Universiteit Leiden

THE PREVENT DUTY: EXPLORING THE PERCEPTIONS OF MUSLIM UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

To what extent does the 'Prevent' policy contribute to the grievances experienced by Muslim university students in the United Kingdom?

Master of Science (MSc) Thesis

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Abstract

In 2003, the government of the United Kingdom established the counterterrorism strategy CONTEST, comprised of four pillars: Protect, Prepare, Pursue and Prevent, the strategy aims to reduce the threat of terrorism in the UK. The objective of the Prevent pillar is to reduce the threat of home-grown terrorism by detecting individuals are that are vulnerable to radicalisation and intervening before they engage in terrorist activity. In 2015, the remit of the Prevent pillar was extended through the 2015 Counterterrorism and Security Act. Since then, university staff have been incorporated into the counterterrorism strategy and are obliged to prevent students from being drawn into terrorism. Several reports and papers criticise the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities and hypothesise that Prevent reduces academic freedom, undermines student's rights to freedom of expression and erodes trust in staff-student relationship. Additionally, the NUS, CAGE, Just Yorkshire and numerous other organisations and academics claim that the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities has a particularly negative effect on Muslim students. However, there remains a lack of empirical research that investigates the claim that Muslim university students are disproportionately affected by the counterterrorism strategy. This Thesis uses the theory of the 'suspect community' to discuss why Muslim university students in the UK may be disproportionately affected by the Prevent policy and conducts an empirical study to test the hypothesised implications that academics and organisations claim the Prevent policy has on Muslim university students in the UK. To collect empirical data, this Thesis conducted a Web Survey with 152 respondents and 3 in-depth Interviews. The Thesis finds that there is a perception that the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities has negatively implicated Muslim university students in several ways. There is a perception that the implementation of the Prevent policy has contributed to Muslim university students experiencing higher levels of anxiety as they are forced to self-censor their opinions and facing greater notions of isolation as they are marginalised from the rest of the student body. This Thesis concludes that the grievances experienced by Muslim university students as a result of the Prevent policy have the propensity to contribute and trigger mental health problems, as well as potentially stimulating the radicalisation of some individuals.

Keywords: Counterterrorism, Prevent, CONTEST, Muslim, suspect community, students

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List of acronyms

CONTEST	COuNter TErrorism Strategy
NUS	National Union of Students
ERG22+	Extremist Risk Guidance
PTA	Prevention of Terrorism Act
UK	United Kingdom
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
IRA	Irish Republican Army
UN	United Nations
IP	Internet Protocol

1.0 Introduction

In 2003, the government of the United Kingdom (UK) established the counterterrorism strategy CONTEST, comprised of four pillars: Protect, Prepare, Pursue and Prevent, the strategy aims to reduce the threat of terrorism in the UK. The objective of the Prevent pillar is to reduce the threat of home-grown terrorism by detecting individuals are that are vulnerable to radicalisation and intervening before they engage in terrorist activity (HM Government, 2018). In 2015, the remit of the Prevent pillar was extended through the 2015 Counterterrorism and Security Act. Since then, university staff have been incorporated into the counterterrorism strategy and are obliged to prevent students from being drawn into terrorism. Several reports and papers criticise the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities and hypothesise that Prevent reduces academic freedom, undermines student's rights to freedom of expression and erodes trust in staff-student relationship. Additionally, the NUS, CAGE, Just Yorkshire and numerous other organisations and academics claim that the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities has a particularly negative effect on Muslim students.

This Thesis aimed to investigate and examine implications of the Prevent policy on Muslim university students in the United Kingdom (UK). As there is a lack of empirical evidence on the topic and due to the conceptual challenges surrounding definitions and counterterrorism generally, this proved to be a difficult task. As such, the research question: *To what extent does the 'Prevent' policy contribute to the grievances experienced by Muslim university students in the United Kingdom?* was further broken down to capture the various elements that require close inspection in order to answer the research question. First, the Thesis aimed to identify if there exists a perception that the Prevent policy targets Muslim university students. Second, the Thesis mapped out the implications of the Prevent policy on Muslim students. Third, the Thesis investigated the societal implications of the Prevent policy.

In order to approach this research question, the Thesis conducted extensive reading and analysis of the body of knowledge and presented it in a literature review. This examined the context that initiated the construction the Prevent policy, the legislation, the implementation of the policy and alterations and extensions to the policy. Additionally, the Thesis examined reports on the policy and explored theories that explain how UK counterterrorism policies have previously resulted in the discrimination of certain groups within society. Using this body of knowledge and the theory of the 'suspect

community', the Thesis devised a theoretical framework that hypothesised a number of implications that the Prevent policy would have on Muslim university students. To test the hypothesised implications this Thesis conducted a Web Survey with 152 participants and 3 in-depth interviews.

Based on the data collected from the web survey and the interviews, the findings suggest that the Prevent policy has a number of negative impacts on university students. Whilst Prevent will not affect all students to the same extent, the data outlines that Prevent instils a fear within students. This fear reduces academic freedom, undermines students' freedom to express, deters discussion of contentious topics and erodes trust in staff-student relationships (Sutton, 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2016). Additionally, due to the construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community', and their lack of counterterrorism expertise, university staff are more likely to perceive Muslim university students as being vulnerable to radicalisation (CAGE, 2016; NUS, 2017). Consequently, the implications of Prevent are greater for Muslim students than for non-Muslim students. The Prevent policy encourages Muslim university students to self-censor their appearance and supress their critical opinions to ensure they avoid discrimination (Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009; Awan, 2012 Breen-Smyth, 2013). This enforced self-censorship increases the level of anxiety experienced by Muslim students. Causing students psychological distress can trigger trauma and contribute to the development of long-term mental health problems. Furthermore, initiating self-censorship can stimulate feelings of marginalisation as Muslim students are forced to self-exclude themselves from academic discussion. Consistent demand to supress their opinions and notions of marginalisation can stimulate violent outbursts and potentially contribute to a student's radicalisation. Finally, by continuing to target Muslims through counterterrorism policy, the Prevent policy stimulates Islamophobia in society, which reduces social cohesion and causes communities to segregate (Breen-Smyth, 2019).

1.1 Research question

Accusations that the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities contributes to the discrimination of Muslim university students in the UK leads to the primary research question of this Thesis: *To what extent does the 'Prevent' policy contribute to the grievances experienced by Muslim university students in the United Kingdom*?

To help answer the core question, the Thesis poses three sub-questions:

1. *To what extent do Muslim university students perceive that they are disproportionately affected by the Prevent policy?*
2. *What are the personal implications of the Prevent policy for Muslim university students?*
3. *From the perspective of Muslim university students, what are the societal implications of the Prevent policy?*

1.2 Academic and Societal relevance

By addressing the abovementioned questions, this Thesis seeks to identify how Muslim university students are affected by the Prevent policy. Although numerous reports and papers hypothesise about the effects that the Prevent policy has on Muslim university students, there is a lack of empirical research on this topic. This Thesis adds to the body of knowledge on the Prevent policy by conducting an empirical study that reviews the implications that the Prevent policy has on Muslim university students in the UK. This Thesis also adds to the body of literature by using the theory of the 'suspect community' to try and explain why Muslim university students are disproportionately affected by the Prevent policy. Although the 'suspect community' theory has been used by scholars to discuss why Muslims are negatively impacted by counterterrorism policies in the UK (see Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009; Awan, 2012 Breen-Smyth, 2013; Sutton, 2015) there remains an 'gap' in the literature on the Prevent policy that uses the 'suspect community' theory to explain why Muslim university students are disproportionately affected by the Prevent policy.

It is of societal importance to determine if Muslim university students are being disproportionately affected by the Prevent policy because if Muslim university students are being discriminated against and marginalised from the rest of the student body, the Prevent policy could be having detrimental impacts on the lives of Muslim students (CAGE, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2016; NUS, 2017). Additionally, if the Prevent policy is stimulating the discrimination and marginalisation of Muslim university students, the Prevent policy may be contributing to the radicalisation of individuals. Schmid outlines that whilst there continues to be a number of conceptual challenges surrounding radicalisation, scholars have identified that several different structural, local and social factors can contribute to an individual's radicalisation (Schmid, 2013). Grievances, such as marginalisation, exclusion and discrimination can stimulate and contribute to an

individuals radicalisation (Aly and Striegher, 2012; Pearson and Winterbotham, 2017). Specifically, inequality and injustices that disadvantage Muslim youth compared to non-Muslims are known to act as personal triggers for some individuals and contribute to their radicalisation as the injustices make extremist narratives more relatable (Aly and Striegher, 2012; Pearson and Winterbotham, 2017). Therefore, this Thesis aims to identify the implications of the Prevent policy on Muslim university students because if the Prevent policy does contribute to the grievances experienced by Muslim university students, the Prevent policy may contribute to individual's radicalisation and increase the likelihood of terrorist attacks in the UK. Consequently, by conducting accurate data collection and analysis this Thesis hopes to be able to provide new insight that can contribute to an accurate assessment of how the Prevent policy is implicating the lives of Muslim university students and be used stimulate further research into determining whether the Prevent policy is increasing or reducing the threat of terrorism in the UK.

1.3 Structure

The remainder of this Thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 2 outlines the body of knowledge and the theoretical framework. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of this Thesis by providing an overview of how the empirical data was collected, analysed and presented in this Thesis. Chapter 3 also acknowledges the limitations of this Thesis and details how this Thesis sought to overcome and minimise the impact of these limitations. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the findings that were made from the empirical data collected in the via the web survey and in-depth interviews. Finally, this Thesis concludes by answering the research question, summarising the findings, making policy recommendations and advising avenues for future research.

2.0 BODY OF KNOWLEDGE & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To construct the theoretical framework and embed this Thesis in the body of literature, the Thesis conducted a literature review of the Prevent policy and the 'suspect community'. This chapter outlines the literature review that was conducted and the theoretical framework that was constructed as a result of the findings from the literature review. The literature review examined the context that the Prevent policy was constructed in, the legislation, how Prevent was originally implemented and how the policy has been altered and extended. Additionally, the literature review examined

reports on the Prevent policy and explored theories that discussed why counterterrorism policies are perceived to discriminate against Muslims in the UK. Using this body of knowledge and the theory of the 'suspect community', the Thesis devised a theoretical framework that hypothesised a number of implications that the Prevent policy would have on university students. In chapter 3 the hypothesised implications that were identified in the Literature review and investigated via the web survey are explicitly detailed.

2.1 The Prevent Policy

The aim of the first sub-section of the literature review is to provide an overview of the Prevent policy. The purpose of providing this overview about the Prevent policy is to provide information that will help explain how and why the Prevent policy has negative implications on Muslim university students. To provide an overview, this sub-section will examine the context that initiated the construction the Prevent policy and briefly outline how the policy has been implemented, altered and extended since 2003. This sub-section will also elucidate to the key terms referenced in the policy legislation and discuss insights from critical reports on the policy, that stipulate how the Prevent policy implicates Muslim university students.

In the late 20th century, the UKs counterterrorism strategy predominately focussed on countering the threat posed by nationalist terrorism coming from Northern Ireland and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) (Brady, 2016). However, in recognition of the changing landscape of terrorism, particularly the rise of Islamist terrorism in the United Kingdom (UK) and globally, the UK adopted the Terrorism Act 2000. After the events of 9/11, the urgent need to deal with the threat posed by Al Qaeda resulted in a succession of counter-terrorism legislative actions in the UK over the next few years. In 2003, the UK government established the CONTEST counter-terrorism strategy designed the address these challenges (Brady, 2016). The CONTEST strategy was established and implemented in secrecy, however, following the 7/7 London bombings, documents detailing the existence of CONTEST became public knowledge (Heath-Kelly, 2013). CONTEST consists of four pillars:

Prevent: to stop people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism;

Pursue: to stop terrorist attacks;

Protect: to strengthen our protection against a terrorist attack;

Prepare: to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack. (HM Government, 2018)

The aim of the Prevent policy is to reduce the threat to the UK from terrorism by stopping people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism (HM government, 2019). Prevent therefore focusses on the threat posed by 'home-grown' terrorists - individuals who were born and educated in the UK, as opposed to the threat posed by terrorists who enter as immigrants or visitors (Walton and Wilson, 2019:9). To stop people becoming terrorist the Prevent policy attempts to achieve 3 objectives: to respond to the ideological challenge of terrorism and the threat posed by those who promote it; prevent people from being drawn into terrorism by providing people with appropriate advice and support; and work with sectors and institutions where there are risks of radicalisation (HM government, 2019).

To prevent people being drawn into terrorism the Prevent policy employs a pre-emptive strategy to identify those at risk of being radicalised to terrorism (Human Rights Watch, 2016). In attempt to intervene before an individual becomes radicalised and starts engaging in terrorist activity, the Prevent policy aims to identify members of the public that are vulnerable to radicalisation and refer them to Channel – a multi-agency process designed to safeguard vulnerable people from being drawn into violent extremist or terrorist behaviour (HM government, 2018:38). The Channel process safeguards individuals from radicalisation by providing advice and support through counselling, faith guidance, civic engagement, access to support networks and mainstream public services. The government hopes that by providing vulnerable people with advice and support the

Channel process will be able to stop a person's radicalisation or de-radicalise the individual so that they do not engage in terrorism (HM Government, 2018).

Shortly after the terrorist attacks in Paris, 2015, the UK government widened the remit of the Prevent pillar. Under Section 26 of the Counterterrorism and Security Act. In 2015, public authorities employed in one of the 'specified authorities' now have the "due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism" (HM Government, 2015:3). The legislation, enforced by criminal law, requires individuals to undertake the task of preventing terrorism, whilst undertaking their regular professional function. If public sector workers suspect individuals to be vulnerable to radicalisation, they must

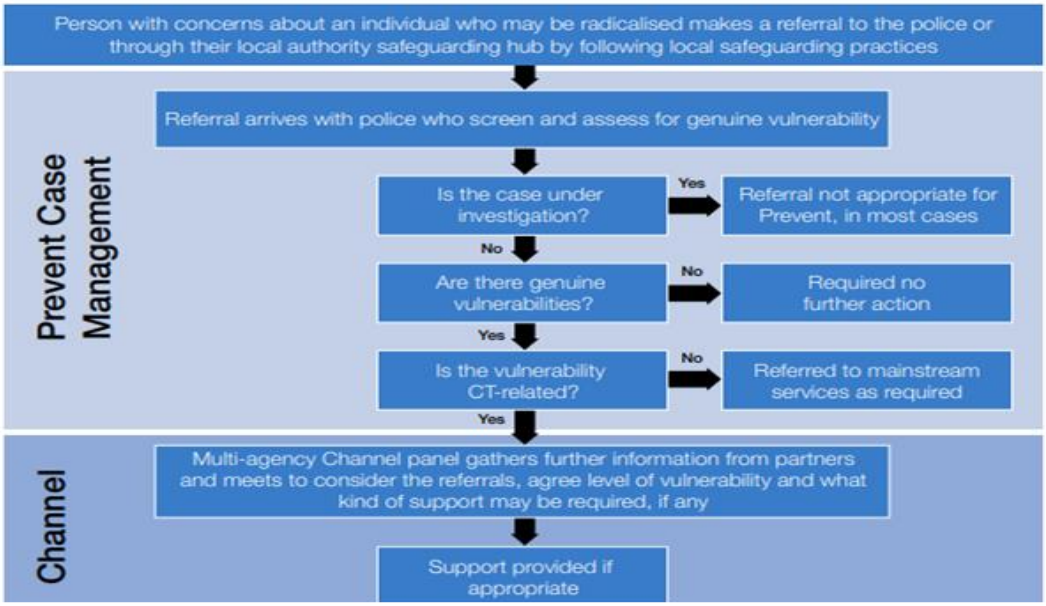

Fig 1. The Channel referral process. HM government (2018:26).

report them to Channel (HM government, 2018). The 'specified authorities' include a broad range of institutional authorities such as departments of social work, hospitals, schools, colleges and universities (McGovern, 2016:49).

Widening the remit of Prevent increases the number of actors in the counterterrorism framework; theoretically, increasing the number of actors should increases the effectiveness of the policy. The Channel process provides a mechanism to assess and support vulnerable individuals and the objective, to stop people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism, is positive (Durodie, 2016). However, a number of reports and papers criticise the implementation of the Prevent policy in the university environment.

The NUS (National Union of Students) claims university staff are not capable of correctly identifying individuals who are vulnerable to radicalisation as their training is limited (NUS, 2017). Their training, often delivered via video, only lasts for a few hours, and instils a false sense of confidence that they are able to identify individuals who are vulnerable to radicalisation (Human Rights Watch, 2016; NUS, 2017). Additionally, as university staff are legally obligated to enforce the Prevent policy, there is a pressure on staff to report any behaviour that could be deemed 'problematic' or 'suspicious'. This combination of legal pressure and limited training has resulted in a culture of over-reporting by university staff (NUS, 2017). The NUS reports that 80% of people that are referred to the Channel process exit the process immediately because law enforcement conduct an preliminary investigation and conclude that the individual who was referred to Channel is not actually vulnerable to radicalisation and does not require any further investigation or support (NUS, 2017:18). This statistic outlines that the vast majority of the time individuals are incorrectly referred to the Channel process and suggests that individuals that do not have counterterrorism expertise should not be allowed to refer other individuals.

