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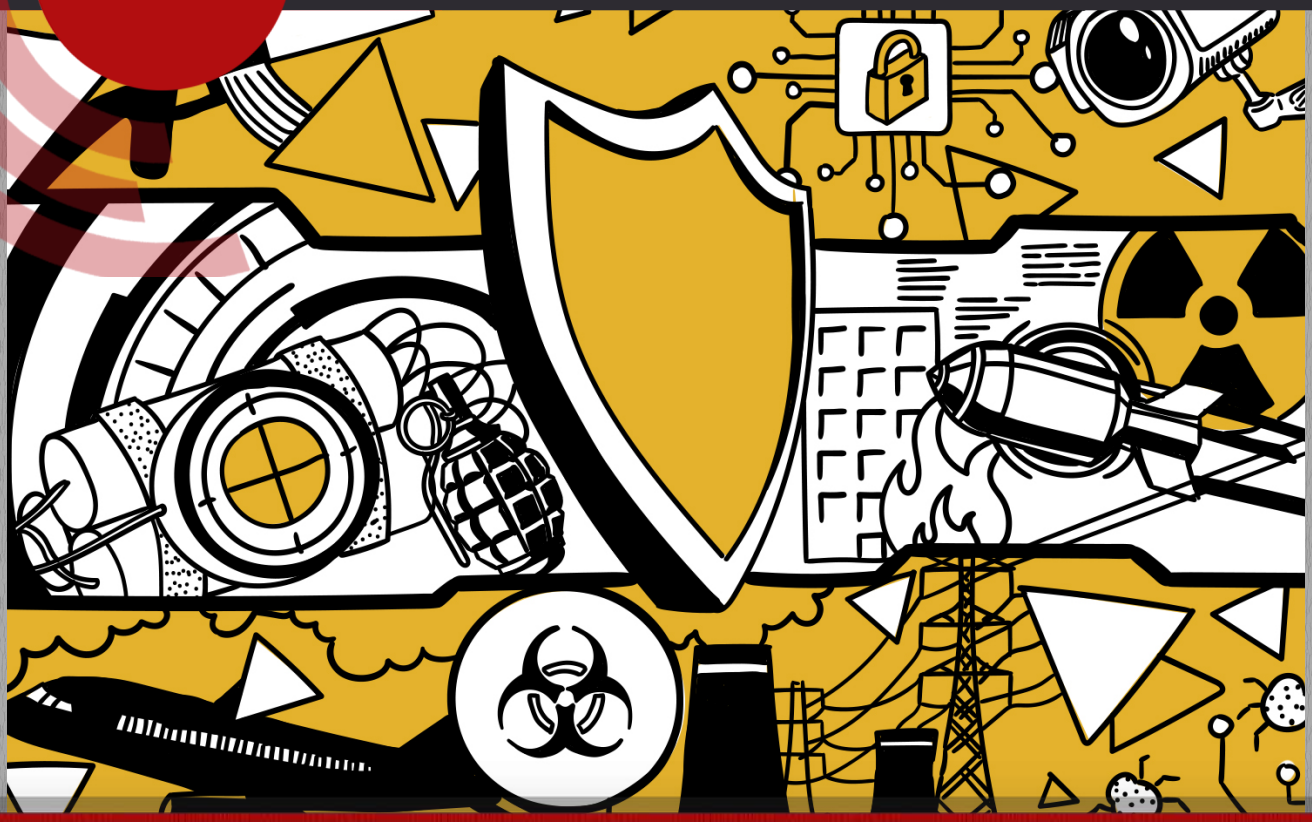

Lived Experiences of Contact with Counter-Terrorism Policies and Practices

FULL REPORT

JULY 2023

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This report was produced as part of a CREST project to inform the refresh of the CONTEST strategy. The project provides updates to the evidence base behind key CONTEST topics. You can find all the outputs from this project at: www.crestresearch.ac.uk/projects/contest

ABOUT CREST

The Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST) is a national hub for understanding, countering, and mitigating security threats. It is an independent centre, commissioned by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and funded in part by the UK security and intelligence agencies (ESRC Award: ES/N009614/1).

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

OVERVIEW

This guide explores empirical evidence relating to lived experiences of contact with counter-terrorism measures in the UK. It updates a previous CREST guide examining public experiences of the UK counter-terrorism system (Lewis & Marsden, 2020) and focuses on research published since 2020 (i.e., since the previous guide was published). This guide identifies the key findings from contemporary research; discusses how this research aligns with the conclusions of the previous guide; and discusses the key implications of these findings for research, policy and practice. By examining the different ways in which individuals and communities might experience the counter-terrorism system, the authors highlight the importance of policymakers considering both the intended and (potential) unintended effects of different approaches when designing and evaluating different counter-terrorism measures.

This report is organised by four themes examined in the previous guide: general perceptions of counter-terrorism measures; experiences of counter-terrorism measures at airports and other border crossings; experiences of counter-terrorism police stop and search; and experiences with Prevent and the Prevent Duty. These themes were selected to reflect areas of counter-terrorism that are most public facing, and which had been subject to the most robust research. In line with the previous guide, the effects of both direct (i.e., personal) and indirect (i.e., a broader awareness of another person's experiences) contact with such measures are examined so as to highlight the need for policymakers and practitioners to consider how the effects of counter-terrorism measures might extend beyond the individual(s) directly affected.

An additional section has been added to further explore these indirect effects by examining how counter-terrorism measures might impact the family members, friends and communities of individuals who have direct contact with the counter-terrorism system. This analysis is primarily based on research published between 2017 and 2022, although older studies are cited where relevant.

METHODOLOGY

This guide includes empirical studies examining direct and indirect experiences of contact with counter-terrorism measures. Keyword searches were undertaken in multiple academic search engines, including Scopus and Google Scholar to identify relevant research published since 2020.[1] Forward and backward citation searches of relevant studies identified in the previous CREST guide were also conducted. This guide primarily explores evidence from the UK, but also draws upon research conducted in other, comparable contexts. It includes studies that the authors have assessed to have robust methodologies, although limitations are explicitly stated where necessary.

STRENGTH OF EVIDENCE

This guide draws on 57 studies identified through the methods described above. This represents a relatively robust body of evidence, although research on some areas of counter-terrorism – particularly relating to Prevent and the Prevent Duty – is more comprehensive than for other measures.

1 Where relevant, research published between 2017 and 2020 not included in the previous guide is also included.

While a growing number of larger quantitative studies have been published in recent years, research relating to lived experiences of counter-terrorism measures continues to be dominated by smaller-scale qualitative studies that focus on the experiences of particular members of Muslim communities, or specific sub-sections therein. The results of these studies cannot therefore be considered representative of the general population, or of any specific communities. However, this research provides rich empirical data which demonstrates how counter-terrorism measures are directly and indirectly experienced, and can provide important context to the findings from larger quantitative studies.

The experiences of some groups – particularly those affected by counter-terrorism measures related to far-right extremism – remains under-researched. However, broader lessons related to the direct and indirect effects of counter-terrorism measures may have relevance beyond specific communities.

KEY FINDINGS

GENERAL EXPERIENCES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Relatively few studies relating to broader perceptions of counter-terrorism measures have been published in the past two years. Those studies that have been published continue to focus on the experiences of specific sub-groups of the population, particularly Muslim communities.

Research continues to highlight how counter-terrorism measures may be perceived to disproportionally target certain groups, particularly Muslim communities, and how concerns about such disproportionality may be linked to broader concerns about Islamophobia within society. Contemporary research pointing to these issues aligns with the conclusions drawn in the original CREST guide. Mixed-method and quantitative studies provide more robust evidence in support of earlier findings that were largely based on smaller-scale qualitative research.

Enhancing perceptions of procedural justice may help to mitigate some of the concerns raised in Muslim communities. Studies suggest perceptions of procedural justice may positively influence perceptions of police legitimacy and trust and willingness to cooperate with or support particular security measures. This is particularly true of specific interactions with authorities, such as airport security procedures or police stop and search.

EXPERIENCES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES AT (AIR)PORTS AND BORDERS

No empirical peer-reviewed studies specifically focusing on Schedule 7 stops in the UK have been published since 2020. Experiences of Schedule 7 stops are considered only briefly within broader discussions of counter-terrorism in a limited number of studies.

Contemporary research relating to broader experiences of counter-terrorism measures at airports and other border crossing was similarly lacking. The few studies that have been published since 2020 analyse the airport experiences of ethnic and/or religious minorities.

These studies highlight how indirect and direct experiences of counter-terrorism measures whilst travelling can have negative short and long-term psychological effects. Reflecting findings in the previous CREST guide, airports can be perceived by ethnic and/or religious minorities as particular sites of discrimination. Concerns about being potentially viewed with suspicion whilst travelling were found to drive some individuals to adapt their behaviour to try and avoid negative encounters.

Perceptions of procedural justice and the perceived fairness of particular security measures may positively influence willingness to cooperate with security measures, and may contribute to improved attitudes

towards these measures, reflecting findings in the previous CREST guide.

EXPERIENCES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE STOP AND SEARCH

Very little research has been published on Section 43 practices or the use of counter-terrorism stop and search more broadly since the previous guide was published. Recent research has focused on better understanding what influences racial and ethnic imbalances in the application of stop and search in the UK, and how racial profiling is experienced in European states.

Research examining experiences of non-counter-terrorism-related police stops can be applied to the counter-terrorism context, particularly given that research has illustrated how police stops may be perceived as being related to counter-terrorism, even when this is not explicitly the case.

Research in continental Europe finds people in socially discriminated against groups express concerns that counter-terrorism police stops are informed by ethnic, racial or religious profiling. Such findings – which align with the research conducted in the UK that was examined in the previous CREST guide – illustrate how such concerns can affect how individuals experience contact with the police.

Negative experiences of stop and search can affect attitudes towards the police and may harm trust in, and the perceived legitimacy of, the police. In contrast, perceptions of procedural justice may positively influence perceptions of stop and search experiences.

PREVENT AND THE PREVENT DUTY

Prevent continues to be the most widely-researched workstream of CONTEST. Research on Prevent is now increasingly drawing on quantitative data, continuing a trend first identified in the original CREST guide on public experiences of the UK counter-terrorism system.

The majority of relevant research published since 2020 has focused on the implementation of the Prevent Duty in educational settings, with a small number of studies focusing on healthcare.

There is a growing body of quantitative evidence to suggest that overt opposition to Prevent amongst the general population is muted, with the largest study to date reporting that 8 per cent of the general public held an unfavourable opinion towards it (ICM, 2020). However, this figure still represents a significant proportion of the population who hold concerns about the strategy.

The level of support and/or opposition towards the Prevent Duty identified in contemporary studies varies. Whilst some authors report that the majority of their respondents are unopposed to the Prevent Duty, other studies find that concerns are far more pronounced within some samples and/or communities. However, just because people are not opposed, does not necessarily mean they are overtly positive towards the Duty.

The effects of Prevent interventions remain under-researched. There is a clear evidence gap relating to the experiences of individuals supported through Prevent. Similarly, whilst the potential consequences (both intended and unintended) of Prevent interventions are widely discussed in the literature, more empirical research into these effects is needed in order to better understand how Prevent is experienced.

Key evidence gaps identified in the earlier CREST guide remain, particularly in relation to the experiences of individuals who directly come into contact with Prevent interventions.

A growing body of research has pointed to more negative perceptions of the Prevent Duty amongst pupils and students. These studies stand in contrast to research amongst educators, which has pointed to lower levels of concern about the impacts of the Prevent Duty. More research in this area is needed to understand whether and how the Duty is producing unintended consequences for young people.

THE DIRECT & INDIRECT EFFECTS ON FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES

Research examining how counter-terrorism measures are experienced and perceived by family members and others in close proximity to individuals directly affected is limited. Relevant research predominantly consists of smaller, qualitative studies, and data is often anecdotal.

Research has highlighted how families and local communities may be affected by two particular points of interaction with the counter-terrorism system: reporting of radicalisation; and raids and arrests.

- Research on the former is mixed. Some studies highlight the importance of engaging with families for effective prevention work, while others raise concerns that asking family members to perform this role may strain family relationships.
- Research on raids and arrests underscores the long-lasting impact these can have on others present in the household, especially children. Police raids can stigmatise and isolate those directly affected, but might also create a sense of vulnerability among others.

It is difficult to accurately understand the unintended consequences and harms that counter-terrorism measures might cause for friends, family members and communities. More research is needed to understand this issue so that appropriate steps can be developed to reduce this type of potential harm.

EVIDENCE GAPS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Overall, research continues to focus predominantly on the experiences and perceptions of those within Muslim communities. There is only a limited amount of research on the experiences of other population groups, or individuals within radical milieus that may come into contact with the counter-terrorism system, such as those within the extreme-right. More research examining the experiences and perspectives of diverse populations and groups will be important for understanding how and whether experiences differ across different communities, and how best to mitigate the unintended consequences or harms caused by these experiences in different contexts.

There has been little recent research into experiences of stop and search practices or airport security measures. There is a lack of research that analyses how experiences may have altered due to developments in policy and practice over time (e.g., changes to how extensively measures are used).

The effects of Prevent interventions remain under-researched. There is a clear evidence gap relating to the experiences of individuals supported through Prevent. Similarly, whilst the potential consequences (both intended and unintended) of Prevent interventions are widely discussed in the literature, more empirical research into these effects is needed. This will help to understand whether Prevent interventions are producing unintended or desired outcomes; whether and how intervention providers adequately consider and mitigate the potential negative effects of their work; and how interventions might be refined and improved.

