# IF ONLY WE HAD ASKED HIM TO PLAY SOCCER...

A report on the outcomes of discussions with ACT school students about social exclusion and violent extremism









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# A joint initiative of:

ACT Community Services Directorate

ACT Justice and Community Safety Directorate

ACT Children and Young People Commissioner, ACT Human Rights Commission

#### Report prepared by:

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The views of students set out in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of the authors, the ACT Human Rights Commission, or the ACT Government.

Cover image taken from the Right Here Right Now art installation.

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# **INTRODUCTION**

The risk of young people becoming involved in violent extremism is a concern shared by many governments, not only in Australia but also internationally. Significant resources around the world are being put into developing and implementing programs to reduce this risk, however little attention has been given to the views and perspectives of young people on this issue.

Without talking directly with, not to, young people about violent extremism, it is likely that programs intended to dissuade young people from engaging in violent extremism will be ineffective or even counterproductive.

This consultation sought the views of young people about why some young people may become involved in violent extremism, and what we might be able to do to prevent this.

#### TALKING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE ABOUT VIOLENT EXTREMISM

In 2016, the ACT Community Services Directorate, in partnership with the ACT Children & Young People Commissioner, initiated a series of consultations with ACT school students to seek their views about factors that might encourage young people to engage in violent extremism, and the types of interventions or supports that might help them to make different choices.

The consultation was designed by Mr Alasdair Roy, a Canberra based psychologist, with advice from Dr Clarke Jones, Australian Intervention Support Hub at the Australian National University, and Ms Jodie Griffiths-Cook, ACT Children & Young People Commissioner.

The overall aim of the consultation was to give Government and other policy makers an insight into the views of young people about violent extremism, and inject the vies of young people into those who are attempting to design programs and interventions to support young people at risk of being drawn to violent extremism.

Further, it was hoped that the consultation would:

- Model to children and young people that their views are important, and that adults listen to these views
- Demonstrate that talking with children and young people about issues that affect them is worthwhile and can lead to better outcomes.

Additionally, while it was not within the scope of the consultation to make formal recommendations, it was hoped that the views expressed by the young people would inform some of the work currently being undertaken within the ACT and across Australia to address the causes of violent extremism.

The consultation focused on students in Years 7 to 11, with sessions held in ACT Government and Non-Government schools.

Issues explored in the consultation included:

- How young people perceive and interpret situations (real case studies) where a young person has become involved in violent extremism.
- The views of young people about the motivations of the young people in the case studies, and what might have influenced them to become involved in violent extremism.
- The views of young people about approaches that they think might have been effective in helping the young people in the case studies to make different choices.
- The views of young people about the legitimacy of seeking social change, and what means are acceptable to use in relation to protest and seeking change.
- The extent to which the issue of violent extremism is of interest or concern to young people, and
  whether violent extremism is something they see as relevant to themselves or other young people
  they know.

#### PILOTING THE CONSULTATION

The proposed consultation was piloted with a group of Year 7, 8 and 9 students at Kingsford Smith School, in May 2016.

The pilot took place over two sessions, with an introductory session taking place on the morning of day-one, and then the substantive consultation on the morning of day-two.

Both sessions were facilitated by Mr Alasdair Roy and Ms Gabrielle McKinnon, Senior Adviser to the ACT Children & Young People Commissioner. Ms Nghi Perrim, Pastoral Care Coordinator, Kingsford Smith School, attended both sessions, however did not participate in the discussions.

The primary purpose of the pilot session was to 'test' the consultation as to its interest to young people, and its potential effectiveness with respect to the overall aims of the consultation. It was anticipated that the pilot would also provide some preliminary results and insights into the value and potential outcomes of the full consultation.

Following the pilot session, and after listening to feedback from participating students, a number of amendments were made to the consultation prior to full roll-out. These included: changing the survey to make it clearer to students what they were being asked to do; simplifying the examination of case studies activity; and modifying the icebreaker to be more age appropriate.

# **CONSULTATION OUTLINE**

As noted above, the consultation was designed by Mr Alasdair Roy, a Canberra based psychologist, with advice from Dr Clarke Jones, Australian Intervention Support Hub at the Australian National University, and Ms Jodie Griffiths-Cook, ACT Children & Young People Commissioner.

#### PART ONE: INTRODUCTIONS & ICEBREAKER

The session began with the facilitators introducing themselves, and giving a brief overview of the issues to be explored during the session, and how the session was to be conducted.

The facilitators explained that participation was completely voluntary, and that students could leave the session at any time. The facilitators emphasised that there were no 'right or wrong answers', and that participants did not need to share anything personal or that they were uncomfortable talking about. Facilitators noted that they, and staff at the school, were available to talk to them if they had any concerns or worries about the consultation, or issues it raised for them.

The facilitators then led a whole group icebreaker activity to allow all participants to get to know more about each other, and to feel more comfortable and relaxed.

#### PART TWO: ISSUES YOUNG PEOPLE CARE ABOUT

Students were invited to complete an anonymous written survey prepared by the facilitators, which asked the students to rank how much they cared about various contemporary issues.

The primary purpose of this activity was to determine the relative level of interest students had in 'terrorism', but also, more broadly, to get a sense of which other issues students were interested in, or cared about. Issues were listed in no particular order, with 'terrorism in Australia' appearing near the middle of the list.

#### PART THREE: DIFFERENT WAYS TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL CHANGE

Students then participated in a whole-of-group discussion about some of the issues on the list that they cared about, and the type of actions they, or someone else, might take if they felt strongly about a particular issue, and they wished to 'protest' or 'take action to change things'.

#### PART FOUR: EXAMINATION OF REAL-LIFE CASE STUDIES

Students were then provided with four different 'real-life' case studies of a young person or young adult who had participated in some form of violent extremism. Depending on the size and age of the group, the students did this either collectively as one large group, or within smaller groups.

Students then participated in a facilitated discussion around a number of topics, including:

- What do you think about the young person and their actions?
- Why do you think they did what they did?
- What do you think they were trying to achieve?
- What is similar and what is different about the case studies?

- Do you think any of the actions taken by any of the young people were justifiable?
- Do you feel sympathy for any of the young people?

Copies of the case studies can be found at Attachment A.

