



CREST

Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats



The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

A Review of Evidence Related to Terrorist Offending

FULL REPORT

OCTOBER 2022

JAMES LEWIS
JAMES HEWITT
SARAH MARSDEN

OCTOBER 2022

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

A Review of Evidence Related to Terrorist Offending

FULL REPORT

James Lewis | University of St Andrews
James Hewitt | University of St Andrews
Sarah Marsden | University of St Andrews

ABOUT CREST

The Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST) is funded by the UK's Home Office and security and intelligence agencies to identify and produce social science that enhances their understanding of security threats and capacity to counter them. Its funding is administered by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC Award ES/V002775/1).

www.crestresearch.ac.uk

The logo for UKRI (United Kingdom Research and Innovation) features the letters 'UKRI' in a bold, white, sans-serif font, stacked vertically within a dark blue square.

Economic
and Social
Research Council

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4
1. INTRODUCTION.....	8
2. SCOPE OF REPORT	9
3. OVERVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE	10
3.1. Research Relating to Counter-Terrorism.....	10
3.2. Reading the Analysis	10
4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES	11
4.1. Police Stop and Search	11
4.2. Airports, Ports and Border Security	16
4.3. Contact with the Security Services	20
4.4. Arrests and Police Raids.....	24
4.5. Police Interviewing	27
4.6. Detention and Incarceration	30
4.7. Control Orders.....	35
4.8. Impacts on Families.....	37
5. CONCLUSIONS.....	41
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	45

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report applies a trauma lens to research which has examined people’s experiences of interacting with the criminal justice system, with a particular focus on the counter-terrorism context. In doing so, it explores the psychological effects of these experiences and examines whether, and under what circumstances, interactions with counter-terrorism criminal justice processes might be potentially traumatising experiences for individuals and for communities.

SCOPE OF THE REPORT

This report predominantly examines studies on the counter-terrorism system which cover a range of interactions with the criminal justice system including:

- Police stop and search
- Airports, ports and border security
- Contact with the security services
- Arrests and police raids
- Police interviews
- Detention and incarceration
- Control orders
- Family experiences

Where relevant, this report also draws on research exploring the psychological effects of interactions with the criminal justice system related to other types of (non-terrorist) offending. This broader research is used to contextualise research relating to counter-terrorism; to provide additional evidence of how contact with the criminal justice system might produce traumatising effects; and to identify important gaps in the evidence.

KEY FINDINGS

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES

Police Stop and Search

Counter-terrorist police stops may produce both direct and indirect psychological effects. Indirect effects extend beyond the individual who is stopped, and can vicariously affect families, friends, and communities.

- Being stopped and searched can be distressing and stigmatising for the individual who is stopped. The highly public nature of some police stops can exacerbate these effects.
- Perceptions that the police disproportionately target particular ethnicities or religions for counter-terrorism stops can create stigma for specific communities and local areas.
- Fears of stop and search powers being abused or conflated with other measures - such as police detention - can create anxiety.
- The widespread use of stop and search in particular areas and among particular populations – especially young, male Muslims – can contribute to perceptions of ethnic or racial targeting leading to an erosion of trust and confidence in the police.
- Perceptions of being unfairly treated by the police can exacerbate feelings of distress. In contrast, positive perceptions of procedural justice can help reduce feelings of distress.

Trauma has not been explicitly examined in relation to counter-terrorism police stop and search. However, research relating to stop and search practices in areas unrelated to counter-terrorism has identified a potential relationship with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

Airports, Ports and Border Security

Research relating to experiences with airport and border security also points to the direct and indirect effects of these interactions:

- Airport counter-terrorism security measures are commonly cited as a cause of distress, anxiety and humiliation, particularly for Muslims, or those assumed to be Muslim by airport authorities due to visible identity markers.
- Racial and religious profiling at airports in the Global North is frequently discussed in academic literature. This research argues that the disproportionate frequency with which Muslims, in particular, are subjected to stops and interrogations contributes to a broader collective narrative of unequal treatment and stigmatisation that permeates through communities and damages trust with state authorities.
- Border security practices can create a heightened sense of anxiety and stress for those with uncertain citizenship status, due to fear of the potential consequences.
- No-fly lists and passport removals can have a substantial impact on the mental well-being of those affected, potentially causing stigma and humiliation in addition to anxiety about the possible impact on their job security, housing, and family life.

Contact with the Security Services

There is a key evidence gap relating to experiences of engaging with the security services. There are very few empirically informed studies. Although some international research has been carried out on experiences in the USA, Sweden, and to some extent, the UK for example in the context of historical responses to the IRA, research remains limited and largely theoretical. However, a number of preliminary observations can be drawn from the research:

- Disruption methods by security services that include revealing that an individual is under surveillance can create stress and anxiety.
- Informing someone that they are under surveillance by the security services, and the implicit threat (whether real or perceived) of deportation, may be retraumatising for individuals with a prior history of persecution and state violence.
- The public nature of some interactions, for example, when it takes place in someone's workplace, risks stigmatising the individual.
- Fear that others will find out about someone's interactions with the security services can be a cause of stress and anxiety.

Arrests and Police Raids

The experience of being arrested for a counter-terrorism offence is under-researched. Whilst there is a similar evidence gap relating to experiences of counter-terrorism police raids, there has been some anecdotal discussion of this experience in the literature:

- The specific features of counter-terrorism raids and arrests – particularly the presence of a large number of police officers – may be particularly distressing.
- Counter-terrorism raids can be traumatic for family members who are present. Knowledge of the raids can also cause concern and distress among the broader community.
- Raids and arrests have the potential to create lasting stigma for the person arrested as well as their family, even when they are released without charge.
- High-profile counter-terrorism raids that receive widespread media coverage can contribute to the stigmatisation of religious or ethnic minority communities.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

Police Interviews

There is a lack of empirical research into experiences of counter-terrorism police interviewing, or how these experiences may impact the interviewee.

