Spalek, Basia. "Understanding Emotions in Counter-Terrorism Practice." *Terror Crime Prevention with Communities*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013. 127–144. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781472545039.ch-006>>.

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Understanding Emotions in Counter-Terrorism Practice

Introduction

The role of emotions in relation to terrorism has generated some research and policy interest. Emotions have been discussed in connection with the tactics used by terrorists to generate wider fear within a society, to spread panic and destabilise states (Hülse and Spencer, 2008). There has also been some research attention given to the role of emotions in political agency and the ways in which emotions may have played a part in the violent radicalisation of terrorists (Wright-Neville and Smith, 2009). The emotions generated in the researcher when undertaking research on terrorism have also been discussed (Silke, 2001; Toros, 2008). Additionally, grievances within communities have also been given some attention, particularly in relation to their role in those communities from which likely terrorist recruits are drawn, including the case of 'diaspora' communities (Hoffman, 2007).

Whilst there has been some research on 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. As highlighted in the previous chapter, engagement and partnership work are key aspects of counter-terrorism, and this chapter will demonstrate that engagement and partnership between state and non-state actors involve emotional dynamics. As discussed in chapter four, citizenship is an important aspect of counter-terrorism, with the responsabilisation of particular communities. This chapter will highlight that citizenship is experienced not only legally, politically and socially, but also it is experienced 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 these, being able to draw on emotions constructively rather than destructively, these are strategies that practitioners, community members and policy makers should understand and be able to employ to create opportunities for effective work. This chapter provides some analysis and exploration of the role of emotions in counter-terrorism, explaining why emotions should be of concern to practitioners, community members, policy makers and others who work in this field. Data taken from interviews with community members and police officers is presented in order to illustrate the emotional aspects of counter-terrorism. It shows that destructive emotions can be generated by terrorism and counter-terrorism, nonetheless, community members and police practitioners can understand these emotional dynamics at play 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?

Setting the scene: Emotions, terrorism and counter-terrorism

The intangibility and central importance of emotion in understanding socialities renders it complex and challenging to study. Traditionally, emotions have been marginalised by social scientists and by policy makers. According to Walklate (2003), scientific knowledge is that which is dispassionate and impartial, so researchers have rarely studied emotions in any depth, either in relation to the participants in their research or in relation to themselves. Nonetheless, increasingly, emotions have generated more attention. Some feminist researchers consider emotionality to be a central part of documenting and examining the nature of the researcher's subjectivity (see Pickering, 2001). Traditionally, this form of introspection

has not been pursued, amid concerns that researchers who explore their feelings might attract accusations of 'unhealthy absorption' or 'emotional exhibitionism' (Pickering, 2001: 486). Nonetheless, this work suggests that by analysing emotionality, there is the potential to reveal hidden decision-making processes that can be linked to power hierarchies inherent in research (Pickering, 2001).

Emotions might be viewed as being active stances towards the world, as well as being responses to situations (Riis and Woodhead 2009:1). Williams and Bendelow (1998: xvi) define emotion as 'existentially embodied modes of being which involve an active engagement with the world and an intimate connection with both culture and self'. They argue that not only do emotions reflect individual experience, but that they also point to the reproduction of wider social structures. For Hochschild (1998), people draw upon an 'emotional dictionary' in order to articulate their feelings, this dictionary being culture-dependent:

Each culture has its unique emotional dictionary, which defines what is and isn't, and its emotional bible, which defines what one should and should not feel in a given context. As aspects of 'civilising' culture they determine the predisposition with which we greet an emotional experience. They shape the predispositions with which we interact with ourselves over time. Some feelings in the ongoing stream of emotional life we acknowledge, welcome, foster. Others we grudgingly acknowledge and still others the culture invites us to deny completely. (Hochschild, 1998: 7)