# PART FIVE: HOW TO PREVENT YOUNG PEOPLE FROM BECOMING INVOLVED IN VIOLENT EXTREMISM

Students then participated in a facilitated discussion about what schools, families, communities and Governments could do to prevent young people from becoming involved in violent extremism. Students were encouraged to think about what might have helped the four young people in the case studies, or other young people like them, to make different choices.

#### PART SIX: EVALUATION

In some sessions, students were asked to complete a short evaluation survey. Distribution of this survey was largely dependent on the availability of time.

Full results of the evaluation can be found at Attachment B, however, in summary:

- 89% of students who completed the evaluation said that the consultation was either good (71%) or excellent (18%).
- 80% said they enjoyed participating.
- 78% said that they had a chance to express their views.
- 94% said that they felt listened to.

It is reassuring that the consultation was viewed favourably by the majority of students. It is, however, surprising that many students reported that having the opportunity to express their views, and have those views listened to, was an unusual experience. It appeared that for most students, their time at school was primarily focused on learning and instruction, and that they did not have as many opportunities as they would like to express their opinions about issues of interest to them.

# **CONSULTATION OUTCOMES**

Fifteen consultation sessions, involving a total of 206 students, were held across eight ACT Government and Non-Government schools.

Table 1: Number and age of students.

Age	Number of students
Year 7 (12 to 13 years old)	72 students from 5 schools
Year 8 (13 to 14 years old)	27 students from 1 school
Year 9 (14 to 15 years old)	53 students from 4 schools
Year 11 (16 to 17 years old)	54 students from 2 schools

There were roughly even numbers of young men and young women, and discussions with the students and school staff suggested that the students were from a wide range of socio-economic, religious, and cultural backgrounds, and had varying levels of writing, literacy, and verbal skills.

All sessions were facilitated by Alasdair and Gabrielle. At some schools, teachers or other school staff remained in the room during all or part of the session, however did not participate in the discussions.

The majority of students appeared happy to be involved, and interested in the consultation and the topics discussed. None of the students appeared concerned or distressed, nor indicated that they did not wish to participate. Feedback received through an evaluation survey completed by some students at the conclusion of the sessions was overwhelmingly positive, with many students noting that they welcomed the opportunity to discuss the topic, share their thoughts, listen to others, and be listened to themselves.

In some sessions students who had been relatively quiet during the consultation approached the facilitators after the session to provide comment and input.

Each session lasted between 1 hour to 1.5 hours, depending on the requirements of individual schools or groups, and largely followed the same format.

#### PART TWO: ISSUES YOUNG PEOPLE CARE ABOUT

Not surprisingly, students held differing views with respect to the issues they cared about, with some students having a strong interest in particular issues, and others little interest. Some students reported caring strongly about multiple issues, while others only cared about one or two of the issues listed.

There were also noticeable differences between individual schools, with students at some schools reporting that they cared about a greater number of issues than students at other schools.

Regardless, students routinely identified discrimination against people because of their race or culture; treatment of animals; terrorism in Australia; discrimination against people who are gay or lesbian; and bullying as issues they care most strongly about; and politics as the issue they care the least about.

Table 2: Issues students care about, or are interested in (ranked by order of interest).

Issue	One *	Two	Three	Four	Five *
Discrimination against people because of	1	2	20	48	<u>146</u>
their race or culture					
Treatment of animals	1	12	39	53	<u>114</u>
Terrorism in Australia	7	9	29	64	<u>104</u>
Discrimination against people who are gay	9	10	36	58	<u>99</u>
or lesbian					
Bullying	4	22	42	72	<u>77</u>
Poverty	3	5	33	<u>93</u>	80
Crime	5	12	53	<u>90</u>	56
Terrorism overseas	6	12	40	<u>83</u>	71
Treatment of asylum seekers	10	20	61	<u>72</u>	49
Unemployment	11	35	<u>70</u>	66	36
Drugs & alcohol	21	33	<u>69</u>	59	38
Politics	<u>50</u>	41	44	39	36

<sup>\*</sup> one = don't care/not interested

Students also identified a broad range of additional issues that they cared about, with a number of issues being raised multiple times across schools. Consistent with the students' rating of the listed issues, a noticeable proportion of the self-identified issues related to social justice, equity and fairness.

Table 3: Other issues identified by students

Table 5. Other issues identified by students	
Issues raised more than once	Issues raised only once
Gender inequality/sexism/sex discrimination (x17)	Cyber-bullying
Education (x10)	Global economy
Violence against women/domestic violence (x8)	Homework
Child abuse/children & young people in care (x7)	Indigenous rights
Climate change/pollution/the environment (x7)	Israel/Palestine conflict
Islamophobia/discrimination against Muslims (x4)	Mass redundancies from government jobs
Transgender issues (x4)	Medicare
Treatment of people in detention/prisoners (x4)	Obesity among young people
Religious discrimination/bigotry (x3)	People of all ages and emotions and feelings
Social equality (x3)	People with a disability
Youth representation (x3)	Police brutality in America
Child marriage (x2)	Police treatment of others because of their skin
Elderly people (x2)	colour
Homelessness (x2)	Political prisoners
Human rights around the world (x2)	Quality of living
Mental health of young people (x2)	Rape
Same-sex marriage (x2)	Safety
Smoking (x2)	Stealing
War/fighting in other countries (x2)	Transport
	UN integrity
	Unfair deportation of immigrants
	Vegetarianism
	Video games and violence

<sup>\*</sup> five = care a lot/very interested

#### PART THREE: DIFFERENT WAYS TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL CHANGE

All students were able to identify a range of actions that they, or someone else, might use to achieve social change, or raise awareness of an issue.

Many students suggested using social media, or other on-line methods, such as: posting information on Facebook, Instagram, YouTube or Twitter; starting or signing a petition; ads on TV; making and distributing videos, seeking funding through Kickstart; donating money to a charity; and starting a blog.

More 'real-world' options included: speaking at events or forums; writing letters to people (including politicians and others in authority); starting or signing a petition; taking legal action; peaceful negotiating; protesting, marching or demonstrating with others; boycotting products; distributing flyers or pamphlets; and forming a group or organisation with like-minded people.

