Spalek, Basia. "Terror Crime Prevention with Communities: Trust, Community and Counter-Terrorism; an Introduction." *Terror Crime Prevention with Communities*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013. 1–20. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781472545039.ch-001>>.

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Terror Crime Prevention with Communities: Trust, Community and Counter-Terrorism; an Introduction

Introduction

Terror Crime Prevention with Communities is the product of over 130 in-depth interviews which were carried out over five years, between 2007 and 2012, as part of a number of national and international research projects that I led. Interviews were conducted with community members, youth workers, police officers and other practitioners involved in counter-terrorism work, government and policy officials, and young people who might be 'at risk' of terrorism or terrorism-related offences. This book is also the product of international exchanges where counter-terrorism practice was discussed, involving academics, practitioners, Muslim community members and policy officials in a wide range of contexts, including Britain, the US, Northern Ireland, Egypt, Kyrgyzstan, Singapore, Moscow and Warsaw. I have also had many informal conversations with researchers, practitioners (including security service personnel) and government officials, and these too have helped to shape this book. An important element of the material presented here is the empirical data taken from interviews. Rarely do the voices of community members and junior practitioners feature in accounts of counter-terrorism. Analyses tend to be driven by theoretically sophisticated academic accounts which fail to grasp, or at least overlook, real-life experiences on the ground – for example, what it is like to be a young person experiencing counter-terrorism measures, what it is like to be a former politically motivated offender who is now working towards building peace within and between communities, or how a

police officer goes about connecting with those communities deemed 'hard to reach' or deemed 'suspect' by the state. This book aims to address this deficit in knowledge by including, extensively, the voices of people experiencing, initiating and developing counter-terrorism measures.

It is important to highlight that whilst the predominant focus of the empirical data presented in this book is on responding to, and preventing, terrorism linked to Al Qaeda (AQ), the lessons learned and key messages from this work can be applied to other forms of terrorism, for example, those committed by far-right extremists, and can also be applied to tackling ideologically and politically motivated hate crimes. However, perhaps the specific significance and uniqueness of this book is that it stands in vast contrast to more dominant analyses of the kinds of threats that Britain faces from AQ-linked terrorism and what the social and political responses should be. After 9/11, and especially after the London bombings on 7 July 2005, a vast amount of literature was published regarding the nature of the threat posed to Britain and the West and what should be done about it. Examples include *Celsius 7/7: how the West's policy of appeasement has provoked yet more fundamentalist terror – and what has to be done now* by the current Education Secretary Michael Gove, *Londonistan: how Britain is creating a terror state within* by Daily Mail columnist Melanie Phillips, *While Europe Slept: how radical Islam is destroying the West from within* by Bruce Bawer, and *The Islamist* by Ed Husain. These books essentially have posed radical Islam as a potent threat to Britain and the West, not only in relation to terrorism but also a cultural and political threat to Western ideals of democracy and secularism. These books are an example of the kind of commonplace discourses that construct Islamic practices and beliefs as potentially dangerous and a potential barrier to social cohesion. These debates have deeper roots, and, according to Cesari (2005), Muslims' settlement in Europe and their claims for public recognition can be viewed as a threat by western secular states which separate politics from religion. Constructing Islamic identities and practices as 'radical' (which in some cases may be simply because individuals are religiously conservative and have a real or a perceived opposition to established secular values, see Spalek, Baker and Lambert, 2009) runs the risk that these are negatively labelled, attracting the attention of approaches to security that might be considered as requiring counter-insurgency and/or counter-subversion. The

