

## Impact case study (REF3)

<b>Institution:</b> University of East London (UEL)		
<b>Unit of Assessment:</b> 18 Law		
<b>Title of case study:</b> “Very fine people on both sides”; Combating racism, hate crime and the far-right in schools and communities		
<b>Period when the underpinning research was undertaken:</b> 2000 – 2020 (ongoing)		
<b>Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:</b>		
<b>Name(s):</b>	<b>Role(s) (e.g. job title):</b>	<b>Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:</b>
Aaron Winter	Senior lecturer in criminology and criminal justice	2014 – present
<b>Period when the claimed impact occurred:</b> 2013 – 2020 (ongoing)		
<b>Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014?</b> No		

**1. Summary of the impact** (indicative maximum 100 words)

Dr Winter’s pioneering analysis of the resurgence of the far right and racism within the UK and US, as it becomes mainstream, contributed to three areas:

1. Engagement and programmes in schools has led to interventions and a better understanding in combating racism hate crime and the far-right ideologies.
2. Local government has been supported to engage and consult with community members to design and deliver more effective programmes to combat hate crime and the far right.
3. Non-governmental agencies use the research findings and analysis to effectively confront right-wing extremism and terrorism.

**2. Underpinning research** (indicative maximum 500 words)

While racism, hate crime and far-right extremism have doubled in England and Wales over the last five years (2015-2019), they are often treated as isolated and exceptional in reactionary media. In analysing events such as the Charlottesville rallies (2016) or the counter-protests against Black Lives Matter, Winter’s research examines how mainstream policies and rhetoric (e.g. the UK “Hostile Environment” response and the US “Muslim ban”) relate to racism and far-right ‘radicalisation’. Winter’s research can be divided into three overlapping themes:

**1. Relationship between the far right and the mainstream**

Winter’s research has examined how mainstream individuals, media and policies have legitimised, popularised and emboldened racists and the far right (R2, R3, R4, R5, R6), by labelling their perspectives as extremism and criminality, thus obscuring systematic institutional racism (R1, R2, R3, R4). His research involves analysis of policy, rhetoric, data and literature in the UK, US and France (R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6). Through concepts of ‘illiberal racism’, ‘illiberal Islamophobia’, ‘liberal racism’ and ‘liberal Islamophobia’ (R2, R3), his research explores how racism has been normalised through liberal tropes (free speech, women’s rights and LGBTQ+ rights) and is differentiated from older, now unacceptable ‘illiberal’ forms (fascism, scientific racism).

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### 2. History of criminal, counterterrorism and counterextremism laws, policies and practices

Winter's research interrogates racism and racialisation of violence (R1, R2, R3, R4, R6) through three aspects:

First, how far-right racist and hate-based violence has historically been managed by US law enforcement (R1, R4, R6), the conflation of racism with extremism and violence. Though this serves anti-terrorism arguments, it limits addressing systematic racism and hate crime (R2, R4).

Second, a comparative analysis of different state responses to far-right and Islamist actors and groups examines the role racism and white privilege plays in it (R1, R2, R3, R4).

Third, the research outlines how counter-extremism and counter-terrorism programmes used for far-right individuals/groups have negatively impacted on both Muslim communities and anti-racist/anti-fascist activists (R1, R2, R3, R4, R6).

### 3. Online hate and extremism

This research examined the evolution of the far-right activity and thought online. It assessed the role of the internet in radicalisation and mainstreaming (R1, R2, R6), and the link between traditional communication methods, online activity and violence (R6). Furthermore, it assessed the failure of regulators and platforms to intervene in anti-racist and anti-fascist online activism. While the research focussed on the US, it also considered how social media allows for the broader dissemination and internationalisation of far-right ideologies and racism.

### 3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

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**R1.** Mondon, A. and Winter, A. 2020. *Reactionary democracy: how racism and the populist Far Right became mainstream*. Verso.

