedule 7 of the Terrorism Act 2000 necessarily involves a level of racial profiling that has affected trust between Muslims and the

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<sup>3</sup> See point 6.64 in HM Government. (2011). *Prevent Strategy*. London: The Stationery Office, p. 35. What is concerning is that there is no evidence in the strategy as to which groups are considered extremist and why, outside of the notion that they do not stand up to British values, for which it appears the government is the arbiter. This is not circumscribed by law but rather defined by the Prevent strategy itself. While we agree that extremists—those that support violence and the separation of Muslims from British society—must not receive funding, non-violent groups may be able to make a positive contribution and their engagement in Prevent work could make a useful contribution even if they disagree with a particular political position. In fact, the Prevent strategy recognises this point with regards to organisations overseas: 'the criteria for funding are different from criteria for engagement (such as contact and dialogue). There may be cases where the Government judge that there is a need to engage with groups or individuals whom it would never choose to fund' (6.67, p. 35). This is made with explicit reference to groups overseas, but should as well be taken seriously at the domestic level as well.

<sup>4</sup> HM Government. (2011). *Prevent Strategy*. London: The Stationery Office

<sup>5</sup> Kundnani, A. (2009). *Spooked!: How not to prevent violent extremism*. London: Institute of Race Relations; Pantazis, C and Pemberton, S. (2009). "From the 'Old' to the 'New' Suspect Community." *British Journal of Criminology*, 49, p. 646-666.

<sup>6</sup> See Abbas, T and Siddique, A. (2012). "Perceptions of the processes of radicalisation and de-radicalisation among British South Asian Muslims in a post-industrial city". *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 18:1, p. 119-134; Hussain, Y and Bagguley, P. "Securitized citizens: Islamophobia, racism and the 7/7 London bombings". *The Sociological Review*, 60, p. 715-734; Lakhani, S. "Preventing Violent Extremism: Perceptions of Policy from Grassroots and Communities". *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 51:2, p. 190-206.

<sup>7</sup> Hargreaves, J. (2015). "Half a Story? Missing Perspectives in the Criminological Accounts of British Muslim Communities, Crime and the Criminal Justice System". *British Journal of Criminology*, 55:1, p. 19-38.

police.<sup>8</sup> This impact is likely limited; in fact, an ACPO study finds a diversity of opinions in Muslim communities about Prevent.

Young Muslim men hold a lower level of confidence in the police than others in the British Crime Survey (at a level similar to other young men),<sup>9</sup> but otherwise, Muslims are relatively positive about the police. The authors do find that top-down approaches are less likely to lead to successful outcomes, claiming ‘increasing direct community participation...is affording a more nuanced set of responses to particular risks, threats, and vulnerabilities’.<sup>10</sup> All the same, some qualitative research that explores counter-terrorism policing directly<sup>11</sup> points to frustrations among Muslim communities regarding counter-terrorism policing.<sup>12</sup> A high level of trust lends credence to the notion that Muslim communities can work positively with police to counter violent extremism.

However, the strategy’s move away from community engagement to a centralised approach is not likely to assemble the necessary resources, partners and stakeholders to address the above concerns.<sup>13</sup> Further, the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 establishes the Prevent strategy under statutory law (see Part 5). The CTS Act also establishes the Prevent duty, which significantly affects how local authorities will manage their commitments to implement Prevent.

The London Assembly and MOPAC have an opportunity to implement the Prevent strategy in a way that can have positive outcomes by learning from past experiences nationwide that stress the value of community engagement. However, the 2011 Prevent strategy fixates on ideology and religiosity at the expense of understanding propensity for violence. It is based on a highly particular set of models and theories of ‘radicalisation’ briefly reviewed in the next section. The strategy’s current fixation on ideology runs the risk of alienating and excluding potential partners that have the penetration and information needed to actively challenge extremism. Local actors pushing to incorporate Muslim voices in the process and review of Prevent can mitigate these problems to an extent.

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<sup>8</sup> Spalek, B. and Lambert, R. (2008). “Muslim communities, counter-terrorism and counter-radicalisation: A critically reflective approach to engagement”. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 36, p. 257-270.

<sup>9</sup> Innes, M, Roberts, C and Innes, H. (2011). *Assessing the Effects of Prevent Policing: A Report to the Association of Chief Police Officers*. Cardiff: Universities’ Police Science Institute, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 10.

<sup>11</sup> The report by Innes, et. al. above uses British Crime Survey (BCS) data which does engage in deep qualitative research, some of which has found that some Muslims do harbour deep frustrations with police services (evidenced in note 12). For methodological details on BCS question, see Innes, et. al., (2011), p. 51.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Awan, I. (2012). “‘I Am a Muslim Not an Extremist’: How the Prevent Strategy Has Constructed a ‘Suspect’ Community”. *Politics & Policy*, 40:6, p. 1158-1185; Awan, I. (2012). “The impact of policing British Muslims: a qualitative exploration”. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 7:1, p. 22-35; Choudhury, T and H Fenwick. (2011). “The impact of counter-terrorism measures on Muslim communities”. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology*, 25:3, 151-181; Thomas, P. “Between Two Stools? The Government’s ‘Preventing Violent Extremism’ Agenda”. *The Political Quarterly*, 80:2, p. 283.

<sup>13</sup> O’Toole, T, Jones, S, DeHanas D N, and T Modood. (2013). “Prevent after TERFOR: Why local context still matters”. *Public Spirit*, 16 December 2013.

## 2. Radicalisation theories and the Prevent strategy

Theories of radicalisation are at the foundation of the logic of the Prevent strategy. In this section, we provide an overview of ‘canonical’ theories of radicalisation and a literature review on radicalisation that challenges the assumptions made by the Home Office in the Prevent strategy.

Mark Sageman, one of the leading scholars on radicalisation and a former CIA analyst, stated in a 2013 interview that ‘the notion that there is any serious process called “radicalisation”, or indoctrination, is really a mistake’. Sageman, in the same interview is dismissive of a ‘conveyor belt’ process (described below), stating that the idea that non-violent extremists’ political discourse leads to terrorism is ‘nonsense’.<sup>14</sup> The fundamental premise of the 2011 Prevent strategy is unfortunately that a discrete radicalisation process exists. This is based on a number of studies—Sageman’s included—that posit a clear and observable ‘radicalisation’ process despite recent evidence suggesting otherwise.

### *Theories of ‘radicalisation’*

Three studies are widely cited in the literature on radicalisation and terrorism: an NYPD study that establishes the ‘conveyor belt’ theory, Mark Sageman’s seminal discussion on networks and terrorism, and Quintan Wiktorowicz’s ethnographic study of al-Muhajiroun. These theories significantly influenced counter-terrorism strategies globally.<sup>15</sup>

In this section, we briefly describe the contributions, merits, and problems with these theories of ‘radicalisation’.

The authors of the NYPD study, Mitchell Silber and Arvin Bhatt, provide a linear model of radicalisation, characterised as the ‘conveyor belt’ theory.<sup>16</sup> They argue that Muslim populations are specifically at risk because ‘enclaves of ethnic populations that are largely Muslim’ sow ‘the seeds of radical thought’.<sup>17</sup> A few years later evidence of this policy appeared: the American Civil Liberties Union and academics reported that the NYPD had disproportionately targeted Muslim-Americans for surveillance and data collection.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Hasan, M. (2013). “Woolwich Attack: Overreacting To Extremism ‘Could Bring Back Al Qaeda’ Ex CIA Officer Warns”. Huffington Post Politics (website). Accessed 3 June 2015.

<sup>15</sup> See Vallis, R., Y. Yang, and H. Abbass. (2007). ‘Disciplinary Approaches to Terrorism: A Survey’, Defence and Security Applications Research Centre (DSA), Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra: Unpublished manuscript; Silke, A. (2004). *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements & Failures*. London: Frank Cass; Franks, J. (2009). “Rethinking the Roots of Terrorism: Beyond Orthodox Terrorism Theory—A Critical Research Agenda”. *Global Society*, 23:2, p. 153-176; and Jackson, R. (2007). “The core commitments of critical terrorism studies”. *European Political Science*, 6, p. 244-251.

<sup>16</sup> Kundhani, A. (2015). *A Decade Lost: Rethinking Radicalisation and Extremism*. United Kingdom: Claystone.

<sup>17</sup> Silber, M. and Bhatt, A. (2007). “Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat”. New York: New York Police Department, p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> Patel, F. (2011). *Rethinking Radicalisation*. New York: Brennan Center for Justice at the New York University School of Law. See also Bazian, H. (2012). “Muslims – Enemies of the State: the New Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO)”. *Islamophobia*

However, while ‘radical thought’ somehow lives among ‘Muslims’ in Silber and Bhatt’s perspective, it is only when an individual identifies with ‘Salafi’ ideology that they will eventually become a terrorist.

Studies following Silber and Bhatt use empirical methods and the examination of large datasets to extrapolate trends and factors that contribute to radicalisation.<sup>19</sup>

These offer more nuanced approaches than the above but still have significant shortfalls in addressing decisions to engage in violence, focusing rather on factors related to ideology. The main idea in Silber and Bhatt’s study is that ‘Salafi’ ideology lives among Muslim communities, and when an individual identifies with this ideology, they will become a terrorist or approve of violent extremism. While the Prevent strategy of 2011 is more nuanced (see points 8.16 and 8.17), both focus on ideology rather than the conditions that lead an individual to violence.

Mark Sageman provides a significantly more sophisticated account of radicalisation but still relies on ‘Salafism’ as an ideological position that may lead to terrorist sympathies. Sageman uses network theories to argue that violent radicalisation occurs within small groups ‘where bonding, peer pressure, and indoctrination gradually changes the individual’s view of the world’.<sup>20</sup> This is a useful contribution because ideology (‘indoctrination’ in Sageman’s formulation) is one factor alongside non-discursive ones, including bonding and peer pressure. This suggests that networks and social milieu are equally important in the process by which an individual comes to accept violent forms of extremism. However, Sageman points to specific milieu such as Salafi Muslim communities that are ideologically problematic. While Sageman has usefully drawn our attention to non-ideological and emotive factors, the propensity for terrorism is located within a particular *interpretation* of Islam at the expense of asking what drives an individual or group to acts of violence.

Quintan Wiktorowicz, in his well-known book *Radical Islam Rising* reflects on his ethnographic research of al-Muhajiroun. He argues that the group uses outreach, demonstrations, information about Islam, and even exploit personal crises in order to make an individual more receptive to their message of radical ideology.<sup>21</sup> In doing so, he argues for radicalisation as a process of ‘cognitive opening’ that renders individuals amenable to radical ideology particularly when they are in the face of ‘deteriorating economic conditions, political repression, and cultural alienation’.<sup>22</sup> The focus on British values and extremism might amplify the sense of political repression and cultural alienation that recruiters such as some al-Muhajiroun activists feed on.

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Studies Journal, 1:1, p. 163-206; American Civil Liberties Union. (n.d.). “Factsheet: the NYPD Muslim Surveillance Program”. <<https://www.aclu.org/national-security/factsheet-nypd-muslim-surveillance-program>>. Accessed 3 June 2015.

<sup>19</sup> Gartenstein-Ross, D. and Grossman, L. (2009). *Homegrown Terrorists in the US and UK: an Empirical Examination of the Radicalization Process*. United States: Foundation for the Defense of Democracy; McCauley, C. and Moskalenko, S. “Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism”. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20:3, p. 415-433.

<sup>20</sup> Sageman, M. (2008). *Leaderless Jihad*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 84.

<sup>21</sup> Wiktorowicz, Q. (2005). *Radical Islam Rising*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., p. 92-93.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, p. 206.

While it is necessary to challenge these views, disrupting extremists before they spread ideas rather than challenging them in open debate might contribute to this cycle. For this reason, we stress that disruption should be a practice circumscribed by the law, reserved for violent extremists only, and conducted in consultation with the communities impacted.

The terms 'extremism' and radicalisation are highly contested and varied at local scales. As mentioned at the start of this section, Mark Sageman himself rejects radicalisation as a useful concept (in 2013 after the publication on the 2011 Prevent strategy). It is unfortunate that the Prevent strategy uses ideology as a primary factor, defining 'extremism' as opposition to 'British values'. The Prevent strategy assumes that if particular 'extremist' ideologies, milieu, and recruitment networks are proscribed, 'radicalisation' will not occur. This may compromise the critical input communities can provide if they are deemed 'extremist' or 'too radical' even if they reject the use of violence for political ends.

In fact, some evidence suggests that disengagement with non-violent groups that do not adhere to the 'muscular liberalism' of 'British values' is counter-productive.<sup>23</sup> A project in Lambeth, STREET (Strategy to Reach, Empower, and Educate Teenagers) lost funding after a briefing paper leaked to Charles Farr (Director of the Home Office's Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism) in 2010 'flagged up' organisations that '[shared] the ideology of terrorists'<sup>24</sup> despite the fact that some of these organisations were doing useful work in addressing and preventing radicalisation.<sup>25</sup> Charles Farr wrote in a letter after the murder of Drummer Lee Rigby in Woolwich,

Some of the blame has to be levelled at the new [coalition] government, they revised the agenda and cut funding to STREET, a credible outreach project assisting and guiding black converts and Muslim gang members. Ostensibly one of the Woolwich perpetrators were known to them... I strongly believe had their programme been operational the Woolwich incident could have been averted.<sup>26</sup>

Rachel Briggs suggests that the government's 'muscular liberalism' might cause the Prevent strategy to eschew partnerships with crucial community organisations because they do not adhere to the state's subjective and narrow definition of 'British values'.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> HM Government. (2011). *op. cit.* On page 108, '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.' For more details on this point, please see O'Toole, T, Jones, S, and D N DeHanas. (2012) "The New Prevent: Will it Work? Can it Work?". *Arches Quarterly*, 5:9, p. 56-62.

<sup>24</sup> Ahmed, NM. (2013). "UK's flawed counter-terrorism strategy". *Le Monde Diplomatique Blog*. December 2013.

<sup>25</sup> Barclay, J. (2011). "Strategy to Reach, Empower, and Educate Teenagers (STREET): A Case Study in Government-Community Partnership and Direct Intervention to Counter Violent Extremism". Policy brief. Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation.

<sup>26</sup> Ahmed, NM. (2013). *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> Briggs, R. (2010). "Community Engagement for counterterrorism: Lessons from the United Kingdom". *International Affairs*, 86:4, p. 971-981.

Radicalisation is itself highly contested.<sup>28</sup> The short literature review on approaches to extremism below explains factors beyond religiosity and ideology that lead to radicalisation.

These studies overwhelmingly demonstrate that radicalisation—an ambiguous, changing, and hotly contested term<sup>29</sup>—is easily misinterpreted when ideology because the primary focus.

### *Beyond 'radicalisation'—approaches to extremism*

Numerous scholars—Mark Sageman, a former CIA analyst and influential terrorism scholar—suggests that 'radicalisation' as a concept is highly contested.<sup>30</sup> Academic explorations of radicalisation and terrorism have provided useful insights into approaching the question of extremism through policy. Among the most important areas to examine are the social conditions and networks that encourage individuals to accept violent methods for political change. Currently, online networks play a major role in encouraging young people to engage with ISIS.<sup>31</sup> Approaches inspired by network theories, with Sageman as a starting point, are helpful in encouraging us to explore how global circuits of 'information' create 'echo chambers' that serve as 'criminogenic environments'.<sup>32</sup>

In terms of policy and the new Prevent duty, for example, a group of young people frequenting extremist Twitter accounts or websites might be considered 'at risk' of radicalisation and may be referred to Channel, should a local authority's Prevent panel deem it appropriate. However, in a liberal democracy, it is problematic to punish individuals for exercising their rights to freedom of speech and the freedom of assembly, even online; finding the balance around policing networks of extremists and fundamental freedoms is a significant challenge to local authorities and the Prevent policy can significantly benefit from input from different communities. Network theories are also relevant to offline interactions, with proximity to elites within terrorist networks having an important effect.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> O'Toole, T., Meer, N., Dehanas, D., Jones, S., and T. Modood. (2015). "Governing through Prevent? Regulation and Contested Practice in State-Muslim Engagement". *Sociology*, DOI: 0.1177/0038038514564437 (published online before print).

<sup>29</sup> Neumann, P. (2013). "The Trouble with Radicalization". *International Affairs*, 89:4, p. 873-893.

<sup>30</sup> See Heath-Kelley, C. (2012). "Counter-Terrorism and the Counterfactual: Producing the 'Radicalisation' Discourse and the UK PREVENT Strategy". *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 15, p. 394-415; Richards, A. (2011). "The problem with 'radicalization': the remit of 'Prevent' and the need to refocus on terrorism in the UK". *International Affairs*, 87:1, p143-152; Githens-Mazer, J and Lambert, R. (2010). "Why conventional wisdom on radicalization fails: the persistence of a failed discourse". *International Affairs*, 86:4, p. 889-901.

<sup>31</sup> Edwards, C and Gribbon, L. (2013). "Pathways to Violent Extremism in the Digital Era". *The RUSI Journal*, 158:5, p. 40-47; Saltman, E M and Smith, M. (2015). *'Til Martyrdom Do Us Part': Gender and the ISIS Phenomenon*. London: Institute for Strategic Dialogue; HM Government. (2013). *Tackling Extremism in the UK: Report from the Prime Minister's Task Force on Tackling Radicalisation and Extremism*. London: Cabinet Office; Saltman, E M and Russell, J. "White Paper-The Role of Prevent in Countering Online Extremism". London: Quilliam Foundation.

<sup>32</sup> See Neumann, P. (2013). "Options and Strategies for Countering Online Radicalization in the United States". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 36:6, p. 436; and Kirby, A. (2007). "The London Bombers as 'Self-Starters': A Case Study in Indigenous Radicalization and the Emergence of Autonomous Cliques". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30:5, p. 415-428. See also Sutherland, E. and Cressey, D. (1947). *Principles of Criminology*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Chicago: Chicago University Press in Neumann, P., op. cit., p. 436.

<sup>33</sup> McCauley, C. and Moskaleiko, S. op. cit., p. 419-420.

This is again an area where partnership, rather than alienation will be effective in supporting counter terrorist policing. Finally, networks have an important part to play in helping an individual identify and reinforce a particular ideology or set of beliefs. This opens a potential to reinforce the validity of political violence.<sup>34</sup>

While network thinking is useful in exploring how terrorists and violent extremists communicate and recruit, it does not sufficiently explain why or how an individual decides that violent action is an appropriate course. Some studies have attempted to address this by interviewing convicted terrorists and at-risk young people.<sup>35</sup>

This research noted that Silber and Bhatt's 'conveyor belt' theory falls short of describing radicalisation. Bartlett and Miller found that non-violent radicals are much more likely than terrorists to study theology while terrorists practised a 'pamphlet' version of Islam.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Aly and Striegler give an example of a would-be terrorist that decided against a violent attack *after* meeting Osama Bin Laden.<sup>37</sup> These two cases demonstrate that 'ideology' is much more fluid than canonical models of radicalisation suggest and that simply being involved in 'radical' discursive communities does not necessarily result in a commitment to political violence.

Approaches to radicalisation that focus on questions of identity are less-researched but possibly more fruitful in understanding propensity to violence. Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen explores a distinct 'French sociology' approach from thinkers Gilles Kepel, Farhad Khosrokhavar, and Olivier Roy that view radicalisation as a process by which 'individuals seek to reconstruct a lost identity in a perceived hostile and confusing world'.<sup>38</sup> Identity politics have been reviewed in radicalisation literature. For example, King and Taylor explain that discrimination and managing a hybrid identity can lead to radicalisation, though they note that an 'innumerable' amount of people manage these tensions without becoming violent extremists.<sup>39</sup> This suggests that identifying with a politics that challenges the Prevent strategy's definition of 'British values' does not equate to support for violence.

The current Prevent strategy fixates on ideology as the central component in determining an individual's propensity to engage in violent extremism. The brief review above demonstrates that networks and ideological 'echo chambers' play a part in support for the use of political violence.

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<sup>34</sup> Wickham, C. (2004). 'Interests, Ideas, and Islamist Outreach in Egypt' in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p. 232 in Gunning, J. (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 168. See also Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. (2010), *op. cit.*, p. 802.

<sup>35</sup> Bartlett, J. and Miller, C. (2012). "The Edge of Violence: Towards Telling the Difference Between Violent and Non-Violent Radicalization". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 24:1; Sloodman, M. and Tillie, J. (2006). *Processes of radicalisation. Why some Amsterdam Muslims become radicals*. Amsterdam: Institute for Migrations and Ethnic Studies, University of Amsterdam.

<sup>36</sup> Bartlett, J. and Miller, C. (2012). *op. cit.*, 9.

<sup>37</sup> Aly, A. and Striegler, J.L. (2012). "Examining the Role of Religion in Radicalization to Violent Islamist Extremism". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 35:12, p. 849-862

<sup>38</sup> Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. (2010). "Violent radicalisation in Europe: What we know and what we do not know". *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 33, 797-814.

<sup>39</sup> King, M. and Taylor, D. (2011). "The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 23:4, p. 602-622.

Further, other factors are reviewed such as identity and social exclusion. However, there is no clean process between engagement in an ideological milieu and the use of political violence. This is a gap in terrorism research; and delivery of Prevent should be conscious of the fact that the primary focus must remain on countering those who believe violence is the correct way forward; rather than scrutinise Muslims for their beliefs or ideologies even when they do not integrate into 'British values' (as are narrowly defined in the Prevent strategy).

### 3. Implementation of Prevent in London: Tower Hamlets

This section reviews the London Borough of Tower Hamlets and its implementation of Prevent.<sup>40</sup> Despite the growing literature on the Prevent strategy constructing Muslim communities as 'suspect' in security discourse,<sup>41</sup> very few studies have explored the local dynamics of Prevent implementations in the UK.<sup>42</sup> According to Floris Vermeulen, author of one of the few academic studies of Prevent in the borough, 'the community as a whole [seemed] to have large input in this process [implementing Prevent over 2008-2011], which probably lowers the stigmatizing effect on this form of suspect community'.<sup>43</sup>

Following the release of an updated Prevent strategy in 2011, the majority of Prevent funding has been distributed through the Home Office.<sup>44</sup> Since then, projects are clearly oriented towards disrupting violent and non-violent 'extremist' voices and engaging Muslims in 'theological interventions' based on determinations made by Prevent boards and the police.

These changes in the Prevent strategy's implementation in London demonstrate that after the 2011 policy shift, Prevent delivery and decision making will increasingly be delivered by the Office of Security and Counter-Terrorism (OSCT) at the Home Office,<sup>45</sup> which will play a major role in selecting which organisations get funded and collect intelligence on risks at a distance from communities.

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<sup>40</sup> Due to time constraints on the consultation response, the author was not able to make further FOI requests. This could be completed as part of further research into the effectiveness and failures of the Prevent strategy in London. There is very little information available, in FOI requests or otherwise, that makes Prevent action plans in London's borough readily available for projects taking place after 2011. Tower Hamlets and Lambeth have provided detailed responses, but other boroughs, such as Greenwich, have responded with virtually all information redacted. The lack of transparency and public scrutiny of Prevent further hampers the programme's efficacy as it is extremely difficult to make evidence-based arguments on how the policy can be improved. The information in this section comes from the FOI response from Tower Hamlets, FOI 11218. A 2008-2011 action plan is included, as are action plans from 2012-2015, which form the basis of the evidence presented in this section.

<sup>41</sup> Pantazis, C. and Pemberton, S. (2009), *op. cit.*; Githens-Mazer, J and Lambert, R. (2010), *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> See for example O'Toole, T., DeHanas, D., and T. Modood. (2012). "Balancing tolerance, security and Muslim engagement in the United Kingdom: the impact of the 'Prevent' agenda". *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 5:3, p. 373-389; Spalek, B., El Awa, S., and L. McDonald. (2008). *Police-Muslim Engagement and Partnerships for the Purposes of Counter-Terrorism: an examination*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham and Lewicki, A., O'Toole, T., and T. Modood. (2014). *Building the Bridge: Muslim Community Engagement in Bristol*. Bristol: Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship, University of Bristol.

<sup>43</sup> Vermeulen, F. (2014). "Suspect communities—Targeting Violent Extremism at the Local Level: Policies of Engagement in Amsterdam, Berlin, and London". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26:2, p. 297.

<sup>44</sup> HM Government. (2011). *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, p. 30.



The establishment of a statutory Prevent duty in 2015, when combined with this approach may further strain existing negative perceptions in response to previous incarnations of the strategy. However, incorporating community voices into this implementation may help to mitigate this gap.

The London borough of Tower Hamlets has been a Prevent priority borough since its inception. It received Prevent Pathfinder funding for 2007 and since then has received a significant amount of funding:

- 2007/2008: £98,200<sup>46</sup>
- 2008/2009: £365,000
- 2009/2010: £450,000
- 2010/2011: £534,000

After 2011, a number of discrepancies regarding funding seem to emerge in the Tower Hamlets borough Prevent plans and budgets. In response to an FOI request, the borough reports that £22,008.85 was in the budget in 2011/2012, £66,136.11 in 2012/2013, £292,375.27, and £363,498.47 allocated in 2014/2015.

However, these numbers are much lower than those reflected in Tower Hamlets' action plans, which report the following levels of funding:

- 2012/2013: £267,885
- 2013/2014: £445,137
- 2014/2015: £519,665

Data from 2011/2012 is missing 'due to substantial delays in the Home Office funding'. Below, we focus on the numbers above, reflected in the borough's action plans provided in response to an FOI request, as they refer to an itemised budget used to distribute Prevent funding to relevant activities in the borough.

Over 2008 to 2011, projects were overwhelmingly community focused. As the 2008-2011 action plan explains,

The approach we took in bidding against the fund was to propose a range of small scale projects that could be tied to the Government's objectives while fitting comfortably with broader efforts already underway to support local community development. Officers were particularly mindful of the need to avoid specifying projects that might in any way alienate the local community and of the need to acknowledge issues that were outside local government control, including the role of foreign policy as a grievance to young people.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> There is some discrepancy in this figure. It is claimed to be £98,200 in the letter response from the borough in the FOI, but in the action plan for 2008-2011, it reads £99,200 on page 11.

<sup>47</sup> 2008-2011 Action Plan, p. 14. In Tower Hamlets FOI response 11218.

Projects funded during this period were often community-oriented, looking to develop forums and spaces for discussion that challenged extremist views.

A wide range of Muslim community organisations took Prevent funding and developed useful spaces for Muslims to engage.

This funding engaged a diverse group of partners, delivering media training, support, and debate training led by the Cordoba Foundation, a Muslim Youth Council established by the London Muslim Centre, and work supporting various mosques for capacity building projects and interfaith work.<sup>48</sup>

According to a report by the Tavistock Institute, these programmes were successful in addressing some of the structural causes of terrorism in the borough. The Tavistock Institute found that these programmes helped increase Muslim and non-Muslim understandings of Islam, giving young people the theological support needed to make intelligent interpretations of theological positions.<sup>49</sup> Safe spaces that allowed for discussions of grievances and challenges, including issues such as foreign policy, social concerns, and hate crime, helped young people ‘vent frustrations, ask questions, [and] develop critical thinking’ skills—the very skills and spaces necessary to challenge extremist views.<sup>50</sup> Support for young people facing socioeconomic exclusion was also delivered through Prevent by providing a range of services including education, social and sporting activities that can prevent youth from turning to criminality and gang association.<sup>51</sup> The Tavistock Institute explains ‘that in Tower Hamlets the Prevent programme adopted a community-based “bottom-up” design, which was found to be both appropriate and necessary for the local context in the borough’.<sup>52</sup>

While the Tavistock Institute’s individual evaluation of the Tower Hamlets Prevent implementation shows that a community-oriented approach can have useful impacts in dealing with the broader context of crime and violent extremism, these lessons and findings have not been taken seriously in iterations of the borough’s action plans around Prevent after 2011. As Prevent did in Bristol, the Tower Hamlets approach created safe spaces for Muslims to air their views, develop skills in critical thinking to counter violent extremism by including Muslims in the ‘political opportunity’ structures.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> 2008-2011 Action Plan, p. 14-15. In Tower Hamlets FOI response 11218.

<sup>49</sup> Iacopini, G., Stock, L., and Junge, K. (2011). *Evaluation of Tower Hamlets Prevent Projects*. London: The Tavistock Institute, p. 33.

<sup>50</sup> See See Bartlett, J and Birdwell, J. (2010). *From Suspects to Citizens: Preventing Violent Extremism in a Big Society*. London: Demos.

<sup>51</sup> Iacopini, G., et. al. (2011). op. cit., p. 34-35.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*, 20.

<sup>53</sup> Lewicki, A., et. al. (2014). op. cit.

After the publication of the 2011 Prevent strategy, funding priority was shifted from community-led organisations to police and security-led approaches due to the perception that Prevent funding used for ‘wider objectives of promoting integration and community cohesion’ in fact ‘created the impression that the Government was supporting cohesion projects only for security reasons’, impeding the strategy’s efficacy.<sup>54</sup> While making Prevent leaner and more focused is a positive approach, it should be done in conversation with communities rather than through centralised decision-making structures.

In essence, the move in the strategy is one away from addressing radicalisation through communities, securitising them instead of treating them as partners and leaders. This reprioritisation will negatively impact the implementation of the Prevent strategy in Tower Hamlets (as elsewhere in London). Further, the fixation on ‘ideology’ and ‘non-violent extremism’ will alienate members of Muslim communities who under the previous Prevent agenda were able to access spaces to express dissenting voices. The danger today is that these spaces will be suffocated, along with space for dissenting voices.

The 2014/2015 Tower Hamlets action plan shares almost no projects with similar profiles to those explained in the Tavistock Institute report. The new approach—a post-2011 approach—is almost entirely ‘top-down’ and leaves very little space for Muslims (or other communities) to provide input. This is a hard security approach, prioritising intelligence gathering and Channel referrals with leadership from central authorities. This modified Prevent apparatus is intended to work in lockstep with the new Prevent duty to identify individuals at risk of becoming terrorists.

The projects listed in the Tower Hamlets 2014/2015 action plans demonstrate shifts in the implementation of the Prevent in the borough. The strategic objectives for 2014/2015 are summarised below:

- ‘Target social, peer and educational support and advice to individuals identified as at risk of involvement in extremist activity and violence’.
- ‘Strengthen community leadership to enable key individuals and organisations to challenge/disrupt extremist ideology’.
- ‘Strengthen positive networks and institutions to increase their capacity to challenge extremism and violence and disrupt networks and organisations which are sympathetic to extremism and terrorism’.

In the previous action plan, the objectives and expected outcomes were significantly different. Between 2008 and 2011, objectives included ‘understanding’ and engagement with Muslims communities, capacity building on the PVE agenda, and building ‘resilience’ in communities and for ‘vulnerable’ individuals.

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<sup>54</sup> HM Government. (2011). *op. cit.*, p. 30.

There is a clear discursive shift in the organisation of implementation priorities in the borough towards ‘disrupting’ and ‘challenging’ individuals at risk of ‘extremist activity’.<sup>55</sup>

Many of the community-led projects used in Tower Hamlets in previous years gave Muslims an actual political stake in the implementation of Prevent measures. This has shifted in the new strategy to what might be perceived as a highly prescriptive and patronising one: where communities have had a stake in implementing Prevent activities, they are now the recipients of safeguarding and prevention training filtering down from central authorities to the problematised ‘communities’. These shifts are evident upon examination of the changes in the Tower Hamlets Prevent Delivery plan. Indeed, their strategic objectives have changed almost entirely toward intelligence gathering, procuring Channel referrals, and safeguarding where the previous strategy worked with community organisations to open space for young people and others to express themselves and their grievances. The new policy is decidedly more invasive and could compromise ‘safe spaces’ that were established previously and used to gather intelligence and Channel referrals of individuals who do not share the Prevent policy’s designation of ‘British values’. The table below explains the shifts in the Prevent policy and the impact on Tower Hamlets project delivery plan.

*Table 1: Summary of Tower Hamlets PVE projects 2008-2011, 2014/2015<sup>56</sup>*

Objective	Deliverables 2008-2011	Deliverables after 2011 update of Prevent strategy (based on 2014/2015 plan)
<b>Understanding of, and engagement with, Muslim communities.</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Produce a local community database of local contacts with key leaders and influencers.</li> <li>• Develop partnership with local Council of Mosques.</li> <li>• Enhance local mosque capabilities with a focus on women’s issues and young people.</li> <li>• Conduct research on deaf Muslims and other groups and their views on PVE.</li> <li>• Establish deradicalisation programmes to help young people understand the PVE agenda and work with police.</li> </ul>	

<sup>55</sup> See 2008-2011 Action plan, in Tower Hamlets FOI response 11218.

<sup>56</sup> Summarised from 2008-2011 action plan and 2014/2015 action plan enclosed in Tower Hamlets FOI response 11218.

<p><b>Target social, peer, and educational support and advice to individuals identified as at risk of involvement in extremist activity and violence.</b></p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• e-CAF assessments of vulnerable young people should be completed upon referral to a panel responsible for sending referrals and managing safeguarding strategies.</li> <li>• Work with faith organisations to increase capacity to implement safeguarding policies.</li> <li>• Implement adult safeguarding boards.</li> <li>• Commissioning London Tigers— a crime intervention group that encourages young people to avoid crime to play football instead<sup>57</sup>—for ‘theological intervention services’.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Effective development of an action plan to build the resilience of communities and support of vulnerable individuals.</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Put on the ‘Dangerous Ideas Tour’ which allowed young people to express themselves and engage in political discussions at a youth club. Discussions included topics such as the heritage of the borough’s Bangladeshi community and the life and thought of Malcolm X.</li> <li>• The police team was responsible for delivering advice and encouraging individuals to sign up to a charter regarding the internet and extremism.</li> <li>• Establishing an anti-Muslim hate crime reporting centre was a priority.</li> <li>• £12,000 spent on developing a locally tailored schools toolkit on countering extremism.</li> <li>• Focus placed on countering extremist messages encouraging Muslims not to vote.</li> <li>• £120,000 spent on increasing capacity to work with and identify young people at risk of radicalization, run via the Youth Offenders Team and NOMS.</li> <li>• Developed a local women’s forum</li> </ul>	

<sup>57</sup> Find details on London Tigers at < <http://www.londontigers.org/community-cohesion-safety/>>.

	<p>and media and literary project engaging women in the arts.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developed platforms to discuss grievances at local universities.</li> <li>• Implemented a local referral board.</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Strengthen community leadership to enable key individuals and organisations to challenge/disrupt extremist ideology.</b></p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Faith Associates' to deliver safeguarding training for Imams and Islamic school teachers.</li> <li>• Pushing a 'No Place for Hate' campaign run through the police.</li> <li>• Disruption of extremist speakers from being active at events.</li> <li>• Work with partners to prevent extremists from managing premises.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Oversight and knowledge capacity building on the PVE agenda.</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A tri-borough 'East London Alliance' was developed for risk assessment and information sharing across boroughs.</li> <li>• Evaluation of PVE in Tower Hamlets was delivered.</li> <li>• Use of 'Operation NICOLE' to reach out to communities and explain why terrorism arrests were necessary.</li> <li>• Provision of media training for the Muslim community in the borough.</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Strengthen positive networks and institutions to increase their capacity to challenge extremism and violence and disrupt networks and organisations which are sympathetic to</b></p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• £500 spent to disseminate Prevent teaching materials.</li> <li>• Recruit a qualified to teacher to organize activities for Year 9 pupils.</li> <li>• Production of resources aimed to support teaching staff facilitate discussions and lessons to develop critical thinking in relation to extremism, 'conspiracy theories' and 'politically sensitive' topics.</li> <li>• Recruitment of a Prevent advisor for parents.</li> </ul>

<p><b>extremism and terrorism.</b></p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recruitment of a Youth Offending Team practitioner.</li> <li>• Provision of radicalisation awareness training.</li> <li>• Provision of Workshops to raise awareness of Prevent (WRAP).</li> <li>• Campaigns to prevent people from donating to extremist organisations.</li> <li>• Closure of ‘dawah’ stalls run by extremists.</li> <li>• Disrupt unregistered street funding collection by extremists.</li> <li>• Disruption of Muslims Against Crusades and al-Muhajiroun through by-laws and criminal law enforcement.</li> </ul>
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The chart above shows clear and obvious shifts in Prevent funding priorities. As the post-2011 priorities demonstrate, there is almost no community-oriented or community cohesion work done. The new strategy takes a few different approaches: centralisation, training provision, and police-led ‘disruption’.

The 2014/2015 budget plan clearly demonstrates that after 2011 the agenda involves a greater level of centralisation around Prevent implementation, reducing the local authority’s role in coordinating and designing Prevent. Instead, we see police-run campaigns, such as ‘No Place for Hate’, dissemination of pre-set school packs and educational materials, doubling down on safeguarding, and focusing funding on resources that will funnel at-risk individuals into Channel are seen as the main priority.

In particular, training provision is highly centralised in the new policy. The Workshop to increase awareness of Prevent (WRAP) is a script produced by HM Government.<sup>58</sup> In previous years (to 2011), boroughs and local authorities had more power to adjust these campaigns to the local context, for example by spending £12,000 on developing a locally-tailored school pack on Prevent. The move away from relying on the arts to engage young people in counter speech and relying on the educational system is evident in the demand for lesson plans that teach critical thinking in relation to ‘conspiracy theories’ and ‘politically sensitive’ topics (though no mention of critical thinking in other avenues, such as towards the government, is made).

<sup>58</sup> This script is not readily available at [www.gov.uk](http://www.gov.uk). It is available at the following link, < [http://ashe-esssex.org/item/download/535\\_792971b85e183265a091fac9e7904d24.html](http://ashe-esssex.org/item/download/535_792971b85e183265a091fac9e7904d24.html)>. A facilitator’s workbook also appears to have been published, available here at the following link, < [http://ashe-esssex.org/item/download/532\\_4d1a8c38ed9f8d801119c21a97f0aaff.html](http://ashe-esssex.org/item/download/532_4d1a8c38ed9f8d801119c21a97f0aaff.html)>.

Where training was (at least in the project plans) conducted in partnership with the local Muslim community, the new strategy clearly sees Muslim organisations (and institutions) as targets and recipients of training without any capacity on their own to challenge extremist views, rather than equal stakeholders in countering terrorism. This is a patronising and top-down approach to Muslim communities. Not only will this deepen mistrust and alienation, such an approach will exclude crucial voices in helping in the development of more effecting counter-terrorism policy.

Finally, the new policies have resulted in a funding agenda that focuses on the *disruption* of ‘extremist’ activities, determined by the 2011 Prevent strategy’s definition of ‘extremism’ as opposition to ‘British values’. This includes, in the 2014/2015 delivery plan, Prevent officers responsible for preventing extremist speakers from speaking at events, preventing extremists from managing premises, development of a ‘safer giving campaign’ to prevent charity being provided to extremist organisations, the closure of ‘dawah’ stalls run by extremists, disruption of unregistered street collections from extremists, and countering existing extremist groups through law enforcement mechanisms. Where previously funding was used to open safe spaces for airing grievances, frustrations, and challenges to the status quo—the very essence of a democratic public sphere—the funding is now oriented towards silencing voices ‘determined’ as extremist.

These policies have been in place since 2011, updated with new protocols such as the CTLP (Counter-Terrorism Local Profile), Workshops for raising awareness of Prevent (WRAP) and the ‘Prevent duty’, established in 2015 as the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 established the Prevent strategy in law.

#### **4. Impacts of policy changes on Prevent in London**

The Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 enshrined a number of changes to the Prevent strategy in law. It, perhaps most controversially, establishes the Prevent duty on all public authorities to have ‘due regard’ to individuals at risk of radicalisation. Arguably, this is a leaner, more focused Prevent strategy. However, the centralising of the Prevent agenda around safeguarding, training provision, treatment of Muslim communities as targets for intervention rather than stakeholders, and use of police to disrupt extremists potentially risks further alienating and frustrating Muslim communities.

##### *Counter-Terrorism Local Profiles*

There is a dearth of information on Prevent implementation, making oversight extremely difficult. The CTLP (Counter-Terrorism Local Profile) exacerbates this opaque process; it is a restricted document authored by the police and only available to specific stakeholders.



In it, the government and the Home Office's National Office of Security and Counter-Terrorism, a police officer and the local Prevent board are responsible for the production of the CTLP, as well as working on a multi-agency basis.<sup>59</sup> Elected officials will be able to see the document only at the discretion of the CTLP owner and should be ratified by a regional Gateway Group.<sup>60</sup> The CTLP owner is usually the Head of the force Special Branch/CT Branch.<sup>61</sup> To commission the document, it is required that the CTLP owner, a Basic Command Unit representative, a Local Authority representative are present. The Home Office recommends the involvement of the Force Prevent lead, Police Authority, and 'other partners' including the Community Safety Partnership.

Given that the CTLP is a Restricted document and is a top-down measure for analysing and categorising terrorism risks in a local area, it is crucial that the London Assembly and MOPAC work to ensure that Local Authority representatives consult with communities about the PVE implementation in the borough prior to the commissioning of the CTLP and represent their interests in the commissioning process. This could be in the form of a call for written consultations encouraging community members and local organisations to inform representatives of the local authorities what concerns they have and can be a useful way of incorporating Muslim voices into the CTLP process.

### *Prevent duty*

The CTLP will presumably be a starting point for the local authority to engage with the Prevent duty as the CTLP would provide the basis for understanding radicalisation in the local area. All statutory authorities are expected to 'demonstrate an awareness and understanding of the risk of radicalization in their area, institution or body'.<sup>62</sup>

Authorities will be required to 'demonstrate evidence of productive co-operation, in particular with local Prevent coordinators, the police and local authorities' as well as Community Safety Partnerships.<sup>63</sup> Finally, statutory authorities are required to implement training in the Prevent duty, which is 'widely available' from what would appear to be the Home Office (the wording of the guidance is extremely vague). Most of those exercising the Prevent duty will not be privy to the CTLP, but their work will be informed by it, most likely filtering down from the commissioning panel and informing the work of statutory authorities.

According to the specific guidance for local authorities, they are expected to 'use the existing counter-terrorism local profiles (CTLPs), produced for every region by the police, to assess the risk of individuals being drawn into terrorism'.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> HM Government. (2012). *Counter-Terrorism Local Profiles: An Updated Guide*. London: Home Office, p. 11.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>62</sup> HM Government. (2015). *Prevent Duty Guidance: for England and Wales*. London: Home Office, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, p. 6.

The priorities of centralising Prevent and providing pre-set training along with disrupting ‘extremists’ are clearly established in the Prevent duty. The primary push is to use safeguarding policies as part of Prevent work: ‘the duty is likely to be relevant to fulfilling safeguarding responsibilities’ and local authority staff will be expected to ensure that referrals will be made to Channel where appropriate. Local authorities should ensure that ‘publicly-owned venues and resources do not provide a platform for extremists and are not used to disseminate extremist views’.<sup>65</sup> Schools, further, and higher education institutions are required to carry out their own risk evaluations around extremism.

The police will be required to use public order powers as well as municipal powers, by-laws, and safeguarding legislation in order to disrupt, proscribe, and counter extremism in local authority areas.<sup>66</sup> The police are the central component of the Prevent strategy, responsible for ‘working alongside other sectors’ and to ‘play a galvanising role in developing local *Prevent* partnerships’.<sup>67</sup>

The police are responsible for engaging with multi-agency groups and sharing information from the CTLP where appropriate, supporting the implementation of a Prevent action plan, supporting local authority Prevent coordinators, organising the delivery of the Channel programme and by acting as a conduit for referrals with partners.<sup>68</sup>

The CTLP and the Prevent duty are two closely linked processes. The commissioning of the CTLP, as it is a restricted document, is highly opaque and the narrow group of stakeholders brought together is unlikely to ensure that the actual needs of Muslim communities—the main groups the strategy problematises as at risk of radicalisation—will be counted or understood. The 2011 changes to the Prevent strategy and its establishment as a statutory programme under the law in 2015 represents a regression in counter-terrorism strategy. The Home Office is enforcing a kind of ‘muscular liberalism’ based on a series of norms established in the Prevent strategy—which is a government document, not a piece of legislation—about ‘British values’. By definition, anyone who does not ascribe to the Home Office’s highly prescriptive sense of ‘values’ is potentially an extremist. The Prevent strategy, in its latest iteration, is extremely hierarchical, top-down, and centralised. This ignores previous successes in the implementation of Prevent around the country that incorporated Muslim communities as stakeholders in the strategy.

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<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, p. 26.

## 5. Conclusion and recommendations

In its current iteration, the Prevent strategy offers little possibility for local authorities to engage communities and effectively counter radicalisation. As demonstrated in section 2, the Prevent strategy excludes and isolates groups that do not fit into its narrow definition of 'British values'. By operating through a highly centralised approach to disrupting 'extremists', the Prevent strategy runs the risk of deteriorating the healthy liberal public sphere deemed necessary to opening counter-speech and debate that can challenge the intellectual basis of genuinely violent extremist opinions.<sup>69</sup> Instead, the Home Office has opted for a centralised strategy that seeks to disrupt and silence rather than debate and challenge; in effect, the freedom to debate has been curtailed.

There will be real repercussions in Muslim communities across the country and we expect that implementation of Prevent risks alienating communities that could make a positive impact in countering violent extremism. In particular, it is likely that the power will be used against non-violent extremists that express dissenting opinions that might fall foul of the prescribed set of 'British values' and involve possible referrals into Channel. A few cases like this might be enough to encourage Muslims to disengage entirely or distrust local authorities or other statutory authorities.

The Prevent programme has already been accused of intelligence gathering on Muslim communities<sup>70</sup> and counter-terrorism agendas are viewed with heavy skepticism from Muslim communities.

Very recently, Faith Matters reported on a questionnaire being circulated in the Buxton School in Waltham Forest intended to determine if Islamist ideology or non-violent extremist thinking was present among 11-year-old pupils as what may have been part of a Prevent project.<sup>71</sup> It is clear that the fixation on ideology has informed local responses to extremism. According to an independent education consultant, this is not the correct way forward: 'Some Muslim parents have been saying on Twitter that they will tell their children not to answer any questions at all. It's important that schools do explore pupils' multiple identities, but this project is tainted by the desire to spot the signs of extremism in primary school children'.<sup>72</sup> Focusing on spotting the *signs* of radicalisation and extremism thus feeds into cycles of mistrust and disengagement in institutions.