Some attention has been paid to distinguishing between constructive and destructive emotions. For the Dalai Lama, much human suffering comes from destructive emotions, for these can breed violence (Goleman, 2003). For Goleman (2003: 53), 'destructive emotions are those emotions that are harmful to oneself or others'. Goleman suggests (2003: 119) that destructive emotions might be viewed as those that are 'byproducts of something useful in human behaviour that in themselves serve no survival function and, in fact, at times have negative survival value'. These include craving, anger, fear, sadness, envy and jealousy. The notion of grievance, so often featured in national counter-terrorism policies, includes space for emotions in relation to feelings of resentment or injustice. Thus, according the Collins Dictionary (2012), grievance is:

- a real or imaginary wrong causing resentment and regarded as grounds for complaint
- a feeling of resentment or injustice at having been unfairly treated

According to Wright-Neville and Smith (2009), leaders of global neo-jihadist groups draw on emotion to mobilise their audiences into political action. Emotive writing is used, alongside pictures, in order to depict Muslims as victims of mistreatment or humiliation, to try to provoke or escalate anger and outrage within wider Muslim communities.

Terrorists are appealing to wider group collective identities in order to generate a sense of grievance and victimhood (Silk, 2009). It may be that neo-jihadists are seeking to generate powerful emotions associated with an oppressed Ummah (Schmid, 2006). Revenge is being sought for the oppression of Muslims and the emotions being exploited are humiliation, alongside empathy and altruism (Schmid, 2006). It seems important, therefore, to consider the role of emotions in terrorist violence, and particularly for Wright-Neville and Smith (2009) it is the emotions of frustration, anger and humiliation that help drive a person towards incrementally embracing violence, thus:

... global terrorist networks such as al Qaeda have entered the emotional marketplace. Their skill lies in an ability to tap into emotions such as anger, frustration and humiliation through a narrative that explains these existential phenomena in terms of victimhood and oppression by outsiders. However, at the same time the narratives pushed by neojihadist groups are designed to stimulate positive emotions such as love, compassion, loyalty, solidarity and pride and then to channel these feelings towards political action. (Wright-Neville and Smith, 2009: 87)

If emotions are viewed as comprised of active stances towards the world, as well as responses to it (Riis and Woodhead, 2009), then terrorists might be viewed as being driven by their emotions as well as their emotions helping to construct their political and violent actions. Those contemporary, as well as historical, events and social contexts which are viewed as oppressive and even cruel can generate the emotional energy that terrorists can draw on to engage in violent action. Contemporary global dynamics mean that individuals can become more aware and sensitive of events taking place from outside of their own locales, so that individuals and the communities

that they belong to can become politically inspired to work globally against the policies of nation-state governments. It is important to consider the emotional consequences of colonisation and domination, which have helped to create and sustain many destructive emotions across a wide range of populations, and to note that not all destructive emotions lead to political agency expressed through violence. Non-violent forms of political agency are also plausible responses to destructive emotions (Wright-Neville and Smith, 2009). It should be noted that researchers examining terrorism can also experience a range of emotions – for example, fear (Kleinman and Copp, 1993).

If, as highlighted above, emotions seem to play a role in explaining some instances of terrorism, this raises a number of questions for counter-terrorism policy and practice. For example, how can counter-terrorism initiatives channel destructive emotions into creating forms of political agency that exclude all forms of violence? Similarly, can counter-terrorism initiatives effectively challenge those destructive emotions experienced by individuals who are deemed at risk of committing acts of terrorism, so that they replace their destructive emotions with constructive ones? Should the focus of counter-terrorism measures be implementing far-reaching societal changes that mean that destructive emotions are much less likely to be generated within society? Can structural, cultural and direct violence be abolished without including a focus upon emotions? Interview data with community members involved in counter-terrorism initiatives suggest a number of important ways in which emotions are central for countering violent extremism. A common theme emerging from the research data is that of the role that grievances play in generating destructive emotions that can lead to violent radicalisation. For example, the following is a quotation taken from an interview with a Muslim community member:

Because those people who get brainwashed into this whole thing are vast majority of the times, don't have any knowledge about Islam. And they've been played upon by the emotions so they come in, someone may come in and say about Palestine or about Iraq or about Afghanistan or about Kashmir, what about this? What about this? And as a result you emotionally get along with it and you think, know what? Maybe he's right. And as a result you end up going down the ... but you yourself must have that knowledge.