Students also mentioned using the arts, including: writing and performing songs or theatre pieces; painting or creating other artworks; and graffiti in a public place.

Students were able to identify other ways of protesting that may be more violent or disruptive, including: rioting; public disturbances; theft; threatening people; damaging property; occupying buildings; bombing; and hurting or killing people, however no students expressed support for these as appropriate options.

When the issue arose in group discussions as to whether there was ever justification for using violence, some students were able to identify situations where violence, or significantly disruptive methods, might be appropriate (including: to protect your own life or the lives of others; if the cause was sufficiently important; and conflicts involving countries or armies), yet it was always with significant caution.

One student explained that while it can never be justified to harm another person for a cause you believe in, you might feel so passionate that you are prepared to give your own life for a cause, and that is not necessarily wrong.

Overall, the majority of students thought that it was important for people to be able to protest or be involved in social change, yet always within the law.

# PART FOUR: EXAMINATION OF REAL-LIFE CASE STUDIES

In small groups and in the larger group discussion, students identified a range of influences and factors that played a role in the young people in the case studies becoming involved in violent extremism.

As noted above, the four case studies covered a diverse range of young people, who espoused different causes, including animal rights and nationalism/far-right extremism as well as young people who became involved in radical Jihadi groups.

Copies of the case studies can be found at Attachment A.

Students described similarities between the subjects of the four case studies, including their young age and impressionability at the time that they began to show interest in their particular causes, and the fact that in each case it appeared that adults had influenced the young person to become more radical and to use violence to express their beliefs. They commented that the adults involved often chose young people who were vulnerable and susceptible to their influence, and that they were not acting in the best interests of those young people.

- They have all been told something by others that influenced them, and only gave them one side of the argument.
- These people and organisations weren't telling the young people the truth or helping them understand the consequences.
- Recruiters target young people who are particularly vulnerable and need to belong somewhere.

Many students noted that in each case the young people gained a sense of belonging and acceptance from being part of a group who were pursuing a particular cause. Some also commented that when young people became part of these groups they often became more isolated and disconnected from positive influences like their families and schools. They suggested that being surrounded by others who had very strong views and condoned violence encouraged them to believe that this was normal.

- When you are only associating with these groups and stop seeing friends and family you start to believe what they tell you because you are only hearing one viewpoint.
- These young people were isolated from the institutions like schools that could have helped them.

#### Differences between the young people in the case studies

While identifying many similarities between the young people in the case studies, the students also identified significant differences between the young people and the pathways that had led them to become involved in violent extremism.

They noted that Farhad Jabar, who was involved in the Parramatta shooting, seemed to be particularly vulnerable because as an Iraqi Kurd his family had likely faced discrimination in Iraq, and then appeared to have had difficulty adjusting to life in Australia. They noted that he was said to have been isolated and upset while at school and may have been bullied.

- I think he thought that no one was on his side to back him up and so he was persuaded to do the things he did, he might have been taking revenge on people who bullied him.
- Lack of integration into the community may have made him more vulnerable to radicalisation.
- He might have finally been getting the attention he needed and feeling that he belonged somewhere.

Many students discussed the influence that they believed that racism and discrimination play in radicalising young people from different cultures, and shared their concerns about a perceived increase in anti-Muslim sentiment in Australia.

- He might have experienced harassment based on his race and religion.
- The rise of political parties like Pauline Hanson fuel this discrimination.

While all students condemned Farhad's actions, many had empathy for him as a person because of his young age and vulnerability and because he was led astray when seeking religious guidance.

 Religion can provide stability and peace but the people he met weren't following the proper teachings of Islam.

They raised questions about why he hadn't had more support and intervention when he started regularly missing school, and commented that it can be very hard for young people to escape these influences on their own.

- Why didn't anyone notice when he skipped school?
- He needed an escape route.

The students' assessment of Brent Lohman, who was involved in the Cronulla riots, was generally less sympathetic. A number of students discussed the fact that as a white male, this young person was in a privileged group, and that his actions appeared to be motivated by racism and a fear of losing his dominance.

- He was trying to assert dominance over Muslims to scare them so they would go back to their country or whatever racists think.
- Being racist is a personal opinion, however that doesn't give someone the right to abuse and violently take action against someone based on the colour of their skin.
- He was trying to make himself seem more significant than others and to feel like he belonged to something and let out his frustrations in a violent manner.

They talked about the negative influences of being surrounded by an angry group of people sharing racist views, all drinking heavily, but also noted that the people who attended the riot were on notice that it was likely to be violent, and it could not be dismissed as a spur of the moment incident.

Many students commented on possible family and community influences that might have encouraged racist beliefs, and noted the importance of teaching children about equality and understanding other cultures.

- If he had been taught acceptance instead of intolerance, he would have been able to see through the eyes of the other side and wouldn't have felt the need to attack them.
- The society you live in and how you are raised makes a big difference. Canberra is more tolerant and accepting than lots of other places.

Some students, particularly in the older groups, noted that the negative media influences that encourage prejudice influence both far right violence and also play a role in young people from 'demonised' groups becoming more radical.

• They are part of the same story, the media encourages racism and this makes people from different races feel angry and powerless.

While many felt that these kind of views should not be tolerated, other students commented that it is important for all views to get a fair hearing, and that it might be more helpful to let people discuss views that are 'racist' so they can debate them openly rather than simply shutting them down.

The students identified unique factors in the case study of Gerrah Selby, a young woman who had become involved in animal rights activism. Many students shared this young person's concern for animal welfare, and respected her commitment to stopping product testing on animals. However, although they felt that the cause was important, they all said that she took it too far in committing acts of intimidation on employees of an animal testing company and their families.

- I don't like animal testing either, but she went too far.
- Her initial actions are good but when she committed criminal offences to stop the industries that was wrong. What she did was no longer protesting but terrorising staff and their families.
- She was very passionate and it was for a good cause but she was blinded from the real world.

A number of students noted that Gerrah had initially become involved in peaceful protest and it was only when that strategy was unsuccessful that she went further.

- I think she thought that peaceful actions aren't getting an outcome.
- If someone had given her a better way she might have taken that up.
- If people had helped her with her protest she would have felt encouraged and not had to go further.