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<sup>69</sup> Bartlett, J and Birdwell, J. (2010). *op. cit.*

<sup>70</sup> See, for example, Isakjee, A. and Allen, C. (2013). "A catastrophic lack of inquisitiveness": A critical study of the impact and narrative of the Project Champion surveillance project in Birmingham'. *Ethnicities*, 13:6, p. 751-770.

<sup>71</sup> Faith Matters. "Circulating 'Cohesion' BRIT Questionnaire in Buxton School Raises Eyebrows". *Faith Matters*. 23 May 2015.

<sup>72</sup> Taylor, D. "Fury after primary pupils are asked to complete radicalisation-seeking surveys". *The Guardian*. 28 May 2015.

While we believe that the Home Office has centralised its power significantly, there are limited opportunities for London Boroughs and MOPAC to take responsibility to represent the voices of London's diverse Muslim communities. Our key recommendations are below:

- Encourage the Metropolitan Police Service to focus Channel referrals on clear cases of illegal, violent speech and use softer measures for cases of 'non-violent extremism' or deviation from 'British values'.
- During the commissioning process for the CTLP, ensure that the Local Authority representative has consulted with various community groups from all faith groups and is able to represent their voice and ensure that the CTLP commissioning process benefits from a balanced approach.
- Encourage the Metropolitan Police Service to engage with and be aware of the dynamics of Muslim communities and work with communities to tackle anti-Muslim hate and intra-Muslim tensions, viewing them as real partners and not through a simple securitisation agenda.
- Local authorities should engage with groups critical of Prevent without funding them. Their views should be taken seriously when planning Prevent projects alongside a diversity of other voices.
- Ensure that safe spaces for young people to voice their opinions are available without fear of referral to Channel.
- Advise all police officers to be extremely cautious before attempting to disrupt an event in order to prevent alienating communities. Universities must have clear policies about speakers but also err on the side of freedom to debate and challenge, teaching students how to challenge views in a nuanced and critical manner.
- The pool of authorised Prevent providers must be widened to more diverse voices to produce local solutions. Local authorities should be able to work with a variety of partners to provide balanced and effective training to any individuals tasked with exercising the Prevent duty.

These recommendations are limited because the power of non-security actors is highly limited in this new deployment of the Prevent strategy. The Prevent duty is highly prescriptive and the CTLP commissioning process is entirely opaque and open only to a rigid set of stakeholders outlined in Appendix 3 of the CTLP guidance.

The Prevent strategy represents a significant regression in counter-terrorism policing. Prevent—in spite of all its problems and shortfalls—when governed by communities, allowed for different approaches depending on the local priorities of the local authority. This variation allowed for more voices to articulate political stakes in the process.

However, since the new strategy in 2011, lessons about ‘radicalisation’ have been ignored with little attention paid to the salient critiques of the concept. It centralises the Home Office’s power and focuses on safeguarding and Channel referrals that could damage successful projects that provided youth with ‘safe spaces’ for free discussion. It instantiates a kind of ‘muscular liberalism’ that seeks to silence and disrupt dissenting voices not due to ‘violent’ speech but if it represents an ideology that contradicts the narrow prescription of ‘British values’ established in the 2011 Prevent policy. The Prevent strategy demands a widespread duty in all statutory authorities to counter radicalisation based on a top-down approach, led by information produced by counter-terrorism officials that significantly reduces community input.

We believe that the highly contested nature of radicalisation and the Prevent programme in general presents challenges that are difficult for local authorities to mediate.<sup>73</sup> Its fixation on ideology over violence presents a significant risk to community cohesion when this informs the everyday concerns of employees and leaders in statutory authorities. Local government can play a small but crucial role in working to make the policy incorporate community voices and concerns despite the centralisation of power in the current Prevent strategy.

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<sup>73</sup> O’Toole, T., Meer, N., Dehanas, D., Jones, S., and T. Modood. (2015), *op. cit.*



Home Office

Rt Hon John Hayes MP  
Minister of State for Security

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RECEIVED  
09 OCT 2015

Joanne McCartney AM,  
Chair of the Police and Crime Committee  
London Assembly  
City Hall  
The Queen's Walk  
London  
SE1 2AA

07 OCT 2015

Dear Joanne,

### Preventing extremism in London

Thank you for your letter of 15 July and for giving me the opportunity to respond on the Government's Prevent Strategy and its application in London. I will respond to each of your questions in turn.

The CONTEST Strategy as a whole is overseen by the Home Office as lead government department, but many other government departments and public bodies have a role to play. Overall responsibility for the Prevent Strategy sits with the Home Secretary who remains accountable to Parliament on this agenda.

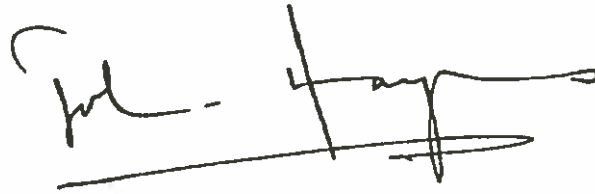
Our Prevent priority areas are identified through a process which assesses information from police, local authorities and other partners. Each priority area receives funding for a Prevent co-ordinator, and is supported by the Home Office to deliver projects which address specific local risks. Prevent co-ordinators are local authority employees. The Home Office provides a dedicated grant which sets out the role we expect a co-ordinator to play. This is monitored accordingly.

In response to the threat of radicalisation, we have made Prevent a legal duty for specified public bodies across the country, including local government, the police, prisons and schools, to have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism. To handle the threat of online radicalisation we are working with responsible internet and social media companies to take robust action against terrorist and extremist material and safeguard their users.

The Counter Terrorism Local Profile (CTLP) is the core mechanism to ensure that local activity is informed by a current police assessment. With the police, the Home Office is currently reviewing the use of CTLPs in order to have a standardised process and products. This will make CTLPs more easily accessible, and therefore make the most effective use of the police's unique insight into local issues.

Alongside implementing the duty, in 2015/16 we have been increasing the scale of our Prevent programme in priority areas and are funding local projects this year based on best practice to date. Projects have been identified on the basis of their outputs and outcomes, scalability and value for money. We are also establishing a more rigorous approach to evaluating the impact of Prevent projects and understanding what works.

My senior officials sit on the newly formed London CONTEST Board, and we welcome this initiative to support the delivery of the Government's CONTEST Strategy. To get the most value it will be important for the Board to complement existing arrangements rather than duplicating efforts elsewhere. For this reason, we do not intend to delegate responsibilities for the Prevent Strategy to the Board. However, Prevent work depends on effective partnership working and it is important that it engages local political leaders in support of the delivery of CONTEST. Issues that require Ministerial approval will be raised with the Home Office. I am grateful that you are supporting implementation of the Prevent Strategy as Chair of the London Assembly Police and Crime Committee.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'John Hayes', with a long horizontal line underneath.

**John Hayes MP**

# **Police and Crime Committee**

**Consultation response on behalf of the  
Youth Justice Board for England and  
Wales**



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# Introduction

The Youth Justice Board for England and Wales (YJB) welcomes the opportunity to respond to the Police and Crime Committee's consultation on preventing extremism, particularly in the light of our on-going work with the Home Office and police regarding the Prevent duty.

## **The role of YJB**

The YJB has a statutory duty to oversee the youth justice system in England and Wales.

Those statutory responsibilities include:

- Advising Ministers on the operation of, and standards for, the youth justice system;
- Monitoring the performance of the youth justice system;
- Purchasing secure accommodation places for, and placing, children and young people remanded or sentenced by the courts to custody;
- Identifying and promoting effective practice;
- Commissioning research and publishing information.

While the YJB is responsible for overseeing the performance of youth justice services including multi-agency Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) and commissions secure accommodation providers, the YJB does not directly manage any of these services. The youth justice system is made up of a network of organisations (multi-agency) working together to administer justice and prevent offending by children and young people. Our statutory partners include the Police, local authorities, Probation service, Health, Education and Children's services.

Due to the nature of the role and responsibilities of the YJB, we have limited our response more specifically to the role of the YOT and the implication of the prevent duty on YOTs rather than the wider authority/borough responsibilities which we are unable to comment on.

# Consultation questions & responses

## 1. What governance structures are in place in London Boroughs and partner organisations in respect of the Prevent Strategy?

London boroughs organise governance and actions within their borough differently according to the assessment of the level of risk identified in their Counter Terrorism Local Profile (CTLP). Each borough's CTLP will take into account the number of residents who have been reported to have engaged in extremist behaviour or activity which will help shape their action plan and identify which tier they are rated as. Depending on the level and nature of threat within a borough and the local governance in place, YOTs will engage differently in different areas.

## 2. How do London Boroughs engage with the Met Police and MOPAC in delivering Prevent?

Not applicable to YJB

## 3. What will the new statutory Prevent duty mean for London Boroughs and other organisations covered under the duty?

YOTs, along with schools and other local authority organisations which work with young people, now have a statutory duty to comply with Prevent.

The YJB has issued specific guidance to ensure staff working within YOTs and under-18 secure estates are clear as to their responsibilities to the new duty. It will have a limited impact on the work of YOTs and under-18 secure estates as evidence has shown that the majority of young people who engage in extremist activities do not have any contact with the justice system although evidence does suggest that some young people drawn into extremism or terrorist activity are vulnerable and are at a higher risk of being drawn into criminal behaviour and ultimately the criminal justice system.

YOTs continue to refer individuals of concern to programmes such as Channel and continue to support them through the process, however it is important to recognise that the numbers are low.

## 4. What the objectives and priorities should be for the London-wide Board to oversee Prevent?

Any organisation working with vulnerable children and young people, including YOTs and in secure settings need to be aware of the potential risks of particular individuals being drawn into radicalisation, however, youth groups, places of education and religious groups are likely to be a more

effective forum to identify those individuals at risk of radicalisation or extremism, as the numbers who fall within the criminal justice system are particularly small.

There remains a reluctance to report and refer individuals on the basis of suspicion alone. This is due to concerns about the unnecessary criminalisation of children and young people by youth justice practitioners, as well as the perceived adult focus of current interventions – which are perceived to not adequately address children’s welfare and safeguarding concerns. These concerns are re-enforced in light of the police’s leading role in the counter-terrorism activities locally.

There may be benefit in improving communication channels to highlight the course of action that is taken with those individuals that are referred. It may provide staff with the confidence to refer individuals if they are clear about the process they will go through and the potential outcomes and opportunities available for the individuals involved.

It is important that the duty is recognised as a cross government departmental priority and highlighted as such by all those in contact with children and young people – especially for those boroughs with a higher risk cohort.

## Police and Crime Committee – preventing extremism in London investigation

### Note of round table meetings

The Committee met with a range of local and national organisations to discuss their views on the issue of preventing extremism in London. The following summarises those discussions.

#### *The Prevent Strategy*

- The new Government is strict on the integration and cohesion elements in its current approach. Prevent has been stripped back to focusing on direct Prevent issues rather than integration projects, with other parts of the Government dealing with issues around integration. Prevent, however, cannot be looked at in isolation.
- The fundamental issue that the Government is trying to achieve something through a particular lens: community cohesion through security. This creates vulnerability and is unlikely to create cohesion. There needs to be careful consideration of what the underlying aims of Prevent really are.
- Policy makers have, in its current form, institutionalised Prevent with little evidence to back it up. Through Prevent the Government is trying to clamp down on an issue that is not widely understood.
- The Prevent Strategy is trying to address the negative perception of Prevent by looking at all extremists, to tackle the perceptions about the strategy and build confidence in it. However some feel that the policy is peppered with superficial references to other groups such as the EDL.
- The definition of extremism is a problem and as it currently stands. It is very vague and broad.

#### *Perceptions of the Prevent Strategy*

- Historically, the perspective of the Muslim community is that Prevent has targeted Muslims. The sentiment is still that Prevent is too focused on the Muslim population and that it is a spying technique. This alienates people. The brand has been described as toxic and feedback from communities is that it is still perceived as toxic.
- Nationally, there is a low understanding about what Prevent is about. This, in combination with the influence of the media, has contributed to the suspicion about the programme.
- Families want to safeguard their children but there is a resistance of doing so under the banner of prevent. Some people are feeling more suppressed under the current strategy and are self-censoring as a result.
- Incidences such as the introduction of Project Champion in Birmingham show how badly the Prevent Strategy can be applied and how counter productive it can be.

### *Delivering the Prevent Strategy*

- Programmes need to be holistic in their approach and short sharp programmes will not change hearts and minds.
- Since the introduction of statutory Prevent duty, teachers have been increasingly concerned about how to apply it. Teachers are struggling to speak to pupils about issues related to extremism because pupils have been told by families not to engage because of the risk that they are put on a list.
- Young people are concerned that they don't have a voice or a safe space to say anything on this issue.
- At the end point when talking about radicalisation we have already failed.

### *Online radicalisation and the counter narrative*

- The internet is a facilitator in radicalisation as it is an ungoverned space. Radicalisation is happening through social media, less so in places like mosques.
- There is a need to talk about how to challenge the narrative of extremists. Currently ISIL are telling a more compelling story. This needs to be unpicked by the agencies and communities tackling extremism.
- There is a need to think about a counter narrative and an alternative narrative. Counter tackle a message already out there. Alternative narratives are proactive in telling a different and better story more broadly.
- The message delivered by ISIL is a call to action, and young people want to feel they can take action. Countering this is normally done by telling and stopping people from taking any sort of action. The more effective solution would be to give them something to do and work towards.
- It is essential to listen as well as deliver an alternative message.

### *Making Prevent work*

- A lot of work is being done by communities to tackle the message by ISIL but the good work is not being shown publicly.
- Organisations are working with communities on Prevent from a safeguarding perspective. This is a positive but could be problematic if it translates into protecting people from debate rather than creating a safe space to talk about issues.
- In respect of young people, the curriculum needs to have within it discussions on issues like human rights. Teachers need the capacity and skills to teach these kinds of topics confidently.
- There are some concerns about WRAP training, with anecdotal evidence of teachers simply being told to report as soon as they have a concern. This means that Channel referrals are going up, but just because referrals are going up, doesn't mean the system is effective.
- It is difficult to make Prevent work in London when there are issues with the approach as a whole. There is, however, an opportunity in London to change the agenda.

- Localising Prevent is important. Delivery should be by those closest to those it affects. It is essential that there is open discussion with the public and wide community outreach.
- Organisations generally don't know what work is being carried out in other parts of the city. Greater transparency and openness is needed e.g. what work the London Prevent Board is doing.

## **Police and Crime Committee – preventing extremism in London investigation**

### **Note of visit to Birmingham City Council**

#### *Governance and organisation of Prevent in Birmingham*

- Partners were involved in the development of the early Prevent strategy as a result of their work on Operation Gamble, an investigation into the plot to kidnap and murder a British Muslim soldier. As part of the operation a lot of work was carried out with the community, including working with them to develop projects and interventions.
- The introduction of the statutory duty should not impact greatly on Birmingham because those partners are already involved in the delivery of Prevent.
- Between 2007 and 2012 Birmingham did not have a CONTEST board but did have a Prevent Delivery Hub (now known as the Prevent Programme Board). The CONTEST Strategic and Executive Boards were established in 2012.
- The relationship with the Home Office is strong. Birmingham has day to day communication through a single point of contact.

#### *Community relations*

- From the outset the Council took the initiative to ensure that there was communication with communities.
- Community relations in Birmingham peak and trough, and it accepted that this will be the case. Effort has been put into engaging openly with the public, particularly before significant events occur.
- Funding is important but is not the solution to preventing extremism. Strong and positive relationships with communities are critical to success.
- Efforts are being made to look more widely at the voice of women in preventing extremism. West Midlands Police is replicating the work done in London on the Preventing tragedies campaign.

#### *The Counter Terror Local Profile and Prevent Programme Board*

- The Prevent Programme Board (also known as the delivery hub) develops and manages the delivery plan for Birmingham. The delivery plan is based on a series of assessments, including the Counter Terror Local Profile (CTLP). Birmingham is split into four areas, each of which receives its own CTLP. The delivery plan is created on a yearly basis.
- The CTLP has previously been intelligence led and left out other sources of information. The CTLP is more highly valued now because more partner agencies feed into it, for example health and schools.

#### *Prevent and safeguarding*

- The Council has reviewed its safeguarding processes to ensure that Prevent is taken into account. Putting Prevent in the context of safeguarding changes the approach needed. The potential use of courts and child protection measures is a challenge for social services teams. Child safeguarding teams also have the challenge of balancing those who are at risk (facing actual harm) versus those who are in need (have the potential to be involved in extremism).



### *Channel*

- Channel referrals have increased. The Council chairs the Channel panel. It is felt that this reassures the community as the Council is protecting their interests. The strong commitment from a range of agencies means that the casework has been enriched.

### *Role of the police*

- The Prevent team consists of uniformed officers, called Security and Partnerships Officers rather than Prevent officers, mainly based in hotspot areas. These officers are overt in saying that they are from CTU.
- The police are stepping away from training (for example WRAP training) to allow others to deliver it. The Council, for example, has trained 6000 staff during 2014.

### *Prevent projects / activity*

- Local activity is undertaken through the Prevent Programme board, for example training of youth offending teams to build capacity to deal with vulnerability; in-house workforce development in the Council, to ensure that safeguarding processes are in place and Council officers are confident using them.
- One of the projects being delivered by the community is Upstanding Neighbourhoods, a Birmingham and Bradford based group. A small core group of volunteers run the project. The core group train and support local individuals to tackle extremism by challenging the extremist narrative. The group also deliver interventions in schools, which focus on all aspects of safeguarding in addition to preventing extremism. The community is encouraged to deal with low level vulnerability themselves.

**Police and Crime Committee – 26 March 2015**  
**Transcript of Agenda Item 6 - Question and Answer Session with the**  
**Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime and the Metropolitan Police Service**

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Welcome, we are now going to move on to our main business this morning and our session will be in two parts. The first part will be to question around the work of the London Policing Ethics Panel to date.

Perhaps if I could start the questions this morning, my first question is really to Stephen as Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime and it is looking at the developments of the Ethics Panel and how it has been set up and, in a sense, whose Panel it is and who it is accountable to because we are not entirely clear. The Mayor announced his intention to create the Ethics Panel at the House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee (HASC) in July 2013 as a public-facing body that would investigate matters on a permanent basis. It was then created in October and Lord Carlile was asked to head that Panel up.

Initially the Mayor said that he expected the Panel to be attached to the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC). He told me it would be attached to MOPAC. However, Stephen, when we have subsequently asked you about the Panel, your words were:

*"It was announced by the Mayor, it has been set up by the Mayor, it is answerable to the Mayor and he can refer issues he believes should be considered by the Ethics Panel ... It is the Mayor's Ethics Panel. It is not the Deputy Mayor's Ethics Panel."*

However, having day-to-day control of MOPAC, that obviously raises questions as to who the Panel refers to. We note that MOPAC is, I believe, clerking and supporting the Panel, and that expenses for the Panel come out of MOPAC funds.

My question really is asking you, Stephen, about the development of the Ethics Panel and where responsibility for the Ethics Panel and its work actually lies within the Greater London Authority (GLA).

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Again, first and foremost, the Ethics Panel was appointed by the Mayor and the annual work programme of the Ethics Panel is agreed with the Mayor. It is absolutely right that the Ethics Panel's work programme is supported by MOPAC where necessary and certainly this is an independent body and its advice and recommendations are made to the Mayor and to me. Does that provide the necessary clarification?

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Is the Panel, then, accountable to the Mayor alone? Is that what you are saying?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** No. What I said was that it is an independent body that makes its recommendation and gives its advice to the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor, but the Mayor has appointed the Panel.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** How do you, as the day-to-day head of oversight of policing in London, hold the Ethics Panel to account?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** We are not looking to hold the Ethics Panel to account. We are looking for a small group of experts - and you could ask Lord Carlile about the Panel members - who have considerable experience in issues of ethics across a number of fields to provide independent advice. We are not seeking to hold the Ethics Panel to account in that sense. We are looking for independent ethics advice on issues.

If we look at the work programme, clearly, we have had the initial report on the ethical challenges of policing in our capital city, which I thought was in some ways provocative but an excellent thoughtful note from the Ethics Panel.

I know that they are looking at the use of force by the police as an issue, which is very pertinent and which Members have raised as an important area, providing insight and recommendations; also surveillance by the police and, importantly, public encounters between the public and the police. All of these are issues where policing needs to get it right if we are to see that boost in public confidence.

This is a small, independent body of experts providing advice. We are not, in the way you asked the question, seeking to hold them to account.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** The Mayor agrees the yearly work programme.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** That is correct.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Do you have input into that, Stephen?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Of course, I can advise the Mayor, but the Mayor agrees that with the Panel.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Can we have a copy of the work programme and what is being looked at? We have asked for it and it has been refused up until now.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** It is a matter for the Panel what they disclose.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Perhaps I can come to Lord Carlile, then. I do not know if you can understand our confusion as to where your Panel sits in the accountability mechanisms within the GLA and, for example, whether we have the right to ask you questions. We have the right to call any member of MOPAC in front of us. We are very grateful that you accepted the invitation today, but where do you see yourself sitting in the accountability mechanisms?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** The starting point is that whenever an independent body is appointed by someone, it has to be accountable to that someone. Were we a non-governmental organisation (NGO) that had appointed ourselves, of course we would only be accountable to the NGO. For example, in my many years as Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation, my fees were paid by the Home Office. I was appointed by the Home Secretary. I was guaranteed my independence, but I had to report to the Home Secretary. That is the normal process for these things.

You will see that in our terms of reference, the word 'independent' appears in paragraph 1. The members of the Panel - Professor Wenar, Ms Reiss, Baroness Berridge and Ms Ononiwu - were all appointed not only

because they have a level of knowledge about the subject of policing but because we all have a background in ethical issues of other kinds. For example, I spent ten years as a member of the General Medical Council and I have been on the Bar Council. We are all aware that when we measure ethical issues, we are of no use to anyone unless we are independent in our approach. However, when we report, we have to report to someone. The structure here is that we report to the Deputy Mayor and through the Deputy Mayor to the Mayor.

On the issue of accountability to you, this is not my first visit to this Chamber. As far as I am concerned, I - and indeed other members of my Panel - remain willing on reasonable notice to attend any meeting at which what we do might be seen as relevant. Indeed, we are in the process, obviously, of evolving what we do, but we are now creating our own website with full accessibility to the public, and that is what we wish to be seen doing.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That is very helpful and that is very welcome and we will have some questions on that shortly. You report to the Deputy Mayor, who then reports up to the Mayor, in effect, or you assume that takes place.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Yes, that is the formal reporting process. However, what I can tell you is that if the Deputy Mayor, for example, decided that he did not wish to publish one of our reports, my Panel might be faced with a very difficult situation in which - subject to issues of national security and not affecting the detection of crime, obviously, operational issues - we would feel that if we produced a report that was rejected, like any public-facing committee, we might publish it ourselves.

I am sure that would not arise because we have had nothing but help and co-operation, but I have to say that so that the extent of our independence is fully understood. I can tell you that I would not even have looked at this role if I had not, on the telephone, when I was first asked to do it, had the initial guarantee of independence.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That is very helpful. In deciding the work programme, did you decide that with the Deputy Mayor or the Mayor directly?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** We have had direct and indirect discussions. There has been no difficulty about the work programme. Just to give you a measure of how it operates, it was suggested to us initially that we would do a first report on water cannon. We agreed to prepare a report on water cannon and, indeed, we have done a lot of work on water cannon.

However, then we decided that it really was not going to be very helpful to anybody if we published a report on something that had not been approved by the Home Secretary because our report might have been seen to be an inappropriate intervention in a policy debate that was none of our business. Therefore, we remain ready to provide a speedy report on water cannon. Indeed, we have done some practical work, including one of our number dressing up in all the gear and so on and being watched by the rest of us whilst the process was examined, but we thought it was wrong to report until - if she ever does - the Home Secretary gives permission for water cannon to be used. That was our independent decision.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That is very helpful. We are aware because Stephen [Greenhalgh] has just mentioned some of the issues you are going to look at, but you do have an annual work programme that has been signed off.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Could we have sight of the issues you are looking at? We might be able to feed into that or, perhaps if you are looking at something, we would decide to rejig our calendar so that we did not coincide with you, for example. That would be very helpful.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** We are about to produce - fairly shortly, anyway, after the election - a work programme for the next year and it would be foolish of us to intervene in purdah with a work programme that could be misrepresented by maybe some journalist or other. We will produce a work programme and I can see no reason why we should not share it with you and, indeed, we are always open to suggestion.

The one thing that must be absolutely made clear, though, is that we do not do operational issues. In other words, we do not deal with complaints. There are other bodies to deal with individual complaints. However, we do look at broad issues. The work on encounters with the police, which is a report in draft at the moment, uncompleted, is an example that has been aimed at low-level encounters with the police. We will probably do another piece of work on what I might call 'more lethal' encounters with the police later, but at the moment we are looking at low-level encounters with the police and have been gathering evidence on that.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Roger, I have stepped into your area, for which I apologise.

**Roger Evans AM:** Just a bit, but it does raise some more questions. Lord Carlile, you are teasing the Committee this morning because, whilst you are not telling us your work programme, you are saying, "Yes, but we have done some work on encounters with the public and there is a report almost ready to be produced and we have done some stuff with water cannon", presumably sprayed a member of the Panel with a water cannon.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** I am not quite sure that we quite did that, but we have a very full understanding of water cannon, including the German instructions for using the water cannon, for example.

**Roger Evans AM:** That is another piece of work that is in progress but that we may never see if the Home Secretary does not license it. What else is there on the stocks ready to go after purdah?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** At the moment on the stocks are the rest of the public encounters work, issues about the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000 (RIPA) and, very significantly, some work on body-worn video. We have already heard evidence on body-worn video. The experience of the five members of the Panel riding along with the police - we have all done it separately and we happen to live in different places and so we have done it in five different boroughs - is that junior officers who are actually out there on the beat and in police cars late at night and so on regard body-worn video as an important development that will help them to do their jobs more fully. However, we have not reached that conclusion yet. That is just how it appears and we will be doing some more work on that.

Another example of work we may well be looking at is the way in which rape complaints are dealt with, which is part of the victim experience, but it is actually potentially an endless calendar of issues --

**Roger Evans AM:** Indeed.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** -- and we are a very small Panel. I am funded to work two days a month, the rest of the Panel are volunteers and we rely on others for our secretariat. There are limits to what we can achieve. However, we are well ahead, in work terms, of the other ethics panels that have been set up so far around the country.

**Roger Evans AM:** I do not think the Committee would expect you to do everything, not least because sometimes we see that as being our role as a policing committee. Therefore, it is quite important for you to pick and choose the things that you do.

Do you have tightly drawn terms of reference for these reports? The titles, insofar as we have titles, seem to be quite nebulous and quite wide-ranging.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** We operate within broad terms of reference, which you have copies of and which --

**Roger Evans AM:** Yes, but for a particular study? Say you are looking at water cannon. Would you say, "We want to look at these specific aspects of using water cannon"?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Yes.

**Roger Evans AM:** You would have the parameters set out before you do the work?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** The way we operate is we have plenary meetings once a month, more often if we need to. If we decide to do a report on a particular issue, we will scope that report first of all. We will not draw up formal terms of reference, but we will draw up a scope within which we operate. We will then decide what evidence we wish to see or hear.

I know there is some concern about not taking evidence from the public, but that actually is a very difficult challenge for us because we could spend three years on every inquiry taking evidence from a very large range of members of the public. Because of the kinds of people we are, actually, we read an awful lot of evidence that other people have gathered together: academic reports like Professor Stanko's [Head of Evidence and Insight, MOPAC] report published yesterday on rape; material that has come out of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), which is very considerable and mostly pretty good; and material that comes from elsewhere. We use that to build on our scope, but we are flexible enough to find as we go along that we may have missed issues in our scoping that we have to address. We try to avoid the anecdotal, which I can tell you is extremely difficult.

**Roger Evans AM:** We have the same challenges here and it is quite reassuring to hear that. You mentioned a website that is in development. When is it due to go live?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** I cannot give you an exact answer to that. Our own website is actually not fully live yet, but if you go to the MOPAC website you will see a link to what we do and I think it is clear. We have an email address, which at the moment is [EthicsPanel@mopac.london.gov.uk](mailto:EthicsPanel@mopac.london.gov.uk). We are about to have a non-MOPAC email address because we think that is more appropriate. We have been going for only about a year and we have had perhaps 11 meetings. We have been developing our activities over that period.

**Roger Evans AM:** Access to our services generally here in City Hall through the web is something that we have agonised over for a long time. Of course, we now have our own site under development going live, which is going to have everything under the umbrella. Is your Ethics Panel going to be part of that or is it going to be separate?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** No, it is going to be separate. Obviously our relationship with the GLA, with the Mayor and with MOPAC is completely transparent, but we believe that it is right that we should have a separate website to demonstrate our independence. If I give an analogy from my own experience, my successor as Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation, David Anderson, has a completely separate site from the Home Office. It starts with 'Independent Reviewer' and that sort of principle seems to me to be entirely appropriate.

**Roger Evans AM:** You say it is a separate site from the Home Office. It is not a .gov.uk type of website, then?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** No, it is based in his private office.

**Roger Evans AM:** Do you find that reduces the level of public engagement that you might have? I know we have rolled everything together under one heading here because there are some elements of what we do that we felt did not have a high enough public profile.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** No, the opposite, actually. If anybody is interested in the work we do and they put in 'ethics' or 'ethics Met' or something like that, their search will throw up the London Policing Ethics Panel very quickly. Our presence is well known. We are public-facing. I hope people know who the Chair is, if they care to find out. They can get me through parliament.uk very easily as well.

Therefore, I would say we are very accessible. However, if anyone has any suggestions about making us more accessible, please let us know. We would be delighted.

**Roger Evans AM:** We have done lots of work on that over the years. How would a member of the public get something on your agenda using the site? Can they use the site to raise an issue?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** They would be able to use the site. You have to remember that we are an independent ethics panel and it is quite a cerebral process that we carry out. I do not think it would be appropriate for us to describe every thought we have in every meeting we hold until we produce our reports. We invite evidence and of course our reports will be published and the public have access to our work programme and all the principles we follow. However, consistent with other ethics bodies I have been involved with, it is not usual for every thought to be put on the internet.

**Roger Evans AM:** If a member of your Panel dissented from a view that you had come to, would you publish that?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** It would depend on the view of the member and the extent of the dissent. It is not an issue that has arisen so far. In the normal course of things, if somebody had a dissent that was significant, then I would expect to point out in the report that not all the Panel were agreed. Indeed, I might well as Chair invite the dissentient voice to, in the usual

way, write a few paragraphs at the end pointing out the reason for their dissent, exactly as happens in the Court of Appeal or the Supreme Court. We would follow that principle. It is the one I am accustomed to as a lawyer.

**Roger Evans AM:** We will come back to this, Chair, when we actually have the work programme available because it is quite interesting.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** We have already got into some of the areas I wanted to ask about, but you have been in operation for just under a year. What steps are you taking to ensure the public are fully aware of your work? You have already talked about the website and other things, but are there any other really proactive things you are planning?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Yes. We have been feeling our way in our first period, obviously, but the public have been made aware through the MOPAC website of the work we have been doing. We have called for evidence. We have consulted various outside bodies to seek evidence. When we embark on a piece of work that is appropriate for a more public call for evidence, we will make that call for evidence in the conventional way. We have absolutely no reason to conceal what we are doing; quite the opposite. If we want the public to value what we do, then the public need to know what we do.

However, that does not mean that we publish every exchange with each other or indeed every exchange with the Deputy Mayor, with the MPS Commissioner or, for that matter, with this Committee. I have received one or two letters from members of this Committee, particularly from the Chair. There has been a useful exchange of letters, but it is up to this Committee whether it publishes those letters because that is your call. I would not normally publish internal correspondence of that kind.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** What impact do you really think the Panel has had to date on policing and also perhaps on public confidence?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** I do not know. It is for you to assess and others. However, what we decided to do first was to produce a broad think-piece and that think-piece was good. It explained what ethics are about. It explained why we are doing it in the MPS context.

We highlighted, for example, that policing is actually a difficult job and, if Mr Mackey would forgive me for saying so, it gets progressively more difficult the more junior you get, in many ways. If you are out there at 2.00am in Stoke Newington, as I have been with two police officers rushing from a domestic violence incident to a robbery, they have to change and they have to recalibrate themselves very quickly. It is a very difficult job to do and that has to be considered as part of the ethical space.

To answer your question more directly, the response that we have received from the MPS to our first report indicates that they value the work that we have been doing. It is much more difficult to measure public reaction because we do not have the resources to do that. If we could hire Lord Ashcroft [Conservative politician and public pollster] or the National Opinion Poll (NOP) to do opinion polls and focus groups, then we would be able to answer your question more satisfactorily.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** I am pleased you have said this morning that you are going to, after the election, publish your forward work programme because in our correspondence with you we had



asked for you to commit to publishing a schedule of your meetings, the work programme and terms of reference for each investigation. At the time, you came back saying that obviously it is for you as a Panel to decide what you do and that we should raise any concerns directly with MOPAC rather than with you. However, it sounds like we have moved on from that and you are saying this morning that you will publish a work programme. Will you also publish terms of reference for each of your investigations?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** I would not like to commit myself to that last point because, as I said earlier, we scope each inquiry and we do not draw up formal terms of reference. One of the problems, as I also said earlier, is that we find things out as we go along and as we gather evidence together and I would not like us to be limited or, even worse, judicially reviewable for going beyond something that we had said we were doing if we found as we were carrying out an inquiry that that was what we thought we should do.

However, our main route of accountability is through the Deputy Mayor and through MOPAC. However, if this Committee would like us to provide you as a Committee with our work programme, we will of course do so. I can see no reason not to.

There might be a very rare case when we were asked to look at the ethics of something that was really sensitive in operational terms. One such area might be some aspects of undercover policing and we would have to exercise our own judgement about that. Because I have a lot of experience dealing with undercover policing of various kinds, I can imagine there might be issues where we would not wish the media to forecast what we were likely to say about certain aspects of that work.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** We understand that. If we can get the sort of area and a rough idea of the sort of bits you are going to be looking at, it will just help us in terms of planning our workload as well.

In terms of your publications, you have published your *Ethical Challenges of Policing in London* report. You also chose to publish your letter to Assistant Commissioner (AC) Martin Hewitt [AC Professionalism, MPS] following a meeting the Panel had with him, but you have not published other such correspondence. Why did you particularly choose to publish that letter?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** That was the one very substantial piece of correspondence that had occurred that seemed to have a beginning, a middle and an end. We thought that it was appropriate, therefore, for the public to know about that correspondence. It relates to a very, very important issue that we have identified - and I will use Stoke Newington as an example again because it is the nearest divisional headquarters to where I live - which is the understanding of a police constable in Stoke Newington about what ethics means in policing. It is mostly but not entirely instinctive and it is the non-instinctive parts that require to be developed as information. Therefore, we thought that would be a useful and transparent piece of work.

We were also conscious that questions had been perfectly properly and rightly asked about what we do and so we considered it might be helpful to give information. In a sense, Chair, we were responding to the correspondence you and I have shared over recent months.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** That is very helpful. Thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That leads very nicely into Tony's line of questioning, which is on that report that you have published.

**Tony Arbour AM:** I have read your report and, as you say, it sets out really quite simply what you believe to be the ethical problems that police officers have. There are lots of statements of the obvious: police officers should show exceptionally good judgement, a police officer will face many moral dilemmas and things of that kind. It also says in your report - as I said, which I much enjoyed reading - that the public have unrealistic expectations of how the police should behave.

Reading this report and listening to you today and looking at the biographies of the members of your Panel, it is clear that I at least had unrealistic expectations of what the Panel was going to do. I believe that for the first time - and this is clearly not a criticism of you because you did not set the thing up and so I am really having a go at the Deputy Mayor and through him, I suppose, the Mayor - we thought that perhaps there was going to be some kind of proper lay input into ethical matters that affect the police, such as those that those of us who used to serve on the old Professional Standards Committee of the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA) experienced.

I looked at the Panel members and one of the terms of reference, which talks about the kind of people they should be, says they should be Londoners. I think it is fair to say that you are the only Londoner, really, who is on it.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** I do not think that is right at all, if I may say so. If you look at the members, Grace Ononiwu was born and bred in London, was a senior prosecutor in London for many years and has a profound knowledge of London. Meg Reiss, although she is American-born, lives in London. Professor Wenar has been in London for a considerable number of years. Therefore, there is a decent amount of London knowledge.

I would reject the assertion that only Londoners can learn about London. I was not born in London, but I have knocked around London for a long time.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Indeed, but it relates to the expectations that I have mentioned - possibly the unrealistic expectations - that we were going to have. We thought there would be a proper 'man on the Clapham omnibus' presence on your Panel. I know it sets out that they should have special knowledge and so on. Perhaps being a Londoner, someone who goes around Stoke Newington is someone who has knowledge of this. However, the real point that I am getting at is that there is no reflection in your Panel, as I think most of us believed and certainly I believed when this matter was first discussed, that there was going to be ordinary lay input into this.

I certainly did not believe - and I use your phrase - that you were simply going to go through a 'cerebral process' about things. I imagined, just as the old Professional Standards Committee did, that we would react really quite rapidly to changing situations. It seems to me that the things you are looking at and the things that you have said you are going to look at, although you have been a little coy on your work programme, are long-term matters that are significant, but that means that you are not going to be able to respond to incidents.

For example, yesterday there was very substantial criticism, which may or may not be justified, made by the Duggan [Mark Duggan, shot by police] family about the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC)

decision. That might be the kind of thing that the Professional Standards Committee might have offered an opinion on in its day. Clearly, you are not going to be doing anything of that kind.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** The first thing I would say is that I did not say, with respect, that we were simply cerebral. I said that we provide a cerebral view of the material that comes before us. All I mean by that is that we have a reasonably expert Panel that tries to analyse the information we are given.

So far as the Duggan issue is concerned, it would be completely wrong for our Panel to do anything whatsoever about the Duggan case because we do not deal with operational matters. The Duggan case has been through the MPS's procedures. It has been through the IPCC. We cannot possibly set ourselves up as a review body of the Duggan case for the IPCC. That would not be appropriate.

**Tony Arbour AM:** There is no suggestion from me that your Panel would be a review body or anything of that kind. I merely suggested that an ethics panel might be a body that might express an opinion on such matters.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** As you will recall, Mr Arbour, from what I said earlier, we are minded to produce a report on more lethal encounters with police. I said that earlier.

**Tony Arbour AM:** You did.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** By 'more lethal encounters with the police', I mean everything from the use of what old-fashioned people like me call 'batons' upwards, Tasers and indeed the use of lethal force and firearms. That will happen. It will not be directly referable to the Duggan case when it happens, but of course it will take into account reports that are related to the Duggan case. That is what we should do appropriately.

If I can just respond further to your points about the man on the Clapham omnibus, I have spent the last 44 years as a barrister as well as in my political life trying my best to represent the views of the person, man or woman, on the Clapham omnibus or the Wrexham omnibus or wherever I happen to be operating. The analytical skills that the Panel has are well able to understand the evidence.

I am very concerned about the shape of the various ethics panels that are being appointed around the country. For example, in Manchester - and I make no criticism of it - they have appointed a panel to be chaired by the Bishop of Manchester - ex officio, I think - with a very large membership. It is likely that it will produce fewer reports than us. In other parts of the country, different types of panels are being appointed and of course we will look at what they do. We are talking to police commissioners around the country.

**Tony Arbour AM:** I am pleased to hear that because my next point is to do with possible duplication. This of course is a very general report. It is true that you make points and specific London points about diversity, the capital city and tourism and things of that sort. However, in general, it is a general report.

I wonder what value it adds to the report done by the College of Policing. I would not like to think that you are in any way some kind of rival to the College of Policing, but their report was published very recently and laid before Parliament 18 months ago. It was a fairly recent thing and so that happened. Did you refer to what they have produced?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Absolutely. Indeed, we defer to what they have produced. They are the College of Policing. We are in no sense a rival body. I have attended in my own time events that have been run by the College of Policing. They were producing their ethics code at the time we were formed and so there was no possibility of us producing our first piece of work before they produced their ethics code. If I have a reflection on their ethics code, it is very short. Although it sets out some principles that are extremely useful, it is not contextual to London.

You have to bear in mind about London that it is different. London has about a seventh of the population of England and Wales and a third of the crime. It has the Diplomatic Protection Group. It has SO15. It has Mr Mackey as a very senior member of the most important group of senior police officers in the country who speak nationally on a number of issues. We have the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) being replaced at the present time. The London context is rather different and our intention is not in any way to replace the College of Policing, far from it, but to add a London context to the College of Policing's work, taking into account what happens every day on - and usually off - the streets of London.

**Tony Arbour AM:** I am looking at your thing where you talk about the ethical paradox of London's policing and you said that you hoped to supplement the College of Policing thing. I wonder if I could draw attention to just one thing that did fox me about your report, which I am tasked to ask about. Do you think that these differences relating to the responsibilities of the police in London mean that police officers in London have a different set of ethical challenges from police officers, shall we say, in Manchester?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** You have made a very astute comparison because there are significant similarities between London and Manchester, London and Liverpool, and London and Birmingham, but it is still London and it still has many responsibilities that Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham do not have. It is important also to look at comparisons between policing in London and policing in Scotland, where they have a single police force now covering the whole of Scotland and therefore with a wide range of responsibilities.

There are huge differences between London and - I used to be a Member of Parliament (MP) in rural Wales - Dyfed Powys. They certainly have challenges, but they are very different from the challenges in London. To take that just as an extreme - and it is an extreme - plainly, there are special considerations in London that do not apply in Dyfed Powys, just as there are things that apply in Dyfed Powys like sheep-stealing - and I have done a few of those cases myself - that do not apply in London.

**Tony Arbour AM:** I understand that, but surely ethics is a universal matter.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Of course ethics is universal, but ethics is both a theoretical thing and also an applied thing. If you go riding alongside, as I did fairly recently, police constables out on night patrol in Hackney and Stoke Newington, including being driven up and down the Kingsland Road at speeds I never imagined could be achieved on that road, you do see that London is just a bit different in many respects and we have to take that into account.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Thank you for that and thank you, Chair, for allowing me to go off on this philosophical thing. I am hard put - and I say this to you, Stephen [Greenhalgh], and this is a matter for you - to think that Londoners in general are going to think that the Panel is going to be doing anything substantial and it is likely to be seen, if you like, as a kind of philosophical talking shop. I say this as a man who travels on the Clapham

omnibus. Those of us who served on the old Standards Committee as elected members in effect saw ourselves as those kinds of people when we sat on those panels without any special knowledge at all.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Before I move on to Jennette [Arnold OBE AM], one of the things you point out in your report is that you will look at how ethical pressures on police officers isolate them from the community. Obviously, we have been looking at the benefits that diversity of a police force can raise and that has been raised particularly with regard to counterterrorism, which we will come along to shortly. That seems to us to be quite an urgent piece of work that needs to be done. What is your timescale for doing it and how do you see that work developing?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** This is really the responsibility of the MPS. We have highlighted in our report - and it is nothing like as bad as it was around the country historically - that naturally police officers are loyal to one another. The groupthink that sometimes takes place and perhaps slightly overstated loyalty needs to be looked at by every police officer within an ethical context.

For example, if a police officer sees another police officer doing something particularly good that is not part of normal practice but has just occurred in an event, it should be reported. Police officers have said to me that the normal work they do well is never taken into account. It should be taken into account. Equally - and this is an absolute requirement in both the medical and legal professions - if somebody acts improperly in the performance of their professional role, it should be reported because, although it may be seen to be disloyal, it affects the whole service if it is not dealt with. Actually, the loyalty to one's profession is to report such incidents.

Speaking for myself, I would like to see police officers at all levels recognised as more fully professional than they are. I know that one of the political parties - and it is not my own, actually - has raised the issue of chartering police officers - who might be constables or might be the Commissioner of the MPS - so that their professionalism is recognised, whatever they happen to be doing, so that some can stay doing the work they really like without necessarily being promoted. That is part of the overall picture of how you produce an improved ethical standard.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** Good morning, Lord Carlile. I am glad you have clarified that your reference to Hackney and Stoke Newington was because of your personal experience rather than because it is a less or more ethical place in London.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Hackney is a wonderful place.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** I represent it and so I am with you there.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** I am very happy living in Hackney.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** Can I ask you a few questions about your report? In a sense, you have touched on it, but I would like a little bit more detail about what the response has been to that report. I will focus on, if you like, two of the recommendations that you made.

In answer to my colleague Caroline [Pidgeon MBE AM, Deputy Chair], you said that the response from the MPS had been favourable. However, when we look at the exchanges between the Ethics Panel and the MPS via the lens of the exchange with AC Martin Hewitt, you responded back to a letter saying that the MPS needed:

*“... to be especially mindful of its strategies for disseminating the programme [training in values of ethical policing] to the lower ranks of the organisation.”*

What I do not understand is how you will be monitoring that. Having had that exchange, will you be doing that on an annual basis? How will you know whether that trickle-down approach or, if you like, ground-up approach is happening in terms of embedding ethics within the policing training and practice?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Thank you for asking that question. We will return to it periodically. I am not saying we will return to it annually. We will return to it when we feel the need to do so. However, we will certainly review reports we have produced on a reasonably regular basis.

The real point I was trying to get at in the part you quoted is about the way in which training is given in the MPS and this is clearly understood by senior management. I do not think training is always as successful if it is very top-down as if it is given at ‘platoon’ level, if I can be forgiven that expression. It is actually quite a good comparator.

I noticed when I went on night patrol with the police from Stoke Newington - and I went to two briefing sessions because I went back the following week in the morning - that the briefing for each shift is given in turn by one of the junior officers, one of the constables, on that shift. That is very good. It gives them the experience of briefing their colleagues. That kind of principle can be developed. We all know that sometimes the very best trainers are not the very best managers and vice versa and there is a need to identify who is best at giving the training.

If we take another area I know quite a lot about, the Royal Navy, they use senior ratings, as they call them, to train sometimes senior officers in matters that they have an everyday understanding of. Really, that puts a little bit of flesh, I hope, on the bones of what you quoted.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** That is very helpful. Just bringing in a reference here from my time when I was on the MPA, indeed it was a piece of work that I was doing and the officer I was working with was Catherine Crawford [former Chief Executive, MPA]. We met up with advisers from the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) because the question there was about ethics. Clearly, there was no code of practice on the mainland, if you like, but Northern Ireland had one because of its past embedded in its practice.