- We found no empirical studies that examined whether being interviewed by police officers for a suspected counter-terrorism offence might be traumatising.
- Although limited, there is some evidence to suggest that if the interview process is carried out according to procedures stipulated in law, without coercion or manipulation, it may be less stressful than other points of interaction with the police for terrorism suspects.
- The ‘urgent interview’ may be an exception to the above point, as it has been suggested that it may be a moment of high tension and emotion for both the interviewer and interviewee. However, no empirical studies relating to this process were identified.

Detention and Incarceration

Studies point to the potential for detention and incarceration to be a potentially traumatising experience for those suspected or convicted of terrorist and non-terrorist offences:

- Prison can be a traumatising environment, particularly if the individual experiences or witnesses mistreatment or violence while incarcerated.
- The prison experience may be hard to overcome after release, leaving the offender with lasting psychological effects.
- Convicted or suspected terrorist offenders may have a different prison experience to non-terrorist offenders. Terrorism-related offenders may potentially experience greater stigmatisation and marginalisation from both prison staff and other prisoners.

- Indefinite detention, without trial, can have serious psychological effects, including severe depression and anxiety, and possibly even symptoms of PTSD and psychosis.
- Criminological research has suggested that prison can be a potential space of re-traumatisation for individuals with a prior history of trauma. However, this issue has yet to be explored amongst terrorist suspects or offenders.

Control Orders

Whilst control orders are no longer used in the UK, a small number of studies have previously discussed the psychological effects of this counter-terrorism power:

- Several individuals held under control orders had been detained indefinitely under previous legislation, and were already struggling with poor mental health prior to being placed under a control order. In some cases, there are indications their mental well-being deteriorated further under control orders.
- Control order restrictions and requirements had the potential to be traumatising, humiliating, and stigmatising for the wives and children of those affected.

Impacts on Families

A number of studies have explored the broader effects that one individual’s direct experiences of contact with the criminal justice system might have on family members and friends.

- Police raids and arrests can be traumatising for the family members present, particularly for children. Consequently, it has been suggested that more care and consideration should be paid to ensuring the well-being of children during police raids.
- Family members may suffer from abuse, stigmatisation and alienation from the local community because of a perceived association with terrorism. Stigmatising events can occur at

various stages of the justice system process, from arrest through to release.

- Imprisonment can create additional burdens for an offender's wife, and the experience of visiting her husband in prison – particularly with a child – can be a retraumatising event.

STRENGTH OF THE EVIDENCE

- There is limited empirical research that addresses the psychological impact of many interactions with the criminal justice system in the context of counter-terrorism, with the possible exception of experiences at airports and other border crossings.
- The evidence base relating to contact with the security services; police interviews; and arrests and police raids is particularly weak.
- Evidence is largely drawn from smaller-scale qualitative studies. Whilst these studies are crucial for understanding individual and community experiences, they cannot be used to generalise about the effects beyond those contexts.
- Trauma is rarely examined explicitly in relation to counter-terrorism. Instead, references to trauma in existing studies are largely anecdotal.
- There is some evidence to suggest that interactions with counter-terrorism criminal justice measures can be a potential source of trauma, but more research is needed.
- The evidence base relating to contact with the criminal justice system for other types of non-terrorist offending is more robust. This research provides further evidence of how such contact can produce negative psychological effects, including trauma.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is not yet possible to comment on the extent to which the interactions between suspects, offenders, their families, and those enacting counter-terrorism measures discussed in this report are likely to be traumatising. Whilst there is evidence to suggest that each of these interactions – particularly experiences at airports – have been a source of distress for some individuals, this evidence cannot be used to generalise about these effects.

More research is needed to understand the direct and indirect psychological effects of the various interactions examined in this report. Future research might explore:

- Psychological effects that manifest at both the individual and at the community level;
- The extent to which interactions risk re-traumatising those with a history of trauma;
- The cumulative effects of repeated contact with the counter-terrorism system;
- How the conduct of practitioners might exacerbate or mitigate psychological effects;
- The potential efficacy of embedding principles of trauma-informed policing and/or procedural justice into counter-terrorism criminal justice processes.

1. INTRODUCTION

This report applies a trauma lens to research which has examined people's experiences of interacting with the criminal justice system, with a particular focus on the counter-terrorism context. In doing so, it explores the psychological effects of these experiences and examines whether, and under what circumstances, interactions with counter-terrorism criminal justice measures might be potentially traumatising experiences for individuals and for communities.

The analysis that follows draws on two distinct but related literatures. First, research specifically related to contact with the counter-terrorism system. This includes studies analysing broader experiences and perceptions of counter-terrorism measures, as well as studies examining distinct points of interaction, ranging from prevention practices (e.g., stop and search, surveillance, disruption, etc.) through to direct involvement in the criminal justice system as a suspected or convicted offender (e.g., arrest, imprisonment, control orders, etc.).

Second, research examining contact with the criminal justice relating to non-terrorist offending is reviewed. This discussion aims to identify relevant insights relating to the different forms of contact with the criminal justice system listed above. It also considers whether the experiences of those suspected or convicted of a terrorism-related offence might be distinct to those implicated in other offences. Across both literatures, evidence is drawn from the UK, as well as other countries across Europe, North America, and Australasia.

2. SCOPE OF THE REPORT

This report builds on previous CREST guides that have explored public interactions with the counter-terrorism system (Lewis & Marsden, 2020), and the relationship between trauma, adversity and violent extremism (Lewis & Marsden, 2021). In line with our previous work, this report takes a broad approach to defining ‘trauma’; using the term to refer both to specific experiences, and to the psychological effects of those experiences (Lewis & Marsden, 2021, p. 8). When examining these effects, we will consider clinically diagnosable conditions such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). However, we will also consider evidence that points to the broader sub-clinical effects of contact with the criminal justice, including broader forms of ‘psychological distress’ (Corner & Gill, 2020). As a result, we do not limit our analysis only to studies that have explicitly discussed trauma, and consider research which has pointed to the broader psychological effects of counter-terrorism criminal justice measures.