data presented in this book strongly challenge the idea that Britain and the West are under significant threat from 'radical Islam'. The data presented in *Terror Crime Prevention with Communities* illustrates that Muslims who might be perceived as 'radical' (whatever that term actually means) have worked hard to reduce the terrorist threat to Britain, in partnership with the police and other agencies. This book shows that portraying 'radical Muslims' as potential criminals or subversives is unjustifiable given that the data presented in the chapters that follow demonstrates that these individuals are potential allies and even partners for counter-terrorism as conflict transformation. Yet the portrayal of 'radical Islam' as a significant threat has captured the attention of successive governments. For example, in his foreword to the voluminous *Islamist Terrorism: the British Connections* (authored by Simcox, Stuart, Ahmed and Murray, 2011) Lord Carlile (who was an Independent Reviewer of Terrorist Legislation in Britain between 2001 and 2011 and provided Independent Oversight of the Prevent Strategy¹ in 2011) argues that the UK is something of a hub for the development of terrorists, and that 'Islamic extremism' remains the greatest and least-predictable threat. The question is why government policies have embraced so easily the construction of 'radical Islam' as a threat, so often ignoring empirical data around the contributions that many members of Muslim communities, including those that might be labelled as 'radical', have made, and continue to make, to Britain and the West. Perhaps this is an example of politicians adopting right-wing approaches that are seen as winning favour with majority public opinion as a way of gaining votes. Over many centuries there have been conflicts between Muslims and Christians, and portraying the supposed dangers of 'radical Islam' is an easy way of tapping into deep-seated fears that general populations have, not only in Britain but across the West, as a way of then implementing policies that politicians can argue make people safer, thus currying favour with Joe Public. At the same time, the rising presence of Muslim communities in the West, especially in Europe, taps into fears amongst general populations regarding migration, social cohesion and cultural identity. Perhaps creating a 'straw man' enemy in the form of 'radical Islam' is a useful mechanism through

¹ The counter-terrorism arena has expanded to include wide-ranging agencies beyond that of the police e.g. local councils, schools, universities and so forth through the Prevent aspect of the British counter-terrorism policy, CONTEST.

which to assuage people's worries about immigration; whilst there is little that politicians can do to stem the flow of migrants into the West, there are nevertheless severe counter-terrorism policies in place that can tackle the 'threat' from 'radical Islam'. *Terror Crime Prevention with Communities* therefore is a challenge to current strategic thinking around counter-terrorism, for this book does not portray 'radical Islam' as a threat, but rather draws on the experiences of Muslims (some of whom might be seen as 'radical' by some social and political commentators) and others to illustrate how ethically-driven counter-terrorism practices can be created and implemented.

This book also serves to highlight that, as a phenomenon, terrorism is a social process, not a concrete, single, event. *Terror Crime Prevention with Communities* invites its readers to view counter-terrorism also as a social process involving wide-ranging actors and institutions, and to analyse the wider social, political, emotional and cultural milieus doing counter-terrorism work. Across the world, separate from actors and institutions traditionally involved in counter-terrorism work – police officers, government officials, security services, judges – there are youth workers, educators, religious leaders, community members and organisations, including women's groups and others, who are involved in preventing extreme acts of violence through the youth work that they do, through challenging ideological extremisms that they encounter within their communities and through mentoring individuals deemed to be at risk of violent extremism. This heralds the development of what has been identified as 'community-based' approaches to counter-terrorism, involving considerable input from civil society. Counter-terrorism is therefore an arena that not only involves placing terrorist networks under surveillance and prosecuting them, but also involves engagement and partnerships between state actors (often police officers) and non-state actors (community members, religious and political leaders and so forth) to prevent acts of extreme violence. Security is implemented across wide-ranging actors and institutions. Involving a diverse set of state and non-state actors in the shared goal of preventing terrorism that is counter-terrorism work means the inclusion of different individuals and institutions with different priorities, and different ways of working. This is a complex task with competing narratives.

Terror Crime Prevention with Communities also invites its readers to view counter-terrorism as a form of conflict transformation, both positive and

negative. This point links to ongoing debates about what terrorism actually is. Terrorism itself is a contested notion, so that terrorism should be approached as a concept and not as a label. As a concept, terrorism is a social construct, an idea, informing public opinions and perceptions which will impact on the conceptualisation and implementation of counter-terrorism strategies (Jackson, 2007). As a result, different actors and institutions will have different understandings of terrorism, and different viewpoints about how it should be prevented – thus, there will be points of divergence and contestation, alongside points of convergence. At the same time, implicit in many definitions of terrorism is the central theme of conflict, where conflict can mean struggle, incompatibility, collision, or disagreement. Thus, according to Wilkinson (2006: 6) ‘terrorism is a weapon-system, which can be used by an enormous variety of groups and regimes with rapidly differing aims, ideologies and motivations’. According to the terminology used by the EU:

terrorism is not an ideology but is a set of criminal tactics which deny the fundamental principles of democratic societies. Terrorist acts are those which aim to intimidate populations, compel states to comply with the perpetrators’ demands, and/or destabilise or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation’ (Europol TeSat, 2010: 5).