Did you look at that model? They have had years of experience of it. If you have looked at that, would that give us a timeline to see how long it would take for us to get that sort of shift and that sort of embedding of ethics into practice within our police service?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** The Northern Ireland ethics document is extremely helpful and we have looked at it in terms. That said, since 2001 I have had very close contact with the PSNI. I remain the non-statutory reviewer of national security policy in Northern Ireland; in other words, of the broad activities of MI5. That brings me into regular contact with the PSNI and with the

Northern Ireland Policing Board, in front of whom I have appeared on a few occasions, whenever they have wanted me.

The context in Northern Ireland is very, very different. It is very difficult indeed to draw any direct lessons from the situation in Northern Ireland. However, I absolutely applaud them for producing a code of ethics that was rather more extensive than that produced by the College of Policing and we can learn a lot from the document as opposed to the practice. There has been a huge amount of expertise in the production of policy in Northern Ireland because they need very sound policy because of the difficulties of the work they do there.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** That answers a follow-up question. I heard your reference that the College of Policing's ethics code was basically only about principles.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Yes, it is a highway code.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** I was going to say that there is another model of extending that, but we can carry on that discussion at a later date, maybe.

The next idea that came out of your report was for greater public awareness of the pressures and challenges for the police - which is so needed, it seems to me - through programmes such as ride-along schemes. How did you come up with the ride-along scheme and have you had any feedback about that since that was put forward as an idea?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** The term 'ride-along scheme' I claim no credit for. I am not sure who thought that up. It was probably you, was it?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I did not come up with that phrase, no.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** What we really meant to say - and I hope it is reasonably clear - is that we rode along with the police and just taking my own experience, although obviously we shared our experiences, I was present at a very difficult domestic violence incident, I was present at a fight outside a club down in Shoreditch and I was present when a man suffering from dementia was lost on a bus a long way from his home. They are just three examples of incidents from which I learned a great deal. For example, from the domestic violence incident I learned that the experienced if a little unreconstructed older police constable dealt with the incident more brilliantly than the very bright young graduate police constable. I had expected the contrary and so my expectations were somewhat changed and in a good way.

Our experience of riding along with the police taught us a great deal. Obviously, it would be extremely difficult to have a 'pay your money and ride along with the police' scheme, which would inhibit operational activity.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** You never know. They have to raise money.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** There is always that. Can I just give you an example? I was present last night at a meeting in the Houses of Parliament where a scheme called Shoot Straight, which has been developed by Goldsmiths' College, University of London, with young people, mostly from black and minority ethnic communities, although not entirely, who have real domestic

difficulties. They have used drama and film-making to face the sorts of issues that they have had. That has had a tremendous impact on everyone - including me - who has seen what they have produced.

I believe the same could happen if representatives of communities were able to ride along with the police from time to time without unduly inhibiting operational activity. I do believe a limited scheme could be devised with feedback, which could achieve a great deal. It would certainly inform my Panel if that were to occur. However, that is a matter for you, sir.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** Yes, thank you for that. It is interesting that your experience is coming out of Hackney because I believe that the Independent Advisory Group (IAG) there, which I am an observer of, regularly carries this out. They would not term it as 'ride along' but as 'observational visits'. That is then fed back to the borough and it can then influence thinking from the Borough Commander. I just wanted to understand how the ride-along scheme, if you had thoughts on it, was any different to a similar action that is taking place. I know that IAG does it. I do not know whether other IAGs do that from their memberships, which are representative of the population.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I have seen the Hackney schemes and they are observational. Whether we call it a ride-along patrol, at its heart the thing that was struck from this and the message we took from it was about the openness and transparency of saying, "Come on, have a look". The experience is that the more people see of it, the more people understand the dilemmas and the limits. We have done this and we have spoken before about the work we are doing with the BBC documentary. A few years ago, we would have said, "Do not do that", but we woke ourselves up and said, "Come and have a look at it. You tell us. You give us feedback". You know from some of those observational things, the custody visitors and all the way through, people will say, "It is risky. There is data". No, let us just be open. Let us look at how people, whether they are in Richmond or in Bromley or wherever, can say, "I would actually like to see what you get up to. What does it look like?"

We have devised a scheme. It has started in some places. Helen King [AC Territorial Policing, MPS] is briefing all of the inspectors at the beginning of May and you will see the wider rollout and saying to people, "Come and have a look". For obvious reasons, we make people sign an indemnity and it is all done properly, but it is about getting people out to say, "This is what we do. This is how we police the community. If there is something you think we can do differently, help us, tell us and engage with us".

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** That fits nicely into my next question and that is really an answer to the question that I had. The Mayor said that the new procedures would be introduced in early 2015 and you are saying that you are on course for that.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We are on course to do that. It has started. When you did your work around stop-and-search, you saw some of the stuff where we were talking about how people can observe stop-and-search. It is a similar sort of scenario to that. We have all the neighbourhood inspectors together and, literally, the launch will be then to try to make sure that the scheme - in the nicest way - looks the same and feels the same and is not something that looks very different if you do it in one part of London to another.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** That will be borough-led?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It will be borough-led. It must be at a borough level.



**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** Thank you very much.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Of course, if it helps, Chair, we have also asked the question: if we can do that at a borough level, can we do it within the units and teams? As we discussed before, there is about 30% to 35% of the MPS's resource that we do not ever talk about, which does a whole range of investigative work and does things that are equally as challenging and in some ways ethically more difficult.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** That whole thing will be interesting and it will be good for certainly this Committee and others to hear more prior to the launch so that we are informed and can then respond to queries immediately the following the launch, which there always are. Thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Can I just ask Craig as well? When the Ethics Panel was being set up, the Commissioner said that it would be helpful for the MPS to be able to raise ethical dilemmas with the Panel directly. Could I just ask whether you have fed in your ideas and have you been part of that work programme development?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Absolutely. You will remember that we discussed the Ethics Panel when it was established. The hope from the MPS is that five to ten years from now we will look back and wonder why we were not doing work around ethical dilemmas. The reality is that there are many areas - and we have discussed them as a panel - where I would characterise it as: the legal framework is there, public opinion is there and practice is here, and trying to knit those together is incredibly difficult. We are. Part of that is about informing because - and it goes to Mr Arbour's point - some of these issues are really in the applied areas like the threat-to-life type of work that we do with gangs where we have to make decisions very quickly and feeding in how a senior investigator works those through. The relationship with the Committee has been very good on that.

We are learning with it because, absolutely, we want to be part of this. However, we are not ethicists. We can talk about some of the challenges and dilemmas. That is why we value people saying, "No, we are independent. We will not give you a view". I am sure there will be things that as we go forward we will not always agree on, but that is the strength of having that independent view.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** I do not think we have any further questions on the Ethics Panel. Personally, I have had a great level of reassurance today. Can I thank you, Lord Carlile, for coming along and sharing that? When we get the work programme, we can look to see if we can send any of our reports that we have previously done to you that might inform your work as well and vice versa. No doubt we will welcome you back when you publish your next piece of work.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** Thank you very much.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Chair, before we leave the issue --

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Yes, Stephen?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** -- it is probably important for the Committee to reflect that success is not so much the impact on the public but actually how the ideas and recommendations that come from the reports are picked up by the MPS.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** It is about a culture shift, yes.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** That is the thing we need to look at. It is interesting that whether we call it a 'ride-along' scheme or the 'observational' ride that you have in Hackney, it is now something that is being changed following that report to be widened. That is a step in the right direction and will hopefully provide some reassurance that this is certainly not just a talking shop.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Yes, that is helpful. It is a very long-term issue. Every new Commissioner we have always puts a priority on culture shift, and hopefully this can be part of that. Can I just thank you very much for coming?

We are going to carry on with our questioning to the Deputy Commissioner and the Deputy Mayor. Please feel free to leave us, Lord Carlile. I am not sure you necessarily want to stay for the rest of the questioning. I do not know if there is anything else you want to say to us before you leave?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel):** I just wondered if I might remain whilst you deal with Prevent, which is nothing to do with the London Policing Ethics Panel directly but it is a subject in which I have a close interest and some participation.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** You would be more than welcome to. That would be very helpful. We are going to move to that. Shall we do that next, then?

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Yes. If you want to do Prevent now, yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We will move to the Prevent section now. This is section 7 in our briefing here. We have over the last few months asked you many questions about the ongoing threat of counterterrorism. Since we last asked questions, we have had the very high-profile case of the three young girls who, unfortunately, have travelled through Turkey into Syria and some of the issues and practices of the MPS that has raised for the public. Victoria, you are going to start the questioning with regards to this?

**Victoria Borwick AM:** The reason I wanted to take this up is both obviously on a general level but also on a particular level as quite a lot of them seem to be in the tri-borough area. I was concerned, really, that it is the relationship between the police, the schools and the other social services things. One of our concerns is that it is also a child protection issue. My concern is that the schools --

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We are coming to safeguarding issues later, Victoria.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** Yes, I know, but one of the things is that the schools are not necessarily particularly good at wanting to highlight that they have a problem. They see it as a negative reflection on a school. Schools are now so keen on their positions in the league tables that perhaps they are not as good at asking for support as they might be, which is very retrograde because the only way of achieving and tackling this problem is to all work together and to be quite open about it. This is a problem and these young people are young enough to be helped.

Anyway, perhaps you would just start us off with what you think you have learned so far and how we are going to take this forward.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Thank you. Your analysis in terms of one of the challenges with the whole work around Prevent is that it has been seen as the police front and centre doing this. We are actually not. We are part of this and it does require everyone to step together and work around it. That is families, communities, schools, health, social workers, all the way through. Therefore, we welcome the change that is going to put it on a statutory footing and put that focus around it.

We then have to be quite clear on the interventions that work because we know that there are a variety of interventions that work. Whilst obviously we focus on particular cases and some of the particular cases that do not work, some of the things do not get the coverage we perhaps deserve. However, when you look at when Mark [Rowley, AC Specialist Crime & Operations, MPS] and the Commissioner were talking at the HASC quite recently, the one that did not get a lot of coverage but bodes well for the future is that 87 missing people were reported by families to the police and other agencies. That is 87 people who were prevented from going and the work was done. We all understand and I can only imagine the trauma a family goes through when they start to think something is going wrong in their family and make that decision to reach out and seek help, but people are doing it. We are seeing more referrals and we are seeing more people say that there is an issue and a challenge. We have to build on that.

I absolutely agree with you about seeing this in its totality. This is not a failing by an organisation or another organisation or anything. These are extremely complex issues around intervention and the motivation for people going will be very different. There will be one particular motivation whether people are going to fight, whether people see it as a humanitarian role or whether it is a child protection issue. You have to tailor the solution to a particular case.

That is where the multiagency Prevent problem-solving panels at a local level work well. Do they work well across every borough? No, they do not and we need to do some work collectively about making sure they do, but when you look at some of the things that go into those and some of the real, practical cases - getting someone work, moving someone in an environment - there are real things you can do around an individual case to help.

It also requires all of us to be very clear collectively - politicians, commentators - on the narrative because we know from the work we are doing that there is a very strong radicalising element - both in social media and in the narrative around the Islamic State in the Levant (ISIL) and all of those sorts of challenges from Syria and elsewhere - that has a very powerful pull on young people.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** I am just a bit concerned that we talk about the multiagency hubs and all of those meetings, but those are traditional methods that we have always used. What is proved immediately now, particularly with the use of social media, is that we need to be much faster on our feet. Let us not beat about the bush here. We know, I believe, that the schoolteacher did not disclose the fact that in a particular instance one of the other children had travelled to Syria earlier in the year. If you go back and study a particular instance in retrospect, obviously you can see - so to speak - failings in the system. I am not necessarily saying that of the police, but we have now reached the situation where we are making an expectation that the police are going to look at it.

Do you think you should be going back to having dedicated police officers in schools? What other advice and guidance are you giving? How are you working with local authorities in order to be a bit more proactive here? It is obviously, "Oh my God, this has suddenly happened", and we need to catch up here.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** There is a whole range of things. The number of officers dedicated to schools has increased, but that is only one part of it. I do not think the Prevent problem-solving panels are what you would call 'normal meetings'. For those who have done multiagency public protection arrangement (MAPPA) or multiagency risk assessment conference (MARAC) meetings, they are much more around specific cases and coming up with solutions that work for specific individuals rather than talking about general issue.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** For example, in a borough, would all the schools have been spoken to by now?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It would literally depend on the schools and their levels of challenge or the issues --

**Victoria Borwick AM:** That is a perceived challenge that I do not think people would have thought six months ago that schools in what is seen as the tri-borough partnership, schools that are supposed to be at the top of their academic tree, would have. I do not want to make these same mistakes again. We are talking about Kensington and Chelsea here and Westminster and so, in that sense, they are not necessarily boroughs that people would immediately have presumed would fall into the pot. I do not want to, therefore, make prejudgements that mean we are not actually looking and we were caught napping on this.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** There is a whole range of activity going on both under Prevent and elsewhere with the Department for Education (DfE). There are simple things, like a teachers' and head-teachers' hotline that allows teachers to reach out into the DfE to get support.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Perhaps it would be useful, actually, if you told us from a police point of view how you prioritise the schools that you will do preventative work in?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It will entirely depend on the risk. If there has been previous travel or there is intelligence to support it, we will prioritise around those areas. It is now a part of the schools programme in all schools. If we are in a school, we will talk about the issues around Prevent. We will talk about the issues around radicalisation. It is absolutely a key part of what we do.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** Can we have an assurance that we actually are looking more broadly at what schools you are going into? The schools that this has happened from - Quintin Kynaston Community Academy (QK), Chelsea Academy, Holland Park School - are all top schools in the academic sense and, therefore, they would not necessarily have been schools you might immediately have judged.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** There is a different level of intelligence around schools that has nothing to do with their academic performance. There is an awful lot of stuff that comes into us that we know about schools and educational establishments that the educational establishments will be aware of and will share with us. However, just to emphasise: for all officers going into schools, part of their thinking is about Prevent. The monitoring of missing persons who are reported to us now is considerable in terms of what goes on and how very early one of the decisions is, "Is this a traveller? Did something happen?" We are absolutely doing that.

What I cannot offer you because we simply could not do it is we cannot be responsible for and manage every child in every school. We cannot do that. What we can do is look at those areas where we can have most impact and look at those areas where we can make those efforts of support. Part of that is airing these issues

today. It is the reporting of these issues. It is the conversations around these issues. It is understanding what the challenges are.

You have touched on social media and some of the challenges with social media. That is a huge challenge for all of us. We are having a very live debate, quite rightly, about how far we want police intrusive powers to be able to go when all of a sudden everyone wants us to be aware of everyone's social media. You cannot have it both ways, though.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** One of the criticisms, of course, was about how you distributed the letters. Many of us who are parents are quite used to letters coming home in bags. It is not unreasonable in that sense. However, have you now thought about other ways of communicating directly with parents?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** Do you want to tell us a bit about that?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** As the Commissioner said, on reflection and with hindsight, that should have gone straight to the parents in whatever way was appropriate and possible. We now look at where people have gone and at what we need to put in the wraparound around friends and wider groups, but how far do you take this? How far do you want us to go? Do we do it for every member of the family? Do we do it for extended families? We are just really practical around the limit of it.

Where Prevent is having the most effect is some of the work you will have seen around preventing tragedies and the work that is going on at the moment with women and girls and mothers and talking about roles. We are stepping into a very different space in terms of doing this. There are lessons we are learning lessons from that.

If you look at something at the moment, some of you may have heard of the work around Diary of a Bad Man [online video series] by Humza Arshad, a young individual who can talk to people about the challenges. The message gets over. Sometimes people of my age and generation talking about this is not the answer and so you have to tailor the approach. Five weeks of work with children around London and 6,000 children is a huge commitment in terms of landing that.

We have had 1,500 women through the work around cyberbullying and understanding that when someone reaches out on social media to another country, the response they get might not be what you are thinking at all, and so what do you look for? That is what we are working with families and communities to explain.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** When you are dealing with the Prevent programme, which obviously many of us have locally, how effective can it be when bodies that are not necessarily covered in it fail to report? How do we increase the confidence? Surely we have to get a system where, if somebody has a concern, wherever they come from, they are happy to feed it into the right place.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes, absolutely.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** How are we making that happen?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** First of all, the legislative change about making it statutory will help. All statutory agencies will do that.

Will we always pick up everyone? We have to be realistic and I think that you are in your approach around it, but this is a really big ask. If it is a family that spots something with their young person, it is a really big thing to say, "Do I reach out to Jennette [Arnold OBE AM] as my lead member on the local authority or do I phone the MPS?" That is a really big call. We have to offer people lots of avenues around that. The work around the head-teachers hotline and some of the other hotlines that are available all the way through to the antiterrorism hotline gives people those ways to reach out and to understand what is going on.

Those of us of a certain generation do not operate in that social media space at all. For those of us who do, it is quite rudimentary. We certainly do not operate in the way that young people are being approached across London from foreign fields and are being made offers that they find compelling. This is to get all of us involved in a very strong articulation of all the things that make this place special, the values and everything else and knocking back these radical ideas and radical interpretations.

We have some success with doing it. We talk about Prevent sometimes and we talk about issues around foreign terrorism, but Prevent also covers extreme right-wing activity where we have been tremendously successful around countering some of those narratives and some of the work around it.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** I was just going to ask about this travelling to Syria question.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Before we move on, with regards to the three girls who went to Syria and the criticism that they have levelled at the police and at the school, it would seem, as well, have the police actually changed their practice now about contacting parents?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** Yes, that is what he said.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That is a definite change and you will always contact parents?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes, unless there is a compelling child protection reason that we cannot. People do sometimes flee their parents because their parents are the challenge. I am not suggesting that in any of these at all, but I am absolutely clear that, exactly as you highlighted, we deal with child protection issues all the time.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** You said it might be several members of the family. That is what your answer to me was.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** The other thing that the head-teacher said was that the police had asked her not to disclose that the first girl had gone missing a few months previously. That raised criticisms that, if that was the case, the rest of the pupils would have known anyway. I am wondering about that.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Our view slightly differs on what was said. From the brief I have, both the Missing Persons Unit and our SO15 officers are saying that they did not say that and we have written to the Committee saying that we did not tell her that.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** There is some debate about that.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** Sorry, can we just go back, just so that we understand? How many people are now estimated to have travelled to Syria and subsequently returned?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Gosh. I do not think we have an exact number. The number we have been using publically is 500 to 600 who have travelled, of which an estimate is that about half returned. Part of the challenge is that we do not have a complete picture on this. Some may have seen - and I think it has been launched today - that on the BBC website they are tracking people who have gone with social media. They can work out where in the United Kingdom (UK) they have come from in terms of groups. That is not a complete picture, but we estimate it is that sort of number.

**John Biggs AM:** Is there a breakdown on gender?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I do not have it here because that 500 to 600 is incomplete.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** Perhaps send it to the Chair in due course.

**John Biggs AM:** It is presumably overwhelmingly male?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It is overwhelmingly male. Latterly, there has been a focus around girls and young women.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** Could you just give us a bit more information about what you are doing with the other voluntary services so that everybody knows what is happening locally in various communities to analyse and understand what attracts young people, as you say, and girls and young males, as John said, to inform the counter-narrative? Would you like to reassure us a bit more about what is going on?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Various Members will be aware of our group that is called Communities Together Strategic Engagement Team (CTSET), which looks at community tensions and information coming from both communities and the third sector. Through the Muslim Safety Forum we do work as well around understanding what those narratives are and what is going on in communities and organisations. Through our Prevent officers in boroughs and also through the Prevent leads in local authorities, they also reach out.

This is a constant picture that is refreshed around what is going on in a particular borough, what activity is taking place and also, most important, where those areas are where we need to target activity and resource.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** I have to say that we have various Prevent meetings up in North Kensington, where I am a councillor. The concern is that actually the Prevent people do not know enough.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Always, yes.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** I am very keen where possible to get as many other organisations feeding into the pot and to make people feel confident. I know you say there is a statutory duty, but for that you have to be

almost a statutory authority. It is a case of changing the mind-set so that people are confident in being able to make a confidential call or to express their concerns.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes, I totally agree. The more people who inform the picture the better. It is an area where we do not have a complete picture certainly in the police service. If you look at the statutory agencies, they probably all have parts of it, often around an individual or a family. Then, as you say, if you look at the voluntary sector and wider and if you look at the circle of friends, they are going to have part of the picture around it. Collectively - and it is certainly not just the police - that debate has to take place with commentators and politicians and everyone to make the environment such that the first thing people think when they hear this is, "I need to tell someone. I need to do something to prevent it", because they are preventing harm to another person. I am entirely with you on that.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** When we come back after the general election, our first piece of work will be to look at Prevent in a lot more detail and so a lot of this groundwork will be covered then, Victoria. John, you wanted to come in at this point?

**John Biggs AM:** Yes, I have a question later on, but I was quite interested in the question of transparency. Is 600 the figure for London or for the whole country?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** The whole country, as I understand it.

**John Biggs AM:** I would think that that is probably an underestimate.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We cannot tell the number of people who move in and out of the country for normal reasons, let alone --

**John Biggs AM:** By the way, my daughter went to Holland Park School. It is a fantastic school. The Chair of Governors at Bethnal Green Academy is one of my closest friends and, again, that is a really good school that has improved massively. Therefore, I do not think the schools are the problem. That is anecdotal, if you like, but they are clearly part of the solution.

The question is about transparency. I represent people in the East End of London and I sense that there is a discomfort and some sense of denial about ownership of this problem. I take the view in politics that transparency is normally a pretty good thing unless there are overriding reasons of confidentiality about national security or individual circumstances that discourage you from doing that.

Do you feel that in addition to changing your tactics, your relationships with schools, the way in which you deal with these issues and communicate with people and so on, we should be more open about this as an issue in London and in different communities or do you think we are there? You would agree with that?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**John Biggs AM:** Are we actively moving towards achieving that?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** You are going to talk to Mark at some point, I take it. If you look at what Mark [Rowley, AC Specialist Crime & Operations, MPS] has done in terms of talking about the problem in a different way, we have been more open and more transparent



as we realised the scale of what is going on. I absolutely endorse what you say. If we do not, this is not a problem we are going to solve sitting here in policing.

**John Biggs AM:** The final bit about transparency, then, is in terms of understanding what is going on because every newspaper in the country has had several columns about what is actually happening within individual communities and why people are doing what they are doing. We can all hypothesise, but in terms of intelligence and understanding the overall process, do you have a model of what is actually going on? Is it that teenagers may be interested in rock music or whatever and may then be interested in radical Islam? Is it simply a youth thing?

Again, I know I am paddling with my socks on and it is too detailed an issue to cover in a very short question session, but in terms of transparency one needs to have clarity about the narratives with authority.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**John Biggs AM:** Yes? OK. Are we getting there?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We are starting to get there and it will not be a surprise that it is not one group or type. It is not as simple as saying, "That person is very quiet at school and therefore they must be on a path to some other place". We have spoken before about both the travelling and people who potentially will commit offences.

One of the things that we have seen that is very different about the current activity is that people will go through the stage of being radicalised or becoming active quite quickly. I will keep it safe and go back to my youth. You would probably start reading something, you would start expressing some different views and a few months later you would go on a few marches or something like that. What the internet and social media has done is to make that transition potentially far quicker for some people.

That also then links to the question around MAPPA. We also see some crossover with people who are already vulnerable and so there are vulnerability issues around this. There might be a variety of vulnerabilities that feed into it. We have quite a picture of what has happened at the moment. Clearly one of the challenges is that we only know about what has happened with those we know about. Of that 600, you rightly put in a challenge and you think it is more than that. If it is, I cannot tell you either the routes they have gone or what has driven them.

**John Biggs AM:** I am tempted to go on. Very briefly, Victoria [Borwick AM] talked about whether the schools were sufficiently engaged with the MPS, for example, and we have been through that in terms of general policing and we are now going through that in terms of this particular problem.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**John Biggs AM:** There is a related point about how we go through this with communities and with mosques in particular in the current context and so on. Again, this is too big an issue for today and we may deal with it later on.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We have questions on it later on.

**John Biggs AM:** Have we? I have not spotted that. Let us see if we can tease them out.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Perhaps we will bring John back later on if we have not put it.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Can I just pick up what response the MPS has had to your recent media campaign particularly aimed at mothers of daughters at risk of travelling to Syria?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** As I said, I cannot link every one of those 87 to a particular campaign, but we are getting more reporting. One thousand five hundred women have been through the sessions with Helen [King, AC Territorial Policing, MPS]. I do not know if any of you have seen the Preventing Tragedies website, which has advice, social media feeds and current issues. There is some real practical advice on there in terms of things to do, addressing the issue that Mr Duvall has picked up on a number of occasions, giving people an avenue in which to go that is not always the police and pointing people towards some of the other agencies that will help. That work is out there. It is going require more people to step into that space to have those conversations because it goes back to the first point that was made: policing is but one part of the Prevent agenda. As we get to communities and we get to mosques and places of worship, we are not best placed to be leading that agenda.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** The action overall has been positive and it has not caused --

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes, it has been positive.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Then we touched on social media earlier and the dilemmas around how much you monitor it. With all these things - and we questioned it over online crime - do you think the MPS, and I guess security services alongside, are actually properly equipped to monitor social media? We have heard one of the schoolgirls in east London used Twitter to help her get to Syria. In our briefing, it was from the *Economist*, sharing the hashtags of different things, ISIL and so on, that have been used. Clearly there were signs there in hindsight, one can say. Do you really feel that you are equipped to be able to deal with this in almost real time, as you said earlier?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We certainly can do some of this in real time but you have to be realistic about the volume of data that is actually out there. I know some colleagues on the panel tweet. If you have seen the volume of information that is out there, picking the wheat from the chaff is a real skillset. You do come back to how far do you want us to go? What is the limit you want in a free society? Frankly, I am sure the technology exists and if we had the legislative framework we could monitor everyone's social media all of the time. I do not think you would thank me for it and you might ask me some different questions in a different forum and so we have to get the balance right with that.

The other thing that works around the fast time point is having those links. One of the things that worked in this case and works, you will be aware that we have counterterrorism (CT) liaison officers in a number of countries around the world. We need those really fast links now. As we go forward it is going to raise some issues around, "Go on, then. How would we share intelligence on what is a global problem and where do we all want to sit on that?" We have our set of jurisdictions and we have our thinking about data and how we share it. How are we going to do that with countries on the other side of the world in a way that they can actually intervene if someone is on an aircraft or someone is travelling through their country on the way to somewhere else?

We are using our systems as we have them at the moment. Could we do and have more? Of course we could. However, the social media piece is very, very big in terms of what is out there and an ability to trawl it. It is

probably best I do not talk about how we can look at the stuff in the public domain. In relation to the security services, they will have their own capability in terms of that.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** I wonder, Lord Carlile, as you are listening to this debate, whether you have anything to contribute on this. Clearly there is an ethical element here about how far the police can go in terms of social media and so on.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair of the London Policing Ethics Panel):** I should first of all declare an interest as the independent reviewer of the Prevent policy that was produced in 2011, and say that an awful lot has changed since then. Syria has changed significantly. ISIL has become a completely different, if not entirely new, issue and so there is certainly room for changes in Prevent policy now.

On the last point that you raised, 'narrative' is a key word in all this. There is a huge amount of narrative on the internet. Some of it is on the 'dark' internet. The answer to the question as to whether we are adequately dealing with that narrative has to be a straightforward no. My belief is that the Government could do more and should do more and should do so in partnership with the private sector. For example, I live not very far from the Old Street roundabout. Within 100 metres of the Old Street roundabout, you could find 100 to 200 consultants with the imagination and skills to move the counter-narrative on at a very fast pace.

The other quick point I would like to make is that I do not think one should make the mistake of assuming that Prevent is a police task because it is not a police task. If the police are seen to be fronting Prevent, there is a danger of the police being seen by minority communities as spying on them. Despite the Trojan horse saga, Birmingham City Council has done some extremely good work by drilling Prevent down to ward level and having it taken charge of by councillors, social workers, education staff and others, and it is founded on fast-moving triage and the sharing of information by education, health and housing. Housing is very important in this because housing providers often have knowledge of exactly who is doing what and where, particularly at any given time of night. It is sharing of information so that triage can be effective.

The other point I wanted to make is about London. I have been to various boroughs in London as a member of the Prevent Oversight Board. The quality of work being done by some boroughs in London is extremely high and by some boroughs in London it is rather less high. There is a serious lack of uniformity.

The other point I would want to make is consistent with something the Home Secretary said the other day, which was about supplementary schools. There is very little, if any, control of the curricula of supplementary schools and of those who run supplementary schools. That is deeply worrying. I have seen within that country the effect of supplementary schools in Pakistan. It has been very serious in terms of increasing radicalisation of large numbers of young people. We have to be very careful to ensure that supplementary schools, most of which do a wonderful job, are properly scrutinised so that the danger of radicalisation in those schools is guarded against in a proportionate way without spying on them. I hope they are helpful remarks.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Yes, they are. Thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We will certainly put those on the agenda when we look at this in more detail. Perhaps we would invite you to come back and talk to us. That was very useful. Thank you.

Stephen, you have mentioned that at the end of this month Preventing Extremism and Prevent in particular will be given statutory status and that statutory status will apply to many more agencies such as schooling and

health. Local authorities are already involved. However, in a sense, that then shifts it from being a police-led scheme. I am just wondering effect you think that will have.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Chair, to be fair, the message from everybody, both Lord Carlile and the Deputy Commissioner, is that it is not police-led.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** It seems it is being police-led, yes.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** The fact that it is moving to a statutory footing is helping to make it absolutely clear that it is never and it should not be seen as a police-led programme.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** What difference will that make? It is picking up on Lord Carlile's last point as to whether you feel that organisations specified in the new legal duty have the capacity and resources to meet it. We have already heard that some local authorities do this a lot better than others. Perhaps, Craig, from your --

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** There are a number of things around doing that. Certainly we have had some conversations in London around whether we need a CONTEST [Counter Terrorism Strategy] board for London and a view of London collectively. When you start to see a legislative framework you can start then to use levers around the very basic thing: let us get some standard reporting so that we know which are the good boroughs and the not-so-good boroughs and then try to understand what lies behind that. It might be that the not-so-good boroughs are totally overwhelmed with the volume they are receiving, in which case we can look at how we resource it on a pan-London level.

It goes back to that point around the problem solving. Having seen and been briefed on the West Midlands example, the notion of triaging is absolutely right. It is our problem-solving panels at a local level. You literally have to get in and devise almost individual solutions for people because their needs are very different.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** You do that in the gangs work, do you not?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We do it in the gangs work. To reassure you, as Lord Carlile said, in the good boroughs in London that is going on in the Prevent work as well. It is getting some visibility for that and making sure people see it in terms of what it does. The other thing that it will address by making it statutory and bringing people in is it will buy people into this crucial point about the narrative. It is very hard to work in partnership if there is not a shared narrative. As the police, local authorities and elected leaders for London, what are we saying around the issues around Syria? What are we saying around travellers? You have to work with a narrative then that we can all work with and work to. That is tremendously helpful and it will formalise that position of us not at the centre. One of the challenges with our culture is that if you give us a task to do we will rush out and do it. That has its strengths but also has its weaknesses.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Perhaps I can bring Stephen in at this point as well. Do we need a CONTEST board for London and, if we do, is it MOPAC and your office that is going to be convening and doing that initial work setting that up?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** One of the things that we started off with was to get some experience of what is going on in other cities. We have held two CT (Counter Terrorism) cities

meetings and Lord Carlile has attended one of those. It is fair to say that what was referred to as the practice in Birmingham has informed our belief that – particularly now we see this statutory duty on the National Health Service (NHS), on schools, colleges and local authorities – we need a different governance structure for London that draws on some of the lessons from Birmingham. The biggest argument was not whether we had the board or whether we pronounce it ‘contest’ or ‘contest’. I do not think it matters. The case for a board is accepted by all the partners within the London Crime Reduction Board and that was on the agenda last time. The primary focus of that board in the first instance will be looking at Prevent. That is something that has been agreed, obviously working alongside London Councils. That will not be something that is owned by any particular agency. It has to be something that encourages everybody to come together and to work together. That will be within and reporting to the London Crime Reduction Board in governance terms.

It is also fair to say that more can be done when it comes to the commissioning of Prevent programmes. Whilst it is not a huge amount of money we have a role to ensure that we address a problem that was raised by Lord Carlile on the gap, if you like, between high-performing and lower-performing boroughs. I made the case and it was accepted at the recent police CT board and the Minister of State agreed that we would look to co-commission that programme so that MOPAC could go alongside the Home Office to be able to look particularly at the outcomes of those programmes. That would be something that could then be routed through the London Contest Board as a form of bringing all the different aspects together.

For this board to be effective, the start point is you need information and you need the data. Therefore, you need the profiles and you need the information in order to have an intelligent discussion. Then you allow it to drive down to ward level, as you see in Birmingham, so that you can have effective triage and the information then is available for those local Prevent problem-solving panels.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Have you decided what the timeframe for setting up this board is and who will actually chair it?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** It is not going to happen before the general election, but we are looking to set this up shortly after May.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Have you had a talk about who would chair the board and who would hold the ring in that board?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** I have offered to be someone who plays a role in representing the Mayor. Equally we want to have a senior representative from London Councils. It is very important to have the view of London Councils. Whether that is Jules Pipe [Chair, London Councils] or the lead for community safety is yet to be determined, but it is very much a joint responsibility and so it does not fall on one person. It is very much the Mayor’s Office working alongside London Councils.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** I take it that those details will be a bit clearer later on?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** We might have alternating chairs, but as soon as that has been determined we will give you that information.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Yes. We will get you in when we do a working group. John, are you carrying on with the funding issues?

**John Biggs AM:** Yes. That is very helpful as well. As the Chair has said, we are going to look in some detail at how this will precisely work. As I said already, we need to have a very vigorous discussion about what might and might not work and how we engage people, particularly people who are not engaged at present.

Moving down to the more mundane issue of funding now, we have the wisdom of Lord Carlile here and so he may be able to comment on this as well. However, to start with Stephen Greenhalgh, the Government did reduce the level of funding for Prevent early on. Possibly there were good reasons for doing that. Are you satisfied with the current level of Prevent funding provided to priority and supported areas in London?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** We know that there is an additional amount of money that was earmarked to support both the security services and policing. An element of that went towards Prevent, as I understand it. That would have been to Prevent policing. I am not sure there is any additional money for Prevent programmes.

**John Biggs AM:** Are you talking about CT funding as against --

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** That is CT funding for policing. We are not aware that there has been any changing for the Prevent programme so far.

**John Biggs AM:** Are you aware of how much is being funded to each of the boroughs?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** My understanding is that it runs into a few million. £3 million is the figure, but I am happy to get the figure for you. It is not a huge amount of money, but it is important that we know that it is working well.

**John Biggs AM:** You do not know where it is?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** At the moment, the commissioning of Prevent programmes that are not related to policing is something that is entirely done by the Home Office. What I have said to you is that I have made the case and it has been accepted by the Minister of State that it should be jointly commissioned. At that point I will obviously have more oversight over how the money is being deployed across London.

**John Biggs AM:** Then you would not be able to answer the question on how effectively you think the funding is being used?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** That is correct. Until MOPAC has a role in commissioning Prevent programmes, I obviously cannot answer those questions.

**John Biggs AM:** This is a warmup to Lord Carlile because you also cannot answer the question about whether the funding is adequate.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Obviously not at this point because I am not commissioning the programme.

**John Biggs AM:** We have gone some way to answering the question of how MOPAC is working with the MPS on this. You can perhaps help us a little more with that. Is that work in progress, given the points you recently gave in answer to Joanne McCartney?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Sorry, was that for me?

**John Biggs AM:** It is to Stephen. How is MOPAC working with the MPS on Prevent or is it not your baby?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Clearly at the moment our role and responsibility is oversight of the MPS. The MPS has a role but we are making it very clear that the MPS does not lead on Prevent. I have regular meetings - and I had one only yesterday - with the Assistant Commissioner Specialist Operations (ACSO). I happen to also be a chair of governors at a school.

One of the concerns of course, as we see the statutory duty fall on other agencies, is that there are effective packages that are easily available to deal with many of the issues that we are concerned about in schools and that we do not draw too heavily on Prevent police officers to do some of that work in schools that are not necessarily at high risk. Some of that is providing cause for concern. I am cited on some of these issues in my frequent meetings. I am obviously also part of the Home Office's Policing Counterterrorism Board, which holds the policing aspect of CT policing to account.

**John Biggs AM:** This could turn out to be moving to an anti-climax, but the second warmup is Craig Mackey on your relationship with Prevent and its funding and allocation of resources. Can you tell us anything about that?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Like the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime, I do not have that visibility. I can talk about Prevent work that is done in the MPS, which is rightly highlighted as part of the CT budget that comes down.

**John Biggs AM:** Insofar as the MPS does Prevent work, is it CT-funded Prevent work?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Predominantly.

**John Biggs AM:** It is separate from the Home Office-funded Prevent work to the boroughs?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I have talked about Prevent liaison officers in boroughs, I have talked about Prevent intervention teams and I have talked about some of the work we do. That is all core CT-funded officers. That we may work as part of a wider programme with colleagues that is funded - I do not know, an awareness theme through a particular school or mosque or religious establishments - absolutely we do that, but our core funding comes out of that CT pot.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** To help you, John, the person that you have invited as part of your work is Charles Farr [Director General, Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism]. Charles rang me to say you had invited him to come and I have encouraged him. I thought he would be very good for you. You can certainly address all of those questions to him and he will be able to answer them.

**John Biggs AM:** For reasons of parliamentary dissolution protocol, we are not seeing him until after the election.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** OK, but you are going to see him after that.

**John Biggs AM:** We could do even better and ask Lord Carlile for some comments on this. That was an aside.

In terms of Prevent funding, is it adequate? Is it adequately accountable? Is it a bit of a muddle about who is responsible? Do you have a sense of where the resources are at present?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair of the London Policing Ethics Panel):** I am aware that the Government announced that there will be increased money for Prevent. I cannot remember the precise figure, I am afraid. The money has to be distributed by the Home Office basically to two areas: local authorities and the third sector. The third sector has an extremely important role to play in Prevent because the third sector is not seen to be big Government. It is seen to be in more of a partnership with communities.

Local authorities can achieve that if they go about it in the right way. In some parts of London that is being done. I will not name the borough unless you make me, but I went to one borough in London where they had a Prevent cabinet where all the people you would expect gathered around and there was a tremendous row in the meeting. It was between the two imams who were present. I thought that was an absolutely wonderful achievement because they actually have these people exposing whatever differences they had in this quite open context, which was accountable.

**John Biggs AM:** Go on, name the borough.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair of the London Policing Ethics Panel):** Waltham Forest. I had only a limited exposure to what they were doing in Waltham Forest and some significant American people have looked at what was happening in Waltham Forest and it has been quite effective.

**John Biggs AM:** We are going to have this longer meeting, which perhaps you might find yourself invited to. In terms of resourcing, can we hear your comments on that?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair of the London Policing Ethics Panel):** My comments are that Prevent does not require huge resourcing. The cost-benefit analysis for Prevent is well demonstrable. The trick about Prevent is putting the resourcing in the right place.

Let me give you a very small example because it is very instructive. I went to Middlesbrough and a youngish Muslim man was brought to see me to explain what he was doing for Prevent. I said, "Tell me what you are doing for Prevent". He said, "I run a boxing club". I said, "Go on, how does a boxing club work with Prevent?" He said, "I have all these young men who want to be Amir Khan, who is a famous boxer, and they come to the boxing club. When they are exhausted, we sit around the ring whilst they are drinking their Lucozade and their Red Bull and we talk about the dangers of the internet". It costs pennies and it is wonderfully effective.

If one can bottle the work of angels, as it were, and replicate it around the country, then for next to nothing you can have really good Prevent strategies. This is art, not science. You have to go out looking for the best community-based schemes and then, as I say, replicate them, usually at low cost. What it really needs from central Government and other big government like this is a clear commitment with imagination. Does that answer your question?

**John Biggs AM:** That is good enough as a warm-up. Yes, thank you very much.



**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Presumably, Stephen, disseminating best practice is going to be a role for the new London CONTEST board or whatever. It has to be vital, particularly if you have London boroughs with different levels of sophistication in this area.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Tony, you are going to lead us on another line of questioning.

**Tony Arbour AM:** This relates to Prevent. Can I say initially that on 'contest', I see 'contest' as a verb and not a noun? To contest is --

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** The verb is 'contest', rather than 'contest'. It is a 'tomato/tomato' debate.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Yes, but I see it as active, a verb, 'to contest'.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Yes, the London CONTEST board.

**Tony Arbour AM:** I want to ask about the Prevent programme and I am wondering how it can be improved. Although I am inclined to think that Lord Carlile has said it about bottling the work of angels, he has already mentioned Red Bull and so I am not terribly sure about that.

Can I ask about the programme which has been running, the previous Prevent programme? Did it actually protect London? Did it actually do any good? I am not sure who that is for. It must be for you, Craig, really. Is there any evidence that it might have stopped something or might actually have prevented something?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It is very hard to adduce concrete evidence from interventions to action in both CT work and in gangs work. We know that some of those activities that draw people back towards the more core of their society do have an impact on people. I cannot produce you an evidence base for it. Was it part of the 2011 review?

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair of the London Policing Ethics Panel):** The Channel Project has certainly 'rescued' - if that is the right word, but 'withdrawn' is probably a better verb - some people from radicalisation. I have seen examples from the Channel Project of some very good work. The problem with the Channel Project is that it has been very small in numbers.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Yes. I have a note that says that the Home Office in a review it did in 2010 said that the programme was flawed. I wanted to explore whether or not those flaws have continued. It largely relates to how we monitor the amount of resource that is put into Prevent. In other words, it is actually going into the wrong hands. How do we monitor that? Indeed, who monitors that?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** That is the Home Office at the moment. You are absolutely right, Tony, because from my experience in local government when there was a lot more money for the Prevent programme, my first instinct was to first do no harm. The idea of putting public money into the hands of mosques or religious institutions that potentially could be accelerators and catalysts of radical views really concerns me. I put most of the money into schooling where there is a large Muslim cohort and I thought that would be a safer environment to get it to work. However, you are absolutely right. At the moment, the programme is a Home Office programme and it is fair to say that is why there is a role for the

Mayor's Office in actually co-commissioning the London element of that. It is important we are looking at outcomes and looking at the issues you raise closer to the ground than from Whitehall.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Is there not a worry - which does relate directly to your local government experience and indeed if I can draw a comparison with the international aid budget - that if the money is there, people want to spend it? If they are anxious to spend it, it may well be that the way they monitor the recipients might not be as of high a standard as if there was a shortage of money to provide. In other words, if the resource is to be rationed, you look very carefully at who receives it. If there is lots of money, you are not so careful because you want to say, "I have dished this money out to this organisation to make it work".

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** The level of money we are talking about is not a huge amount of money. It is entirely the point that Lord Carlile mentioned about finding those people who are genuinely going to make a difference at relatively little cost. It is having those community links to know who to work with, particularly in the third sector, which obviously goes beyond the money that is quite easy, which is to pay for a Prevent coordinator that sits in a local authority that draws together all the people you need to run all those problem-solving panels and other aspects of Prevent.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair of the London Policing Ethics Panel):** Chair, would you forgive me if I departed now?

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Of course, yes.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair of the London Policing Ethics Panel):** I came for the first session but I was interested in the second and I am glad I was here, but I have to move on.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That has been extremely helpful and so thank you. That is an extra bonus for us.

**Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew CBE QC (Chair of the London Policing Ethics Panel):** Thank you. You have been very kind.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** John, do you have questions about trust in communities?

**John Biggs AM:** Liberty has argued that Prevent has become more police-led and has lost the confidence of communities as a result. There are some commentators in the communities who have said that Prevent has been discredited by its police-led nature. Do you want to comment on that, starting with you, Mr Mackey?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I hope we have covered that in some of the earlier responses. Clearly, that is not the intention around this. It is absolutely welcomed that everybody else is stepping into that space.

**John Biggs AM:** How are you engaging to dispel those myths or assertions then?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It is events like this where you can talk about what is actually going on, but it is also getting over some of those things where it is success. It is about being open about the challenges around it but talking about those areas where it does have real success. We have touched on a couple of them: the work around preventing tragedies and those

sorts of things and the focus on mothers. Those all sit under that Prevent umbrella and so it is vitally important that we talk about where those things work and how they work.

**John Biggs AM:** There has been a constant theme through this – and this is very simplistic, of course – that it is obviously the case that the community ownership of whatever we call it – and we currently call it ‘Prevent’ – is the key to success and that policing is a secondary role, if you like, or a parallel role.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**John Biggs AM:** I am being clear about that distinction.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I can do it only from quite a simple analysis. If you look at the sphere of influences that sit around a young person or anybody who is vulnerable, the one that sits closest to them we never think of as the police.

**John Biggs AM:** I was listening to Dal Babu [Muslim former senior police officer] on the radio the other day and do you know what he said about Prevent becoming a toxic ground? This is covering the same ground. If that is the case or is perceived to be the case, how would the MPS, given that you have to be engaged in this, better manage your relationship in a way that would detoxify it?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** To some extent as well that is part of it not being seen as a police-led initiative. The questions are entirely right. However it is intended, we are currently seen front and centre in it. Seeing more people in it, understanding that it is absolutely a key part of that wider response to the challenges we face in our communities is absolutely crucial. I worked with Dal [Babu], he is a very bright, capable individual. If he says something, we should listen and understand it and then respond to it.

**John Biggs AM:** I do not want to misquote him, but part of what he said is that it was seen in parts of communities as essentially a white-led strategy and, therefore, was culturally insensitive.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** In fairness, I thought he made the point more about the link with how important it is to get a MPS that represents London.

**John Biggs AM:** Yes, that is my follow-up question. You have assumed it was the case, my follow-up, and so can you answer that one then?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** That is why you cannot separate the two. There is a philosophical debate we need to have. If you took that to its logical extreme – and I talked about Prevent being about the extreme right wing – should we have English Defence League or Britain First officers? Clearly we are not arguing that. Absolutely you do need cultural awareness, but I would argue a very personal view: I do not think you always need to be of a culture to understand a culture.

**John Biggs AM:** Implicit in the beginning of your answer was that a more representative police force would be better able to handle it, which is old ground.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It would. We have articulated that a number of times here. Where it goes, if I may, to the heart of your question, people often

thing when we articulate that we are doing it because it is some sort of correctness. It is not. There is an operational need to have a police service that represents the communities of London.