The next quotation comes from an interview with a Muslim community member who mentors individuals deemed at risk of violent extremism. Mentoring in relation to violent extremism consists of both a befriending and an interventionist approach, providing a safe space for individuals deemed at risk of extreme violence to discuss issues, and to build a relationship with their mentors (Spalek and Davies, 2012). The mentor below illustrates how extremists attempt to manipulate people emotionally:

Yeah, towards violence and also as well towards ... they manipulate people, get them to try and make them ... or example, they'll show you, in those days it used to be John Major, and they used to say that John Major was seen going into a synagogue with a cap on so John Major's a Jew. And for a person who is not really into politics he gets quickly the impression, 'Oh yeah, he's a Jew. So that means he must be helping the State of Israel. Then it means this and then it means this.' And then from then, 'Oh that's why they don't like Muslims. That's why they're bringing in this law' and, 'That's why they're bringing in that law.' ... And I think the main thing through all this is certain texts of our Holy Book, which they use and on the face of those texts they really do think they have a point of what they're trying to say. But it's not until you actually delve into the meaning of how that was applied by our Prophet during his life that you see that it's not necessarily the case of how they try and interpret it.

The quotation below further helps to develop the theme of how important it is for counter-terrorism to understand emotions. It is taken from an interview with a Muslim community member who also mentors those individuals deemed at risk of extreme violence. In the interview the person speaks about building emotionally resilient communities, and the role of theology in helping to do this:

Promoting the desire to build resilience emotionally and in communities yes, to build more resilient individuals in communities who would be resilient to the threat from terrorism basically ... There is a bit of theology so actually I don't have to retract what I've said, I give him some serious moral theological lessons to say remember, anger always responds loudest but silence is a great gift and patience my friend.

The next two quotations come from interviews with two individuals who mentor people deemed at risk of far right extreme violence. In the first quotation, the anger within far rights extremists is highlighted:

But I've spoken to some really quite hot-headed individuals over the years. That's why it made me laugh when sometimes when people say, 'Doesn't it worry you that you speak to these individuals and they can do something to you or physically hurt you or something?' And sometimes you sit and think to yourself, I've never thought of it that way ... Yeah, often they're angry.

In the second quotation below, anger also is highlighted as a key emotion in far right extremists, and how the anger drives a person to look to blame somebody else for how they feel:

A lot of anger, but different emotions. I mean one guy he'd lost his job and he'd blamed the Polish. But we explained somebody Polish, for instance, can't come into this country and say oh, X, I'm having your job. There's reasons why Polish people are given jobs. And that's either because they're willing to take a lower wage, or you might not be working as hard, so they'll get rid of you and give somebody else a job, it's not the Polish person's fault. We explain that but these guys still say we don't give a shit, we still hate Polish. They don't care what explanations we have, it's got that deep rooted now.

In the quotation below this individual who mentors far right extremists explains that racism is not necessarily limited to 'far right extremists' but rather is present within all communities:

In some areas, depending on minority community where they're from, they're the new kids on the block. And historically black families, they were the new communities and they got battered and picked on. And Asian families got battered and picked on. Where now there's some communities where you've got, especially in schools, you've got white kids, black kids, Asian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, all different kids together who will pick on Eastern Europeans because they're the new minority. So you've got a community that's accepting each other but the new minority, it's gone full circle.