The report takes a similarly broad approach to considering how people might be affected by trauma and other forms of psychological distress. It explores both the direct effects of personally traumatic experiences with the criminal justice system, as well as the indirect effects of being vicariously impacted by another person’s experience. For example, ‘by hearing about another person’s experiences or by being exposed to the psychological and behavioural impacts of that person’s trauma, which in turn may have psychological impacts on them’ (Lewis & Marsden, 2021. p. 8). In considering these indirect effects, we also consider historical and intergenerational forms of trauma, whereby the effects of past trauma linked to one generation’s contact with the criminal justice system can negatively impact future generations.

The academic literature relating to the psychological effects of contact with the criminal justice system

is vast. As a result, this guide should not be read as a systematic review of all relevant research. Whilst we have sought to identify the most relevant studies relating to contact with the criminal justice system in the context of counter-terrorism, this is unlikely to be exhaustive. Moreover, those studies cited from the broader field of criminology do not represent a comprehensive overview of all relevant research. Instead, the studies included in the report are used to illustrate key themes that are relevant to understanding the potentially traumatic impact of encounters with counter-terrorism criminal justice measures.

Relevant studies relating both to counter-terrorism and the broader criminal justice system were identified in two ways. Relevant studies from previous CREST work (Lewis & Marsden, 2021) were first identified, before keyword searches were conducted in academic databases.

3. OVERVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

3.1. RESEARCH RELATING TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

Although there is a substantial body of research that has examined experiences at airports and other borders, there is limited empirical research that addresses the psychological impact of many interactions with the criminal justice system in the context of counter-terrorism. Those studies that have been conducted primarily use qualitative methods to examine the experiences of small samples of individuals, predominantly from Muslim communities. The small-scale nature of these studies means they cannot be used to generalise about the effects of different experiences. This is particularly true when considering trauma, which is rarely examined explicitly in relation to counter-terrorism. Instead, references to trauma in existing studies are largely anecdotal. Whilst the conclusions that can be drawn from such anecdotal material are limited, this research helps to understand how contact with the criminal justice system in the context of counter-terrorism may be a potential source of trauma for some individuals.

The studies in this guide cover a range of interactions with the counter-terrorism system:¹

- Police stop and search.
- Airports, ports and border security.
- Contact with the security services.
- Arrests and police raids
- Police interviews
- Detention and incarceration
- Control orders
- Family experiences

The research cited in this report comes from a variety of different contexts, and relates to experiences with counter-terrorism measures in liberal democracies, as well as in more repressive states. Whilst the findings of research conducted in countries with more repressive criminal justice systems will not always be transferable to other contexts, insights relating to the psychological effects of being arrested and detained for counter-terrorism offences in these countries may still be relevant. Similarly, whilst some of the most directly relevant studies primarily focus on counter-terrorism measures that are no longer in use in the UK – such as the practice of detaining suspects indefinitely and without trial, and control orders – they are still included as they explicitly discuss the relevance of trauma.

3.2. READING THE ANALYSIS

The analysis that follows builds on previous CREST work examining public experiences of the counter-terrorism system (Lewis & Marsden, 2020) by considering both the direct and indirect effects of contact with the criminal justice system. This discussion focuses primarily on research relating to counter-terrorism. However, relevant research that is unrelated to counter-terrorism is also discussed to contextualise research relating to counter-terrorism; to provide additional evidence of how contact with the criminal justice system might produce traumatising effects; and to identify important gaps in the evidence. To guide the reader, the shorthand ‘criminological research’ is used to identify studies that are unrelated to counter-terrorism.

¹ Research exploring contact with countering violent extremism (CVE) measures, such as those related to the UK’s Prevent strategy is not discussed in this report as relevant research was examined in detail in a previous CREST guide (Lewis & Marsden, 2020).

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

4.1. POLICE STOP AND SEARCH

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RELATING TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

Research examining public experiences of counter-terrorism measures frequently highlights stop and search in public places as a key point of interaction between the police and citizens, particularly those from Muslim communities. Choudhury and Fenwick (2011) note, based on focus groups with 96 individuals from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds, that:

For many young Muslim men on the streets, stop and search under Section 44 of the Terrorism Act (s44) has become their most frequent and regular contact with the police.

(Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011, p. vi)

These studies rarely mention ‘trauma’; instead, such experiences are more closely associated with concepts such as stigma and community alienation, and emotional responses of frustration and anger. Whilst these concepts are not synonyms for trauma, this section examines these psychological effects of stop and search practices through a trauma lens.

Criminological research has identified a link between experiences of being stopped and searched by the police, and symptoms of trauma and anxiety. Both Geller et al. (2014) and Jackson et al. (2019) have identified a positive correlation between repeated experiences of being stopped and searched by the Police and PTSD symptomology. Whilst this relationship has not yet been explored in the context of counter-terrorism, research exploring experiences of counter-terrorism policing commonly finds that

Key Findings

- Police stop and search practices can be stigmatising for the individual being stopped.
- The highly public nature of some police stops can exacerbate this stigmatisation.
- Perceptions that the police disproportionately target particular ethnicities or religions for counter-terrorism stops can create stigma for specific communities and local areas.
- Fears of stop and search powers being abused or conflated with other measures (such as police detention) can create anxiety.
- The widespread use of stop and search in particular areas and among particular populations – especially young, male Muslims – can contribute to perceptions of ethnic or racial targeting and erosion of trust and confidence in the police.
- Perceptions of being unfairly treated by the police during this interaction can exacerbate feelings of distress. In contrast, positive perceptions of procedural justice can help to reduce feelings of distress.