**John Biggs AM:** My final question then, and you have hinted at this, is about non-Islamic radicalisation. How many far-right referrals to the Prevent programmes have there been?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Gosh, I do not have those numbers. I can find them.

**John Biggs AM:** Is it zero or a number close to zero?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I do not know. I would be guessing and it would be unfair to do that. The extreme right-wing work is clearly still a part of the work we do around Prevent. You will be aware of a number of the interventions we have done around that. It is very much still part of the work we do.

**John Biggs AM:** It clearly is the case that consciousness in some minority communities will be raised and provoked by the actions of people in other communities who are passing judgments and perceptions and giving signals which antagonise and ostracise.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes. We are very alive to the challenges that presents. That is why you have seen some high profile ones.

**John Biggs AM:** Is that part of your Prevent strategy, then?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**John Biggs AM:** To what extent?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I cannot give you the numbers of how many from the extreme right wing.

**John Biggs AM:** Perhaps we can explore this elsewhere in our longer piece of work.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**John Biggs AM:** Does that cover the question you bounced me into asking, Chair?

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** It does, thank you, and it covers an earlier question.

**John Biggs AM:** OK, thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We have come to the end of the question on Prevent but, as I said, we are going to look at this after the elections. We will get into it in a lot more detail.

If we can move now to another issue we notified you about, that was the MPS referral to the IPCC of allegations of corruption linked to the child sex offences investigations. Caroline is going to lead our questioning on that.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Yes, I can, Mr Mackey. I just want to really get some reassurance, I am hoping, from you on this issue of some historic high-level corruption of a very serious nature. These allegations have been referred to the IPCC to investigate. What assurances can you give us today that no serving MPS officers are connected to the allegations that have been referred to the IPCC?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I cannot until we investigate them. It might help if I just put a bit of context. I think the panel are aware and we spoke a number of times about it. With the 2012 operation that we called Fairbank and the allegations that were made by Tom Watson MP around a paedophile ring that went to the heart of Government, that is when that investigation began. There were a number of strands to that investigation. I will not go through all the operational names and they will not mean much to people, but the focus was around the Elm Guest House, the allegation at the most serious level. Some of the serious and organised sexual abuse and possible murders of young people are the investigations that sit under the heading of Operation Fairbank. It sits within the Sexual Offences, Exploitation and Child Abuse Command (SOECA). It is a dedicated investigation. I know a number of people have seen Deputy Assistant Commissioner Steve Rodhouse talk about that.

Running alongside it and all the way through in these sorts of investigations, we have a Director of Professional Standards (DPS). There are 22 allegations in total that we have referred to the IPCC. They range from allegations that have come from former and serving officers to allegations that have come from partner agencies in terms of involvement around it. We have had 18 cases that the press release referred to last week and so there are still some allegations waiting for a mode of investigation decision. The IPCC is going to manage us doing that investigation and so it will be the DPS.

The allegations cover the 1970s all the way through to 2005. A number of the people who have come forward talk about things in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but I could not say to you that we will not find a link to someone currently serving until we do the work around this. I know Steve Rodhouse spoke at the weekend on the media around this and they are inextricably linked to each of the substantive allegations. It is the same witnesses and it is the same victims and that is why it is part of that investigation.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Presumably you have been working on this since 2012. If you clearly found anything that suspected an existing officer --

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Then we would do something about it now. To be really clear, we have referred some of what we call 'mandatory referrals' to the IPCC. It is open for the IPCC to do everything from an independent investigation through to sending them back to us.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** That is right, yes.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We have gone for a managed investigation, which is the middle pitch, if you like, in relation to these allegations. That work now begins in the detail of investigations.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** I can ask about investigation in a minute, but does this also apply in terms of serving ACPO officers? Could you have any serving ACPO officers that might be connected to any of these allegations that have been referred?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I do not know in relation to Operation Fairbank. I have not seen any, because for most ACPO officers I am the appropriate authority. Nothing has come through me yet in terms of that, but until you do the detail behind these, these are long investigations and there are a lot of allegations. One of our pleas has been around witnesses and people to come forward. We need that.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** They are very, very serious allegations. I appreciate it will take some time to work through them. Do you feel that managed investigation from the IPCC is the best way forward? It feels like the MPS is investigating the MPS effectively. Should the IPCC not actually have taken full control of these investigations?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I clearly cannot answer for the IPCC. You would have to ask them that question. There are two things. One, in terms of the approach, the IPCC was clearly comfortable in its decision-making that we had the skills to do it and it has presumably considered things like your impartiality point and those sorts of points. Also, I take some endorsement from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), which has inspected recently the MPS's capability and last year published a report. It notes the high capability in these sorts of areas. These are not straightforward or simple investigations to do.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** What level of resource are you committing to these investigations?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** At the moment it is led by a detective superintendent, in terms of the professional standards part of the investigation, and there is a team working too there. I do not have the numbers who are actually working in that team at the moment but I can get them for you. They will grow as those who have not come back in terms of how the mode of investigation works. I emphasise it has to be seen as part of the wider Operation Fairbank investigation because it is absolutely inextricably linked to the work that is going on both in the sexual offences command and also around Operation Midland we are using some of our resources from our murder and homicide command. It is a big investigation that has drawn resources up. You cannot say, "We will do the DPS bit over here by itself". Sadly, it is inextricably linked and you have to get to the core of some of the allegations in the wider Fairbank piece.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** How many officers do you have working on Operation Fairbank?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I do not have that number for you. I will get it for you.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** That would be helpful. Obviously lots of things have come out, including former detectives being told that they would be removed from post when they tried to investigate some of these things, and so on. The issue is how will you reassure - going back to that word 'reassure' - the public and those potential victims going forward that you are properly investigating this and there is not this whole thing of the MPS looking into the MPS? What systems do you have in place to make sure that there is no potential for conflict here? That is really is what I am trying to get at.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** There are a number of things. First of all, in terms of when people go on the DPS and particularly in the senior roles around the DPS,

there is a particular type of vetting, almost to the point of if we know something about an individual they will not go into that post. It is very precise in terms of DPS issues around people.

Also clearly the DPS part of this investigation is firewalled from the larger part. Things that the DPS will know will not always be known by the senior investigating officer (SIO) and vice versa because you will always have those sorts of things in an investigation. That is perfectly normal. That is where the role of the IPCC is so important. It is managed, remember, so that if an issue comes up - let us take a hypothetical case - halfway through strand nine of 18 and they go, "No, actually, you know what? We are taking that bit". So that is entirely open still to do.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Potentially it could happen.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** There is absolutely a potential. Colleagues in the IPCC review how they handle cases on a regular basis and that assessment moves. That is fairly standard in other investigations. I would not expect this to be any different.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Can I just ask a question? It is worth reassuring the public, but what work are you doing internally to reassure officers who may feel they could contribute to your inquiries but may be worried that they may be facing disciplinary action if they come forward because they did not investigate something because they were told not to? How are you dealing with that?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** There are a number of things in terms of calling people forward, first of all, as simple as asking and talking about it through to a number of the debates. We are now in a stage where we are going back to officers who were involved in these investigations. I know there has been a lot of talk about things like Official Secrets Act and those sorts of things. It is about having an honest conversation with someone. It is an incredible bar to breach the Official Secrets Act and it is quite a gateway process to get yourself prosecuted on something like that. It is individual reassurance by investigators talking to people and talking to teams who were around at this time. We have a long list of people to talk to and support in terms of doing it.

It also fits with that wider work. You will remember one of the things we spoke about briefly in a previous one, we talked about 'internal integrity line' we now have an external integrity line. We have put in a number of the checks and balances that we said we would do in terms of a ability for people to reach out of the organisation and raise concerns. They are there and they are available to everyone.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** It just strikes me that some officers may be saying, "We thought we were under pressure not to --

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Absolutely.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** They are worried now not under the Official Secrets Act but that they might have failed in their duty at the time.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes, and some of the allegations we have received look like that. People are coming forward.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Finally, I just wanted to ask how you will work with the independent inquiry into child abuse to ensure it does not jeopardise your own investigation?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Clearly through the role that Steve Rodhouse has, as that inquiry begins to take shape and look at its parameters – I cannot speak for the judge leading it – and if it follows other inquiries we are involved in, the usual practice is there are decisions around where the boundaries are. The allegations of crimes that might lead to court things are usually either dealt with or proceeded with first. It is a fairly wide-ranging inquiry and so that should not present a problem.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** OK, thank you.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Mr Mackey, you oversee the MPS Department for Professional Standards and so you are the person to ask these questions of, are you not? You presumably stay quite aware of what is going on to make sure that you have confidence in it.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** There are always concerns about an organisation investigating itself, whatever the organisation is.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes, I would agree with you.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** There was concern about the MPS investigating this even before it was known that the Commissioner had oversight of one of the 14 cases.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** That is not one of these cases.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** It is not one of those?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** No. These are very different. I will be really clear. I have seen the stuff in the media and the Commissioner has responded to that, quite rightly, in terms of how that is not these cases.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** How many cases are there here?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We are looking at 22 allegations that we have referred to the IPCC, 18 of which we have had back as managed cases.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** When you talk about the IPCC managing a case, what exactly does that involve? Does it mean that they send somebody to every niche in the investigation?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** If the coordinating group, or gold groups, lead group meets, the IPCC will get there. If there is a particular line of enquiry the IPCC will sign off whether that is appropriate. It is a very close supervision and watch on what is going on around an investigation.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** What sort of rank within the IPCC is that person?



**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I would suspect it is one of their senior investigators. They do not have police ranks as such. These are senior people and it would be overseen by one of the Commissioners.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You know presumably who that is. It must be the same person during the whole investigation. Otherwise, you could lose track.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It would certainly be. I have not met the senior investigator yet. My team, Fiona Taylor, the Deputy Assistant Commissioner (DAC), and Professional Standards and others will have met them.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You know who it is?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I do not know the name, no.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You do not know the name?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** No.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You do not know whether or not it is an ex-police officer?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** No, I do not.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Some of the senior investigators are ex-police officers.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Certainly from my looking in from the outside, there are not many police officers still in those roles.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** My aim with this investigation is that we feel it has been done completely, that there is no residue afterwards and that nobody can say it was not done properly or things are hidden and then they come out later. It is like plastering over an open wound or something. Presumably, you have the same aim and, therefore, you are keeping a close eye on this?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We are absolutely --

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You personally, not --

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Hang on. I am keeping a close eye on this, as is an AC, as is a DAC, as is a DAC in terms of the actual investigations. It is not in our interests at all to see this, as you say, plastered over or whatever analogy we want to use. We have done exactly what is required of us. We have referred those allegations. We voluntarily referred somebody with mandatory criteria because we think it was in the public interest to do that. We have had that mode of investigation from the IPCC and we work with that mode of investigation.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You will not be dealing with the case that the Commissioner oversaw when he was in ...

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** That is not part of these allegations.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** It will not come to you.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I do not know where that will go or what, if anything, there is in that.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Thank you.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I am like you. I have seen the press reporting.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We will just have to see how this one goes, but obviously it is something that has a lot of press interest and it is another historic issue you are dealing with. We are going to move now to Len with another topic with regards to the increase in murders in London this year.

**Len Duvall AM:** For the last couple of years or the last year-and-a-half, this Committee, and in full Assembly meetings with the Commissioner, has been focusing on issues of violence and the most high-end manifestation of violence in crime has been the increase in murders. We have reached a situation in these conversations we are having with you and MOPAC that there is recognition now that violent crime is increasing in certain categories and particularly amongst the young and it is not just a recording statistic blip which was one of the issues you said to us in the past.

My starting point then, before we get on to the murders themselves, is where you are on the violent crime strategy or the issues of tackling the rise in violent crime, which has not really been helped and we saw it again yesterday with the Mayor in denial about what is happening with some of the crime change. I recognise – just to help you because I do not want to get into an argument – that, yes, total crime is going down, but the trend is there about violent crime and where it leads to. We know where violent crime can ultimately lead to, as I said earlier when I began.

Can you just tell us, then, in terms of serious youth violence and in terms of increases, what is the strategy to reduce that? Can you comment on the increase in terms of murders and in particular about the young people's murders that we had in January? What is the status of those? Are they linked with gang behaviour or other circumstances?

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Is that to me?

**Len Duvall AM:** Let us start with Craig. We will come to you in a minute.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** If I start with homicide and some stats, I will quote some stats but it would probably be helpful if I give them to you in writing as well afterwards. Let us go with homicide because there are a range of things I will cover around this. It is too early to say around this spike earlier in the year. It is a worry, early in the year. We are concerned, obviously. The number of murders is 30 so far. We have talked about the trend and 2007/08 with 150 homicides a year. The last three years have had about 100 cases a year of homicide and, clearly, some of that is linked to the activity around gangs.

What we have done is a bit of digging below that and I will separate violence out, if I can, into a number of areas because there is a subset of it that we are looking at that we are particularly interested in around knife injury victims under 25. If we look at knife crime as a total, knife crime is continuing to show a decrease across London, a 34% reduction and, at the 2014 figures, our lowest level. There is an increase in knife injury victims under 25, which we use as a proxy measure for gang violence. I cannot give you a purist answer that it is absolutely 100% but it is a proxy for gang violence in terms of where it is. We saw that going down. We saw a reduction in offences, a 32% reduction in that, up to about January 2014. From January 2014 to January 2015, we have seen an increase of 17% and, therefore, that is 224 more knife injury victims under 25 than we have had over the previous year. That is the one that is moving in terms of the set.

Interestingly, gun crime and gun discharges are both down. Gun crime is down 14% and discharges have decreased by 22%. That work has continued in terms of that. The knife injury victims under 25 is the one that worries us because it is around young people. A lot of the focus of the gangs work has been around that.

Where does that link with the wider violence strategy? We have spoken before about the work around Equinox and the borough-specific plans about everything from where they are drivers of what we call low-level violence - and that is not to diminish what happens to people but it is not a knife crime - to where we have done work around licensing plans and a whole range of interventions through to this. Tackling this is much more around the work we are doing with Trident and the gangs work around where we are going. We have seen a lot of people put on restrictions, be it judicial restrictions or otherwise, around gang work. We have seen an awful lot of interventions around gangs, but there is more we have to do and that is the subset of the crime that is moving.

We are absolutely alive to that one and, in terms of the work around it, the response range is from work colleagues in both Territorial Policing and Serious Crime are doing around the flexible gangs response and around the targeting because that is the only way it is going to work around that.

The other one - and I know it is not a popular one, but I have raised it on a number of occasions - is that I genuinely do think we need to go and look at sentencing again around knives. We have to do something in our city around why people think it is all right to carry a knife and, more worryingly, to use it.

**Len Duvall AM:** Thank you for the honest way you have answered that question because there have been mixed messages coming out of both MOPAC and yourselves around some of these trends, to be honest. Is there somewhere you can point me to in a document that this is the strategy? Hopefully, over a period of time, we are going to see some success. In amongst that - I do not know - and I am not suggesting it is but it seems to me that one of the things you would have gone through in the reduction of stop-and-search may well be a factor in this.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** I do not know that but somewhere you have a document that analyses all that and maybe you could share with this Committee some of those issues around some of those things. OK, there is a document. When can we expect to see some success and the success you have in getting down other crime categories or bring it back into a more manageable end? The trend is going up, not coming down, on these violent crimes?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** The trend of violent crime is stabilising and this is why --

**Len Duvall AM:** What about youth violent crime? What have you done on young people?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We are counting it in two different ways. If you look at knife injuries involving young people, it is going up. That is the one we are focused on because obviously it is the high harm risk area. The wider violence piece, the work around Equinox --

**Len Duvall AM:** Sorry, Craig, some of the policing information we have over the many years has always said that to stop some of the most violent, you have to tackle some of the low-level stuff because, if that goes unchecked, it continues going up.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I do not know if Helen [King, AC Territorial Policing, MPS] covered it when she was here last time, but the work around Equinox --

**Len Duvall AM:** We had a robust exchange when she was here last time. We reminded her of some of her press statements.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** You are absolutely right. How do you address the issue of a challenge outside a club or a 7-to-11 store in Greenwich and stop it going from pushing and shoving to a knife crime? That is why the Equinox interventions are very borough-specific around where the hotspots are for - I do not like the term but I cannot think of a better one - that background level of violence and the low-level violence. Predominately, as I said, we see this as a proxy around the gangs activity, and that is predominant. The focused boroughs at the moment around that are Lambeth, Newham and Southwark. They are the top three boroughs for knife injury under 25 over the last 24 months. That is where the focus is.

I talked about the tactical response that swings alongside the strategy and, therefore, joint taskforce work around it and the boroughs' ability to flex resources. I saw some of that recently over in the east of London when I looked at some of the resource committed around gangs because that will make that one move. The wider piece, as I say, on the violence trend, I have not looked at them this morning but certainly as of last Friday that was starting to be much closer to a seasonal norm. It is still a big increase.

**Len Duvall AM:** It is the seasonal norm for winter that we are in now and we still have summer to go?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** It will go up?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Potentially, yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** Potentially, OK. Some of it gels but we should return back to it because it is something that we have been going on about and I do think we look at not just the response issue but the preventative aspect of some of this work to see what else we can do.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Absolutely. Again, it is why we need a debate about the deterrents are around knives.

**Len Duvall AM:** I agree.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It is very unpopular.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Let us be fair. There are some programmes that try to do precisely that and some of the practical things and I am not sure how much of this is all down to a London-wide uniform strategy to tackle violence. This afternoon I am going to Southwark after this meeting and the meeting is starting at 2.00pm and so I hope I will be able to make it, but that importantly is a problem-solving session to tackle the issues around violence. That is one of the three boroughs Craig has mentioned. I had a meeting yesterday in Westminster doing precisely the same thing and also one in Lambeth. This is the fourth today of those sessions and they effectively look at all the problem-solving analysis you need to do to be able to tackle these issues.

Some of this is clearly night-time economy-based and often links into transport hubs. This has drawn up the issue around thinking about the public safety implications of bringing in a 24-hour Tube in somewhere like Lambeth where, towards the north of the borough, towards the oval, apparently you start clubbing at 3.00am. There are issues around how you deal with that and think about that from a public safety standpoint.

Then you start to get the partners around the table to do something about it. Importantly, you can move to the next stage, which is you prevent it from happening. We are having those conversations. We are stimulating that kind of debate.

There are two other substantive programmes that we need to be cognisant of because we are concerned about knife crime going up for young people under the age of 25. I was at one of the four major trauma centres introducing a programme that MOPAC is funding with a voluntary group recognising the excellent work done by health professionals to try to find that teachable moment for young people who are, in this case, the victims of knife injury and to try to do what we can to provide the support they need. If they are involved in gangs, moving away from that lifestyle often does provide the teachable moment.

The other sign that the Trident programme is not simply about enforcement is the move to this idea we have from the United States about group violence intervention. It is being called by the Commissioner 'ruthless diversion', but actually in the United States they call it 'focused deterrence', getting the community involved and giving the community a voice, but backing it up with a stick if very violent members associated with gangs step out of line. Again, the Shield project is another programme that moves policing capability to support the sort of diversion and prevention we all want to see. That again tackles specifically gangs. Hopefully those measures, the practical local problem-solving and those programmes will tackle violence.

I set the ambition with AC Helen King [AC Territorial Policing, MPS], but the one MOPAC set in crime that is above the baseline is violence with injury and that is 13% higher than it was during my time and we want to see that go down. That is the ambition I have set.

**Len Duvall AM:** We spotted those trends here in this Committee about a year-and-a-half ago and we were saying that urgent action needed to be taken then. I hope the action we are taking now will have an impact in the summer as we move on to the next season. Somewhere in that piece of work we have to do something about the underreporting aspect of some of this violent activity. The walk-on-by culture is not reporting it and we have to think about how we get that up.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Len, I am not sure I agree with that analysis. What we had an issue with was under-recording because at the same time as we are seeing this rise in violence with injury, we are seeing an absolutely seismic drop in antisocial behaviour. Part of this has been how the police have recorded and also the crossover between your systems and the computer-aided despatch (CAD) system and the crime reporting on the Crime Report Information System (CRIS). I do not want to get into the recording issue, but there are certainly changes in the way the police record these things.

**Len Duvall AM:** It is a fair point but we cannot hide behind that in terms of where the trend is.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** No, we should not; absolutely not.

**Len Duvall AM:** Equally, you have to give some valid weight to underreporting as well, but it is a fair point you have made.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** We are not seeing the increase in volume where you would expect to see it, which is in the accident and emergency centres and in the trauma units. The caseload actually is not increasing. As far as they are concerned, when I talk to the health professionals - and I have spoken to two trauma centres - they are saying their caseload if anything is going down and they have more time to deal with victims.

Equally, the data from the police does not show an increase in the intensity of the violence. That does not mean you must not be extremely concerned by a rising level of violence and injury and also, as Craig says, specifically around young people as victims of knife crime. They specifically are the problems we need to address.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Also, to reassure you - and I know you have come to this point before - I see a lot every day where the report has come in from health service colleagues and, therefore, a major trauma centre has said, "We have someone here. They have a wound that looks like a knife injury". We can then do something because one of the challenges around getting the gang picture - and you will have talked to people who have been in gangs as I have - is that you talk to people and there is a big stigma sometimes of presenting for medical help and so we do not end up with a complete picture. We are getting better at that.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** Just a quick observation. I have seen the work done by the Ben Kinsella Trust and they have packs for schools and they also have a very good peer group and mentoring going on. I do not know if they are one of the organisations you are working with and obviously I do a shout-out for them because of the work they are doing with young people.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Some of that work is extraordinary in terms of the support and raising the issues. There are other groups doing similar things in other parts of London. It is a bit like the first issue we discussed. We do need a wider debate around where are we with knives.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** This is really one of the reasons I am highlighting it because, again, it is getting those young people involved with tackling it and the right people talking to the right people.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** That is exactly right and there is the Knox Foundation and the Missing Foundation and they are all doing exceptionally good work in different parts of London.

**Victoria Borwick AM:** With some of the movies and CDs and whatever is done from Stuart Mitson, really, no one would carry a knife again.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** I am going to move on to our last topic today, which was the police and about 20/20 vision. The Commissioner set out a speech at the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) in the last couple of weeks when he talked about how the MPS would get smaller and talked about the need to transform policing for the future to meet those challenges. We do not have the time to go into all of that today but no doubt we will pick up various themes of this over the next few months.

As Assembly Members, we have had an email from the RSA asking us to feed into that. Could I just ask, on this new vision, is that your consultation method of getting feedback into that?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** There are two parts of it and I am conscious you need time and the things you want to ask. We are doing work. We have spoken before and I have certainly spoken to Mr Biggs in this Committee about what the model for the MPS is going to be like if you assume that the assumptions in the Office for Budget Responsibility report are right. We are doing a piece of work that is very much around what you can do and what the constraints are going forward if the figure to find is £800 million. We have to start thinking and doing that planning and we will look to deliver that by early autumn.

Alongside it, we are very conscious that we want a wider debate that we cannot lead, hence why we are working with the RSA and others about what policing is about, what it is for and how it will work in London going forward. That is really why we have done that in that way. You are part of a range of a number of people who will contribute, both people across London and also other agencies and other organisations. We are trying to involve people in it. We are talking about how we get London leaders involved in it because we just think it is so crucial as we go forward.

It also fits with part of the wider piece of work we have been trying to do through the London Crime Reduction Board about understanding, if all organisations face these challenges going into the next round of the Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR), how we ensure we make sure we do not leave holes as organisations change shape or, alternatively, spend our entire time saying, "That is your responsibility, not ours". It is a much wider strategic piece of work to inform that vision going forward. I just urge Members to, please, pay a part in it.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you and we will do. At this point, I should say that the Budget Monitoring Committee (BMC) after the election will embark on a piece of work looking at particularly outsourcing and so we do not want to duplicate that work in this Committee. However, one of the things the Commissioner said in his speech is that he did not really think the Government received the financial challenges of the MPS for policing a capital city. We thought we would perhaps look after the election at some of those financial challenges. We would obviously in this purdah period like to get some information back from the Deputy Mayor's office and you about those challenges and financial challenges and what better case we could make for London in regards to policing the capital city.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** That would be really helpful.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** One of the things we wanted to pick up today - and this has been talked about at the BMC - was police numbers. Stephen, you said in BMC that you thought for the next year you could now maintain the 32,000 but after that it would become increasingly difficult. The Commissioner, when interviewed after his speech, said he could not give a guarantee about the future of police community support officers (PCSOs) in London. I just wanted to get your initial thoughts on those two issues.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** It is fair to say that I have been clear that we believe the budget is there to support 32,000 for this financial year, the one we are about to start, 2015/16, and 2016/17. The Commissioner is quite right to highlight the considerable financial challenges through to 2020. This is an important piece of work to get the RSA to ask and they have asked me to contribute as well. Maintaining officer numbers for 2020 requires a lot more work but it is not something for the immediate; it is something for the medium term.

The other thing I would say on PCSO numbers and sustaining those is that it is legitimate to raise that as a long-term area where we cannot guarantee PCSO numbers with the budgetary constraints we have. Certainly I am aware that numbers have come down. At the moment, we have around 1,800 PCSOs. I gather there are around 1,200 PCSOs within Territorial Policing specifically and a large proportion of that is obviously in neighbourhoods as dedicated PCSOs for wards, 630-odd, and then around 550 are in the traffic area.

We need to recognise that the public's preference is to maintain police officer numbers and ensure those police officers are doing the things that police officers can do. That probably means ensuring we do not move officers around as much as we have done in the past because one of the real benefits of PCSOs is that they have typically been routed into a neighbourhood for a period of time and they know the patch. That is the shift we have to see with the financial challenges we have in the future.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I would not defer from any of that. What the Commissioner sought to do, which is entirely the right thing, is to be realistic about the scale of the challenges going forward. For policing, policing is not a protected department in any current government or future government's language at the moment. Whether they choose to, we will see after the election. It is very clear from any analysis that departments that are unprotected are going to look at somewhere between 30% and 40% falls in money.

You would look at us and say if we did not begin to plan and have some of these go on then because none of the choices are easy. By the time you get out to 2018/19 and 2019/20, none of the choices are easy. Some of the work we spoke about at BMC the other day is the work around releasing assets in the estate and therefore we have capital to invest to do some of the transformation. If we had not done that, we would be really in a pickle now.

It is absolutely making sure you join those things up over the medium to long term because, if it is £800 million, at the moment, if you pushed me, I could probably find you £300 million to £400 million and then I would start to think, "Where do we go next?" Even that has choices and, therefore, "Where will we go with the estate for the future? Where will we go with roles?" One of the challenges - and I know we will pick it up in another committee - is around where you go on the position of how much service we deliver ourselves versus how much we commission from either the private sector, the third sector or other parts of local government. None of these choices will be easy as we get into this next budget round.



**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I wanted to talk about the outsourcing, actually. Is John's question about PCSOs?

**John Biggs AM:** Yes. It is a quasi-question because I always make this point being a bit of a maverick, which is that you say the public overwhelmingly want to have police officers around and the PCSOs and I do not disagree with that. I am sure if you ask people, given the choice whether they want one or the other, they would probably go for the first but it seems to me it depends very much on the question one asks. What the public overwhelmingly want is to be safe and, therefore, the driver has to be a model that achieves safety within resources. I just wanted to make that point because it is obvious, but you can get carried away with politicians saying the magic word is the magic number and it will achieve everything.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** I completely agree with that. People have to feel safe and we look at and measure that in a number of surveys. Do people feel safe? Is crime rising up the agenda relative to other issues? Is it coming down? All of that is absolutely right.

**John Biggs AM:** It is very much a no-brainer point, but I wanted to make it because we otherwise get a bit carried away, Chair.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I wanted to move on to the outsourcing of back-office services. In our briefing, it says that approximately 500 MPS staff from various areas will shortly transfer to Shared Services Connected Ltd (SSCL). Has that decision been made?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** No.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** It was a surprise to the Public and Commercial Services (PCS) union that it was even close.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Sorry, that it was even close?

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** It was a surprise to them that the decision was close to being made.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** In fairness, they have been involved in the decision-making. They have been involved and informed all the way through. I actually made an announcement - and I think I repeated it here but I will check - certainly in December in relation to support services - and by that I mean Hire to Retire, procurement, finance - that we were looking at two potential routes. We were not going to have an internal bid. We were going to go for what people would recognise as an Official Journal of the European Union (OJEU) notice and put it out there and we were looking at whether there was a framework agreement in terms of a shared service. One of the frameworks we were looking at was the SSCL Cabinet Office framework. That decision is due to be made probably at the end of May or beginning of June. It has not been made.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** OK, right, thank you very much. There is obviously a lot of staff now who are worried about their job security if they get outsourced to SSCL. It is up to you whether or not you put in a clause that actually prevents compulsory redundancies. Is that something you might consider?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I would assume the normal Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment) Regulations 2006 (TUPE) regulations would apply.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** They would be offered something similar on?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** On what? Usually when people transfer over, you transfer with all your undertakings and protections including pensions and those sorts of things as well.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** My understanding is these things do not always quite hold firmly with the new companies.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** You are not thinking of changing terms and conditions before the TUPE takes place, are you?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** No.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Good point, yes. Can you give staff reassurance that the work will be in the Greater London area? SSCL apparently does not have any offices here or any contacts here. Can you confirm?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We have not made a decision to go with SSCL. Let us be really clear. We are doing hard, competitive negotiation and there are other providers out there who can do this and will snap their hands off to get it. I cannot - and it would be naïve of me to - make you a commitment that the work will stay in the London area. If you look at the length of the contracts these sorts of things will run for, we are right into this really difficult decision phase. If I may, you will be left with the choice in let us say 2018/19 of saying, "Do you want to keep police staff jobs in London or do you want to cut police constables off the beat in Tottenham or wherever it will be?" Those are the choices we will have.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Is it possible you could stipulate that if people are relocated, they would get relocation costs?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I would assume a provider will do. I do not think we can stipulate that in a contract. I do not know.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Is it already part of terms and conditions or not?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** In the terms and conditions at the moment, in terms of relocation people get some smoothing, certainly within London --

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Staff?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Within London?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Within London.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Private companies are not subject to the Freedom of Information Act. How are you going to make sure that there are accountability mechanisms in place if you do outsource some of these roles?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** We are working with both internal auditors and external auditors around some of those very challenges, things like the visibility of our own internal audit service if - and I will make it up; this is not the solution - we had the work and we gave it to a company, how do we reach into another private company? That is all being worked through as we look at these models for going out. Others have done it and it works.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** The other problem is that if information technology (IT) is outsourced, of course that is an awful lot of extremely valuable, potentially damaging data that moves outside the control of the MPS.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** If I may, we are a bit old-fashioned in our thinking around data.

If you look at the cloud at the moment, where most of us seem quite happy to put data, most commercial organisations and quite a number of security organisations around the world put their data in the cloud. They do not own it; they do not control it.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You do not think that is the problem. I only have one final question unless you say something provocative now. The majority of cuts are placed on police staff but at some point you might have to start cutting police officers. How are you going to manage that when the Mayor has stipulated 32,000 as his red line?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** As we discussed earlier on, that is not a challenge we face this year now in terms of --

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** The new Mayor might have different numbers.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** I do not know what would be the numbers for a new Mayor. It is not my role to decide that. Your point is a really valid point around the reaction of police staff. In the first round of our change, you talk to police officers and you hear a lot of sometimes noise around it; police staff, people have lost their jobs and left the organisation.

It is also important to recognise that things have happened to police officers as well. Police officers on the top of scale have lost a number of allowances. There was a report quite recently that talked about the changes in senior ranks and chief officers across the country. Half of that was in the MPS. We have done that. We have changed. The chief superintendents and the superintendents have far bigger spans of command now. We have chief superintendents running things that are larger than many forces in the country and all the demands that that brings. While I understand why it is characterised in that way, when you look at the detail it is slightly more complex.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You will know that over the past few years I have been very concerned about police officers backfilling staff roles.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I do not know if you know but the Police Federation actually wrote to us all specifically saying that police officers had been backfilling office roles. Is that not true for the MPS?

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Sorry, the Police Federation of London wrote to you?

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I think it was, was it not?

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** It was nationally.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Nationally. It was a little throwaway line in the middle of a very long letter.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** If you share it, I am more than happy to deal with it. The comfort I would take is the data we looked at on Tuesday in front of the Budget Committee. You will be aware you have always looked at the operational policing measure. There is also the HMIC look. We have seen through this period of transition the biggest move of middle and back-office police officer roles to the front line that we have ever seen.

**Stephen Greenhalgh (Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime):** Yes, and it is not something the Metropolitan Police Federation raised with me in their meetings. Their concerns are obviously around some health and safety and welfare issues and the balance of officers between, let us say, response and neighbourhoods. It is not about doing staff roles.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Where Federation colleagues quite rightly raised this is that there is also an issue of what happens to officers now who are looking at much longer potential periods of service if they stay in policing for all of their service. What happens when they get injured, hurt or unwell or just physically cannot do it? What do we do? In addition to the work we are doing around what is the vision and shape of the future, we have to look at the whole area of engagement of police officers and how they work.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** In actual fact, our report on diversity had a recommendation on that because we heard from your disability association about how the MPS was not particularly necessarily good about redeployment and using skills in other areas.

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** It is one of the challenges; if you then drive yourself on, everyone has to be frontline --

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** It was the fitness test they were concerned about, to return their officer badge because of a fitness test when actually they had skills that could be used outside that necessarily would --

**Craig Mackey QPM (Deputy Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service):** Yes, and without prolonging it because I know you want to get away, there are changes coming in the pay structure around that for the future. It is something you may want to come back to.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We will do, yes. We have finished our questions today. Can I thank you for staying till nearly 1.00pm? It is very much appreciated.

**Police and Crime Committee – 19 May 2015**  
**Transcript of Agenda Item 9 – Preventing Extremism**

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** This is the start of our investigation into preventing extremism in London. This session is one of three that we will be having and it will focus on how Prevent has evolved since it was first introduced and we will look at how Prevent is delivered across London boroughs and how it could be delivered in the future and the challenges that it will need to address.

Welcome to our guests. Perhaps I could start with you, Professor Innes. Could you just tell us your name and position and, just extremely briefly, your expertise in the area?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** My name is Martin Innes. I am Professor of Police Science at Cardiff University. Over the last ten years, I have led a research programme looking at Prevent and CONTEST [UKs counter-terrorism strategy], particularly relating to policing, and I have conducted a number of studies that have been commissioned by the Home Office and the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO).

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Shiraz?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I am Shiraz Maher, Senior Fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, which is an academic research unit based at King's College London. I used to work a lot on Prevent a few years ago but now I am principally working on the conflicts in Syria and Iraq and looking at individuals from this country who travel out there.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Mr Esom?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I am Martin Esom. I am Chief Executive of Waltham Forest Council but I am also Chair of the London Prevent Board and that board brings together all the government agencies and various other agencies that are working on Prevent in London.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Diane?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** I am Diane Egan. I am a Community Safety Team Leader at Havering Council. My experience is as a non-priority borough and looking at how we will work with the Prevent duty with no funding, really, and looking at our experience and how we will work with partners to do that.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Waltham Forest is a priority borough and receives funding and Havering is not and so we have the difference there.

Can I then start and perhaps just briefly ask you all a general question? What are your perceptions of Prevent from when it was first developed and how it has changed? Perhaps just give us a critique about where it has succeeded and how it has failed and then later on we will get to the future challenges. Perhaps, Martin, I can start with you.

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** When first introduced, Prevent was undefined and lacked a sense of purpose. It has gone through several iterations over the past ten years when we saw a shift from where it was far more focused upon civil society and community organisations. Since 2011 it has become far more concerned with public institutions, public services and their involvement in terms of Prevent.

It is obviously a challenging area in terms of delivery. It has proven very contentious and that degree of political contention has not helped, really, in terms of being able to establish what works and what does not because we know some things are more successful and some things have been less successful. Part of the issue here is that the problems that Prevent is focusing upon have changed and adapted over time.

If I were going to summarise what it does, actually Prevent engages with three different problems. There is the counter-radicalisation problem. How do you stop people becoming exposed to extremist ideas? There is the de-radicalisation programme. What do you do about individuals who have been exposed to radical ideas and have taken them on to some degree? Then there is a broader community cohesion/community tensions kind of piece and that is where there has been a degree of movement, really, over the past three to four years, I would say.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Shiraz?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I would make four principal points here. The overarching philosophy of Prevent has always been sound: the idea that we should intervene to protect people - particularly young people - from being radicalised and moving into acts of criminality further upstream so as to help them get off that trajectory.

I would agree that the scope has been undefined at times and it has been unclear throughout the lifespan of Prevent what its focus should be, what the terms of its trade should be, how it engages, who it engages with, the terms on which it does that and so on. Of course, there has been an inevitable amount of overlap between the overarching aim of counterterrorism, to put it one way, and community and social cohesion on the other. There are necessary tensions between those two things.

Of all the various strands of CONTEST, Prevent is also the most ideologically and politically significant. It is much more prone to changes within the political system and, as I say, being subject to political and ideological battles. Again, there has been a sense of achieving greater clarity and definition around some of that with different governments over time in terms of how they view the problem.

The final point I just want to make is that Prevent always suffers from the problem of measurement and the metrics by which you measure success. It necessarily relies on, essentially, a counterfactual: but for X happening, Y would have become a terrorist. Of course, we cannot really measure that and we do not really know the efficacy of that. It is something we have given a lot of thought to in terms of trying to think how you build the correct way to measure that type of model, but it is extremely difficult to do.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Before I move on to the local boroughs, I noticed some of the responses we have had, have said that in the past Prevent, because it was seen as very police-led, has been seen to be creating community tensions. I wonder if you have any academic research on that as to whether that is a real and genuine concern. I know, Shiraz, you talked about necessary tensions that arise.

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** Certainly in some communities there has been the sense that Prevent has laid siege to certain communities, particularly to Muslim communities. My own family is from Birmingham, for example. There was a lot of controversy in Birmingham around the introduction of security cameras into certain areas that were felt to be at-risk areas or at-risk communities.

Prevent has suffered, at times at least, a marketing problem, as it were. It has been seen to be this not-so-covert arm of the security service that is spying on Muslims *en masse* and certainly that is a perception in some parts. I do not think that is necessarily a fair assessment of what Prevent does or what Prevent is about, but that is certainly the way it has been sold. Sometimes it has been sold in that way by invested parties who have a desire to tarnish Prevent in that way. Sometimes it is a result of bad reporting in the papers, which have chosen to sensationalise some of it. Nonetheless, Prevent does suffer from a public relations (PR) problem.

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** I would agree with Shiraz [Maher] on that. Prevent is the most visible element of CONTEST and therefore gets loaded with an extreme weight in terms of what it is expected to do. Periodically over time, we do some intensive community-insight work in different parts of the country. Whilst the studies that we do are not directly comparable, I would say that the most recent version that we did last year suggested that there was an increasing sense of dissatisfaction within some of the communities that we were working in with Prevent and what it was doing.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Martin, perhaps I can come to you because you have obviously been involved for a while. Waltham Forest was highlighted by Lord Carlile [Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel] when he was here as a borough we should talk to because, he said, you had very good practice. Perhaps you could just tell us again about your perceptions of Prevent from a borough perspective.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Talking as a practitioner and as a borough that has had its problems in the past, there is no doubt that Prevent was met by the community with a lot of scepticism. Large proportions of our community feel uneasy about the problem. We have been working hard to deal with that scepticism. I would say we have been partly successful in that, but before Christmas I had a deputation of councillors that came to see me about Prevent and how uneasy they felt about the whole programme in the borough. Anyway, we work on those perceptions. Really, our view about Prevent is it is preventing people from falling into really difficult problems and so we go on that basis.

However, the thing with Prevent is that it is changing, particularly over the recent past. How is it changing? It is changing with the nature of the risk. The risk has totally changed in the last year or so. The second thing is the new statutory duty coming in in terms of how a local authority responds to that and how it is perceived that authorities are now statutorily obliged to do something about Prevent.

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** For us, it has very much seen a shift from being a police-led and Government-led initiative to more of a community safety issue for us out in Havering. We would like to approach it as a safeguarding issue for young people. It is in the wider safeguarding context where it really is an issue for us. The statutory duty has been embraced, really, I would say, by the Community Safety Partnership and recognise the need for wider partnership working, not just the police but all the partners around the table, as well as starting to engage with our changing communities in a borough like Havering, which probably has one of the fastest-changing demographics of any London borough. For us, really it is focused on the safeguarding issues first to make sure that that work is mainstreamed across all our frontline services so that people can support those people who are vulnerable and at risk.



**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That is helpful. We are going to come on to some of those issues a bit further later with you.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I was wondering if you felt there was a danger of criminalising ideas and opinions. You mentioned definitions. Definitions here are extremely important, are they not? Do you feel that has been got right?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** A programme that is just based on confronting ideologies is problematical because a lot of these problems exist in day-to-day society around housing need and around worklessness. A Prevent programme that is going to be really successful has to deal with the wider causes of extremism. At the moment, it is probably far too narrow in terms of its approach.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** What about our academics?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** It is certainly an issue and it is going to be one of the key public debating points in the next year or so in terms of how we deal with the problem of the relationship between non-violent extremists and people who will actually go and commit violent extremism themselves. It is something I have been thinking a lot about because all of the plausible evidence that we have on processes of radicalisation identifies that there is a key role played by individuals who would not necessarily engage in violence themselves but would encourage others to do so. They are very aware of the thresholds of law and criminality and how far up to go. Therefore, it is a very tricky area and it is, rightly, an area that the Committee should give due consideration to.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** It is the definitions. Sorry, Shiraz, did you --

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I was just going to make the point that we need to be very careful when we talk about criminalising ideas and opinions. That is certainly not a road we want to go down and the Government certainly in recent days has been talking about banning orders and disruption orders that are at least indicating that they might be moving in that direction. There would be, rightfully, some pushback against that.

What is needed much more, actually, is for the building of capacity within communities and within our society as a whole to push back against these ideas so that there is a civil society pushback. That is the right approach to a lot of this. Ideology does need to be challenged. Ideas that we as a society find distasteful should be subject to scrutiny. They should, of course, be allowed to be expressed but they should also be subject to scrutiny, to pushback, to challenge and to debate. Therefore, in that context, what is right to do is to, as I say, build capacity within our communities to challenge and to push back against some of those ideas now in terms of rhetoric, without criminalising them, but to support voices that are more pluralistic and in line with our values.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I am still a bit worried about the definitions because what we have found here in London with the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) is that they tagged me as a domestic extremist. When we looked at their definition of domestic extremism, it was actually very broad. In fact, they have changed it now to include serious criminal behaviour. As our Chair said, this has looked very police-led and I am glad to hear that it is not quite, but presumably those definitions were set at the very beginning and so you do feel that they are appropriate, do you?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** If that was to me --

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I am so sorry if you cannot. No, I suppose I am asking Martin and Shiraz on this or perhaps all of you.

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** I have not seen a definition of this that I think would satisfy academic rigour in terms of having a sufficient degree of precision that you would always know that these are the boundaries around the concept. It is around those kinds of boundaries that are there. As I said in my previous answer, the Committee is well-placed to attend to this issue because it is a difficult one.

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I would agree that it is very difficult. Again, dealing with the practicality - if we pull ourselves away from the academic issue on this, which does not engage with the day-to-day coalface issue - Prevent is a living organism, essentially. It is constantly evolving and responding and adapting. It is finding its feet. The definition of an extremist under the Prevent rubric has clearly changed and shifted over time.

However, the most important aspect of it, clearly, is that it also needs to be pragmatic. It needs to approach things on a case-by-case basis, looking at individuals and groups within a time/place context to have a better understanding of what it is they are saying, doing or believing and working towards, essentially. Clearly, to set something down as rigid and inflexible is very problematic in this area.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** I am just wondering whether, from a local borough point of view, you have had any concern about the definition.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I just work within the definition.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** I wanted to ask Martin to just elaborate on something he had said about how Prevent had changed. It seems to me that it would be nice if we could just get a sense from his experience and why his experience is so important. We know the community woke up in - was it - 2002 and found themselves with so many of the young people appearing to have become involved in radicalisation. From that time, do you think the experience or ideas coming out of boroughs like Waltham Forest have been used and have been adopted so that we have moved from that, if you like, unknown situation to where the programme is now?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is so dynamic. It is changing all the time, particularly at the moment. It is very fast-paced. The big change is that all boroughs get a Counterterrorism Local Profile (CTLP) that identifies the risk in the borough. Those used to be focused very much on individuals. The profile would identify perhaps a handful of individuals in the borough who were looking to form groups and get people around them.

That still happens, but the big change is radicalisation through the internet. You do not need those individuals anymore because there is a whole broadcast medium out there that is reaching out into people's homes and into children's computers. That is really the very big change in risk. When the Government talks about venues, for instance, and banning venues, it is important but in effect what you have is a venue in every house through the internet.

What we have had to do is to change the way in which we approach it. We carry out a very broad-brush intervention in all schools so that we raise awareness of the issue with children and give them that counter-narrative. That is a really important piece of our work. That is probably the biggest change that we have seen.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** I am sure we will come on to that in more detail. It was just that I wanted to set that scene in my head. Thank you.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Can I ask a question of fact, please? Martin has mentioned something I have never heard of the CTLP. Are those public documents?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** No, they are not public documents. With the new duty coming in, the CTLP has become a very important document. All London boroughs will be issued with their own CTLPs and that is very closely safeguarded. The information in that is very closely protected. However, from that, each borough has to then carry out a risk assessment and identify the sorts of activities it needs to get involved in to prevent terrorism in its area. That document has certainly risen in its importance and there is a lot of discussion at the moment with the Home Office and with SO15 about the nature of that document and how it can be far a more useful document to carry out a risk assessment on.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Who has access to them? If they are not public documents, who sees them?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is restricted to the Borough Commander but also the chief executive of the local authority.

**Len Duvall AM:** Could I just clarify? The leader of the council or the cabinet member for community safety in boroughs --

**Tony Arbour AM:** Yes. I am the cabinet member and I have never even heard of it until now.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** I do not think so because I attended a meeting where these were talked about and it was not implied that --

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** The shortcoming with them seemed to be that for them to be effective you have to have data from a range of other partners on there. For example, I do not believe there is any duty on the health service or on schools to necessary put data on that. Is that correct?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** There is a lot of discussion about CTLPs at the moment. The Home Office knows that this is an area that needs to be developed and it has actually commissioned a review of them. Yes, it would need information from health partners, from academic institutes, local knowledge from local ward members and from politicians in the area. At the moment, they really do not reflect that, but it is true to say that people know that is an issue and there is a lot of work taking place to make them fit for purpose.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Let us explore this a bit more. Have these been going long or have you involuntarily let the cat out of the bag?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** They are not a secret and so I do not know if I have let any cat out of the bag. They have been in place ever since I have been a chief executive, which is four years, and so they predate that.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Really?