More research is needed to understand the drivers of positive and/ or negative attitudes towards Prevent. This research could be used to examine the extent to which attitudes are being driven by lived experiences of the strategy, or by a broader awareness of the strategy, such as that gained through media reporting.

Where attitudes are found to be linked to lived experiences, this research could be used to identify areas of good practice, as well as issues that might need to be addressed. Where attitudes are found to be driven by a broader awareness, it could be used to inform messaging around the strategy.

Research into experiences of family members and close associates of those directly affected by counter-terrorism measures is limited and is primarily based on small-n, geographically limited, qualitative studies. This topic requires further study, utilising a broader

variety of methods. In particular, there is a need to go beyond anecdotal evidence to understand the potential harms that counter-terrorism measures might have on children and families, and how such harms might be minimised.

Lessons from research into public facing counter-terrorism measures could potentially be used to inform measures that are less public facing. By drawing on this evidence base, policy-makers and practitioners would be better placed to identify, and take steps to mitigate, the potential unintended consequences across the range of counter-terrorism measures currently in use.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are likely to be benefits from embedding the principles of procedural justice more explicitly into the counter-terrorism system. The importance of enhancing perceptions of procedural justice is a consistent theme across different sections of this guide. Taking concrete steps to improve perceptions of procedural justice – through, for example, training for frontline counter-terrorism professionals – would represent a workable and potentially effective approach for mitigating some of the negative effects of public-facing counter-terrorism measures.

Policymakers need to better understand and consider the potential indirect or secondary effects when developing counter-terrorism measures, and when evaluating their impact. Policy leads should commission research to better understand the indirect effects of different measures on families and communities so that they can better identify and take steps to mitigate these second order effects.

There is an unmet need to understand the process and impact of Prevent interventions. Very little is known about the intended and unintended effects of being referred to Prevent or of the outcomes of this process. Research able to identify the positive and negative effects of engaging with Prevent interventions will make it possible to improve provision where necessary and provide empirical evidence able to speak to the concerns that have been raised regarding the strategy.

A cautious and iterative approach should be taken when applying the lessons from research and practice on Islamist extremism to right-wing extremism. Although some aspects may be relevant, the evidence-based able to determine whether policy and practice is directly transferable has yet to develop.

More research is needed to understand the effects of recent changes in UK counter-terrorism policy and practice. This guide highlights how the delivery of various counter-terrorism measures has changed, but little is known about how these changes have been experienced or perceived by the public. Research examining changing experiences or perceptions would help interpret whether changes are producing positive or negative effects, and in turn help inform future policy developments.

1. INTRODUCTION

The UK's CONTEST counter-terrorism strategy consists of four workstreams: Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Prepare. Activities related to these different workstreams – ranging from preventive action to counter radicalisation, through to arrest and imprisonment for counter-terrorism offences – are supported by counter-terrorism legislation, including the Terrorism Act 2000 and the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015. These activities, and the legislation that supports them, may impact the public in different ways. Understanding how counter-terrorism measures impact the public is crucial to understanding their effectiveness.

By examining public experiences of different counter-terrorism measures, policymakers and researchers will be able to identify whether these measures are delivering their intended effects, but also if they are producing any unintended, harmful, or counter-productive, effects. This guide reviews empirical research on how different elements of counter-terrorism policy are experienced and perceived by those that come into contact with them, and outlines the implications of this research for those designing, delivering, and evaluating counter-terrorism measures.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE REPORT

This guide explores empirical evidence relating to lived experiences of contact with counter-terrorism measures in the UK. To do so, it draws on contemporary academic research conducted in the UK and other, relevant contexts, including studies from other European states, Canada, Australia, and Israel.

This guide updates a previous CREST guide examining public experiences of the UK counter-terrorism system (Lewis & Marsden, 2020) and focuses on research published since 2020 (i.e., since the previous guide was published). This report is organised by four themes examined in this previous guide: general perceptions of counter-terrorism measures; experiences of airport and border security; experiences of counter-terrorism police stop and search; and experiences with Prevent and the Prevent Duty.

These themes were selected because they relate to counter-terrorism measures that are public facing, and which have been subject to the most rigorous research. The guide discusses how the findings from these studies compare to those reported previously. The effects of both direct (i.e., personal) and indirect (i.e., a broader awareness of another person's experiences) contact with such measures are examined.

An additional section has been added to more explicitly explore how the effects of counter-terrorism measures might extend beyond the individual directly affected to assess the indirect effects on family members, friends and communities. This section primarily examines research published between 2017 and 2022, although older studies are cited where relevant.

The evidence discussed in this guide draws from the previous CREST guide and additional studies identified through searches carried out between June and August 2022. These literature searches involved keyword searches in academic databases including Scopus and Google Scholar, and forward and backward citation searches of relevant studies identified in the previous CREST guide.

Our literature searches identified a growing body of research that has examined the psychological effects experienced by first responders in the aftermath of responding to a terrorist event (e.g., Wesemann, Applewhite, & Himmerich, 2022). Whilst this literature did not fall within the scope of our analysis, we consider this an important area of research that warrants further exploration.

3. THE EVIDENCE BASE

3.1 THE STRENGTH AND COVERAGE OF THE EVIDENCE BASE

STRENGTH OF THE EVIDENCE

Research on this topic is now drawing on a wider range of methodologies, including a growing number of quantitative and mixed-method research designs. This increase in larger-scale quantitative research is a positive development as these studies have been able to capture the experiences and perceptions of a larger number of respondents. Several of these studies also use nationally representative samples which can be more accurately generalised to larger populations.

A small number also use experimental or quasi-experimental designs, which allow for statistical tests that can identify relationships between counter-terrorism measures and reported behavioural and psychological outcomes.

Smaller-scale qualitative studies continue to dominate the research. The results of these studies cannot be considered representative of larger populations. However, qualitative interviews provide rich empirical insights into how individuals and communities experience counter-terrorism measures, with qualitative accounts able to provide greater depth of information than typically captured by survey data.

Research predominantly focuses on the experiences and perspectives of Muslims and Muslim communities. Multiple studies analyse the impact of discrimination and stigma in relation to how counter-terrorism measures, and the police in particular, are perceived. In contrast, research into the experiences of non-Muslim communities is less extensive, which limits the conclusions that can be drawn regarding the lived experiences of other communities.

Increasingly, research is emerging from European countries that echoes previous findings from UK-based studies, suggesting that there are internationally shared themes relating to perceptions and experiences of counter-terrorism, and that evidence drawn from these countries is relevant to the UK.

COVERAGE OF THE RESEARCH

Prevent, and the Prevent Duty, continues to receive considerable amounts of scholarly attention, far surpassing the other aspects of the UK's CONTEST strategy. This research is complemented by studies examining the experiences of counter-radicalisation programmes in other countries.

Academic interest in Schedule 7 stops and Section 43 stop and search practices appears to have receded. There are several potential explanations for this, including the reduction in their use, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the operation of such powers, and research saturation.

Research examining how counter-terrorism measures are experienced and perceived by family members and others in close proximity to individuals directly affected is limited. However, research has highlighted how families and local communities may be affected by two particular points of interaction with the counter-terrorism system: reporting of radicalisation; and raids and arrests.

Procedural justice continues to be tested as a factor that can impact experiences of the counter-terrorism system. Evidence of the positive effects of procedural justice continues to grow.

Research cited in this guide largely supports the conclusions drawn in the previous CREST guide on Public Experiences of the UK Counter-Terrorism

System. Whilst recent research is limited for some areas of policy – particularly relating to Schedule 7 and Section 43 – contemporary research is in line with our previous conclusions.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Whilst the authors consider the overall strength of evidence to be strong, there are a number of important limitations in the evidence base that should be considered when reading this report, including:

- Research into some elements of counter-terrorism – particularly related to Prevent and the Prevent Duty – is far more comprehensive than for other areas;
- Research relating to some counter-terrorism measures – most notably the experiences of individuals supported through programmes like Channel – is entirely absent;
- The continued dominance of smaller samples means that the findings of many studies cannot be considered representative of larger populations; and
- The diversity across and within different communities in the UK means that the experiences of specific local communities may not reflect the experiences of broader communities.

Where relevant, the analysis that follows will discuss the specific limitations of individual studies when interpreting results. However, despite these limitations, the overall conclusions presented in this report are based on solid empirical evidence drawn from studies that the authors assessed as being robust.

3.2. DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE PREVIOUS REPORT

The COVID-19 pandemic caused societal disruption that inevitably impacted scholarly research in the years since our previous guide. The significant impact of the pandemic on people's ability to travel – especially across international borders and through airports – and the public health measures relating to travel may have influenced how people experience counter-terrorism policies relating to travel and public congregation. The potential knock-on effects of the pandemic on experiences and perceptions of Schedule 7 interactions and police stop and search practices seem particularly relevant for this report. We therefore speculate that the pandemic may have led to a reduction in research focusing on these aspects. Additionally, the pandemic may have impacted researchers' ability to gather original data for empirical studies, particularly for methods requiring in-person contact with study participants.

A very limited amount of research on Schedule 7 stops and police stop and search practices has been published since the previous report. In addition to the potential impact of the pandemic, these measures have been in place for a long time and have received a substantial amount of academic attention, with perceptions of research saturation perhaps impacting academic interest in these areas. Additionally, these aspects of policy and practice may attract less attention from researchers because the policies, or the manner in which they are implemented, may have changed. Specifically, the use of Schedule 7 and Section 43 stops has significantly declined over the past 10 years (Hall, 2022, p. 44; p. 61).

4. ANALYSIS

4.1. OVERVIEW

The analysis that follows is organised around five themes: four themes examined in the previous CREST guide, and one new theme that has been added to further explore the lived experiences of family and community members directly and indirectly affected by counter-terrorism measures.

- Section 4.2. General Experiences of Counter-Terrorism Policies and Practices
- Section 4.3. Experiences of Counter-Terrorism Measures at (Air)ports and Borders
- Section 4.4. Experiences of Counter-Terrorism Police Stop and Search
- Section 4.5. Experiences of Prevent and the Prevent Duty
- Section 4.6. The Direct & Indirect Effects of Counter-Terrorism on Families and Communities

4.2.GENERAL EXPERIENCES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICIES AND PRACTICES

4.2.1. OVERVIEW

This section covers research examining how the public perceives and experiences counter-terrorism measures. While the rest of the sections in this guide explore specific areas of policy or practice, this section examines public perceptions of counter-terrorism more broadly. It first provides a brief recap of relevant findings from the first CREST guide, before examining research published in the two years since it was published.

This section includes relevant studies from beyond the UK, reflecting the lack of UK-focused research on this topic published since 2020. It concludes by discussing whether this more recent research aligns with the conclusions and evidence gaps identified in the original guide.

Key Findings

- Relatively few studies relating to broader perceptions of counter-terrorism measures have been published in the past two years. Those studies that have been published continue to focus on the experiences of specific sub-groups of the population, particularly Muslim communities.
- Research continues to highlight how counter-terrorism measures may be perceived to disproportionally target certain groups, particularly Muslim communities, and how concerns about such disproportionality may be linked to broader concerns about Islamophobia within society. Contemporary research pointing to these issues aligns with the conclusions drawn in the original CREST guide. Mixed-method and quantitative studies provide more robust evidence in support of earlier findings that were largely based on smaller-scale qualitative research.
- Enhancing perceptions of procedural justice may help to mitigate some of the concerns raised in Muslim communities. Studies suggest perceptions of procedural justice may positively influence perceptions of police legitimacy and trust and willingness to cooperate with or support particular security measures. This is particularly true of specific interactions with authorities, such as airport security procedures or police stop and search.

4.2.2. KEY FINDINGS FROM PREVIOUS CREST GUIDE

The previous CREST guide highlighted the following key findings relating to public perceptions and experiences of counter-terrorism measures (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 7).

- "There are many different ways that the public can experience the counter-terrorism system, which makes it difficult to generalise about broader experiences.
- Muslim and/or BAME [Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic] communities often have more direct and indirect experiences of the counter-terrorism system and appear to be more concerned about its potential effects.
- The counter-terrorism system can have a range of short and long term psychological, emotional and behavioural effects on those who have more direct experience of, and indirect engagement with, it. Examples of such effects include feelings of fear, the embarrassment of victimisation when travelling, or a desire to modify one's behaviour and/or appearance to avoid similar experiences in the future.
- Both personal experiences, as well as knowledge of others' experiences, can have similar impacts."

The analysis that follows illustrates that many of these themes continue to be reflected in the most contemporary research relating to public perceptions and experiences of counter-terrorism measures.

4.2.3. OVERVIEW OF NEW STUDIES

Relatively few studies relating to broader perceptions of counter-terrorism measures have been published in the past two years. Those studies that have been published predominantly focus on the experiences of specific sub-groups of the population, most commonly Muslim communities. However, a small number of studies have begun to explore the experiences of other populations (e.g. Pilkington & Hussain, 2022).

Research continues to be dominated by smaller-scale qualitative studies. However, a number of quantitative or mixed-method studies have been published over this period which are in line with the conclusions in the previous CREST guide. This includes data pointing to links between broader concerns about Islamophobia and concerns about counter-terrorism (Welten & Abbas, 2021); and links between procedural justice – a belief that one has been treated in a just and fair way during an interaction with the police or other authorities – and positive attitudes towards police (Madon et al., 2020).

Reflecting the lack of UK-focused research of general experiences and perceptions of counter-terrorism since 2020, this section includes studies from countries with comparable counter-terrorism contexts, such as European states, Canada and Australia.