Additionally, the Extremist Risk Guidance 22+ (ERG22+), the advice university staff and are provided with to help them identify if students are vulnerable to radicalisation, is criticised for contributing to false-positives and being based on unproven evidence (CAGE, 2016). Composed of 22 factors, the ERGG22+ outlines a set of radicalisation factors that indicate that an individual is vulnerable to radicalisation. Items are not scored – identification of more factors does not mean that an individual is more vulnerable to radicalisation, therefore if a university staff member identifies that a student is exhibiting one of one the factors listed in the ERGG22+, this is enough to warrant the university employee to refer the student to Channel (CAGE, 2016:37). The identification of one factor should not be enough to warrant referral, especially as the factors are vague and the examples provided are ambiguous (CAGE, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2016; NUS, 2017).

The Channel vulnerability assessment framework divides the factors listed in the ERG22+ into three sections: Engagement factors; Intent factors and Capability factors (HM Government, 2012). Examples of an individual who is exhibiting an 'Engagement factor' include an individual "changing their style of dress or personal appearance". An example of an 'Intent factor' is if an individual "identifies another group as threatening".

And an example of a 'Capability factor' is "having occupational skills that can enable acts of terrorism (e.g. civil engineering, pharmacology or construction)," or "having technical expertise that can be deployed (e.g. IT skills, knowledge of chemicals, military training or survival skills)" (HM Government, 2015). If a student is identified as exhibiting one of these factors: changing their appearance, criticising a group for being threatening or having technical expertise, then a university employee can refer the student to the Channel program. This is criticised because the abovementioned factors and examples are things all students are likely to experience. Students will often change their appearance, alter their fashion sense, try a new style, wear different clothes or grow a beard. Changes in appearance should not be enough to warrant university staff referring students to the Channel program. Additionally, students who are enrolled in social science courses or students who are politically active are likely to denote terrorist organisations or groups responsible for deforestation as threatening. Students that study engineering, chemistry or any other technical subjects will obtain occupational skills and technical expertise, these occurrences should not be taken as indications that a student is exhibiting signs that they are vulnerable to radicalisation (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Wearing new clothes, criticising groups for being a threat threatening or obtaining new skills do not explicitly correlate with being radicalised and are normal occurrences in the life of students (Human Rights Watch, 2016). The Human Rights Watch declares that the indicators outlined in the ERG22+ are so over-broad in their scope and so open to misinterpretation that they have contributed to an excessive number of students being wrongly identified as being vulnerable to radicalisation (Human Rights Watch, 2016: 13-14).

The high rate of false positives has a number of negative implications for students. As students become aware that other innocent students are being wrongly referred to Channel, they are likely to increasingly err on the side of caution and not express their opinions (NUS, 2017). The fear of being misinterpreted and referred to Channel therefore has a 'silencing' effect on students as they decide to self-censor their opinions instead of expressing them in class. Self-censoring of opinions reduces academic freedom and thwarts academic discussion in class, on-campus and online, students are no longer able to freely discuss and debate contentious topics as they fear that if they express a critical opinion, they may be referred to Channel (NUS, 2017). Additionally, fear of referral can trigger anxiety as students are forced to internally negotiate whether expressing a critical

opinion is worth the risk of being referred to Channel. This anxiety can cause stress and can contribute to the development of other mental health problems (mind.org, ND).

Prevent also contributes to the anxiety experienced by students because it is a pre-crime policy - aiming to intervene before an individual commits a crime. In theory, pre-crime policies, such as Prevent, which aims to intervene and de-radicalise individuals before they engage in terrorist activity, appear ideal to policymakers and citizens because the criminal offence is stopped before it occurs (Zender, 2007). However, in practice pre-crime policies are accused of criminalising innocent individuals due to the complexities of accurately predicting human behaviour (Zender, 2007; CAGE, 2016). Despite years of research and millions of funding used to identify a set of radicalisation factors that can predict who will become a terrorist, no profile has ever been able to stand up to scholarly scrutiny (CAGE, 2016:9). The ability to pinpoint a set of factors that stimulate radicalisation at the micro-level has eluded academics because of the number of different 'push' and 'pull' factors that can contribute to an individual's radicalisation (Schmid, 2013). Consequently, it remains impossible to be completely certain that an individual will engage in terrorist activity in the future. Therefore, pre-crime policies, such as Prevent, are criticised for criminalising individuals without definitive evidence that the individual was going to commit a crime. This cause causes students anxiety and heightens the chances of them self-censoring since the Prevent policy allows university staff to criminalise university staff without any evidential basis. As there is no evidence required to support a Channel referral, university staff who discriminate or have prejudice towards certain groups, can refer students to Channel and trigger investigations into them without any evidence that the student is vulnerable to radicalisation. By not requiring university staff to have proper evidential basis, there is no guarantee that the university staff member who is making the referral is not mistaken or malicious (IHRC, 2013).

Figure 1 outlines the process that individuals enter into once they have been referred to the Channel program. Individuals who are referred to channel enter into a process where they screened by law enforcement during the first phase of the process. Individuals who are referred to this process can experience high levels of anxiety as the interactions with law enforcement indicates that they have committed an illegal offence. Individuals who are referred to Channel can become 'blacklisted' from their community because members of the community become suspicious of the person who got referred and believe that the individual must have done something wrong in order to be

interrogated by police. Consequently, the IHRC outlines that the repercussions of being referred to the Channel program should not be undermined (2013). Referral can have lasting effects on individuals, even if they are cleared of being vulnerable to radicalisation and exit the process after the first stage.

Furthermore, the study that informed the ERG22+ remains classified, thus the science that underpins the Prevent policy has never been peer-reviewed or subjected to public scrutiny. Rejecting peer-review is considered a fundamental violation of scientific principles as scientific studies must undergo a rigorous assessment to ensure that the science is accurate (CAGE, 2016). If the study has not been replicated by other scientists, there is no confirmation that the study has been conducted accurately or the findings have been interpreted correctly. If the study has been conducted incorrectly or the findings have been misinterpreted, then the policy that the study informs is also likely to have flaws. Permitting unchecked science to underpin the Prevent policy is particularly distressing as there are multiple examples of when unscrutinised 'science' has been used to justify policies, which then permit and legitimize the abuse of individuals and communities (CAGE, 2016:12-13). In the literature on the Prevent policy there are several claims that the implementation of the Prevent policy is resulting in negative implications for Muslim university students in the UK. For example, SOAS (2018) outlines that the Prevent policy causes Muslim students to self-censor their opinions and disengage from university life, whilst Nagdee (2019) reports that Muslim students experience higher levels of anxiety due to the Prevent policy. Accusations that the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities contributes to the discrimination faced by Muslim university students in the UK leads to the primary research question of this Thesis: *To what extent does the 'Prevent' policy contribute to the grievances experienced by Muslim university students in the United Kingdom*? To help discuss why Muslim university students may be disproportionately affected by the Prevent policy and face discrimination this Thesis utilises the theory of the 'suspect community'.

2.2. The 'Suspect Community' theory

This Thesis uses the theory of the suspect community as the theory helps explain how innocent members of a community can become associated with terrorists and terrorist organisations and consequently face discrimination. This theory has been used by numerous other scholars to help outline how the Prevent policy contributes to the framing of all Muslims in the UK as a 'suspect community' and is also used to explain why

innocent Muslim are more likely to be suspected of being terrorists and face discrimination (see Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009; Awan, 2012 Breen-Smyth, 2013; Sutton, 2015).

As this Thesis utilises the theory of the 'suspect community' to explain why Muslim students face discrimination, it is first important to define what a suspect community is, how suspect communities were previously constructed and the implications for members of the suspect community.

Pantazis and Pemberton define a suspect community as:

> …a subgroup of the population that is singled out for state attention as being 'problematic'. Specifically in terms of policing, individuals may be targeted, not necessarily as a result of suspected wrongdoing, but simply because of their presumed membership to that sub-group. Race, ethnicity, religion, class, gender, language, accent, dress, political ideology or any combination of these factors may serve to delineate the sub-group. (Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009:649)

Religious, cultural or racial markers differentiate 'suspects' from the majority of the population. Innocent individuals that share these markers become linked to a subgroup of the community that is actually dangerous and a threat to security e.g. a terrorist group. Whilst the subgroup of the community is dangerous, the rest of the community are innocent and are mistaken for being part of the subgroup. Consequently, innocent members of the community are presumed to be dangerous and face discrimination from the rest of the population. These innocent members of the community are often treated with prejudice and can face abuse because they are presumed to be dangerous (Breen-Smyth, 2013). This abuse can lead to individuals attempting to hide the markers that link them to the community in order to avoid being discriminated against. For example, to avoid being presumed to be a member of an Islamic extremist organisation, Muslims may try to alter their dress style to hide the fact they are Muslim (Breen-Smyth, 2013). Alternatively, Irish people during the 1970's may have tried to hide their Irish accent to avoid being associated with the Irish Republican Army (IRA) (Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009).

2.3 Constructing a community as a 'suspect community'

To outline how the concept of the 'suspect community' was first theorised and to help illustrate how counterterrorism policy has previously contributed to the framing of a

'suspect community', this sub-section briefly outlines how the Irish people living in Britain during the 1970s and 1980s were constructed as a suspect community due to their association with the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The sub-section uses this as a foundation to explain how Muslims living in the UK have similarly been constructed as a 'suspect community' and are consequently experiencing similar discrimination due to their association with Islamic Extremist organisations.

Hillyard originally coined the concept of 'suspect communities' in his study of Irish people's experiences of the 1974 Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). The concept of a 'suspect community' captures the devastating impact of the legislation on Irish people living in Britain during the conflict in Northern Ireland. The PTA targeted Irish people since their accent and nationality linked them to members of the IRA. Under the PTA legislation, the principal to arrest required no reasonable suspicion of an offence, permitting the police, immigration and customs officers to bring anyone into custody for interrogation, regardless of evidential basis (Hillyard, 1993). Law enforcement detained and interrogated anyone who was Irish or had Irish connections, afterwards their friends and acquaintances would be cross-examined until all avenues were exhausted and new information dried. Under the PTA legislation, law enforcement treated the entire Irish community as 'suspects' and subjected them to profiling, hard-line policing, stop and search, surveillance, and detention (Hillyard, 1993).

By making the Irish the target of counterterrorism policy, law enforcement encouraged the public to treat the Irish as 'suspects', stimulating and legitimising anti-Irish racism (Hillyard, 1993, Breen-Smyth, 2013). Anti-Irish racism alienated and radicalised members of the Irish community, which ultimately prolonged the Irish conflict (Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009:661). Instead of reducing the threat of terrorism, the PTA legislation contributed to radicalisation of Irish people and increased the threat of terrorism, illustrating how counterterrorism policy can be counterproductive.

There are parallels between the experiences of the Irish during the conflict in Northern Ireland and the experiences of Muslims during the 'war on terror' (Lambert, 2008; Peirce 2008; Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009; Hickman, 2012). Muslims are assumed to be associated to Islamic extremist organisations due to their religious markers, which link them to extremist organisations that claim to be carrying out attacks in the name of Islam. Due to the link between Islam and terrorism, all Muslims are assumed to be capable of committing terrorist attacks and are consequently treated as 'suspects' (Green, 2020).

However, Gunning and Jackson's critique of orthodox terrorism studies' predominant focus on Islamic Terrorism suggests that terrorism studies mistakenly assumed there was causality between religion and violence (2011). The term 'religious violence' implies religion is inherently violent and therefore anyone who is religious is potentially violent. Whilst Islamic groups have statistically been the most violent terrorist groups, this is due to Al-Qaeda and its associated groups (Piazza, 2009). The high-casualty rates of Al-Qaeda are due to its universal goals such as unifying the Islamic world under particular interpretation of Sunni Muslim, rejection of secular rule, integration of all Muslims into a caliphate, liberation of all Muslim lands from foreign occupation (Piazza, 2009). These goals are broad and not limited to specific targets. In comparison, the strategic goals of Hamas are limited to creating an independent state out of Israeli and Palestinian lands. Both Al-Qaeda and Hamas are Islamic Extremist organisations but have distinctively different goals. Their goals determine their attitude towards violence, not whether or not they are religious. Al-Qaeda has an average of 36.1 casualties per attack, whilst Islamic Extremist groups that do not affiliate with Al-Qaeda have an average of 9.4 casualties per attack (Piazza, 2009). Whilst the attacks conducted by Al-Qaeda and its associated groups are carried out in the name of Islam, religion is not the overriding factor for their high use of violence.

Although Gunning and Jackson (2011) outlined that Islam is not the overriding factor motivating violent attacks, misinterpretations of the role of religion in Islamic Extremism resulted in counterterrorism policies, which constructed the Muslim population as a 'suspect community' (Kundnani, 2009; Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009; Breen-Smyth, 2013). Muslims became the new 'folk devils' (Kundnani 2002) and considered the 'enemy within' (Fekete 2004). This lead to a construction of the Prevent policy, which highlighted Muslims as their key focuses and further contributed to the construction Muslims as 'suspect community'.

2.4 The Prevent policy and the suspect community

In 2007, the UK government distributed £6 million across 70 local authorities in England via the 'Preventing Violent Extremism Pathfinder Fund' (Heath-Kelly, 2013). The Department for Communities and Local Government explained that:

> It is important that funds are focused on those areas of highest priority ... The fund will therefore be focused on local authorities with sizeable Muslim communities.

> As a starting point, authorities with populations of 5% or more should be considered for funding. We are aware, however, that there are areas ... with significant Muslim communities concentrated in a few wards that fall below the threshold that should be considered. (DCLG 2007:6, cited Heath-Kelly, 2013: 403).

The construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community' resulted in Muslim communities being categorised as the 'highest priority' for Prevent counterterrorism funding. The government allocated funding in direct proportion to how many Muslims were located in each local authority (Sutton, 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2016; Quarshi, 2018). Prevent-funded community-based projects aimed to stimulate Muslim community engagement, social cohesion and capacity building by creating new structures such as the Radical Middle Way project, the Mosque and Imams National Advisory Board, National Muslims Women's Advisory Group and Young Muslim's Advisory group. The government hoped to use these new structures to access the Muslim community and redefine the relationship between the state and Muslims in Britain (Kundnani, 2009). Stimulating greater state engagement with 'hard to reach' Muslim communities was considered crucial to stop Britain becoming a 'safe haven' for terrorists (Carlile of Berriew 2011 cited Awan, 2012:1162).

However, fairly soon after Prevent initiatives started, volunteers and local authority employees realised that whilst implementing community-based projects, the government also expected them to gather intelligence on the Muslim communities and act as providers of information to the police (Kundnani, 2009). Volunteers claimed Prevent officers threatened them, in one case youth workers had to cooperate with the security services or face detention and harassment in the UK and overseas (Kundnani, 2009).

It became apparent that under the disguise of community-based projects; the government was attempting to implement schemes of surveillance within Muslim communities (Kundnani, 2009; Awan, 2012). After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, Madrid 2004 and 7 /7, it was reasonable to expect the state to be heavily engaged in surveillance and intelligence-gathering. However, the distinct focus on Muslims, the approach to community engagement through the prism of counterterrorism and the overlap between Prevent and Community Cohesion policies securitized state engagement with Muslims (Thomas, 2012). The UK government placed all Muslims under suspicion, considering Muslims as 'problematic', not because of any wrongdoing, but because they shared their religious identity with Islamic Extremists (Khan, 2009). Despite the UK Muslim

population comprising a complex mosaic of people divided along lines of class, sect, clan, caste, ideology, levels of religiosity, and ethnonationality, the UK government presumed all Muslims were equally vulnerable to radicalisation (Hoque, 2009; Awan, 2012).

After the 2010/11 review of Prevent, alterations to the system for allocating funding meant funds were no longer distributed based on how many Muslims were in each constituency (Heath-Kelly, 2013). However, the initial overwhelming focus on Muslims made Muslims feel as if they were the objects of the counterterrorism policy. The coercive pressure applied to enforce collusion with the security services and provide information on innocent people exacerbated state relations with Muslim communities (Thomas, 2012).

By utilising intrusive and intensive policing techniques, which view the entire Muslim population as suspects, the public are encouraged to do the same, which stimulates Islamophobia throughout society. Subsequently, being a Muslim or even just looking like a Muslim is enough to attract unwarranted suspicion that intervenes with daily life (Breen-Smyth, 2013). Despite having the aim of improving state engagement in Muslim communities and improving community cohesion, Prevent triggered further disengagement and helped further the construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community' (Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009; Awan; Thomas, 2012). As Muslims in UK have been constructed as 'suspect community', Muslim are more likely to be suspected of being vulnerable to radicalisation and referred to the Channel referral program. This has resulted in a number of negative implications for Muslim university students once the Prevent policy was implemented at universities' in 2015.

2.5 The implications of the Prevent policy on students

This sub-section will predict how the construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community' has implicated Muslim university students since the Prevent policy was implemented at universities in 20015.