**Roger Evans AM:** Martin, you have probably covered the question I was going to ask because you have said that things have changed in the last year and you have responded to Jennette [Arnold OBE AM]. I just wonder, Diane, from the point of view of Havering, have you seen such big change over the last year?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** There are definitely more people coming to the table and willing to engage where previously we may have had more difficulty with partners in education, especially colleges where it just really was not on their agenda as a high priority. With the change and once they knew the statutory duty was coming in, they were much more willing to come to the table and work with us. That has been a real positive change.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** I wanted to pick up the point about this new statutory duty, which formally came into place in February this year. I am wondering. We have talked about it just a little bit but, in actual practical terms for local authorities and other partners, what do all the guests think this new duty really means?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** What it means is that - if we go back to the CTLP - you take that CTLP, which actually defines the potential risk in your area, and then the local authority with its partners needs to plan to deal with that risk.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Have you not been doing that if you have been getting this for the last four years?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Some boroughs may have done; some boroughs might not have done. It is about getting consistency across the piece. It is quite difficult because we have boroughs labelled as priority areas and some boroughs are identified as non-priority areas. Some boroughs get support, but that is based on risk, and other boroughs get less support. Part of my role, working with the Home Office and other partners, is to try to ensure that all boroughs have access to support to enable them to carry out that role properly.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Are you finding that more partners are now prepared to come to the table? Because of this statutory duty, they have alarm bells. Schools, for example, which might, as we know, with things like knife arches and stuff in the past, did not want to touch, suddenly think, "Actually, my goodness, there is a potential issue here. We have to cover ourselves. We want to get involved". Are you finding more partners coming to the table?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Part of the London Prevent Board is that we receive feedback from London Prevent co-ordinators who are based in boroughs. I do not think there is any doubt that all London boroughs take this duty seriously. Within the borough, there is a lot of work taking place and schools are responding and people are doing the best job they can in terms of dispensing this new statutory duty.

The bigger challenge is working between agencies. How well is health connecting with the local council connecting with other partners? That is the new bit. That is something that is being worked on but is not there completely yet.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Is health perhaps in your borough really at the table, particularly mental health services? Obviously, there is a high degree of mental health in this particular area.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** That is a challenge, to be frank. Health is not always at the table and yet it carries quite a lot of risk in terms of its client load. It is definitely something that needs to be worked on.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Diane, from your borough, even though you are not one of the boroughs that gets funded, have you found that everyone is suddenly wanting to be at the table because of this new duty and they are concerned?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Definitely. That is our experience. Health has been engaged a little bit longer than some of the agencies. The North East London Foundation Trust has had a rolling programme with training for mental health services, which has increased over the last year. It has single points of contact in all the various health providers, who will enable us to form a board to review how we implement the statutory duty. We are linked in with the Safeguarding Children and Adults Board and obviously the Community Safety Partnership. Therefore, even though we receive no funding, our partnerships are very strong and we will utilise existing partnerships to continue to roll this work out.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** What about from an academic point of view? Have you seen a shift because of this new duty?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** One of the areas of concern will be actually what this means in terms of practical implementation. In terms of awareness-raising and training across all of the public service providers that are meant to engage with it, it is quite a considerable load. Once you have trained people, what happens then? That is the critical question. It is quite plausible that one of the things that could happen is that all of the institutions engaged will have their awareness raised and will then start to flag up people as, "This is a risk. Actually, provided I flag them up, I have done my duty". The load in terms of being able to work through the number of cases and individuals who might as a consequence of this new duty be flagged up as posing a risk has some downstream implications.

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I just wanted to pull it in a slightly different direction. The real success of Prevent comes about through public confidence in the initiative and through the confidence of agencies and institutions in the initiative and the buy-in from them. Legislation in that sense is quite a blunt tool.

Certainly some of the Prevent leads I have spoken to who work in London said that on the one hand the new statutory footing does give them an advantage. If they were dealing with an institution or a sector they felt was dragging their feet, now they can go and say, "Here is a law. Get on with it". It does empower them. However, at the same time, the people who were seen to be dragging their feet or who were less engaged were doing so because they fundamentally either disagreed with elements of the initiative or did not believe in it at all. Therefore, to use legislation to essentially coerce them into acting does achieve the process of getting the ball rolling but it furthers resentment within that institution or within those individuals and of course within those communities. That element of buy-in still is not there.

I come back to the point I was making earlier. Prevent does have this image problem or this PR problem around it. Unfortunately, the legislation does not do anything there to address that. There is a gap between the legislation and public confidence and it is that second part of the equation – public confidence in the initiative – that needs to be raised and elevated and addressed fundamentally. That is not happening right now.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Because of the new legislation, you are saying that rather than seeing this as a shift back to it being more community-based intervention, you think it is still seen as very police-led, even though more partners are involved?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** It seemed to be coercive. Whether that is necessarily police-led, it is seen as the Government waving a big stick to essentially coerce individuals or institutions into acting in a particular way and it furthers that resentment. I suppose it exacerbates the wedge that already exists between those who Prevent is a priority and those who believe it is not.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** What do you think from a borough point of view? Do you think this is now going back to more community-based intervention and moving away from the police directing around this agenda or do you have some of the concerns Shiraz has raised?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is a big opportunity for a shift back. The new statutory duty is new and it all depends what happens from that coming in. Certainly in my discussions with the Home Office, it recognises that it has this reputation of being police-led. Funding is available now for priority boroughs to undertake work that is very community-based. It is a matter of those people working in Prevent day-in and day-out to actually form programmes that really bring it back into the community. The opportunity is there now to actually make it far more community-led.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** What about your views, Diane?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** We are in a difficult position as a non-funded, non-priority borough because funding is just not available to develop those community projects for interventions. There is a role here for the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) and the development of maybe some pan-London interventions that we can either buy into or direct those young people who are at risk in our borough. Awareness-raising, I agree, will increase the number of referrals. If we do not have adequate interventions for those young people, it seems a bit of a pointless piece of work.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** If I could just add to that, Havering is only two boroughs away from mine and terrorism does not respect borough boundaries.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** No, of course not.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Therefore, it is in my interests and it is in the interests of all the other priority boroughs to share whatever capacity we have with other boroughs. There is a system that we are looking to develop, a buddying system, where you may get a priority borough working with a non-priority borough and then there is a sharing across in terms of that resource. As a priority borough, we are holding a conference on 7 July looking to share our work in schools. Invitations are going out

across London for that. We take our responsibilities seriously as a priority borough that we have been resourced and, clearly, I want to ensure that Havering has the same access to that resource, although it might not be direct.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** That is a really good example of sharing. Martin, do you have anything to add on this issue about the shift back or not to more community-based interventions?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** Certainly, it is an area that needs to be developed. As I say, the drift over the last five years has been to more of an emphasis on public service institutions being the focus of delivery. That is a shift away from a previous iteration of Prevent around 2007 when the emphasis was more on civil society. A rounded programme would have both and would work out where the balance between those two elements lies.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Do you think the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) needs to be much more involved in supporting Prevent in the future and what else should they be doing?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** That shift from community-based is one of the things that appears to me to have happened. There has been a downgrading in the role of the DCLG. That is unfortunate because one of the things that we know acts as a driver of radicalisation is the experience of hate crimes and community tensions, which are the areas where interventions delivered by the DCLG and its partners have an important role to play.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** What about other members of the panel? Do you think the DCLG should be far more involved in supporting Prevent in the future? Shiraz?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** The DCLG should be a lot more involved, partly for the reasons I just mentioned. Clearly, if you put it on a spectrum moving from counterterrorism towards greater community cohesion and social cohesion, it clearly goes a long way to helping make people feel tied into the state and part of our society and therefore less part of something else that could lead them into the sort of areas that Prevent would be concerned with. The DCLG does clearly have a role to play here.

Also, symbolically, there is an important shift here. By moving a lot of this towards the DCLG, you remove it from the rubric of counterterrorism as it is seen right now to being a Home Office/Office of Security and Counterterrorism (OSCT) led initiative. It is obviously part of that institution because it is coming under the CONTEST rubric but, clearly, if the DCLG takes a lead on it, it is not seen to have this hard counterterrorism edge to it. Again, that helps get the buy-in from communities, which is really necessary on the ground in order to make it successful.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** What about from a borough point of view?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I completely agree with. What this is really about is community cohesion. Terrorism thrives where you get isolated individuals. The more cohesive your community is, the more resilient it is going to be to these sorts of challenges. I would liken this to the Troubled Families programme, which crosses Government departmental boundaries and works really well. That is what needs to happen with this programme.

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Yes, I would agree with everything that has been said.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Is there anything further you think the DCLG should be doing, apart from additional funding? That goes without saying. We always think that.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is just to be in the space, really, or to share --

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** It should assert itself and take more of a lead?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Exactly. I am sure the Home Office does not want to see this seen as a Home Office/police-led programme because of the restrictions that that brings with it. The more it is seen as a community-based programme with all Government departments getting involved, the better for the overall programme, I would have thought.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Thank you very much.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Can I just clarify, though? I understand that when Prevent was first set up, it was quite embedded in the community cohesion piece at the DCLG. That attracted lots of criticism about spying on different communities and therefore they became very much discrete streams of work. Are you now saying that that actually should integrate more? If you do that, how do you then avoid those tensions that you talked about earlier, Shiraz, that will be there?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** In this context, Prevent essentially does fall under two things. There is the broader aspect here of the community cohesion and social cohesion aspect, which is far more long-term as well. It is much more slowly moving in terms of the work it attempts to do. Then you are going right through to, I suppose, the cutting edge of Prevent when you ultimately believe someone is right on the cusp of moving into criminal enterprise, at which point it is quite an urgent aspect.

The DCLG, though, does help detoxify the brand. It does help implement some of those slower-moving aspects of it. There may be a case for breaking this into two very distinct workstreams so that you are able to have something that is DCLG-led and is not seen to be spying on communities and not seen to be coercive or assiduous in any aspect, whilst at the same time you still have this element that is more towards the policing and intelligence aspect and is acting on individuals who are deemed to be an urgent priority because of the activities they are involved in.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Martin Esom, perhaps I could ask you. You said that councillors came to you with some concerns. Were they around the perceived heavy-handedness of it and how did you deal with that?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It was around the new statutory duty coming in. Obviously, it had been publicised that the duty was coming in. There were concerns in terms of the way in which that duty would be applied. Basically, I met with them all and, really, it is talking through how Prevent currently works in Waltham Forest. Generally, it is regarded as not an oppressive programme. It is seen as supportive of our local communities. It is really showing them that, even with a new duty, we are going to carry on doing the same thing because we are doing the right thing. Anything in that area is going to



be sensitively applied and actually is there to prevent young people and vulnerable individuals from falling into really difficult situations.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** To some extent, I just wanted to go back to the Government, the location of all this work. It seems to me it is at the Home Office now and it has its problems. It was at the DCLG. It had its problems. I am just wondering. If the DCLG were to be, if you like, the better place - and it is to the local authority members - would that enable a better link with a key area such as education in terms of feeding into community activism? Is that one of the key strengths that would come out of a locus resting with the DCLG?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I do not think it is in the wrong place. It is probably in the right place. The Home Office is probably the right agency to take this forward. I am more saying that the DCLG needs to play a part in that overall activity or a bigger part. It is not that it does not play any part. It needs to play a bigger part and bring in the community cohesion side of it. It is getting the two departments to work in concert, each playing their various roles.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** What about education, what about health and what about the other areas of people's lives for young people?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** In terms of local education institutions, my reading of it is that they are very well brought in. All our schools are highly conscious of the potential risk and want to participate in the programmes that we have available.

In terms of health, there is no doubt that health training goes on, but it is the connection through. It is the individuals who have been dealt with through the health system. How do they then connect with the wider partners that are working on Prevent? That is the disconnect at the moment.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** All right. Thank you.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** Lovely. Can I just go back to who decides what? I just want to unpick so that we absolutely understand here your relationship with the Home Office, how it supports you, how you decide what projects are agreed and who agrees the criteria. Are certain criteria enforced? Are there other things that you would have put forward that you do not because they do not meet the criteria? I just want to really unpick the chain of command.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is slightly complex but I will try to make it as simple as possible. In London, we have 18 priority areas and two supported areas. The 18 priority areas receive funding for a Prevent co-ordinator. In addition to that, the 18 priority areas can make bids for projects that can be deployed in their local area. The Home Office has just produced a best practice catalogue and so the Prevent co-ordinators pick off that catalogue. It could be work in schools. It could be work with vulnerable individuals. Bids are then made to the Home Office and to OSCT with regards to the funding of those projects.

In terms of the governance structure, it is an area that people are currently thinking about. The local Prevent co-ordinators report to a person within the Home Office who then reflects back through the Home Office structure. They have a co-ordinator amongst the co-ordinators and there is a governance chain through that

way. In addition to that, obviously, you have the normal local authority line management responsibilities. My Prevent co-ordinator is here today and she will report to me in terms of our Prevent activity.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** Just before I finish and then move on to Diane, do you ever have projects that you think might fit the criteria? You were talking about the Troubled Families initiative, which, as you say, is an example of where things are done across disciplines. Do you have things that you think would qualify, for want of a better word, but do not meet the criteria because the criteria are too restrained? In the end in life, it is not the black and the white. It is the grey and making it work.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I must say that this whole area has improved significantly over the last year or so with the best practice catalogue. The sorts of areas that are not covered by that that we have put forward bids for in the past are around homelessness and worklessness. It is the wider determinants or the wider causes and why people might fall into those areas. Those sorts of projects do not tend to be funded. Then, when you talk about Government departments, that is where the issue comes in because we are talking to the Home Office perhaps about an employment project and sometimes that is where it would help if the various departments came together a bit more.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** From the other end of the spectrum, where you are having to do it solo?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Obviously, we do not receive any funding directly from the Home Office and so we do not have a Prevent co-ordinator. What we do have is access to a Prevent officer from the MPS, who is jointly shared with Barking and Dagenham, and we would meet with him on a regular basis. He has supported us to develop a Prevent plan, which has been signed off by the Community Safety Partnership. The police lead on a monthly security review meeting, which looks at the risks that come out of the CTLP, but we are looking at developing that work.

We do not have any dedicated projects running in the community. What we do have is awareness training, which is delivered locally, initially by the Prevent officer but we have recently had a rollout to train both safer schools officers and community safety officers from the local authority to deliver that training, which means that we now have greater capacity to deliver that training more widely across schools and other agencies. Health has dedicated trainers in its organisations to do that. That is very much at the stage we are at the moment.

We are beginning to see a slight increase in the number of referrals through awareness and so, obviously, we need to look at where those young people - and they are young people - in the borough are supported and who the most appropriate organisations are either locally or London-wide to offer a level of support. The police and our Prevent officer supports us in that at the moment.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** I know we are going to come on to London-wide projects and so I will leave other people to ask those questions. Do you feel in your borough - where it is done bottom-up in a way, actually, you could say - that you have sufficient control over what is being delivered? Are you integrating with other services? There were references earlier about safeguarding children and schools? Because you are running it yourselves, are you able to be quite specific about where it is used?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** We have very close links with safeguarding and we have moved recently to an all-age Multiagency Safeguarding Hub (MASH), so all safeguarding alerts for adults and children go through that. By directing it through both safeguarding boards,

which are jointly chaired by the same chair, we are able to have better control locally and better awareness of what is going on.

I do think we suffer as the only east London borough to not be a priority or supported. We do receive quite large numbers of young people from those east London boroughs coming into our educational establishments. That is a big gap for us to look at how best we support some of those young people and how best we equip teachers and support staff in those educational facilities to adequately support those young people with limited resources.

Yes, it has been a big learning curve for us to try to develop from the bottom up. Where we do miss out is in that added support from those other priority boroughs and so it is welcome to hear that they are now in a position where they can share their best practice with us. That would be a big improvement for us.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** I know there are going to be questions on sharing resources across London and ideas and so I will leave that for others to ask. Just also to go back to Martin, how is the decision made as to what organisation is *in extremis* and therefore deserves funding? Obviously, from Diane's point of view, she has to decide it all herself. In your borough where you do have your Prevent officer, who brings that on the ground?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is a joint process between our local Prevent co-ordinator and our local police who work in Prevent in our borough and that comes together in a meeting where they discuss what sorts of programmes we should deploy in the borough to deal with risk. That is generally how it happens.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** Fine. Again, what we are trying to get at is whether there are specific criteria or things that you have to meet in order to get funding or is it done by negotiation or agreement?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** The way it is done, the priority boroughs are identified by the Home Office and that is based on risk. Then the local Prevent co-ordinators, who are funded by the Home Office, will put forward projects in a yearly funding round on a whole range of things. Then the Home Office will decide, based on what their perceived risk is and what its priorities are, which projects get funded and which ones do not.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** Is there anything that either people put in too many projects because they want to get funding for some or they put in too few projects? Are they playing the system or is there not enough money? There is never enough money.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** There is never enough money, no. The bigger issue - and I know the Home Office is aware of this as well - is that it is a yearly funding round and so every year the local Prevent co-ordinators have to put in their lists of projects they would like funded. They find out quite late whether or not they have been funded. The problem with that is that, if you want a programme that runs over a number of years, it is problematical in terms of the way that the funding round is organised. The other problem is in terms of pan-London projects. Each of the Prevent co-ordinators is putting in for their own projects. They may share with another authority but there is not that pan-London commissioning that goes on.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** I certainly know that those questions are coming up later. You are absolutely right. You said earlier that extremism is no respecter of borough boundaries or ward boundaries or whatever.

I am interested to hear the point you have made. One of the recommendations, obviously, is going to be that we should suggest, as does happen now with many local authority grants, that the funding period -- particularly, to paraphrase what you have said, the more cohesive the strategy, the more cohesive the community. You cannot achieve that if everything is going to be thrown up in the air. Although it is a year, of course, inevitably it is nine months because everyone is always fussed about the next level of funding. That is a good example for us. I know my colleagues are going to ask some more questions, but I was trying to understand the difference between a borough that is funded and a borough that is not funded and what lessons there are for both.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We have some more questions that we need to ask. Can I ask about the referral process into Prevent and then on to Channel? What is the trigger?

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** Sorry, it is Tony. I had left that for Tony.

**Tony Arbour AM:** No, that is all right.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** What is the trigger for that and has that worked adequately in your boroughs?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** There is a threshold, which I actually do not know the detail of, in terms of Channel referrals. There is a constant discussion on whether or not that threshold is high enough or low enough. That is an ongoing discussion. However, individuals are identified and then referred through to a panel. One thing that people do not appreciate is that Channel is voluntary and so you cannot force people to go through Channel. Once individuals are perceived to have reached that threshold, they are invited to join Channel and that is, basically, how it works.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** I do not know if either of our academics knows. Have you done any work looking at people who have been put into Channel and whether it has worked or not or is the information just not made available for academic research?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** As far as I am aware, that work has not been done or made available.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** No? OK. Thank you.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** This comes back to the definitions. When you are looking at the criteria, are you sure that all the people involved in the decision-making are very clear about criteria? How do you ensure that?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** That is not an area that I actually work in and so I cannot really comment on that.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** People are making these decisions in your borough based on criteria.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Yes. There are the set criteria and my Prevent co-ordinator would meet with the various officers in the police and have a discussion about

whether or not those individuals meet those criteria to refer into Channel. I cannot really comment on the detail of that threshold.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Are those criteria public?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I am not sure. I do not know.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** All right. It just seems a bit ... I do not know. I do not feel that there is a clear path here. Diane, do you have any comment on that?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** My understanding is that someone would raise a concern about an individual. A referral would go into the Channel process. That would sit with the police. They would have a discussion at that level. We would not be involved in discussions at that level. They would come back to us and ask for information about that individual, which they would then consider and use to consider whether that individual met the threshold. Then they would come to us and look at the appropriate level of support from partners that could be offered to this individual. We have had very, very minimal referrals in our borough and so that is my involvement at the moment.

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** As I understand it, there is a formal risk assessment. I am not sure that the criteria by which the risk assessment is done has ever been published. The only thing we do know about Channel is that nationally about 20% of the referrals that are made go through and are taken on as Channel referrals. What we do not know is what the outcomes of that process are.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Who is scrutinising this whole process? Who is actually assessing if the right decisions have been made and if it has been effective? What is the scrutiny process on it?

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** It is through one of the select committees at the House of Commons.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Really? Every single local authority decision is looked at by a select committee or do they do a little trawl?

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Len, you wanted to come in here?

**Len Duvall AM:** This goes back to an earlier point. Can I give you two examples and maybe we could just explore this further? Channel is not just about dealing with potential terrorism. It deals with other forms of hate crimes and right-wing extremism. We know that because there have been some referrals to Channel around that.

If I am a young person and I get up in my classroom and say, "I think that Osama bin Laden had something good to say", and all the rest of it, do I get referred to Channel or do I have to express, "Actually, I think Osama bin Laden had a good thing to say and I want to kill people who do not believe in what he said"? That is referral one or not as the case may be.

If I am a right-wing extremist and said, "Actually, I do not like gay people and I think it is wrong", would that be a referral? If I said, "I wanted to hurt all gay people and I feel that they need to be hurt", would that be a referral?

These are some of the issues that go back to the point about expressing a view, particularly amongst young people in terms of developing views and in terms of developing a hatred that leads to some physical attack against the state or against individuals.

Do you know what I mean? What is the thinking about that, then? Where does that come into this? Give us some help here because there are some concerns. It might go back to some of the perceptions that communities have concerning what Prevent is about. What is it about? It should be about reducing hurt: an extreme type of hurt is killing someone and taking someone's life; it is about hatred in its many forms. Where are we, then? Are we saying that none of you professionals, if I asked the local officers, have had that discussion or it has not crossed your desk? If I could ask the academics, how do you feel the state is grappling with some of those issues in terms of some of the research you have dealt with? That is just following on from an earlier question from Jenny [Jones AM, Deputy Chair].

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** If I start off the answer, hopefully you will be able to fill in the details. Part of our training in schools is to train teachers in terms of how they should respond if they have children saying that type of thing. There is a lot of work that takes place in schools to make sure that that response is appropriate. We also encourage staff, if they feel there is an issue, that they can then report and refer. That is when it moves into the safeguarding process.

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Yes, I would agree. That for us would probably raise a safeguarding concern and there would be discussions within the school with the safeguarding lead and a referral through to the MASH for a further discussion where there may be more knowledge about that individual from other agencies. That can be discussed confidentially and a decision would be made then. That might not come across my desk but somebody within the MASH would be looking at that detail and making a decision about the most appropriate referral for those individuals. Obviously, the police are co-located within the MASH along with health and other partners.

**Len Duvall AM:** Just to follow up before I bring the academics in, we have been told that a degree of radicalisation can take place in a space of hours, not days, or over a period of time that obviously leads to days and views that can be expressive of, "I think those ideas look interesting", to, "I think I need to do something about which side I am on", ie leading to a crime. Where is that criteria and what has been the thinking since Prevent started and through some of those referrals about balancing those judgements for intervention or causes for concern?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** If I just take it first, I am not going to answer your question directly but perhaps work through it. The key part of our programmes is to provide that counter-narrative. For the children who hear stuff through the internet and who become instantly radicalised through what they see, it is important for us to get that counter-narrative there in place.

The answer to your question goes back to what Diane [Egan] said earlier. There are teachers in the schools in the situation. What we have to make sure is that they are properly trained to be able to deal with that sort of behaviour when it arises and that they have a very clear escalation route if, through the meetings of the various forums in the escalation chain, it is felt that this is a problem and something needs to be done and there needs to be something formally done in the end. I do not know if that does answer your question, but it is almost like a staged process. If within the school it is felt to be a bigger problem than they can deal with or it needs to be referred further, there is that referral route in place.

**Len Duvall AM:** We are coming back to schools later on and so we might follow that up. From the academics' point of view, what has come across your desk? What has it been like? What have you found or not?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** Martin Esom said something very important in terms of responding to your question, which is that engagement with Channel is voluntary. If someone says they do not want to engage, that is it. What do you do?

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** What happens?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** I do not know what happens. That seems to me to be a very important point. In terms of the evidence base around this, in the last study that I did to the Home Office, which was in 2011 when we looked at Prevent policing, we did say, "Do you think it would be appropriate for us to look at Channel?" We were told, "No, probably not". It does not mean that the work has not been done but I am not aware that it has ever been done.

That is really quite an important thing at this point in time because of the international situation. Increasing emphasis is being put on Channel and the work that it should do. I am not entirely sure that we can answer the question about how it works and what works.

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I will just come back to your original point about the expression of support from theoretically, "Bin Laden had a point", or, "The English Defence League (EDL) has a point on X", through to the practicality of, "I feel I should do something about that". What that really comes down to is fundamentally what Prevent is about: does it challenge violent extremism or does it challenge extremism *per se* and how does it do that? That has been a very political discussion and that is really the direction that will be set nationally by the Government.

It is clear to me that the Conservatives have always wanted to challenge extremism *per se* as a general phenomenon, not just violent extremism, which was very much the focus of Prevent under the Labour Government. To an extent, the Conservatives were not able to realise the full vision because of the coalition. You will begin to see now a greater move towards challenging extremism more generally. To use that spectrum, it would go from previously just challenging those who say, "I am going to actually do something about this", to now also challenging those who say, "They have a point".

**Tony Arbour AM:** I am concerned about the difference between those boroughs that are priority boroughs and those that are not priority boroughs. I want to come back, please, to the local profile. If only two people in a borough have seen it - and there was the suggestion that it was you and your Borough Commander and whoever it was - how can anyone appeal it or say, "We ought not to be a priority borough"? I could conceive of some boroughs thinking it might well be a stigma that they are a priority borough. It goes back, really, to what Jenny [Jones AM] was asking. Who scrutinises this?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** The CTLPs do not designate the priority boroughs and non-priority boroughs. That is done in the Home Office and so that is a separate process.

**Tony Arbour AM:** It has nothing whatever to do with being a priority borough?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** No, not at all because all boroughs receive a CTLP. Probably priority boroughs would have far more content in their CTLPs because, if they did not, they would not be priority boroughs. However, the two processes are separate.

**Tony Arbour AM:** It is some guy in the Home Office, based on some information that he has that he does not reveal to anyone, who determines which is a priority borough? You could not, for example, say, "I think Waltham Forest should be a priority borough. Can I be one?"

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** No, you cannot do that.

**Tony Arbour AM:** All right. Some of your members at London Councils might say to themselves, "I see that Waltham Forest has had this big slug of money because it is a priority borough and we think there are things that need to be addressed in our borough. Can we have access to this money?" Can you help them?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I suppose the answer to that is - and I am going to sound like the Government here - there is a limited pot of money and they have to deploy that money based on risk and a risk assessment is carried out. If you were to treat all boroughs the same, there would not be sufficient funds for anyone to do priority work in a proper way. The answer that is come up with is that you fund the 18 boroughs most at risk, but those boroughs then undertake a proper responsibility in terms of their neighbouring boroughs, which might not be priority boroughs, and that is where this buddying system comes through.

**Tony Arbour AM:** All right. Since the statutory duty is just coming in, it is going to cost money. How is that funded? Is that funded differently from the monies that you get for being a priority borough?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Yes. Probably if we both answer this, in terms of --

**Tony Arbour AM:** Indeed, yes. I had some specific questions. Do you feel upset? I was going to ask Diane if she feels upset that she is not getting the money.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** As a priority borough, we fund our statutory duty out of that allocation that we receive.

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** For us, one of the biggest issues that we do not get funding and so we do not have a Prevent co-ordinator. Any of the work that has to be done has to be done through existing roles. Otherwise, the council would have to find that money to fund a Prevent co-ordinator itself. They are the questions that need to be asked at the highest level in the council. At the moment, the work to implement the statutory duty is being delivered through the role of community safety and is part of the role of an existing community safety officer.

At the moment, everything that we are doing is being delivered through existing funding. Until we identify the need, we are in a process at the moment of raising awareness and so that might identify a greater need. Obviously it would be for us to bring that evidence to senior officers and the local council if that evidence means that we need to look for additional resources. That would be the process that we would look at.

**Tony Arbour AM:** The imposition of the new statutory duty means the existing monies that you had allocated for community safety has to be spread to cover the new responsibility?



**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Yes, I would say that is fair.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Nothing changes as far as that concerned. What is a supported borough?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** As I understand it, a supported borough is one that will have access to Home Office support but is not directly funded. It has support in terms of programmes and other benefits but is not directly funded.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Does that mean that the chief executive of a supported borough gets a letter from the Home Office, "I am going to visit you and I am here to help", and that is it?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** The reason I am vague is that this is a new term that has come in since the statutory duty has come in and I am yet to see what that actually means in practice.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Are any individuals or individual organisations or individual activities funded directly through Prevent?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Sorry. Could you repeat the question?

**Tony Arbour AM:** I am asking whether the money that comes from the Home Office for Prevent has to be dished out by the boroughs or can the money come directly from the Home Office to an organisation that exists in the borough? We have submissions - and I am sure you have seen them - from various organisations that have a view on this matter like, for example, CAGE [independent advocacy organisation] and Rights Watch. Could organisations like those have access to money from this fund?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I am not actually sure in terms of whether or not the Home Office has commissioned directly. I think it does, but that is just what I think happens.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** How do we find out?

**Tony Arbour AM:** Exactly right. Victoria says, "How do you find out?" Supposing one of these organisations is working in your borough, a priority borough. They might in fact be siphoning off money that you think you should have.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** The person who would have a handle on that is the local Prevent co-ordinator. Our local Prevent co-ordinator works very closely with the Home Office. If there are projects that are taking place that are directly funded by the Home Office, that person would know and would be able to reflect that in the local authority.

**Tony Arbour AM:** There is not really any transparency here. You have no knowledge. You do not get a letter saying, "By the way, Chief Executive, did you know that this group of people is being funded by us?"

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I do not personally but I feel sure that my local Prevent co-ordinator would know that and so there would be knowledge in the local authority.

**Tony Arbour AM:** It is not very satisfactory, is it, really, Jenny?

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** No.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Perhaps I could ask our academics. You have obviously done research into the Prevent strategy over a number of years. Do you have any problems with the transparency or the lack of transparency in trying to assess with your work at all?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** You are not aware whether that work is being done internally in the Home Office and just not being shared?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I would not know. I do not know.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** OK. Thank you.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You are giving us a lot of recommendations here for our report.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Absolutely.

**Len Duvall AM:** OK. Can we look at how Prevent will be delivered in the future? Then I might just want to add on a few extra bits on something different. First to the boroughs, if I can ask: do you welcome the idea of a new CONTEST board for London and the greater involvement of MOPAC in commissioning and delivering Prevent? Is that how you see it?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is part of the rapidly developing landscape, to be frank, and I do not think at the moment all the various governance structures are in place. At the operational and tactical levels, the London Prevent Board can fulfil that because it has the right membership, it has the right buy-in and it has the right people around the table. What there is not at the moment is, at a more strategic level, looking at more than Prevent. Prevent is just one part of the activity, but you have the other parts of the activity in terms of Pursue and that type of thing. A London-wide body could well make a valuable contribution to oversee the whole of the CONTEST area rather than just Prevent. Also, it does play a role in terms of overseeing the whole of London and seeing how London is performing in terms of Prevent. We talked about the CTLPs today, which you can see is a really critical document. We could see a role for a London CONTEST board actually having an overview of those CTLPs and seeing how informative they are and the quality of them across the piece.

Therefore, on a number of counts, I can see that a London CONTEST board would fulfil a function that currently is not there, but it cannot be really a duplication of the London Prevent Board because it would just be doing the same thing.

**Len Duvall AM:** What if it replaced it? Should it replace it? Are you saying that it still needs to be a crucial tactical operational board that you chair and CONTEST needs to be much more strategic overall?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** Why can that not be done at the London Crime Board? Why can the CONTEST element not be delivered by that London Crime Board in a strategic way?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** That is probably not a question for me. I do not know the roles of each of those. I do not know the role of the London board that exists at the moment. However, in terms of replacing the London Prevent Board, I am not precious about the Board but it is a very tactical Board. It has the Prevent co-ordinators from across London who report in about the success or otherwise of their projects and how they are coping. It is a very tactical and operational board. A London CONTEST board would probably want to be far more strategic than that.

**Len Duvall AM:** OK. If I can turn to Martin, Cardiff has a CONTEST board, we presume, which is similar to what London is proposing, already in place. How does it work in practice?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** As Martin [Esom] has indicated, what you get at the Cardiff board is representations from the Pursue, Protect, Prepare and Prevent strands and that is quite useful because that allows you to start thinking about issues: where do they join up?; where is the crossover? When an individual or an issue moves from something that is owned by Prevent into Pursue, what are the ramifications of that? If the level of activity around Pursue is so much that you have to take some things down into Prevent and manage them there. That degree of being able to join up between the different strands is quite important.

In terms of how it has worked, it is fair to say that the approach in Cardiff has evolved and has developed and has become better. Some things did not work early on and some things did. We now do seem to be at a point where we have all of the key agencies at the table, joining up and discussing these issues. It is quite useful in terms of being able to exert pressure and influence, really, in terms of what is in the CTLP and what different partners need to see. You start to get those needs articulated and that then shapes how the document is taken forward further. Hopefully, we are moving to a point where the CTLP becomes a bit more evidence-based for people in terms of being able to make those different decisions in terms of priorities and where the emphasis lies in terms of Prevent, Pursue, Prepare and Protect.

**Len Duvall AM:** Shiraz, do you have any comments on this issue? Do you think it would - dare I say it, without misleading people - give more transparency to this exercise or will it be just another example of the bureaucracy in a good sense of getting to grips with this issue?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** It is not an area I am particularly familiar with. It is not something I have looked at for a number of years in terms of the structure of Prevent and the lines of accountability. Therefore, I would not feel qualified to make that assessment.

**Len Duvall AM:** OK. Could I just ask generally? Do you think the shared understanding of the threat that we face - I suppose I will ask the boroughs this - was a barrier and the reason why there was a mixed

performance in terms of Prevent over the last five years; and why some boroughs were further engaged than others? Do you think that is fair to say?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** In terms of Waltham Forest, to be completely honest, probably the reason why we worked quite hard in this area is the transatlantic bomb plot that took place in our car park at the town hall. It is as straightforward as that.

When you are faced with a really difficult problem and the whole of the borough is put under the spotlight, you need to respond. We have worked really hard on it since that time. As with anything, things go up the political hierarchy due to issues, quite often, and that has something to do with it. If boroughs are facing a potential problem, they are going to respond to that problem. Those boroughs that traditionally have not had a problem in this area but have problems elsewhere will focus on the problems elsewhere. Therefore, that is probably the reason why you have a patchy picture at the moment.

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** For us, what is absent from the current Prevent programme in London is that the voice of outer London non-priority boroughs is not around the table. It seems that the view is you have to develop a problem before you can actually get help. If we really want to truly work from a preventative model to stop the issues that have occurred in other boroughs happening in Havering, we need to be around the table. We need to be learning from the issues that have happened in other boroughs. We need to be able to voice the concerns of those outer London boroughs so that we can get assistance when necessary. At the moment that is absent. That is where that lack of transparency goes on. We are excluded from those discussions.

**Len Duvall AM:** From the academics, any view of the understanding of the threat that we face and the performance of these programmes?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** It is fair to say that the threat has changed and adapted. One of the challenges of this area is really to not be fighting the last war but to be thinking about what comes next. That is a really big challenge. The danger is that Prevent activity and CONTEST activity is resource intensive. You can find yourself continually looking back and saying all of our risk models look backwards as opposed to projecting forwards and thinking about where the gaps and weaknesses are that we need to plug to try to stop some macabre innovation in terms of the attack methodologies that our opponents want to use against us.

**Len Duvall AM:** Chair, could you indulge me with the question I asked at a previous meeting leading to the future about Prevent and learning lessons? One of the questions I have posed to other professionals is whether learning the lessons around Prevent - particularly about whether you are challenging people's views - can be used in tackling other forms of crime: attitudes towards women in schools, some of the sex crimes, some of the physical violence that we are facing, some of the other hate crimes. We know Channel is not just in terms aimed at the Muslim community but is also aimed at some far-right and white supremacist groups in that sense about some of their views.

Can any of these lessons at the appropriate time - I am not saying you dilute or move away in terms of the threat we face now - be used in tackling other forms of crime, particularly some of the school work that is going on in terms of engaging in debates? Has anyone ever thought of that in terms of - if I start with the academics first - whether some of those lessons are transferrable?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** Of course, the new Serious Organised Crime Strategy has picked up the four Ps framework of CONTEST and transplanted it across to that. We will wait and see whether it works equally in that space.

One of the central issues to be thinking about this is making sure that it is transplanted across to similar kinds of problems. The fundamental issue with the counterterrorism space is you are dealing with highly motivated people who want to go and engage in violence. That is a very special type of problem. It is probably not applicable to all kinds of problems, but for those sort of problems when you are dealing with people with strong internal intrinsic motivation, then it may well be.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** The only thing I dare to say is that within Waltham Forest some gang crime and drug crime is potentially linked to this area. All the time we are looking at the linkages across. If we have an area where we have high drug-selling going on in the gang environment, sometimes we feel that actually the profits from that could be going back to places where we would not want it to go back to.

**Roger Evans AM:** Diane, you said that obviously you are not a priority borough at the moment but you feel the demographics are changing in Havering quite quickly. Do you think there is any likelihood that Havering will become a priority borough in the near future and is that something the Government has discussed with us?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** We have had no discussions that that is likely. I would say, going on past experience around other crime types such as gangs, again, we were not a priority borough. There was quite a lot of lobbying with MOPAC to enable us to get Home Office support for the preventative work we wanted to do. No, at the moment there have no discussions with the Home Office at all regarding the likelihood that we will become a priority - or even a supported - borough, which is what we would welcome.

**Roger Evans AM:** Who would you talk to if you wanted something like that to happen?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Usually my first discussions would be with MOPAC to ask for its support to go to the Home Office for advice.

**Roger Evans AM:** Have you done that?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Not at the moment, no.

**Roger Evans AM:** Obviously, you do not see it as being a problem at the moment?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** It is very early stages for us. Once we have done the awareness link, it will give us a better understanding of the problem profile and what the issues are locally. For us, one of the big concerns is online radicalisation and that can happen anywhere. We need to understand better what the issues are for us locally before we go back and lobby MOPAC.

**Roger Evans AM:** Are other outer London boroughs seeking a change to their status? Do you know?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Not that I know of. Martin might have --

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** No, in terms of the designation of a priority or a non-priority borough within the Home Office, there is constant information going to them in terms of assessing those risks. It may be that one or two individuals move to Havering that will be a significant risk and you could find Havering becoming a priority borough quite quickly. It just depends on the information that is being received and then the assessment of that risk. That process is taking place anyway. It does not need the borough to ask for it. It is almost like it will happen if that risk is assessed.

**Roger Evans AM:** There is an ongoing review?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Yes.

**Roger Evans AM:** When was the last time a borough was reclassified?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** A change happened around the new duty coming in around about February/March time.

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** For us locally, Redbridge became the new priority borough. That is our neighbouring borough.

**Roger Evans AM:** Redbridge is a priority borough?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** That is one of the newer ones, and Barking and Dagenham as well.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** I should not feel this maybe but I feel like a lot that I am hearing is a nonsense. It is not appropriate for a borough to be seeking to put a bid in to become a priority area. From what we have heard, it is based on risk factors. In our briefing, for instance, Crawley became a supported area. My best guess is it became that because it was the home of the first British *jihadi* suicide bomber. If every borough was to put forward a bid and become a priority area, what then would be the status of London? It just seems to me if there was more clarity and openness about what the criteria were and about what this Prevent Strategy is about - it is about vulnerable young people and so you can find them; it is about particular communities and so you can find that - then it would make sense. At the moment, the more we talk about it and the more you hear, you think there is no proper basis for the criteria. The 32 boroughs are competing amongst each other to become a priority area. The link to that is financial.

Martin, do you think from your position that the 32 boroughs, if they all applied, could all get to some degree priority status?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I do not think all 32 boroughs have sufficient risk to be a priority borough. There would be boroughs where there is very little activity taking place.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** That is known of.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I do not want it to seem like an excuse in terms of the system. I find it quite difficult to understand why Redbridge is a priority borough but Havering is not.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** I am glad you do. I thought I was alone.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I struggle with that. What I do appreciate is that there is quite a limited pot of money available. The Home Office obviously wants to deploy that money in the areas it thinks have the greatest risk. That is all I can really say. It is the system I am working within.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** All right. Thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We are going to move on to future challenges.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** If we are thinking about the future, Martin, you said something about not fighting past wars and Diane mentioned, for example, online radicalisation. Targeting of the boroughs and making them priority boroughs will not solve that and so there has to be other work going on about online radicalism. Do any of our guests have a comment on that, if it is happening?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** That is a key area of our activity. We do a lot of work in schools giving the counter-narrative to the online messages that children get. That is a key part of our programme. That goes into every school. It is one of our priority programmes.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I do not want to move off the online issue but, actually, of course, there are lots of schools that you do not have any influence over: free schools, academies and home-schooling, for example.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Waltham Forest actually offers the products to those schools and we see a good uptake from those schools. Although we do not have any direct control, people see it as an issue and they want assistance with it.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Is there take-up from all schools in your borough, regardless of their --

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I cannot say every school. What I do know is that we have offered it to free schools and to faith schools and they have accepted the product.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** What about home-schooled children?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is the home-schooled children who are obviously a problem. We do not have the same reach to those children.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Shiraz, you wanted to say something?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I wanted to add a point about the whole online activity side of this. The whole idea of Prevent is that it is supposed to be pervasive across all facets and sectors. The part with online radicalisation that we are really missing is the parents. It is all well and good to have the schools being right up on this. I will speak to what I am researching now and the focus quite a lot now is with Syria. It is very clear that individuals are at home communicating with fighters who have gone from this country already and made that journey. They are doing it from their own homes. They are doing it from iPads, from mobile phones and from laptops.

To their parents' minds, of course, they are at home, they are under watch and they are not out doing things, and so they feel like that there is not a problem.

There needs to be a lot of education in and around educating parents about what kinds of activities you can get up to online and what you can really achieve online. Particularly with some of the communities we are talking about, there are a number of parents who are not particularly literate when it comes to the internet and savvy about the way technology can be used. The next thing they know, their child has packed their bags and suddenly turns up having crossed the Syrian border. It is hugely distressing for them but all the tell-tale signs tend to be there if you look at those cases. Parents are a huge area where education needs to take place about schooling them in terms of what they are looking for in their children's online activity.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Have you made suggestions about how this could happen by engaging parents?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** There really does need to be greater clarity for parents. Think about it in terms of how you educate these parents about Twitter, "This is how your child can be directly in contact with someone in Raqqa making all the communication they need to in terms of landing at Istanbul airport and how they tangibly get through".

I am not quite sure how that comes about in terms of educating these parents. Again, giving them confidence in the system is very important. We have seen a number of cases where parents have worked with the police, for example, and then found their children being prosecuted and given lengthy jail sentences. It is hugely counterproductive. There needs to be a system that allows parents to come forward to work with the police or with other agencies to achieve the best outcome for their children without criminalising them.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Of course, yes. Martin, did you want to say something? My daughter got me onto Twitter by telling me I had a Twitter mind. I think it was an insult. Diane, did you want to say anything else?

**Roger Evans AM:** I cannot see how it would be a compliment.

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** I agree. The real gap at the map is around education for parents and equipping them to deal with online safeguarding, not just around here but if you can get that right it covers a whole remit of issues, not just radicalisation but sexual exploitation.

We have started to offer a programme to schools where we go in and they run a parents' evening where the invite parents in. We have done that around child sexual exploitation (CSE). We have had a real appetite from parents who know nothing about the internet but just want to protect their teenagers from those risks that we never experienced when we were their age. There is a definite need for that to increase. Where does the responsibility to do that sit and where does the money to do that sit? It is across all boroughs to do actual true preventative work. There needs to be some sort of resource available for that.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** What about for parents, for example, who do not have English as a first language?



**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Obviously, that has more difficult issues, whether they can be led through community groups who can run those sort of classes. You need to look at the needs of your local community and adapt what you provide for those communities.

**Murad Qureshi AM:** Just a comment on that. The reality is most of the religious leaders whom people may go to do not actually know their stuff, but that is another point aside. They make it up as they go along. That is my experience of having grown up in London. That is why my parents kept me well away from any religious education and let me get on with it myself.

Can I come to the future challenges? You have mentioned online radicalisation and the challenges of perception. On the schools front, I got myself involved in some of the challenges in the City of Westminster with Mohammed Emwazi [British member of Islamic State, also referred to as "Jihadi John"]. At the time the Department for Education had set up a Due Diligence and Counter Extremism Division. Has that been incorporated within the Prevent efforts across London or is that something yet to be incorporated but we can see in the future?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is not incorporated in the London Prevent Board.

**Murad Qureshi AM:** We should be aware of it. The Department for Education, from this briefing I had from Westminster, made quite a lot of hoo-ha about it in three primary schools and one secondary school, which I will not name for the sake of the schools, really. It seems that is a development that has happened in the education school front which the City of Westminster is having to deal with, particularly with their academies.

You touched on another thing, Martin, and actually it is something that has come from Westminster as well. There are elements of gangs getting involved but not to the extent you are suggesting. If it is happening in Westminster and it is happening in Waltham Forest, would you suspect it is happening in other places in London?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** In terms of funding going to forces back in Syria, there will be various ways in which funding is sent back and actually gained in this country. One of the routes is probably through drugs.

**Murad Qureshi AM:** I actually was not talking about that. I suspect Islamic State (IS) has its own sources of funding and does not necessarily need to raise it here, but I may be wrong on that.

What I am concerned about is the overlap of extremist ideology with gangs operating in London. As we know, gangs do not operate within local authority boundaries. They will move around and shift their turf as they see fit. It struck me that as a chief executive of a local authority you seem to be more aware of it than other chief executives.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** The information that I have - and it may be anecdotal but I have been told this - is that in terms of risks and risky people it is not part of a gang culture. The gang culture comes in in terms of income-raising. Our most risky people are those who are isolated and who actually are outside any form of gang or grouping. That is where sometimes the mental health aspect comes in as well. It is those lone individuals who may have been radicalised either through people they have met or through the internet who pose perhaps the greatest risk.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Can I just welcome Chase Lane Primary School from Waltham Forest who have come to visit us today? Thank you.