The following quotation taken from an interview with a Muslim community member is interesting because he explains how fear is an emotion that he has experienced when challenging the things that individuals who belong to extremist organisations are saying:

for example, like Hizb ut-Tahrir or one of the other prominent organisations had done, and he'd openly speak about it actually in the lecture. And many times he'd say it and they'd also be sitting there as well, the individuals who were part of the organisations, and then you used to see the questioning and the response

live. And by seeing that, I guess that really built me confidence because, for example, sometimes you have a fear, don't you, that when you're going to challenge somebody maybe they might come with an answer which you might not necessarily be able to answer. ... And when I used to see that a lot of them, they were just full of hot air and when it come to the crunch of replying back to religious issues that there was nothing really there. I think that really built my confidence, that did.

The above quotation suggests that in order for people to challenge extreme ideologies from within their communities it is important for them to have the confidence to do so. And when they do challenge these ideologies they come to see that there is nothing beyond the rhetoric, no substance.

Emotions clearly are a focus for community-based approaches to counter-terrorism, as illustrated by the quotations above. Powerful, negative, emotions can lead to violent behaviour and so it is important that counter-terrorism initiatives not only focus on socio-structural changes in society, but also on healing destructive, painful, emotions – as Mindell (1995: 19) argues, 'structural work is only a bandage unless feelings have been healed'. Interestingly, within conflict resolution literature, whilst the concept of peace is often discussed and analysed, 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? Conflicts often 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 end process, an end process that the notion of peace is more suggestive of. Healing also encapsulates the role of emotional as well as psychological, cultural and structural processes. The next section focuses upon the role of emotions in relation to police and community engagement with respect to counter-terrorism. It is suggested that for too long, emotional processes have been excluded from research, policy and practice in this field, and yet data that is presented in this section would suggest that police officers and community members not only engage with political processes but also that they can engage with emotional processes.

Police and community engagement in counter-terrorism and emotions

Mindell (1995: 18) raises an interesting question when he writes that ‘there is more to democracy than awareness and the courage when necessary to sit in the fire. But few of us are willing to pay even this minimum price. Who likes to deal with anger and threats?’ This quotation applies well when thinking about encounters that take place between state and non-state actors. There is a small body of literature that seems to suggest that whilst state actors are often able to remain dispassionate, embodying the detached ‘truths’ so highly valued in western thinking, non-state actors, when making claims to ‘truth’, can be emotionally highly charged. In order to convey their experiences, non-state actors can draw upon graphic and distressing language in order to highlight their suffering. This can be dismissed by state actors who may view such language as being emotionally unbalanced and therefore ‘biased’ (Spalek, 2008). For example, Puwar (2000) suggests that senior civil servants are represented as the pinnacle of rationalism and impartiality and that this often has racist undertones, with Black individuals being seen as lying outside the (white) norm. With respect to policing, detached rationality is generally valued, whereby ‘neutrality, objectivity and impartiality are viewed as necessary antecedents in policing’ (Drodge and Murphy, 2002: 425). However, this can create tensions for police officers because not only is police work itself often emotional, but also because policing cultures and rules are affect laden:

police organizations and police work are affect laden because of cultural and social rules and because of the nature of the work itself, particularly as it occurs at the interface with public law and order (Drodge and Murphy, 2002: 421)

As highlighted in chapter five, a report by the think tank Demos has emphasised that police officers need to engage much more with political processes and should not view this as compromising their policing roles. Engaging more explicitly with political processes means shaping explicit priorities and allowing other organisations and the public to achieve these (Edwards, 2006). However, in the focus on political processes, emotions have been overlooked. The notion that police officers can be activists

who engage with political processes without giving due consideration to emotional processes and their own emotional intelligence is questionable. Indeed, emotions pervade the criminal justice system, for criminal justice can involve responding to the harms that have been perpetrated against victims, their families and wider society. Mindell highlights the importance of reading the emotions of individuals, groups, cities, organisations and the environment, thus:

the atmosphere of a group – its humidity, dryness, tensions and storms. This atmosphere, or ‘field’, permeates us as individuals and spans entire groups, cities, organisations and the environment. The field can be felt; it is hostile or loving, repressed or fluid. It consists not only of such overt, visible, tangible structures as meeting agendas, party platforms and rational debate but also hidden, invisible, intangible emotional processes such as jealousy, prejudice, hurt and anger. (Mindell, 1995: 19)

It is important to stress that working with political processes and allowing other organisations and the public to achieve negotiated priorities necessarily involves police officers working with emotional dynamics. Individuals, groups, organisations and even countries (see Moisi, 2009) have emotional landscapes that need to be understood, at least partially, and also negotiated.