In the context of the rising threat of the Islamic State, parliament rushed through the 2015 Security Act, which extended the Prevent policy into the university environment. This left little time for university staff to receive Prevent training. Additionally, their guide to assess students, the ERG22+, is comprised of a large number of vague factors that do not explicitly correlate to radicalisation. As the factors do not directly correlate to radicalisation the possibility for confirmation bias (interpreting evidence to confirm

existing beliefs) and false positives is high (CAGE, 2016:32). This Thesis predicts that students will perceive that university staff are not capable of identifying individuals that are vulnerable to radicalisation. This perception will instil a fear amongst students that they face incorrect referral to Channel. This fear of referral will reduce student's academic freedom – the freedom of a student to hold and express views without fear of arbitrary interference by officials (Goldman, 2010). Additionally, the Prevent policy is likely to undermine student's freedom of expression – the freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference (ECHR, 2010: 12). The Thesis predicts that Prevent will undermine academic freedom and freedom to express because students will supress their opinions to ensure that university staff do not misinterpret them and refer them to Channel. These predictions are made despite the government adding legislation that universities must "ensure freedom of speech" and "must have particular regard to the importance of academic freedom" when implementing Prevent (HM government, 2015:30).

Due to the construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community', the Thesis predicts that the Prevent policy will particularly implicate Muslim students. University staff will treat Muslim students with suspicion and subject them to discriminatory treatment, which results in Muslim students being more likely to face incorrect Channel referral. To avoid referral Muslim students will self-censor their critical political opinions. Self-censoring their opinions will restrict student's engagement in academic discussions, which will trigger notions of marginalisation and socially exclusion (NUS, 2017). Muslim students may also try to self-censor their appearance in an attempt to assimilate into the majority group of society and avoid the discrimination that members of the suspect community face (Breen-Smyth, 2013). Furthermore, as the Prevent policy focuses on Muslims, Muslim students will be subject to surveillance treatment (NUS, 2017). Muslim students who feel targeted by the Prevent policy they will experience notions of discrimination and prejudice. Additionally, as Prevent contributes to a climate of fear, suspicion and censorship, Muslim students may experience increased levels of anxiety (Just Yorkshire, 2017).

2.6 Theoretical framework

Based on a literature review of the Prevent policy and the 'suspect community', it is expected that Muslims who are attending/attended a UK university since 2015 will have been subjected to punitive security measures and discriminatory treatment as a result of the Prevent policy. As such, the hypothesis of the research question is *the prevent policy contributes to the grievances experienced by members of the UK Muslim student community.* Based on this hypothesis and the body of literature reviewed earlier, the theoretical framework has been constructed and presented below.

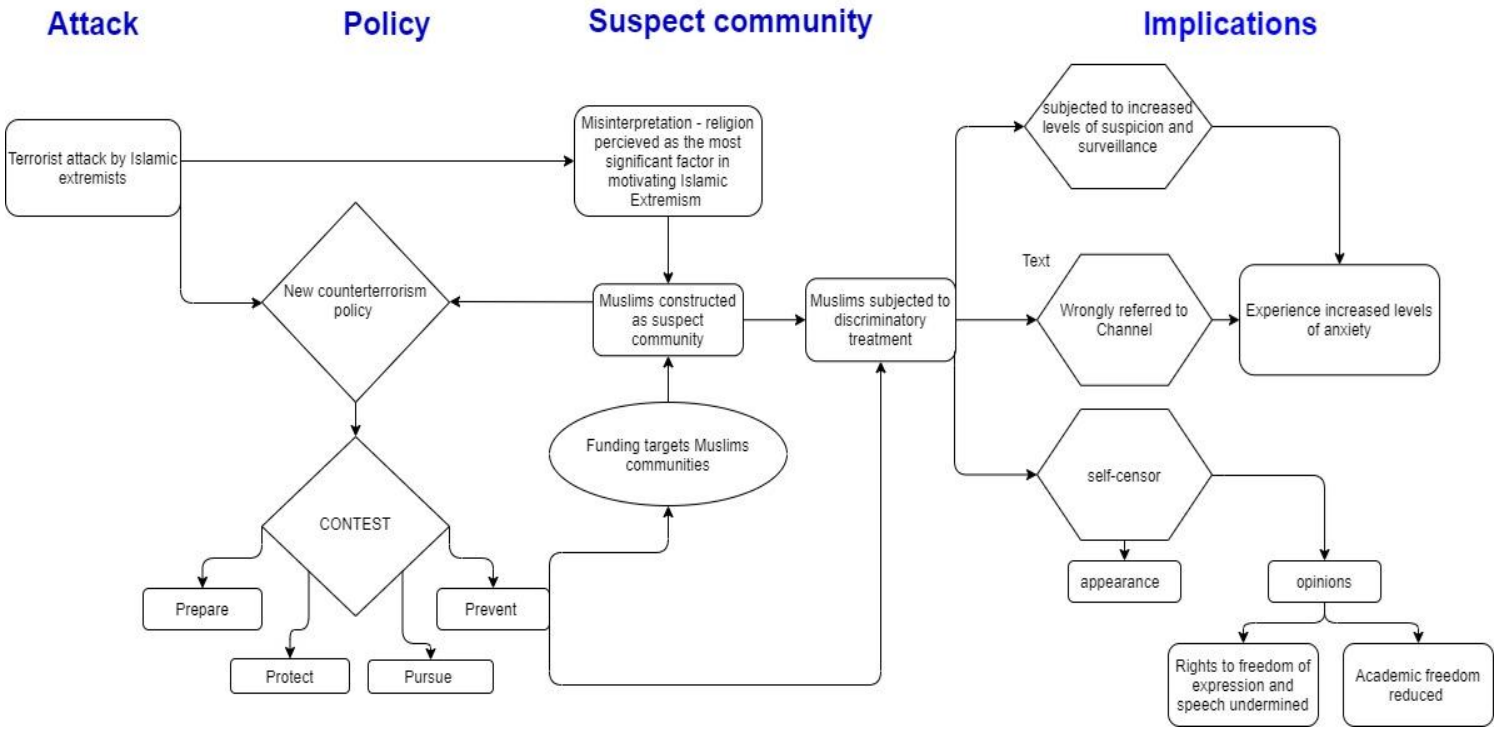

Fig. 2 Authors construction theoretical framework used in this Thesis

The theoretical framework seeks to simplify the process of how terrorist attacks conducted by Islamic Extremist organisations have resulted in Muslim university students being negatively implicated by the implementation of Prevent policy at universities.

To start with the theoretical framework aims to illustrate the connection between terrorist attacks by Islamic Extremist groups and the construction of counterterrorism strategy CONTEST. Simultaneously, the theoretical framework attempts to highlight how terrorist attacks conducted by Islamic Extremist groups contributed to the idea that religion and specifically Islam, is inherently violently and is the causing factor in the decision of Islamic Extremist groups to use violence to achieve their objectives. Next, the theoretical framework outlines how the conception that Islam is inherently violent and the specific focus of the Prevent policy on Muslims, contributed to the construction of all Muslims as a 'suspect community'. Both of these factors contributed to the idea that Muslims should be treated with caution and should be assumed to be capable of engaging in or supporting violent terror attacks. This construction of Muslims as suspects and the conceptualisation that all Muslims are capable of committing violent attacks has contributed to Muslims being subjected to discriminatory treatment by law enforcement and experiencing Islamophobia from certain segments of the general public. Consequently, since the Prevent policy has been implemented at universities, Muslim university students have experienced discrimination at university and the fear of referral that the Prevent policy has instilled within Muslim students has resulted in them experiencing a number of negative implications as a result of the Prevent policy. These negative implications, such as Muslim students having to self-censor their opinions, experiencing higher levels of anxiety and being subjected to surveillance are mapped out in the final section of the theoretical framework. These implications, and other implications uncovered in during the analysis of the body of literature on the Prevent policy are investigated through the web survey and the interviews conducted by this Thesis.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the processes used to collect and analyse the data. Precisely explaining the methodology is necessary so it is clear how the research problem was conceptualised, how the Thesis obtained and analysed the data and drew conclusions. By explaining all these aspects, the Thesis hopes that it is able to provide sufficient detail so that the Thesis can be accurately replicated and if done so, similar findings would be made. Ensuring that the Thesis and the findings are replicable is important for the reliability of this Thesis, which will improve the chances of the findings of this Thesis

guiding future research and having societal impact. As accurate reporting of the methodology can have significant implications for the reliability and overall impact of a study, Toskikov outlines that reporting on the procedure, which leads to the results, is just as important as the results alone (Toshikov, 2016).

This Thesis will employ a deductive approach, as the aim of the Thesis is to provide a first attempt at describing what the implications of the Prevent policy are on the UK Muslim student community. Using the existing body of knowledge as the starting point, the Thesis will test the theories and hypotheses discussed in the previous chapter and determine if the evidence collected supports the theory that Muslims have been constructed as a 'suspect community' and are negatively impacted by the Prevent policy. The Thesis utilises a survey methodology and mixed-methods approach, collecting both quantitative and qualitative data. The paper divides the remainder of this chapter into four parts. The first section explains the decision to employ a survey methodology. The second section details the data collection. The third section outlines the procedure for analysing the data. The final section acknowledges the limitations of the Thesis and details how the Thesis attempted to overcome and minimise the impact of the limitations.

3.1 Survey methodology

As this is the first Thesis to explore Muslim students' perceptions of the Prevent policy, empirical research was required since there were no administrative records or government documents that provided the necessary information. Survey methodology was appropriate for this Thesis since it allowed for the gathering of information from a subset of the UK Muslim student community. Data from this sample could then be generalised to describe the perceptions and identify the likely implications of the Prevent policy on the whole Muslim student community in the UK. The Thesis deemed survey methodology as the most suitable methodology as other methodologies such as ethnographic investigations are often limited to a few members of the target population, which limits the studies ability to describe large populations (Groves et al. 2009). Additionally, due to the time constraints of this Thesis if this study only employed interviews as a method for data collection, then it is unlikely that this Thesis would have been able to conduct enough interviews for the findings to be generalisable.

3.2 Data collection

Explicitly detailing how data was collected is important so the study can be accurately replicated by other academics in the future (Yin, 2014). This section of the methodology chapter will detail a number of aspects of the data collection in order to ensure that this Thesis is replicable. Outlining several aspects of the data collection is also important for the external validity of the survey data collected in this Thesis. Groves et al. outlines that as surveys are conducted in the real world and not inside an environment where all the variables are controlled, survey results can be affected by variables that cannot be controlled by the researcher (2009). For example, as the survey was conducted online, the researcher could not control the environment that participant took the survey in, extraneous variables such as the time of the day, the temperature of the room, the weather or what participants ate before the taking the survey could have all affected the participants decision making and affected the answers that the participant provided (Danziger, Levav, and Avnaim-Pess, 2016). Consequently, all surveys that are conducted in the real-world setting have to try and overcome this limitation. Achieving perfect inferences about a large population, based on information gathered from a sample population is rare, however there are a number of decisions that a researcher can take that can improve a survey's inferential power (Groves et al. 2009:33). The following subsections will outline and justify a number the decisions that were taken whilst constructing and conducting the survey to try and improve the surveys external validity.

3.2.1 Determining the target population

Groves et al. defines a target population as "a set of persons of finite size, which will be studied" (Groves et al. 2009:33). This sub-section will outline how this Thesis defined its target population and justify why it chose to investigate the perceptions of Muslim university students.

In 2015 the Prevent policy was implemented in the university environment, since then, there has been a lack of empirical research that investigates the perceptions of university students. To correct this and fill the 'gap' in the literature, this study chose to specifically focus on the perceptions of university students. The Thesis chose to narrow its target population down to Muslim university students because there are number of allegations in the literature that claim that the Prevent policy specifically implicates Muslim university students. For example, SOAS claim that "Muslim students are self-

censoring and disengaging from UK campus life as a result of the UK Government's current counterterrorism strategy Prevent … many Muslim students modify their behaviour for fear of being stigmatised, labelled an extremist or subjected to discrimination." (SOAS, 2018). To properly investigate this claim and other similar allegations that the Prevent policy negatively implicates Muslim university students this Thesis attempted to engage with Muslim university students to investigate their perceptions of the Prevent policy. The target population of this Thesis was *university students who had been enrolled at a university at any point since 2015 and self-identified as Muslim.* The Thesis chose the period of post-2015 as 'specified authorities' have been obligated to prevent terrorism since 2015, thus any university students that have been enrolled at a UK university since 2015 could have been impacted by the 2015 Security Act. An additional incentive to engage with students on the topic of radicalisation was students have been identified as an under-researched demographic, which could provide a useful source of new information (Awan, 2012; Awan 2017; Pearson and Winterbotham, 2017).

3.2.2 Making contact with participants

Groves et al. outlines that it is important to consider what approach will be taken to contact those sampled, and how much effort will be devoted to trying to collect data from those who are hard to reach or reluctant to respond (Groves, 2009:33). This sub-section will outline how this Thesis made contact with the 152 participant that engaged with the survey.

Considering how to contact the target population was especially important for this Thesis as the Muslim university student population in the UK make up roughly 0.3% of the whole population of the UK (ONS, 2011; Equality Challenge, 2011), which categorises them as a 'rare population' (Groves et al. 2009). The Thesis employed a number of measures to contact members of the UK Muslim student community. Firstly, the Thesis contacted each UK universities Islamic/Muslim societies via social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. The message explained the research and enquired about if individuals would be willing to complete the survey and share it with other members of their society who were also members of the target population.

Additionally, 'gatekeepers' were identified to help make contact with the target population. According to McFayden and Rankin (2016), gatekeepers play a key role in ensuring researchers gain access to potential participants and the positive influences of

the gatekeepers can be invaluable to the research process. In order to contact gatekeepers, individual emails were sent to the 152 academic staff who signed the 'Protecting Thought' open letter which opposed Prevent (Protectingthought.co.uk). Moreover, the Thesis contacted academics and organisations situated within the field of counterterrorism studies via Twitter to increase the publicity of the survey. Based on feedback, the most effective way to engage members of the UK Muslim student community with the research was to get Muslim students to post the link to the survey in their Islamic/Muslim society WhatsApp group chats. Using social media and instant-messaging platforms to distribute the survey allowed for rapid-feedback, which was particularly advantageous as this Thesis was time-sensitive. All the survey data had to be collected in less than 8 weeks between 7th November to 29th December 2019.

3.2.3 Determining the Medium for data collection

As this Thesis was attempting to collect data from a population based in a different country from where the researcher was based, it was important to consider what medium could be used to collect data. Additionally, as this Thesis was collecting data on a 'sensitive topic', it was important to consider if the medium for data collection could provide complete anonymity and confidentiality. By providing anonymity and confidentiality, individuals often feel more secure about participating in surveys and are more willing to answer truthfully if they believe that their answers cannot be traced back to them (Duncan, Elliot and Salazar-González, 2010).

To overcome the abovementioned limitations, this Thesis conducted a Web survey via Google forms to collect data from Muslim university students in the UK. "In Web surveys, the respondent interacts with the survey instrument via the Internet, using their own hardware (computer, modem, etc.) and software (ISP, browser)" (Groves et al., 2009:157). Using an online format allowed for the efficient distribution of the survey and using Google forms permitted the respondents to stay entirely anonymous. Typically, Web surveys cannot guarantee anonymity as websites automatically record the respondents Inter Protocol (IP) addresses. Traced IP addresses can reveal the identity of the respondents. However, Google Forms includes a function to switch off the recording of IP addresses, which guarantees anonymity for responders. This was particularly significant, as this Thesis gathered information on a sensitive topic. By guaranteeing anonymity,

respondents were more likely to engage in the survey and answer truthfully (Duncan, Elliot and Salazar-González, 2010).

The use of a Web survey had other benefits, for example using Google forms allowed the survey to be created and distributed free of charge. As the survey was accessible via this short URL: https://forms.gle/hSnN49ZuLvAC8M6t8 the survey could be distribution via social media, email and online newsletters and easily dispersed to the target population that were located all over the UK.

Using a Web survey also helped save time and improve the accuracy of data entry. Google automatically collated the data, which improved time-efficiency and reduced the opportunity for human error. Furthermore, because of volunteer participation and the removal of interviewer involvement, there was an absence of pressure or coercion, which resulted in a greater authenticity of responses (Otieno and Matoke, 2014). By removing the interviewer, the participants were more likely to provide honest answers instead of providing socially desirable answers. Therefore, by removing the interviewer involvement this Thesis was able to increase the chances that the answers were truthful, which increases the validity of the findings and the conclusions drawn from them.

3.2.4 Determining the questions for the web survey and scaling

Another consideration that must be made is what questions will be posted in the survey (Groves et al. 2009:33). This sub-section will provide justification for each question that was asked in the survey and outlines why the Thesis measured perceptions and utilised a Likert scale to record participants responses.

The research paper is interested in the experiences and perceptions of Muslims because the 'Prevent' policy is a pre-crime policy. As individuals have not yet committed a crime, it is difficult to measure the policies effectiveness. Measurement difficulties arise as it is impossible to determine whether the individual would definitely engage in terrorist activity in the future. This creates measurement difficulties because you cannot be certain who would have definitely engaged in terrorist activity in the future, it is impossible to measure how many people the Prevent policy has stopped from engaging in terrorist activity (NUS, 2017). The alternative solution is to view the Prevent policy as a social policy and gather information about how the policy is affecting citizens (Ragazzi, 2016). It is particularly necessary to research the perspectives of minorities, as their voice

is often silenced by the majority, or not considered by governments, who predominantly belong to the majority group in society (Eisenberg and Spinner-Halev, 2005).