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

‘negative encounters with the police can engender troubling ontological effects, promoting feelings of discomfort, guilt and anxiety’ (Mythen et al., 2013, p. 389). Although these studies do not explicitly focus on trauma, their findings overlap with criminological research on trauma by drawing attention to the direct and indirect psychological effects of police stops that manifest at the personal and collective level.²

THE DIRECT EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE STOPS

Individuals interviewed for studies exploring experiences with the counter-terrorism system have discussed how being stopped by the police can be a distressing experience, the effects of which can ‘stay’ with individuals (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011, pp. 34-35). Feelings of anxiety linked to experiences of counter-terrorism stops can therefore have two dimensions which have been identified in criminological research exploring experiences of police stops that are unrelated to counter-terrorism (e.g. Plümecke et al., 2022). These dimensions relate both to ‘immediate effects’ such as ‘feelings of humiliation, powerlessness and self-accusation’; and ‘long-term consequences’, which may, in some cases, include the development of more severe forms of psychological distress (Plümecke et al., 2022, p. 1).

In the short-term, being stopped and searched by police can be immediately distressing. The public nature of this experience can amplify these psychological effects by contributing to feelings of shame and stigmatisation, as outlined by a respondent interviewed by Schclarek Mulinari (2019) when recounting being searched by the Swedish authorities in a public place:

I had been with my aunt. I was stressed and had jogged to the subway. When I was about to pass the turnstile, plain-clothes policemen stopped me: “Where are you going?” “What have you got in

the bag?” “Who are you going to meet?” They made me take off my shoes and refused to let me pass until they’d checked my bag. Meanwhile people passed, my aunt’s friends: “What has he done?” “Is he a terrorist?”.

(Respondent interviewed by Schclarek Mulinari, 2019, p, 457)

Whilst evidence related to these psychological effects in the context of counter-terrorism is anecdotal, it is supported by broader criminological research which has found that police stops can produce similar immediate effects. For example, Plümecke et al.’s (2022) qualitative study into the effects of racial profiling and discriminatory police practices in Switzerland reported that the majority of their 30 interviewees had experienced feelings of fear, shame, humiliation and a loss of dignity during/ immediately after a police stop, whilst others had felt devalued.

Experiences of stop and search may in turn contribute to longer-term anxiety. Anecdotal evidence of such anxiety is found in Mythen et al.’s (2013) study exploring perceptions and experiences of UK counter-terrorism measures amongst young British Pakistani Muslims in North-West England. For example, the respondent quoted below outlined how an experience of being stopped and searched on the way to college had affected them in the longer-term:

But [being stopped] does kind of make you feel a little bit, you know ... even though I’m not scared of the police, every time you see them now you think: ‘shit’. You just try and put your head down and walk on because you know that they’re looking at you. And nine times out of ten they are looking. When they stop you they look through your bag and ask what

² These personal and collective effects were explored in detail in a previous CREST guide exploring public experiences of counter-terrorism measures (Lewis & Marsden, 2020). However, as that guide did not specifically consider trauma, the analysis here provides an overview of relevant research, and applies a trauma lens to the various concepts discussed.

you've got. People are walking by and watching it and then you're standing at the bus stop with that person or getting on the train with them.

(Respondent quoted in Mythen et al., 2013, p. 389)

Whilst the respondent above stressed that they were not scared of the police, criminological research has examined how experiences of being stopped can contribute to a fear of the police. For example, Plümecke et al.'s (2022) study identified fear of the police as one of several potential longer-term effects related to experiences of being stopped and searched by the police. Other effects included long-term self-isolation and exclusion from public spaces.

Criminological research has also illustrated how searches in public settings are related to higher rates of psychological distress which echo the findings of Schclarek Mulinari (2019) discussed above. For example, Jackson et al. (2019) report, based on a quantitative analysis of the experiences of 918 at-risk youths (average age 15 years old), that searches in schools were associated with heightened levels of distress and post-traumatic stress symptomology relative to other search locations (e.g. the street). Stops in schools also led to feelings of social stigma due to the public nature of the interaction. Although, the study observes that this stigmatisation is only found among those with 'less robust histories of delinquency,' suggesting "more conventional youth" will experience heightened shame and embarrassment (p. 631).

These findings add valuable contextualisation for studies in the counter-terrorism space, underscoring the negative impact of a high frequency of stops, particularly for young people, and that the distress of the incident may be exacerbated by the public location, particularly if the individual does not have a prior history of delinquency.

Several studies, including Mythen et al. (2013) illustrate how some individuals from Muslim communities have been subject to repeated police stops. The cumulative effects of being repeatedly stopped and searched by the police in the context of counter-terrorism have yet to be empirically explored. However, broader criminological research would suggest that this type of cumulative effect might potentially contribute to more severe forms of distress. This risk is evidenced by Geller et al.'s (2014) and Jackson et al.'s (2019) studies which identified a higher rate of PTSD amongst individuals who had been stopped by the police repeatedly.

THE SHADOW OF COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE WITH COUNTER-TERRORISM

Research has routinely found that rates of counter-terrorism stop-and-search are disproportionately higher amongst Muslim communities. For example, most of the Muslim respondents interviewed for Choudhury and Fenwick's (2011) earlier-cited study reported that they had a 'direct experience of being stopped and searched, had close friends and family that had been affected, or had witnessed the police carrying out stops and searches in their local area' (p. 34). In contrast, whilst some non-Muslim respondents from ethnic minority groups had been stopped and searched by the police, experiences of stop-and-search amongst other non-Muslim respondents were found to be restricted to those living in London.

For Muslims, personal experiences of being stopped and searched can become embedded in a 'collective story' (Blackwood et al., 2013) that reflects the disproportionate impact that counter-terrorism measures can have on members of their communities, including police stop-and-search powers. This 'shadow of collective experience' (Jarvis & Lister, 2017) has the potential to produce two types of psychological effects amongst Muslim communities.³

³ Jarvis and Lister's (2017) use of the term 'shadow of collective experience' is paraphrased from Blackwood et al. (2013) who refer to the 'shadow of the collective story' (p. 1098).