4.2.4. ANALYSIS OF NEW STUDIES

Research Amongst Communities Disproportionately Affected by Counter-Terrorism Measures

Individuals interviewed for recent studies expressed concerns about the disproportionate impact of counter-terrorism policies on their communities. Whilst the views of a relatively small number of respondents cannot be considered representative of their communities, findings from research in North America and mainland Europe align with those reported in the previous CREST guide which highlighted how concerns about counter-terrorism may be more pronounced amongst particular groups:

- Canadian anti-terrorism measures were felt to disproportionately target Muslim communities by 90 per cent of Muslim community leaders and experts (n=95) (Nagra & Monaghan, 2020),[2]

2 Data drawn from a separate paper based on this same study is discussed in the previous CREST guide.

whilst 94 per cent expressed concerns about current counter-terrorism policies. A prominent concern was the perceived conflation between Islam and terrorism in public consciousness and policy.

- The disproportionate effects of counter-terrorism policies on certain groups were highlighted in focus groups (n=115) with individuals who belonged to communities 'that were a particular focus or target of counter-terrorism and counter-radicalisation measures' in five mainland European countries: France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Spain (Choudhury, 2021).

Concerns about counter-terrorism policies often appear to be linked to broader concerns about Islamophobia in society.[3] This effect has been noted in mainland Europe. Welten & Abbas' (2021) mixed-method study in the Netherlands – consisting of 15 interviews with Muslim community leaders and 102 surveys completed by members of mosques in The Hague – identified a negative correlation between concerns about religious discrimination and the perceived efficacy of pre-emptive measures. Overall, respondents perceived Dutch counter-terrorism policies to be counter-productive.

- The less respondents felt able to practice their religion without judgement, the less effective they perceived pre-emptive interventions to be.
- A statistically significant relationship was identified between the survey variables 'I am aware of the negative perceptions of Islam' and 'I am aware of the security measures against radicalisation', suggesting that those more aware of counter-radicalisation programmes were likely to be more alert to negative attitudes towards Islam. There was also a positive correlation between perceptions of prejudice and perceptions of heightened police presence.
- One interviewee expressed a positive attitude towards the AIVD (Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service) and the policy of cooperation with Muslim communities, claiming to have regular contact with an AIVD contact. However, survey variables of 'effective policies' and 'active cooperation with AIVD & NCTV' received the lowest ranking of all indicators, and other interviewees denied knowing any mosques receiving regular or positive contact.

Individuals who are specifically targeted by counter-terrorism measures have argued that such measures are ineffective. UK measures were generally seen as either counter-productive or ineffective by respondents in ethnographic research into 'Islamist' and 'extreme-right' milieus in the UK. Based on 39 interviews with members of these distinct milieus Pilkington and Hussain (2022) found:

- Respondents from among the Islamist milieu felt Muslim communities and mosques are targeted, with some perceiving counter-terrorism measures as 'racist' or 'Islamophobic'.
- Interviewees from the extreme-right milieu perceived online and offline strategies prohibiting the expression of particular ideas to be counter-productive, with one participant suggesting that limiting the ability to share such views might lead individuals to pursue other, more violent, ways of expressing their anger.[4]

Procedural Justice and Inclusivity

Two new studies point to the importance of procedural justice in enhancing positive perceptions of the police. These studies both analyse perceptions of counter-terrorism measures in relation to procedural justice

3 Two additional studies also examine how opinions towards Muslim communities (Williamson & Murphy, 2022) and the potential drivers of radicalisation (Kunst et al., 2021) correlate with attitudes towards specific counter-terrorism measures. However, these studies focus on perceptions as opposed to direct/ indirect contact and so are not discussed in detail here.

4 Pilkington & Hussain's (2022) study receives further detailed analysis in section 4.5 on Prevent.

among Muslims in Australia. The findings support the research cited in the previous CREST report on the impact of procedural justice on lived experiences of counter-terrorism.

- Counter-terrorism measures that are inclusive of Muslims and seek to partner with Muslim communities, and those drawing on the core principles of procedural justice, were perceived most favourably in focus groups carried out with 104 Australian Muslims. Such measures were also perceived by respondents to be most likely to promote police legitimacy. Counter-terrorism measures that adhered to procedural justice aspects of respect, voice and neutrality were considered most important, while perceived violations of bounded-authority concerns[5] were considered the most controversial and harmful to police legitimacy (Ali et al., 2022).
- A survey of Muslims in Australia (n=502) found that respondents who were presented with a vignette describing a police traffic stop in the wake of a suspected terrorist incident that was conducted in a procedurally just way reported higher levels of trust in the police than those presented with a similar vignette in which the stop was conducted in a procedurally unjust way. Importantly, this analysis also found that the effect of procedural justice on trust was weaker for individuals reporting stronger concerns about stigmatisation (Madon et al., 2022).

These studies lend further support to the conclusion of the previous CREST guide that '[m]aintaining and ensuring high levels of procedural justice is crucial for maintaining the legitimacy of the counter-terrorism system' (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 5).

4.2.5. CONCLUSIONS

Given the small number of relevant studies published since the previous guide was written, it is perhaps unsurprising that more recent research largely confirms the findings of our previous analysis. Counter-terrorism measures may be perceived to disproportionately target particular population groups and communities – notably those within Muslim communities – and perceptions of procedural justice may impact police legitimacy and support for counter-terrorism measures. However, it is important to note that mixed-methods and quantitative studies examining these issues provides support for previous conclusions which were largely based on smaller-scale qualitative research. Also, new research conducted in European states, Canada and Australia, reflects previous findings from the UK, suggesting there may be similarities in experiences among particular communities internationally.

4.3. EXPERIENCES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES AT (AIR)PORTS AND BORDERS

4.3.1. OVERVIEW

This section assesses research on the experiences and perceptions of counter-terrorism measures at airports and ports, with a specific focus on Schedule 7 stops at UK Airports. Schedule 7 stops are often cited as one of the most common points of contact with the UK counter-terrorism system (e.g., Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011). Consequently, they have received a considerable amount of scholarly attention compared to other aspects of counter-terrorism policy. This section provides a brief recap of this research from the previous guide, before reviewing recently published research. It concludes by discussing whether this more recent research aligns with the conclusions identified previously.

5 'Bounded-authority' concerns refer to expectations about police respecting acceptable boundaries of authority.

Key Findings

- No empirical peer-reviewed studies specifically focusing on Schedule 7 stops in the UK have been published since 2020. Experiences of Schedule 7 stops are considered only briefly within broader discussions of counter-terrorism in a limited number of studies.
- Contemporary research relating to broader experiences of counter-terrorism measures at airports and other border crossing was similarly lacking. The few studies that have been published since 2020 analyse the airport experiences of ethnic and/or religious minorities.
- These studies highlight how indirect and direct experiences of counter-terrorism measures whilst travelling can have negative short and long-term psychological effects. Reflecting findings in the previous CREST guide, airports can be perceived by ethnic and/or religious minorities as particular sites of discrimination. Concerns about being potentially viewed with suspicion whilst travelling were found to drive some individuals to adapt their behaviour to try and avoid negative encounters.
- Perceptions of procedural justice and the perceived fairness of particular security measures may positively influence willingness to cooperate with security measures, and may contribute to improved attitudes towards these measures, reflecting findings in the previous CREST guide.

4.3.2. KEY FINDINGS FROM PREVIOUS CREST GUIDE

The previous CREST guide (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 10) highlighted the following key findings relating to Schedule 7 and related measures used in the UK and overseas:

- "Individuals from Muslim and/or BAME communities are more likely to be subjected to Schedule 7 stops.
- Individuals may perceive themselves as having had contact with the counter-terrorism system beyond official counter-terrorism stops, with other forms of surveillance and screening also having significant impacts on individuals.
- For Muslim and BAME travellers, personal experiences of being stopped and knowledge of others' experiences may perpetuate a belief that airport security practices – including, but not limited to counter-terrorism stops – discriminate against their communities, which can amplify their unintended effects.
- Maintaining procedural justice can mitigate some of the negative effects of perceptions and experiences of Schedule 7 stops."

4.3.3. OVERVIEW OF NEW STUDIES

We found very little empirical research on experiences of Schedule 7 stops published since 2020. However, there is some evidence to suggest that the use of this power has reduced over time. The most recent report from the Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation reported that the COVID-19 pandemic had impacted the use of Schedule 7 examinations (Hall, 2022). It also outlines how the use of Schedule 7 had been declining for some time prior to 2020. The number of recorded stops fell from 65,684 in 2010/11 to 11,876 in 2018 and then 9,540 stops in 2019, representing an 84 per cent drop since 2012 (Hall, 2022, pp. 61-62). We speculate that these trends, alongside the impact of the pandemic, may have affected the amount of academic attention Schedule 7 has received in recent years.[6]

Contemporary research examining broader experiences of counter-terrorism measures at airports and other border crossings is similarly limited. The few studies that have been published since 2020 largely support the findings of the previous CREST guide as outlined above. Several of the studies reviewed below refer to data collected several years before 2020. For instance, Wood and Raj's (2021) study relies on data from 2011-2015, Perry and Hasisi's (2020) data was collected in 2013-2014, and Uddin et al.'s (2022) data collection was conducted in 2017. This may be one reason why the findings highlighted here resonate with those of previous studies, and the previous CREST guide, but may perhaps also indicate a decline in academic interest and original research carried out on this issue.

4.3.4. ANALYSIS OF NEW STUDIES

Schedule 7 Stops in the UK

It is not possible to comment in depth on the use or effects of Schedule 7 stops based on research published since 2020, as references to Schedule 7 in this research are largely anecdotal. For example:

- One counter-terrorism practitioner interviewed by Brady (2021, p. 82) stated that Schedule 7 had been "extraordinarily effective," but was sometimes viewed as "irritating for some travelers [sic]" and a potential hindrance. This interviewee was positively contrasting Schedule 7 against Section 44 legislation, which he considered to have been "counter-productive, because it produced no benefits."[7] Brady's mixed-methods analysis of UK counter-terrorism strategies included 11 interviews with counter-terrorism practitioners and experts. Whilst useful, this

6 Similar trends are reflected in Home Office (2022) statistics on the use of counter-terrorism powers.
7 The police previously had the power to stop and search individuals under Section 44 of the Terrorism Act 2000.

study does not, therefore, capture the first-hand experiences of members of the public.

- Sabir (2022) discusses the negative psychological effects resulting from his own experiences of being repeatedly stopped at airports years after his wrongful arrest for a counter-terrorism offence. This autobiographical account is invaluable for highlighting both how Schedule 7 stops can be deeply distressing, and how repeated exposure to such measures can produce a cumulative effect. Sabir's description of his own experiences offers a detailed, qualitative insight into the impact of Schedule 7 stops that will benefit from being further explored through larger scale qualitative research.

It is difficult to conclude whether the findings reported in the previous CREST guide continue to reflect experiences since 2020. Whilst it was noted above that the number of Schedule 7 stops has declined over time, this does not necessarily mean that concerns about its use have also declined.

Broader Research on Experiences at Airports

Only four studies published since 2020 were identified that examine the effects of interactions with counter-terrorism security measures at airports in the UK, Australia and in mainland Europe. All of these studies explore the experiences or perceptions of ethnic and/or religious minorities, three of which specifically focus on the experiences of Muslims.

Airports were identified as 'a space where Muslims find their religious identity becomes a proxy for terrorism risk and so encounter discriminatory surveillance' in Choudhury's (2021, p. 48) research into experiences across five countries in mainland Europe (n=115). These findings resonate with UK-based studies cited in the previous CREST report which demonstrate that experiences of security practices at airports are often perceived by those belonging to ethnic or religious minority groups as discriminatory, particularly in relation to visible identity markers.

> **"As a Turkish Muslim with a beard I have been checked thoroughly. I thought to myself, 'What is going on here?' I am a completely normal person like everyone else. All my other friends went through security normally. When I wanted to go through I was taken aside. There was a classmate behind me wearing a headscarf. She was taken into a room. She later told me that she was frisked everywhere […]. Well, ok, bad things have happened before. But you don't have to control every person so hard"**
>
> **(German Muslim focus group participant, cited in Choudhury, 2021, p. 48).**

Research in the UK has pointed to similar experiences at airports. One survey of 457 British Muslim students conducted in 2017 (Uddin et al., 2022) identified airports as a specific location in which respondents experienced discrimination from both the public and from security staff. This finding is exemplified by the below quotations from two survey respondents:

> **"People always move away from you on public transport. At events where there is security, my bag is checked more thoroughly than others. Airports are the worst; you are singled out for a 'random search'. I've had more random searches than I can remember"**
>
> **(Black British, Female respondent, cited in Uddin et al., 2022, p. 88)**
>
> **"Airport security - I get touched everywhere multiple times, I get questioned about what I'm doing, why I'm visiting somewhere, how long I'm going for, etc. I've also been detained and taken to a completely secluded room**

> **where I've been tapped down again and again, and had many security checks. People just stare."**
>
> **(Asian, Female respondent, cited in Uddin et al., 2022, p. 84)**

Perceptions of racial profiling at airports were also identified in a survey of 709 university students in England. 96 per cent of respondents (all aged 18-30 years old) agreed with the current level of security checks at airports (Wood & Raj, 2021). However, the authors identify a 'a significant difference between how white and non-white respondents perceive airport security towards ethnicity' (p. 278). Triggering a metal detector was generally a prerequisite for a full-body scan (at the time of data collection) but the analysis revealed a higher perception that non-White respondents are selected for full-body scanning because of their ethnicity, rather than triggering the metal detector. Whilst based on older data collected between 2011 and 2015 which was not specifically related to counter-terrorism, this study again highlights how specific security measures might be experienced as discriminatory.