**Murad Qureshi AM:** I have just lost my train of thought for a moment there. That is useful. One of the other things that seems to have happened recently, again in the City of Westminster, is that they have used their child protection responsibilities. Is that a future development we can foresee in other local authorities, Martin?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** If I start – because Diane is probably the expert – definitely the role of safeguarding and Prevent is an area that has developed quite quickly. That is where work needs to be done. We have radicalised individuals. Quite often they live in a family setting. What work is there done with the family? Diane, do you want to comment on that?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** For us, our approach is very much that we see Prevent as a safeguarding issue. With that it is linked very closely with our Troubled Families programme. If there are individuals within the family that require additional support, for whatever reason, we have that process through our Troubled Families and through our all-age MASH to do proper assessments to make sure that the families get the appropriate support and advice that is necessary.

**Murad Qureshi AM:** That is useful. Again, it is another development I have noticed in my home borough.

The other thing is in terms of an output approach with Prevent. Out of all the submissions we have seen, actually, the Waltham Forest one does seem to have that. Could you just expand on that, Martin, and on how you have done it there and whether we can expect that in other local authorities across London?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is very difficult to try to put measurements on this. We are conscious that we are receiving funding that other people are not receiving. We try to identify output measures to see how successful we are or otherwise.

If I could just take that point and go back to a London CONTEST board: there is a clear role in terms of the CONTEST board to start looking at what those outcome measures would be for the whole of London. That is a really valuable role. The work that we are doing in Waltham Forest could then be shared with other boroughs so that people would not reinvent the wheel in terms of trying to get those output measures.

Our output measures are things like referrals through to Channel and all sorts of things like that. We have quite a broad range of indicators in terms of whether or not we are making any inroads.

**Murad Qureshi AM:** I will look out for that influence in other parts of town.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We are on to schools and education. Can we just return to that? You sent us, Martin, a copy of your Prevent strategy and building resilience and responsive communities document. It quite clearly goes through your digital resilience programmes you put out into schools and about some of the outreach work you do with communities. It all seems like very good practice.

Now we have new duties on education providers. Do you know whether the Department for Education is actually giving guidance themselves down to schools or whether there is extra funding for schools to deliver projects like this?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** I do not know.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** OK. Secondly, it is about sharing best practice. It seems to me that if you have a very good programme that is delivered in schools, is that shared with other boroughs or do other boroughs just have to reinvent the wheel and do the schools have to reinvent the wheel every time?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Another advertisement for 7 July; it is all about the work that is taking place in schools. It is at Walthamstow Assembly Hall with lots of case studies in terms of digital resilience and how we work with young people in the area. That invitation is going to all London boroughs.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** OK. Thank you.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** The whole issue of outcomes is absolutely crucial to the money and to the definitions and so on. Perhaps you are not the people we should be asking. We should be asking the Government about this.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We have done.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I wanted to ask you. There is a perception that Prevent is mainly targeting Muslim radicalisation. Of course, Len [Duvall AM] also raised the issue of right-wing extremism and terrorism. Do you feel that there is enough focus on that side of things?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** In terms of the CTLP, the document I referred to, it includes all forms of extremism. I had my CTLP delivered yesterday, funnily enough.

We had the EDL come and visit Walthamstow again two Saturdays ago. The group that caused probably the most problems was nothing to do with either side. It was a very small faction. It was an extreme left-wing organisation. Really, that did not feature in my CTLP. Quite often we stay on the core business but actually sometimes you can get quite small fragments of organisations that can cause far more problems.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Yes, I should have said not just the right-wing but left-wing as well. Yes.

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** It is that two-way dialogue in the CTLP process where we can identify smaller groups from the whole spectrum that may cause issues and that have attended places and caused problems. That is how the whole system will become more robust in terms of risk assessment.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** It is still a learning process. Did you want to say anything on that part?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** We have spent the last 15 months analysing what happened in the aftermath of the Lee Rigby [British soldier] murder. We have an extensive research project. That is one of the important points: to recognise how a lot of radicalisation happens. We have tended to just concentrate on this group or that group; actually it is the interactions between the two. One group is playing off the messages that come from the other group. Understanding that these things are dynamic and that they interact is really quite important. To me that is one of the critical gaps with Prevent and with the CONTEST strategy at the moment. We have these four Ps but one of the gaps that strikes me is there is nothing programmed in in terms of post-event management.

When things actually happen and the authorities and the security agencies are very engaged in trying to identify who the perpetrators are and manage the fallout, there is an awful lot that happens at those points in time in terms of radicalisation, changing the message and the narrative of these groups and groups radicalising on both sides that we really need to get a sense of a grip of. That seems to me to be a big gap. Prevent, over the past three years, has become more focused upon de-radicalisation than counter-radicalisation activities. If we take seriously the idea that terrorist groups commit their violent acts to terrorise, polarise and mobilise, what happens in the aftermath of these events is absolutely critical in terms of building resilience going forward.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Thank you. Very interesting. Shiraz, did you want to add anything?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I have nothing to add.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Diane [Egan]? No.

**Murad Qureshi AM:** Just on tackling right-wing extremism, we should also not forget there is a relationship between right-wing extremism and the *ihadists*. They feed off each other. Sadly in Regent's Park Mosque on the last few Easter Fridays one goes along and the others come behind. If you go into Twitter-sphere, EDL and Britain First will tell you, "We would not be there if Anjem Choudary [British Muslim social and political activist] and his mob were not there in the first place". I only wish the MPS would actually make sure events like that do not happen, given it is actually on a very religious day for practising Muslims.

Those dynamics; to what extent are local authorities aware of them as much as the police, Martin?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** You have the set pieces. The EDL march in Walthamstow; as a council we called for no one to turn out. We tried to stop but could not stop the EDL marching and so we let them march. Really, we do not want that counter-reaction to happen. That is where it breaks down, in the council's view, the community cohesion of the area. As an authority we are very much conscious of that. It is trying to ensure that in those set pieces that no one really gets caught up in problems. That is where it really manifests itself: when people march.

**Murad Qureshi AM:** The MPS sometimes defends some people's democratic rights at the offence of others. Possibly they are not really *au fait* on it. In particular instances and times when it has repeatedly happened, I do think they need to look at it in a bit more detail.

Can I finally come back our academics? In some ways the idea in Prevent is to foresee events and prevent responses before they happen. To what extent can we do that with events as and when they happen in the Middle East? The one which has not had the most focus and which I do think has an impact on the street - on the road that I live off, the Edgware Road - was probably the death sentence of the first elected president of Egypt. He has been removed. He has the death sentence. He was democratically elected. Unfortunately there are many governments in the West that support that regime change. I daresay the dissident community that lives off the Edgware Road will think that actually they need to show their concerns about those issues. It is the form in which they show that that is the concern.

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I will take the example in a slightly different direction. The nature of what we have seen

with fast-moving events in the Middle East is increasing sectarianism and the polarisation around some of that. That has necessarily changed part of the radicalisation of individuals who leave this country and go abroad now to join conflicts, principally, of course, in Syria and Iraq. Prior to this, the narrative that Al-Qaida espoused was civilisational: the West versus Islam. There was this conflict and it was trying to pare people off into that. Now the narrative is slightly intra-civilisational: Sunni and Shia. It is within the Muslim world. Prevent was not necessarily geared up to deal with that or to respond to that. Of course it did not foresee that; no one really foresaw the collapse of the Levant in the way that it has taken place.

It is even harder for the Government to get involved with intervening in that debate because, at least before, the Government was saying, "This is where we stand; this is where Britain stands", against that wedge that jihadists were trying to place. Now that this is a discourse within a civilisation - within, as I say, the Muslim community - of course there is still a role for the state to play but it is harder, and the nature of the dynamic has changed. Egypt, Libya and all of these things are playing around that to a lesser extent. However, it is clear that from my research at least, if you look within communities here, there has been a huge polarisation between British Sunni Muslims and British Shia Muslims in response to events in that part of the world. That is driving a lot of the radicalisation now. Prevent needs to recalibrate to deal with some of that.

**Murad Qureshi AM:** I am glad you brought that up because it is something I have brought up with the Mayor. Let us hope the MPS and the Mayor respond to that.

**Len Duvall AM:** Can I go back to what Martin said in response to work in schools? Lots of those conversations take place immediately after an outrage and I daresay maybe some international conversations take place in schools about world affairs and where they are going; but they take place in different places.

Are you suggesting, just in terms of getting my head round that, that there is this ongoing conversation of trying to challenge extremism? The wake-up call, in terms of what happened with the young girls from Tower Hamlets and from the education establishment about what is going on in schools in terms of online grooming, is there. That is going on. If a specific instance, say, on the British mainland - which I know everyone is working hard to avoid - takes place, are you suggesting there should be a programme that can immediately come into force within hours of that incident that tries to capture some of those conversations taking place either of the sense of outrage at what has taken place or of, "Why has this happened"? Do you think that could be a future role of Prevent?

I have geared it to a conversation taking place in a school but it could be anywhere, really. It could be a conversation as we are on the bus on the way home or that occurs the next day in a supermarket. Are you suggesting that is where Prevent should focus, potentially, some of its future activities?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** Whether that is a role for Prevent or whether it is a fifth pillar of the CONTEST strategy, I absolutely believe that is a very important development point for the future. There are procedures for monitoring community tensions but we could go a step further and actually say, "Here is a plan that you mobilise within hours that gives you a framework within which you operate to be able to try and manage those community tensions".

Part of the work that we are doing at the moment is trying to work out what actually happens in the aftermath of these kinds of incidents. You do get this radicalisation rhetoric. You get hate crimes. You get the kinds of conversations happening in schools. You get a lot of people in forms of mental distress presenting to the health service. How do you manage all of these repercussions? It seems to me that would be a very valuable development point for the future of the CONTEST strategy in this country.

**Len Duvall AM:** OK. I suppose, just in my mind, CONTEST meets reducing further radicalisation. I can see that as being a response to snuff videos and online activity to try to counteract the propaganda issue - and whose propaganda - but really I was thinking again of people's experiences of taking sides or questioning, "Why has this happened", and then their journey on to, in our country, a democratic debate where I can disagree with you without fear that you are going to hurt me.

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** Absolutely, yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** It is partly in that sense of it and partly that, if you start mixing up CONTEST and Prevent, is that not some of the mess that we are dealing with, with some of the perceptions of it and some of the resistance? You said earlier on the voluntary nature of engagement in this conversation - "I want to discuss with you" - is quite important, is it not? It is a step between. "Which side am I on: those who want to cause hurt and harm in any form or those who maybe want to express an opinion and are not going to cause hurt and harm in that sense?" How do we try and resolve some of these issues? There are still barriers to participation, are there not? We still have people that either do not quite get the threat or do not quite understand their role within reducing the threat or want to participate in some of these issues, partly taking sides.

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** My point is we need something here. You are asking a question about content. There are people here who have expertise in terms of what the content should be. My point is a more basic one, really, and a more fundamental one, which is that we probably ought to have something here and it probably is not the same Prevent as we have currently conceptualised it. Being able to manage the consequences of an attack seems to me to be a gap in the programmes that we have in place at the moment.

**Len Duvall AM:** Thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Let us move on to my last question, which is really to ask the panel where should Prevent be seen in the context of wider changes to counterterrorism and the way that that is a developing and topical debate at the moment as well. I do not know whether anyone wanted to start with that one. Shiraz, can I start with you?

**Shiraz Maher (Senior Research Fellow, The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence):** I think I said it: Syria and Iraq represent the greatest challenges right now in terms of the terrorism threat to the United Kingdom (UK). In that sense, Prevent needs to be recalibrated to deal very specifically with that in terms of, as I say, looking more into some of the sectarianism and the Sunni/Shia conflict that is playing out there and how that has now become a big driver of radicalisation here.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Martin?

**Martin Esom (Chief Executive, London Borough of Waltham Forest):** Prevent is a community cohesion programme. At the general level, you have our efforts to try and make the community as cohesive as possible and to bring people into the community, then doing targeted work with those people that are particularly vulnerable, then assisting the police where necessary in terms of their duties. The way I see it, moving into the future, it is a very community-led, cohesive programme that really supports people to make the right choices.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Diane?

**Diane Egan (Community Safety Team Leader, London Borough of Havering):** Following on from what Martin said, we need to consider that those communities do not stop at the borders of boroughs. We need to have something that crosses right across not just London but out into Essex, where communities live, to offer that level of support and advice and to do truly preventative work around Prevent rather than waiting for the issues to arise and then think, “What can we do now?” We need to embed it and mainstream it through all our practices and colleges and education so that we address these issues the same way we address other issues of safeguarding.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Martin, do you have anything to add?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** My sense is that over the past couple of years in particular, Prevent has become increasingly focused upon what in my terms I am referring to as de-radicalisation activities. The concern that I would have is: where is the work about counter-radicalisation happening given that more and more resource is focused upon de-radicalisation? Who is going to be available to do that really important work in terms of stopping people becoming exposed and engaging with the individuals and ideas that take them through into a situation nobody really wants them to be in?

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Could you give an example of what you would mean by that? I can see you have someone who is referred and who has expressed viewpoints and may go into Channel where they could have de-radicalisation. But by ‘counter’ do you mean actively opposing viewpoints and in what sphere would that take place?

**Professor Martin Innes (Professor of Police Science, Cardiff University):** Martin [Esom] and Diane [Egan] both mentioned the work around the counter-narrative thing. I am not convinced how effective a lot of that genuinely has been and it is an area where increasing amounts of attention focus upon people who are actually in need of Channel interventions and those kinds of programmes. Quite how efficacious the counter-narrative work is being is an area of concern, particularly given the discussion we had earlier about the amount of activity that is now happening online and the speed at which these messages are being disseminated. It seems to me a really quite important and difficult area.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. We have come to the end of our questions but, before we leave, can I just ask the panel? Is there anything that you wanted to tell us that we have not asked you about and you think we need to talk about? No? I thank you all for coming, then. It has been very informative. As I said, it is our initial meeting and we will be having two more meetings on this topic. Thank you very much.

**Police and Crime Committee – 11 June 2015****Transcript of Agenda Item 5 – Preventing Extremism**

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. I would like to welcome our guests to our second question-and-answer session on preventing extremism in London. We are very pleased that we have Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew QC CBE today. I believe you are the [former] Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation. Your expertise will be very helpful to us today. Also, we have Rebecca Lawrence, Director of Strategy at the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC). Thank you both for coming.

We heard in our last session from some academics and others from London boroughs who are delivering the strategy on the ground. Our third meeting will be with the police and we have Assistant Commissioner Mark Rowley [Assistant Commissioner for Specialist Crime and Operations, Metropolitan Police Service (MPS)] coming to talk to us about the police perspective.

Can I perhaps start with some general and perhaps topical questions about where we see Prevent sitting at the moment and going? Perhaps I can ask Lord Carlile to start. One of our experts, Professor Martin Innes [Director, Police Science Institute, Cardiff University], raised the issue of Prevent being reactive rather than proactive. He talked about the focus being on de-radicalisation rather than counter-radicalisation. I was just wondering if you feel that that is a fair assessment. Does the balance or the focus of Prevent need to move slightly to that area?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** It is a tenable viewpoint. I do not think he is right and I do not think he is wrong. The Prevent policy is in a state of evolution, but there has been a sort of "Big Bang" and anything can happen. In other words, what I am saying is that I do not believe that there is a sufficient structure to the Prevent policy to enable the important parties in Prevent to know what they should be doing. As I am sure you know, I was the independent monitor of the new Prevent policy in 2010 and 2011 and I had quite a clear picture then about the way we were going to be moving. Delivery has been very good in some places and very poor in other places and that comment would apply to different parts of London.

The focus on counter-radicalisation has been poor in the sense that, in my view, the Government has been quite slow to create the instruments or the toolkit for effective counter-radicalisation. I have said to Ministers over many years now that there needs to be what is fashionably called a public-private partnership over this. If you sit on the Old Street roundabout, within 100 metres of where you are sitting there are probably 100 experts, mostly very young, who can really provide some inspiration to the counter-radicalisation effort. Counter-radicalisation, for example, has to take place on the internet and Islamic State (ISIS) has formidable propaganda tools. It has learned how to work the internet and how to attract people to its sites. I am not sure the Government has yet come to grips - and our Government is not alone in this; the Americans have the same problem - with the potential of the internet for counter-radicalisation. Create games, literally, in which the good guys win and you are on your way to doing something useful. That has been very slow.

There has certainly been a focus on de-radicalisation and that is largely because of the emphasis that has been given to the Channel project. The Channel project is surprisingly effective. It follows the same sort of pattern as when, say, a very good schoolteacher has a private conversation usually lasting about ten minutes with a recalcitrant student and explains why the student is not performing satisfactorily. Many students respond very well to that kind of one-to-one contact. Channel works well with one-to-one contact. The problem with



Channel is that it is very small. The numbers are tiny. Where it works, it works extremely well. There is not much evidence of people refusing to take part in the Channel project, but it is only a small part of de-radicalisation and we need to find bigger-picture ways of ensuring that de-radicalisation works.

I will just add one thing at this stage because I want to get this in early and I think I have said it to this Committee before. The trick with Prevent is to devolve it down to the lowest possible level. It works at ward level, as Birmingham has shown, despite the education issue. It works at sports club level, as has been shown in Middlesbrough, for example. Devolving it down to real contacts between real people works much better. Big organisations like the Government and possibly the Greater London Authority (GLA) and the Mayor are pretty blunt instruments, other than providing the funds and a bit of inspiration.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** If I can go back to those three points you have made, then, when you said there is not sufficient structure, in what sense do you mean? Is it the accountability mechanisms or the delivery mechanisms?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** It is both. It is a very helpful question, if I may say so. On delivery mechanisms, when the Government was producing the policy, I urged and eventually persuaded it to have something called the Prevent Oversight Board. The Prevent Oversight Board, in my mind, was intended to scrutinise the delivery mechanisms, monitor them and provide quality control of them. The Prevent Oversight Board has very rarely met and very few of its members are consistent. There have been Ministers who have come and gone. There have been civil servants who have come and gone. It has not really had a mission. Very few of us have been to visit projects. I have on a number of occasions, but very few members have been to visit projects. The only bit of 'Prevent Oversight Board' it satisfies is 'prevent'. It is not providing much oversight and it is not really a board. Your Committee is the equivalent of a board because you all attend, you are all members of the same Committee and it does not change between elections very much.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** The accountability structure? We found it very difficult to find out. We know what the accountability lines are - direct to the Home Office - but, actually, where the accountability is taking place is quite difficult to gauge.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Rebecca Lawrence may be better qualified to answer that question than I. My view is that the accountability structure is vague and fuzzy. Saying that everyone is accountable to the Home Office is a very bland statement that disguises a fairly poor reality.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** It is difficult. The accountability structure is vague. At the moment, the formal lines are through into the Home Office but, as Lord Carlile says, when delivery is at a very local level, you need an accountability structure at that level.

However, you also need to recognise that you need multiple layers. There are some areas where only the Government with access to intelligence will really have a pointed and focused understanding of the threat and so some accountability lines do need to run that way. However, you also need accountability lines - both executive and political - at the level where leadership can prioritise resources effectively to those pieces of work that need to then be delivered highly locally. Therefore, in some ways, you do need dual accountability lines both to the national and to the local, which is why when we come to talk about a Contest Board we think there is a complementary role that that can play for London in partnership with the Home Office's accountability arrangements.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. You talked, Lord Carlile, about devolving it down to the lowest possible delivery mechanism. Many of us in this Assembly have raised concerns – and it has been raised nationally as well – that, particularly on the police side with stretched police resources, inevitably perhaps, there is a pullback of neighbourhood policing at ward level that might be more difficult. Is that a concern that has been expressed through the Prevent framework?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes. The role of the police in Prevent, in my view, should be very limited. The reason the police have been heavily involved in Prevent is because they in many places have been able to provide consistency. Police officers, particularly at sergeant and inspector level, tend to stay in one place for quite a long time. For example, in the Doncaster area, which is an area where I have spent a little time for other reasons, you find the local police sergeant carries all the history of the area in which he is working. He has information and it is good information.

However, in Birmingham, what they found was that the police were seen to be threatening. Asian minority ethnic communities felt that they were being spied on by the police, even in the context of Prevent. There was a disastrous event in Birmingham in which they put cameras costing a very large amount of money on very high poles, switched them on. There was very strong protest and they were switched off and never used again until they were moved to be part of the security at the Olympic Park for the Olympic Games. At least they proved to be useful in the end, but it made Birmingham think very hard.

What they do in Birmingham with the police now is that the police are there to deal with what police should deal with. If there is a suspicion among those dealing with Prevent that there may be a crime being committed against the Terrorism Act, they tell the police and the police carry out the intelligence and then you will see hard-pressed community police officers around the area, looking at people's activities and so on. The real work is done by community workers, social workers or whatever their particular function is, working in ward-based offices for Birmingham City Council, supervised in the headquarters of Birmingham City Council by a fairly senior officer who has a lot of experience of doing these things. It has worked much better. The police are no longer held in suspicion.

The other thing that is very important, in my view, is something that has certainly happened in Manchester and may have happened in a number of places that I do not know about. A small number of senior staff of the City Council have been vetted so that the Home Office and the police can tell those vetted staff what is going on, "There is going to be an arrest at 6.00pm tomorrow evening", and they are told a day ahead. They are briefed as to how to engage with community leaders and particularly councillors so that the community leaders and councillors can prepare that local community – without giving anything away that is of national security importance – as to what is going to happen and can manage the reaction. It is an extension of community policing but it is not done by the police and that is more compatible with a peaceful neighbourhood.

The truth of the matter is that, in any event, 95% of material about terrorism is available on open sources if you take the trouble to look. There is a very small amount of information that is not fully available. Actually, the Government and those who are at the police can tell the public most of what is happening, anyway. They are too secretive.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. The other thing that was raised at our last meeting was that the Prevent strategy could risk criminalising free speech. We were told that there are nonviolent extremists operating within the bounds of the current law who are often seen as being responsible for radicalising people into committing violent extremism and that tackling those nonviolent extremists would be very difficult through the current law. The Home Secretary has recently said that she wants to introduce new counter-

extremism measures, which would include banning orders for extremist organisations that use hate speech in public places.

I am just wondering whether you have any views on what the appropriate criteria would be to determine whether an organisation is deemed as extremist. How we can tackle these nonviolent extremists who are radicalising others but operating within the bounds of the law while promoting civil liberties and free speech? It seems to be a very difficult exercise.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** The Home Secretary has taken on a really impossible task in saying that and it causes me a lot of concern. I do remember, when I was a young Member of Parliament (MP) or even before that, some of my colleagues including at least one person who became the leader of the Liberal Party or the Liberal Democrats - I forget which we were then - voting for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) at one of our party conferences. That might be regarded as extremist by some --

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** I was a member at the time.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** -- and I am very reluctant to place in the hands of the Government -- I suspect there are one or two people here who may have supported CND. I saw you. I saw Mr Duvall pointing at Mr Arbour.

**Len Duvall AM:** It was not Mr Arbour. It was Mr Bacon. He thinks we are all Communists, I will not hold back!

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Anyway, the real point about this is that we are actually entitled to hold unusual opinions. No doubt there are people in this room - me included, possibly - who hold some unusual opinions that might offend some people. We have to be very careful about making unlawful what most of us think should be lawful. To make it a crime to express a lawful view is really difficult. What I would say to the Home Secretary is, "Do you really think you would get convictions from juries if you charged people with that kind of offence?" I think it is pretty unlikely.

I like us to be non-partisan in party political terms about counterterrorism issues if at all possible and I really would urge the Home Secretary to go and talk to somebody like Sir Keir Starmer [former Director of Public Prosecutions], who has just become, as it happens, a Labour MP. We happen to have an MP now who has a really profound understanding - as opposed to some who have a very superficial understanding - of free speech and civil liberties issues. People like Sir Keir should be listened to.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. It is going to be an interesting future debate.

**Len Duvall AM:** There is a fine line between free speech and expressions of hate leading to violence. Much as I share your concerns about the Secretary of State's comments, there has to be something done if we are going to keep pushing the boundaries back or challenging those that say something that we know is moving towards it. At certain stages of this debate, I would say I would not have much concern about Al-Muhajiroun, but we now know and evidence tells us that actually some of those activities around Al-Muhajiroun have led to violence against others. I would imagine that is where the Secretary of State is coming from. We do need to tread carefully.

Where are these boundaries of free speech? How far should we go in terms of that tipping point that pushes people further down the path of hatred that leads to violence or is it a question of, "No, we need to put the

right challenge in"? Does the non-challenge become more dangerous in that sense of not being able to say, "Sorry, that is wrong and we are not going to accept that and that is not acceptable in our society by our values because what you are saying is leading to violence"?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** It is the \$64,000 question and you are absolutely right to pose it. I would offer you three points in response.

The first is that hate crime leading to violence is already a crime anyway and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), I know, considers these cases at a very senior level, trying to set a standard. It has prosecuted a lot of people, particularly those who have shown religious hatred in their expressions on Twitter, Facebook and so on.

The second point I would make is about organisations like Al-Muhajiroun. We do have available to us proscription of organisations, which does not require proof of criminal activity, and there is an appeal process called the Proscribed Organisations Appeal Commission. It is rarely used, but appeals against proscription can be effective. A group called the People's Mujahidin of Iran successfully appealed against proscription and was de-proscribed a number of years ago. It is a fair system. It is reasonable for the Government to consider whether some organisations should be proscribed not because they are committing crimes but because they have the potential to radicalise people to commit crimes. It is a different issue from banning people for saying certain things in certain meetings.

The third point I wanted to make is about premises. You know obviously - and I know it is something you are considering - that the Government has placed a responsibility on, amongst other places, colleges and universities to deal with radicalisation. I do not regard that as at all unreasonable. The way it came out of Parliament was pretty diluted. I would have thought it was common sense. If I were the vice-chancellor of a university, I would not want women to be discriminated against by there being meetings that they are not permitted to attend because their heads are not covered. That, to me, is offensive in my premises. If I have a community hall and Al-Muhajiroun comes along and says, "We want to run a meeting in your community hall", I have not only the right but the duty to prevent meetings that are going to radicalise people to take place.

What is more worrying is what happens in public places. I live quite near the Angel and I happened to be driving past the Angel the other day when there was a demonstration taking place on the street on the big pavement above the Angel. I think it was last Friday night. There were two placards being held up side by side and they read "No to democracy" and "Yes to Islam". If you take those separately, there is nothing wrong with it. I disagree with the first and I do not particularly have a view about the second. However, if you put them together, as they were, you have a completely different situation. That is where the challenge is. What are the police supposed to do when people crowd around those people and start saying, "Go away", or however they put it and, "This is not acceptable". That is the challenge.

**Gareth Bacon AM:** In the second of those three points that you raised - and I am paraphrasing here, forgive me - you were talking about possibly proscribing certain organisations that have the potential to incite others into extremist activities.

How is it possible to objectively assess that rather than subjectively? It would depend, surely, on your perspective. Throughout history, different people have proscribed all sorts of different societies, organisations, etc, based on subjective views but not on objective views. They try to present them as objective but they are not. How could it be done in such a way that it does not become simply discrimination in itself?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** The first thing you do - and this has been done - is you set a statutory standard because people have to know roughly what they are permitted or not permitted to do.

The second thing you do is you then take it out of the hands of Ministers and put it in the hands of judges. Judges are not necessarily geniuses, but what they do is an evidence-based analysis so that it then becomes a matter of evidence. That is something that judges are, on the whole, very good at. They may not understand the issues at all and they will forget them the following week, but they are very good at analysing evidence and reaching a conclusion. I did it as a part-time judge for 28 years and it is actually a very good process because you have people from both sides - and someone neutral, if you want them there - putting both sides of the case.

Just a third point, however. I am actually opposed to wholesale proscription. Early in my time as Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation, Hizb ut-Tahrir came to see me and we had a couple of challenging meetings. I decided eventually - contrary to the view of Tony Blair [former Prime Minister] at the time, who changed his mind because he said he was going to proscribe Hizb ut-Tahrir - that my view was to stick them on *Newsnight* with someone decent opposed to them. They would look ridiculous and their views would look ridiculous. It is probably better with some organisations to allow the public to see what they are really saying and then allow Evan Davis [presenter, *Newsnight*, BBC Two] or somebody else in the studio to take them apart with a few well-placed questions. They described themselves to me, for example, as a political party. I said to them, "All right. I would like to attend one of your meetings. Where are they taking place?" They gave me their address, which was a post office box number. It is very easy to destroy something like that in what one would loosely call 'cross-examination'.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** If I may add, Chair, this would also be a really useful discussion to have with the Assistant Commissioner when he comes and gives his evidence because of course, as Lord Carlile says, the police day in and day out are having to make those judgements about public order and about when to intervene.

A number of Assembly Members and Assembly Member Qureshi have very reasonably and very helpfully raised the discomfort that a number of worshippers at the Regent's Park Mosque feel on a regular basis when the mood of Friday prayers is interrupted by regular demonstrations outside. You have heard from a number of people in your last evidence session about those reciprocal protests between Anjem Choudary [British Muslim social and political activist] with his followers and the English Defence League (EDL) and the discomfort that they can create around the community. However, sometimes some good, old-fashioned, community-based British policing using public order powers can help to disperse those kinds of tensions.

I am reminded of the rather wonderful letter there was in *The Times* after Margaret Thatcher's [former Prime Minister] funeral. A tourist wrote a letter to say that he had approached a policeman and said, "Could you tell me the way to the funeral?" The policeman said, "Would you like the formal procession or the protest?" There is something in that reasonableness of the British policing tradition that would be useful to explore.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. We are going to move on now to some delivery questions.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I wanted to go back to something you said just now about the police not being part of Prevent. That makes absolute sense and I agree completely. However, to some extent, the police offer a structure, not a point-of-use delivery structure - and you have talked about oversight - but also some sort of delivery as well, presumably?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes. I am not saying the police should not be part of Prevent. They should have an appropriate part of Prevent and their appropriate part is in policing. The police do provide a structure.

As you know, I am Chair of the London Policing Ethics Panel and so I have the advantage of occasionally going out on patrol with police officers in London. It is absolutely clear when you go out with perfectly ordinary, everyday police officers that they know their areas well. They know every corner. They know every street. They can tell you in some instances who is driving the car that has just gone the other way. That is very useful information. The whole intelligence piece that the police cover is very helpful and it should be available when necessary to those people who are dealing with Prevent at what I call ward level or community level.

However, we have to be very careful that people do not believe that everybody is a spy for the police. That is not what the police do anyway.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I wanted to ask as well about your view on how priority and supported areas are actually identified. From our evidence last time, it came out that there was quite a lot of confusion about this. Do you have a view?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I am as confused as everybody else.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** All right. That is a nice, easy answer.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** We need to provide more structure for this. I may be treading on toes here, but it involves a greater input from some of the boroughs in London. My observation from my outings to various boroughs and my conversations with people in boroughs is that some boroughs are really good at this and they provide the information that enables areas to be identified and profiles to be developed. Other boroughs may have a Prevent co-ordinator but the Prevent co-ordinator is only co-ordinating himself or herself, which is not very satisfactory.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You think it is at borough-level and it is not the fact that the criteria are not well expressed?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I do agree. Rebecca may have a view on this, but I do agree that the criteria are not particularly well expressed. We should know them by heart and we do not and that is a bad sign. The criteria should enable the Mayor of Newham or the officers in Newham to know exactly what they should be doing to deliver the policy.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** I would agree with that. In some areas, the Government and the Home Office have gone a very long way towards being very transparent about criteria. For example, in Channel there is very extensive guidance with 22 indicators of vulnerability against which you can assess individuals to see if they would be appropriate for the Channel programme and there is really quite usable guidance that can be helpful for practitioners.

However - and the Home Office, I am sure, will look at this - the process of determining which areas are priorities, particularly for London having a borough-based process, does not seem commensurate with the nature of the threat right now. You heard that very clearly in your last evidence session when, very skilfully, you had witnesses from both a priority borough and a non-priority borough setting out the really tactical and operational problems that that is presenting now. At the moment, it is set by the Home Office based on an

assessment of the threat, a rich picture of the threat and a profile of the whole of the United Kingdom (UK) and, in London, it is borough areas that are identified. You saw the issue with the London Borough of Havering versus the London Borough of Waltham Forest. Is that really appropriate there?

Also, because the prioritisation then affects funding and commissioning of services, it is where you reach limits. Obviously, if you are a priority borough, you have more access to services and you have a Prevent co-ordinator. That makes it very difficult for non-priority areas and it also makes it very difficult to get any pan-London or clustering service provision. That is why we are talking to the Home Office about whether there is a better commissioning model for activities in London than the current model.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Do you think that part of the problem lies with the counterterrorism local profiles? Do you think that that is an effective description?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** That is partly connected. It is also a separate issue. No one would say the counterterrorism local profile system is perfect now, far from it. Again, like Prevent delivery, any practitioner will say the quality of counterterrorism local profiles vary around the country and across London. They are only as good as the input that is able to be given. It requires sharing protocols, which are not yet as developed as they could be. The Home Office is reviewing how they are produced. I know that the police in London - and the Assistant Commissioner will speak about this - are very keen to change the way they are produced and to improve their quality.

Part of it then gets back to, actually, the bottom-line purpose of the counterterrorism local profile. If we were producing one now, it would be about all of the people who know an area - quite a local area - of London coming together and giving their input and knowledge about schools, about health institutions, about higher education and about further education. There would be the police's input. They would be getting a really collective, granular and rich intelligence product that can be shared in different layers with different people who need to know with a dare-to-share approach. As Lord Carlile says, very much of this information is in the public domain anyway. The political leadership needs to understand the risks and to have that granular picture. Again, one of the things that we are seeking to do with both the Prevent Board and the London Contest Board is to get that better understanding of the threat.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Alex, you seem to be agreeing. Can I ask you if there is a plan for reviewing these local profiles?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I do not know the answer to that question, I am afraid, Jenny. There should be.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes, there is.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I do not want to give the impression that I am knocking the Home Office more than I mean to. The Home Office does need to do more work on this. I have already said that the Prevent Oversight Board could be part of this and could be used much more. That said, more is being done in the UK than in any other country.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Is more always good?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** In Waltham Forest, there was a very distinguished American called Quintan Wiktorowicz [Managing Partner, Affinis Global], who was for a time based in the United States (US)

Embassy in London and who did a lot of work with Waltham Forest on Prevent. It was productive both ways. He went back to the US and was invited basically to set up a Prevent policy in the White House. He gave up after a year and went back to academic life. That may have something to do with the much greater devolution of power that exists in the US, but it rather demonstrates that he thought he was taking back pretty good practice and was struggling to implement it elsewhere.

Therefore, although we are in an evolutionary process and some improvements are needed in the policy, it has not worked as badly as we sometimes think. I do not want to be too negative about it. That is all I really want to say.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** I would very much want to echo that and it is important that this Committee recognises that some of the Prevent work going on in the UK and in London really is world class. International visitors from around come and look at the structure that the UK has on counterterrorism with a clear national strategy - Contest - clearly replicated through local areas across all institutions with a Prevent programme that is far more developed than anywhere else in the world.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Doing more is not necessarily good if the work that is being done is not useful and properly targeted and so on. You apparently know about reviewing these --

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes, the Home Office is reviewing the way that counterterrorism local profiles are produced.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** When is that going to be published?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** I am afraid I do not know the answer to that.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** It is just ongoing?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** It is very important in these discussions also to just pause and take a moment to step back and look at how the nature of the threat has changed and changed very rapidly because we are at quite a critical point. In previous roles, I have had the privilege, for example, to attend a number of Contest Boards around the country, which were a very effective means of bringing practitioners together.

But counterterrorism work even four years ago - even maybe three years ago - in some ways was rather niche and that was because the nature of the threat was pretty niche. It was predominantly al-Qaeda based. You needed to be organised and well connected to make travel arrangements to go to the mountainous regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan and to communicate with some very dangerous people. We now have something quite different. As Lord Carlile says, if you read the papers today, Abu Qatada [Jordanian al-Qaeda affiliate] was interviewed in *The Guardian* saying how al-Qaeda has been overtaken by ISIS. We have technology that is putting very slickly presented material straight onto teenagers' phones. The nature of the threat means the police cannot deal with it all. This is about parents, it is about health workers and it is about schoolteachers coping with really quite rapid changes.

I would say we are in a period maybe - I do not know your view - more like the late 1990s and early 2000s in the UK when we had to really rapidly adjust to the fact that the threat to mainland Britain was no longer from Northern Ireland-related terrorism - though, sadly, that is still prevalent in Northern Ireland - but had morphed to al-Qaeda. We all had to adjust and adapt, everyone in the public sector, and we are at a similar turning



point now. If your role is to come up with counterterrorism local profile guidance in the Home Office, it is actually quite a difficult job to do.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Alex, have you actually been consulted on this?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** No.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Are you going to be consulted? Do you know?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I do not know. I am not the Independent Reviewer anymore. I would guess that David Anderson [Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation] is going to be consulted - he is my successor - although he has been a bit busy. This is the report he has produced today. I can barely lift it.

**Tony Arbour AM:** It was simply the analogy between Northern Ireland and switching to al-Qaeda. Surely there is a difference between al-Qaeda or ISIS and Northern Ireland. Chances are that the same people would not have been attracted to both, whereas I suspect - just looking at it as a layman - that those same people who might have been attracted to al-Qaeda for the reasons you have given have simply bypassed it and have gone to ISIS. It is unlikely, is it not, that an Irish Republican Army (IRA) type of person --

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** You make a very important and sensible point. I was not suggesting that the individuals were drawn to different causes. I was suggesting more that the type of practitioners you would need around the table and the type of skills and information you would need are quite different because you are not going to be able to rely so heavily on intelligence or the work of the security services or the police in understanding how networks are forming with the current nature of the threat. You are going to need to talk to community leaders and teachers about changes in the behaviour of 15-year-olds, which can often be very rapid, if you are going to be able to get a handle on the problem within your community. It is a different group of organisations.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Technology has moved us on.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes.

**Tony Arbour AM:** It is a sort of escalation. Maybe the analogy is - I do not know - moving up from a Ford to a Jaguar in terms of terrorism. Perhaps al-Qaeda is now seen as the Ford.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Can I just go back to the point you made about Northern Ireland? I am still the non-statutory reviewer of, effectively, the activities of MI5 in Northern Ireland. In terms of the nature of the terrorists, we can draw no helpful analogies from what has happened in Northern Ireland. There is useful work done in Northern Ireland that teaches us, for example, how to handle covert human intelligence sources and the use of technology in detecting the activities of terrorists. That is important, but that is as far as it goes.

The problem with ISIS is that it is much, much more professional than al-Qaeda and also much more ruthless, as we see every day on the television screen. Al-Qaeda was in the business of the Glasgow Airport bomb, but that was a bit like the Cold War. We understood what they were doing. Now we have people who are prepared to buy a machete for £25 and cut somebody's head off in the street. That is a completely different and actually far more intimidating picture than even the use of an improvised explosive device (IED). It worries

people enormously and worries the authorities enormously because it has the capacity to create terror in the minds of the ordinary public walking around the streets of London.

That is why we have had to recalibrate the way in which counterterrorism is dealt with and that feeds into all kinds of debates; for example, the communications data debate. It is, as Rebecca [Lawrence] said, a completely different game now, unfortunately. It is going to be with us for probably another generation.

**Len Duvall AM:** That really takes me to the point about why we have some problems with Prevent. You highlighted one of those about the engagement and trying to explain to people the threat. Unless you are dealing with these on a day-to-day or week-to-week basis, then you do not understand why an action needs to be taken. It needs clarity on the communications issues. People have not caught up on how behind we are and how the others, who wish to cause harm to others, are a bit further ahead and now we have one arm tied behind our back. Unless that information is presented in a way that people can identify and get to grips with, we have this problem with Prevent.

My question goes back to Jenny's [Jones AM, Deputy Chair] question about the threat. Do people really understand the potential threat to us here internationally, why we need to take certain actions, why the Prevent programme is so important and why other related activity is as well? Do you think there is that level of understanding now across organisations and individuals?

I used to have a view about some of my MP colleagues when talking to them post-2007 about the threat that was being faced as part of my role in terms of the Metropolitan Police Authority. I am just beginning to wonder now whether that is really the same with some other people in key positions, whether they really do engage and whether they think it is for them or for someone else.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** That is a really important question and I will let you into a confidence I shared with David Anderson the other day. We communicate regularly. He was talking about his report - which is being published today - and he said to me, "We have a problem. You and I have seen things that other people do not see and we know what is going on". It is very difficult to translate that into information that MPs particularly can use with a proper understanding. This is why I have constantly said to the Government that it should give a much stronger narrative. Even if it uses hypotheticals, it can actually say what has been going on. This is something that the security services recognise but they do not quite have their heads around how to do it.

I knew at some point we would get to cyber and I think we have now got to cyber. I spend a lot of my time talking about what I call 'cyber-activism' these days, which covers the whole area of cyber activity. On cyberterrorism, there is not much at the moment - though there is a lot of cyber-activism - but it is coming. The terrorists are learning how to do it. As recently as February, an organisation calling itself Carbanak attacked 100 banks in 30 countries and stole an estimated US\$1 billion. It did that by intervening on the computers of people like us. Probably most of us do internet banking. I certainly do and more of us are on a daily basis. They managed to get into those sites where you and I might be looking up our bank accounts to see how much money there is that morning and they stole money in that way. Terrorists are going to have the capacity to do that, which will give them huge capacity to commit terrorist acts. In Libya, when we saw 200 Mitsubishi Shoguns being paraded by ISIS, they were all bought with that kind of fraudulently obtained money. They are dividing Libya into three chaotic parts and that will enable them to do all kinds of things. We have to bear in mind that there is a very big story developing that includes the use of fraud as well for terrorist purposes.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** If I might add, you really do raise, as Lord Carlile says, a very profound and important point. I do not think there is enough space in the working life of senior executives and senior politicians to step back and get that understanding of the threat in the way that your question rightly poses. Nothing that we have talked about today is not in the public domain. This is all open-source. It is only when you have an investigation such as the one that your Committee is rightly prioritising that you can put all the pieces from the grisly newspaper stories together.

If I might say so, I know we are coming to the Contest Board later but it is exactly this gap that made the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime want to act in this space because of course - and this is a non-partisan point - he had come from being a council leader with access to Prevent resources but not the regular briefings on the threat that he receives in his current role. It occurred to him that whilst at the London Prevent Board at the executive, tactical and strategic level there is now some very good work going on, you need political support and buy-in above that. You need political awareness-raising so that the political leadership of boroughs, and in this building, can then help the prioritisation through all our work and all of the statutory partners' work to make sure that this area of vulnerability is understood as well as other areas of vulnerability that are also moving up the agenda like sexual exploitation and so on. We should be comfortable listening to evidence about this area of threat, absorbing material and then taking the appropriate prioritisation decisions as a result.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Before I bring Jenny [Jones AM, Deputy Chair] back in, can I ask another question? It was something that Lord Carlile touched on earlier and it was mentioned at our last meeting.

The counterterrorism local profiles have the potential to be very useful documents if you have that data-sharing attitude. We heard from one chief executive who said, "The Borough Commander and I are the only two people allowed to read it". You mentioned earlier about Birmingham and how there was a wider group of people who were securely vetted and who were able to share that. Is that a change you would like to see?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** The narrative should be as open as possible. In fighting terrorism, narrative is actually almost everything. It explains to the MPs whom Mr Duvall was referring to. It explains to the public. It explains to the journalists - forgive me; many of whom are fairly lazy - the factual basis upon which policy is formed. It saves them the trouble of going and finding out. You will know that if you write the press release, you are going to be setting the agenda, very likely. So I think a much stronger agenda should be set.

The Mayor, the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime and indeed the GLA have very quickly - certainly compared with Wales, which I know well - have assumed a position of great influence and importance pretty quickly and I think people want to hear a narrative from, collectively, you. That would be very influential. I think that if Londoners feel that there is a much more public narrative, that it is supported by the leaders of the various political parties in the GLA and by the Mayor and that you can ask questions about it, then Prevent will become a much greater reality in Greater London.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** There are also things in those local profiles that will name individuals, which should not be in the public domain.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Of course.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** It seems to me that there is some wider assessment of your local risk that should be made available locally.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Absolutely. You are exactly right, Chair. However, if I may reiterate my earlier point, you are exactly right that there are improvements that can be needed that everyone recognises to the local profiles, but those local profiles are also part of a bigger system of trusted communication and conversation between the operational people responsible for delivery on the ground and the political and executive leadership of organisations.