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

First, individuals who have been stopped by the police might interpret this event through the lens of collective experience (i.e. as being linked to a broader pattern of discrimination against their communities). This may in turn amplify the psychological effects of being stopped by the police by enhancing perceptions that they are being victimised and discriminated against based on religion (Lewis & Marsden, 2020). This issue is illustrated by Choudhury and Fenwick's (2011) study, in which participants with personal experience of being stopped and searched perceived their race or religion to be the main reason why they had been stopped. This was exacerbated by the police not providing a reason for the stop. Such perceptions of being profiled in turn negatively impacted trust and confidence in the police.

Second, a knowledge of this collective story can produce similar anxieties amongst those who have personally experienced a counter-terrorism police stop, and those who have not:

They can stop and search you whenever they want. When I heard about Forest Gate... I mean it feels like they can bully us and we've got no rights, do you know what I mean? I mean if we get stopped and searched for nothing what can we do about it? If we get held for 28 days who is going to compensate us? We are being put into a really tight spot, without any kind of laws to protect us.

(Aafreen, respondent quoted in Mythen et al., 2013, p. 387)

This notion of a collective story has been widely discussed within the broader field of criminology, with some commentators framing the historically disproportionate rates of police stop and search amongst ethnic minorities as a form of 'collective trauma' (IOPC, 2022, p. 37) or 'intergenerational trauma' (Bryant-Davis et al., 2017). Research on collective (police-related) trauma draws attention to how members of ethnic minority communities

may adapt their behaviour so as to avoid the types of interactions with the police that others have found traumatising (Bryant-Davis et al., 2017).

Notions of collective trauma have not yet been applied to experiences of counter-terrorism policing. However, a number of studies have illustrated how some members of Muslim communities have learned to adapt their behaviour so as to minimise the chances of being stopped by the police (e.g. Jarvis & Lister, 2017; Abbas, 2018). For example, Abbas' (2018) qualitative research amongst Muslim communities in Bradford and Leeds found several respondents lived in fear of being stopped and searched by police. In turn, one noted how some Muslims alter the way they dress and present themselves in public out of fear of being stopped and searched, trying not to be 'outwardly Muslim' (Abbas, 2018, p. 16). As will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.2 below, this type of adaptation is likely to be particularly common when travelling through airports.

OTHER RELEVANT INSIGHTS FROM CRIMINOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Criminological research has identified a relationship between the perceived intrusiveness of police stops and the onset of longer-term psychological issues, including anxiety and clinical conditions such as PTSD (Geller et al., 2014; Jackson et al., 2019). For example, Jackson et al.'s (2019) study investigated the impact of various forms of intrusiveness by the police officer. These include being handcuffed but not arrested, being frisked, searched, harsh language, racial slurs, threat of force, and the use of force. The study found that each of these variables is significantly associated with higher levels of distress during the stop, and stigma and post-traumatic stress afterwards, concluding that "the count measure of officer intrusiveness was the most robust predictor of all three mental/emotional health measures" (Jackson et al., 2019, p. 630). When considering the impact of stop and search practices it is therefore important to consider how the interaction is carried out, and how the conduct of police might be relevant.

A number of qualitative (e.g. Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011) and quantitative studies (e.g. Ragazzi et al., 2019) have captured opinions related to how police officers conducted themselves during counter-terrorism police stops. However, research has not yet explored whether more intrusive counter-terrorism police stops are associated with higher levels of psychological distress. However, the broader criminological research suggests that the way in which officers conduct themselves is likely to be important in minimising the psychological distress (including any potential trauma) of counter-terrorism stops. The principles of trauma-informed policing and/or procedural justice outlined in the table below could provide a framework for minimising distress during these interactions (Lewis & Marsden, 2020; 2021).

The importance of police conduct is alluded to in Geller et al.’s (2014) study, in which respondents who perceived their contact with the police to be more intrusive were more likely to report mental health problems, including PTSD symptoms. A related study on street stops of young men in New York City also found that individuals that had been stopped by police more regularly were less likely to perceive their treatment as being fair and lawful, which in turn negatively influenced perceptions of police legitimacy (Tyler et al., 2014). This study illustrates how perceptions of the fairness and justice of police actions

(perceived procedural justice) influences how people react to their own experiences with the police and their general judgements of police behaviour (Tyler et al., 2014). This suggests that one of the factors influencing perceptions of police legitimacy is “not street stops per se, or even the intrusions that they involve into people’s lives, but whether people evaluate police actions as involving fair interpersonal treatment and appropriate justification” (Tyler et al., 2014, p. 35).

Tyler et al. (2014) found that perceptions of police legitimacy are influenced by procedural justice, regardless of how many stops someone has experienced previously. Although, perceptions of procedural justice can be diminished the more someone is exposed to police stops (Tyler et al., 2014). This resonates with studies that demonstrate how procedural justice can help mitigate perceptions of hostile treatment and feelings of humiliation and intimidation in response to police contact (Jonathan-Zamir et al., 2016). Although it is important to note that procedural justice cannot prevent negative experiences and perceptions of all interactions. Particular policing tactics may be perceived as unpleasant or intrusive regardless of how procedurally appropriately they are carried out (Jonathan-Zamir et al., 2016).

Principles of Trauma-Informed Policing (Gillespie-Smith et al., 2020)	Principles of Procedural Justice (Mazerolle et al., 2013)
1. Safety	1. Citizen participates in the proceedings prior to an authority reaching a decision.
2. Trustworthiness and transparency	2. Perceived neutrality in decision-making.
3. Peer support	3. The authority shows dignity and respect to the individual throughout the interaction.
4. Collaboration and mutuality	4. The authority appears trustworthy.
5. Empowerment, voice and choice	
6. Sensitivity to cultural, historical, gender issues	

(Source: Lewis & Marsden, 2021)

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

CONCLUSION: RELEVANCE TO WORK ON TRAUMA

References to trauma in the context of counter-terrorism police stops remain anecdotal. However, research demonstrates that being stopped by the police in this context can produce a range of short-term and long-term psychological effects, which might include trauma. The broader criminological research suggests that being stopped by the police is a potentially traumatising experience, particularly for communities who may feel targeted by the criminal justice system. However, more research is needed to understand the relevance of trauma as it relates to counter-terrorism police stops specifically, and whether such stops produce distinctive psychological effects beyond those that are known to result from being stopped and searched by the police for other reasons.