Research from Australia illustrates how experiences of surveillance at airports can prompt changes in behaviour. This aligns with one of the central findings of the previous CREST guide. Almost two-thirds of a sample of 268 Australian Muslims reported being personally checked at airports 'most times' (35.4%) or 'sometimes' (29.2%) when they travel, compared to 35.4 per cent who had not previously been searched (Dover et al., 2020). Those with a prior history of being searched were more likely to report changing their behaviour when travelling. This includes changes such as distancing oneself from others; changing one's religious appearance; and adjusting behaviours in public spaces to avoid being viewed with suspicion. The authors of this study conclude that respondents 'who were most of the time personally subjected to security checks at airports had a significantly higher risk of changed behaviour compared with their counterparts who were not checked at these airports' (Dover et al., 2020. p. 42).

Procedural Justice, Professionalism and Fairness Perceptions

Recently published studies point to the importance of procedural justice and related concepts. For example, two studies conducted in Israel highlighted how perceptions of being fairly treated by airport security staff might moderate some of the negative effects of perceived discrimination at airports:

- Perceptions of procedural justice positively impacted passengers' willingness to cooperate with security staff in a survey among 1970 passengers at Israel's Ben-Gurion airport, surveyed between 2013 and 2014. The findings initially revealed ethnicity to have a significant influence on willingness to cooperate with security. Israeli Muslim passengers – referred to as a 'suspect community' in the article – were less willing to cooperate than Israeli Jews. However, when controlling for perceptions of procedural justice and legitimacy, the opposite was true, with Israeli Muslims found to be more willing to cooperate than Israeli Jews (Perry & Hasisi, 2020).
- A quasi-experimental study also conducted at Ben Gurion airport found that the removal of a security practice that disproportionately targeted ethnically Arab citizens (and foreign passengers) was effective in improving attitudes towards airport security among Arab Israeli citizens (Hasisi et al., 2021). Passengers were first surveyed when the practice of publicly opening and searching suitcases subjected to additional screening was still in place in 2013 (n=410) and then a second round surveyed passengers after the procedure had been removed in 2015 (n=296). This finding is particularly notable as research cited in the previous CREST guide found that the practice in question was perceived

as a source of humiliation and undermined trust in airport authorities.

4.3.5. CONCLUSIONS

Few studies relating to experiences at airports and other border crossings have been published since 2020. There is some overlap between recent studies and the conclusions of the previous guide: studies highlighting perceptions that counter-terrorism measures at airports are discriminatory towards Muslims receive further support, as do findings underscoring the importance of procedural justice as a factor influencing how interactions are experienced and perceived. However, it is not possible to comment on whether recent experiences mirror those identified in research prior to 2020 based on the research available, although there is no evidence to suggest that earlier findings are no longer applicable.

4.4. EXPERIENCES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE STOP AND SEARCH

4.4.1. OVERVIEW

This section assesses research on the experiences and perceptions of counter-terrorism stop and search measures, including stops conducted under Section 43 of the Terrorism Act 2000. Although national figures are not available, data from the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) shows that the use of Section 43 has declined year-on-year since 2018: 366 people were stopped and searched by MPS in the year ending 31 March 2022, down from 513 in the previous year, and 808 in 2018 (Home Office, 2022).

As discussed in the previous CREST guide (Lewis & Marsden, 2020), individuals may perceive their experience of being stopped by the police to be linked to counter-terrorism even when this is not explicitly the case. This type of perceived contact with counter-terrorism legislation is not captured by official statistics, but it can affect how individuals experience and perceive the counter-terrorism system more broadly. Despite an apparent decrease in the use of this power, it is therefore important to consider how individuals experience both actual and perceived counter-terrorism police stops, particularly as the previous CREST guide noted that stop and search practices were one of the most common experiences discussed in research on counter-terrorism.

Before reviewing recently published research, the next section provides a brief recap of the research discussed in the original guide to provide an overview of the wider evidence base. It concludes by discussing whether more recent research aligns with the conclusions and evidence gaps identified in the original guide.

Key Findings

- Very little research has been published on Section 43 practices or the use of counter-terrorism stop and search more broadly since the previous guide was published. Recent research has focused on better understanding what influences racial and ethnic imbalances in the application of stop and search in the UK, and how racial profiling is experienced in European states.
- Research examining experiences of non-counter-terrorism-related police stops can be applied to the counter-terrorism context, particularly given that research has illustrated how police stops may be perceived as being related to counter-terrorism, even when this is not explicitly the case.
- Research in continental Europe finds people in socially discriminated against groups express concerns that counter-terrorism police stops are informed by ethnic, racial or religious profiling. Such findings – which align with the research conducted in the UK that was examined in the previous CREST guide – illustrate how such concerns can affect how individuals experience contact with the police.
- Negative experiences of stop and search can affect attitudes towards the police and may harm trust in, and the perceived legitimacy of, the police. In contrast, perceptions of procedural justice may positively influence perceptions of stop and search experiences.

4.4.2. KEY FINDINGS FROM PREVIOUS CREST GUIDE

The previous CREST guide (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 13) highlighted the following key findings relating to experiences of counter-terrorism stop and search powers:

- "While there has been less research into experiences of stop-and-search outside of airports, qualitative research suggests experiences and effects mirror those relating to Schedule 7.
- Although religion and ethnicity are predictors of being stopped-and-searched, neither in isolation is a sufficient predictor. Nevertheless, perceptions of being targeted based on religious identity and ethnicity can be just as damaging as more overt forms of discrimination.
- Maintaining procedural justice is a crucial way of mitigating these effects. However, perceptions of personal or community-wide victimisation can undermine feelings of procedural justice, and support for police counter-terrorism powers."

4.4.3. OVERVIEW OF NEW STUDIES

Very little has been published on Section 43 practices in the UK, or the exercise of counter-terrorism stop and search practices in other countries, since the previous CREST guide was published in 2020. The independent reviewer of UK terrorism legislation, Jonathan Hall QC, reported in the latest review (2022) that there has been a long-term reduction in the use of Section 43 stops, which we speculate may have contributed to the reduction in academic focus on this topic. In addition to finding no new empirical research explicitly studying Section 43 stops in the UK, or related stop and search practices in other countries, research often fails to distinguish between counter-terrorism stops and police stops conducted for other purposes. This may be due to study respondents not knowing or being informed about the precise reason for the stop. To address these limitations, what follows draws on relevant research on stop and search practices from beyond the counter-terrorism context. It also includes research on police

stops from beyond the UK, particularly from other European countries.[8]

Given the lack of contemporary research, this section also considers recently published work that is founded on older data. Although there is a notable lack of data collection on experiences of stop and search practices in the last few years, there is little reason to consider older research as outdated, as individual experiences of stop and search may not have changed significantly, even if counter-terrorism stop and search measures are now used less by UK police.

4.4.4. ANALYSIS OF NEW STUDIES

Community Experiences of Police Stop and Search in the UK

Recently published analysis supports previous research pointing to the indirect effects of police stop and search practices amongst communities that experience higher rates of police stops. Abbas' (2021) qualitative data (n=26) suggests Muslims living in particular areas of Britain marked by higher rates of stop and search may experience fear and vulnerability about potentially being stopped by police. These fears can lead to some people adjusting their behaviours. As one of Abbas' respondents reports: some Muslims try to avoid being 'outwardly Muslim' (p. 390). This supports earlier analysis by Abbas (2019a; 2019b) reported in the previous CREST guide.

Stop and search practices are implemented differently in different parts of the United Kingdom, reflecting distinctive socio-political contexts. Based on a review of literature and official statistics relating to stop and search in Northern Ireland, Topping and Bradford (2020) note that perceptions of ethnic profiling in police stops are perhaps less of a concern in Northern Ireland compared to other parts of the UK. However, their research points to the potentially disproportionate use of stop and search against young males in socio-economically deprived areas and highlights how the cumulative use of the powers may damage legitimacy and trust in the affected communities. The authors note that while stop and search has reduced in England, Wales and Scotland, non-terror-related rates have remained high in Northern Ireland but have received far less scrutiny. Unlike other studies that often conflate counter-terrorism-related stops with other stops, this research explicitly focuses on the use of non-counter-terrorism stop and search powers by the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI).

Discrimination and Profiling in Europe

Research from mainland Europe echoes previous findings from the UK, pointing to concerns about perceived religious and/ or racial profiling in counter-terrorism policing. Choudhury's (2021) qualitative study exploring experiences among people at heightened risk of discrimination in France, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Spain (n=115) echoed previous findings from the UK reported by the same author (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011). Choudhury's (2021) report identified widespread perceptions that racial, ethnic or religious profiling influences selection for police stops and questioning in all five countries. Some respondents had also personally experienced an increase in police stops following terror attacks, which further supported perceptions of being profiled.

- Choudhury's study also provides some evidence to suggest that stop and search can be experienced as a form of state surveillance, particularly for young Muslim men. Respondents recalled how experiencing multiple police stops, particularly when in a group, left them with the sense they were being watched. The study emphasises the cumulative effect of repeated stops, citing one respondent in Spain who stated that "it is something that weighs you down more and more every time" (p. 53).

Perceptions of racial profiling in police stops can contribute to psychological distress and stigmatisation.

8 Although the use of counter-terrorism stop and search measures has been reducing, this may not necessarily be the case for other types of police stops. For instance, for a recently published study of Section 60 police stops, see Ali and Champion's (2021) report for Criminal Justice Alliance.

Several studies – albeit not specifically focused on counter-terrorism police stops – have pointed to these negative effects amongst different groups:

- A systematic review of empirical studies of police stops in Spain since 2000 (n=32) – including academic sources, governmental and third-sector reports, mainly large-n quantitative studies utilising surveys – found that racial profiling influenced police stops, particularly affecting people from North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe and Roma communities (Arenas-García & García-España, 2022). The study found that most police stops of individuals from minority groups occur on the street, and this public interaction contributes to stigmatisation and sustains prejudices that criminalise minority groups.
- Qualitative research into the effects of racial profiling and discriminatory police practices in Switzerland reported that the majority of interviewees (n=30) had experienced feelings of fear, shame, humiliation and a loss of dignity during or immediately after a police stop, whilst others had felt devalued. Respondents also shared more persistent effects including long-term self-isolation and exclusion from public spaces, whilst others reported having a lack of trust in, and a fear of, the police (Plümecke et al., 2022).[9]

These recently published studies of stop and search practices and experiences from European states do not explicitly focus on counter-terrorism measures, and the political, cultural and security contexts vary considerably from one country to another. However, they resonate with previous findings from the UK that underline how negative experiences of interactions with police, and perceptions that stop and search practices target particular ethnic or religious communities, can impact both individuals and minority communities.[10]

Procedural Justice, Police Legitimacy and Trust

Stop and search practices can negatively affect attitudes towards the police, and may negatively impact young people's trust in the police and perceptions of police legitimacy. A study investigating experiences of stop and search among young people in two Scottish and two English cities, utilising data from the Third International Self-Report Delinquency Survey, found that the Scottish sample – experiencing more stop and search interactions than respondents in England – held more negative attitudes towards the police and considered the police to be less procedurally fair than English respondents. The study found that perceptions of legitimacy and trust may be damaged by experiences of stop and search and found support for procedural justice theory (Murray et al., 2020).

Procedural justice has again been identified as a key factor influencing perceptions of the police. The previously cited review of evidence concerning police stops in Spain (Arenas-García & García-España, 2022) highlighted studies that assessed police stops through the lens of procedural justice theory. These studies find that unsatisfactory or neutral encounters with police correlated with worsened perceptions of legitimacy, and people who perceived they had been stopped in a discriminatory way expressed less confidence in reporting crimes to the police, partly due to a loss of trust. Evidence revealed that willingness to cooperate with police suffers when people believe they have experienced an injustice.

9 Recent research by Schclarek Mulinari & Keskinen (2022) also focuses on the issue of racial profiling in European states. It analyses two studies of racial profiling in Sweden and Finland, drawing on data from individual interviews (n=8) and five focus group interviews (participants n=28) in Sweden plus interviews in Finland (n=145, plus 26 police officer interviews). The research includes people's accounts of experiences of racial profiling that reinforce, what the authors term, a 'racial welfare state'. However, it is primarily theoretical and stop and search practices are referred to only briefly, revealing little about their respondents' experiences.

10 Perceptions of safety from police practices may also be influenced by racial differences. A US-based study investigating police stop and search's impact on feelings of safety found differences between Black and White Americans. Utilising data from the 2016 General Social Survey (n=2,876), the study found that White respondents reported feeling safer when police were conducting stops and searches, but Black respondents reported decreased feelings of safety (Mulaphong & Cheurprakobkit, 2021).

Exploring Disproportionality

Two studies have illustrated how biases (unconscious or conscious) and stereotypes might contribute to racial and ethnical imbalances in the application of stop and search in the UK:

- One mixed-methods study found that the use of stop and search powers can be informed by stereotypes about age, appearances, and social class (Minhas & Walsh, 2021). Following an analysis of over 2,100 stop and search records held by an English police force, and 20 interviews with police officers from the same force, the study also found a disproportionate rate of stop and search amongst Black, Asian and Mixed ethnicity communities.
- A related study analysing data on 36,000 searches by 1,100 officers of an English police force concluded that the over-representation of Black and Asian people relates to both the actions of individual officers over-searching ethnic minorities but also the over-patrolling of minority areas (Vomfell & Stewart, 2020).