Policing responses can themselves generate significant destructive emotions within communities – rage, anger, fear and so forth. These emotions can have historical as well as contemporary dynamics. In relation to counter-terrorism, data taken from interviews with members of Muslim communities suggests that counter-terrorism measures have generated fear in Muslim communities in particular. The following quotation is from an interview with a Muslim woman who talks about fear and anger and the impacts of these emotions on her own engagement with wider society:

I think the whole criminal justice the way things have gone, detentions, anti terrorism, I think it's you know, it's costing more on civil liberties and things like that and human rights, so it seems too far, I think many people feel very frightened, afraid. You know, for young people, for their sons and younger brothers, and it's creating an atmosphere. I'm not happy at all the way we sometimes, I don't know whether it comes officially or unofficially, the police and the media work hand in hand sometimes, it seems to me to signify the

community as a whole ... It makes me feel angry and just more disinclined to, to be involved and engage, because I feel that it's just the whole thing that's against us.

The following quotation comes from an interview with another Muslim woman who speaks about the impacts of counter-terrorism on the families of those who have been imprisoned for terrorism, and how families can be shunned by their own communities out of fear:

In our area we've got an English Muslim woman who's married to a Dutch man who was recently jailed on terrorism, she's been shunned by the community, she's you know very isolated, she's got four kids ... People are quite difficult to her, people who knew her, used to be friends with her and her husband, they don't want to go to her anymore, visit her anymore, because they're frightened that they will be you know picked on or that they will be associated with her husband's activities. He was found guilty of a relatively minor thing, he was sentenced recently.

The next quotation, from an interview with another Muslim woman, illustrates the fear that people have of counter-terrorism policing:

I would say what the key issue that a lot of people talk about is that they have fear that the police can come into their house at anytime, you know, they have no right and destroy their lives, innocent people ... It's the fear. People genuinely have a fear. There's a fear in the community and they'll just keep quiet, just keep your head down, you know, amongst people who are, you know, families who have, trying to look after their kids and everything. Nobody feels that they have a right to say anything.

Overly hard counter-terrorism measures can create such fear that non-violent political action and debate is repressed, as the following quotation from an interview with a Muslim man illustrates:

There was a leaflet there, this leaflet was about Gaza, what's going on in Gaza. They said 'oh sorry bro, this is just an Islamic stand, like talking about Islam stand' and so they were very afraid of having anything political at university. But this is very scary you know. Because just from the one I was talking to there, they were very worried if they have that literature there that's going to basically affect that university. So this is the climate that's occurred now with either extremism on campus and brothers at university being taken away etc, the people now are afraid to talk about politics.

Communities themselves have complex emotional landscapes with inter- and intra-group dynamics and tensions further adding to the complexities. The following quotation from an interview with a male Muslim illustrates the fear that Muslim communities can experience in going about their daily lives as a result of the media focus on them, and the impacts of this upon police–community engagement:

Simply because let's say prayers are eight o'clock at night or nine o'clock at night so maybe it's not safe enough to, you know, because maybe there's someone out there walking out of a pub or maybe has just come across the latest headline in the News of the World or the Sun and they see these mosques, they see these people coming out and maybe they want to do something about it. So people are genuinely afraid. ... so I mean you have these layers of fear, of historical kind concepts, the prejudices, you add them all together and it becomes very, very difficult, very, very difficult to build that kind of relationship that you really need in a society such as ours, at times such as ours ... you know, between police and the community.