4.2. AIRPORTS, PORTS AND BORDER SECURITY

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RELATING TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

Airports, ports and borders are often highlighted as sites where individuals may have negative experiences of the counter-terrorism system. This includes interactions that are explicitly related to counter-terrorism – such as being stopped under Schedule 7 of the UK's Terrorism Act 2000 – as well as those that are perceived to be linked to counter-terrorism by those affected. Being stopped and questioned by police at airports is highlighted in the literature as a potentially traumatic and distressing experience that some individuals may be subjected to on more than one occasion. Research into related counter-terrorism measures including passport removals and no-fly lists, identifies similar effects.

Key Findings

- Airport counter-terrorism security measures are commonly cited as a cause of distress, anxiety and humiliation, particularly for Muslims, or those assumed to be Muslim by airport authorities due to visible identity markers.
- The practice of racial and religious profiling at airports in the Global North is frequently discussed in academic literature. It is argued that the disproportionate frequency with which Muslims, in particular, are subjected to stops and interrogations contributes to a broader collective narrative of unequal treatment and stigmatisation that permeates through communities and damages trust with state authorities.
- Border security practices can create a heightened sense of anxiety and stress for those with uncertain citizenship status, due to fear of the potential consequences.
- No-fly lists and passport removals can have a substantial impact on the mental well-being of those affected, potentially causing stigma and humiliation in addition to anxiety about the possible impact on their job security, housing, and family life.

EXPERIENCES OF POLICE STOPS AT AIRPORTS

A significant body of research examines experiences of being stopped by police when travelling through airports and other border crossings (e.g., Blackwood et al., 2015; Kapoor & Narkowicz, 2019; Nagra & Maurutto, 2016). This includes studies analysing experiences of being stopped at UK airports under Schedule 7 of the Terrorism Act 2000. Schedule 7 is a power that allows for someone to be stopped and questioned for up to 9 hours to assess whether they pose a terrorism risk, without the need for reasonable suspicion (e.g. Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011; Mythen et al., 2013).

Research draws attention to the disproportionate impact of Schedule 7 stops on Muslim communities. For example, Choudhury and Fenwick's (2011) study identified 'widespread concern about the use of Schedule 7' amongst Muslim respondents who felt that 'it affected a cross section of the Muslim population and involved questioning individuals about their religious beliefs and practices' (p. vi). This study concluded that Schedule 7 stops 'are having some of the most significant negative impacts across Muslim communities according to participants in this study' (p. vii).

Choudhury and Fenwick do not explicitly identify trauma as one of these negative impacts. However, their discussion of how the psychological effects of Schedule 7 stops can spread throughout communities echoes the earlier discussion of collective experience above:

The one that captures the attention is Schedule 7... that is the one that is most felt... everybody, but everybody knows somebody that has been stopped... not just stopped but also hassled at the same time... it comes back and permeates though the community.

(Respondent quoted in Choudhury and Fenwick, 2011, p. 23)

The relative frequency with which Muslims are stopped in UK airports compared to non-Muslims – and the apparently non-random nature of those who are stopped – is interpreted as evidence of ethnic or religious profiling (Choudhury and Fenwick, 2011; Blackwood et al., 2015; Mythen et al., 2013). Similar findings are reported by those affected by comparable experiences when travelling through airports in other countries (e.g., Kapoor & Narkowicz, 2019; Nagra & Maurutto, 2016). Individual experiences of being stopped and questioned at airports are often interpreted and framed in relation to “a prototypical ‘Muslim airport story’” that encompasses the collective distress and difficulty of the airport experience (Blackwood et al., 2013, p. 1097). In this way, the shadow of the collective story has the potential to exacerbate feelings of distress at the individual level.

Research has illustrated how being stopped and questioned at an airport can be a distressing experience. Whilst the reasons for airport stops are often not made explicit, those affected often perceive them to be related to counter-terrorism given the nature of the questions they are asked. For example, respondents in Choudhury and Fenwick's (2011) research expressed resentment at the type of questions they were asked, some of which inquire about their religious beliefs, which mosque they attend, and their views on issues such as polygamy and jihad. These reinforce the sense of racial profiling and being targeted.

Other lines of questioning can lead to frustration when seen to be inquiring about irrelevant personal details such as whether the individual receives welfare benefits, their financial situation or details about their marriage (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011). There are parallels with findings from other studies, for instance research exploring Canadian Muslims' experiences of border security found that they would repeatedly be asked about different aspects of their personal life, such as their background and life in Canada, but especially their religious beliefs including which sect they belong to and how religious they are (Nagra & Maurutto, 2016).

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

These questions were perceived to be designed to ‘trip them up’; made them feel like ‘suspected criminals’; and encouraged the sense that they were being interrogated in a way that differed to other ethnic or religious groups (Nagra & Maurutto, 2016, p. 174). Similarly, respondents in a study of Swedish Muslims’ experiences of counter-terrorism measures highlighted airports as a site of repressive surveillance due to racial profiling. For example, one respondent described being routinely stopped and asked to remove her hijab as a form of overt everyday repression, while another participant described having been ‘humiliated so many times’ by her treatment when travelling in airports (Schclarek Mulinari, 2019, p. 458).

Research has highlighted how some Muslim travellers feel under intense surveillance and scrutiny and feel the need to adjust the way they look and act in order to avoid negative interactions with the airport police. The stressful nature of travelling through airports has been described as compelling inauthentic identity performances (Blackwood et al., 2015). Similar findings have been reported elsewhere, with Muslim travellers choosing to hide or downplay visible identity markers, such as the wearing of a hijab or a long beard to avoid harassment, additional surveillance and security checks. Feeling the need to alter one’s appearance illustrates the vulnerability Muslims can feel when travelling (Nagra & Maurutto, 2016).