4.4.5. CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the research published in the past two years does not challenge the main conclusions drawn in the previous review of stop and search measures (Lewis & Marsden, 2020). Most notably, there is further evidence that perceptions of stop and search seen to disproportionately target one's own community, or be informed by racial or religious profiling, can affect how individuals experience contact with the police, and can undermine trust in, and engagement with the authorities. Whilst evidence specifically relating to counter-terrorism remains limited, research on experiences of police stops outside counter-terrorism can be usefully applied to the counter-terrorism context. This is particularly the case as police stops may be perceived as being related to counter-terrorism, even when this is not explicitly the case.

4.5. PREVENT AND THE PREVENT DUTY

4.5.1. OVERVIEW

This section assesses research on the experiences and perceptions of the Prevent workstream of the UK's CONTEST strategy, including the Prevent Duty. Prevent is the best known of the different aspects of CONTEST and continues to attract considerable scholarly attention. This section incorporates research from beyond the UK that relates to the aims of the Prevent strategy, including findings from comparable approaches to preventing and countering radicalisation in European states.

This section begins with a brief recap of earlier research on Prevent and the Prevent Duty examined in the previous CREST guide to provide the reader with an overview of the existing evidence base, before reviewing recently published research. It concludes by discussing whether this more recent research aligns with the conclusions and evidence gaps identified in the original guide.

Key Findings

- Prevent continues to be the most widely-researched workstream of CONTEST. Research on Prevent is now increasingly drawing on quantitative data, continuing a trend first identified in the original CREST guide on public experiences of the UK counter-terrorism system.
- The majority of relevant research published since 2020 has focused on the implementation of the Prevent Duty in educational settings, with a small number of studies focusing on healthcare.
- There is a growing body of quantitative evidence to suggest that overt opposition to Prevent amongst the general population is muted, with the largest study to date reporting that 8 per cent of the general public held an unfavourable opinion towards it (ICM, 2020). However, this figure still represents a significant proportion of the population who hold concerns about the strategy.
- The level of support and/or opposition towards the Prevent Duty identified in contemporary studies varies. Whilst some authors report that the majority of their respondents are unopposed to the Prevent Duty, other studies find that concerns are far more pronounced within some samples and/or communities. However, just because people are not opposed, does not necessarily mean they are overtly positive towards the Duty.
- The effects of Prevent interventions remain under-researched. There is a clear evidence gap relating to the experiences of individuals supported through Prevent. Similarly, whilst the potential consequences (both intended and unintended) of Prevent interventions are widely discussed in the literature, more empirical research into these effects is needed in order to better understand how Prevent is experienced.
- Key evidence gaps identified in the earlier CREST guide remain, particularly in relation to the experiences of individuals who directly come into contact with Prevent interventions.
- A growing body of research has pointed to more negative perceptions of the Prevent Duty amongst pupils and students. These studies stand in contrast to research amongst educators, which has pointed to lower levels of concern about the impacts of the Prevent Duty. More research in this area is needed to understand whether and how the Duty is producing unintended consequences for young people.

4.5.2. KEY FINDINGS FROM PREVIOUS CREST GUIDE

The previous CREST guide (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 16) highlighted the following key findings relating to Prevent and the Prevent Duty:

- "Opposition to Prevent and the Prevent Duty may be less pronounced than qualitative research has often suggested. However, a significant proportion of the general public still hold concerns.
- Challenges faced by individuals tasked with delivering Prevent as part of their professional function – such as challenges in assessing risk or in engaging communities – have been widely studied.
- Far less is known about how individuals who have been supported through Prevent have experienced programmes such as Channel. However, Prevent can have impacts that extend beyond those directly engaging with the programme, particularly in the specified authorities of the Duty."

The analysis that follows highlights how the key conclusions and evidence gaps identified in the original guide as outlined above continue to be reflected in research published between 2020 and 2022.

4.5.3. OVERVIEW OF NEW STUDIES

Prevent continues to be the most widely-researched workstream of CONTEST. The largest body of post-2020 research identified during the literature searches relates to Prevent, and the Prevent Duty in particular. This includes entirely new studies (e.g., Lakhani & James, 2021), as well as more comprehensive analyses of studies that were examined in the original CREST guide (e.g., James, 2022).

Research on Prevent continues to be dominated by smaller-scale qualitative studies. However, research examining attitudes towards Prevent is increasingly drawing on quantitative data (e.g., ICM, 2020; Clubb et al., 2022; Uddin et al., 2022), continuing a trend identified in the original CREST guide

Experiences of direct contact with Prevent programmes remain under-researched. No robust evidence has been identified that relates to contact with programmes such as the UK's Channel or Desistance and Disengagement Programme.

4.5.4. ANALYSIS OF NEW STUDIES

Attitudes Towards Prevent

Survey data suggests that opinions towards Prevent remain generally favourable, but that a significant minority of the public are concerned about its potential effects. Results from two surveys published since 2020 support our earlier conclusion that '[l]evels of overt opposition to Prevent are low but a significant proportion of the population hold some concerns about it' (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 17.)

The largest survey identified (ICM, 2020) found that 58 per cent of a general population sample who had heard of Prevent (n=1,464) were favourable towards Prevent, whilst 8 per cent were unfavourable. However, there were several sub-group differences (Table 1). Most notably, whilst British Muslims (n=103) were generally favourable towards Prevent, they were nearly twice as likely to express an unfavourable opinion.

Sample (Those who had heard of Prevent)	Net Favourable (Very/ Mainly Favourable)	Net Unfavourable (Very/ Mainly Unfavourable)
General public (n=1,464)	58%	8%
British Muslims (n=103)	58%	15%
Students (n=516)	52%	8%
Teachers (n=502)	71%	6%
Healthcare professionals (n=250)	63%	5%

Table 1: Net favourability towards Prevent (ICM, 2020)

Other insights from ICM's (2020) survey include the finding that higher levels of knowledge about Prevent were associated with more favourable attitudes, which might point to the potential benefits of knowledge-building activities related to Prevent. The ICM study also found that the total sample was more favourable towards work with at risk individuals (i.e., Channel) than towards work to rehabilitate terrorist offenders – although overall levels of favourability were still high for both strands (74% and 66% respectively).

Levels of positivity towards Prevent were even more pronounced in survey research conducted by Clubb et al. (2022). 72 per cent of respondents (n=266) presented with a neutral description of Prevent were supportive of the strategy, with only 5 per cent were opposed.[11] 61 per cent of a separate sample (n=249) presented with a fictitious negative news story about Prevent expressed support for the strategy, although levels of opposition were three times higher than for the neutral description (14%).[12]

Clubb et al.'s (2022) survey finds that most individuals were willing to make a referral to Prevent, lending further support to our previous conclusion that '[f]riends and family members are willing to report an individual to the authorities under the right circumstances' (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 7):

- Around 60 per cent of the total sample (n= 515) said they would be likely to make a referral to Prevent if they suspected that a friend or family member was being radicalised – regardless of whether they were presented with a neutral or negative description of the Prevent strategy. The authors argue that their findings have implications for communications campaigns:
    a. Clubb et al. (2022) note that these results would suggest that 'that the impact of a 'negative' news story may be overstated' on the basis that 'exposure to a negative description of Prevent only leads to a small decrease in attitudinal and behavioural support for Prevent when compared to a 'neutral' definition of Prevent' (p. 5).
    b. In turn, they argue that because 'support for Prevent remains high even following negative coverage', 'communications should be less concerned with critiquing groups, newspapers and academics who oppose Prevent' (p. 6)
- However, a significant proportion of respondents presented with the neutral (17%) and the negative (19%) description of Prevent stated that they would be unlikely to make a referral, highlighting that barriers to reporting identified in the original guide remain relevant.
- Qualitive data collected by Andrews (2020) identifies specific concerns relating to this reporting function. Four of the twelve Muslim and secular BME women interviewed saw the expectation that women might have to report their children to Prevent 'as a form of spying' (p, 194). These respondents reported that they 'did not want to work with Prevent but considered that overtly resisting the imperative to watch to be something too dangerous to do' (p. 194).

> **The negative effects of [refusing to engage with Prevent] were reported as experiencing harassment from Prevent officers, inviting suspicion upon the family, the possibility of losing employment, and the fear that family courts might remove the children of non-compliant families**
>
> **(Andrews, 2020, p. 194)**

11 Description: "Working with community organisations, the police deliver a programme called Prevent. Prevent is a voluntary, confidential, early intervention programme to prevent all forms of violent extremism, including both Islamist and right-wing extremism. Taking part in Prevent doesn't go on someone's criminal record".

12 Respondents were presented with a mocked-up newspaper article with the headline "Local - [age] - Referred to Controversial Prevent Programme". The main body of this fictional article read: "A [age] year old local male has been referred to the Prevent programme when he was seen reading what looked like an extremist book. However, the case was not taken any further when it was revealed the book was related to his studies. Prevent aims to prevent terrorism by identifying those who are vulnerable to extremism. Critics say Prevent is discriminatory against Muslims, spies on communities, and has been counter-productive in preventing terrorism.".

- Notably, four of the respondents to Andrews' study 'gave tentative support to the idea of women's education to counter extremism' (2020, p. 196), but felt that Prevent was not the correct vehicle for delivering this type of work. Four respondents were also critical of Prevent-funded communications campaigns designed for women that were seen as infantilising and depoliticising women in ways that re-enforced gendered stereotypes about their role in society.

It is important not to overlook the concerns held by a significant minority of the population, particularly as qualitative studies highlight how such concerns might be elevated within some communities – especially those with specific experiences of Prevent. For example:

- Research cited in the previous guide highlighted how engagement with Prevent might create community divisions. Abbas' (2019b) interviews with 26 members of Muslim communities in Yorkshire found 'disputes over its validity had led to divisions between community members who had engaged with Prevent and those refusing to do so' (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 17).[13]

- Similar concerns have been identified in newly-identified studies. For example, members of Muslim communities in England interviewed by Qurashi (2018) expressed concerns about potentially being surveilled by local organisations that had accepted Prevent funding.[14]

- One member of an Islamist milieu interviewed by Pilkington and Hussain (2022) described his belief that he had been reported to counter-terrorism police by people he knew, despite his own opposition to terrorism. The authors of this study argue that this suspicion of one's own community appeared to 'confirm Abbas' (2019) understanding of how Muslim communities are co-opted into the process of 'suspectification' (p. 23).

> **Whether it was parents changing the youth club their child attended after learning it received Prevent funding, or young Muslims feeling unable to openly and freely discuss the politics of the 'war on terror', or express their religiosity and culture (by, for example, growing a beard, wearing a hijab, or wearing traditional clothes), there were underlying tensions.**
>
> **(Qurashi, 2018, p. 10).**

- Eight out of 12 Muslim and secular BME women interviewed by Andrews (2020) discussed how 'Prevent had such a chilling effect on them that it resulted in self-censorship of their speech' (p. 199). This study also discussed how 'self-censorship is also imposed upon children' by mothers keen to ensure that their child 'does not expose themselves to suspicion' (p. 199).

- Whilst the above evidence is largely anecdotal, it highlights how individuals who perceive themselves to be targeted by Prevent might be concerned about its potential effects.

Several studies discuss how those who believe they are targeted by Prevent see the current approach as potentially counter-productive. Concerns of this nature have been identified amongst different communities, including members of Islamist and extreme-right milieus:

- Members of Islamist and extreme-right milieus (n=39) interviewed by Pilkington and Hussain (2022) 'saw themselves as the targets of

13 Abbas (2021) explores this theme further in a recent book chapter which discusses how Prevent may affect 'intimate relations between family members of the suspect group' (p. 379).
14 This paper states that it is based on 'interviews, focus groups, and participant observations', although the total sample size is not listed. As a result, it is not possible to assess the methodological strength of these findings.

preventative counter-terrorism measures that were either ineffective and/or counterproductive' (p. 20). Potential issues of this nature discussed in this article include the risk that some restrictions might 'push people into more radical actions' (p. 21) and how concerns about being linked to individuals who had become radicalised might inhibit community members from discussing, and ultimately intervening, in such cases.

- Similarly, none of the 21 Muslim, secular BME, and right-wing women interviewed by Andrews (2020) felt that Prevent was effective. Respondents from all groups felt unfairly targeted by Prevent, and believed the strategy was flawed – albeit for different reasons: 'Either it is Islamophobic or it neglects secular women and their rights' (p. 211). Despite their differences, the majority of the sample were united by an unwillingness to engage with Prevent.

Concerns over the negative features of preventative policies are not restricted to the UK. Research in mainland Europe identifying similar concerns about the disproportionate impacts of counter-radicalisation policies on Muslim communities:

- Respondents from five European countries shared similar concerns about counter-radicalisation policies being disproportionately focused on, and unduly affecting, Muslim communities (Choudhury, 2021). Drawing on focus groups (n=115), this research documents 'frequent and numerous instances of the religious practices, beliefs and views of Muslims attracting the attention of security actors and prompting investigation and questioning' (p. 58).
- Welten and Abbas (2021) identify a belief that government bodies in the Netherlands 'target Muslim communities on purpose' (p. 112), based on interviews with 15 Muslim community figures and a survey of 102 respondents from eight mosques. Such concerns contributed to a belief that government-led approaches were ineffective, and in turn to several mosques setting up their own counter-radicalisation programmes, illustrating that criticism of policy does not preclude individuals from engaging in efforts to counter-radicalisation.

> **Muslim communities in The Hague believe that they carry out the deradicalisation intervention without the aid of the security services, whose policies are deemed by interviewees as inverted – in the process, inflicting more damage than "good" to the community as a whole.**
>
> **(Welten & Abbas, 2021, p. 111).**

Direct Experiences with Prevent Interventions

The experiences of individuals and communities directly affected by Prevent are under-researched. This is an important gap as there is insufficient evidence by which to assess whether interventions such as Channel are having positive effects, or are producing any negative effects for individuals, families or communities, and whether these could be mitigated or addressed by those designing and delivering interventions.