Lord Carlile and I have both heard in two very good open and frank meetings the sharing of best practice between cities. We gathered the Police and Crime Commissioners and policing colleagues from the other main cities of England and Wales in this room and then, secondly, in New Scotland Yard to talk about how it really works in their areas. We heard the example of the city of Birmingham, where, as well as its counterterrorism local profile document itself, the rhythm it is in with its Contest Board is about a really rich sharing of information and change in the threat assessment from the council, the police, health and schools. It is still really hard and it is still not perfect but, if you are in that rhythm of trusted relationships, you have a much better picture of what is going on in your communities and then you can respond in times of crisis.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Just a very small point and it is an important one. Publishing these documents is important but it does not stop you from doing what judges do in terrorism cases, which is to have a closed document in the background containing the material that is national security sensitive. That is perfectly legitimate.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You have sort of answered this already, but I am interested in the structure of how the Prevent co-ordinators get supervised and scrutinised. The Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism (OSCT) actually sits in the Home Office and it then directly supervises the co-ordinators at borough level?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I am not sure it is quite as clear as that. The first principle of line management is that the line manager should be a person who can walk into the room and challenge what the managed person is doing. Also, in an era when we now understand appraisal much better than we did, the people who are doing this kind of work should be in a place where 360-degree assessments can actually be effective. It does not work if a high degree of line management is being exercised from the OSCT.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** What I described as the theoretical structure?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Apparently, the Prevent co-ordinator network - and I do not even know what it was - was disbanded.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I believe so, yes.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** That was presumably sharing good practice between --

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Can you help with that?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Again, Lord Carlile's point is right. There is technical line management responsibility – and I may get this a little wrong – that comes within the local authority. That is the *de facto*. In practice, the OSCT provides also very helpful and effective peer support for Prevent co-ordinators so that they can come together and network. There is a vibrant system of newsletters, etc.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I thought the network was disbanded.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** What happens in London is that you can sometimes get a situation where a number of you gather so frequently that you can become more isolated from the main leadership of the local authority. In Martin Esom's [Chair, London Prevent Board] aim of getting greater strategic prioritisation in the London Prevent Board, he is seeking to support Prevent arrangements in London through a different structure reporting up into that Board rather than the network all meeting together as a group of practitioners.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** How do they share good practice at the moment? Do you know what? This is clearly an area for some recommendations from this Committee.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** There is no system that I am aware of. If neither of us knows about the system, it is unlikely that many other people know about the system or, at best, it is an ineffective system.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Who has a list of all of the Prevent projects in London? Is there a total list? I understand that some of this might be difficult to share, but is there a complete list somewhere? Presumably, the Home Office has a complete list.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** The Home Office holds a list and, again, neither of us has the list. The Home Office will say that given the nature of the work, it is not appropriate to comment on –

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Even you two do not have the security clearance to see that list?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** It is not a question of security clearance. I guess you are Developed Vetting (DV) vetted as well?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** We are both vetted to the highest level.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** We are both DV-vetted. It is just that I am not sure that I could claim that they should tell me because I am no longer the Independent Reviewer. However, I would doubt if routinely they tell David Anderson.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** No. Martin Esom as Chair of the Prevent network does not have the full list. He is told about it. The Home Office is working with the London Prevent Board. It recognises that the nature of the threat has changed and that there needs to be more sharing of information on a pan-London basis. It is very supportive of the changes that Martin Esom is putting in place so that there can be a very rich sharing of best practice and of what the Prevent projects in London are and how they are delivering, and that that information should not just be held at a practitioner level in the Prevent network but needs to be shared up with executive leadership, hence the programme of reform to the London Prevent Board and then the work of supporting that by a London Contest Board, which the Home Office is actively encouraging and supporting.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** One area that came up last time was that funding is always so short and it is difficult to run in the long term. Presumably that will be an area for some work?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Absolutely. Martin Esom and I are in active discussions with the Home Office about how we could change the commissioning arrangements. We have suggested that there could be co-commissioning across MOPAC and the Home Office to give access to programmes where working across borough boundaries or in non-priority areas or working innovatively over multiple years on a more outcomes-based framework could be appropriate, much as we are innovating in some of our gangs commissioning work. We think that could be really valuable because some activity needs to go on at a very local ward level. For others, there are benefits of scale from working with programmes on a pan-London basis or with particular institutions.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Can I just clarify? The Government provides the funding for priority boroughs, which get more money to deliver Prevent programmes?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Who then agrees the programmes that are being given money? Is it the local authority or is it the Home Office?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** It is the Home Office. Boroughs in priority areas are invited to bid for programmes from an agreed Home Office provider list and then the Home Office grants funding after the bidding round and evaluates the programmes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** It is the Home Office that does the evaluations as well?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes, the Home Office evaluates.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Two boroughs could be running something that is essentially, potentially, a cross-borough project without the other borough knowing.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes, exactly. The way that the Home Office has tackled that is of course through having a Prevent co-ordinator network where they share best practice at an operational level.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** That has been disbanded, has it not?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Then you are relying on two quite junior officials within boroughs to share best practice. They may or may not have the disposition. It may or may not be in their job description. There needs to be a more systematic link across boroughs in sharing that, which is what the reforms to the Prevent Board are seeking to do.

This is rich territory for debate, discussion and development. Home Office officials are working on changes to this.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** You are making a very good point. The analogy here is the development of counterterrorism units outside London where clusters of police forces have come together and have become much more effective as counterterrorism units. The East of England or Wales would be very good examples of this, but boroughs need to be getting together to share best practice. There are going to be people who are very good at one aspect in one borough and very good at another aspect in another. It is just uneconomic not to share skills in that way.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** And more effective?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** I am going to move now to the Channel programmes.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Thank you. I wanted to try to really understand a bit more about the Channel programme because there is a lack of detail in this area as well around how it works. Maybe I could ask Lord Carlile. Do you think there is or there needs to be effective oversight of the Channel referral process?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes. That is the short answer to the question. Actually, the oversight by the Home Office of the Channel project is good. That is something that it has really looked at in detail. As a result, there are some very good Channel schemes. Let us call them tactics. They need to be more available on a larger scale around the country, but the skill within the Channel project is high and quite diverse as well in terms of what they do.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Do you think the Home Office does have good oversight of it? Obviously it is not available for all of us to look at, but do you think it has a good grip on this programme?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** How do you measure the success of Channel?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** That is a very good question. Some time ago now - probably about five years ago - I did suggest to the Home Office that it should have an app of some kind. You cannot get quantitative results from Channel because it is all very subjective, but you can get qualitative results. My suggestion was that everybody who is involved in the Channel project should have to answer some questions on a regular basis about each client that they are dealing with under the Channel project. By that means, from around the country you would very quickly have hundreds of responses. You could then do the conventional statistician's thing of chopping off the top 10% and the bottom 10% and looking at the bulk and you would have some answers that begin to have some quantitative evidential value. That sort of thing or similar schemes to assess Channel should happen.

Otherwise, it is too anecdotal. I could tell you anecdotes about individuals - and some of them are very good stories - who have been successfully part of the Channel project, but these are stories about those individuals and their aptitudes and their interests, which have been absorbed into the Channel project and have produced a good result. However, it is not a very empirical way of measuring success and we need to be able to measure Channel empirically.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** The first thing you said earlier when you mentioned Channel was that it was surprisingly effective. You know that because you have spoken to people who have been through it or have been involved with it, but there does not seem to be any assessment to really understand what is working and what is not.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes, hence my suggestion that the sort of analysis I described should take place. It is perfectly possible to assess the effect of Channel on individuals, but it is perhaps not being done as effectively as it might be.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Do you think perhaps there should be an independent review of Channel?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** My understanding is that the Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation is free to review Channel. At the moment - and you saw the report he has produced today - he is being overwhelmed by work and he has to prioritise, like all of us, in some way or another. Certainly the Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation should be required from time to time to review the Channel project and maybe write an occasional one-off report about it. The danger is that we review these things only when something goes horribly wrong.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** If I may say, this is a really interesting and useful line of questioning. I was reminding myself of the Channel programme last night when I was rereading the guidance. I would agree with your comments. It is a very mature and professional programme. The guidance would be well worth reading. It is very evidence-based in terms of the criteria for people going into it and very mature in the system supporting it.

Your point was about an understanding of what works. What would be really useful are more case studies of that for practitioners. We need some good news in this area. We need to know what has worked with some pretty vulnerable individuals so that practitioners - be it child protection, be it schools, be it health - really can understand that there are programmes that can help. The evaluation of what works and the dissemination of that would be very good.

However, I would be loath to start again from Channel. The issue is the very fundamental one that Lord Carlile raised at the beginning: we will only ever capture and support quite a small number of individuals who have made themselves known to people around the various institutions that they may come across, who have presented vulnerabilities and who are then referred on to a programme. There is a lot more we need to do in what people are increasingly calling the 'pre-Channel space' for people who are vulnerable to being drawn into this but have not yet presented themselves so far down that line that they will qualify for a Channel intervention.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** A lot more are being referred to Channel through schools and others because they have this duty.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** There is a very important point arising from that, too. If I am a schoolteacher and I have a concern about a 15-year-old, say, and I am thinking, "Maybe I should go to the head of the school and we should get this referred to the Channel project", I want to have the confidence that



if I refer someone to the Channel project I know it is going to be done sensitively, correctly and with a reasonable prospect of a result. That kind of liaison is not really taking place and it needs to be much more transparent, if that is the right term.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Earlier on, you mentioned that there was not much evidence of people refusing, but what do you think should happen if an individual does choose not to engage with the programme?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** It depends on the evidence. However, if there is evidence that the individual's ideations or intentions are likely to lead to him or her departing the country to become a terrorist, then one might have to go to the police and say, "This has gone out of Prevent into counterterrorism policing". There may be other cases in which one simply goes back, say, to the school and asks the school staff to deal with it if they can. Certainly you should keep the individual on the radar.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Yes. Assistant Commissioner Mark Rowley has suggested the possibility that a mandatory counter-radicalisation programme should be introduced. What is your thought on that suggestion?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I understand where he is going. I am a bit iffy about anything that is mandatory if it is not necessary for it to be mandatory. The problem with mandatory programmes is that they get written down and that is all you do. I would prefer to see a code of practice - that is probably the best term - that allows a little bit of wriggle room around the edges so that the people engaged in these programmes can use their imaginations.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** What is your thought on that, Rebecca?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** This will be worth discussing in your next session. There are a small number of incidents, sadly, in London, where you have people with very entrenched ideological views and possibly with violent intent that has not yet been taken to the next level but who, precisely because of their views, will not engage in a de-radicalisation programme. It is very difficult to know what to do with those individuals. As you say, some may reach the threshold where they do need, sadly, police monitoring or other types of disruptive activity but these are the situations that the MPS has to deal with, very sadly, day in and day out.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Would a mandatory programme help that? Even if they were forced to go on it, they are not going to engage with it, presumably.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** I suppose it gives the police another lever to say, "We have supported you and you would not engage", and therefore maybe you can use other techniques, but it is very difficult. How do you control individuals when you are very concerned about their desire to get involved in violent criminality but they have not done so yet?

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Thank you. That was very helpful.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** How does any of this reach into - the Channel programme in particular - prisons and the youth offender institutions? I do not know if that is something that you discussed at your earlier meeting, but my experience has been that prisons are very structurally disconnected from the local

community, the local state and local public services and they have enormous internal constraints. I would have thought that, in terms of the risk-mapping, there are huge risks.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Quite a lot of attention has been given to prisons and I hope I am describing the evidence correctly. The evidence is that there is a lot of radicalised conversation and theoretical activity in prisons, but the reality is that most people when they leave prison do not do anything about it whatsoever. Prisons are really boring places to be and so people get involved in activities that actually just provide them with something to do. Therefore, the problem emerging from prisons is much smaller than we might think.

That said, obviously, people make contacts in prisons that may be very useful to them at a later stage and, also, particularly naïve young men can be manipulated whilst in prison to do things that they might not otherwise have done after they are released from prison. Therefore, we need to keep a close eye on the prisons.

I do believe that the level of prison intelligence is quite high - this is something that may have been learned from experience in Northern Ireland - and that the post-prison situation is under reasonable control. However, it is certainly something that Ministers talk about pretty well constantly and civil servants do have a focus on it. There is a problem, which is about the privacy of prisoners. Prisoners are entitled to some privacy. Having a microphone on the wall of every cell is not acceptable on the off-chance that something is going to be heard. This is quite a sensitive area.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Do we know they do not do that? Do we know that does not happen?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I do not know. I would believe that there is a reasonable level of intelligence in prisons and I do not know exactly how it is activated. I would be surprised if we did not know roughly what is happening in almost every prison where something significant is happening. It does rely, of course, a lot on prison staff and some prison staff are more receptive than others to tasking of this kind.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** Would a young offender in an institution, if they have been identified as somebody who is at risk, on leaving, would a referral be picked up outside in their home community?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** I can maybe answer this. It relates back to your earlier question about Channel. Of course, Channel has now been put, since earlier this year, on a statutory footing and those involved in criminal justice in prison and in probation are now formally required to co-operate.

Being of a somewhat technocratic nature, I have the advantage of having Annex B of the Channel guidance in front of me, which sets out the responsibilities in criminal justice. If it comes to their attention from whatever information source that there is a prisoner or someone about to be on probation who is vulnerable to radicalisation and might benefit from the Channel programme, the partners required to co-operate with that Channel panel are:

*"... the governor of a prison ... the governor of a young offender institution ... the principal of a secure college ... [or] youth offending team ... [or the] provider of probation services."*

They have to come to the Channel panel, assess that person's vulnerability and determine whether a Channel intervention is appropriate for them. That is actually one of the advantages of putting Channel onto a

statutory footing. Local providers are very resource-strapped but, if individuals within their institutions come to their attention as being at risk, they have to participate with this panel process.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Just as a general observation, I am a former President of the Howard League for Penal Reform. I wrote a long report on the safety of young people and children in custody. Do not get too excited about the effectiveness of what happens to people when they leave prison. It is much better than it used to be but, on a scale of 0 to 100, we have moved from 10 to 20.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** That is why I was asking, actually.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes, it is a perfectly good point. The theory - and you heard it from Rebecca [Lawrence] - is good. In some places, it is happening. In other places, it is not.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We have asked the Ministry of Justice for some evidence on this as well. That will be helpful.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** It is perhaps worth adding two points, actually, on this very important question, which I can get quite excited about.

One is that I have had a brief conversation with the new Secretary of State for Justice about prisons and I believe that he is genuinely interested in prison reform. Quite what he will do about it may be another question.

The other is that Lord McNally, who is Chairman of the Youth Justice Board - like his excellent predecessor Frances Done - is really focusing on release issues. They are dealing with a much smaller group of people in youth custody now. The numbers have fallen very significantly.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** Thank you.

**Fiona Twycross AM:** My point leads on from that. We can see why people who work in prisons might have gone into their jobs with a reasonable expectation that they might look at preventative work on some level and that might include intelligence gathering. I am clear that you are right that teachers and health and community workers are almost like the front line now. They will not have gone into those professions or jobs with the expectation that that would be an onus on them going forward.

How can we make sure they get the level of support and confidence needed, rather than just having this added responsibility without feeling that they have an understanding of how they should refer? How does that bit work? How do they get the support, training and people doing research into what level of support these professionals feel that they need? They will not have trained in this at teacher training college. I know from friends of mine who are teachers how little time was spent on child protection - which this is an element of - when they were at teacher training colleges. How do we make sure that people get that level of support?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** You hit the nail on the head when you used the word 'training'. I receive a lot of communications from people in education. Two of my three daughters happen to be in education; one in a university, one in a school. They tell me that they have never been trained on these issues and that they have to look to other people for help. We need much more training.

There is another really important point and that is about sharing information. People live in silos with their information because they feel that data protection forbids them from sharing information.

There is one very important group we did not mention, which is housing. That is also very important in this. We have some huge housing managers in London like Peabody and the big housing associations. They know everything about what is going on in the communities they manage at a community level with the local managers. On education, health, housing, local government, central government, they need to share the information. When there is a possibility that someone is going to be a terrorist or possibly be trapped into terrorism through their connections, there needs to be triage at as early a stage as possible. That triage depends on training and the sharing of information.

My experience of talking to teachers is exactly the same as yours. They want to do something. They all have an ethical matrix that tells them they should do something. Most people are actually basically quite good. They have no idea how to do it and so we need to cross the Rubicon.

**Fiona Twycross AM:** Yes. Presumably this links into the British values debate and the idea that schools are responsible for teaching British values and the governing bodies have to make sure that fits into the ethos of the school. Does that link in with Prevent?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** If I may say so, you have raised an excellent set of questions that is incredibly current to education. I am really pleased you made that link there to governance and to training. Yes, you are absolutely right. Teachers and schools need more training. There is also a role for governance and for training governors. There are systems in place that do this, but again the nature of the vulnerability is increasingly changing so much that the bar is rising all the time.

If I give examples of how some of the systems are currently working, I am a governor of a school in the tri-borough area. As a governor there is an excellent Prevent co-ordinator in the tri-borough. There is safeguarding training for governors that teaches them about the areas of vulnerability and the sort of things they should be raising at the governing-body level and the sorts of questions they should be asking. That has been complemented by the training of teachers to spot areas of vulnerability in a toolkit that you will have seen and that does include the teaching of British values. As a governor, I have put this on the agenda of the governing body meeting and I have been able to, in the context of safeguarding, ask the school if they feel they understand the threat of that radicalisation. Do they feel they know what they would do? It is not a question of whether their pupils come into contact with this material, it is when. They are all coming into contact with this material just as they are coming into contact with material of an extreme sexual nature. Teachers have to adjust very, very quickly. It is not easy. More support to both teachers and governors is important.

The governance relationship is really important. If governors are asking the school how they are coping, then they are saying it is okay within the culture of the school to be asking questions about pupils' behaviour. It destigmatises it and makes it part of the wider discussion of the safeguarding support that goes on within the school. It is not easy.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Last session we heard from Waltham Forest about the training they were giving to everyone on their front line, including road sweepers and --

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Absolutely. It is to make it a normal part of doing business in the school. The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime is speaking at Martin Esom's conference on

7 July, the tenth anniversary. It will be very poignant. He has quite rightly invited not just all the head teachers from Waltham Forest but wider, using that beacon of best practice in the borough to reach out to a wider group of teachers and to reach out to schools that are academies and free schools and not local-authority controlled. It is going to be very difficult to build it into the training curriculum.

**Fiona Twycross AM:** I have a question on radicalisation in free schools and supplementary schools as well. It seems to be the right point to ask it, if that is all right. I wondered if you could both comment on how Prevent should address the challenge of radicalisation in free schools and supplementary schools and also with the children who are schooled at home who are probably not coming into so much contact with frontline professionals.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** That is a great question. I am afraid my answer will be the same as the others you have heard. Of course it should. In a decentralised education system, you do not have the formal levers. You have to rely on the dissemination of beset practice, such as Martin Esom is doing. Home-schooled children have a real vulnerability.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes, I agree. There is a whole question about supplementary schools that we have not even begun to answer. There is no control over many supplementary schools. I have been shocked by some of the detail I have been told by people who run them about the way they run them and about how they take their responsibilities, mostly not because they have a malign intent but because they simply do not understand what their responsibilities are.

An awful lot has been lumped on the Charity Commission, which has come in for some criticism because it is deemed to be nosy and politically motivated. Actually, the work that William Shawcross, as Chairman of the Charity Commission, has done was necessary. A wake-up call was needed so that the trustees of charities that run educational establishments actually know that their governance responsibilities are very high and that if they do not carry them out properly they can literally be in a lot of trouble. There is an awful lot of work to do about this. It is not just about counterterrorism; it is about discrimination and it is about diversity. It is about very basic things like bullying and punishment, too.

I was asked as a barrister to advise an educational institution that followed a practice with children that it thought were not pulling their weight of agreeing with the parents that the children should be shut in their rooms at home for a month at a time. They thought this was perfectly all right. First of all, as the parent or step-parent of five daughters, I do not know how they do it because I certainly could not. Secondly, it seems to me to be an absolutely outrageous practice. It is just an example of the sort of practice that we need to have some control mechanisms over so that the state or the local authority can intervene.

**Fiona Twycross AM:** Would the Charity Commission be the right body for doing that, do you think? Obviously, it has had quite massive cuts in terms of its resources over the past few years as well. Clearly, in terms of charity governance, it does have a role. Does it have the resources and capacity to do it?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** No. The Charity Commission has a role; it does not have the resources. It has a very good board now. For example, Peter Clarke - whom you will have come across as a leading counterterrorism police officer and one of the very best - is part of the Charity Commission now. They cannot send Peter Clarke out to police a school in Stockport, for example.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Quite often, these supplementary schools are held on local authority premises and so local authorities could set certain criteria.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** It comes right back to the starting point of Lord Carlile's intervention: that effective delivery and effective oversight of Prevent sometimes needs to come back to the highly local level and to the ward level. You can have in a national regulatory or statutory framework a requirement not to abuse children and a requirement to comply with Prevent, and Prevent being on a statutory footing helps. How you monitor what is going on locally may need to come totally locally. To answer the question of what is happening in London's schools and which schools present a threat - which free schools, which academies and which home schools - you cannot answer that on a pan-London basis. With the best will in the world, the very excellent and highly skilled Radicalisation Unit in the Department for Education - and it is fantastic that it exists - is not going to ever be set up for --

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Also, it is part-time.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** The other side of the coin, of course, is that there is a potential for a real damaging of civil liberties and an intrusion into people's lives, particularly Muslim families. As an example, at a primary school in Waltham Forest, they are asking nine-year-olds all sorts of quite searching questions about their beliefs, practices and so on. It is quite easy to overstep the mark, is it not?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We have some questions on this later on.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Sorry.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** The short answer is, yes, it is quite easy to overstep the mark. This is a very difficult area. The teaching of British values, civics or whatever title it is given requires real skill. Most teachers are not particularly well trained to do it. A number of local authorities have had to meet this challenge. A lot of things have been done well in Waltham Forest. In Hackney, they have given a lot of attention to how to deal with these kinds of issues. Training of teachers is often a weak ahead of the lesson that is going to take place, if it is ahead at all. There is a great deal to be done in this area.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you.

**Len Duvall AM:** I am going to move into MOPAC's role in this area. Can we clarify where we are with the refocus role? We know that there is a desire to establish a Contest Board. You talk of co-commissioning. Is that a given? Has the Home Office agreed that in the future you will be co-commissioning on some of the Prevent projects?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** As the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime explained at the Police and Crime Committee in March, he used his position on the Home Office-chaired Police Counterterrorism Board to get the former Security Minister's support for piloting co-commissioning in London. We are too late for this financial year because the one-year allocations are already set out. It will be the job of Home Office officials to implement the former Security Minister's guidance and agreement that we should pilot co-commissioning in boroughs for the next financial year. There is obviously now a new Security Minister. We will work with Home Office officials and the London Prevent Board to see if we can pilot this approach.

There is enthusiasm in some boroughs that do not want annual funding and they want their coverage of programmes to be more innovative and flexible.

**Len Duvall AM:** This is almost like devolvement. What does that look like in commissioning? Will it be MOPAC co-commissioning under the framework of the Home Office or is it generally the Home Office and you sitting alongside the Home Office? Paint me a picture about how this would work.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** We have not reached that level of detail quite yet. Our thinking was that if there were two or three boroughs that have some experience in Prevent that wanted to come forward and look at commissioning in a different way from the current framework set out by the Home Office - perhaps multiyear, perhaps across borough boundaries - they could come forward with innovative projects and a different way of commissioning. It is much as we have done with gangs. We have done some cross-borough commissioning and some pan-London basis quite innovative commissioning. You will have heard of our commissioning of Gangs Diversion Services and London Trauma Centres. That is the sort of thing you can only do with borough consent on a pan-London basis.

As I say, Home Office officials have just recently agreed that they will look at this and it will be on the agenda for the London Prevent Board. We will work with boroughs on that and from the 2016/17 financial year, hopefully, we will have some concrete proposals.

The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime has written to the Security Minister to say he hopes he supports his predecessor's ideas. It is not the intuitive way for the Home Office to have commissioned in this area. It is different from the framework everywhere else.

**Len Duvall AM:** The benefit of this is that we know some boroughs would like some fresh co-commissioning types of issues. Why is that? We have heard from some boroughs. From a MOPAC perspective, why do you believe that to be the case?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** A number of ways. It allows things to happen across borough boundaries. You could commission on a multiyear framework. It could allow for more innovative commissioning. You could link to other areas of vulnerability that are commissioned already by MOPAC or by boroughs and non-counterterrorism areas like gangs or sexual exploitation where there may be lessons to be learned from service providers. Some of the interventions here are very different. The ideology is very different. Others are not so different. Interventions that persuade young people not to get involved in gangs or to be careful online tackle a number of vulnerabilities, including this one.

Those will be the benefits. You are drawing on expertise from other areas, across borough boundaries, priority or non-priority areas and multiyear.

**Len Duvall AM:** I know this is unlikely to happen, but if you were given a free hand in terms of your advice to the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime, by year three what would be the pattern of co-commissioning? What would it look like in London? What would you do?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** You would devolve this to London and you do not have commissioning directly from the Home Office. You would have a pot that can be spent either across London or direct from boroughs, recognising that there is benefit to some pan-London delivery and some highly local delivery. You would still be in partnership with the Home Office because the ideological nature of this type of threat means you absolutely need that specialist expertise. You need its expertise and the list of approved providers. You need that connection to what is going on in the wider threat piece. However, you

need much more local freedom and flexibility. It would be more outcomes-focused, multiyear, innovative and a London-based pot.

**Len Duvall AM:** Working within a framework --

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Working within a national framework.

**Len Duvall AM:** -- established by the Home Office and the rest of it?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes, also with much more sharing of best practice between London and other cities.

**Len Duvall AM:** Chair, you might want our officials just to drop a little note to the Devolution Working Party. We do not want to cut across that work but that has not really been spoken of in terms of the ask coming out of this building or from our colleagues in local government. That is quite important, if we could try a bit of co-ordination.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That is extremely helpful, yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** Let us move to the Contest Board. Do we have a start date for a London Contest Board?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** What does it look like?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** We will have the first meeting on 3 July. We have already had a really good hands-on workshop on the sorts of things it can cover. The Mayor and his London Crime Reduction Board have pulled partners together to get complete buy-in at that political level. At the more working level below to the existence of this Board, we have worked through the relationships, as I explained a little earlier, between the Prevent Board and this. The really hard work will be on the threat material that comes to that and the counterterrorism local profile material, which, as I said, is reviewing and changing.

It is not going to be perfect from the beginning and it is not going to change the world overnight because this is a very fast-moving area. We know we will have senior representatives from a number of organisations across London meeting to agree how they will exercise that strategic accountability over the whole part of the Contest strategy, to be aware of the gaps of delivery, to be aware of the threat and to be able to give that prioritisation and action.

**Len Duvall AM:** Lord Carlile, you mentioned earlier on one of the issues around the Home Office is that there is no continuity of meetings or some of those activities. What advice would you give the London Contest Board about the order of business? What would be the pointers it should be looking for? You mentioned going out and walking the job, visiting some of those issues, if that is possible. Are there any other pointers you think they should be looking at in terms of their overall work programme and some of the issues they should be looking at?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** The first thing they need is to understand what they are doing. Introductory training in what is Prevent is absolutely vital. It is not obvious. It is not something we all



understand just by instinct. Just because we happen to be involved in political life does not mean we understand Prevent. That is the starting point.

The second thing I would regard as important is that people who are on a board of that kind should have some sense of individual responsibility for something, for some aspect of the work. If you run a company, your board of directors, even the non-executives, will be responsible for something like being chairman of the remuneration committee or chairman of the appointment committee. The same principle can apply to this kind of work.

The third thing is they actually need to see the work in action. You do not have to spend very long doing it but you need to experience it, just as I find going out with the police tells me an awful lot about the ethical matrix of police officers, usually in their favour, incidentally, and against popular prejudice.

Those kinds of things need to be done. You need continuity of activity. You need a work programme that really has some momentum of its own so that people feel enthused about what they are doing. You need to have a reasonable timescale in which to be a member of such a board so that you can become reasonably expert. You are all members of the Police and Crime Committee. You all understand, I guess, quite a lot about the police because you have been to lots of meetings and seen lots of activities. That is really important.

Again, this is art, not science. It is doing the obvious to make people have a proper understanding of what is not their job. The whole country is run by a bunch of amateurs, actually, who are advised by professionals, on the whole. Knowledgeable amateurs are better than ignorant amateurs.

**Len Duvall AM:** That is a good starting point.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** That is us, is it not? Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Would the Board be vetted so that you can have those high-level discussions? Does it need to be vetted?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** I could bore for Britain on vetting. I do not think it is a requirement for every member of the Board to be vetted. It is not a requirement for a Police and Crime Commissioner to be vetted. It is not a requirement for a leader of a council to be vetted. It is a requirement of and the responsibility of the machinery of those in public office to be able to speak freely, frankly and confidentially about highly classified material to those in elected positions of power. You need DV level to have unrestricted, frequent access to top-secret STRAP-and-above material. To do this kind of work, nobody needs that kind of access.

*Ad hoc* use of top-secret material on a pointed basis is perfectly possible for individuals not vetted if you have trusted relationships and if you are *omertà* about the position. That is why the Home Secretary did not require, for example, Police and Crime Commissioners to be vetted and yet they have a statutory duty on Prevent. It is perfectly possible.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I agree.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Lord Carlile gave an excellent set of advice for the Contest Board, which I have written down. If you did all of those things, these are mature, responsible, professional individuals in the public sector and with that knowledge and expertise they will do the right thing.

**Len Duvall AM:** They were an excellent set of values but I am now going to talk about how reality meets that. Around that table, you have some of the most senior people in London coming together. Some will have a very advanced knowledge and some of them might have a very limited knowledge of it.

What is the strategy to take something like that and implement it in the real world? You have the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime going off on his mayoral campaign at some stage, which will take some time. How do we get to a situation where it is about understanding of other organisations and issues - not just the overall understanding - to add value to this process that is going to be in place for a very long time? The threat is there. We have trundled along and met some of the threats. Some with success, some with not so much success. How do we keep that?

The second issue is trying to keep the continuity of the agenda? Do you allow some flexibility? What is your strategy and what is your thinking? What is the size of this Board, just out of interest? Do we have numbers yet?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Ten to 15 people. You would have the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime, the London Council's Executive Member for Crime and Community Protection - a similar size to other boards - the Chairs of the Prevent Board and the Resilience Forum, the Chairs of the Local Authority Panel and the London Safeguarding Board, the MPS, us, the CPS, health and education.

You are absolutely right. In some ways you have answered your own very excellent question. It does rely on a lot of personal commitment from people to make a board like this work. It does require an evening-up of the knowledge base. As you say, very sadly, the reality is that this situation is going to be with us for a generation. Anyone in a senior position like that will be coming into contact with this type of threat and type of area throughout their career.

**Len Duvall AM:** The London Prevent Board - which I see as the workhorse of the Prevent side of the issue - presumably is going to continue?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes, absolutely.

**Len Duvall AM:** That will then feed reports into the Contest Board?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** That is how we are going to keep the working relationship, avoiding duplication in good time?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes, absolutely. You heard from Martin Esom and you completely understood what he said. The Prevent Board is strategic, operational and tactical with deep practitioner knowledge. The London Contest Board covers the entire piece and so it is wider than that. It also provides political support and escalation from the London Prevent Board. If the London Prevent Board is finding that there is a rubbing-up into issues of lack of understanding in different boroughs or lack of prioritisation, it can be an escalation point to give that political and prioritisation support to the work of the London Prevent Board. Absolutely, we want to avoid duplication and nobody wants to be in a meeting for a meeting's sake. This area is too important for that.

**Len Duvall AM:** Do we have any idea of the proportion of work that Prevent would take up of the Contest Board or is this too early? We know people are talking about things now and having to deal with it in real time. What do we think roughly about these tasks?

There is a further question I want to ask about this, but what do you think the focus of the Contest will be over the next three or four meetings?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Prevent is a very big area for all of the reasons that we talked about. It is a big area of vulnerability given the changing nature of the threat and so that is really important. I do not think I could say the exact proportion now.

Protect: there is in many ways much more limited understanding of the protective infrastructure in London, the bits of the critical national infrastructure or the crowded places within boroughs that need protection.

Prepare: we always need to stay sharp, sadly, on our response to incidents when they occur and it is always worth having your contingency plans health checked.

Pursue: because there is so much more of this activity, we will need to be aware of the kind of work the police will be doing so that at a borough level we are able to support that in exactly the way you mentioned earlier with those trusted relationships, "There is going to be an arrest tomorrow. We need your support".

It certainly will need to cover the Ps. Martin Innes made a very good point at your last session that sometimes the gaps between the Ps and the overlaps are not identified unless you bring them all together. You need to be thinking about the shopping centres and the football match days when they hit against other areas of Prevent work. Martin Esom will say there are issues that will need greater visibility and awareness of escalation but maybe one-third Prevent/two-thirds the other or 50-50, in that range.

**Len Duvall AM:** We know that one of the issues and barriers to our performance in the past - let us not knock ourselves as there have been some problems, but also there has been quite impressive performance - is about openness and sharing. Are the minutes going to be available of these meetings? Are they going to be redacted? Are you meeting in public for some sessions? What is the strategy about sharing and engaging and getting people to understand the tasks that we need to do?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Lord Carlile might have comments on this area.

Certainly, when you look at successful examples of coming together of senior people in this space, they do tend to exhibit two kinds of characteristics. One is that there is a really shared private understanding and levelling of the knowledge base, in exactly the way you have both described, on quite difficult and sensitive areas. Some of that inevitably needs to happen in a confidential space. You would not want verbatim minutes.

Also, we all need to get much better at confidently describing in the public domain work that is going on and the threat that is going on, and to be much more daring about what is put out in public.

If we were to follow Lord Carlile's excellent set of advice to the London Contest Board - getting that training and sense of individual responsibility, seeing the work in action, the continuity of activity and work, and timescales for being involved - it means with that programme of work you are not going to see hugely rich and detailed minutes of what is happening on a month-by-month basis coming out enormously quickly. What you

should be hearing is much more confident language and programmes of activity throughout all of the service delivery organisations in London hopefully coming enormously quickly.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** May we give you an example of something that people need to be confident about? When Crossrail starts running its trains in two-and-a-half years' time, it is going to have 200-metre-long trains. They will no doubt be wonderful trains but the public are sometimes going to worry about getting on 200-metre-long trains because there will be up to 1,500 people on every train. It is a space in which there could be danger. Crossrail has already set out a Safe Trains policy. It is developing it at the moment but it is going to be very public. That is a very good development. The most important thing is that when somebody gets on a 200-metre-long train - I have slightly exaggerated the length but it is very long anyway - they want to feel they have seen and heard enough to know that they are being protected in a proper way.

Equally, although I would not expect very detailed minutes of the Board, people need to know enough to feel that there is a board, that it meets regularly, that the people who are on it are good, that occasionally they are to be heard on the Nick Ferrari [presenter, LBC] programme or BBC London so that it is a public project and that there is a lot of expertise there. It makes people feel comfortable going around their everyday lives as they go up and down the Kingsland Road or wherever they happen to be.

**Len Duvall AM:** My final question: if there was a major incident again - and sadly that is a real possibility - what is the role of the Contest Board in those circumstances? What thinking have you done around that? Let us say it is an ongoing issue. Is the Contest Board going to meet quickly to discuss issues or are we going to stick to the other existing methods? Is Contest really about the strategic policy direction along with dealing with the outcomes of other forums?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** That is exactly right.

**Len Duvall AM:** That is quite clear and that is the thinking of it?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Yes, absolutely. It would be highly appropriate for the Contest Board to take lessons learned from the emergency response to an individual situation. It would be extremely appropriate - in fact, it is one of the benefits of the Board - but it is not an emergency response mechanism.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Just as a vision, on 7 July 2007 COBRA<sup>1</sup> met within minutes. I would expect the Contest Board to do the same and to be there answering, for London, about the response and the measures that need to be taken possibly in an emergency. If, as happened on 7 July 2007, the whole mobile telephony system is taken down, they would be there partly to explain the rationale behind it, hopefully in co-operation with COBRA.

**Len Duvall AM:** Do you see that?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** It does not replace the COBRA machinery --

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** No.

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<sup>1</sup> COBRA (Cabinet Office Briefing Room A) is the civil contingencies committee.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** -- but the people in those roles would have a role in an emergency response.

**Roger Evans AM:** We have already heard about some of the resourcing problems that boroughs are experiencing now as partners. Do you think they are equipped to handle the new situation in the future, particularly the boroughs that are non-target boroughs at the moment, which seem to have very little in the way of support?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** That is a very good question. We would always all like more resources. The resources are very strained here, both specialist resources and also - back to Fiona's [Twycross AM] questioning - core mainstream resources. Are teachers stretched in meeting training requirements and understanding all the new safeguarding areas they need to be concerned with? You have a very good evidence base that there is a lot of stretch here. I would not want the resourcing issue to be seen just as a counterterrorism issue. This is a wider issue around all the safeguarding and vulnerability resources, training system, the accountability mechanisms, right across the piece. It is a stretch but this is the world that we live in and it is about prioritisation.

**Roger Evans AM:** Do you think the increased level in working number of partners is going to lead to you identifying more individuals who require intervention?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** I would hope so because there is a huge amount of unmet demand.

**Roger Evans AM:** That is an interesting statement. What do you think the magnitude is of that unmet demand, say as a percentage of what we already know?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** Would you like to answer that one?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** No, thank you. It could be a lot. It depends how deep you want to drill.

**Roger Evans AM:** Twice as much?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Could be. Who can say?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** The Assistant Commissioner put out material in the public domain a couple of weeks ago. You can ask him about that, about the increase in volume of arrests and investigations. The MPS are making around an arrest a day. Certainly they have seen - in their Pursue work - a very big increase in volume.

The nature of the demand - particularly if you are thinking about Prevent and vulnerabilities - is, as we have said, quite different and the opportunities for other kinds of resources to be brought to bear. There is also the family of community relationships and of the school and, as Lord Carlile talked about, the resources of the private sector in tackling online radicalisation. We have to be really innovative here and think big. It is not just public sector money and the activities of those in public sector organisations that are going to solve this problem.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Some of the most effective things are actually very cheap. If I just focus on one because it is worth mentioning, the role of Muslim women in counter-radicalisation is of huge

potential. Most Muslim women are pretty sensible and do not want their sons, husbands and brothers to end up in jail or be killed fighting for ISIS. The cost of bringing women into counter-radicalisation is very low. It is not easy because some can be very isolated. If you can achieve it - and it has been achieved in Birmingham to an extent - it is hugely productive. The cost-benefit analysis is off the screen.

**Roger Evans AM:** We have talked a little bit about the way the threat has developed from al-Qaeda on to ISIS. Do you have any big thoughts about where the threat is going to go next and what we should be doing to prepare for it?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Two thoughts. The first thought is that there is a dangerous new area of disagreement between various fundamentalist groups. If you take as an example Libya, there are now competing radical groups fighting among themselves because they regard ISIS as presumptuous, and also more successful than they would wish. There is a danger of people being caught in the crossfire, as it were, between rival groups working and recruiting in the UK. That is the first area.

The second area in which we should be looking is the communications piece. Why is ISIS so successful in communications? Why are we not communicating to the same standard as a nation to try to persuade people not to become involved in that kind of radicalisation? Again - and I mentioned women a moment ago - this involves engaging the community. I do have a criticism of Muslim communities - and I am saying something I have said before and so they will not take offence separately for me saying it - which is that there are masses of potential young leaders in Muslim communities, brilliant young people, successful business people, professional people and so on. They do not yet have the courage to lead their communities because those communities are mostly led by people of my sort of age who are not willing to give up their leadership roles. There needs to be a generational change. If we can help as part of the Contest strategy to help them to make that generational change and to potentiate those brilliant young people, we will then see a step-change in community relations and the attractiveness - or otherwise - of radicalisation.

**Roger Evans AM:** That is an interesting thought. Do you see that becoming a part of Prevent? It would be a massive increase in its role but its potential is there.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** It is real potential. Let us take education because we have said a lot about education this morning. There are some young Muslim teachers, men and women, who have the potential to lead - and will be leading - education in time to come. We should be looking to them to provide the knowledge and training so that the whole education profession can actually understand Islam in a non-prejudiced way and can understand that actually ISIS trails a terrible heresy. The word 'heresy' is very rarely used in this context but that is what it is. That needs to be exposed.

**Roger Evans AM:** That is a bit outside my area of questions but it is a fascinating area that we do need to look at.

Rebecca, do you think that Prevent needs to be more transparent? What is MOPAC planning to do about that?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** As I have said a number of times today, there is a case for being much more open about a lot of this. We covered examples about how success stories in Channel case studies could be made much more available with more confidence in speaking openly. As Lord Carlile says, leaders speaking on Nick Ferrari, etc, is completely compatible with the private and confidential space to have discussions and to agree appropriate priorities and actions on.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I prefer accountability to transparency in this context. You are never going to be able to open the documents that explain why somebody is believed to be radicalised but you can give a good public account of it. The difference between transparency and accountability is a bit of a nuance but it is quite important in this context.

**Roger Evans AM:** I understand that. Looking at the outcomes from this whole exercise, how does MOPAC measure the effectiveness? How are you going to measure the effectiveness of Prevent, given that we have already heard it is quite difficult to provide data rather than the case studies?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** At the moment, Prevent activities are all commissioned directly from the Home Office and MOPAC. No Police and Crime Commissioner in the country has that information and so does not carry out evaluation as you describe. If we move to a co-commissioning model - having outcomes is brain-achingly difficult to do, although we have made some steps in gangs - then you would have criteria and data against which you could evaluate.

**Roger Evans AM:** What sort of measures do you think MOPAC would be using?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** You would really need to do it on a programme-by-programme basis, depending on what activity you were commissioning. It would be a subject that would be very good to return to at a later point once some co-commissioning arrangements have been established.

**Fiona Twycross AM:** You did mention online activity, Lord Carlile, but I just wondered whether you could comment a bit more about how Prevent can tackle online radicalism and about the borderless nature of the internet that makes that problematic.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** It is a huge question. We have a great ungoverned space out there. At the moment, the running in that ungoverned space is often being made by radicals and, as a result, people are acquiring the information that, for example, led to girls below the age of majority going on what is sometimes called the 'Mulan trail' with, generally, not very satisfactory outcomes, even for them.

There does need to be a strong counter-narrative. A requirement of creating a counter-narrative is to use the people with the greatest skills. For the Home Office, it would represent good value for money if it used - and I use the analogy of the Old Street roundabout - 'Silicon Roundabout' and the young consultants around it to develop these skills. There is an organisation called the Research, Information and Communications Unit and it has got some extremely good people but, if Rebecca [Lawrence] will forgive me for saying so, it is managed by managers in the Home Office and sometimes they are managing to resource, not to results.

I have used the term 'cost-benefit analysis' before. It is very important. The cost-benefit analysis of investing money in the best brains and the best skills for creating that counter-narrative is not readily demonstrable but I am sure there is a high benefit in doing so. This is something that is going to go on for a very long time. The same skills that enable Amazon, for example, to persuade me when I order a book or a CD that I really want the one that is on the bottom of the screen as well, can be used for counter-radicalisation.

**Fiona Twycross AM:** Equally, it could be used for radicalisation as well. It is being, is it not?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes.

**Fiona Twycross AM:** One of the things is that the internet is out there but obviously there are social media organisations working within that. In the same way that the responsibility of somebody with a community hall was mentioned in terms of radicalisation, have we talked enough yet about the responsibility of some of the social media companies? The internet needs these vehicles for people to communicate within it. Can Prevent do more to engage with some of the social media organisations to make sure that they take responsibility, in the same way that we would expect somebody running a community hall to?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** If we constantly talk about the social media companies, we will eventually go blind, frankly. The social media companies are huge businesses, they have economies bigger than many nation-states and their attitude is, understandably - and I have some sympathy for this - "We are only libraries. We simply collect information. If countries or nation-states want to tell us to do things in a certain way or stop us doing things in a certain way, they can pass laws to do that. We will then obey those laws". If you look at the report by David Anderson that is now being published, you will see that he has talked to the media companies about communications data and they are more or less saying exactly that. Parliament then has to get the law out and they will obey it.

We can assume that communications companies will co-operate as long as we make them co-operate. If they understand what we are going to make them do, then they will give advice as to how that is best achieved. I do not really think it is realistic to expect more of those companies than that, frankly. It may be a rather cynical view from their standpoint of what their responsibilities are, but they are trying to make value for their shareholders. That is their governing responsibility.

**Fiona Twycross AM:** Thank you.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** I will put the questions to you and if you feel you want to give a briefer answer, please do. One of the MPS commanders, Mak Chishty [Commander for Engagement, MPS], made some comments about the need to move into the private space of the Muslim community to identify signs of radicalisation earlier. There were some examples given about changes in shopping behaviour and all sorts of stuff. Do you think there is something in that view? One criticism was that it is a bit hysterical and the Select Committee talked about how a single focus on Muslims was stigmatising. Was that a helpful contribution?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** I actually have a copy of his article here. Sorry, I have a copy of the response that was in *The Guardian*; I do not have a copy of his original article.

Actually, I thought it was very balanced and well-evidenced. The types of changes of behaviour he was describing are exactly those changes of behaviour in the Channel guidance that are some of the identified areas of vulnerability. Anyone who speaks publicly about this difficult area risks being criticised by respondents in the newspaper or others. It is part of the reason why a lot of people do not like to speak in public about it: for fear of offending some sensibilities. My personal opinion is he was right, balanced and evidenced.

The point of stigma is quite an interesting one because, of course, this ideology is quite selective in whom it prioritises. This is an ideology and packages of material that are designed to focus on the young, particularly on Muslims or those wishing to convert to a faith. It is a very focused ideology and sometimes we need to be a bit braver in what we say.



**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** I was just going to say that what Mak Chishty meant was entirely right but there are ways of going about it. I once gave a lecture to a travel agency conference. My wife, who is an incisive lawyer, was present. Rather rudely, afterwards she said to me, "What you told them was if somebody comes into your travel agency and buys a ticket for Pakistan tomorrow and pays cash, dial 999". That was exactly what I had been saying. There are certain patterns of activity that no doubt any responsible shopkeeper would feel should lead them to alert the authorities, but it is not because they are Muslim; it is because they are a shopkeeper. We should be very careful about distinguishing between businesspeople of one kind or one religion and businesspeople of another. These are actually universal truths, if we can identify them.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** That does show how difficult getting the language right around these discussions is. Just to broaden the point, do you think enough is being done to challenge other types of extremism, like far-right extremism? Would you expect people, for example, who are going to take part in the anti-Semitic demonstration planned in Golders Green to be identified under Prevent? Are we forgetting about all the other dangers?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Anti-Semitic activity is of concern but strong communities should be robust about it. As far as far-right extremism is concerned, happily, in this country far-right extremism has been fairly limited. The attention that has been given to it has been proportionate. I would not like to divert resources from much more threatening and imminent threats in order to symbolically say that we are covering right-wing extremism to the same extent. Right-wing extremists, on the whole, broadly, are pretty incompetent.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** I have to agree with you. There was one elected here and --

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** He was incompetent.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** -- it did expose that pattern.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** Yes. If you look at the criminal cases that there have been, mostly they have been bumbling and idiotic; whereas you cannot, I am afraid, say the same about the [people who perpetrated both the] Glasgow Airport bomb plot, for example, and [the bomb plot] which nearly killed 200 young women dancing in a club just at the bottom of Haymarket.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** At Tiger Tiger, yes.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** One does have to put the resources where they are needed and avoid symbolism.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** A last question along that line on recalibrations. It is probably true to say that people from outside of the Muslim ethnic communities do not really understand the sectarianism issues around the Sunni/Shia division. That is a whole new area that needs to be explored and understood and explained, sometimes. Do you think Prevent is adapting and coping with that shift that is going on?