And according to Schmid (2004: 205–6) ‘terrorism, by using violence against one victim, seeks to coerce and persuade others. The immediate victim is merely instrumental, the skin on a drum beaten to achieve a calculated impact on a wider audience’. The idea of conflict – that is, struggle, incompatibility, collision, or disagreement – is therefore implicit within many definitions of terrorism. Counter-terrorism can also involve conflict – struggle, incompatibility, collision, or disagreement – between different actors, institutions and nation-states, for if terrorism is a contested notion then doing counter-terrorism will also involve contestation. Ideas about what works, what approaches should be developed, who should be included, what the causes of terrorism are, are all unresolved questions. Different political, organisational and emotional cultures will impact upon counter-terrorism practices and so there are likely to be disagreements and incompatibilities over approaches.

Terror Crime Prevention with Communities further invites its readers to consider the ways in which seeming incompatibilities between wide-ranging

actors and institutions can be overcome in order to do counter-terrorism work. This book can therefore be relevant to those who are engaged in contemporary approaches to peace-building. This is because much of the empirical data and analysis that is presented in this book is about how contexts (contexts here meaning the individual, group, community, organisation and state) characterised by conflict can undergo and experience change. Whilst there is an academically rich literature regarding models of counter-violent radicalisation, of peace building and conflict resolution (Lederach, 2010; Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2011), there is little on the actual lived experiences of those individuals and organisations involved in such initiatives. A key theme in this book is that by documenting and exploring the accounts of people involved in counter-terrorism as a form of conflict transformation we can learn more about the processes of dialogue, engagement, partnership, change and so forth. Here I would like to refer to the work of Victor Frankl, my inspiration for the significant use of individuals' accounts of their lived experiences in the research that I and my team have undertaken. Victor Frankl wrote a best-selling book based on his experiences of being a concentration camp survivor during World War Two called *Man's Search for Meaning*. At the start of this book, Frankl writes:

This book does not claim to be an account of facts and events but of personal experiences, experiences which millions of prisoners have suffered time and again. It is the inside story of a concentration camp, told by one of its survivors. This tale is not concerned with the great horrors, which have already been described often enough (though less often believed), but with the multitude of small torments. In other words, it will try to answer this question: how was everyday life in a concentration camp reflected in the mind of the average prisoner? (Frankl, 1959, 3)

Victor Frankl's account of concentration-camp life is so compelling, providing details of the emotional and psychological states of the prisoners, precisely because it constitutes 'insider knowledge'. Frankl was a highly educated psychotherapist before he was transported to a concentration camp. He was therefore well placed to observe the emotional and psychological stresses being experienced by the prisoners, all the more so because he was experiencing similar impacts himself. Frankl's 'insider account' is particularly valuable because it is an 'ordinary' prisoner's account. In Frankl's own words:

this story is not about the suffering and death of great heroes or martyrs, nor is it about the prominent Capos – prisoners who acted as trustees, having special privileges – or well-known prisoners. Thus it is not so much concerned with the sufferings of the mighty, but with the sacrifices, the crucifixion and the deaths of the great army of unknown and unrecorded victims (Frankl, 1959: 3).

It is interesting that Victor Frankl refers to his book being about the experiences of ‘ordinary prisoners’, those not linked to wider power structures operating in the prison camps and in society at large where particular individuals’ experiences can be lionised. Within the social sciences, the role that ‘insider knowledge’ might play in helping us to understand social problems has generated a large amount of discussion and debate. Wide-ranging theoretical and disciplinary positions such as anthropology, women’s studies, critical race discourse, have, for a long time, challenged so-called ‘neutral’ research over the biases underpinning the objectivity that is claimed, presenting new insights that are underpinned by the experiences and perspectives of those whose lives are being studied. This has led to much discussion about what is meant by ‘insider’ knowledge. A large literature now posits that in reality researchers and research participants are both insiders and outsiders, occupying a multiplicity of subject positions (see Garland, Spalek and Chakraborti, 2006 for a discussion). This approach might be viewed as being linked to a ‘post-modern paradigm’ that has challenged the assumption within the social sciences that the proper end of social research is the production of objective knowledge (Lundy and McGovern, 2006). Whilst some academic disciplines have been significantly influenced by debates regarding what comprises knowledge, terrorism studies has for a long time consisted of ‘outsider’ knowledge claims made by institutions and actors that are directly linked to state-driven agendas. This is why critical terrorism studies emerged in the last decade or so, criticising traditional terrorism studies for being analytically and methodologically weak, relying too heavily on secondary information and for failing to understand terrorism, and counter-terrorism, through the perspectives and experiences of those experiencing state repression (Breen Smyth, 2007; Jackson, 2007). Counter-terrorism policy is an area dominated by geo-political power plays involving state and non-state actors, and ‘insider knowledge’ is rarely drawn upon when designing strategies, for research is dominated by state-centric perspectives founded on secondary sources and