**R2.** Mondon, A. and Winter, A. 2017. Articulations of Islamophobia: from the extreme to the mainstream? *Ethnic and Racial Studies Review*, 40 (13), 2151-2179. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1312008>

**R3.** Winter, A. 2018. The Klan is history: a historical perspective on the revival of the far-right in 'post-racial' America, in Morrison, J., Silke, A., Windle, J., and Winter, A. (eds) *Historical perspectives on organised crime and terrorism*. Routledge, 109-132. <https://repository.uel.ac.uk/download/573967f51a6c5c80e30fd7d539ef456e92e446b870efb240ce5667c0ba09af27/448021/A.%20Winter%2C%20The%20Klan%20is%20History%20chapter%2C%202018.pdf>

**R4.** Winter, A. 2018. USA: counterterrorism Pre-9/11, in Silke, A. (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism*. Routledge, 615-634. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315744636-54>

**R5.** Mondon, A. and Winter, A. 2018. Whiteness, Populism and the racialisation of the working-class in the United Kingdom and the United States. *Identities: global studies in culture and power. Special issue on whiteness and nationalism* 26 (5), 510-528. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2018.1552440>

**R6.** Winter, A. 2019. Online hate: from the Far-Right to the 'Alt-Right', and from the margins to the mainstream, in Harmer, E. and Lumsden, K. (eds.) *Online othering: exploring violence and discrimination on the web*. Palgrave. 39-64. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-12633-9\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-12633-9_2)

### 4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

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Dr Winter's research has created impact in three specific areas by targeting a range of beneficiaries at local, national and international level:

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### 1. Engagement and programmes in schools has led to interventions and a better understanding in combating racism, hate crime and the far-right ideologies

Winter's research has led to the development of toolkits and workshop content for schools, public institutions and community group to better understand and respond to racism, hate crime and far-right ideologies beyond using law enforcement/security measures to combat these threats and their consequences. The application of his research and participation in the programmes can be seen in:

1. *Step Up To Stop Hate* programme (2016-2018) which reached over 1,000 students and 500 participants from five East London boroughs (**S1a, S1b, S6**).
2. The first by-stander training by any university in the UK on Hate Crime was co-organised by Winter in 2016 for the North London Citizens and The East London Citizens Organisation (TELCO) (**S1a**).
3. His lectures on Islamophobia for St Angela's Ursuline School in Newham provided a template for the school to develop differentiated training for all key-stage 3-5 levels and was led by 6th Form students' (**S3a**). Other workshops include 'Hate Crime in London' workshop for the Museum of London Research Club at Roding Valley High School (2017). (**S2**)
4. His research formed the basis Youth Charter on Hate Crime, Mental Health, Migrants and Refugees: Children into Citizens and Youth Safety supported by candidates for Mayor of Newham including Cllr Rokhsana Fiaz and Mr Chidi Oti-Obihara through a training programme attended by 90 young people from 15 Newham Citizens member institutions in March 2018. (**S1a**)
5. Workshops centred on Islamic and Jewish Societies formed the basis by which teachers were able to "*identify, language and behaviour that might suggest a student is vulnerable to far-right extremism*" Dr Hepden, Altringham Grammar School for Boys, Greater Manchester (**S3b**).
6. For example, Newham Sixth Form College was nominated for a NUS Campaigning Award for implementing the project, what is this referring to which project (**S1b**).

### 2) Local government supported in engagement and consultation with community members

A detailed action for Waltham Forest Council informed by Winter's work was published in October 2020 (**S5**). This was the result of a long-held advisory position with the Council, as part of the Connected Communities Programme, where Winter was instrumental in a series of Citizens Assemblies on Hate that reached out to local communities, facilitating a democratic consultation through a series of citizens' assemblies designed to help share local experiences. The community-driven approach combatted hate and intolerance in the borough (**S6a, S6b**). As a result of this intervention and consultation evidence and experiences were collected which were reported to the Council alongside a series of priorities and recommendations, leading to creation of Citizens Panel; a Bystander Intervention Programme; Communications campaign; a 24/7 phone line for reporting hate crime; and community partnerships that work with the police. (**S5**)

### 3) Non-governmental agencies, confronting right-wing extremism and terrorism more effectively

Winter's research helped to shape the priorities and the design of the 2019 UK Hate Crime Survey for the Law Commission in focusing on "every day and institutional experiences as ways