A 5-point Likert scale measured the perceptions of members of the UK Muslim student community from Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree. The use of a Likert scale allows the researcher to understand the opinions/perceptions of participants related to a single latent variable. The single latent variable or phenomenon of interests in this Thesis is the Prevent policy. Several 'manifested' items in the questionnaire express this latent variable, thus in order to understand Muslim students perception of the Prevent policy, the Thesis posed numerous statements about the implications of the Prevent policy. Joshi states that these "constructed items work in a mutually exclusive manner to address a specific dimension of the phenomenon under enquiry and in cohesion measure the whole phenomena" (2015:398). As such, once data collection was finished, the data was analysed to determine an overall perception of the Prevent policy.

A literature review of the Prevent policy was conducted and presented in chapter 2 to formulate the survey statements. The literature review analysed academic papers, reports and press releases from stakeholder organisations to determine what the key implications of the Prevent policy were on the Muslim student community. Operationalisation of the reported implications occurred as the allegations were posed in the survey. Particular survey statements have specified the effect on Muslim students to measure if Muslims are disproportionately affected by the Prevent policy. The table at the end of this subsection outlines each of the twenty statements that were posed in the survey. To give insight into how each survey statement was formulated one quote from the existing literature per statement is provided in the table. After the 20 statements, an open-ended question provided the opportunity for respondents to detail any further information, opinions and experiences that respondents had regarding the Prevent policy. There were 29 responses to this question. As the survey was conducted anonymously, respondents will be cited by a random number from 1-29. Finally, the survey presented eight demographic questions that requested information about the respondents age, sex, place of birth, ethnicity, religion, secondary school, university and faculty. These questions allowed the creation of a demographic profile for each respondent and permitted Chi-Square tests. Specifically, the Thesis includes a demographic question about whether students attended a Russell group or non-Russell group university. This question was posted because Russell group universities are predominantly comprised of

students from the middle or higher classes. Class intersects with religion/race and affect people's experiences of surveillance, discrimination (Griffin, 2009). By including this question, it allows the Thesis to analyse if attending a Russell group university affects a student's experiences and perception of Prevent. Afterwards, inferences can be made about whether Prevent affects students of a lower social class more than students who belong to the middle or higher classes.

Another deliberate decision that was made whilst designing the survey was to ensure that none of the questions were mandatory. Although this resulted in a number of respondents skipping questions, allowing respondents to skip questions ensured that there was a greater number of respondents overall. Décieux et al. outline that if a survey poses personal or intrusive questions, people may choose to end the survey rather than give an answer (2015). The results of their recent study outline that 35% of respondents dropped out of a survey when they were required to answer personal questions compared to 9% when they were allowed to skip questions that felt too personal (Décieux et al. 2015:320).

Additionally, further measures in the data analysis stage removed the issue of respondents skipping particular questions. The infographics in the data analysis use the 'valid percentage', instead of the actual per cent. Figures use the 'valid percentage' - the percentage when missing data is excluded from the calculations and just reports on individuals who actually answered the question. By excluding the missing value, the perceptions of respondents are clearer compared to when the missing values are included. If missing values are included the percentage of individuals who agree, and the percentage of individuals who disagree equals less than 100%, which makes it harder to distinguish the perception of respondents (Acock, 2005).

Survey statements and explanation for why they were included in the survey		
	Survey statement	Justification
1	Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program	"Prevent duty – that it is racist, targets Muslims as a suspect community" (Sutton, 2015:8)

2	University students fear the Prevent program will target them because of their skin colour	Many more will fear that they may be targeted – whether because of their skin color, religion or political persuasion (UN, 2016)
3	University students fear the Prevent program will target them because of their religious faith	
4	University students fear the Prevent program will target them because of their political persuasion	
5	The Prevent policy impedes on university students human rights – particularly their right to freedom of speech/expression	"The Prevent strategy, as implemented with respect to educational institutions, has implications for the following fundamental human rights … The right to freedom of expression" (Human Rights Watch, 2016: 18)
6	The Prevent policy deters students from discussing issues related to terrorism, religion and identity online	"campus internet activity is monitored; and anything from reading lists to event plans are carefully screened for warning signs of 'extremism'."(Bigbrotherwatch.org)
7	The Prevent policy makes students discuss issues related to terrorism, religion and identity outside the classroom	(Prevent) "risks being counter-productive by driving children to discuss issues related to terrorism, religion and identity outside the classroom" (Human Rights Watch, 2016: 47)
8	The Prevent policy restricts freedom of speech on university campuses	"Prevent duty – that it is racist, targets Muslims as a suspect community, prevents free speech" (Sutton, 2015:8)
9	Muslim university students are more likely to be referred to the channel prevention program	"The strategy continues to focus disproportionately on Muslims" (NUS, 2017:11)
10	Muslim university students are more likely to be wrongly referred to the channel prevention program	"Educators will be quicker to refer for fear of being sanctioned themselves, or due to a false sense

		of being 'experts'. It is in this environment that unconscious bias against Black and Muslim people is heightened." (NUS, 2017:61)
11	University lecturers are adequately trained to spot signs of radicalisation	"Training sessions have been criticised as being shallow and low-quality, often relying on stereotypes and caricatures of 'extremist' behaviour – as well as making crude equivocations between Muslim and far-right extremism. The warning signs for radicalisation given in the training can be even more generic than those in Prevent, problematising ordinary behaviour" (NUS, 2017:25)
12	Muslim university students are subjected to increased levels of suspicion from university staff as a direct result of the Prevent policy	"Prevent has significantly contributed to a climate of fear, suspicion and censorship, primarily, but not exclusively, among British Muslims" (Just Yorkshire, 2017:6)
13	The legal requirement of university lecturers to report their students if they spot signs of radicalisation has resulted in a reduction of trust between university lecturers and their students.	Prevent training for frontline staff (teachers, lecturers, GPs) fundamentally alters the relationship between them and their students/patients to one based on suspicion (NUS, 2017)
14	The legal requirement of university lecturers to report their students if they spot signs of radicalisation has resulted in a reduction of trust between university lecturers and their students – especially Muslim students	Due to the racialised nature of the agenda, Black and Muslim students may come to distrust their personal tutors or academics (NUS, 2017:61)
15	The Prevent policy operates on Islamophobic ideas and stereotypes	"The Prevent strategy (and the harms it causes in communities) is sustained by a logic of Islamophobia" (Just Yorkshire, 2017:6)

16	The implementation of the Prevent policy at universities has been introduced to increase surveillance of the Muslim student community	"the Prevent strategy has been used to develop infrastructures of embedded surveillance in Muslim communities" (Qurashi, 2018:2)
17	The prevent policy has increased the level of anxiety experienced by Muslim students at university	"Students admitted … they avoided picking modules where they would have to engage in topics such as human rights and counterterrorism , out of fear of being referred to Prevent … This anxiety was especially heightened for students of colour and Muslim students" (Nagdee, 2019)
18	The Prevent policy has reduced academic freedom	"restricting inquiry and speech in the name of academic freedom and promoting distrust, inequality and alienation in the name of protection and duty of care" (McGovern, 2017:49)
19	The Prevent policy causes Muslim university students to self-censor themselves: students are no longer freely able to express themselves in appearance	"Muslim students are self-censoring and disengaging from UK campus life as a result of the UK Government's current counterterrorism strategy Prevent … many Muslim students modify their behaviour for fear of being stigmatised, labelled an extremist or subjected to discrimination." (SOAS, 2018)
20	The Prevent policy causes Muslim university students to self-censor themselves: students are no longer freely able to express their opinions, thoughts and beliefs vocally	Worse still, students – particularly those in social sciences and the humanities – will begin to self-censor out of fear that attacking Prevent, other security related matters or British foreign policy will only lead to trouble (FOSIS, 2018)

Table 1. Authors own table. Table that illustrates each statement used in the survey and justification for including it in the survey

3.2.5 Overview of interview method

Besides using surveys, the Thesis conducted three interviews to provide supplementary information to the survey data. The interviews provided further insight and a more detailed account of how the Prevent policy had affected Muslims' lives. The remainder of this sub-section will detail why it was only necessary to interview a small number of participants, how the interviews were conducted and the approach that the Thesis took in the interviews.

Although Dworkin states that a minimum of 5 interviews is often recommended as the minimum sample size in scholarly literature to provide adequate data (2012), interviews were only used in this Thesis to provide supplementary insight in addition to the data collected from the surveys. It was therefore not deemed necessary to conduct more interviews as the 3 interviews provided sufficient data for the intended purpose of giving supplementary insight.

Due to the politically sensitive nature of the Prevent policy, each respondent's identity remains anonymous. All interview data will be cited by a number assigned at random from 30 – 32. Additionally, the Thesis has omitted other information, such as the name of the university the respondent attended, as citing this information could result in negative repercussions for that university.

As participants were located across the UK, they were difficult to reach in person and therefore interviews took place over the phone. The Thesis used the internet to conduct the phone calls via WhatsApp and recorded the interviews using Voice Memos for iMac; Otranscribe software aided the process of manually transcribing the interviews. Each of the interviewees electronically signed a consent form, which outlined that they agreed to the recording, transcribing and use of interview data in this Thesis.

Although there is a chance that respondents would react differently if face to face interviews were conducted, undertaking the interviews over the phone ensured that no costs were incurred and interviews could be arranged, conducted and transcribed within a tight timeframe (Block & Erskine, 2012). Additionally, the physical separation between the interviewee and the interviewer created a level of anonymity, which permitted the interviewee to speak more openly about the topic (Block & Erskine, 2012).

The Thesis used a semi-structured approach for the interviews. Semi-structured interviews are flexible and consist of a list of standardised questions that do not have to be answered in the same order (Hatry et al., 2015). Semi-structured interviews provide a

level of flexibility that gives the respondent the freedom to steer the conversation towards what they want. It also enables the respondent to share insights based on their own particular experience and perspective. For all the interviews, I used a set of 22 questions as a basis. The table below lists the set of questions used; however, this list is not exhaustive; each interview had more questions, which arose from the flow and content of the conversation.

	Standard Interview Questions
1	When did you first learn about the Prevent policy?
2	What were your initial impressions of the Prevent policy?
3	How did you feel when you first heard about the Prevent policy?
4	Did you ever take any action to try and promote or impede the Prevent policy?
5	Did you ever consider what the repercussions may be if you campaigned for or against the Prevent policy?
6	Why do you think the Prevent policy was implemented?
7	What do you think the Prevent policy symbolises?
8	How does the Prevent policy make you feel? Safe/anxious/cautious
9	Do you try and alter your behaviour because of the Prevent strategy?
10	Do you try and alter your appearance because of the Prevent strategy?
11	Does the Prevent policy affect how you integrate into the university student community?
12	How do you think the Prevent policy affects social cohesion at university? a) Between Muslims and non-Muslims students b) Between Muslim and Muslims students
13	What are the major problems of the Prevent policy?
14	What are the major strengths of the Prevent policy?
15	What kind of agenda is Prevent delivering?
16	Do you think academic staff have been forced to alter their behaviour due to the Prevent strategy?
17	Do you think the Prevent strategy makes university staff treat Muslim students differently?
18	How do you think your lecturers feel about the Prevent strategy?

19	Do you think your lecturers' support or oppose the Prevent strategy?
20	What action have lecturers taken to make you think they may hold this view of the Prevent strategy?
21	Do university security staff act in the same way regardless of which student association is running an event?
22	Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

Table 2. Authors own table. Overview of the standard set of interview questions.

3.3 Data analysis of the empirical data

Quantitative data was analysed using IBM, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 25. Analytic techniques primarily employed descriptive statistics and Cross Tabulations with Chi-Square tests. Additionally, Microsoft Excel was used to create the charts utilised in Chapter 4. This remainder of this section will further outline how the empirical data was analysed. Documenting how the empirical data was analysed is important for because if the Thesis is replicated or peer-reviewed, individuals must be able to comprehend how the data was analysed so that they understand how the findings of the Thesis were reached.

3.3.1 Creating tables for data illustration

This sub-section will briefly outline how the tables and charts that are utilised Chapter 4 "Presenting and Discussing the Findings" were constructed.

To collect data the Thesis conducted a survey where participants were asked to respond to a number of statements about the Prevent policy. Answers were recorded using a 5-point Likert scale from Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree. However, in order for the results to be clearly illustrated, the Thesis used SPSS to re-code the answers "Strongly Agree" and "Agree" to equal "Agree" and re-coded the answers "Disagree" and "Strongly Disagree" to equal to "Disagree". The Thesis also removed any "Neutral" answers. This allowed the research to outline how many participants "Agree" or "Disagree" to the survey statements. The Thesis was then able to export the data from SPSS to Excel by converting the data into a ".csv" file. Once the data was in Excel, the Thesis was able to construct charts that just illustrated how many participants "Agree" with the survey statements. Constructing charts that only illustrated how many participants agree

with the survey statements allowed the Thesis to present the findings from the survey in a much clearer format. If the charts had illustrated all 5 answers from the Likert scale it would be much more difficult to determine the perspectives of the participants.

3.3.2 Correlation analysis

This Thesis used correlation tests to investigate if any of the demographic variables affected the answers participants provided in the survey. This sub-section will explain how and justify why the correlation tests were conducted.

Cross Tabulations with Chi-Square tests analyse if there is a relationship between two categorical variables. For example, to analyse if a respondents Sex influenced a respondent's answer to the statement "The Prevent policy operates on Islamophobic ideas and stereotypes". To do this, demographic variables: Sex, Birthplace, Secondary School, University category, Age, were each re-coded so there were only two possible outcomes e.g. Birthplace was recoded, so respondents answers' were categorised into 'England' and 'Outside England'. Re-coding the answers allowed for 2x2 Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests could be conducted to outline if there was any relationship between respondents demographics and their propensity to answer 'Agree' or 'Disagree' to the survey statements. A Cross Tabulation table and Chi-Square test table is presented as an example, whilst the rest of the results are expressed in a table to save space as there were 100 Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests conducted and reported on.

The Cross-Tabulation tables illustrate both the observed count ('Count') and the 'Expected count'. The expected count is the value that is expected if there was no association between the two variables. If there is no relationship the expected count and the observed count will be very similar.

The Chi-Square test table highlights if the observed counts are different enough to the expected counts for the association to be significant. The bottom of the Chi-square test table outlines what percentage of the cells have an expected count less than 5. This is important, as it is an assumption of the Chi-Square test. If the percentage is greater than 20%, then the assumption is violated. If the assumption is not violated, the Pearson Chi-Square value can be analysed. The Asymptotic significance (2-sided) is our p-value. The alpha value is 0.05. The alpha value is 0.05 as the association is tested at the 5% level of

significance. If the p-value is greater than the alpha value (0.05), the association is not significant. If the association is not significant, there is confirmation that there is no correlation between the two categorical variables. E.g., there is no relationship between Sex and respondents propensity to agree to the statement "Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program".

The equation used to determine if there is a significant correlation between the two categorical variables is below.

X2 (degrees of freedom, N = sample size) = chi-square statistical value, p = p value.

3.3.3 Analysis of the qualitative data

This sub-section will outline how the qualitative data from the survey and the interviews will be analysed.

Qualitative data obtained from the open-ended question in the survey and the interviews will be analysed using a thematic analysis technique. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. Themes capture something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). As the Thesis conducted just three interviews and only 29 respondents answered the open-ended survey question, the Thesis conducted manual thematic analysis and coded the qualitative data in accordance with the three sub-questions of this Thesis. Chapter 4 presents qualitative data from the survey and interviews using well-illustrated. Whilst transcribing the interviews and presenting the quotes in a word-for-word style sometimes reduces the clarity of the quotations, this is done to ensure that the Thesis did not misquote the information provided by the survey participants and the interviewees (Halcomb and Davidson, 2006).

3.4 Acknowledging and overcoming limitations

Using the internet to conduct surveys opens up new, unique possibilities for empirical research in the field of social sciences. The internet creates opportunities to measure new or complex concepts such as perceptions (Schonlau et al. 2009:291). However, there are

also numerous drawbacks of conducting Web Surveys. This sub-section will acknowledge the limitations of this Thesis and detail how the Thesis attempted to overcome and limit the impact of these limitations.

Firstly, web surveys often suffer from coverage error due to a mismatch between the target population and the frame population (Umbac, 2004:25). The target population, Muslim students based at UK universities, is the larger group, which the research attempts to make inferences from. The frame population is a subset of this larger group that the researcher is able to access. When the frame population does not fully 'cover' the target population, representativeness is threatened (Umbac, 2004:25-26). As it was not possible to contact all individuals that belong to the UK Muslim student community, the frame population does not cover all of the individuals in the target population, as such; the Thesis recognises that coverage error is a limitation. Due to the restricted timeframe to complete the data collection, this Thesis expected to experience coverage error, however a number of steps were taken to ensure that the survey was spread a widely as possible. A key step was to contact gatekeepers, by contacting gatekeepers who had direct access to the target population, this Thesis was able to encourage over 150 participants to engage in the web survey.