lacking the input of primary data collection and analysis (Breen Smyth: 2007; Jackson, 2007). There is therefore a danger that issues of security that matter at the individual and community level – including experiences of violence, inter- and intra-community tensions, social and economic exclusion, racism and so forth – are overlooked by the state-led focus upon the prevention of terrorism, both within the UK and overseas.

It also has to be said that the lack of empirical data is partly the result of over-theorisation within the social sciences, with there being generally a lack of interest in small-scale applied case studies. Rather than asking questions about how research results can be used in an applied context in order to help solve social problems like terrorism, reviewers, editors and those occupying positions of power in academia question the relevance of empirical data for broader theoretical questions. This results in research publications comprising over-theorised pieces, the practical and policy relevance of which is difficult to unpick. Moreover, it is difficult for social researchers to get work published in which empirical data actively questions taken-for-granted theoretical constructions because the review process will often err on the side of caution and uphold long-held theoretical stances. Thus, in relation to AQ-linked terrorism, whilst numerous publications have highlighted the ‘war on terror’ post 9/11 and the violation of human rights globally, few have addressed the question of whether it is possible to build trust between the state, security and police agencies and communities despite this broader context. Indeed, according to Eatwell and Goodwin (2010: 14), ‘few studies bridge theoretical and empirical research on extremism with policy and practice’. Research should not be just about critiquing dominant political, social and economic structures, but rather, should provide possible solutions to the social issues confronting societies. For this to happen, it needs to be increasingly focussed upon local contexts and local solutions, with partnerships being built between researchers and local agencies and communities. Scholars working on questions of why some young British Muslims have committed terror acts are beginning to stress the need for specific research that looks at specific local contexts and their links to wider global geo-political dynamics. These researchers argue that it is important to focus upon British foreign policy and the social and economic reverberations of a colonial past, rather than focussing upon a socially constructed notion of ‘new terrorism’ that tends to

view AQ related or linked attacks as part of some kind of global war against the West involving Islam (Githens-Mazer, 2010; Baker, 2010; Lambert, 2011).

Responding to, and preventing, terrorism tends to generate much discussion and writing about issues of spying upon communities, of infiltrating groups, of securitising and potentially criminalising members of those communities deemed as 'suspect' by state authorities. *Terror Crime Prevention with Communities*, whilst alluding to these issues, invites its readers to consider themes that link to how to go about doing ethically-driven counter-terrorism practice. Ethically-driven counter-terrorism work, as highlighted in this book, involves the notions of credibility and connectivity for counter-terrorism work, the role of community policing in counter-terrorism, trust and trust-building activities, engagement and partnerships between state and non-state actors, the role of emotions and questions of governance. These themes have been identified through the thematic analysis of the significant number of interviews that I and my research team have undertaken over the last five years. As such, a key strength of this book is that it is based upon many years of documenting the lived experiences and the perspectives of wide-ranging individuals. As *Terror Crime Prevention with Communities* sets out the multiple dynamics to counter-terrorism practice, conceptualising these within a broad understanding of what community-based approaches to counter-terrorism involve, this book should be of interest to people involved in peace-building and conflict-resolution activities, whether those activities are aimed at preventing or responding to terrorism or other forms of violence.