Many students felt that Gerrah's strong academic ability meant that she understood the issues and was capable of making her own decisions, and thus should be held accountable for them. However, others noted that older members of the organisation she became involved with may have exploited her idealism and encouraged her to believe that these actions were acceptable.

- She was young and attractive and maybe naive. She might have been seen as expendable by older members of the group.
- It's a shame, she could have used her academic abilities to make a real difference.

The students found a number of similarities between Jake Bilardi and Farhad Jabar, who both became involved with Jihadi groups and were both reported to have been bullied and isolated at school, making them more vulnerable.

- Farhad and Jake both had strong feelings and felt alone with no one to talk to. If someone had just asked and cared about them that might have helped.
- They both had something to prove to the people who had treated them badly. They were troubled and easily influenced.

Nevertheless, they also identified many differences in the pathways that led these two young men into these situations. Students noted that Jake did not initially have connections to religious extremists, but had independently formed strong convictions about the political issues involved, and actively sought out connections with Jihadi recruiters.

- Because he was so interested in politics and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan he decided to form his own opinions of these matters and disagreed with mainstream media.
- He went online and made contact with these people and found their propaganda.
- He was easily targeted by the Jihadi group because of his blog and the things he was writing about.

They noted that materials accessed online appeared to have played a significant role in Jake's radicalisation, and some suggested that if he had had an opportunity to discuss his views at an early stage he might have had more chance of seeing different perspectives on the issues.

# PART FIVE: HOW TO PREVENT YOUNG PEOPLE FROM BECOMING INVOLVED IN VIOLENT EXTREMISM

Students identified a range of initiatives that schools, families, communities and Governments could do to prevent young people from becoming involved in violent extremism.

#### Media

Students suggested that Australian media needs to be more balanced and accurate, noting that the majority of media they experience tends to take a simplistic and biased approach to reporting complex issues, including race, religion, and culture. Students also felt that the way young people are portrayed in the media is frequently based on stereotypes, misinformation or discriminatory beliefs.

- You only read one side of the story in the media.
- They make things worse, they fuel prejudice.
- Media influence can make people feel isolated and demonised.
- The media care more about what happens in Australia or to Western people than Muslims.
- The media make people feel like a minority and not at home in Australia.

#### Family and social inclusion

Students suggested that young people who were raised within a family (and school and community) that actively promoted diversity of religion, culture, and sexuality were far less likely to hold extreme views or take violent actions to express those views.

Students were strongly in favour of parents teaching and modelling equality and tolerance within their homes, noting that what happens within the family home has a significant impact on future behaviours and attitudes. Students also commented that there was a link between family violence, including smacking children, and future violent behaviour.

- Families could do more to teach equality.
- Kids who grow up in bad environments learn from their parents.
- If you see violence at an early age, you will use violence later on.

Students suggested that the families of young people at risk need to take a more active and supportive role with their children, and that they should notice when their children are acting differently or strangely and do something about it.

- Where were these people's family? Why didn't they notice and so something?
- Where were the parents, wouldn't they have noticed something?
- It was obvious that something was going wrong. Why didn't the family talk with them?
- We have family dinners where we all talk to each other. It's boring, but at least I know that if I had a problem I could share it.
- Wasn't anyone concerned when he was skipping school to go to the local mosque?

Students did, however, question whether some families would know where to go for help, or, even if they did, if they would feel safe enough to do so. Students commented that some families might worry about their child being arrested or getting into trouble, or being publically identified and treated unfairly by the media, their community, or school.

- You can't exactly walk up to someone and say I think my kid is a terrorist. Especially if you are a Muslim.
- Needs to be somewhere on-line where people can seek help; not some Hotline who no-one is going to call.
- Some parents are also dealing with adjustment and also face racism.
- There may be cultural barriers re access to support. Language, discrimination, religion, things like that.

Students also noted that many parents may sometimes share the same or similar views to their children, and therefore not see that something is wrong.

- If their family aren't worried, then they will keep on doing it.
- They might need someone outside the family to talk to.

Students also suggested that there should be more programs and activities for young people who are lonely or socially isolated, or at risk of becoming so, and that in some circumstances these should be compulsory for some young people. Most students commented that these programs would need to be fun and something worthwhile attending.

- We need programs to ensure all students have friends and feel that they belong.
- Give them something to do, like including them in social events or after school programs.
- This is all about people having friends and feeling included.
- If only we had asked him to play soccer. Maybe then he wouldn't have done what he did.
- These [extremist] groups can be really difficult to get out of. Kids need an escape route.
- Many young people are isolated at school. They need to be included.

#### Discuss and debate competing views

Students suggested that there should be more mechanisms at school, and in the broader community, for young people to safely discuss and debate competing views.

Students noted that it would be helpful if all young people were more easily able to freely express their point of view or challenge a particular position or ideology, and to have those opinions listened to and discussed, rather than ignored, ridiculed, or prohibited. They felt that these avenues may make it less likely for vulnerable young people to become frustrated and single-minded, or to escalate to more disruptive or violent behaviours.

- If you are told not to do something it often makes it worse.
- Freedom of speech is a fundamental part of society.
- Talk with people, respect their thoughts and opinions and listen to them.
- If someone has strong views and isn't seeing change through peaceful measures, they might be driven to violence.
- Some people get desperate, and rationalise and justify bad behaviour.

• If they had been listened to or had an opportunity to raise their views, they may not have done what they did.

Students did, however, comment that a delicate balance needs to be struck between limiting or prohibiting certain language or opinions, particularly with respect to race, religion, and gender identity, and allowing anyone to say or think anything they wanted.

- Some things are racist and uncalled for, and make Australians look disgraceful.
- You should never be cruel to someone, or be able to threaten someone.

Students also noted that open discussion of certain issues without appropriate boundaries or supervision could potentially put thoughts into the minds of some young people.

- Some kids you wouldn't want to put ideas in their heads.
- Need to watch out for those who want to be heroes.

Students were, however, clear that they wanted more opportunities within their school to be able to freely discuss complex issues, and listen to others with different or opposing views, and be listened to themselves. Many students commented that the consultation about violent extremism was an excellent example of such an opportunity, and that they would welcome being able to participate in similar future events.