Sampling error is another source of error in Web surveys. Unless all members of a population have an equal chance to be included in a sample, the sample, no matter how large, cannot be representative the population (Umbach, 2004:26). To start with, Web surveys require participants to have internet access. Members of the population who do not have internet access cannot have an equal chance of participating in the survey. Members would also have less chance of engaging with the Thesis if they did not have social media accounts, WhatsApp or were not members of their university's Islamic/Muslim society. As it was not possible to make every single member of the target population equally aware of the Thesis, sampling error is a limitation of this Thesis. This Thesis did attempt to reduce the impact of this limitation by trying to advertise the survey through a number of different channels such as via university lecturers, social media, WhatsApp and word of mouth. By doing this, the Thesis hoped to increase the accessibility of the survey and made effort to ensure that the survey was known to the as much of the target population as possible.

Additionally, this Thesis suffers from self-selection bias as the Thesis depended on the voluntary engagement of participants. Self-selection bias is the problem that occurs when respondents are allowed to decide themselves if they want to participate (Lavrakas, 2008). Self-section bias may bias the conclusions, as the resulting sample tends to be overrepresented by individuals who have strong opinions (Groves et al. 2009). This is a common limitation experienced when conducting surveys as almost all survey samples self-select to some extent due to refusal-related nonresponses among the target population (Lavrakas, 2008). Whilst the Thesis was not able to force individuals from the target community to engage in the survey, the Thesis did attempt to overcome this limitation by persuading gatekeepers to spread information about the survey amongst their friends and family who were also members of the target population. Whilst this did not force other individuals to engage in the survey, this was done to help apply some social pressure, so individuals who may not have originally opted to engage in the survey were now more likely to take part.

Finally, research that utilises surveys and interviews rely on truthful responses from participants to draw meaningful conclusions (Moretl, 2008:41). All research that gathers information from respondents must deal with the limitation of response bias. Response bias is the tendency of a person to answer questions on a survey untruthfully or misleadingly. A respondent may choose not to answer truthfully due to a number of reasons, including social desirability. Instead of responding truthfully the participant may provide an answer that they consider to be socially desirable, thus instead of providing an honest answer, which may depict them in a negative way, the respondent will present a favourable image of themselves (Johnson and Fendrich 2005). If participants provide socially desirable responses, instead of honest accounts, the validity of the survey is negatively impacted. As socially desirable responding is most likely to occur in responses to socially sensitive questions, social desirability bias is a key limitation of this Thesis (King and Brunner 2000). However, the Thesis did attempt to overcome the limitation of social desirability by removing any interviewer involvement from the survey. As there was no interviewer physically present to conduct the survey in person, this helped remove some of the pressure on participants to provide socially desirable answers. By removing interviewer involvement, participants were more likely to answer the survey honestly, which resulted in a greater authenticity of responses and helped increase the validity of the empirical data collected (Otieno and Matoke, 2014).

4.0 PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter presents and discusses the data and is organised as follows. First, frequency tables are used to outline the sample that engaged with the web survey. The second section of this chapter outlines how the Prevent policy implicates Muslim university students and is further divided into 3 parts, which directly answer the 3 sub-questions of this Thesis. This is done to help provide an overall answer to the main research question of this Thesis *To what extent does the 'Prevent' policy contribute to the grievances experienced by Muslim university students in the United Kingdom?* Finally, the Third part of this chapter briefly presents and discusses the findings of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests that were carried out by this Thesis. This chapter will be followed by the concluding chapter of this Thesis.

4.1 Analysis of the sample

In this section, frequency tables are used to outline the demographics of the sample that engaged with the web survey. This sub-section takes each of the eight demographic questions that were posed at the start of the survey, outlines the question that was asked to participants, then utilises a frequency table to provides an overview of what answers were provided to the question and then briefly comment on whether the results aligned with the expectations of the Thesis.

Mapping out the demographics of the sample population and comparing it to the expectations of the Thesis is important as it allows the Thesis to assess the validity of the sample. By assessing the validity of the sample and determining if the sample that the research engaged with is similar to the sample that the research intended to engage with, the Thesis can determine whether accurate and conclusive findings can be drawn using the data provided by the sample (Law, 2004).

Question 1: What is your age?

Table to illustrate the Age category of respondents

1. What is your age?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent

Valid	18-21	64	42,1	42,7	42,7
	22-25	48	31,6	32,0	74,7
	26-29	13	8,6	8,7	83,3
	30+	21	13,8	14,0	97,3
	Prefer not to say	4	2,6	2,7	100,0
	Total	150	98,7	100,0	
Missing	Missing	2	1,3		
Total		152	100,0		

(Table 3. Authors own table. Overview of the Age of respondents.)

The frequency table outlines that there were 152 respondents to the survey. Of these respondents, 64 (42.1%) indicated that they were aged 18-21, 31.6% were 22-25, 8.6% were 26-29 and 13.8% were aged 30 or older. 4 respondents preferred not to answer the question and 2 respondents missed the question. These findings are aligned with the expectations as The Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) outlines that the most common age category for students to belong to when they enrolled in a higher education institution is '20 or under'. As students were most commonly 20 or under when they first enrolled and undergraduate degrees in the UK are typically 3 years long (Times Higher Education, 2017), the Thesis anticipated that respondents would predominantly belong to the 18-21 and 22-25 age categories.

Question 2: What is your sex?

Table to illustrate the Sex of respondents

2. What is your sex?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	male	70	46,1	46,7	46,7
	female	72	47,4	48,0	94,7
	Prefer not to say	8	5,3	5,3	100,0
	Total	150	98,7	100,0	
Missing	Missing	2	1,3		
Total		152	100,0		

(Table 4. Authors own table. Overview of the Sex of respondents)

There were almost equal numbers of male and female respondents. 70 (46.1%) respondents classified as male, whilst 72 (47.4%) classified as female. Having slightly more female than male respondents is concurrent with the expectations. In 2015/16 there were more female Muslims (52.8%) than males Muslims (47.2%) enrolled at UK higher education institutions (Malik and Wykes, 2018).

Question 3: Where was your place of birth?

Table to illustrate the place of Birthplace of respondents

3. Where was your place of birth?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	England	103	67,8	69,6	69,6
	Scotland	3	2,0	2,0	71,6
	Wales	2	1,3	1,4	73,0
	EU	7	4,6	4,7	77,7
	Middle East / North Africa	8	5,3	5,4	83,1
	South Asia	15	9,9	10,1	93,2
	South East Asia	1	,7	,7	93,9
	North America	2	1,3	1,4	95,3
	East Africa	1	,7	,7	95,9
	Africa	2	1,3	1,4	97,3
	Peshawar	1	,7	,7	98,0
	Kenya	1	,7	,7	98,6
	Hong Kong	1	,7	,7	99,3
	Norway	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	148	97,4	100,0	
Missing	Missing	4	2,6		
Total		152	100,0		

(Table 5. Authors own table. Overview of Birthplace of respondents)

The majority (67.8%) of respondents were born in England. This aligned with expectations as most people who attend higher education in the UK are from England (HESA, 2019). The fact that there were only 3 respondents from Scotland and 2 from Wales could be perceived as surprising as the Prevent policy is a policy implemented by the government of the United Kingdom, which has jurisdiction to implement policy in Scotland and Wales, therefore you would expect more individuals from Scotland and Wales to have engaged with the study. However, the low engagement rates from Scottish individuals could be explained by the fact that there is separate guidance for the implementation of the Prevent duty in Scotland (Prevent duty guidance, 2018). Students who were born in Scotland and remained in Scotland for university education may not have engaged much with Prevent and consequently not felt much inclination to engage with a survey on the topic. Additionally, the number of Welsh Muslim is less than 1% of the overall Welsh population (ONS, 2011), so the expectations of Welsh Muslim university students engaging with this study were very low.

Question 4: Which category best describes your ethnic group?

Table to illustrate Ethnicity of respondents

4. Which category best describes your ethnic group?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	White - English / Welsh / Scottish / Northern Irish / British	7	4,6	4,7	4,7
	White - Irish	1	,7	,7	5,3
	Any other White background	3	2,0	2,0	7,3
	Any other Mixed / Multiple ethnic background	4	2,6	2,7	10,0
	Asian / Asian British - Indian	8	5,3	5,3	15,3

	Asian / Asian British - Pakistani	48	31,6	32,0	47,3
	Asian / Asian British - Bangladeshi	30	19,7	20,0	67,3
	Asian / Asian British - Chinese	1	,7	,7	68,0
	Any other Asian / Asian British background	7	4,6	4,7	72,7
	Black / African / Caribbean / Black British - African	16	10,5	10,7	83,3
	Black / African / Caribbean / Black British - Caribbean	1	,7	,7	84,0
	Any other Black / African / Caribbean / Black British	4	2,6	2,7	86,7
	Arab	15	9,9	10,0	96,7
	Any other ethnic group	5	3,3	3,3	100,0
	Total	150	98,7	100,0	
Missing	Missing	1	,7		
	System	1	,7		
	Total	2	1,3		
Total		152	100,0		

(Table 6. Authors own table. Overview of Ethnicity of respondents)

Asian/Asian British – Pakistani was the most common ethnicity of respondents (31.6%). The ethnicity of respondents is reflective of the general British Muslim population, as the 2011 Census data outlines that the most common ethnic group for British Muslims to identify as was 'Pakistani Muslim' (Office of National Statistics, 2011). Furthermore, in 2011, the second most common ethnic group that British Muslims identified with was

'Bangladeshi Muslims' (Malik and Wykes, 2018), which is also in line with the ethnicity of our respondents (19.7%).

Question 5: What is your current religion, if any?

Table to illustrate the Religion of respondents

5. What is your current religion, if any?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Christian/Protestant/ Methodist/Lutheran/ Baptist	4	2,6	2,6	2,6
	Muslim	139	91,4	92,1	94,7
	Atheist or agnostic	1	,7	,7	95,4
	Nothing in particular	5	3,3	3,3	98,7
	55	1	,7	,7	99,3
	Prefer not to say	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	151	99,3	100,0	
Missing	Missing	1	,7		
Total		152	100,0		

(Table 7. Authors own table. Overview of Religion of respondents)

91.4 % of respondents self-identified as Muslim. This is not reflective of the general UK student community. Only 9% of the UK student community self-identified as Muslim in 2011 (ECU, 2011). The number of respondents that identified as Muslim in this Thesis is disproportionately higher than the general student population because the Thesis aimed to explore the perceptions of the UK Muslim students, thus the Thesis predominately focused on obtaining responses from students that self-identified as Muslim.

Question 6: How would you categorise your secondary school?

Table to illustrate the category of Secondary school that respondents attended

6. How would you categorise your secondary school?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent

Valid	State - non-selective	98	64,5	64,9	64,9
	State - selective	20	13,2	13,2	78,1
	Private / independent	20	13,2	13,2	91,4
	Other	9	5,9	6,0	97,4
	11	4	2,6	2,6	100,0
	Total	151	99,3	100,0	
Missing	Missing	1	,7		
Total		152	100,0		

(Table 8. Authors own table. Overview of the Secondary school attended by respondents)

The majority (64.5%) of respondents attended State – Non-selective secondary schools. Whilst 13.2% attended State – Selective and another 13.2% attended Private/Independent secondary schools. These statistics differ slightly from the current student population. According to HESA, only 9% of students enrolled in UK higher education institutions attended privately-funded schools, whereas 13.2% of our respondents attended Private/Independent schools (2018). The mismatched could be because a number of Muslim-faith secondary schools in the UK are low-cost private schools (Coughlan, 2016).

Question 7: How would you categorise the university you are currently enrolled at?

Table to illustrate whether students were enrolled at Russel or non-Russell group universities

7. How would you categorise the university you are currently enrolled at?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Russell group	74	48,7	49,0	49,0
	Non-Russell group	61	40,1	40,4	89,4
	Prefer not to say	16	10,5	10,6	100,0
	Total	151	99,3	100,0	
Missing	Missing	1	,7		
Total		152	100,0		

(Table 9. Authors own table. Overview of University attended by respondents)

There was a close split between respondents from the Russell group and respondents from non-Russell group universities. 48.7% of respondents outlined they attended Russell group university, whilst 40.1% outlined the attended a non-Russell group university. As the Thesis attempted to gather empirical data from individuals that attended both Russell group and non-Russell group universities, this Thesis is largely content that there is a fairly even split between the 2 groups.

Question 8: What faculty does your studies belong to?

Table to illustrate the Faculty that respondents belonged to at university

8. What faculty does your studies belong to?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Humanities and Social Sciences	78	51,3	51,7	51,7
	Medicine and Medical Sciences	24	15,8	15,9	67,5
	Science, Agriculture and Engineering	30	19,7	19,9	87,4
	Prefer not to say	19	12,5	12,6	100,0
	Total	151	99,3	100,0	
Missing	Missing	1	,7		
Total		152	100,0		

(Table 10. Authors own table. Overview of the faculty respondents belonged to)

The majority (51.3%) of respondents studied university subjects belonging to the Humanities and Social Sciences faculty. 19.7% studied subjects belonging to Sciences, Agriculture and Engineering faculty, whilst 15.8% of respondents belonged to the Medicine, Medical Sciences faculty. This is aligned with the expectations of the study as students who study Humanities and Social Sciences are often regarded as the most likely to engage in topics relating to government policy (Human Right Watch, 2016; NUS, 2017)

4.1.1 Summary of the sample

The frequency table's outlines that the respondents to the survey were predominately-aged 18-25 (73.7%), born in England (67.8%), were Asian in ethnicity (61.9%), attended as State – Non-selective (64.5%) and self-identified a Muslim (91.4%). As this sample largely coincides with the expectations, this Thesis believes that valid and conclusive findings can be drawn from this sample.

4.2 Presenting the perceptions

The survey presented participants with 20 statements relating to the Prevent policy. Respondents ranked their opinion on a 5-point Likert scale from Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree. The following sub-section presents and discusses the perceptions of the respondents in unison with the interview data. The subsection will first present a summary of the findings from the survey, before addressing the three sub-questions of this Thesis.

4.2.1 Summary of the statistical findings

Fig.1 provides a summary of the results. Presented along the vertical axis are the survey statements, whilst the horizontal axis presents the percentage of respondents that agreed with the statement. Significantly:

- Only 12.9% of respondents agreed that "University lecturers are adequately trained to spot signs of radicalisation".
- 91.4% of respondents agreed that "The Prevent policy operates on Islamophobic ideas and stereotypes".
- 92.3% believed "Muslim university students are more likely to be referred to the channel prevention program".
- 94.9% agreed that "Muslim university students are more likely to be **wrongly** referred to the channel prevention program".
- 90.8% agreed that "The implementation of the Prevent policy at universities has been introduced to increase surveillance of the Muslim student community".
- 91% agreed that "The prevent policy has increased the level of anxiety experienced by Muslim students at university".

The Thesis highlights these 6 findings in particular because from these 6 findings, an initial conclusion can be drawn that Muslim university students do not believe that university staff are adequately trained to implement the Prevent policy and that Muslim students are negatively implicated by the Prevent policy. Additionally, from these findings, the Thesis is able to suggest that the implications of the Prevent policy for Muslim university students may be more severe than for non-Muslim university students.

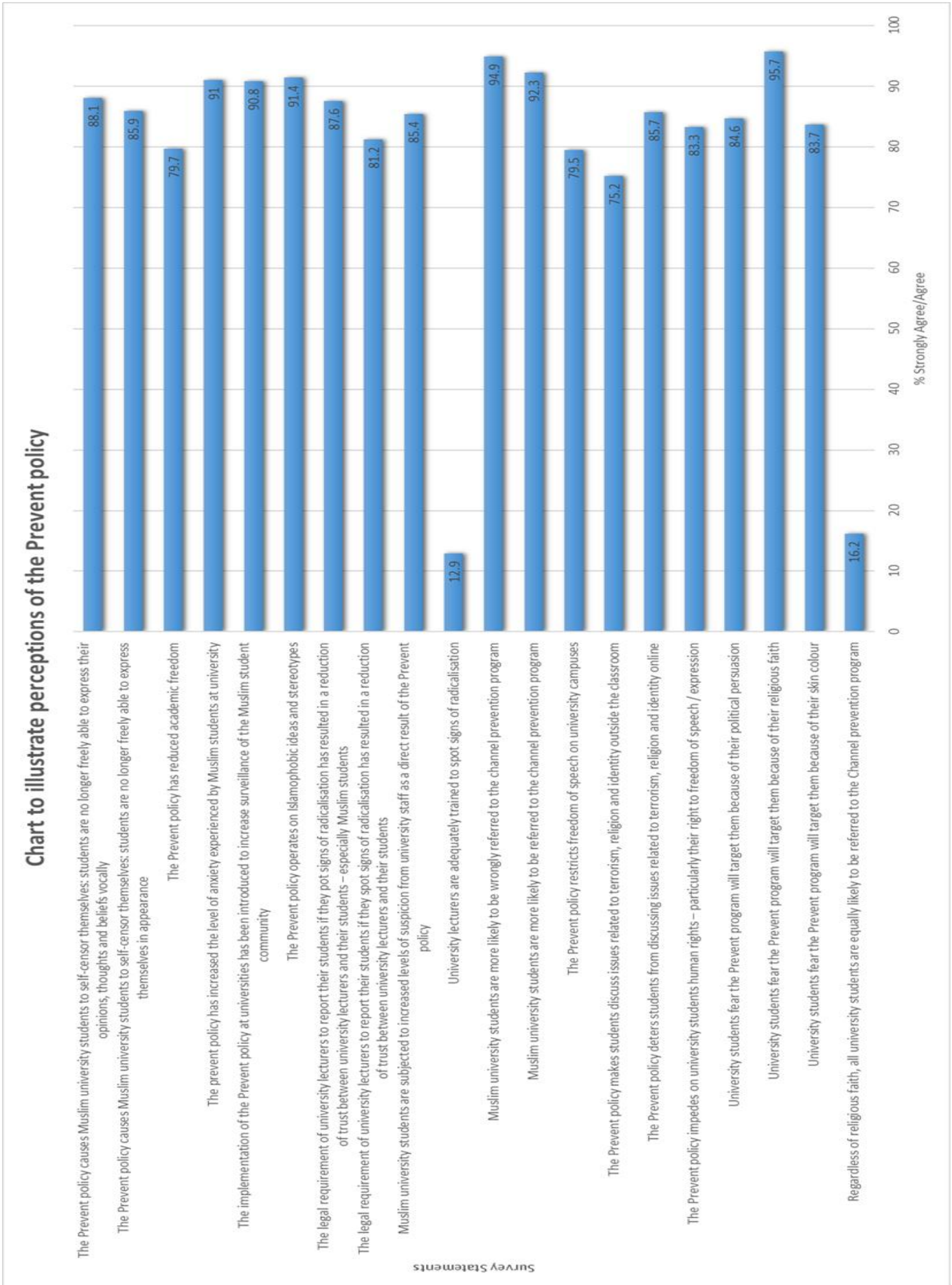

Fig 3. Authors own chart. Overview of perceptions.