Terror Crime Prevention with Communities is comprised of eight chapters. Chapter 2 focuses on the importance of credibility when thinking about counter-terrorism as conflict transformation. The chapter highlights that the notion of credibility is so important for understanding counter-terrorism practice because counter-terrorism is about responding to, and working within, conflict. For example, post 9/11 there are deep contestations regarding 'truth', with the wide interest in conspiracy theories being just one example of the contested knowledge here. As with wars and other conflicts there are, post 9/11, multiple truths and a generallack of effort to find a unique (which the world majority would agree on) common understanding. Chapter 2 sets out some of the dynamics to the struggles, incompatibilities and disagreements in relation to responses to terrorism linked to or influenced by Al

Qaeda (AQ) since 9/11. In particular, the US-led 'war on terror' post 9/11, 'new terrorism' discourse, the securitisation of Muslim communities, and the ongoing debates around citizenship, Muslim identities and loyalties are highlighted as examples of significant conflict underpinning responses to AQ-linked terrorism. Questions are then raised about how individuals – whether police officers or other practitioners or community members – build relationships and linkages for the purposes of counter-terrorism within such a challenging environment? A key theme is credibility; credibility allows us to think about counter-terrorism practice as going beyond merely responding to terrorism and about implementing practice that comprises real engagement. Credibility is such an important aspect to counter-terrorism, for this is an arena rife with conflicting viewpoints and experiences, with rumours and obscurity. Therefore, when challenging terrorist ideologies, when working with vulnerable people, when explaining to communities the tactics of the police in relation to specific operations, it is important for the individuals involved to have built credibility with their target audiences.

Chapter 2 highlights that 'doing credibility' is about individuals using their positionalities when engaging with others in order to build individuals' trust and respect. The notion of positionality features significantly in social science research, and involves the acknowledgement that individuals comprise multiple identities, multiple identity positions, in relation to the social categories of 'race'/ethnicity, faith, gender, class, sexuality and so forth. At any one time an individual therefore has a range of positionalities which will be drawn upon in diverse ways depending on the wider social context and the factors inherent within a specific encounter. At the same time, these positionalities will interact with each other in complex ways, referred to in the social science literature as intersectionalities. Intersectionalities therefore refer to the linkages between 'race'/ethnicity, faith, gender, class, sexuality etc. and how these linkages themselves influence and are influenced by the separate and diverse positionalities that a person has. Thus, an individual will have a complex, constantly moving, set of positionalities and intersectionalities which will influence, as well as be influenced by, their social encounters and experiences. The research that I and my team have been undertaking would seem to suggest the key role that positionalities and intersectionalities play in conflict transformation for a diverse range of actors, including young people,

youth workers, police officers, probation officers, community members and others. The research suggests that positionalities are drawn upon in multiple and complex ways in order to build new connections within and between communities for the purposes of preventing and responding to terrorism. This allows the development of dialogue, engagement and partnerships to take place in relation to countering terrorism. The transformative nature of this process highlights new possibilities – contexts characterised by fear or mistrust or violent action can undergo significant change suggesting that struggles, disagreements and incompatibilities within and between communities and between individuals can be deconstructed, a form of conflict resolution. Chapter two also suggests that credibility is about maintaining a position that seeks to achieve social justice within an unjust world. This may mean challenging structures of dominance and power, and so individuals may be involved in deconstructing power relations that victimise the powerless. As a result, credible individuals run the risk of being labelled subversives by dominant power elites. Individuals also run the risk of losing their credibility if they are seen to be engaging with actors who are perceived to be against the interests of those whose trust they have gained. Credibility is also about being embedded within communities and within networks. It is about ongoing engagement and relationship building, and about being available at short notice to de-fuse difficult situations. This can also include individuals understanding ‘the street’, street-based culture and how this links to vulnerabilities to terrorism. Credibility also involves leadership, being able to implement creative initiatives which challenge those vulnerable to extreme violence.