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of understanding patterns of hate and targeting”. He influenced the direction of the survey in his capacity as a board member of the Citizens UK National Hate Crime Campaign. (S1a, S4). Winter and Mondon were asked to contribute their research (R2) on liberal and illiberal Islamophobia to the MEND report *More than words: approaching a definition of Islamophobia* (S7a). According to MEND’s Head of Policy Isobel Ingham-Barrow: “Dr Winter’s scholarly work has provided a significant evidentiary basis for our work in a range of policy areas from approaching the rise of the far-right, securitisation, and hate speech on online forums, to understanding Islamophobia in the global context...His work has thus had a significant influence on how MEND as an organisation understands and approaches discussions surrounding these issues, and has been central in our own endeavours to devise meaningful strategies to tackle the challenges that they represent in the lives of British Muslims...Dr Winter was also instrumental in our report outlining an approach to defining Islamophobia. This report and the subsequent work surrounding it led to the production of guidelines outlining the manifestations of Islamophobia that have since been adopted by political parties and councils across the country.” (S7b). Winter’s research was used in reports, advocacy and policy work by a number of other NGOs, including:

1. The Australian Muslim Advocacy Network used Winter’s concepts of liberal and Illiberal Islamophobia in their input to the Report on Countering Islamophobia/Anti-Muslim Hatred to Eliminate Discrimination and Intolerance Based on Religion or Belief commissioned by the UN’s Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, Ahmed Shaheed. (S8).
2. The Faith and Belief Forum used R2 in policy and analysis consultations and their threat assessment and policy report *Hate crime, faith and belonging* (S9).
3. The Everyday Bigotry Project used the research and consulted with Winter for their report *Under the radar: the ugly truth about hate crime post-Brexit*. (S10)

#### 5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

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**S1a.** Letter from Mr Emmanuel Gotora, Lead Organiser, North London Citizens and The East London Citizens Organisation (TELCO), July 2019.

**S1b.** Press release NewVic shortlisted for National Union of Students (NUS), 2018.  
<https://prnewslink.net/releases/19168.html>

**S2.** Museum of London, *City Now, City Future*, exhibition webpage with list of contributors.  
[https://pastexhibitions.museumoflondon.org.uk/city-now-city-future/?page\\_id=131](https://pastexhibitions.museumoflondon.org.uk/city-now-city-future/?page_id=131)

**S3a.** Letter from Mr Doug Pleasant, Head of Year 12, St Angela’s Ursuline School, July 2019.

**S3b.** Letter from Dr Zoe Hepden, Department of Philosophy, Ethics and Personal Development Department of History and Politics, Altrincham Grammar School for Boys, July 2019.

**S3c.** Hepden, Z. 2018. ‘Challenging the Far Right in the Classroom – The New Frontier’, *Sociology Teacher*, 7(3), 20-25. <http://www.discoversociology.co.uk>

**S4.** Citizens UK. 2020. ‘Hate crime reforms urgently needed as over 1,000 participants in study point to erosion in trust in public institutions’  
[https://www.citizensuk.org/hate\\_crime\\_reforms\\_needed\\_new\\_study\\_finds](https://www.citizensuk.org/hate_crime_reforms_needed_new_study_finds)

**S5.** Waltham Forest Council. *Waltham Forest Citizens Assembly Report*, 9 July 2020. <https://www.walthamforest.gov.uk/content/waltham-forest-citizens-assembly>

**S6a.** Letter from Mr Nick Ball, Waltham Forest Council, January 2021.

**S6b.** Letter from Ms Clare Coghill, Leader of Waltham Forest Councillor, March 2020.

**S7a.** Ingham-Barrow, I. (ed.). 2018. *More than words: approaching a definition of Islamophobia*. MEND.

<https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Approaching-a-definition-of-Islamophobia-More-than-words.pdf>

**S7b.** Testimonial letter from Isobel Ingham-Barrow, MEND Head of Policy, February 2021.

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**S8.** The Australian Muslim Advocacy Network. 2020. *Input to the report on anti-Muslim hatred and discrimination, by the UN Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief.*

<http://www.aman.net.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/UN-Special-Rapporteur-Submission--Aust-Muslim-Advocacy-Network.pdf>

**S9.** Smith, J., Toring, L., Gidley, B. and Sheldon, R. 2019. *Hate crime, faith and belonging.* Faith and Belief Forum and the Department of Psychosocial Studies, Birkbeck, University of London

<https://faithbeliefforum.org/religious-hate-crime-report-calls-on-communities-to-challenge-hateful-messages-together/>

**S10.** Singh, K. and Aziz, S. 2017. *Under the radar: the ugly truth about hate crime post-Brexit.* Post Ref Racism and The Everyday Bigotry Project.

<https://postrefracism.co.uk/2017/08/08/under-the-radar-the-ugly-truth-about-hate-crime-post-brexit/#more-362>