4.2.2 Discrimination of Muslim students

This part of the sub-section will directly answer the first sub-question of this thesis: *Do Muslim students feel targeted by the Prevent policy?* The chart below illustrates the survey findings that directly answer this sub-question.

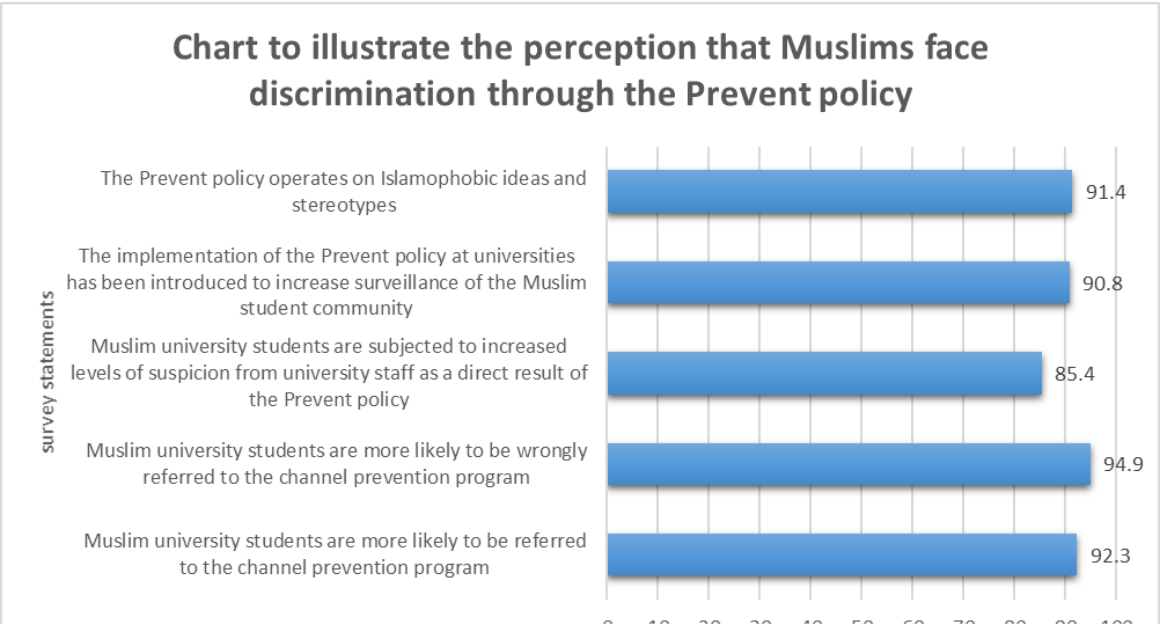

Fig 4. Authors own chart. Overview of perceptions that indicate discrimination.

Fig. 2 outlines that over 90% of respondents believe that Prevent operates on Islamophobic ideas and stereotypes and agree that Muslim students are more likely to face Channel referral. Additionally, over 90% of respondents believe a reason for the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities was to increase surveillance of the Muslim student community and nearly 95% of respondents agree that Muslim university students are more likely to be **wrongly** referred to Channel. These findings indicate that university staff target Muslim students and treat them with prejudice because of their religious identity.

The statistical data is further supported by quotes from the survey and the interviews, for example respondent 30 outlined that although "*Prevent itself …doesn't say anything about Muslims specifically, the application of it suggests completely otherwise*" (Respondent 30, 2019). "*Many Muslim students are wrongfully reported and remain under suspicion"* (Respondent 17, 2019) University staff target Muslims because there remains a presumption that Islamic Extremists are predominately motivated to cause violence because of their religion. As Muslims exhibit markers that link them to dangerous Islamic

Extremist groups, there is a presumption that all Muslims are capable of engaging in terrorism (Breen-Smyth, 2013; Green, 2020). Consequently, university staff perceive Muslim students as potentially dangerous and are more likely to perceive behaviour by Muslims as suspicious (Breen-Smyth, 2013). The assumption that all Muslims are dangerous results in university staff subjecting innocent Muslims students to surveillance, discrimination and incorrect referral to Channel. Additionally, the legal requirement of university staff to undertake the Prevent duty, their lack of counterterrorism expertise and flawed assessment tool (ERG22+), exacerbate the issue (Human Rights Watch, 2015; NUS,2017). As a result of all these factors, Muslim university students become the target of the Prevent policy at universities. Regardless of whether university staff target Muslims consciously because they actually believe all Muslims are dangerous or they focus on Muslim university students because they are mistaken and do not understand that certain actions or behaviour by students do not equate to them being vulnerable to radicalisation, Muslim university students perceive that they are targeted by the Prevent policy.

The fact that the statistics outline that Muslim university students believe they are targeted by the Prevent policy is particularly worrying as the issue of Muslims being the focus of the Prevent policy has previously been raised in parliament and addressed by legislative changes to the policy. After the 2010 review of the Prevent policy the legislation was altered to ensure Muslims were no longer the object of the policy (Heath-Kelly, 2012). However, it appears that despite this change in legislation, since the Prevent policy has been implemented in universities, Muslims remain the focus of the policy, which is illegal according to European and UK law. The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) outlines all individuals have the right to enjoy other rights, free from discrimination on any ground such as religion (ECHR, 2010:51). Under the "UK 2010 Equality Act". It is against the law to discriminate against anyone because of religion (HM government 2010). Despite the change in legislation, the human rights accord and the equality act legislating against religious discrimination, this Thesis has found that the Prevent policy is perceived to continue to target Muslims.

As over 90% of respondents believe that Prevent operates on Islamophobic ideas and stereotypes and agree that Muslim students are more likely to face Channel referral this Thesis suggests that there needs to be further alterations to the legislation or there

needs to be alterations to how the policy is implemented to ensure that these flaws are addressed. Especially since nearly 95% of respondents agree that Muslim university students are more likely to be **wrongly** referred to Channel, there is clearly a perception that the implementation of the Prevent policy is resulting in the discrimination of Muslim university students.

Furthermore, the statistics from the web survey confirm allegations that widening the remit of the Prevent policy to include university staff has resulted in the surveillance and discrimination of Muslim students at university (NUS, 2017). Over 85% of respondents believe that Muslim students are treated with greater suspicion as a direct result the Prevent policy and over 90% agree that the Prevent policy was implemented at universities' as a way to increase surveillance Muslim student communities. Whilst these findings are alarming and highlight that there are negative perceptions about the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities, these findings do align with the theoretical framework of this Thesis and provides empirical evidence that supports the theory of the 'suspect community'. As Muslim students exhibit religious markers that link them to extremist groups, university staff treat Muslims with suspicion, thus Muslim students are more likely to face Channel referral. Survey respondent 9 concludes that the Prevent is "*a policy designed to exactly that, surveil, target and ensure self-censorship"* amongst Muslims (Respondent 9, 2019). The following section explores how this targeting of Muslim university students by the Prevent policy has had several the implications for Muslim university students.

4.2.3 Implications of the Prevent policy for Muslim university students

This subsection will directly answer the second sub-question of this Thesis: *What are the personal implications of the Prevent policy for Muslim university students?* The remainder of this sub-section is divided further into three parts, the first part will outline how the Prevent policy encourages students to self-censor their opinions. The second part details the mental health implications that the Prevent policy has on some Muslim university students. Finally, the Third part discusses the possibility that the Prevent policy may contribute to individuals radicalisation.

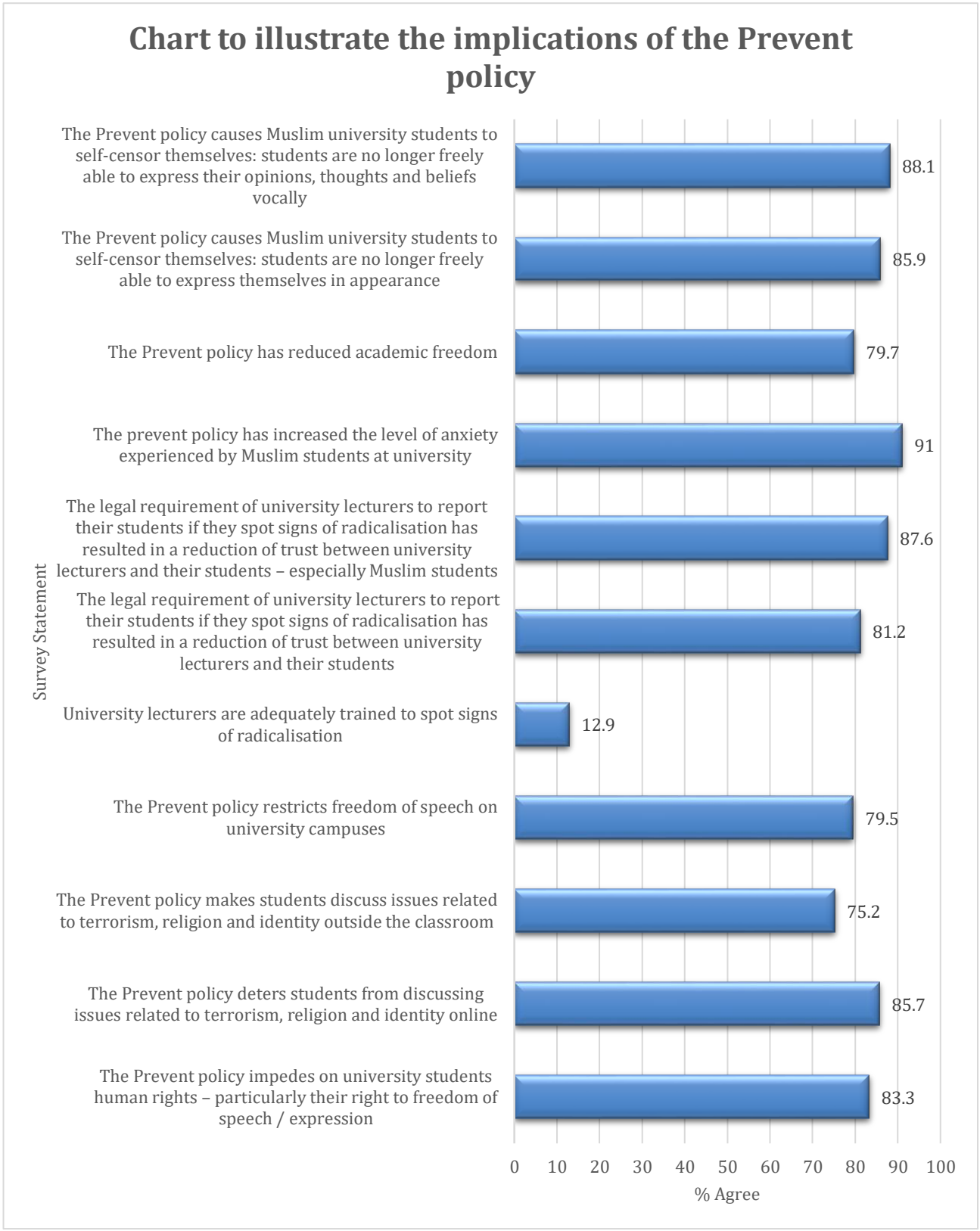

Fig 5. Authors own chart. Overview of Implications.

4.2.3.1 How the prevent policy encourages self-censorship

One of the key findings from the literature review, survey data and interview data was this idea that Muslims are forced to self-censor their opinions and appearance to avoid being seen as critical, to reduce their 'Muslimness' and to avoid facing discrimination (Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009; Awan, 2012; Breen-Smyth, 2013; Sutton, 2015, Awan, 2019). This part of the subsection will discuss the findings that outline how the Prevent policy encourages Muslim university students to self-censor themselves and in some instances causes students to completely remove themselves from the university environment to avoid discrimination and any chance of them being referred to the Channel process.

Respondent 8 outlines how, the implementation of the Prevent policy at university completely destroyed any trust in their student-tutor relationship and forced them to isolate themselves from tutorials.

> [I] was very very careful to only say subject relevant things to the tutor and not reveal details about personal life. This had a poor impact on my academic life as there were times where I could use the tutor's help but did not. Right now, I no longer need to attend tutorials so I don't go, would rather just attend lectures only and do everything else remotely (Respondent 8, 2019)

This extract from the survey outlines that the implementation of Prevent policy at university can instil a fear within students that is so severe that it causes them to self-isolate themselves from university to ensure they avoid Channel referral. Whilst it is unlikely that the implications of Prevent are this severe for every student, this extract outlines just how devastating the impact of the Prevent policy can be for some Muslim university students.

Furthermore, the statistics from the survey outline that there is a clear perception that Prevent reduces academic freedom, restricts student's freedom to express and diminishes trust in staff-student relationships. Prevent has these implications as it creates "*an atmosphere of fear*" (Respondent 28, 2019). Students fear that if they express critical opinions, undertrained university staff will incorrectly perceive them of being vulnerable to radicalisation and refer them to Channel. Respondent 19 details how Prevent referral can have a significant impact on their life inside and outside of university:

> If someone is referred to prevent their and their families lives are turned upside down. What makes things worse is that most people don't want to associate with people who've been referred to prevent as they fear they will either be suspected or due to not understanding the issues, they think that person must have done something wrong to be referred to prevent. So people are blacklisted from their own community and friends for being Muslim at the wrong place at the wrong time. (Respondent 19, 2019).

Even if the individual exits the Channel process immediately and law enforcement clearers them of being vulnerable to radicalisation, the impact of Channel referral is significant and should not be underestimated (IRHC, 2013). Referral to Channel can result in marginalisation of individuals from their own communities (IRHC, 2013).

As university staff are more likely to refer Muslim students, the implications of the Prevent policy are greater for Muslim students. Muslim students must constantly negotiate whether expressing an opinion is worth the risk of facing Channel referral. Through fear of referral Muslim students are discouraged from expressing critical opinions as they worry "*how is this person gonna interpret it if I say it like this. Will I get reported for it?*" (Respondent 29, 2019). This respondent was not alone in having these concerns, over 88% of respondents agreed that Muslim university students are forced to self-censor their opinions because of the Prevent policy. Respondent 28 also details that Muslim students are particularly afraid to voice any opinions that are critical of British foreign policy:

> We have a viewpoint on these things, but there's no room for any intellectual debate or discussion. It is either you pedal what we say, the government says, or you are basically with them. You're an extremist. (2019).

Due to the 'us' and 'them' narrative surrounding the war on terror, Muslim students fear that if they are critical of British foreign policy, university staff may assume they are engaged in Islamic Extremist narratives and vulnerable to radicalisation.

Respondent 29 provides further example of the anxious mind-set that the Prevent policy induces - "*if he is against the UK bombing in Syria, does that mean he is supporting the Jihad's?*" (2019). Again, we observe that students fear that any ideas that elucidate to a perspective, which is critical of British military action could be viewed as 'extreme' and

warrant referral. Overall, the data suggests that the Prevent policy induces an anxious mind-set for Muslim students who must constantly self-censor their opinions to avoid Channel referral.

Furthermore, due to the construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community' Muslims fear that if their appearance indicates they are Muslim or say anything that is not a mainstream perspective, this could also lead to referral. Over 85% of respondents agreed that Muslim students are forced to self-censor their appearance due to the Prevent policy and respondent 28 also elucidates to this constant need to self-censor:

> There is the fear of being blacklisted. We'd hear that some students, they get marked, they get reported, for certain things, maybe they just looking too Islamic, maybe they've said something that is a bit questionable and then that mark will stay with you (Respondent 28, 2019).

Prevent causes Muslims anxiety over whether their appearance could link them to Islam, Islamic Extremists and be interpreted as a 'sign' that they are vulnerable to radicalisation. This causes some Muslim such anxiety that they try and supresses their 'Muslimness' and assimilate into the majority group of society (Breen-Smyth, 2013). Respondent 28 outlines whilst this notion is widespread amongst Muslims, some Muslims are affected worse than others:

> Some have been affected so badly, they've been affected so badly by the stereotypes and whatnot that they try, they try as much as possible not to be as Muslim as they are. (Respondent 28, 2019).