Chapter 3 takes a close look at police and community engagement in relation to counter terrorism as conflict transformation. Strikingly absent from peace-building and conflict resolution research material are in-depth analyses of the interactions between police and communities. Police–community relations are an important dynamic of any peace-building and/or conflict resolution activities, for there are often tensions between police and communities during conflict. Experiences and perceptions of inequality within societies are often related to a lack of protection within existing frameworks of the law, and the disproportionate use of state power against victimised or suspect communities often employing militarised forms of policing. Even within societies characterised as comprising peaceful liberal

democracies, there are often significant tensions and conflicts between police and particular communities, with police being accused of racism, Islamophobia, of colonial practices, of sexist and gendered stereotypical assumptions and so forth. There is, therefore, great importance in focussing upon police and community dynamics within wide-ranging societies, whether those societies are in conflict, post conflict or 'at peace'. In relation to counter terrorism as conflict transformation, my research team and I have undertaken a number of studies examining police and community engagement and partnership work. This has generated much insight into issues affecting and influencing police and community relations and how trust can be built between police officers and community members, despite wider political, cultural, social and other tensions. Chapter 3 therefore highlights some of the key issues emanating from a focus upon police and community interactions, with quotations from police officers and community members about their experiences. It is important to highlight that there are multiple position-alities that police officers and community members hold, and so there is an extremely diverse set of experiences and perceptions when thinking about policing. This is important to note, because for too long police and communities have been viewed as overarching categories of people who are diametrically opposed to each other. The research presented in chapter three demonstrates that police officers also are members of communities and that communities include individuals whose jobs are in policing. This provides added complexities to thinking about counter terrorism practice.

Chapter 3 also looks at the role of community policing and the challenges here when thinking about responding to terrorism as conflict transformation. Much has been written about community policing, and a significant literature now exists in relation to community policing and counter-terrorism. The research presented in chapter three stresses that there seems to be a real mistrust amongst young people towards police officers and so it is crucial for police to work with and engage people from within communities who can reach out to young people. The importance of police and communities engaging with each other outside a crisis event is also highlighted, as this can serve to humanise police and community relations. It is important, though, to highlight that there can be major differences in perceptions between police officers and communities. Thus, police officers may express the need for a

covert style of counter-terrorism policing, and believe that communities cannot expect 'hard' policing tactics to be removed for the sake of relationship-building, even though communities argue that they dislike the use of tactics like surveillance, stop-and-search and informant-based approaches. It is also important to consider that police officers feel unsafe walking in certain neighbourhoods or areas and ask what responsibility community members have to ensure the safety of officers?

Chapter 4 examines citizenship, responsibilisation and trust in relation to understanding counter-terrorism as conflict transformation. In many countries across the world, including Britain, the US, Canada and Australia, counter-terrorism policy includes a large focus upon active citizenship. Individuals as citizens are expected to act responsibly in the face of threats from terrorism, spotting signs of vulnerability within their family, work and other cohorts, and informing appropriate authorities. As in other areas of social policy – crime, health, welfare – individuals are being viewed as an important resource for preventing terrorism, through their responsibilities as active citizens and as members of wider communities. This focus on active citizenship within counter-terrorism policy constitutes a radical shift from traditional counter-terrorism policies and practices. States are attempting to engage, and even to build partnerships, with individual citizens and with the wider communities to which they belong, rather than automatically drawing upon 'hard' counter-terrorism tactics that involve the use of informants, surveillance and so forth. However, chapter four highlights how, in the context of security, there are many historical and contemporary examples of individual citizens, and their communities, experiencing differentiated state-led approaches.

The chapter then examines how states can encourage and actively persuade citizens to work within state-driven counter-terrorism agendas, in a context of differentiated citizenship, where there may be competing loyalties associated with experiences of belonging at a global, as well as national and local level. In the post 9/11 context, for example, what challenges are there for policy makers attempting to involve and engage with members of Muslim communities for counter-terrorism purposes? A key theme presented in chapter 4 is that of trust. Interviews with police officers, probation officers, youth workers, community members and others indicate the importance of trust for 'softer'

counter-terrorism policies. It seems that trust enables state and non-state actors to negotiate spaces of engagement and even partnership within the complex counter-terrorism terrain. This suggests that underpinning 'softer' counter-terrorism policies and practices are themes that resonate more directly with conflict transformation – the ability of state and non-state actors to work through any incompatibilities and struggles they may have, with trust serving as the social glue for this.