Only one academic study published since 2020 was identified that had interviewed individuals supported through Prevent: the two individuals interviewed for this study had been referred to Prevent for extreme-right-wing views (Pilkington & Hussain, 2022). Interestingly, these individuals reported contrasting experiences; whilst one was positive about the support that they had received, the other had been 'disappointed in the minimal contact or support he received from his mentor' (p. 24).

The Prevent Duty – Educational Experiences

Research on The Prevent Duty in Education

The largest body of contemporary research identified focuses on the operation of the Prevent Duty in schools, colleges and universities. The evidence base relating to this aspect of the UK counter-terrorism system is more robust than for other areas examined in this guide, and covers a broader range of topics including perceptions of the Prevent Duty amongst educators and young people; experiences with Channel referrals; and specific challenges posed by far-right extremism in the educational context.

Educators' Perceptions of the Prevent Duty

Research continues to suggest that the vast majority of educators have accepted the framing of the Prevent Duty as safeguarding. Most notably, 74 per cent of teachers (n=502) interviewed by ICM (2020) agreed that the Prevent Duty was part and parcel of their safeguarding duties.

Widespread acceptance of the safeguarding framing is also consistent across a number of qualitative studies interviewing educators working in different stages of education. This includes da Silva et al.'s (2022) survey of 345 primary school educators and Prevent Education officers; Lewis' (2021) interviews with 32 secondary school educators and 14 Prevent practitioners; and James' (2020) interviews and focus groups (n=95) examining the implementation of the Duty in Further Education.[15]

Opposition to the Prevent Duty is generally muted across the research, although some educators remain concerned about its potential effects. Overt opposition to the Duty is generally low across most studies, as reflected in the ICM (2020) survey in which one per cent of teachers expressed a 'very unfavourable' opinion towards the Duty. However, lower levels of concern are often present:

- Educators who are broadly supportive of the Prevent Duty have at times expressed concern about the potentially detrimental effects it might have; most notably its potential to disproportionately affect Muslim pupils (e.g., Lewis, 2021; James, 2020). This is most clearly demonstrated by Weedon's (2021) interviews with 17 educators working in the South-West of England which found that '[e]ven those otherwise supportive of Prevent signalled the policy's inherent danger as a means to facilitate the targeting of certain groups' (p. 173).
- Educators have expressed discomfort at being asked to deliver the Prevent Duty. For example, Weedon's (2021) survey of 75 educators working in the South-West of England found an even split between respondents who held concerns about educational institutions being asked to deliver the Prevent Duty (40%) and those who did not (38.7%). And, whilst 41.3 per cent were comfortable in implementing Prevent, 32 per cent expressed some discomfort.

Concerns about a potential 'chilling effect' are present but are a minority view in most studies. The majority of teachers (n=502) interviewed for the ICM (2020) survey felt that the Prevent Duty had not contributed to a 'chilling effect' in the classroom (Table 2). However, around one quarter felt that the Prevent Duty had negatively affected freedom of speech, and relationships with students.

15 Earlier analyses of data from all three studies cited here are referenced in the previous CREST guide. The references here relate to updated analyses that have been completed since 2020.

Sample	Agree	Disagree
Teachers: Prevent has negatively affected freedom of speech in the classroom (n=502)	23%	53%
Teachers: Prevent undermines the trust/ relationship between myself and my students (n=502)	23%	56%

Table 2. Educators' perceptions of a potential chilling effect in the classroom (ICM, 2020) [16]

Other studies suggest that opinions about the extent to which the Prevent Duty restricts classroom discussion are more mixed. In some studies, concerns of this nature are less pronounced. For example, only 8 per cent of 75 educators surveyed by Weedon (2021) reported that the Duty had made discussion of controversial topics less likely, compared to 28 per cent who reported that such discussions had become more likely. However, opinions are more divided in other studies. For example, Lockley-Scott's (2020) analysis of interviews (n=27) and surveys (n=84) with secondary school staff identified disagreements about Muslim pupils' ability to speak freely as 'a main division' in this sample (p. 171).

One further notable finding from Lockley-Scott's (2020) study is the observation that 'a few of the Muslim teachers felt directly affected by the Prevent strategy' and felt anxiety about potentially being 'regarded or misinterpreted as extreme' (p. 242). Whilst the strength of such concerns is difficult to determine, this study further highlights how concerns about the Prevent Duty might be more pronounced amongst educators from different backgrounds, aligning with the findings of research cited in the previous guide (see Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 18).

Student Perceptions of the Prevent Duty

Attitudes towards the Prevent Duty appear to be mixed amongst students and pupils. Interestingly, the ICM (2020) survey found that concerns about a potential chilling effect were less pronounced amongst students (n=516) than amongst teachers (n=502), with around one-in-ten students agreeing that Prevent had negatively impacted their ability to talk freely in class/ lectures (Table 3).

Sample	Agree	Disagree
Students: Prevent has negatively impacted my ability to talk freely in class/lectures (n=516)	12%	57%
Students: Prevent has negatively impacted my fellow students' ability to talk freely in class/lectures (n=516)	11%	53%

Table 3. Students' perceptions of a potential chilling effect in the classroom (ICM, 2020)[17]

16 There are discrepancies between the main body of the report and the data tables. The figures cited in this table are drawn from the data tables, which can be found in the report's appendix.
17 There are discrepancies in some of these figures between the main body of the report and the data tables. The figures cited in this table are drawn from the data tables, which can be found in the report's appendix.

However, every study that interviewed students found some evidence of a chilling effect. Importantly, levels of awareness of the Prevent Duty appear to vary across different samples. Whilst some concerns are specifically related to Prevent, others are informed by concerns about broader biases in society, or some combination of the two. As noted in the previous guide, these issues are inter-related, and so it is important to consider how they intersect in ways that might contribute to a chilling effect.

This intersection is particularly evident in Lockley-Scott's (2020) analysis of focus groups (n=65) and questionnaires (n=242) completed by secondary school pupils, which found that 'many Muslim pupils censor themselves some of the time' (p. 240). Similarly, James (2020) discusses how one Muslim student in further education felt that 'her Muslimness positioned her at greater risk than her peers in engaging in [controversial] debates' (p. 228). James also notes how students had 'recalled experiences of conversations around terrorism and extremism that did occur within the classroom which were perceived to have been shut down by teachers' (p. 226).

Recent studies suggest that concerns about Prevent specifically are more pronounced amongst university students. Although, these findings should be considered alongside survey data presented in the previous guide which found that only 'nine per cent of students (14% of Muslim students) agreed that Prevent was damaging to university life' (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 17). For example:

- 59 per cent of a sample of 457 Muslim students agreed that: 'I feel the government's Prevent legislation has impacted negatively on Muslims' (Uddin et al., 2022). 33 per cent of this sample also 'cited negative examples of Prevent, for themselves or others' (p. 86) relating to, for example, assemblies that framed starting to wear a hijab as a potential sign of radicalisation.
- Negative opinions towards Prevent were widespread in a survey of 152 university students (91.4% of whom self-identified as Muslim) Abbas et al. (2021). Nine-in-ten respondents agreed with the statements 'the Prevent policy operates on Islamophobic ideas and stereotypes' (91.4%); 'the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities has been introduced to increase surveillance of the Muslim student community' (90.8%); and 'the Prevent policy has increased the level of anxiety experienced by Muslim students at university' (91%). Qualitative responses to the survey also pointed to concerns about being misidentified as extremist, and associated efforts to self-censor opinions and/or appearance to avoid being viewed in this way.
- Muslim students interviewed by Zempi and Tripli (2022) expressed concerns that Prevent 'creates a 'surveillance' culture on campus' (p. 6). Whilst the authors do not quantify what proportion of their sample (n=25) expressed these concerns, their discussion of this issue is supported by quotes from five different respondents.

> **'We need to think twice before we speak. We can't really express our views on certain topics like British troops in Syria or campaign for Palestine solidarity on campus in case anything we say is taken out of context. This has happened to other Muslim students, so we need to be careful.'**
>
> **(Respondent interviewed by Zempi & Tripli, 2022, p. 7).**

- Pilkington & Acik (2020) identify a belief amongst a sample of 27 young Muslims in the UK that 'the statutory obligations attached to the Prevent duty [are] central to the institutionalisation of misrecognition' of Muslims as a suspect community. This study is notable as

it discusses both how some respondents felt that the Prevent Duty had closed down debate, but had also motivated several respondents to engage in activism against Prevent.[18]

- Activism spurred by opposition to the Prevent Duty is also discussed in research drawing on interviews conducted between 2015 and 2017 with 30 people living or working in Tower Hamlets (Balazard & Peace, 2022). An opposing view is discussed by the respondents to Zempi and Tripli's (2022) study, who felt that the Prevent Duty had 'constrained Muslim students' activism on campus' (p. 8).

Referrals

Research suggests that most educators remain willing to refer individuals to Prevent under the right circumstances, although direct experiences of Prevent-related concerns are limited. A number of studies discuss specific examples of Prevent referrals – both warranted and unwarranted (e.g., James, 2020; Lewis, 2021), although the number of referrals made by individual institutions varies widely. Contemporary research aligns with the findings of the previous guide in illustrating how educators often rely on 'instinct' when identifying potential radicalisation (Lakhani & James, 2021; Lakhani, 2020).

Decision-making around referrals can be a source of anxiety. For example, James (2020) discusses how such decisions can place a 'huge emotional burden' on educators who are simultaneously concerned about protecting their students, but also the 'potential risk of being wrong or of placing an innocent person in a potentially securitised realm' (p. 252). Such a burden is illustrated by one educator interviewed as part of a separate study interviewing Prevent practitioners and educators (n=39) in Sussex (Lakhani & James, 2021). Reflecting on a past referral, they noted:

> **"it did upset me for a couple of days to think was he really of this type of ilk and did he really believe in this stuff? Like that really upset me".**
>
> **(Educator cited in Lakhani & James, 2021, p. 79)**

Teachers in Britain were found to more likely to formally refer students, and more confident in knowing how to respond, in cases of suspected radicalisation than teachers in Denmark. Parker et al.'s (2021) survey of teachers in both countries (n=2,173) presented respondents with one of three fictional radicalisation scenarios representing behaviour, objectively speaking, of low, medium, or high concern.

- Teachers in both countries were more likely to take formal action (e.g., referring internally; referring directly to Prevent/ the authorities, etc.) when presented with scenarios describing more objectively concerning behaviour.
- Across all three scenarios, British teachers were more likely to take formal action, whilst Danish teachers were more likely to engage in informal intervention.
- There was some indication of over-reporting in Britain, and under-reporting in Denmark. British teachers presented with the low concern scenario – an individual who had recently converted to a new religion, and who seemed influenced by leaders of this new group – were 27 per cent more likely to take formal action than their Danish counterparts. In contrast, formal reporting intentions for the medium and high-concern scenarios were lower amongst Danish respondents than amongst those in Britain. The authors hypothesise that the Prevent Duty might have led to the over-reporting of lower-level concerns, but a reduction in the under-reporting of more serious concerns.

18 Elsewhere, Pilkington et al. (2021) expand this discussion of misrecognition by examining the experiences of this sample of UK respondents, as well as respondents in Germany, Estonia and Russia.

- Teachers in Britain, on average, reported higher levels of confidence in knowing how to respond appropriately to the different scenarios, which the authors again hypothesise may be linked to training delivered in the wake of the Prevent Duty.

The effect that being identified as potentially at risk of radicalisation has on students remains under-researched. However, a number of studies provide anecdotal evidence of these impacts.

- Secondary school pupils interviewed by Lockley-Scott (2020) discussed an incident where a teacher had reported pupils to senior staff for viewing a video that had been shared on social media in the wake of the London Bridge terror attack. The author identifies 'a significant sense that the teacher had let them down by reporting them' (p. 208), which in turn had led to a breakdown in trust between the students and their teacher.
- A university student interviewed by Abbas et al. (2021) discussed how being wrongly referred to Channel had 'caused so much confusion that they suffered from paranoia, with a lasting effect on their life' (p. 11).

> **[The Channel referral] changed me; it made me suffer from paranoia. Very paranoid. It created a lot of confusion in my mind. Like why me? Why am I being referred? Why am I being harassed, why am I being harassed?**
>
> **Respondent quoted by Abbas et al., 2021, p. 11)**

- Whilst anecdotal, such incidents highlight the negative psychological effects that being misidentified as at risk of radicalisation might have on individuals.

Far-Right Extremism and the Education Sector

Research on the Prevent Duty specifically focusing on far-right extremism is growing. The issue of far-right extremism is discussed throughout the empirical literature on the Prevent Duty. Studies have highlighted how, for example, concerns of this nature are more prevalent for educators working in specific areas of the country (e.g., Lewis, 2021). Two recent studies have specifically discussed the challenges that educators might face when seeking to tackle this specific form of extremism.[19]

There are some concerns about using the language of 'British Values' in relation to far-right extremism. Several educators interviewed by James (2022) discussed how notions of Britishness 'whether through intention or not, fed directly into the same sense of nationalism that was promoted through Far-Right ideologies' (p. 133).

There are concerns about the normalisation of far-right viewpoints in British society. Educators and practitioners (n=39) working in Sussex (Lakhani & James, 2021) discussed a number of challenges relating to the mainstreaming of far-right views in public discourse.