Whilst research relating to police questioning at airports stops short of discussing ‘trauma’, the studies cited above point to how distressing this type of interaction might be. This distress is perhaps most evident in terms such as ‘humiliation’. However, travellers’ fears about officials trying to ‘trip them up’ point to concerns about the potential consequences of being questioned by the police, even when innocent of any wrongdoing. Similarly, an apparent belief amongst many Muslims that they need to modify their behaviour or appearance to avoid being stopped by the

police when travelling points to a broader fear about being suspected of wrongdoing.

EXPERIENCES OF OTHER MEASURES

No-fly lists have been found to have a traumatising impact on those affected in research which drew on a large number of interviews with Muslim community leaders in Canada (Nagra & Maurutto, 2020). This study is one of the few that specifically refers to trauma, and does so in three ways. First, the process of being informed about one’s no-fly status can be traumatising. As the Canadian authorities do not inform people they are on the list, people only find out of their no-fly status when they are at the airport, which can be humiliating and stigmatising due to the typically public nature of the experience. As the authors reported: “Our interviewees said discovering they were on a list was traumatic, but equally distressing were the practices associated with the Passenger Protect Program” (Nagra & Maurutto, 2020, p. 609).⁴ Notably, this type of experience was not restricted to individuals named on the list. Nagra and Maurutto noted that people who are not on the no-fly list are frequently stopped at airports because they share a name with someone that is on the list, and that interviewees with those who had been misidentified in this way had expressed their frustration at the experience.

In some cases, being placed on a no-fly list was seen as creating suspicion among family members towards the individual not permitted to fly. For some, in the longer-term, being placed on the list also impacted job security and possibilities, and therefore financial security. The study’s authors concluded that “interviewees affected by the no-fly list reported feeling stigma, indignity, fear, and shame” (Nagra & Maurutto, 2020, p. 608). The research also argued that the difficulty trying to get oneself removed from the list, and the opaqueness of this process, can contribute to a sense of vulnerability and powerlessness.

4 The Passenger Protect Program was introduced by the 2007 Aeronautics Act that established Canada’s no-fly list. The Program targets people suspected of potentially trying to engage in a threat to transportation security or those that might be trying to travel abroad for terrorism purposes (Nagra & Maurutto, 2020, p. 603).

Second, Nagra and Maurutto (2020) draw attention to how being repeatedly stopped at the airport can be traumatising, providing further evidence of the cumulative impact that repeated contact with counter-terrorism policing might have on individuals:

This repeat targeting traumatized [sic] our interviewees, in part, because they never knew, if not this time, then possibly next time, they could encounter civil rights abuses. The stigma, they felt, would never end.

(Nagra & Maurutto, 2020, p. 609)

Finally, Nagra and Maurutto (2020) quote a respondent who described how being questioned at the airport might leave individuals, particularly non-citizens, feeling ‘very afraid, terrorized [sic] possibly’ (p. 609). This fear was linked both to experiences of being taken away for questioning, and to uncertainty about the potential consequences. Whilst anecdotal, the concerns raised by this individual further illustrate how the psychological effects of a police counter-terrorism stop might be amplified for some individuals. This point is discussed in a separate article by the same authors which notes that, for individuals without secured citizenship status, travelling is likely to create a particular sense of fear and a heightened sense of anxiety relating to a potential police stop (Nagra & Maurutto, 2016). In this study, which examined Canadian Muslims’ experiences of crossing the US-Canada land border, Nagra and Maurutto (2016) illustrate how police stops that are perceived to be linked to more explicit forms of racial profiling can be particularly traumatic for individuals:

Sakeena, a 24-year-old woman born in Canada to a Pakistani father and a German mother, recalled a “humiliating” and “traumatic” experience of surveillance when she and two friends, a “white” Christian man and a Lebanese Muslim man, tried to cross the border

from Vancouver into the United States. The Christian friend was left alone, but the Lebanese friend was strip and cavity searched by US customs, and Sakeena was interrogated for an hour.

(Nagra & Maurutto, 2016, p. 181)

Another form of intervention that has some parallels to no-fly list measures is the removal of someone’s passport. Research exploring the process and experience of passport removals in the UK found that the policy has significant consequences for the individuals affected. Passport removal can cause anxiety about job security and housing as passports are generally required when applying for jobs or to rent a property, and the inability to travel can negatively impact family life. For those with jobs, there was an added anxiety about people at work finding out. As with other counter-terrorism measures, respondents interviewed by Kapoor and Narkowicz (2019) discussed how passport removals had isolated and ostracised them from a community worried about being implicated through association:

What they did to us has ostracised us in the community ... Women that I used to hang out with, go to dinner, movie with ... the parents at the school. I have no friends.

(Interviewee quoted in Kapoor & Narkowicz, 2019, p. 58)

Interviews with those that have had their UK passports removed reported that it had a negative impact on their mental health. One respondent sought therapy due to his experiences and another described it as “a mental torture” (Kapoor & Narkowicz, 2019, p. 58). Whilst anecdotal, such experiences illustrate how counter-terrorism measures can have profound psychological effects in individual cases. More research into such effects is needed.

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

CONCLUSIONS: RELEVANCE TO WORK ON TRAUMA

The psychological effects of being stopped and/or questioned at airports and other border crossings largely mirror those effects identified in research exploring experiences of being stopped by the police in other settings. References to trauma are again largely anecdotal, but there is some evidence to suggest that these experiences may be a potential source of trauma. Moreover, just as the previous section outlined how being stopped by the police in specific settings might be particularly distressing, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that airport stops contribute to a specific sense of vulnerability that might amplify feelings of distress.