Chapter 5 examines engagement and partnership as key notions for understanding counter-terrorism work as conflict transformation. Engagement might be thought of as the building of relationships between actors through a process of interaction which includes ongoing dialogue and debate, the ability to listen to the experiences and perspectives of the person with whom one is engaging, and can include more informal socialising such as attending weddings or funerals or other significant occasions. Ongoing positive engagement can lead to the establishment of mutually beneficial, equality-based working partnerships, in which the trust and commitment develop for individuals/organisations to be able to co-operate for the purposes of counter-terrorism. In these cases, initial face-to-face contact can develop into relationships that involve police officers working with community members on a host of areas related to counter-terrorism, from issues in relation to community safety and cohesion, to work with young people and direct challenges to violent extremist propaganda and structures. Chapter 5 raises the question of whether engagement and partnership, when applied to counter-terrorism, is one-sided, in that it is communities that are expected to engage with state actors like the police, and to partner them, on terms that have already been set by government and/or state-led agendas. Given that increasingly, policing is viewed as an activity that involves not only policing agencies, but also other statutory agencies and, crucially, communities, what opportunities and challenges are there for engagement and partnerships? Might these be important mechanisms through which to enhance democratic policing that pays due regard to human rights issues, and the fostering of community well-being? The chapter highlights that whilst engagement and partnership can be carefully constructed with particular community members, it is key not to overlook the importance of police officers engaging with communities more generally; engagement and partnership can have

different meanings and involve different approaches to enhancing the quality of life for communities, building inclusivity, developing connections with women, building relationships, engaging with wider political issues, moving at the community's pace, respect and understanding. There can be tensions between 'hard-ended' intelligence-led approaches to counter-terrorism, in which community engagement and partnership are not priorities, and 'softer' community-focused approaches that are about relationship-building. Information sharing is a key issue for engagement and partnerships.

Chapter six looks at the role of emotions in relation to counter-terrorism as conflict transformation. It is argued that whilst some research has examined the emotional impacts of counter-terrorism measures on targeted communities (Spalek et al., 2009), rarely have emotions been explored in relation to any engagement and partnerships that may take place between state and non-state actors. Chapter six demonstrates that such engagements do involve emotional dynamics. Moreover, citizenship is experienced not only legally, politically and socially, but also at a profoundly emotional level. Essentially, counter-terrorism is a field of policy and practice rife with emotions. Being aware of emotions, being able to negotiate them, being able to draw on them constructively rather than destructively: these are strategies that practitioners, community members and policy makers should understand and be able to use in order to create opportunities for effective work. Chapter 6 focuses on providing some exploration and analysis of the role of emotions in counter-terrorism, explaining why they should be of concern to practitioners, community members, policy makers and others who work in counter-terrorism. Data from interviews with community members and police officers is presented in order to illustrate the emotional aspects of counter-terrorism. This makes it clear that destructive emotions can be generated by terrorism and counter-terrorism, but that nonetheless, community members and police practitioners can understand these emotional dynamics in order to reduce the harms caused by negative emotions. Community members and police officers can also work towards creating opportunities for the expression of constructive emotions.

'Emotional intelligence' is a theme that is also discussed in this chapter. What does it mean to be emotionally intelligent and why should this matter to practitioners, community members and policy makers when thinking about

counter-terrorism as conflict transformation? The notion of healing is also addressed; this rarely features in the conflict resolution literature. It seems that rather than healing, peace is a concept that is discussed. Thus, a distinction has been drawn between positive and negative peace. Negative peace relates to the cessation of direct violence, whilst positive peace can be understood as the dismantling of structural and cultural violence (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2011). Both negative and positive peace can be at the level of the individual, the family, the community or at the international level. Negative peace can co-exist with repression, injustice and exploitation, whilst positive peace relates to the structural and cultural order as being legitimate and just. Of course, the difficulty with the concept of positive peace is that there may be different perceptions and experiences of justice and legitimacy, so that one group may feel that it is experiencing positive peace while another group may not see it so (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2011). Interestingly, within conflict resolution literature peace is discussed and analysed, but the related concept of healing rarely features. Healing is a more interesting notion because this refers to the processes of change at individual, community, societal and international levels. Whereas peace suggests an end-goal, healing is suggestive of continuity, of a continual process – for what is the end result of healing and how do we know we have been healed? In relation to conflict, the notion of peace is more problematic than healing because often conflicts lead to substantial traumas, and trauma creates its own conflict, whether at the level of the individual, community, society or internationally. So whilst trauma can undergo healing, it is unclear whether that healing has an endpoint, whereas the notion of peace is more suggestive of an end point. Healing also encapsulates the role of emotional, psychological, cultural and structural processes. Yet the role of emotions and emotional intelligence in conflict transformation is rarely given a significant amount of research and policy attention.