- Educators felt generally more knowledgeable of issues relating to far-right compared to other forms of extremism. However, as the authors note 'being more knowledgeable about far-right extremism, as compared to other forms of extremism, should also not be conflated with being well-enough informed.' (p. 81).
- The mainstreaming of hateful rhetoric was seen to make it difficult to distinguish between 'what is considered to be far-right extremism as opposed to other racially motivated hate or hateful rhetoric' (p. 76). This was considered to complicate what might warrant a Prevent referral – a point

19 The issue of young people being attracted to far-right ideologies is also increasingly being discussed within broader public discourse. See, https://www.theguardian.com/education/2022/aug/04/teachers-fear-missing-signs-far-right-radicalisation-pupils-england.

on which some Prevent practitioners appeared to disagree when, for example, discussing the distinction between a Prevent issue and a hate crime.

- Prevent practitioners discussed how an institution's threshold for a far-right referral was sometimes too low, as indicated by individuals being referred for racist incidents, whilst other respondents felt that the threshold for a far-right referral was likely to be higher than for Islamist extremism given the mainstreaming of hateful rhetoric.

The Prevent Duty – Healthcare Experiences

The ICM (2020) survey points to differences between teachers and healthcare providers in regard to their support for the Prevent Duty:

- Teachers (n=502) were more positive towards Prevent (71% favourable) than healthcare professionals (63% favourable), reflecting trends identified in academic studies cited in the previous guide that pointed to differing levels of positivity across the two sectors.
- Teachers (n=502) were more likely to agree that the Duty was part and parcel of their safeguarding duties (74% vs. 64%); that they were confident that their level of knowledge of Prevent was sufficient to fulfil their duty (60% vs. 40%); and that they were well supported in their organisation to deliver the Prevent Duty (62% vs. 37%) than healthcare providers (n=250).
- Whilst our previous guide hypothesised that differing levels of support might be linked to different professional standards relating to confidentiality (Lewis & Marsden, 2020, p. 20), the majority of healthcare professionals did not agree that Prevent violated patient confidentiality. However, levels of agreement with this statement were still substantial, with one-in-five healthcare professionals (18%) surveyed suggesting that the Prevent Duty might come into conflict with this professional standard (ICM, 2020).

Sample	Agree	Disagree
Prevent is not in keeping with patient confidentiality rules (n=250)	18%	50%
Prevent undermines the trust/ relationship between myself and my patients (n=250)	14%	54%

Table 4. Data relating to potential effects on healthcare relationships (ICM, 2020)[20]

20 There are discrepancies in some of these figures between the main body of the report and the data tables. The figures cited in this table are drawn from the data tables, which can be found in the report's appendix.

Some empirical studies continue to raise ethical concerns about the integration of Prevent and healthcare. Most notably Aked et al.'s (2021) analysis of Vulnerability Support Hubs – multi-agency partnerships between counter-terrorism policing and NHS mental health professionals – uses referral data and anecdotal data drawn from a small number of real life cases to highlight a series of ethical concerns such as mental health assessments being completed in the presence of the police, and issues relating to confidentiality (e.g., counter-terrorism police contacting GPs for patient records).

This report also notes that, when controlling for population size (based on 2011 census data), referral data obtained through FOI requests shows 'A racialised Muslim is at least 23 times more likely to be referred to a mental health hub for 'Islamism' than a white British individual is for 'Far Right extremism' (Aked et al., 2021, p. 7).[21]

4.5.5. CONCLUSIONS

The comparatively large body of research published since 2020 supports the conclusions drawn about Prevent and the Prevent Duty in the previous CREST guide. Quantitative research suggests that overt opposition to Prevent is limited, whilst continuing to highlight that a significant minority of the population retain concerns about its potential and actual effects.

Unfortunately, the evidence base relating to direct experiences with Prevent interventions remains largely anecdotal, although experiences of young people who are directly or indirectly affected by the Prevent Duty are increasingly being researched. This emerging body of research is somewhat distinct from the other studies discussed in this section, as the findings are less positive. As many of these studies are based on small samples, further research amongst young people will be important to understand how the Prevent Duty is affecting students and pupils, and to identify examples of good practice that might support positive outcomes and/or help to mitigate against the potentially negative outcomes discussed in this section. Such research would also help policymakers and practitioners to identify issues on-the-ground that might otherwise be overlooked, and to take appropriate steps to address such issues.

4.6. DIRECT & INDIRECT EFFECTS ON FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES

4.6.1. OVERVIEW

This section reviews research on the experiences and perceptions of people indirectly affected by counter-terrorism interventions, focusing on family members, acquaintances and others close to individuals that directly encounter the counter-terrorism system. This section primarily focuses on two aspects of counter-terrorism for which relevant research was identified – (i) community reporting of suspected extremism, and (ii) arrests and raids conducted by counter-terrorism police. It discusses how these counter-terrorism measures can negatively affect family members and friends in different ways, and the importance of considering such effects when designing and delivering these measures.

Beyond the immediate family impact, this section also reviews literature which examines how counter-terrorism arrests and raids may indirectly affect the local communities and neighbourhoods in which these events take place. In doing so, it highlights the importance of enacting such raids in ways that are sensitive to the local community context so as to minimise any inadvertent harm that might be caused.

Whilst this type of indirect effect is discussed throughout the previous CREST guide, the analysis that follows is based on a more comprehensive and

21 This figure was calculated by using the following formula as listed in the report: '(# of referrals for "Islamism" / # of Muslims in the overall population) / (# referrals for "Far Right" extremism / # of White British individuals in the overall population) = (# "Islamist" referrals / # "Far Right" referrals) / (# of Muslims in the overall population / # White British in the overall population.)' (p. 52).

focused review of literature which has examined how counter-terrorism measures are experienced and felt at the family, community, and neighbourhood level. As this literature was not a specific focus of our previous analysis, this section examines research published over a longer time period. Whilst the analysis predominantly focuses on studies published since 2017, it also considers older studies where relevant.

Key Findings

- Research examining how counter-terrorism measures are experienced and perceived by family members and others in close proximity to individuals directly affected is limited. Relevant research predominantly consists of smaller, qualitative studies, and data is often anecdotal.
- Research has highlighted how families and local communities may be affected by two particular points of interaction with the counter-terrorism system: reporting of radicalisation; and raids and arrests.
    a. Research on the former is mixed. Some studies highlight the importance of engaging with families for effective prevention work, while others raise concerns that asking family members to perform this role may strain family relationships.
    b. Research on raids and arrests underscores the long-lasting impact these can have on others present in the household, especially children. Police raids can stigmatise and isolate those directly affected, but might also create a sense of vulnerability among others.
- It is difficult to accurately understand the unintended consequences and harms that counter-terrorism measures might cause for friends, family members and communities. More research is needed to understand this issue so that appropriate steps can be developed to reduce this type of potential harm.

4.6.2. OVERVIEW OF STUDIES AND STRENGTH OF EVIDENCE

Research examining how counter-terrorism measures are experienced and perceived by family members and others in close proximity to individuals who are directly affected is limited. Often, material which captures the experiences of family members is revealed in research on broader topics, and is referred to only briefly. There is also limited empirical data relating to how neighbourhoods and local communities are affected by counter-terrorism activity in the local area.

Studies addressing the impact of counter-terrorism on family members tend to relate to two separate issues: (i) reporting of concerns about an individual's involvement in extremism/radicalisation, and (ii) police raids and arrests. This reflects how these two distinct aspects of counter-terrorism impact family members and other 'intimates' to a greater degree than other counter-terrorism measures and points of interaction with police, which may be more individually experienced.

Relevant studies identified for this guide are primarily small-scale qualitative studies, most with a very limited geographical scope. For example, Guru (2012) interviewed six wives and family members of individuals arrested for terrorist offences in the West Midlands, and Abbas (2019a; 2019b) interviewed 26 individuals in Bradford and Leeds from 2010–2011. Other research that offers insights into this area generally does so briefly as part of an exploration of broader issues, such as Choudhury and Fenwick's (2011) analysis of how Muslim and non-Muslim communities experienced and perceived different types of counter-terrorism measures. Research that considers indirect effects predominantly focuses on Muslim communities impacted by counter-terrorism practices targeting Islamist forms of extremism.

The experiences discussed in this section cannot therefore be considered representative of all individuals who are indirectly affected by these counter-terrorism measures. However, the qualitative accounts discussed below are illustrative of the profound impacts that counter-terrorism measures can have on family members, friends, and communities, and should not be discounted.

4.6.3. ANALYSIS

Familial Experiences of Reporting and Prevention Measures[22]

Family members' engagement in preventive work may contribute to strained family relationships, although research points to the key role that families play in prevention efforts. This is captured most by Abbas' (2019a) study which drew on data from qualitative interviews (n=26) with British Muslims in Bradford and Leeds in 2010-2011, and argued that such efforts may strain relationships by creating suspicion and tension within the household.

Parents may internalise fears about their children either being radicalised or radicalising others, whilst young respondents in the study describe how their parents expressed concerns about them exploring their religion or adopting more visible markers of religiosity (e.g., growing a beard, wearing a jilbab). Some younger respondents recalled their parents subjecting them to increased scrutiny and surveillance, with others describing parents intervening with warnings or expressing concerns about their activities.

Research exploring family members' opinions towards reporting potential radicalisation identifies similar challenges and concerns to those discussed in the previous section on the Prevent Duty.

- Awan & Guru's (2017) study exploring how Muslim parents (n=20) in the West Midlands perceive expectations on them to report radicalisation to the police found a variety of responses: some expressed a lack of trust in the

22 This topic is explored in more detail in a separate CREST guide examining the public's role in mitigating terrorism (Mutton, Lewis & Marsden, 2022).

police, others stated concern about the potential consequences for their children, creating a barrier to willingness to report concerns of radicalisation. Reflecting the findings of Abbas (2019a; 2019b), other respondents believed they were expected to spy on their children, causing resentment towards police.

- Police officers have pointed to similar concerns. Interviews (n=21) with police in three English constabularies between 2015-2016, reflected findings in the studies cited above. Respondents recognised that perceptions within Muslim communities that police are asking them to report the activities of their family members and peers, along with perceptions of counter-terrorism officers spying on them, has damaged trust and raised suspicion (Bullock & Johnson, 2018).

Such findings reflect concerns cited in research discussing community reporting practices that were examined in the previous CREST guide. For instance, Thomas et al.'s (2017) qualitative research utilising interviews with community respondents and professional practitioners (n=66) to understand extremism reporting by 'intimates' (family, friends, close individuals within a community) found care and concern for the individual to be the primary motivation for reporting an intimate to the authorities. Most respondents explained they would take steps to personally intervene, or seek support via others in their community, before contacting the police. However, community members and family members were generally willing to report individuals under the right circumstances (see Thomas et al., 2020).

Engagement with families is often cited as being an important element of efforts to counter violent extremism, a point examined in detail in a separate CREST guide on secondary CVE interventions (Lewis & Marsden, 2022). Richards (2019) explores this issue in detail in a comparative case study of community engagement in radicalisation and extremism reporting in West Yorkshire (UK) and East Jutland (Denmark). In the Danish case, officers work much more closely with families, with the study finding that prevention strategies were impacted by the level of support and engagement families receive. As with other research cited here and in the previous CREST report, the study notes that family members become reporters once they recognised they were not in control or in a position to deal with the perceived issue themselves, and once they had tried to address their concerns themselves. A lack of trust in authorities is highlighted as a significant barrier to reporting for family and close friends.

Impact of Police Raids on Families

Counter-terrorism police raids can have a long-lasting impact on others present in the household, including children. Police raids on homes are highlighted in several studies as a particular aspect of counter-terrorism practice that can negatively impact family members in the short and long-term.

> **"… even now I am traumatised, I have nightmares, I still remember, I wake up thinking they're in the house"**
>
> **(Respondent in Guru, 2012, p. 1161).**

Interviews (n=6) conducted by Guru (2012) with wives and family members of men arrested for terrorist offences in the West Midlands reveal the women's experiences of their husband's arrest. Being woken in the early hours of the morning by a large number of police officers forcefully entering the household was described as a frightening experience. In addition to the shock at the unexpected police presence, for Muslim women that would usually wear the abaya and hijab or the full burqa, being viewed immodestly by a large number of strangers was noted as a humiliating experience, which highlights the importance of considering cultural and religious sensitivities to try to mitigate such additional stresses.

> **"They came at about 5 in the morning, broke the door down… they blocked off the roads. There were 20 to 30 of them.**

> **There were cars everywhere... They had riot shields. They forced entry, broke the door... They filled every single room, kitchen, garden, living room. They were screaming 'police,' 'police'. They didn't give me a chance to get dressed"**
>
> **(Interview respondent cited in Guru, 2012, p. 1161).**

Guru's (2012) study also draws attention to the experience of children exposed to counter-terrorism raids and arrests. Witnessing parents being arrested can be traumatic for children. Some children were also reportedly stopped from attending school on the day of the arrest. Children may also suffer bullying and hostility in the neighbourhood.

> **"The kids were frightened – crying… screaming. They even wet themselves standing. They were so scared when they saw their father on the floor… Even the older ones urinated themselves because they were so scared. I tried to reassure them that he would be back soon… but I could not stop them crying"**
>
> **(Interview respondent cited in Guru, 2012, p. 1166).**

Hergon's (2021) interviews (n=10) with people subjected to house searches or house arrests during France's state of emergency between 2015-2017, which was declared in the wake of Paris terror attacks, reflect the accounts provided by Guru's (2012) respondents about the negative impact on children. An interview with two women who were 13 and 15 years old at the time their home was searched, and their father placed under house arrest, reveals the impact the event had on them. One was reportedly hospitalised for six weeks the following year (the reason is not specified but it is implied that it was connected to the trauma of the experience), and several years later, the women found it emotionally difficult to discuss their experience with the researcher.