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** People are conscious of this division. I have already referred to the infighting among Islamic groups. Perhaps we should just make sure that we are focused on those differences. There is quite a large Iranian community in London with which I have had some quite intense contact. They certainly are very conscious of those differences and are subject to a degree of interception, surveillance and

so on that they find very uncomfortable. The authorities should be equally sensitive to the potential dangers of those divisions.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** I suppose the only thing I would add is that the Prevent framework - and in fact the wider counterterrorism policy framework - has actually been quite resilient to changes in the threat. I do not think you would need to change the whole architecture.

**Lord Carlile of Berriew QC CBE:** No, I agree.

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** It is just an adaption within. In fact, that would be the tenet of my advice for the whole of this discussion: this is about adaption to a framework that, internationally, is widely respected.

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** OK. Thank you.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Just one thing. All of this depends on the co-operation of all the various groups who are involved. There are specific groups who will not engage - CAGE, for example - and I suspect that there are other groups. I suspect you have no sanctions against them. Is that right? You cannot force these characters to come to the table or anything of that sort. Is that not a major flaw in the whole concept?

**Rebecca Lawrence (Director of Strategy, MOPAC):** You cannot get all individuals to engage, of course. In a democracy, you cannot. Where it is public bodies, you can require that and hence things like the statutory duty are actually a big step forward because then you can require all of those spending public money to comply.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. We have come to the end of our questions. Can I just thank you both very much?

**Valerie Shawcross CBE AM:** Indeed.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** It has been a very enlightening and excellent discussion that we have had this morning. Thank you very much.

**Police and Crime Committee – 25 June 2015****Transcript of Agenda Item 4 – Part 2: Question and answer session with MOPAC and the MPS**

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** This next session is with Assistant Commissioner Mark Rowley QPM Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), the lead in the MPS on counterterrorism; Jim Stokley, Detective Superintendent in the Counter Terrorism Command; and Helen Bailey again from MOPAC. Thank you.

We have two sets of questions today and I hope we are going to get through all of them. I am going to ask Members of the Committee to keep their questions short and pertinent. One is to look at some of the work we have been doing about preventing extremism and then hopefully we can have some time at the end to talk about the rollout of body-worn cameras as well.

On the issue of preventing extremism, this is the third session that we have had. We have talked to Lord Carlile, the previous Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation. We have talked to local authorities, which are delivering a lot of the work on the ground. We have also talked to a MOPAC officer with regard to the role of MOPAC.

One of the things that has come across quite clearly both from evidence and from news reports is that Prevent has often, rightly or wrongly, been seen as being very police-led and the MPS has the foremost role in this. The Deputy Commissioner, Craig Mackey QPM, told us that actually you are not and you do not want to be perceived that way. Lord Carlile told us that the police should just do what the police are meant to be doing and not be at the forefront of such as a Prevent agenda. What is the MPS doing to change the perception that Prevent is police-led?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** I agree with the comment, first of all. If Prevent is just about the police, then it is not going to succeed. We can all agree with that.

Some of this is a matter of timing. The way the threat has changed so much over the last year or so means that the fact it was perhaps overly police-centric was less of a problem a year or two ago than it would be today. The fact that the last Coalition Government legislated for the Prevent duty was forcing that point, really, and saying, "Actually, we want all agencies to take the matter seriously".

Of the people we are arresting, 17% are under 20. One in nine is a woman. We have families looking to relocate to Syria. All of these issues are part of a completely different problem that is springing out of terrorism to anything we have seen before. Terrorism was about narrowly defined groups rather than about an ideology of trying to build a cult of people who want to relocate to what they refer to as the 'caliphate'. Therefore, the background means that it is essential.

We have always tried to position ourselves, as the police, as straddling enforcement and prevention. That is not just about counterterrorism, is it? It is in our work on gangs, it is in our work on sex offending and it is what policing is about: enforcement and prevention. In this area we have gone too far from that boundary sometimes and have started to cover more territory than the police should do in the Prevent side, and other agencies perhaps sometimes have not been as focused on it as they might be. That is probably because of history, the different threat and all the rest of it.

We are seeing big changes in that now. We help with some of the awareness training and things that get done with schools and health, etc, and we are seeing more appetite for that. We are keen for them to take on the responsibility for that training themselves as soon as possible because we do not see that as our long-term role.

Fundamentally, we are seeing a change in the appetite for solving these problems together. If we look at when cases arise - let us say young people in any borough in London - the appetite and experience for getting around the table in a safeguarding type of board or a multi-agency public protection arrangements type of board, depending on the age and profile of the individuals, to look at these issues is happening much more routinely now. Across the country we have Family Court proceedings increasingly taking place. Just in the last few months, there have been double figures of cases across the country with whole families of children being made wards of the court because of the risk of radicalisation and travel, and a share of those are in London. We are seeing more and more referrals coming in from mental health and health agencies that are concerned about people who are radicalised and a potential threat, and that enables multi-agency groups to work out how to fix those problems.

We are starting to identify new issues that we need to look at. One thing that has come up recently, for example, is that if some of the family is travelling, we are noticing a significant portion have a history of home-schooling. Therefore, that gives you something to look at with partners: is a proportion of those home-schooled [children] something we need to look at? You start to see these different dynamics that are a much more strong part than we have generally ever had before and we are keen to do our corner of that, so to speak, on the Prevent-Pursue boundary but not to get drawn too far into other people's work.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** The statutory duty on other organisations should, hopefully, assist with it.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** It should help. It was legislated in February when the Bill became an Act and its enforcement date is 1 July 2015. It is pretty imminent. The Department for Education and the Department of Health have been working at a pace to try to get advice and guidance in place across the country and lots of local authorities and trusts, etc, have been wrestling with it. The faster they can move the better, frankly, because this threat is moving so quickly, but we are seeing a real appetite for it.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** I wanted to pick up the issue of the Channel programme and I would like to know how you actually know that this is a successful programme. We know the number of referrals has risen but, actually, the outcomes are less easily quantified.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes. We had a number of referrals. The programme is evaluated by the Home Office and I do not have the latest data to hand, unfortunately. Perhaps we need to get that from them. They have been determined to keep quite a tight grip on this process, which some people may feel is overly central. There are some benefits in it as well, though, in a sense of finding providers that are completely trustworthy in this territory, which is quite difficult. When it was less well-gripped, there were examples where the people commissioned to do the counter-radicalisation type of work turned out to be not the sort of people you would be wishing to spend public money on; let us put it that way.

The fact that there is quite a high quality of vetting and quality assurance that goes on at a national level is a sensible thing to do and probably not something you would want to do in every police force area or every local

authority area across the country. They have some data that the majority of people are positively affected by it and we can perhaps get some more of that reported from them. We certainly do see it as valuable.

Channel is a really critical tactic, but it is only one tactic. It is a programme configured for people who are not currently under investigation and who are prepared to volunteer to go on it. By definition, if you are looking to counter extremism and radicalisation, it would be one cohort of the wider pool. There is a need to look more widely at other programmes and more assertive tactics, perhaps, to counter radicalisation.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** You have suggested previously that there might be a case for mandatory counter-radicalisation programmes in order to take decisive action when, perhaps, an individual is at risk. Do you really think that is the way forward for this?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes, I certainly do. There are two points here. One is having the capability that you can use, and the second one is a question of legislation.

Dealing with the first point, there are already times where one can apply legislative levers to force somebody to attend the programme. Somebody on a community order can be made to attend the programme. Somebody who is unlicensed potentially can be made to attend a programme. The temporary exclusion order as part of that legislation, which is about people returning to the country, can be made to attend the programme. There are provisions that exist, and we have been discussing it with the Home Office and it is building a proposal to create such a programme. It may use many of the same providers but it would have some different dynamics because you are forcing somebody to go through this rather than dealing with a volunteer. I am not an expert in diversion and rehabilitation but that clearly has some different dynamics to it.

The follow-up question, then, is whether new powers are required to reach a wider cohort of people beyond the existing law and that is probably something that will be looked at as part of the Extremism Bill that the Government is thinking about at the moment. We will see where that goes.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Thank you.

**Len Duvall AM:** Can we turn to preventing extremism and the challenge of online radicalisation?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** Just before we do that, in terms of some of the judgements, there is legislation now so that you can crack down on where people promote violence and those issues. Just where are we with the Home Secretary's view around moving on from, I suppose, a much more aggressive stance? Is it still on the course where the existing legislation is or is it still promoting new legislation around online extremism?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** I am clearly not here to speak for legislative proposals, but the Government has announced two pieces of legislation that are relevant to terrorism. One is about the data and intrusion issue, which is not the subject of today's discussion.

The second one is about tackling extremism. It is very clear that extremism is a much wider issue than terrorism and should not just be in the context of terrorism. Indeed, in the current climate there are extreme right-wing individuals who are looking to exploit the terrorist situation for their own purposes and to then sow discord in communities with what they do. Therefore, extremism is much broader.

The Home Secretary has said - and I do not have a quote to hand - that these challenges to democracy and to the ease within communities and relations within communities are different to what they have been before and that she wants to legislate to try to tackle those. They are talking about issues such as extremism disruption orders. From a policing perspective, we do see extremism causing challenges in communities. Our powers do not always reach into tackling it. Trying to wrestle with whether we can have more impact on those is, in my view, a good thing to do. The challenge will be defining extremism in a way that captures things that everyone agrees are wicked and does not capture simply strong views. That is going to be the real challenge.

**Len Duvall AM:** Thank you for that. The Commissioner, giving evidence to the Home Affairs Committee, said that the MPS Counter Terrorism Internet Referral Unit was taking down 1,000 sites a week around that.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes.

**Len Duvall AM:** In terms of removing material from the internet, not just taking down the sites, how successful are you in tracking the authors of the material?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** In terms of taking it down, it has been around 1,000 a week for the last year. It moves up and down as we have seen it. The way it works normally is with the assent of the publishing organisation. Sometimes they are social media companies, websites or various groups. We try to have a relationship with them wherever possible and say, "We found this material. We think you should take it down because it is encouraging terrorism". Usually, they do.

We have seen the number surge up sometimes when new providers change their stance and get more helpful. Then we see the number fall down sometimes when they start to take it down more automatically without our intervention. That trend of taking large amounts down is continuing. You cannot clean up the internet, and that is just the reality, but you can make it much harder for people to find this material. It is valuable. We also capture evidence, and sometimes there is evidence in some of the really gruesome videos that have come out of Syria. Sometimes there is evidence in that that leads to prosecutions of people when they return to the West. There are multiple purposes to it.

There has been a European initiative recently announced where Europe is looking to build a bigger unit based on our model, which is great. People sharing the load on that can only be positive.

In terms of prosecuting those involved, there are offences in section 57 or section 58 of the Terrorism Act about glorifying terrorism and publishing material. A significant portion of our prosecutions in the last year have been for that and we will do that every time we can. Also, as I say, we are catching this evidentially and material posted online has led to people being convicted of very serious offences in the UK. There was a terrorist called Imran Khawaja who came back to this country last year and, because of material we found online and then subsequent material we found on seizing other devices when he returned to the country, we were able to piece a case together to show really gruesome events that he had taken part in in Syria and Iraq. Policing the internet is a big part of what we do.

**Len Duvall AM:** In terms of the interactions between the work that we are doing in the UK and the work that will be undertaken Europe-wide, it is more of an extension of closing them down and pushing them to, presumably, the darker side of the net, in the sense of making it much harder for the likes of me to find. If I was determined to find it, I probably would, would I not?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** If you are determined and have some IT literacy and can find your way around the darker corners of the internet, then we are never going to completely clean that up. However, when you look at the profile of terrorism and this reaching into families, vulnerable groups and children, serious efforts can make it harder for them to get access to it. Is it going to stop the determined terrorist who has IT skills and expertise to hand finding it? No, it is not.

**Len Duvall AM:** OK. We have our UK/London resource doing this work. Is there a case for any work to be done in the boroughs through the Prevent strategies by other agencies other than the police service around online radicalisation? What would that role be and how would you think that work might well be undertaken? Maybe there is not a case. If there is not, then --

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** No, this takes you into the territory of the wider public debate and the counter-narrative that argues against those who are using propaganda online to push the view of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) that the caliphate is a great place to live and that this is the correct interpretation of Islam. I am sure we would all share the same view about that. Part of supporting young people and stopping this developing is about challenging that.

There are programmes, many of them in the third sector, which are about trying to raise the skill levels of older people within the Muslim community, for example, to be more able online to challenge those ideologies so that the debate takes place, rather those pushing a corrupt view being the only people occupying the internet space. There are a whole range of ways to think about influencing what is going on in the internet. The police are trying to keep the worst of the material off there and capture evidence. The internet as a debating place on which views prevail, there is all sorts of scope for community initiatives and empowering communities in that space. We can get you the details of some of the charities involved. I just cannot bring the name to hand. I do not know if you have it to hand, Jim.

**Detective Superintendent Jim Stokley (Regional Prevent Co-ordinator, Counter Terrorism Command, MPS):** No. I was only going to suggest some of the other websites that are online already. There is the Prevent Tragedies campaign, which is a portal for young people - for anyone, really - to look up and to try to understand the issues there. In addition, as Mr Rowley has said, we have done quite a lot of work with different groups; for example, with a lot of Somali women's groups.

It is not just about radicalisation online. It is also about cyberbullying as well and children and young people and vulnerable people. It is about trying to educate, where we can, parents around IT skills as well, and that has been very successful. We have reached over 2,700 families across London with that programme. Definitely, there is a place for it locally as well as at a more strategic level.

**Len Duvall AM:** One of the things that this Committee is going to grapple with is about the resourcing issues around Prevent and the prioritisation, of course, when you are cutting the cake. Is this not the sort of activity that should be funded London-wide on the basis that crime does not recognise borough boundaries, particularly about radicalisation, around the online issue? Is there a case for some London-wide projects on Prevent to support those working at local level? It may be a case for Helen, but I would welcome your comments.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** If you are thinking about wrestling with individual cases, then you naturally drop into the safeguarding partnership space, which reflects local structures. Conversely, if you are thinking about how we empower certain communities across London, then it would make sense to do it at a London level. Likewise, if we are trying to add extra diversionary tactics and tools beyond,

for example, Channel, and we want to apply some extra effects in London, again, it may make sense to procure those across London in the way that MOPAC is looking to choreograph the procurement of extra support around counter-gangs work. You might want to do the same thing, rather than trying to procure it 32 times.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Maybe it is helpful to say that one of things that we are doing is setting up a London CONTEST Board. That is specifically to make sure that all partners understand what the nature of the threat is, that there is some accountability of the activity undertaken, and that it brings everybody to the table. I take your point completely. I was just checking as you were talking. That absolutely includes the London Safeguarding Children Boards and their representatives, as well as the people from the police and the other agencies who know about these things. That is important.

It might be that what that leads to is some London-wide commissioning, but my view is that London-wide commissioning would be pointless if we did not have the support of all the agencies for the work that it commissions. There is already an existing Prevent board, which has a role around local authorities in terms of bringing them to the table and doing the work on the group. The CONTEST board will link that more with us at MOPAC and provide a bit of political oversight. If we have all those ducks in a row, then it becomes possible to spread a bit of money across London in a way that is beneficial to all of those different agencies.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** If I may make one more point, there is an opportunity to join up different agendas here to everyone's advantage. If we look at bullying and abuse online, if we look at child sexual exploitation, if we look at people being drawn into gangs and if we look at this agenda we are talking about today, there are quite a lot of commonalities that revolve around how people are safer online and how people from vulnerable backgrounds get drawn into making bad decisions and joining the wrong friendship groups or get the wrong influences, and there are some overlaps between them.

It is both inefficient and probably less effective to have several different programmes hitting boroughs and schools in different ways on those different subjects rather than having a cohesive package that is actually about safety and dealing with some of these more complex risk areas. Of course, if I try to put myself in the position of being a head of a school, I might want to tailor which bits of it I use based on the demographics and issues I see in my school, but having a joined-up package I could draw from would seem to be better instinctively, rather than having lots of different products that I am trying to squeeze together and make sense of in the personal, social and health education sessions.

**Len Duvall AM:** Thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Mark, can I just follow up on that? You have talked about some counterterrorism work on the internet, putting an alternative view of the nature of Islam being a peaceful religion and wrong interpretations being made by extremist groups. We have learned recently, for example, from Charleston in [the United States of] America that right-wing ideology can be equally as damaging. You mentioned earlier that extremism is not just about one sector; it is about all. Does that counterterrorism work on the internet involve you in doing some of that counter work as well with regard to right-wing --

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** No. We work with communities in terms of doing some of that empowerment and that challenging. It is one of the areas where, if we stray too far towards trying to come up with the right narrative, then the police suggesting the right interpretation of Islam does not sound like a clever strategy to me, frankly. We can work with community groups, we can empower people and



we can support projects, but us moving that far into the Prevent space is not a clever thing for the police to do.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** I was asking you if you know whether that type of work is taking place in regard to right-wing ideologies as well.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Sorry. There is some work on right-wing ideologies. There is not as much radicalisation going on online and it has grown out of some of the old-fashioned groups, some of which is well known were associated with football hooliganism. Some of the names of some of those groups are fairly famous.

The challenge today is that they are preying on the current international terrorist threat from ISIS and using that as an excuse to push a more extreme racist or anti-Islam agenda. They look at events overseas with cartoons and videos and they think, "How can we do this in this country?" They look at protests and they try to create protests in areas with high minority communities to aggravate them. You see all of that extreme right-wing activity going on, which is quite tricky. It is nowhere near the volume or threat that international terrorism presents, but there are some people with violent intent and we have to pay attention to it.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** Yes. Thanks, Chair. Can I come back to you on the comments you have just made about the London CONTEST Board? At our March meeting, the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime told us that he was looking to introduce a CONTEST board to London. When was the first meeting and who are the people? You have talked about it including people from various organisations.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** As well as your commentary, can we have all the information there is about the makeup of the board? When was the first meeting, and how many meetings do you expect to have?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** I do not know how many meetings we expect to have. The first meeting will be next week. I have some draft terms of reference in front of me but I would like them to be approved by the board before I share them.

We are expecting, amongst others, the Chair of the London Resilience Forum and that will probably be a local authority chief executive but I cannot remember which one; Gareth Bacon [AM] with his London Fire and Emergency Planning Authority (LFEP) hat on; the Chair of the London Prevent Board, who is the Chief Executive of Waltham Forest and whom you will know well; and the Chair of the London Safeguarding Children Board; the Head of Counter Terrorism from the MPS, whom I believe may be your good self --

**Detective Superintendent Jim Stokley (Regional Prevent Co-ordinator, Counter Terrorism Command, Metropolitan Police Service):** That might be me, yes.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** -- and so on. There are a whole range of people from across London who are invited to this. It will look at its terms of reference and work out how it can best discharge the task that it has been set by the Deputy Mayor. I am sure we would be very happy to write to you afterwards and tell you how it has gone and when we are going to next meet.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** We will do that. The draft terms of reference have been developed by MOPAC and then are going to this meeting, did you say, tomorrow?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Next week.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** That will be the first discussion of the membership on the two --

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** It will be the first formal discussion. Clearly, there has been a lot of informal discussion around the setting up of this and a lot of informal discussion with those partners on the board. Then, of course, we had a hiatus and purdah with the General Election, which meant that we did not have a meeting until now, but we have the first one next week.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** This is a really important step that responds to the Prevent duty and responds to the changing threat. The Deputy Mayor's view - and it is the wider view of the group - is that whilst of course CONTEST is about Pursue, it is about protecting communities, it is about preparing for events and it is about prevention, the CONTEST board initially should focus on prevention, given all these different issues that we are wrestling with and talking about today. That is exactly the right thing and that will help the police do our important corner of prevention, bring other partners to the table and have a more joined-up and effective approach across London.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** OK. Is it too early, then, yet to talk about any sort of risks or any fallout from such a body? Your first meeting is next week.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** This might sound odd from a police officer talking about such a body, but I cannot see many risks from it. I can largely just see benefits of people getting together and wrestling with a problem that is changing so quickly.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** Finally, has there been a gathering of similar meetings informally and is that why you are now moving to a formal structure?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** There are various panels. There has been a London Prevent panel. Some bits have been picked up in the London Resilience Forum. There has been some cross-London work and it has had some effect. This is a response to changing legislation and a changing threat and trying to have a step-change across London.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** No, because there is a difference between something that has been created out of a need that has been identified by people already involved and something that has been created because somebody had an idea and put it on a fag packet. You are saying that this is something that, if you like, has grown up organically out of informal discussions and identification by the people sitting around the table that there is a need for this board?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** I do not know the full breadth of conversations that MOPAC has had. I can say from a police perspective that this is very timely and very welcome because we need a step-change in partnership to deal with these new issues.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** That is good to hear.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** If I may just add to that, from the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime's point of view, it came out of two or three things. Firstly, this issue about how to get the politicians responsible for the allocation of resources in places - borough leaders specifically, but others as well - engaged with this idea was something that he perceived as a bit of a lacuna from his time as a borough leader. Certainly when I was working in a borough, chief executives were all running around doing resilience work, but there was not much of a role for politicians to understand what it was that was known and understood and believed about their communities. There was that.

In addition to that, as the threat has become more serious, the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor have convened now twice the four major forces in the country to think about how they deal with this issue: West Midlands, Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire and us. This is something that already works well in West Midlands. Therefore, it seemed like a good way to do something which happens clearly on a smaller scale because there are many fewer authorities and many fewer players in that area than there are in Greater London, but to see if we could make something work for Greater London that would wind everybody into a shared view about what the situation was, what we needed to do about it and, therefore, what that meant for activity.

It comes back to Len's [Duvall AM] point. If you want to do something across a big space like London, you have to have all the players engaged and believing that you are doing the right thing in, broadly speaking, the right way or it simply will not work.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** We are due to visit Birmingham shortly. They have had this sort of board in progress.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** They have, yes.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** We could ask them about their experience arising out of the boards that they have.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** I am sure you could, yes.

**Jennette Arnold OBE AM:** Thank you.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. We have come to the end of our questions on Prevent itself, but if we can move to body-worn cameras --

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Can Jim slide off? He has something else to do.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Yes, of course. Thank you for attending, Jim.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Thank you, Jim.

**Detective Superintendent Jim Stokley (Regional Prevent Co-ordinator, Counter Terrorism Command, Metropolitan Police Service):** Thank you very much.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That is appreciated.

**Tony Arbour AM:** This [body-worn cameras] of course was a very popular decision. Can we know who made the decision? Was it from the MPS or was it MOPAC and the Mayor?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** It was both. We have a shared enthusiasm for it. In terms of the final decision, it has to be MOPAC and the Mayor's Office simply because the cheque required has to be signed by them and it does not fit with delegated authorities. If you look beyond who is required to sign off the cheque, so to speak, then it is completely joined. We are both excited about it.

We both think this is game-changing for policing on two grounds and both are equally important. There is the transparency point: actually, we are proud of what the vast majority of our officers do and anything that can add greater transparency to contentious contacts with the public, whether it is about stop-and-search or the use of firearms, has to be a good thing. Everyone welcomes that. The second point is then about capturing evidence. In particular cases like domestic violence, where it is really hard sometimes to prove cases, why would you not try to catch a bit of evidence?

For that evidence and transparency, this is a good thing. There is lots of evidence around the world in small-scale places that this works. We have a developing evidence base in what we are doing in London, and we have started the procurement.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Can I stop you there? Those things are self-evident, but there will be some people who say, "If you want absolute transparency, why is it down to the individual officer to switch on the camera? Why is it not on all the time?"

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** There are two reasons behind that. The first one is that, in consultation with the Information Commissioner's Office on policy, there is a balance on intrusion and if you record everything all the time there will also be lots of people who will say, "That is over the top. That is too intrusive. That is unnecessary". You have to balance it, and we are syncing our policy with that.

The second, frankly, is a practical point in terms of the cost and volume. If we collect that much material, with the number of servers we will have to buy, when we are looking at every one of our patrolling officers having this, we will spend an unmanageable fortune on data storage. It is the combination of factors: the civil liberties balance point and the cost issue. You need to find a balance in terms of when you use it. We have a clear policy about when it should be used.

**Tony Arbour AM:** What about the point when I am stopped and we see from the --

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Riding your bike on the pavement?

**Tony Arbour AM:** When I am riding my bicycle on the pavement, yes. We see from the protocols that the officer has to tell the person who is involved in the incident that the camera is on and that they are being filmed and so on. Should this not be reciprocal? Could I not say, "Why is the camera not on?"

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes, you can. You absolutely can.

**Tony Arbour AM:** If I say that, is the officer obliged to put it on?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes, I am pretty sure that is in the policy. I have to double-check but that is certainly our intent.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** He has to consider it.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** He has to consider it. Thank you. It is absolutely in the policy. We have given officers discretion on how widely they use it, but there is a minimum standard within the policy. It is not entirely discretion, but it is really clear that if you are going to stop and search somebody or do a stop-and-account, for example, if you are going to something where you anticipate use of force or it is obviously something where there will be evidential value like a domestic violence incident, then in all of those cases the expectation is you will use it. Clearly, for officers who repeatedly do not, then they are not obeying instructions and that is potentially a misconduct issue.

**Tony Arbour AM:** If I come back to that point, if the expectation is that it will happen - and you talk about people perhaps being unaware that the camera is on - and if it became a general expectation that it was on all the time, the public would become inured to this, just as the public has in recent years become inured to the completely unthinkable, that armed police officers will be commonplace across the city. Why would it somehow or other be wrong for the camera to be on?

Let us exclude the cost point because, as far as the costs are concerned, I imagine that those are reducing at an absolutely meteoric rate. The way in which information can be stored, the cost of that and the ease of storing that similarly is being reduced very rapidly. Why have you not gone - or, indeed, why has MOPAC not gone - for having the thing on all the time? That clearly does provide absolute transparency.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** I go back to what I said before. I do not think you can dismiss the cost issue quite as simply as you do, but --

**Tony Arbour AM:** I am a simple man.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** -- the volumes and the costs are very, very significant. We are talking millions and millions.

On the freedoms point, for every moment of a police officer's time to be recorded, the intrusion on the public and the intrusion on the officers is disproportionate and that was our view. We did some consultation on that policy and we also spoke to experts like the Information Commissioner's Office and they were all in agreement. We have come to a balance point at the moment now. Maybe that balance point will change as time goes on, but ubiquitous recording feels very excessive and 'Big Brother-ish' and most people would feel that. Whilst we have had some people make the point you have done - and you are not the only one of this view; I recognise that - it has not been a view very strongly held by large numbers of people.

**Tony Arbour AM:** I would simply say about the intrusion point that you and I are being filmed constantly as we go about our daily business all of the time and we are unaware of it. The only difference between what is being suggested by me in relation to having these cameras on all the time is that you will be aware that that is happening. Most of us - and I have no idea what happens in MOPAC's offices - are under surveillance all of the time and it does not inhibit me. I simply make the analogy in relation to intrusion of privacy that our privacy is being intruded on all of the time anyway, and most of us --

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Then we will have members of the public say, "This is intrusive. I want to have a word with the police and I do not trust them because it is all recorded". It is very difficult.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** May I just reassure my staff? I do not believe they are under constant surveillance in the offices and, if they are, I need to speak to somebody in the Greater London Authority (GLA) about it.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Perhaps, Mark, if you just tell us. Has there been a pilot already?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** I understand that the full review is coming out shortly, but what were the key findings of that, the decision or the case for rolling it out wider?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** In terms of the evaluation, we will have some early findings in July and the final thing in September. Whilst we have started the procurement, the actual cheque that we will ask Stephen [Greenhalgh, Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime] to sign after that procurement process is finished will not be done until after we have those evaluations. Actually, if the evaluation says something startling like, "This is a waste of time", which I am sure it will not, then we will not spend the money. That is the first point. We thought we wanted to crack on with this because I think we can all say it is going to work.

In terms of what it is showing, in terms of some of the headlines, in terms of transparency and integrity, there has not been one complaint. There are roughly 1,000 officers now using it. About a quarter of them are firearms officers. We started with 500 and we extended it at the back end of last year. There has not been one complaint that has gone to a full investigation. The initial investigation has sorted it straight away because the video has shown there is not an issue there. That in itself is massively powerful. If there is clearly a case to answer, then, very early on in the investigation, notices get served on the officer as to what the allegation is. We have not reached that point once on these cases, which is an extraordinary statistic in itself. That is really positive and there are some good stories about how those things are dealt with.

Secondly, we are seeing significant numbers of cases, such as domestic violence, that are going to court with extra evidence. We have had several cases - and there was one very recently - where a completely non-prosecutable case without this has gone all the way through to conviction and it is really powerful. Police officers have all done it and some of you may have seen it on ride-alongs and those circumstances. You turn up at a domestic violence incident and the rawness and horribleness of what is going on is never captured well in a statement. You cannot do it in writing. When this is all presented in an antiseptic way in writing in court and the victim is understandably losing confidence in complaining and the offender is nicely dressed and presents well, the court never really gets the full picture. You present the video of the fear of the person when the officer has turned up at the incident and it is completely game-changing in terms of those prosecutions. We are seeing significant numbers of those, and the evaluation will pull out the detail of it.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I wanted to ask. It did seem a bit rash to start this because I presume the cost is quite high. Do you have a ballpark figure for the cost of training and data storage?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** It is significant numbers of millions. I cannot remember off the top of my head.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I am going to not ask you now, Helen [Bailey], because we are in a hurry, but I will ask you for that figure afterwards. It did seem rash to go ahead before the pilot was finished and before you had the ethical guidelines from Lord Carlile [Chair, London Policing Ethics Panel].

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** There is a balance point here. When would this roll out? If we follow this through, it should be rolling out in the first quarter of next year across the roughly 20,000 users across London that we want to do. That is what we are working towards. The sequence to that point is, before we actually complete the procurement process and sign the cheque, we will have the evaluation. That is the first point. We have a policy that we think works. It has been tested legally and all the rest of it. It will get another kick-around with the ethics committee and, if that finds ways to improve it, we will take those on board. By the time we get to January, all of that will have been done.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Before any money is spent, you will have results?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** We will have the evaluation, exactly, yes.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** I know you do not want me to take up a lot of time, but I will just say that in the process we are going through here, there are a limited number of suppliers of these things. The kit is pretty much the kit. Then there is the issue about how it relates to certain kinds of digital transfer mechanisms, ie how you can view it and see it.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I am sorry. I will come back to you, Helen. It is just that we need to --

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** No, can I just finish the point? It will be helpful. Because there are a limited number of suppliers and some things that are variable of the sort I was trying to indicate, it is possible to begin the dialogue leading to a procurement before you have all of the detail about the evaluation.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Yes, I have understood that. Thank you.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Yes. OK, sorry.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** You do not have to repeat that. Could I ask you, Mark, as well, how these cameras are going to be monitored? Is there going to be access for independent advisory groups (IAGs) and groups like that? Obviously, in other places I understand --

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** We have already been using them. Across London we have the stop-and-search community groups, etc. Some of the videos have been used with some of those groups and that is very positive, and we will find more and more creative ways to do that.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I gather that in Merseyside the IAGs and the community safety groups and so on are allowed access to the footage.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes, we are doing that as well.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** OK, great. This footage will not appear on police television shows; it is going to be a limited distribution?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** It is not distributed. The first point is that we are capturing something that might then disprove a complaint or might be evidence in a court process. For material that does not have a value to be kept after a month, the policy says to get rid of it. If anyone has decided it needs keeping, it is kept for whatever purpose. It is not for public viewing, as a general principle. It is material that we have captured for policing purposes. If we start bandying it about inappropriately, then the Information Commissioner will be - rightly - all over us.

That said, in the same way that evidence captured in other situations is sometimes publicised because the public has a right to be informed, sometimes it would be publicised. However, turning it, unedited, into a cheap television show would not be a clever idea and would not be legal.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Going back to Tony's [Arbour AM] point about when to use the camera, presumably, when you do the training, there is going to be a lot about turning the camera on in time to capture the sort of thing that you want to.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes. I do not want to go into technical details and I am not an expert, but there is a really important technical point here, which is helpful. The camera, when you press 'go', already has the previous 30 seconds.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Brilliant. I thought it was either on or off.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** We have heard that with Taser. It is really good.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** What is happening is that it is permanently recording the last 30 seconds and deleting itself and so it is rolling over. That is a really important operation. If I walk up to an incident and do not think it is going to be anything significant and then all of a sudden, "Hang on, there is something wrong. I am going to have to do a stop-and-search", or, "Something is going to happen", then I press 'go' and it has the previous 30 seconds and goes forwards. That is a really useful tool, which plays to the exact question that you are asking. It is helpful that, when I spot this, I have a bit of a safety mechanism.

**Tony Arbour AM:** Is it only 30 seconds? If it is constantly deleting --

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Come on, Tony.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** We are finding a balance point. It is the same as the previous question. That is the balance point we have found. If the evidence says in due course that 15 seconds will be better or two minutes will be better, we will change it. At the moment, that is the balance point that we have found.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** That is really interesting.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** When are you going to start this training? Presumably there are a lot of officers to train and it is going to take quite a long time to get done.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** We are looking at a different way of doing the training. For the initial training we did, we took everybody off the streets for half a day for the training. We do not think it needs that. We are looking at using technology in terms of computer-based learning. There will



be some briefing of officers. The equipment itself is very simple. You press a 'go' button, you press a 'stop' button, you plug it in when you get back to the police station and it all downloads.

There are two things to spend time with officers on. One is the understanding of the policy about when to use it and the second one is, if they have evidence that needs to be preserved, how they log into the system and do that. We are looking at innovative ways to do that so that we can have the speed of rollout that we all have the ambition to have.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Obviously there is the potential of damaging community relations because there are lots of people, as Tony [Arbour AM] was pointing out, who do not like to be filmed. Presumably officers will get 'politeness' training or similar to this. It will not be a, "All right, I am going to turn on my camera now", sort of business. It will be --

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Actually, the evidence is that cameras improve everyone's behaviour.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** I agree, yes.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Members of the public - and I know officers sometimes use it - when someone is getting out of hand, say, "Come on, mate. Calm down", and it has that effect. Likewise, we can all have a bad day, we can all be lazy and we can all be sloppy. For officers, that reminder of, "Hang on, I have to keep to the highest professional standards", is helpful. There is a lot of evidence that it lifts everyone's standards of behaviour, which can only be good.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you.

**Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair):** Just quickly, is it all uniformed officers or is it all officers including detectives who have this?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** The mix will be about how much we give personal issue and how much people have to book out, and it is about the circumstances that we want it deployed into. If a detective is going on some sort of intervention or raid and making some arrests, then you want them to have it, but a routine day of a detective does not merit having it. People engaging in public contact, which may involve stop-and-search, may involve evidence collection, etc, is where you want it. That is where we get to the number of about 20,000. Some will be personal issue, probably, and some will be booked out for people who use them occasionally.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** How have you managed to get the Police Federation on board for this? I recall the evidence we had in recent years when they came. On the one hand, they said they wanted every officer to have a Taser. On the other hand, they did not want body-worn cameras at all, which seemed to me quite an interesting position. How have you got them on board with this?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** I have not heard the Federation's latest position. The officers themselves are so keen on this.

What was really interesting culturally - and I can understand this entirely - was that when we gave it out to the first set of officers, there was a degree of nervousness and thinking, "Actually, is this good for me or is this spying on me?" You can understand any of us would find that quite difficult. I would certainly find it difficult.

It is understandable. Within about two weeks, officers were all getting to the point of, "I am not going out if I cannot have it with me". It changed that quickly because they really thought, "Actually, I am proud of what I do. This helps me do a better job and it defends me against the occasional mischief-maker who wants to make a complaint". The cultural uncertainty tipped very, very quickly, and that is part of the success of it.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** Just to go back again, does it have geolocation? If somebody was filming someone - and I know it is not live and you cannot see what is happening to them - and if something happened, could you try to get help for that officer if they had suddenly gotten themselves into something, as you said, that they might not be expecting?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** For the geolocation, you have the radio and the officer can just press 'help'. There is a button on the radio.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** Fine. I just wanted to check whether it had any of that. OK. If, for example, they were ending up using it where there was a bigger incident, as you say, and possibly they came across something that had happened, does it have an opportunity for storing it? In other words, if you then think that that might form data for a larger investigation into something, is there some way of making sure that that is kept?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** It is kept.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** I am thinking back to what we saw after the riots or other things we have seen in the past --

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Absolutely.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** -- and we have been able to review footage, which has been quite helpful in understanding where things perhaps did not go according to plan.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Definitely. Nobody can delete the product for a month and so there is no scope for mischief. That is really important. Somebody has to make an active decision within that month. That active decision is not limited to the officer who recorded it. It might be a detective who has picked up the case that it has recorded. It might be the Professional Standards Department because there has been a complaint about it. Likewise, if you had something of the scale of 2011, then it might be that corporately we say, "Everything recorded on that day we are going to retain until we have had a chance to sift it and look through it". There are multiple opportunities to decide to retain it.

It was interesting watching the MPS documentary on Monday, where there was a stabbing at a community barbecue event. Officers turned up and there were lots of people milling around. Capturing witnesses and evidence in that chaotic initial circumstance is a very common problem when it is at a community event like that or outside a nightclub or whatever. The evidence captured from the officers first on the scene of who is there and what is going on from that will be massively valuable, say, to a murder team or a trial investigating a stabbing in a way that we have never had before.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** Just a final quick question. Jenny talked about officers being polite, but do you think by having a camera it will make the people they are talking to also mind their --

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Yes. I think we all behave better. Officers do use it. I know they do use it and say, "Come on", and that is a reminder, "Come on, calm down, the camera is here". A lot of people do calm down and reflect on their behaviour, which is great.

**Victoria Borwick AM MP:** We all look forward to seeing how it all develops. As soon as you can come back to the Committee with a few more --

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** A couple of years ago, I saw officers do a stop-and-search and the behaviour totally changed when it was pointed out that they had a camera.

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Exactly.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Yes. The officers were extremely polite. I thought, "These are the most polite officers I have ever seen", actually, and it could have been something to do with the cameras.

**Roger Evans AM:** Would it be useful for you to develop it so that you had a live monitoring facility, for example, if you had officers responding to a 7/7-type incident or dealing with the disorder that we had in 2011 and you needed a view from the ground at headquarters very quickly?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Potentially, in certain circumstances, yes. The technology will move on at a pace; we all know that. One of the things we are asking in our procurement question of the suppliers is, "How will you help us keep track with technology?" What we do not want to procure is something and we have the 2015 version until 2020. You want a solution that is a bit more agile than that. Over the next 18 months, the technology is going to get more affordable in terms of devices that are live-transmitting. I am not sure of the value of that for every officer, but in certain circumstances I can see a real value in it. Our ability to explore that as that technology becomes affordable will be one of the things we want to look at.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. Can I thank you very much, Mark, for attending today?

**Mark Rowley QPM (Assistant Commissioner, MPS):** Thank you very much.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** We just have a further ten minutes with Helen, if that is fine with you.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Helen, can I take you back to the cost? Do you have a rough cost that the whole rollout will amount to?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** We do. Because we are in a procurement, I would rather not say what it is because it gives the supplier too much of a hint, really.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Are those figures you can let us have afterwards when the procurement is over?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Yes, of course. Absolutely.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Presumably you are talking to the ethics panel about the guidelines to try to keep a view of what is going on?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** The ethics panel has a piece of work going on to look at how this should be used. It relates to its work about public encounters more generally. They will take a view about whether or not they should comment on this and exactly how far they will go.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Presumably that will relate as well to - and I have not read it - the College of Policing's guidance on these body-worn cameras?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Yes. I am sure they would be happy to provide you with it because I have in front of me a copy of their guidance already, which covers a lot of the issues that we have just discussed.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** It is online.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Yes. For instance, it talks about when it should absolutely not be switched on. For instance, if you are with somebody in a hospital who is being treated, you would not have it switched on. It is clear about when it should be switched on. There are obviously some grey areas and they are what you have been exploring with Mr Rowley. It talks about whether it should be switched on when members of the public ask for it to be switched on. It covers all of those issues and a whole range of other issues related to it. I am sure the ethics panel will also take a look at that guidance as well.

**Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair):** Thank you.

**Roger Evans AM:** We have some questions for you about the London Crime Prevention Fund (LCPF). First of all, what lessons has MOPAC learned from commissioning the LCPF?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** I had a warning you were going to ask me this question. I am not quite sure where to start because when we first did it we were a very new organisation and had very little experience of commissioning. The thing that we are pleased about that worked was that we did it jointly with the boroughs, we made our decisions jointly with London Councils and we invited the boroughs to bid for projects that met their priorities and the mayoral priorities. That clearly has worked and is what has happened, and we have a lot of good stuff going on.

The other thing that we have learned over the year or so since is that this is a process of constant dialogue and evaluation, that things that people thought they would be able to do two years ago when they bid and thought would be the most important thing in their world then may have changed, and that as long as we are not changing the focus of the money entirely, we can change a little bit the application of it. We have been doing that through a process of dialogue and bringing people together and having very hands-on involvement between our folk in MOPAC and folk in the boroughs.

**Roger Evans AM:** As a part of that dialogue, do you have a process for measuring success?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** We do. This is always a fine line when one public authority is giving money to another. You do not want to create a huge bureaucracy

to check that other people employed on a similar basis to you are telling the truth to you. We do invite them to suggest at the beginning of their bids the outcomes they wish to see. We expect to see some decent certification of those outcomes. If those change, we expect that something else will change too, whether it is the allocation of money or the change of the project. We do look very carefully at that and we have regular dialogue about it.

**Roger Evans AM:** How do you evaluate value for money?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** We go all the way back to what they said they would do with the money they would have. We go all the way back to the evaluation we applied then, which was pretty rigorous. We looked at the quality of the bids, the match of priorities, the value for money and the number of outcomes that they would achieve from that. If they were good enough to get through, then that was our first benchmark. Then the conversation is about, "Are you continuing to achieve that as we move forward in time?"

**Roger Evans AM:** Is there an opportunity for you to evaluate the performance of different organisations doing similar work in different parts of London so that you can get some feel for best practice?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Yes, although we have to be a bit careful, given that we do not commission the work on the ground; the boroughs do. The money goes to the boroughs and they commission the work on the ground. For instance, there are a large number of boroughs doing work on gangs and a large number of boroughs doing work around drugs. Those projects are not exactly the same in all places. We have not done the forensic bit of, "This borough had X value out of it and this borough had Y", but we have encouraged them to learn from each other, to share best practice and to explore the successes with each other.

**Roger Evans AM:** Can you tell us what proportion of the grants have been awarded for more than one year?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** The vast majority. We invited people to bid for four years in the first instance and to say how that money would be spent across those four years. Most boroughs did that. Some were a little less certain about their subsequent years and that is also part of the process. Our constant communication is to check that what they thought they would be able to deliver in year one, they can. We awarded in 2013 and we expected them to go up to the end of 2016/17, which gives an opportunity for another bidding round next year.

**Roger Evans AM:** How do you make sure that the boroughs are not excluding smaller organisations? I know my colleague Mr Arbour [AM] thought that there was a potential here for the same organisations to continue to be funded all the time. I am sure you would want to reassure us about that.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** I cannot entirely because we do not absolutely make that decision. We do not force the boroughs to work with particular third parties, nor do we tell them that they must not.

**Roger Evans AM:** Not at all? You must exercise some sort of control.

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** We have exercised that at the beginning when we have approved the rollout. We have exercised the, "Is this feasible? Is this likely to work? How do you know it is going to work?" kind of test and, as I say, going through the process, we get the

regular feedback. I have somewhere in front of me one of the feedback forms that they fill in and they tell us how it is working. If organisations are clearly not delivering, one of the things that we will suggest to a borough is to maybe stop working with that organisation and to start working with another one.

**Roger Evans AM:** What about Drug Interventions Programme (DIP) funding? Do you have a clear direction with the health sector for dealing with that now?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** All boroughs are funding some form of drug intervention programme. They are doing it in different ways. At the same time we started doing the commission for the LCPF, the landscape changed around public health. As I recall it - and I have some figures - about 26 boroughs are funding drug intervention in part through money they get from us. Typically, what our money does is to leverage other people's money. What they are doing is taking some money from the LCPF, putting it in a pot, taking some money from the public health budget and funding drug intervention that way. The other boroughs - the other six - are funding it directly from their public health money and are doing other things with their LCPF money. They are effectively shunting the money around, but they are still paying for drug intervention programmes of one sort or another.

**Roger Evans AM:** Those six are taking that view because it is less of a problem for them or because it is so much of a problem that they have more expertise?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Off the top of my head, I do not know the answer to that question. I would have to rummage through and check which six they were. I suspect it is to do with what is available on the ground and the view of the director of public health and the joint needs analysis in the borough at the time, but I do not absolutely know that sitting here today.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** When we had this discussion initially about the DIP funding, there was some suggestion that MOPAC might need to get in some expertise or could leave the commissioning and that expertise where it was in the local boroughs. Is that what you have done?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Yes. Why reinvent the wheel, really? Now that directors of public health are part of the workforce within the local authority with their staff, they should either have that expertise or should have access to it through the health service. They are using their expertise there to commission the DIP locally. We also spend - it is probably just worth reminding the Committee - about £2.4 million on drug testing in police stations for people who are arrested or otherwise brought into a police station. That is separate from the DIP that local authorities are bringing people into, not all of which may be around offending. They will be funding the offending bit of it. There may be more money spent on drugs than we are aware of because we will only be, through the LCPF, funding that part of a drug intervention programme that is specifically focused around offenders or crime. They may choose to think it is a bigger problem in their area for other reasons and put money into it from other sources. It is possible.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** My understanding is that the indications about those budgets that local authorities have for public health are going to be drastically reduced. That is going to be an issue that you are going to have to grapple with, particularly as we try to shift the agenda to prevention, and the drug programmes are key to that. Is that something that has been highlighted to date with you?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** It is a familiar problem. This is a common problem. We know that public spending in general is going to be under pressure. We have a

range of things that we undertake through match funding and partnerships. We know our own funds are going to be under pressure and we know those of our partners are going to be under pressure. The question and the conversation that we are having around the table as we sit around is how we ensure that vital public services carry on being provided when every single partner is feeling the pressure on its own pocket?

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** You hold a pot of this money. Are you looking at perhaps pooling wider so that it is not just single boroughs but perhaps over larger areas?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Where boroughs are coming to us with propositions of that sort, we are absolutely welcoming it. It would not be right for us to make forced marriages, but where people are doing similar things we are encouraging them to work together, absolutely, yes. We are expecting more and more of that.

**Joanne McCartney AM (Chair):** Thank you. We have no further questions. Can I thank you, Helen, today as well for stepping in and answering those questions?

**Helen Bailey (Chief Operating Officer, Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime):** Thank you.