These findings of self-censorship align with the theory of the 'suspect community'. In attempt to escape discriminatory treatment and Channel referral, Muslim students self-censor their appearance, their critical opinions and try to perform alternative identities to avoid being associated with the violent subgroups of Muslims that belong Islamic Extremist organisations (Breen-Smyth, 2013). Causing Muslims to take self-censor themselves in this way not only has an immediate impact on their lives but can also have a longer-term impact on them as causing students anxiety and to self-censor their opinions can contribute to the development of other mental health problems. The following section will elaborate on how the mental health implications that the Prevent policy can have on Muslim university students.

4.2.3.2 The mental Health implications of the Prevent policy

A number of participants from the survey and the interviews highlighted how the implementation of the Prevent policy has negatively impacted on their mental health. This part of the sub-section will detail their accounts and discuss how the implementation of the Prevent policy has the propensity to cause mental health problems for university students.

Respondent 29 outlines that even within universities with large Muslim populations, Muslims "*still don't feel safe in that environment to talk in an open way."* (Respondent 29, 2019). Therefore, even within universities with large Muslim student communities, the Prevent policy is still able to have a silencing effect on Muslim students. Respondent 1 details how this silencing effect of the Prevent policy can make Muslim university students feel - "*The self-censorship and the way Muslim students (esp. Active Muslim students) are left to feel has caused mental health issues" (*Respondent 1, 2019). Respondent 29 adds, "*it's not good for your mental health, it's just like awful, it's like, it makes you feel anxious" (*Respondent 29, 2019*).* Forcing students to self-censor, supress and 'bottle up' their opinions due to the fear of referral induces anxiety within students – the survey found that over 90% agree that Prevent has increased the level of anxiety Muslim students experience. Increasing anxiety and can lead to psychological distress, trigger trauma and contribute to the development of long-term mental health problems (www.mind.org, ND).

As well as increasing anxiety, *"Due to Prevent, Muslim students are not accessing the mental health services because of the fear that prevent had induced"* (Respondent 11, 2019). Prevent discourages students from accessing mental health services as medical staff are included within the public sector agencies obligated to undertake the Prevent duty. As such, medical staff must refer anyone they suspect of being vulnerable to radicalisation. Students fear that if they disclose details about their psychological distress, medical staff may wrongly interpret that the student is vulnerable to radicalisation. Consequently, the Prevent policy has a double affect; the Prevent policy has the potential to trigger psychological distress for students at university and also discourage students from accessing to mental health services. Therefore, whilst the Prevent policy has the propensity to cause stress, it also has the potential to discourage students from accessing

the public health services that would provide support for students, thereby having even worse implications for students.

4.2.3.3 Radicalisation and the Prevent policy

This part of this sub-section will outline how the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities could potentially contribute to some individuals radicalisation. Whilst radicalisation is a difficult topic to navigate due to the conceptual challenges surrounding definitions of radicalisation, as the Prevent policy attempts to stop people becoming radicalised and support people who are vulnerable to radicalisation, this Thesis thought it was important to try and address the hypothesis that the policy could be contributing to the radicalisation of some individuals, when the policy is supposed to do the opposite (HM government, 2018). To address this hypothesis, this part will first report on how the implementation of the Prevent policy at universities has stimulated paranoia, frustration and violent outbursts amongst some students. Next, this part will outline how the implementation of the prevent policy has contributed to notions of marginalisation, exclusion and caused students to question if they are accepted at university. Finally, this part will use concepts from the literature to suggest how these notions of marginalisation, exclusion and anger may contribute to an individual's radicalisation.

Respondent 28 details how the Prevent policy and referral to the Channel program deeply unsettled them. As this individual was innocent, the referral created a lot confusion as they did not understand why they were being referred to the Channel program. Respondent 28 outlines that it caused them to question several things, such as why was I referred? What caused someone to think that they were vulnerable to radicalisation? Respondent 28 then outlines how being targeted by the Prevent policy caused so much confusion that they suffered from paranoia, which has an everlasting effect on their life:

> It 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 28, 2019).

By provoking students to question why they are discriminated against them, the Prevent policy can incite students to start questioning their identity, students worry about what it could have been that caused someone else to refer them and stress about whether they need to act differently or dress differently in order to avoid being referred again. By

causing students to address these questions, the Prevent policy can initiate a process where students may begin to question whether they belong or are accepted within society. This is concerning since social identity theory suggests that the process of radicalisation starts when people become confused about their identities (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2010). The process of radicalisation is believed to start when people question their identities because questions surrounding identity and belonging can lead to further enquiries about if they are treated equally to the majority group in society. If people begin to perceive that they are the victim of an unequal treatment and injustice, this has previously resulted in individuals' believing that violence is a legitimate response to these injustices, especially in retaliation to to oppressive counter-terrorism legislation and Islamophobia (Hillyard, 1993; Allen 2010). Within the university environment Respondent 30 outlines how the continuous suppression of ideas and enforced self-censorship can result in acts of aggression:

> I call them micro-aggressions, all of those forms of not being able to openly express their views to a point when they let it all go and it's like a volcano. (Respondent 30, 2019).

The frustration of not being able to express oneself can cause 'micro-aggressions' (Ibid.). Over time, these frustrations build up until individuals cannot withstand the pressure anymore, causing them to act out. Social isolation leads to alienation and grievances, which culminate in violence (Campbell and Connelly, 2008). Respondent 28 eludes to this pathway, outlining how self-censorship can be a factor that stimulates acts of terror:

> It creates silence, some people end up going crazy over that, and they are the ones that in the end, end up committing some of these acts of terror. Because they are, isolated, they had to isolate themselves from society because that's the only option that society gave to them. They didn't have a voice. If they wanted to get clarification on something like fighting in Islam or Jihad or terrorism then they could not, because that is a red flag (Respondent 28, 2019).

As previously outlined, the Prevent policy is perceived to have dissolved a significant amount of the trust in student-staff relationships, as well as reducing academic freedom and thwarting academic discussion. As students are unable to discuss contentious topics at university, students are unable to seek advice relating to issues or questions about

religion, identity or terrorism. Since students are no longer able to discuss these topics at university, students often have to seek out other platforms to discuss issues related to religion, identity and terrorism. This issue is outlined by Respondent 30:

> The areas they (students) should feel comfortable doing it, the areas that are supposed to provide enlightenment and education and critical analysis (universities) are being literally oppressed by this policy (Respondent 30, 2019).

Being unable to openly discuss contentious topics at university is significant because students who experience marginalisation and are searching for answers why they are experiencing marginalisation or have questions relating to religion, identity and terrorism students may feel the need to find other platforms to discuss these topics. Whilst searching, students may encounter extremist narratives online that provide explanations of why they are experiencing marginalisation, which are designed to entice them to start thinking from an extremist perspective. Whilst the extremist narratives may not immediately resonate with the individual, if the individual experiences further notions of marginalisation, the extremist narratives may begin to resonate more with their grievances. If the individual has no other source of truth about topics relating to religion, identity or terrorism because discussing it at universities is no longer an option, the individual may become more embedded within a group with extremist views. Social movement and social network theory indicate that the process of radicalisation is especially prevalent in groups (Kundnani, 2015). Group bonding, peer pressure and indoctrination can encourage the view that violence is a legitimate response to perceived injustice (HM Government, 2011: 18; Kundnani, 2015: 21). The process of indoctrination can vary in time, but the individual's opinions are likely to become extreme due to the echo chamber effect. Within an echo chamber there is an absence of a counter-narrative, extreme opinions are recycled and reinforced, and opinions become more and more extreme as individuals compete with who can express the most extreme views (Neumann, 2013). Consequently, whilst it may not happen for the majority of students, by removing the opportunity for students to engage in open debate about contentious topics such as religion, identity and terrorism, students may be forced to turn to alternative platforms to discuss these topics. Whilst students may engage in positive narratives relating to these topics, there is the chance that students may become embedded within extremists narratives. If students are unable to discuss these extremist narratives and they go

unquestioned, students may find themselves embedded and supporting extremist perspectives. Ultimately, social exclusion can trigger students to question their identity and stimulate notions of marginalisation, which can make extremist narratives more appealing. If students find themselves within a tightly knit group, with an echo chamber of extremist narratives, this can contribute to a student's indoctrination. By pushing students to seek alternative platforms to discuss contentious topics, the Prevent policy could be inciting 'hidden' radicalisation and increase the threat of terrorism, despite being a policy designed to do the opposite.

If the UK government fails to correct the Prevent policy, the UK risks abandoning Muslim students who may resort to extremist groups because they offer a greater sense of identity and belonging (Dodd and Gani, 2015; Drissel, 2011; Harris and Roose, 2014; Hogg and Adelman, 2013). If the government removed Prevent from the university environment and enabled students to discuss contentious topics, students would be less likely to feel the need to search for alternative platforms. Respondent 28 provides an example of how academic staff can enable discussion:

> In college, there was a few teachers who were like anti-prevent, one was a non-Muslim. So he, he tried to create that safe space as well, like how do you guys feel about this, like giving us our rights and telling us like what we should do as students (Respondent 28, 2019).

By providing a 'safe spaces' for Muslim students, university staff enable students to engage in academic debate, explore different perspectives and debate contentious topics. If all students can engage in academic debates, students are less likely to experience marginalisation and extremist narratives would resonate less with them. Instead of stifling discussion by embedding a sense of fear amongst students, the government should encourage academic debate on contentious topics such as terrorism, identity and religion. Through moderated discussion and the provision of counter-narratives, university could provide an environment that confronts extremist narratives.

4.2.3.4 The Societal implications of the Prevent policy

This final part will directly answer the third sub-question of this Thesis: *From the perspective of Muslim university students, what are the societal implications of the Prevent policy?* Whilst the following analysis is limited, as this is the first Thesis to consider how

the Prevent policy implicates Muslim university students, the Thesis attempts to provide analysis multiple levels such as the personal level, the university level, and the societal level because university students may experience implications of the Prevent policy at all of these levels. Respondent 30 outlines how the implementation of the Prevent policy has affected social cohesion between Muslims and non-Muslim groups at the university level:

> Prevent being applied in the university setting has caused our communities to basically come apart and it's not because of the fact that we wanted to be apart, but it is because we had no alternative way to express ourselves (Respondent 30, 2019).

As the Prevent policy induces anxiety within some Muslims and the fear of Channel referral means that they no longer feel safe to express their ideas in class. As some Muslims feel excluded from academic debates, some Muslims see no alternative except to "*turn inward"* towards their own communities (Respondent 30, 2019). Some Muslims believe that they cannot speak freely in class because other individuals will not understand their perspective and they fear that others may misinterpret their opinions to such an extent, and they will be referred to Channel. Consequently, Muslims will only speak openly or discuss contentious topics amongst a small group who they trust and believe will understand their perspective. This silencing of Muslims students therefore has the propensity to create a segregation between Muslim and non-Muslim students at university.

Segregation also occurs at the societal level. The segregation of Muslim and non-Muslim communities is stimulated as Prevent furthers the construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community'.

> [Prevent] creates a suspect community. It furthers problems that it is supposed help. It creates Alienation... it makes us different. Basically, it turns you into a victim because you are the community that is being watched, you are obviously different (Respondent 28, 2019).

The Prevent policy has the potential to further the construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community'. As Prevent discriminates against Muslims, the Prevent policy 'otherises' Muslims, constructs them as 'dangerous' and as a 'threat'. As law enforcement treat Muslims with suspicion, the public are also encouraged to treat Muslims with suspicion, which stimulates Islamophobia in society (Breen-Smyth, 2019). Islamophobia creates hostility and distrust between non-Muslims and Muslims, which can cause Muslims to

cluster and isolate themselves from other communities. Consequently, the Prevent policy can work to reduce community cohesion.

4.3 Presenting the findings from the correlation Tests

This Thesis conducted Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests to determine if there were correlations between respondents personal demographics and the survey statements. Tests were conducted for the personal demographics indicators: Sex, Birthplace, Age, Secondary school attended, and University attended. In total, 100 Cross Tabulation with Chi-Square Tests were conducted. To present all the tests that were conducted, and all the results would be excessive. Instead this section discusses the findings and suggests why the findings are important when considering policy recommendations and advising on what future research should focus on. Examples of the correlation tests and the results are attached as an Appendix to this Thesis.

Despite 100 tests being conducted, only 1 test outlined that there was a significant correlation between a demographic indicator a respondents propensity to agree to a survey statement. Whilst it may seem worthless to discuss the results of the correlation tests if there was only 1 statistically significant correlation between two variables, the fact that there was no statistically significant correlation for the majority of variables is important. If there is no correlation between personal demographics and propensity to agree with the survey statement it illustrates that personal demographics do not influence respondents perception of the Prevent policy. For example, if there is no correlation between the Sex and propensity to agree to a statement then it illustrates that males and females have similar perceptions of Prevent. For example, there was no correlation between Sex and propensity to agree to the statement "The Prevent policy causes Muslim university students to self-censor themselves: students are no longer freely able to express their opinions, thoughts and beliefs vocally" it suggests that male Muslim and female Muslims feel equally obliged to self-censor their opinions due to the Prevent policy. Additionally, there was no correlation between University and propensity to agree with the statement "Muslim university students are subjected to increased levels of suspicion from university staff as a direct result of the Prevent policy" suggests that Muslims at Russell group universities and Muslims at non-Russell group universities are subjected to similar levels of suspicion due to the Prevent policy.

Ultimately, if there's no correlations between demographics and variables, we can infer that regardless of respondents Sex, Birthplace, Age, Secondary school or University, respondents have had similar experiences with Prevent. The Prevent policy has implicated all respondents' lives in a similar way and consequently they share similar perceptions of the policy. This is important for both policy recommendations and future research. As the prevent policy impacts all Muslims in a similar manner, policy recommendations do not have to be adjusted to consider university students of a particular age, ethnic group or nationality. Additionally, future research does not have to explore why members of different demographics have different perceptions of the Prevent policy.

5.0 Conclusions

This Thesis intended to investigate and examine implications of the Prevent policy on Muslim university students in the United Kingdom. As there is a lack of previous empirical research on the how the Prevent policy implicates Muslim university students and due to the conceptual challenges surrounding definitions and counterterrorism generally, this proved to be a challenging task. In attempt to break down the task, the research question: *To what extent does the 'Prevent' policy contribute to the grievances experienced by Muslim university students in the United Kingdom?* was further broken down to capture the various elements that require close inspection in order to answer the research question. First, the Thesis attempted to clarify if there was an overriding perception that Muslim university students are targeted by the Prevent policy. To answer the first sub-question, this Thesis asked a number of questions that aimed to identify if Muslim university students, in comparison to the rest of the student body, were disproportionately affected by the Prevent policy. This Thesis believes that statistics such as 95% of respondents agreeing that Muslim university students are more likely to be **wrongly** referred to Channel, clearly indicates there is a perception that Muslim university students are targeted by the Prevent policy. To support these statistical findings, the Thesis used qualitative data from the survey and the interviews, and the theory of the 'suspect community', to explain why Muslim university students are likely to be disproportionately affected by the Prevent policy.

Second, the Thesis mapped out the implications of the Prevent policy on Muslim students. Whilst several reports and papers outlined that there were a number of negative

implications of the Prevent policy on Muslim university students, many of these implications had never been empirically investigated and there was an absence of qualitative or quantitative data to support these claims. To address this issue of a lack of empirical data, this Thesis addressed a number of the hypothesised implications in the web survey to investigate the validity of the claims that Muslim university students were negatively implicated by the Prevent policy. Based on empirical evidence, this Thesis is able to confirm that there are a number of negative implications of the Prevent policy on Muslim university students. Over 85% of respondent believe that Muslim students have to self-censor their opinions and appearances due to the Prevent policy and over 90% of respondents agree that the Prevent policy has increased the level of anxiety experienced by Muslim university students. Using qualitative data and the theory of the 'suspect community' this Thesis suggests that Muslim students self-censor their appearance and their opinions to avoid discrimination and to avoid referral to the Channel program. Forcing students to take these measures and constantly fear that they are going to be referred to Channel if they express an opinion in class, results in students experiencing higher levels anxiety. Increasing the level of anxiety students experience can have a detrimental impact on their lives as anxiety can contribute to the development of long-term health problems. This Thesis was also able to indicate that reducing students ability to discuss contentious topics and forcing them to bottle-up their opinions can result in frustration, anger and notions of marginalisation that can trigger violent outburst and contribute to an individual's radicalisation.

Third, in attempt to provide a broader level of analysis, this Thesis attempted to outline how the implementation the Prevent policy at universities has affected social cohesion at the university level and the community level. This Thesis found that as Muslim university students feel silenced and marginalised from academic discussion at university, they often feel like they can only discuss topics within a close-knit group who they can trust. The Prevent policy therefore has the propensity to simulate individuals to turn-inwards to towards their own communities and contributes to a breakdown in the social cohesion of Muslim university students and the rest of the student body at university. Additionally, the Thesis was able to suggest that as the Prevent policy continues to target Muslims, the Prevent policy furthers the construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community'. This construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community' can stimulate Islamophobia as members of the general public become concerned about the presence of

Muslims in their community. These misguided concerns can generate a mistrust between Muslims and the rest of the members in the community and contribute to a reduction in the social cohesion at the community level.