- I enjoyed the fact that we were openly able to express our opinions about significant issues that have taken place in recent periods of our lives.
- The opportunity to give an opinion on big issues.
- It was good listening to real life examples of violent extremism and it allowed us to share our thoughts and views of each case study.
- I liked that we got to express different views on a subject.

# Ability to protest and campaign for social change

Students suggested that it was important for young people to be able to protest or campaign for social change, however many noted that there were very few genuine mechanisms in Canberra for young people to have their say, or to influence social or political outcomes.

- Everyone needs to be able have their say or express an opinion.
- The Government has to listen to young people more than they do. They say they do, but they don't really.

Many students also expressed skepticism that protesting had any significant impact, and noted that as young people, they were even less likely than adults to have their opinions listened to and respected. Students also said that as young people cannot vote, most politicians had no interest in what young people think.

- Even if I can get my views out there, I'm not always listened to.
- I want to be represented in politics by a real young person, not some 30 year-old who has no idea about my life.

Students suggested a need for accessible mechanisms for young people to question or challenge the decisions or actions of schools, communities and Governments, and for the views of young people to be respected and taken seriously.

- It's simple, ask us what we think and listen to what we say.
- When young people protest peacefully listen to them.
- Give us other avenues to express beliefs or support causes.
- Provide ways [for young people] to support a cause without using violence. Direct their passion in a
  positive way.
- Have ways for young people to get together to share and ideas and talk with people with similar ideas.

#### Discussions in schools about violent extremism

Students suggested that schools should provide opportunities for young people to talk about violent extremism, and that these discussions should be an opportunity to learn about extremism, as well as an opportunity to have an open, non-judgmental conversation where everyone can talk and be listened to.

- Have a class where we all sit and talk about this.
- Talk more about it school.
- Have school awareness days.
- Maybe instead of a program [like the consultation] for school, we should add it into our school
  curriculum

Students also noted that it would be helpful and interesting to have people who had been involved in a particular fundamentalist movement to come to the school to talk about why they had made the choices they had, and what had helped them make different choices. Students felt that an open discussion about the reality of violent extremism, rather than a lecture or scripted political message, would assist young people to understand the issue better, and be able to make more informed choices.

- Tell people what happens if you get caught up in violent extremism. Get someone to come and speak to us who has been involved who can give us their experience.
- If you have a particular faith, get someone of the same faith to come and talk with you to tell you about religion but discourage violence. As a Catholic, I would be more likely to listen to someone who shared my beliefs.

#### Education in schools about religions

Students suggested that schools provide comprehensive and balanced education about all religions, rather than not teaching religion at all, or only teaching one particular faith. Some students felt that religions should be taught in schools as 'history' or 'philosophy', rather than 'fact', and that this would encourage open discussion and debate among students, and would discourage individuals from becoming single-minded or fundamental.

- We don't have much teaching at school about Islam and religious tolerance.
- I don't believe in any religion, but know nothing much about any of them.
- I'm Catholic, but would like to know more about what other people think.

Students were also interested in having religious leaders from different faiths visit their school so that they could discuss and demystify different belief systems.

#### Address Islamophobia in Australia

Students suggested that there was widespread ignorance and fear about Islam across Australia, and that this needs to be addressed through information and education campaigns.

- Some Muslims faced discrimination in their country so came here. Now they face discrimination in Australia. They are always treated as outsiders.
- Some people need education to overcome deeply ingrained beliefs.
- Racism should be noticed and stopped.

Many students admitted to holding particular or uniformed views about Islam, but also noted that they formed these views because of their home and community environments, and through listening to the media and adults.

- If you listen to the media, they [Muslim people] are all crazy.
- White privilege is hard to avoid, it is everywhere.
- My family are all racist, and some of it rubs off.
- Sometimes you can be prejudiced without realising it, you have to really be conscious of it.

#### Bullying

Students suggested a strong link between being bullied at school, or within the broader community, and the possibility of future violence. Students commented that many young people who are bullied become isolated, depressed and angry, and feel unwelcome and alone. Students felt that this might make some of these students far more likely to be taken advantage of by adults or other people, or to do something extreme to either be noticed or 'get back' at someone.

- Some people think that 'everyone hates me so I will do something about it'.
- Recruiters look for vulnerable young people to recruit.
- Recruiters give people attention and a sense of belonging.
- He wanted to belong, so he joined a terrorist group. This wasn't a religious thing, it was because he
  felt alone and sad.

Students felt that schools needed to do more to notice and respond proactively to bullying, and to also notice and offer support to students who appeared withdrawn, or quiet or unhappy at school. Many students said that assistance was sometimes only provided to naughty or disruptive students, with the quiet ones being overlooked.

Students also commented that they would try to help if they noticed that a friend or other student was struggling or acting differently.

- I would try to be nicer to them.
- Invite kids who are lonely or quite to join in and play sport or something.
- Ask them if they are OK.
- Classmates can ask how they are and can get the teacher if needed.

Many students, however, said that schools should provide more information and ideas about what else to do, or who else to talk to.

- I don't know what else I could do.
- Maybe schools could tell us any ideas of other things we could do?

Students also noted that bullies needed to be recognised as having problems of their own, and be offered support.

• Bullies are people too.

#### School counsellors

Students suggested that schools need substantially more counsellors, psychologists, or other welfare support staff, and that these people need to be approachable and someone that students can trust. They also noted the importance of confidentiality, and independence from other school staff. Many students commented that their own school counsellors were excellent, but that they were sometimes hard to see and were overwhelmed with work.

- One psych for 400 students is not enough. It's absurd.
- Not enough resources are put into support services for schools.
- Students need someone to talk to, like a psychologist or counsellor. But they need to be the right sort of people otherwise they can wind you up and piss you off.

Some students also suggested that all school students should be required to visit a school counsellor or psychologist every year for a routine check-up. Students said that this would assist schools to notice in a more timely manner those young people who may be struggling or at risk, and would also normalise seeing a counsellor and reduce the stigma some students identified existed when seeking help from a counsellor. When this issue arose in group discussions, many students viewed the idea favourably.

- Everyone should see a counsellor every year for a 'mental health check-up'.
- Most people only go to a counsellor if they are sent there or their parents get divorced, not because they are lonely or sad.
- It can be very intimidating for some people to go to a counsellor.