Effective police practitioners need to be aware of how their own actions may help to generate or awaken destructive emotions, or the ways in which their actions can generate or awaken constructive emotions. Constructive emotions are those considered to be wholesome, positive, and these can include self-confidence, conscience and non hatred (Goleman, 2003). The following quotation, from an interview with a Muslim man, illustrates the fear generated in people as a result of police raids on a particular community in Birmingham:

The Birmingham raids were, they were frightening raids for a lot of people because the West Midlands police, from what they tell us, they didn't know what was happening. except in the night when they had their ... had a phone call that the counter terrorism unit and Scotland Yard is coming up with their own officers to raid houses ... so all of a sudden we had 700 or 800 officers ... I think there was 700 or 800 officers for those six, seven raids. ... they blocked off all areas, you know, traffic jams the morning, which was chaos that morning, I remember I was coming to work and it was just chaos ... it took me a good part of the morning to find out what actually happened ... I said to one of the officers look you don't need 700 officers to raid seven houses, you know, and blocking off all the areas, you know, and causing traffic jams, kids can't go to school that way, they had to go another way. There were so many things. You just extra frightened the community more than anything else ... they said that

because they came from New Scotland Yard, the terrorism branch, they hadn't had any involvement in it whatsoever.

Emotions can be frightening for people to deal with. Psychodynamic work illustrates the wide range of defence mechanisms that individuals can draw on in order to protect themselves from experiencing uncomfortable or distressing emotions (Freud, 1936). Defence mechanisms include rationalisation, denial, projection. It may be that organisations have their own set of defence mechanisms in order to try to deny the importance and centrality of emotions. Bureaucracy may be one such defence mechanism, for this enables the distancing from emotions through recourse to officialdom and regulations. Police officers can themselves experience many uncomfortable emotions from communities' often emotional demands for information or resources. The following is a quotation from a Muslim man who talks about how police officers may feel:

and at the same time the police also feel afraid, also feel intimidated, and also feel they are under obligation because in a way they are damned if they do, and they are damned if they don't.

A bureaucratic response that involves drawing on regulatory discourse may be one defence mechanism that some police officers or police bodies use, as this enables them to distance themselves from community actors. Interestingly, a bureaucratic approach to policing characterised by emotional distance can hinder police and community engagement, for community members may feel that their emotions are not being taken on board by police officers and this may add further to a sense of grievance. Tensions are created when individuals attempt to be emotionally distant in highly emotionally charged contexts. The following quotation from an interview with a Muslim male illustrates the tensions created by a bureaucratic policing response:

It's a two-edge sword really because the police expect us to behave as sensible citizens and respond to their kind of bureaucratic approach. Well look it's all under some committee and it's all being reviewed by an internal body, so we will be dealing with it, but that is just bureaucracy. You are up against bureaucrats who don't really care about us and are not willing to have any emotional involvement in our religion or in our community affairs and that sort of thing and a little bit of progress perhaps but I don't think I can think of anything much that they do offer us you know.

The same person talks about the importance of emotions:

Well life being as it is, emotions are important, more so than we would perhaps want to recognise. You need when you are dealing with communities, to try to measure and quantify the emotional impact and it's sometimes very very serious and it's never taken into account because police officers are very practical people who deal with practicalities all the time and are not willing or perhaps even able to get involved in emotional concepts. They see it as feminine. But it's one of man's major elements in his intellect, to use and we always do take account of emotion whether we know it or not. It's subconscious you know.

Initiatives that help to generate empathy between police officers and community members can be an important way of building trust. Empathy has to be two-way, and it is as important for police officers to understand the emotional landscapes of the communities with and in which they are working as it is for community members to understand the emotional landscapes of policing cultures, organisations and of police officers themselves (Spalek, El-Awa and McDonald, 2009).