By approaching all of these sub-questions individually, this Thesis was able to break down the core research question of this Thesis and confirm the hypothesis that the Prevent policy does contribute to the grievances experienced by Muslim university students in the United Kingdom. Whilst it has been challenging task to apply a metric which clearly determines to what extent the Prevent policy contributes to the grievances experienced by the Muslim university students, this Thesis has been able to outline that the implementation of the Prevent policy has resulted in several negative implications for Muslim university students. Significantly, none of the 3 interviewees made any positive remarks about the Prevent policy and the overall survey statistics outline that the vast majority of the 152 participants perceive that the Prevent policy has a negative affect on Muslim university students.

The collection of empirical data was a key challenge for this Thesis. As Prevent instils a sense of fear within students and encourages Muslim students to self-censor opinions, encouraging Muslim university students to engage with the Thesis was challenging. As such, identifying and contacting key gatekeepers within the Muslim student community was vital. Additionally, taking measures to guarantee anonymity of participants, encouraged respondents to express their perceptions honestly without fear of repercussions. Finally, using a mixed-methods approach allowed the qualitative data to complement the quantitative statistics, which expanded and strengthened the findings of this Thesis. By investigating the perceptions of Muslim students, a previously under-explored population, this Thesis provides empirical data, which helps verify theories from the body of literature on the Prevent policy.

To address the issue of 'home-grown' terrorism the UK should re-focus its counterterrorism strategy and adopt long-term approaches to counterterrorism and encourage community cohesion. The decision to implement the Prevent policy at universities must be re-addressed since empirical evidence suggests that the Prevent policy is contributing to the discrimination faced by Muslim university students. Instead of implementing policies that result in discrimination and contribute to students feeling silenced and marginalised, the government should implement policies that encourage universities to engage students in academic discussion of contentious topics and remove

any fear that students will face repercussions for expressing critical opinions. This will help reduce the psychological distress that students are experiencing and reduce the chance that students will experience notions of isolation.

Finally, this Thesis must acknowledge that this study does not provide an overall representation of all Muslim university students voices and therefore cannot be used as a basis to argue that all Muslims university students feel this way. However, the Thesis has found that there is an overwhelming perception that Muslims Students are being stigmatised, alienated and marginalised through verifiable empirical evidence.

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Appendix A – The correlation tables

4.31 Correlation between Sex and propensity to agree

*Sex * Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program Crosstabulation*

			Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program		
			Agree	Disagree	Total
Sex	Male	Count	11	52	63
		Expected Count	10,8	52,2	63,0
	Female	Count	11	54	65
		Expected Count	11,2	53,8	65,0
Total		Count	22	106	128
		Expected Count	22,0	106,0	128,0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,006[a]	1	,936		
Continuity Correction[b]	,000	1	1,000		
Likelihood Ratio	,006	1	,936		
Fisher's Exact Test				1,000	,561
Linear-by-Linear Association	,006	1	,936		
N of Valid Cases	128				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10,83.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Analysis: A chi-square test of independence examines the relation between Sex and the propensity to agree with "Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program". As the observed count and the expected count are very similar, we can predict that there will be no significant relationship between these two categorical variables. The Chi-Square test table confirms this prediction.

As 0% of the cell have expected count less than five the assumption of the Chi-Square test is not violated. However, as the p value (0.936) is greater than the alpha value (0.05) there is confirmation that there is no significant relationship between these two categorical variables. Sex had no influence on respondent's propensity to agree with "Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program".

X2 (1, N =128) = 0.006, p = 0.936

Table to illustrate the results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Sex X Survey statement

Survey statement	% of cells with expected count less than 5	Assumption violated	Pearson Chi-Square test significance values	Correlation
1	0	No	0.936	No
2	0	No	0.74	No
3	50	Yes	0.89	No
4	0	No	0.99	No
5	0	No	0.57	No
6	0	No	0.75	No
7	0	No	0.02	Yes
8	0	No	0.45	No
9	25	Yes	0.45	No
10	50	Yes	0.04	No
11	0	No	0.97	No
12	0	No	0.44	No
13	0	No	0.16	No
14	0	No	0.70	No
15	0	No	0.20	No
16	0	No	0.23	No
17	0	No	0.73	No
18	0	No	0.66	No
19	0	No	0.97	No
20	0	No	0.12	No

Table 11. Authors own. Overview of results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Sex X Survey statement

The table illustrates that for the vast majority of the statements there was no significant correlation between Sex and the propensity to agree. There is a relationship between Sex and survey statement 7. Sex influenced respondent's opinion on "The Prevent policy makes students discuss issues related to terrorism, religion and identity outside the classroom".

4.32 Correlation between Birthplace and propensity to agree

*RBirthPlace * Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program Crosstabulation*

Count

		Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program		
		Agree	Disagree	Total
RBirthPlace	England	11	81	92
	Outside England	10	31	41
Total		21	112	133

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)

Pearson Chi-Square	3,298[a]	1	,069		
Continuity Correction[b]	2,429	1	,119		
Likelihood Ratio	3,111	1	,078		
Fisher's Exact Test				,078	,062
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,273	1	,070		
N of Valid Cases	133				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6,47.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

X2 (1, N =113) = 3.289, p = 0.069

The chi-square test of independence outlines Birthplace had no influence on respondent's propensity to agree. Therefore, there was no correlation between being born in England and the propensity to answer agree with "Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program".

Table to illustrate the results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Birthplace X Survey statement

Survey statement	% of cells with expected count less than 5	Assumptions violated	Pearson Chi-Square test significance values	Correlation
1	0	No	0.07	No
2	0	No	0.44	No
3	50	Yes	0.16	No
4	0	No	0.38	No
5	0	No	0.84	No
6	0	No	0.93	No
7	0	No	0.38	No
8	0	No	0.66	No
9	25	Yes	0.47	No
10	50	Yes	0.87	No
11	25	Yes	0.016	No
12	0	No	0.46	No
13	0	No	0.70	No
14	25	Yes	0.59	No
15	25	Yes	0.88	No
16	25	Yes	0.17	No
17	25	Yes	0.71	No
18	0	No	0.98	No
19	0	No	0.88	No
20	25	Yes	0.52	No

Table 12. Authors own table. Overview of the results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Birthplace X Survey statement

The table illustrates there was no relationship between Birthplace (whether respondents were born inside England or outside England) and their propensity to agree with any of the survey statements.

4.33 Correlation between Secondary School and propensity to agree

*RSecondaryschool * Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program Crosstabulation*

Count

		Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program		
		Agree	Disagree	Total
RSecondaryschool	State school	14	90	104
	Private/Independent school	6	13	19
Total		20	103	123

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,873[a]	1	,049		
Continuity Correction[b]	2,656	1	,103		
Likelihood Ratio	3,341	1	,068		
Fisher's Exact Test				,083	,058
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,841	1	,050		
N of Valid Cases	123				

a. 1 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,09.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

A chi-square test examines the relation between Secondary school and the propensity to Agree or Disagree to the statement “Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program”. The relation between these variables was not significant. 25% of the cells had an expected count less than 5 so the assumption of the Chi-Square test was violated. Despite the p value (0.049) being smaller than the alpha value (0.05), as the assumption was violated there is no confirmation that there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables.

X2 (1, N =123) = 3.873, p = 0.049

Secondary school had no influence on respondent’s propensity to agree or disagree. There was no correlation between whether respondents attended a State or Private secondary school and the propensity to answer agree with “Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program”.

Table to illustrate the results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Secondary school X Survey statement

Survey statement	% of cells with expected count less than 5	Assumptions violated	Pearson Chi-Square test significance values	Correlation
1	25	Yes	0.049	No
2	25	Yes	0.97	No
3	25	Yes	0.34	No
4	25	Yes	0.29	No
5	25	Yes	0.63	No
6	25	Yes	0.058	No
7	25	Yes	0.16	No
8	25	Yes	0.72	No
9	25	Yes	0.76	No
10	25	Yes	0.99	No
11	25	Yes	0.82	No
12	25	Yes	0.41	No
13	25	Yes	0.59	No
14	25	Yes	0.91	No
15	25	Yes	0.70	No
16	25	Yes	0.19	No
17	25	Yes	0.59	No
18	25	Yes	0.32	No
19	25	Yes	0.62	No
20	25	Yes	0.97	No

Table 13. Authors own table. Overview of the results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Secondary school X Survey statement

The table illustrates there was no relationship between Secondary school (whether a state-funded school or a private/independent school) and their propensity to agree with any of the survey statements.

4.34 Correlation between University and propensity to agree

*RUni * Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program Crosstabulation*

Count

		Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program		
		Agree	Disagree	Total
RUni	Russel Group	11	57	68
	Russel group	8	46	54
Total		19	103	122

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,042[a]	1	,837		
Continuity Correction[b]	,000	1	1,000		

Likelihood Ratio	,043	1	,837		
Fisher's Exact Test				1,000	,521
Linear-by-Linear Association	,042	1	,837		
N of Valid Cases	122				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8,41.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

A chi-square test of independence examines the relation between University and the propensity to Agree or Disagree to the statement "Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program". The relation between these variables was not significant.

X2 (1, N =122) = 0.42, p = 0.837

University category had no influence on respondent's propensity to agree. Therefore, there was no correlation between whether respondents attended a Russell group or non-Russell group university and the propensity agree with "Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program".

Table to illustrate the results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for University X Survey statement

Survey statement	% of cells with expected count less than 5	Assumptions violated	Pearson Chi-Square test significance values	Correlation
1	0	No	0.84	No
2	0	No	0.74	No
3	50	Yes	0.72	No
4	0	No	0.49	No
5	0	No	0.67	No
6	0	No	0.60	No
7	0	No	0.57	No
8	0	No	0.84	No
9	25	Yes	0.79	No
10	50	Yes	0.45	No
11	25	Yes	0.51	No
12	0	No	0.49	No
13	0	No	0.73	No
14	0	No	0.24	No
15	25	Yes	0.45	No
16	25	Yes	0.90	No
17	25	Yes	0.36	No
18	0	No	0.17	No
19	0	No	0.22	No
20	0	No	0.95	No

Table 14. Authors own table. Overview of the results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for University X Survey statement

The table illustrates there was no relationship between University (whether respondents attended a Russell group or non-Russell group university) and their propensity to agree with any of the survey statements.

4.35 Correlation between Age and propensity to agree

*RRAge * Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program Crosstabulation*

Count

		Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program		
		Agree	Disagree	Total
RRAge	18-25	16	83	99
	26+	6	27	33
Total		22	110	132

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,073[a]	1	,787		
Continuity Correction[b]	,000	1	1,000		
Likelihood Ratio	,072	1	,789		
Fisher's Exact Test				,791	,488
Linear-by-Linear Association	,072	1	,788		
N of Valid Cases	132				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,50.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

A chi-square test of independence examines the relation between Age and the propensity to Agree or Disagree to the statement “Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program”. The relation between these variables was not significant.

X2 (1, N =132) = 0.073, p = 0.787

Age had no influence on respondent’s propensity to agree or disagree. Therefore, there was no correlation between respondent’s age and the propensity to answer agree to “Regardless of religious faith, all university students are equally likely to be referred to the Channel prevention program”.

Table to illustrate the results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Age X Survey statement

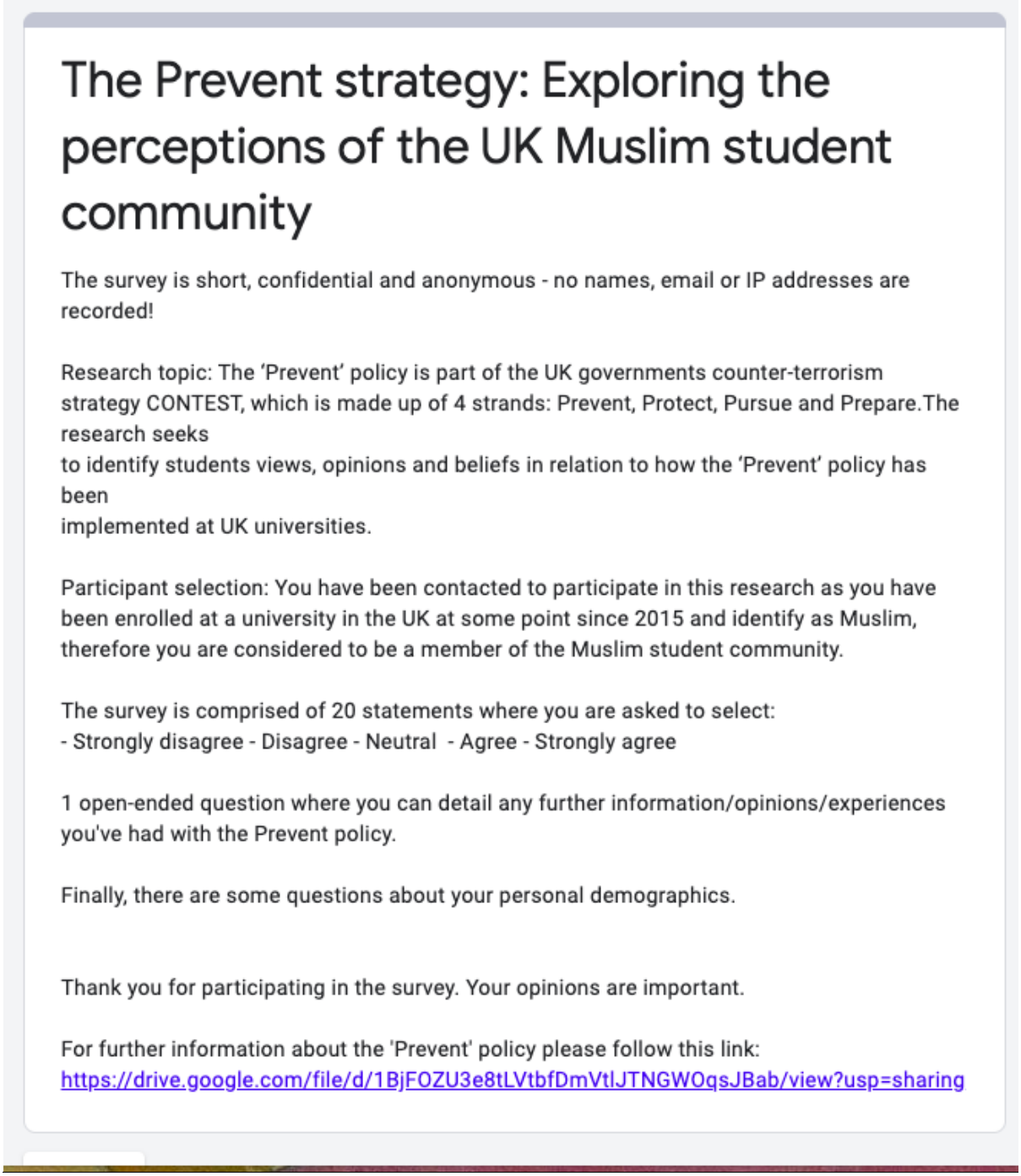
Survey statement	% of cells with expected count less than 5	Assumptions violated	Pearson Chi-Square test significance values	Correlation
1	0	No	0.79	No
2	25	Yes	0.25	No
3	50	Yes	0.90	No
4	25	Yes	0.90	No
5	25	Yes	0.98	No
6	25	Yes	0.73	No
7	0	No	0.67	No
8	0	No	0.72	No
9	25	Yes	0.74	No
10	25	Yes	0.68	No
11	25	Yes	0.47	No
12	25	Yes	0.56	No
13	25	Yes	0.96	No
14	25	yes	0.97	No
15	25	Yes	0.43	No
16	25	Yes	0.40	No
17	25	Yes	0.77	No
18	0	No	0.72	No
19	25	Yes	0.70	No
20	25	Yes	0.15	No

Table 15. Authors own table. Overview of the results of the Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Age X Survey statement

The table illustrates there was no relationship between Age (whether respondents belonged to the 18-25 or 26+ age category) and their propensity to agree with any of the survey statements.

Annex B – The web Survey

The web survey is still accessible via the link: https://forms.gle/hSnN49ZuLvAC8M6t8



The Prevent strategy: Exploring the perceptions of the UK Muslim student community

The survey is short, confidential and anonymous - no names, email or IP addresses are recorded!

Research topic: The 'Prevent' policy is part of the UK governments counter-terrorism strategy CONTEST, which is made up of 4 strands: Prevent, Protect, Pursue and Prepare.The research seeks
to identify students views, opinions and beliefs in relation to how the 'Prevent' policy has been
implemented at UK universities.

Participant selection: You have been contacted to participate in this research as you have been enrolled at a university in the UK at some point since 2015 and identify as Muslim, therefore you are considered to be a member of the Muslim student community.

The survey is comprised of 20 statements where you are asked to select:
- Strongly disagree - Disagree - Neutral - Agree - Strongly agree

1 open-ended question where you can detail any further information/opinions/experiences you've had with the Prevent policy.

Finally, there are some questions about your personal demographics.

Thank you for participating in the survey. Your opinions are important.

For further information about the 'Prevent' policy please follow this link:
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1BjFOZU3e8tLVtbfDmVtlJTNGWOqsJBab/view?usp=sharing