Chapter 6 also suggests that individuals and communities may share emotions, which underpin their shared meanings (Moisi, 2009). Struggles take place globally over the emotional-political landscapes of communities, so that ‘winning hearts and minds’ is a strategy adopted by terrorists. Equally, counter-terrorism is increasingly attempting to win ‘hearts and minds’ through helping to empower communities in relation to politics, religiosity, social and economic deprivation and so forth. If individuals linked to, or influenced by,

AQ networks draw upon their emotional intelligence to influence individuals emotionally and thus encourage engagement in extremist activities, reasoning alone will not be a response sufficient to prevent terrorism: rather, practitioners working in this area need to be emotionally intelligent and be able to empathise and make those deemed at risk feel comfortable with them in order to allow for effective prevention work to take place. This reflects current thinking within cognitive psychology, which views emotions as being intertwined with human thinking and behaviour. Therefore, it might be suggested that a way of altering cognitions and transforming how individuals relate to, and interact with, the world is through an awareness of, and working with, emotions. So whilst the notion of peace in the conflict resolution literature refers to the abolition of structural, cultural and direct violence, it is argued in chapter six that the notion of peace should also encapsulate the process of healing, which invites a focus on, and consideration of, emotions, at the individual, community, nation state and international levels.

Chapter 7 explores some issues around questions of governance and community-based approaches to counter-terrorism. This chapter highlights that the 'War on Terror' associated with AQ-linked 'new terrorism' uses a set of rationalities and technologies which are top-down, comprised of international and national state policies instigated and influenced by elite political, social, media and other groupings. Nonetheless, 'bottom-up' approaches that are community-based can challenge 'top-down' approaches. 'Bottom-up' approaches that stress liberal freedoms can involve working with individuals and groups deemed 'dangerous' by 'top-down' approaches. 'Bottom-up' approaches involve community members and potentially bring greater public scrutiny of counter-terrorism. However, as this chapter also demonstrates, the involvement of community members in engagement and oversight of counter-terrorism can be challenging. The chapter highlights that there can be tensions between approaches to counter-terrorism that stress community cohesion and those approaches that stress liberal freedoms associated with democracy. The chapter points to an unresolved question for many counter-terrorism practitioners, for policy makers, for researchers and for community members: within a society, where should the balance lie between the embracing of ethical freedoms in relation to 'extreme' identities, and the governance of identity? Extreme or radical identifications are not necessarily problematic but violent

actions associated with them are. Therefore, can there be alternative forms of agency that allow for the expression of radical or extreme identities which are democratic and do not involve violence?

Finally, in the conclusion the various themes identified and discussed within each chapter are put together. The conclusion highlights how the ideas and reflections presented in this book are relevant for a wide range of social issues and contexts, relevant for not only counter-terrorism but also for peace-building and conflict resolution arenas. The conclusion ends by highlighting that *Terror Crime Prevention with Communities* bears testimony to the many practitioners, community members, policy officials and researchers who have shown significant leadership and courage in implementing ethically-driven initiatives aimed at preventing terrorism.

Conclusion

Terror Crime Prevention with Communities is an important book for understanding counter-terrorism practice. *Terror Crime Prevention with Communities* also raises a number of key themes that are relevant for peace-building and conflict-resolution initiatives and programmes. It is essential to stress the importance of drawing heavily upon the voices of individuals – be they young people, practitioners or community members – for their experiences and viewpoints. This is because it is at this level, the level of human experience and perception, that new learning takes place and so researchers can draw on this in order to help shape policies and practices. We have many theoretical models in the fields of counter-terrorism, counter violent radicalisation, peace-building and conflict resolution. What we need now is a much greater emphasis on understanding, truly understanding, people's experiences and perceptions to create fresh ways of thinking about wide-ranging social issues, including counter-terrorism. With this in mind, we now turn to chapter 2, which explores the notion of credibility for doing counter-terrorism work.

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