The foregoing discussion should not suggest that a lack of attention to emotions is prevalent within all policing cultures and organisations, nor in all police officers. There are police officers and community members who do work with emotional dynamics, drawing on what might be called their 'emotional intelligence'. In these cases, an acknowledgement and awareness of emotions is used as a way of helping to build effective partnerships grounded in empathy, reciprocity and emotional connections between partners. Emotional intelligence can therefore be used by state and non-state actors in order to build relationships and even partnerships (Spalek et al., 2009; Lambert, 2011). The following quotation from an interview with a Muslim man shows that some police officers can understand and engage with emotion:

Perhaps police officers have to have a certain coldness and distance to do their work, but the more enlightened ones, going back to X, they seem to be able to understand emotions.

Community members and police officers can perhaps get to know and understand each others' experiences and emotions, for this can help in building empathy between them, which is an important aspect of building trust (Booth and Wheeler, 2007). It also can be the case that community members and

police officers can share emotional experiences as a result of interconnected experiences and their multiple identities. So, for example, since 9/11 Muslim police officers may share the distrust and fear that many Muslim community members may experience as a result of the politicised environment in which Islam has come under increased political scrutiny. Muslim police officers may also experience similar fears and anxieties as Muslim community members about any backlash they may experience from their wider communities as a result of being involved in counter-terrorism work (Spalek, 2010). Emotions can therefore be shared through shared identities and shared social experiences, and this applies as much to police officers as to other people. Police officers are not immune to emotions, and are not wholly 'outsiders', rather, they too are affect-laden entities who may draw upon their emotions in order to build empathy and bridges with the communities that they help police.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the importance of a focus on emotions for counter-terrorism policy and practice. It seems that terrorists can generate destructive emotions in individuals who are susceptible to their messages and this in turn can lead to further violent action. It seems that terrorists appeal to wider group collective identities in order to generate a sense of grievance and victimhood. Destructive emotions are those that are harmful to oneself or others, and they include anger, fear, sadness, envy and jealousy. This chapter presents data gathered through interviews with community members and police officers engaged in counter-terrorism work. The data presented here in relation to the role of emotions in counter-terrorism raises a number of important issues. It seems that overly hard counter-terrorism measures can create such fear in specific communities that non-violent political action and debate is repressed; this can potentially and inadvertently lead to violent political action. Effective community-based approaches to counter-terrorism seem to involve community members being aware of, and working with, emotions, and transforming destructive emotions into constructive ones, which might be viewed as those that are wholesome and positive, and can include self-confidence, conscience and nonhatred.

This chapter also gives some focus to counter-terrorism policing in relation to emotions. Whilst policing organisations may value detached rationality, this can create tensions for police officers because not only is police work itself often emotional, but also because policing cultures and rules are affect laden. At the same time, communities themselves have complex emotional landscapes with inter and intra group dynamics and tensions further adding to the complexities. The notion that police officers can engage with political processes without giving due consideration to emotional processes and their own emotional intelligence is questionable. Policing responses can themselves generate significant destructive emotions within communities – rage, anger, fear and so forth. A bureaucratic approach to policing characterised by emotional distance can hinder police and community engagement, for community members may feel that their emotions are not being taken on board by police officers and this may add further to a sense of grievance. Tensions are created when individuals attempt to be emotionally distant within highly emotionally charged contexts. This chapter suggests that effective police practitioners need to be aware of how their own actions may help to generate or awaken destructive emotions, or the ways in which their actions can generate or awaken constructive emotions. It is also important to note that community members and police officers can share emotional experiences as a result of their interconnected experiences and their multiple identities. This chapter serves to highlight that counter-terrorism involves emotional work, and that the transformation of destructive emotions into positive ones, and the generation of constructive emotions, should be a key focus for policy makers, practitioners and community members. A focus upon emotions, therefore, is another aspect to viewing counter-terrorism as conflict transformation. The next chapter takes the key theme of counter-terrorism as conflict transformation and examines this through questions of governance.

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