> **"Melissa and Samira were 13 and 15 years old at the time of the search. Four and a half years later, they describe, with lots of difficulty, how police officers lugged one of them around while taking aim at the other."**
>
> **(Hergon, 2021, p. 50)**

Several studies discuss how family members and associates of individuals arrested or suspected of terrorist offences might be stigmatised. For example, Choudhury & Fenwick's (2011) interviews (n=96) provide anecdotal evidence of such stigmatisation occurring even in cases where the individual is released without charge. This may be because the release from custody generally attracts less publicity than the arrest. Families or particular groups under suspicion may also be isolated by others in the community due to fear of coming under suspicion themselves if they provide support or solidarity.

Similar concerns were echoed by respondents to Spalek's (2011) qualitative study utilising interviews (n=42) and observations of police and community meetings. Interviewees stated that raids on homes can ostracise people from their community, impacting family life and careers. One participant expressed concern about the lack of consideration by police for the emotional aftermath caused by police raids. Likewise, the women interviewed by Guru (2012) recalled how they felt isolated and stigmatised following the arrests and imposition of control orders, describing suffering with depression and anxiety for a long period afterwards. Whilst the conclusions that can be drawn from small samples are limited, both studies highlight the potential short and long-term indirect effects of counter-terrorism measures.

Choudhury and Fenwick also highlight how the negative impacts of police raids might be mitigated by more careful planning. There may be some variation in how police raids are carried out, with some respondents in Choudhury and Fenwick's (2011) study noting how local police forces received praise for their planning prior to carrying out a raid and arrest, including

exhibiting due consideration for other members of the household and taking account of cultural sensitivities. Such findings would suggest that conducting counter-terrorism activity in a procedurally just and fair way might help to mitigate both direct and indirect forms of distress that might be caused by contact with the counter-terrorism system.

Impact of Police Raids and Arrests on Communities

Robust evidence pointing to the community impact of counter-terrorism arrests is lacking. However, there is some evidence to suggest that awareness of local raids and arrests may spread concern and a sense of vulnerability through the local community for fear that they may also be targeted. Family members and others associated with those arrested may experience stigma and isolation.

Several studies have highlighted how counter-terrorism raids can attract a lot of attention, and awareness of raids may spread throughout communities (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011; Abbas, 2021). There is potential for this knowledge to cause concern among the local community, and in areas where there have been many arrests which result in individuals being released without charge, other members of the community may feel vulnerable that they too may be affected in some way. Thomas et al. (2017) present anecdotal evidence to suggest that some police officers may also be aware of, and concerned about, the potentially negative impacts of arrests that draw a lot of attention, and that they may recognise that discretion is beneficial for better police-community relations.

Specific raids and arrests, if they are well publicised and perceived to be unjust, can gain notoriety and may have an impact beyond those involved in the initial event. A notable example is the Forest Gate raid, which is cited by respondents interviewed across several studies (e.g., Mythen et al., 2009; Briggs, 2006; Mythen et al., 2013). This illustrates how high-profile raids can become symbolic of broader concerns about counter-terrorism policing if they are carried out poorly:

> **"They can stop and search you whenever they want. When I heard about Forest Gate... I mean it feels like they can bully us and we've got no rights, do you know what I mean?" […] Another focus group respondent adds: "Imagine if it was me and the intelligence was as good as the information for the Forest Gate raid? That's it. Three months for nothing. For bad information. Muslims have got it bad."**
>
> **(Respondents cited in Mythen et. al., 2013, p 387)**

4.6.4. CONCLUSIONS

The experiences of individuals who are close to but not the immediate target of counter-terrorism interventions – particularly witnessing or being proximate to arrests or police raids – represents a substantial evidence gap. There is a lacuna of evidence about the experiences of family members affected by counter-terrorism measures. Similarly, evidence about how local communities experience counter-terrorism arrests and raids often emerges in studies of broader phenomena, rather than receiving explicit attention.

In the absence of robust evidence, it is difficult to accurately understand the unintended consequences and harms that counter-terrorism measures might produce, and to make informed decisions about how such issues might be addressed. There is some evidence to suggest that arrests that occur in the household may have long lasting effects on family members, including children, and has the potential to marginalise those families from the local community. Careful planning to consider the needs and experiences of other members of the household along with consideration of cultural and religious sensitivities may help mitigate the impact of police actions. Whilst efforts to be discrete and limit publicity for those affected may help limit stigmatisation.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1. KEY FINDINGS

GENERAL EXPERIENCES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Relatively few studies relating to broader perceptions of counter-terrorism measures have been published in the past two years. Those studies that have been published continue to focus on the experiences of specific sub-groups of the population, particularly Muslim communities.

Research continues to highlight how counter-terrorism measures may be perceived to disproportionally target certain groups, particularly Muslim communities, and how concerns about such disproportionality may be linked to broader concerns about Islamophobia within society. Contemporary research pointing to these issues aligns with the conclusions drawn in the original CREST guide. Mixed-method and quantitative studies provide more robust evidence in support of earlier findings that were largely based on smaller-scale qualitative research.

Enhancing perceptions of procedural justice may help to mitigate some of the concerns raised in Muslim communities. Studies suggest perceptions of procedural justice may positively influence perceptions of police legitimacy and trust and willingness to cooperate with or support particular security measures. This is particularly true of specific interactions with authorities, such as airport security procedures or police stop and search.

EXPERIENCES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES AT (AIR)PORTS AND BORDERS

No empirical peer-reviewed studies specifically focusing on Schedule 7 stops in the UK have been published since 2020. Experiences of Schedule 7 stops are considered only briefly within broader discussions of counter-terrorism in a limited number of studies.

Contemporary research relating to broader experiences of counter-terrorism measures at airports and other border crossing was similarly lacking. The few studies that have been published since 2020 analyse the airport experiences of ethnic and/or religious minorities.

These studies highlight how indirect and direct experiences of counter-terrorism measures whilst travelling can have negative short and long-term psychological effects. Reflecting findings in the previous CREST guide, airports can be perceived by ethnic and/or religious minorities as particular sites of discrimination. Concerns about being potentially viewed with suspicion whilst travelling were found to drive some individuals to adapt their behaviour to try and avoid negative encounters.

Perceptions of procedural justice and the perceived fairness of particular security measures may positively influence willingness to cooperate with security measures, and may contribute to improved attitudes towards these measures, reflecting findings in the previous CREST guide.

EXPERIENCES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE STOP AND SEARCH

Very little research has been published on Section 43 practices or the use of counter-terrorism stop and search more broadly since the previous guide was published. Recent research has focused on better understanding what influences racial and ethnic imbalances in the application of stop and search in the UK, and how racial profiling is experienced in European states.

Research examining experiences of non-counter-terrorism-related police stops can be applied to the counter-terrorism context, particularly given that research has illustrated how police stops may be perceived as being related to counter-terrorism, even when this is not explicitly the case.

Research in continental Europe finds people in socially discriminated against groups express concerns that counter-terrorism police stops are informed by ethnic, racial or religious profiling. Such findings – which align with the research conducted in the UK that was examined in the previous CREST guide – illustrate how such concerns can affect how individuals experience contact with the police.

Negative experiences of stop and search can affect attitudes towards the police and may harm trust in, and the perceived legitimacy of, the police. In contrast, perceptions of procedural justice may positively influence perceptions of stop and search experiences.

PREVENT AND THE PREVENT DUTY

Prevent continues to be the most widely-researched workstream of CONTEST. Research on Prevent is now increasingly drawing on quantitative data, continuing a trend first identified in the original CREST guide on public experiences of the UK counter-terrorism system.

The majority of relevant research published since 2020 has focused on the implementation of the Prevent Duty in educational settings, with a small number of studies focusing on healthcare.

There is a growing body of quantitative evidence to suggest that overt opposition to Prevent amongst the general population is muted, with the largest study to date reporting that 8 per cent of the general public held an unfavourable opinion towards it (ICM, 2020). However, this figure still represents a significant proportion of the population who hold concerns about the strategy.

The level of support and/or opposition towards the Prevent Duty identified in contemporary studies varies. Whilst some authors report that the majority of their respondents are unopposed to the Prevent Duty, other studies find that concerns are far more pronounced within some samples and/or communities. However, just because people are not opposed, does not necessarily mean they are overtly positive towards the Duty.

The effects of Prevent interventions remain under-researched. There is a clear evidence gap relating to the experiences of individuals supported through Prevent. Similarly, whilst the potential consequences (both intended and unintended) of Prevent interventions are widely discussed in the literature, more empirical research into these effects is needed in order to better understand how Prevent is experienced.

Key evidence gaps identified in the earlier CREST guide remain, particularly in relation to the experiences of individuals who directly come into contact with Prevent interventions.

A growing body of research has pointed to more negative perceptions of the Prevent Duty amongst pupils and students. These studies stand in contrast to research amongst educators, which has pointed to lower levels of concern about the impacts of the Prevent Duty. More research in this area is needed to understand whether and how the Duty is producing unintended consequences for young people.

THE DIRECT & INDIRECT EFFECTS ON FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES

Research examining how counter-terrorism measures are experienced and perceived by family members and others in close proximity to individuals directly affected is limited. Relevant research predominantly consists of smaller, qualitative studies, and data is often anecdotal.

Research has highlighted how families and local communities may be affected by two particular points

of interaction with the counter-terrorism system: reporting of radicalisation; and raids and arrests.

- Research on the former is mixed. Some studies highlight the importance of engaging with families for effective prevention work, while others raise concerns that asking family members to perform this role may strain family relationships.
- Research on raids and arrests underscores the long-lasting impact these can have on others present in the household, especially children. Police raids can stigmatise and isolate those directly affected, but might also create a sense of vulnerability among others.

It is difficult to accurately understand the unintended consequences and harms that counter-terrorism measures might cause for friends, family members and communities. More research is needed to understand this issue so that appropriate steps can be developed to reduce this type of potential harm.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

There are likely to be benefits from embedding the principles of procedural justice more explicitly into the counter-terrorism system. The importance of enhancing perceptions of procedural justice is a consistent theme across different sections of this guide. Taking concrete steps to improve perceptions of procedural justice – through, for example, training for frontline counter-terrorism professionals – would represent a workable and potentially effective approach for mitigating some of the negative effects of public-facing counter-terrorism measures.

Policymakers need to better understand and consider the potential indirect or secondary effects when developing counter-terrorism measures, and when evaluating their impact. Policy leads should commission research to better understand the indirect effects of different measures on families and communities so that they can better identify and take steps to mitigate these second order effects.

There is an unmet need to understand the process and impact of Prevent interventions. Very little is known about the intended and unintended effects of being referred to Prevent or of the outcomes of this process. Research able to identify the positive and negative effects of engaging with Prevent interventions will make it possible to improve provision where necessary and provide empirical evidence able to speak to the concerns that have been raised regarding the strategy.

A cautious and iterative approach should be taken when applying the lessons from research and practice on Islamist extremism to right-wing extremism. Although some aspects may be relevant, the evidence-based able to determine whether policy and practice is directly transferable has yet to develop.

More research is needed to understand the effects of recent changes in UK counter-terrorism policy and practice. This guide highlights how the delivery of various counter-terrorism measures has changed, but little is known about how these changes have been experienced or perceived by the public. Research examining changing experiences or perceptions would help interpret whether changes are producing positive or negative effects, and in turn help inform future policy developments.

5.3. EVIDENCE GAPS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Overall, research continues to focus predominantly on the experiences and perceptions of those within Muslim communities. There is only a limited amount of research on the experiences of other population groups, or individuals within radical milieus that may come into contact with the counter-terrorism system, such as those within the extreme-right. More research examining the experiences and perspectives of diverse populations and groups will be important for understanding how and whether experiences differ across different communities, and how best to mitigate the unintended consequences or harms caused by these experiences in different contexts.

There has been little recent research into experiences of stop and search practices or airport security measures. There is a lack of research that analyses how experiences may have altered due to developments in policy and practice over time (e.g., changes to how extensively measures are used).

The effects of Prevent interventions remain under-researched. There is a clear evidence gap relating to the experiences of individuals supported through Prevent. Similarly, whilst the potential consequences (both intended and unintended) of Prevent interventions are widely discussed in the literature, more empirical research into these effects is needed. This will help to understand whether Prevent interventions are producing unintended or desired outcomes; whether and how intervention providers adequately consider and mitigate the potential negative effects of their work; and how interventions might be refined and improved.

More research is needed to understand the drivers of positive and/ or negative attitudes towards Prevent. This research could be used to examine the extent to which attitudes are being driven by lived experiences of the strategy, or by a broader awareness of the strategy, such as that gained through media reporting. Where attitudes are found to be linked lived experiences, this research could be used to identify areas of good practice, as well as issues that might need to be addressed. Where attitudes are found to be drive by a broader awareness, it could be used to inform messaging around the strategy.

Research into experiences of family members and close associates of those directly affected by counter-terrorism measures is limited and is primarily based on small-n, geographically limited, qualitative studies. This topic requires further study, utilising a broader variety of methods. In particular, there is a need to go beyond anecdotal evidence to understand the potential harms that counter-terrorism measures might have on children and families, and how such harms might be minimised.

Lessons from research into public facing counter-terrorism measures could potentially be used to inform measures that are less public facing. By drawing on this evidence base, policy-makers and practitioners would be better placed to identify, and take steps to mitigate, the potential unintended consequences across the range of counter-terrorism measures currently in use.

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