Some students also commented that the amount of homework students have to do, and an associated fear of failure, contributed to young people feeling overwhelmed and stressed.

- There is so much homework, it freaks out most students.
- There is huge pressure. People are scared of failing.

#### Security and oversight at school

Some students suggested that the presence of security cameras and teachers monitoring students at their school made them feel safer from a range of dangers (both internal and external).

- I know that the teachers are keeping an eye on us. It makes us all feel safe.
- It stops people from doing stupid things because they will be caught.

Some students said that they thought that teachers need to be stricter, and enforce rules better than they currently do.

- Teachers need to be strict but fair. It doesn't work when they let students do what they want.
- Most of our teachers tell us what the rules are and we are expected to follow them, but some don't.
- Relief teachers often don't know what is going on.

Related to this issue, some students felt that there should be greater scrutiny by both parents and the Government of the websites that some young people access, and the nature of information being posted on blogs or other social media by some young people. Some students also commented that, given the ready availability of concerning information on the internet, more sites should be blocked or, at least, monitored.

- Some young people should have their computers taken away.
- Why could they access all this stuff in the first place?
- So much stuff on the internet is dangerous.
- There needs to be more on-line security.

A few students also expressed little tolerance for young people who used, or were thinking of using disruptive methods or violence, and commented that there should be harsh penalties, not only as a punishment, but also as a deterrent to other young people.

- Be as crazy as you want, but don't hurt other people.
- I don't care how sad or messed up someone is, they shouldn't use violence.

# **CONCLUDING COMMENTS**

The students who participated in this consultation expressed clear and informed views as to why a young person might use violence, including extremist violence, and what might assist other young people from doing the same.

Students had an understanding of the social, cultural, personal, and political circumstances that influence the choices young people make, however had no sympathy for the use of violence, or significantly disruptive or damaging behaviour, which was strongly condemned.

Students also felt that it was important for young people to be able to express an opinion, be heard, and influence social change, yet that this always has to be peaceful and respectful of others people's opinions, well-being, property, and lives. Students also said that there need to be more avenues for young people to participate in social change, or influence decisions in their schools and communities.

Students also welcomed and enjoyed the opportunity to discuss topics of contemporary interest, including those that many adults or Government agencies may not consider appropriate to talk about with young people. Students were clear that they wanted more opportunities to talk about issues, and be listened to, and not just be taught facts or what to think.

In each of the four case-studies, students were able to identify a point, or points, in the lives of the young people where someone could, or should, have 'done something' to intervene and possibly prevent the outcomes that occurred.

Students were aware that a young people's sense of social inclusion and belonging is a significant contributor to becoming involved in extremist violence, and felt that schools, families and communities have a significant role to play with respect to noticing and doing something when a young person is becoming unusually withdrawn, angry, or extreme in their opinions and behaviours. Many students felt that school counsellors, or other forms of support, should be more readily available for all young people.

Students identified that racism and others forms of stereotypical prejudice have a strong part to play in the breakdown of social cohesion, and in influencing people to take extreme action. Students felt that tolerance and diversity should be taught and modeled across the community, in politics and in the media. However, many students felt that the Canberra community was more accepting of diversity than other places in Australia.

This consultation indicates that talking directly with young people about violent extremism is useful and feasible, and the authors of this report suggest that it would be of significant interest and value to replicate this consultation with a larger number of children and young people in different parts of Australia.

Finally, throughout the consultation, the majority of students spoke positively about their own teachers and school in the ACT. While they indicated that more supports and programs would be helpful, many students reported having a sense of pride in their school, and most reported that their schools were welcoming and accepting of diversity and that prejudice based on race or religion would not be tolerated.

These comments suggest that schools in the ACT are already helping to encourage social cohesion and that they are well placed to build on these strong foundations, to support young people who may be vulnerable to becoming involved in violent extremism.

# WHAT CAN WE DO?

The authors drafted nine recommendations, and then returned to three of the participating schools to test these recommendations with approximately 80 (40%) of the Year 7, 9 and 11 students who had taken part in the consultation.

The consistent response from the students was favourable, with most students saying that they agreed with most of the recommendations, as well as the aim of the recommendations. No recommendation was rejected by the students, however minor edits based on feedback from the students were made to Recommendations 4 and 6.

1. That the ACT Government convene a forum of relevant stakeholders, including media representatives and young people under 18, to discuss (i) the negative portrayal in the media of young people, including Muslim young people, and (ii) the feasibility of developing guidelines regarding the positive portrayal of young people in the media.

The aim is to reduce the inaccuracies, stereotypes, and prejudices which students noted in the media, and which students noted contribute significantly to young people feeling unwelcome or socially excluded within their community, and Australia more broadly.

2. That the ACT Government (i) develop and fund culturally and religiously appropriate support and referral services for parents who have concerns about a family member becoming socially isolated or radicalised, and (ii) develop and widely disseminate information about these services.

The aim is to allow families to seek culturally and religiously appropriate support without fear of punishment, or other recriminations, which students noted as being a significant impediment to families, including, in particular, Muslim families, seeking help.

3. That the Education and Training Directorate, Catholic Education Office, and all Independent schools, in consultation with students, develop and fund regular in-school opportunities for students to discuss contemporary social and political issues that affect their lives, and for these opportunities to focus on listening to the diverse views of students rather than imparting information to them.

The aim is to give students opportunities to: consider contemporary issues that affect their lives; discuss these openly; express their views; and listen to and discuss opposing views. Students noted that they enjoyed the opportunity to openly and honestly express their views about violent extremism, that their perspectives and understanding of the issue was broadened through discussion with their peers, yet they rarely have opportunities to have these types of conversations in school.

4. That the Education and Training Directorate, Catholic Education Office, and all Independent schools provide (i) balanced and respectful in-school education about a diversity of religions, and (ii) opportunities for representatives of a diversity of religions to visit schools to discuss with students the historical and contemporary nature of their faith.

The aim is to give students the opportunity to discuss and better understand a diversity of religions, which students noted would not only be interesting in itself, but would also assist to breakdown prejudices and misunderstandings held by some people about particular religions. Students noted that this would promote greater social inclusion not only in school, but within the broader community. Students also noted that any such programs need to be safe and respectful, and be based on talking and learning about religions, not promoting religion or seeking to convert students.

5. That the Education and Training Directorate, Catholic Education Office, and all Independent schools, in consultation with students, develop and fund in-school and after-school activities and programs targeted at increasing social inclusion for students, including, in particular, those who may be socially isolated or excluded; have unexplained or increasing absences from school; or who are bullied or subject to discrimination based on their race, religion or cultural background.

The aim is to provide more opportunities for those students who are withdrawing, or who feel that they don't belong, to be welcomed and included by the school and other students without drawing undue notice to individuals. Students noted that such opportunities don't routinely exist within all schools, and that social exclusion, bullying, and discrimination at school (and within the broader community) may be a contributing factor to the future use of violence.

6. That the Education and Training Directorate, Catholic Education Office, and all Independent schools encourage, and provide practical opportunities for, all students to visit a school counsellor or psychologist at least once every year to discuss their overall well-being, including their sense of belonging within their school and community, and to offer support where needed. Rather than being compulsory, students noted that this should be an opt-out scheme, whereby students who did not wish to participate could choose not to.

The aim is to assist schools to notice, and respond to, in a more timely manner, those students who may be struggling or at risk of social isolation, and to normalise seeing a counsellor and reduce the stigma that students noted existed when seeking in-school assistance. Some students, however, also noted that they have little trust in the confidentiality of their school counsellor or psychologist, and that they would hesitate to tell them private or sensitive details.

Accordingly, it will be important for all school counsellors and psychologists to develop trust with students and to help them to understand ethical obligations of confidentiality.

7. That the ACT Government establish respectful and effective consultation mechanisms to regularly seek the views of young people under the age of 18 on issues that affect their lives, including Government policy, programs, and legislation. These mechanisms should be promoted and accessible to all young people, including, in particular, those who would not routinely be asked,

or express a view. The views of young people obtained through these consultations should be listened to, and given serious consideration by the ACT Government.

The aim is to give students a greater say in decisions which affect their lives, and for students to feel as if they belong and that their views and opinions count. Students noted that feeling that they do not belong, that they can't have an equal say, and that their views don't count, may be a contributing factor to the future use of violence.

8. That the ACT Government note the strong views of students that the voting age for ACT Government Elections be lowered to 16 years, with voting being voluntary rather than compulsory for those 16 years and 17 years, and take steps to give effect to these views.

The aim is give students over 16 years of age a say in the politicians that make decisions about their lives, which students noted as integral to feeling included and valued as equal members of the Canberra community. This recommendation is consistent with comments made by young people in other forums, including, most recently, the ACT Government's Social Inclusion Think Tank.

9. That the ACT Government note the strong views of students that the physical discipline of children and young people by parents is inconsistent with protections afforded to adults, and take steps to remove the legal defence of reasonable chastisement in relation to the physical assault of children and young people within the family home.

The aim is to reduce student's exposure to violence within the family home, and the message that violence can legitimately resolve issues, which students noted may be a contributing factor to the future use of violence. This recommendation is consistent with the ACT Prevention of Violence against Women & Children Strategy 2011-2017, the ACT Human Rights Act 2004, and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

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'The great risk is creating an atmosphere of self-censorship - where young people don't feel free to express themselves in schools, or youth clubs, or at the mosque. If they feel angry, or have a sense of injustice but nowhere to engage in a democratic process and in a peaceful way, then that's the worst climate to create for terrorist recruitment.'

Arun Kundnani, Adjunct Professor of Media, Culture and Communications, New York University. Author of: The Muslims are Coming! Islamophobia, Extremism and the Domestic War on Terror (2014).

# **APPENDIX A: CASE STUDIES**

Case study 1: Jake Bilardi





Jake Bilardi was a teenager who lived with his older brothers in Melbourne.

He attended Craigieburn Secondary High School and had a strong interest in politics. He talked about wanting to become a political journalist.

People who knew him have said that Jake was a smart but shy school student who was sometimes bullied by his classmates.

He kept a blog where he talked about his research into wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and his disillusionment with Western governments and their actions overseas.

In August 2014, he made contact with a recruiter for a Jihadi group who arranged for him to travel to Iraq.

After he left, his family found explosive devices and weapons stockpiled in his room, and his blog stated that he had planned to carry out terror attacks on his own in Melbourne if his plans to travel overseas were not successful.

On 11 March 2015, when he was 18 years old, Jake carried out a suicide bombing attack in Ramadi in Iraq and was killed. It is not clear if anyone else was injured in the bombing.

This case study is based on information reported in public media sources, and has been prepared to stimulate student discussion during the consultation.

#### Case study 2: Brent Lohman





Brent Lohman was a 17 year old young man living in the Sutherland Shire in NSW.

On 11 December 2005 he attended Cronulla Beach, with thousands of others, to 'reclaim the beach'. This followed a violent confrontation between some Lebanese Muslim young men and two lifeguards.

Text messages circulating told 'Aussies' to come to the beach for 'Leb and wog bashing day.'

The crowd assembled, with many people drinking heavily, and as time went on began to get more violent. Some people in the crowd began to attack passers-by based on the colour of their skin, and clashed with police.

At midday Brent and hundreds of others surged towards the train station, apparently based on a rumour that a 'pack' of Lebanese men were arriving to confront them.

Two men who looked middle-eastern happened to be at the station and fled onto a train when the crowd arrived. Brent, draped in an Australian flag, led a charge into the train and was photographed assaulting the two men, who tried to shield themselves.

The attack was broken up by a police officer who charged in with a baton. The photographer said that if this had not happened he believes the men would have been seriously injured or killed.

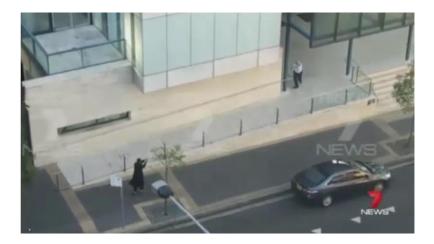
Brent was convicted of the assault and served some time in prison, before his sentence was suspended. The Magistrate noted that he showed no remorse or regret about his actions.

News reports suggest that he is still associated with far-right anti-Islam groups ten years after the riots.

This case study is based on information reported in public media sources, and has been prepared to stimulate student discussion during the consultation.

Case study 3: Farhad Jabar





Farhad Khalil Mahommad Jabar was a 15 year old student in year 10 at Arthur Phillip High School, in North Parramatta. His family are of Kurdish Iraqi background and had come to Australia when he was very young.

Farhad was described by classmates as quiet, good at basketball, but often looking upset, and sometimes being bullied. He was interested in reality TV, following the X-Factor and The Voice.

He often attended his local mosque, and began to do this more in 2015, skipping school to attend the mosque. He listened to a lecture there by a member of a group called Hizb ut Tahrir, and is said to have made contact there with three older men who were later convicted of terrorism offences.

On 2 October 2015 he dressed in a long robe and carried a gun to the street outside the State Crime Command headquarters at Parramatta, where he shot and killed an unarmed police civilian accountant Curtis Cheng as he was walking out of the building.

Farhad remained at the scene and continued firing into the police headquarters. He was shot dead by one of three special constables who responded to the shooting.

This case study is based on information reported in public media sources, and has been prepared to stimulate student discussion during the consultation.

#### Case study 4: Gerrah Selby







Gerrah Selby is a young woman from the United Kingdom.

She attended a private school and teachers described her as a 'delightful and extremely thoughtful young lady' who scored high marks in her International Baccalaureate exams.

She had a strong interest in animal welfare and had been accepted by Edinburgh University to study zoology.

Towards the end of her high school studies she became involved in an animal rights activist organisation called Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty, which aimed to shut down the operations of a large company carrying out animal testing of products.

Gerrah decided not to take up her place at University, and instead to work with Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty.

While working with this organisation, Gerrah was initially involved in peaceful protests against Huntingdon Life Sciences and the companies that dealt with it. Later she became involved in actions aimed to intimidate staff of these companies and their families, including blackmail, planting hoax bombs, sending death threats and vandalising their cars with paint stripper.

A number of members of Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty, including Gerrah, were charged and found guilty of criminal offences, and Gerrah was sentenced to four years in prison.

This case study is based on information reported in public media sources, and has been prepared to stimulate student discussion during the consultation.

# **APPENDIX B: EVALUATION RESULTS**

What was your overall view of the consultation session?

•	Very bad	=	0%
•	Bad	=	0%
•	OK	=	11%
•	Good	=	<u>71%</u>
•	Excellent	=	18%

# Did you enjoy participating in the session?

•	No	=	2%
•	Not sure	=	18%
•	Yes	=	80%

# Did you have a chance to express your views?

•	No	=	0%
•	Not sure	=	22%
•	Yes	=	78%

# Did you feel that Alasdair & Gabrielle listened to your views?

•	No	=	0%
•	Not sure	=	6%
•	Yes	=	94%

#### What worked well in the consultation?

•	Survey	=	78%
•	Case studies	=	80%
•	Group discussions	=	84%

# What did you like most about the consultation? Comments included:

- Everyone speaking about how they think about this.
- Saying my opinion.
- That they actually listened and cared about our opinion and what we had to say.
- Talking/expressing myself.
- Getting to discuss our thoughts.
- Discussing.
- We actually got listened to.
- My voice being heard.
- Hearing people's points of view.
- Everyone had their say.
- Talking.
- Everyone got to talk.
- How we got to write about these bad people.
- We were able to express our views freely.

- Where the group of students were able to discuss and talk about certain subjects.
- The part that allowed us to express our view.
- The opportunity to give an opinion on big issues.
- Being able to express a point of view openly with a group.
- I liked that we got to express different views on a subject.
- I really liked how the case studies made us think about the issues more, so it was easier to express our views.
- The game at the start got my attention, and I found it interesting to listen to other people's views on topics.
- I liked listening to discussions and hearing different views.
- I liked the case studies the most. It was a good idea that let everyone voice their own opinions.
- I liked hearing everyone's point of views and being able to express mine.
- It was good listening to real life examples of violent extremism and it allowed us to share our thoughts and views of each case study.
- I enjoyed the fact that we were openly able to express our opinions about significant issues that have taken place in recent periods of our lives.
- How Alasdair and Gabrielle were very open, they didn't shut down your opinions but understood them
- Discussions with other members of my year group.
- Talking about why people would act in certain ways.
- The opinion of any side of a case or argument shown and respected.
- Learning some others student's views.
- Listening to views the others had to say.

#### What did you like least, or thought we could do better? Comments included:

- Maybe something more fun and a bit less discussion.
- More of a background as to why we were taking part in this.
- Accountability of time.
- The discussions could have been more explained before giving an opinion.
- More adult knowledge on case studies to compare and contrast.
- Group discussion could be improved a bit to allow everyone to express their opinion.
- The survey could do with a bit of a change, maybe by putting it closer to the participant (ie: get their view or opinion on things near home).
- With the survey, it could be collected at the end to allow students to change their answer.
- More discussion about the topics.
- Perhaps try to use a form of presentation software such as Prezi or Powerpoint.
- I think that creating a made up scenario and have a simulation of preventing it from happening.
- I think more case studies would have been good so we could get more of a spread idea of the different situations that lead to violence.
- I think there could have been more discussions between ourselves, rather than writing everything down.
- The questions on the sheets about the case study. I would much rather have a group discussion and be asked the questions than write them down.
- Maybe less writing and answering questions and more engaging things like where everyone stands up
  or does activities about the things that are being discussed.
- Probably questions on the sheet. I think instead there should have been limited questions to discuss within the group, or even no questions just our thoughts and opinions of each case study.

- I think that more cases could have been expressed and examined, and visual presentations could have been shown such as videos, pictures, reports, letters etc.
- More interactive games.
- More adult knowledge on the topic so we can compare and contrast with our views.

# Any other comments? Comments included:

- The surveys were good.
- Thank you for having me, I enjoyed it a lot. Thanks for my voice to be heard.
- Keep up the good work.
- Perhaps some more game like activities in groups to start discussion in a creative way.
- Keep the presentation interesting, perhaps more games or a short break halfway through.
- Alasdair and Gabrielle were nice and listened very well to us.
- The case studies could have slightly more detailed for clarity.
- Maybe instead of a program for school we should add it into our school curriculum.