4.3. CONTACT WITH THE SECURITY SERVICES

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RELATING TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

Research examining contact between the public and the security services in the context of counter-terrorism is limited. The few studies that have been published focus on disruption tactics used to deter people from involvement with proscribed terrorist organisations,

but which do not involve a criminal accusation, arrest or detention. These activities may include in-person visits, meetings and phone calls from security service personnel. Whilst research is limited, there is some evidence to suggest that such tactics have the potential to be a source of distress, particularly amongst individuals who might have some prior experience of trauma.

Empirical research exploring other types of contact with the security services, particularly related to the experiences of informants or Covert Human Intelligence Sources (CHIS), is lacking. However, a number of important points relating to trauma in this context have been raised by more theoretical and/or anecdotal studies and are discussed in the analysis below.

DISRUPTION AND SURVEILLANCE

Interactions with the security services can be intimidating, even for individuals who have not been accused of committing a crime. This sense of intimidation is evident in Sentas' (2016) interviews with Kurdish Londoners contacted by the police and MI5 as part of their work investigating the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which is a proscribed terrorist organisation in the UK. Respondents discussed how these interactions left them feeling intimidated, and

Key Findings

- Disruption methods by security services that include revealing that an individual is under surveillance can create stress and anxiety.
- Being informed that they are under surveillance by the security services, and the implicit threat (whether real or perceived) of deportation, may be retraumatising for individuals with a prior history of persecution and state violence.
- The public nature of some interactions (e.g., when it takes place in someone's workplace) risks stigmatising the individual.
- Fear that others will find out about someone's interactions with the security services can be a cause of stress and/or anxiety.

had also triggered memories of past intimidation, persecution, and even trauma:

All of the Kurds I spoke with had experienced significant state violence and persecution in Turkey for their ethno-political identity. Experiences of home visits and echoing phone calls in the United Kingdom reminded some interviewees of being monitored in Turkey.

(Sentas, 2016, p. 909)

Whilst nobody interviewed for this study was arrested or charged with an offence, all of Sentas' respondents stated that they were given warnings or threats about involvement in PKK activities, rather than being questioned for information. This contributed to a sense of criminalisation and harassment amongst the sample. A common theme among interviewees was that MI5 explicitly made it clear that they were under surveillance, demonstrating a depth of knowledge and detail about them, their family and their daily activities. As the individuals all had previous personal experience of state persecution and violence in Turkey, the knowledge of being under surveillance had a profound impact that risked re-activating earlier traumas:

In telling Kurdish interviewees who have been subject to Turkish state violence that they are being watched, surveillance was used by MI5 as a significant practice of fear, control and intimidation, reliant on collective Kurdish experiences of persecution in Turkey in order to disorient and disrupt everyday life.

(Sentas, 2016, p. 909)

In this case, the tone and content of conversations with security services contributed to feelings of stress and anxiety. This was underscored when MI5 officers referred to some of the respondents by their Kurdish names – which they do not use in the UK – which was

perceived as a threat and attempt to intimidate them. Additionally, some interviewees reported that their immigration status was brought up by MI5 as part of an implicit threat of deportation to coerce them into cooperation. Sentas (2016) argued this was part of a policy of disruption, creating fear and anxiety. For those with pre-existing traumas due to persecution in Turkey, the risk of being deported back to Turkey was reported as being re-traumatising.

MI5's threats to deport Kurds to Turkey comprise extra-judicial punishment for those who have experienced torture, cultural assimilation and entrenched precarity. The condition of 'deportability' revisits traumatic experiences of persecution for Kurdish refugees.

(Sentas, 2016, p. 911)

Similar practices were identified by Schclarek Mulinari (2019) in an analysis of Muslims' experiences of interacting with the Swedish Security Service (Säpo). Interviewees in this study reported receiving phone calls from Säpo in which officers would refer to the individual's citizenship application status, thereby reminding them of their vulnerability and the precarity of their situation (Schclarek Mulinari, 2019, p. 461). This study highlights how implicit or explicit threats from the security services can contribute to anxiety.

However, Schclarek Mulinari (2019) also notes how the psychological effects of some types of interaction are likely to be more pronounced than for others. By comparing two cases, this study illustrates how the tone, content, and context of interactions can serve to either mitigate or exacerbate feelings of anxiety, and of stigmatisation. In one case, the security services had a "friendly meeting" with a teenage girl that had been set up at a youth association at her home. By arranging the meeting ahead of time, wearing plain clothes and keeping the meeting private, 'no social stigma is produced' (Schclarek Mulinari, 2019, p. 460). However, a very different outcome was reported

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

in another case in which Säpo approached a man at his workplace, and in doing so had been seen to contribute to a feeling of social stigma:

I'm having a meeting in my office. Then a colleague knocks and says: "There's people waiting for you out here." He didn't want to say who it was, but in the end he said: "It's Säpo." [...] So I went out: "We were in the neighbourhood and thought we could discuss the possibility of having a meeting." [...] You know, people look at you differently after something like that.

(Respondent quoted in Schclarek Mulinari, 2019, p. 460)

In the UK, there are similar accounts of Special Branch conducting comparable activities against Irish community figures during a period of heightened violence between the IRA and the British state (Hickman et al., 2012, p. 10). Officers reportedly visited someone's work and talked to their colleagues while the person of interest was not there, seemingly to place pressure on them. However, concerns about social stigmatisation are not limited to individuals who are approached in public places. Schclarek Mulinari (2019) also discuss how some respondents felt stressed and anxious that other people might discover they had been contacted by the security services, and judge them for being a security risk or an informant.

APPROACHES FROM THE SECURITY SERVICES AND POLICE

The psychological effects of being approached by the Security Services or by the Police to act as a Covert Human Intelligence Source (CHIS) are under-researched. A recent paper from Loftus, Bacon & Skinns (2022) argued for a greater focus on this topic:

We suspect that the moments in which suspects are turned into informants by the police, and the work they are expected

to perform thereafter, embodies immense moral tension and emotional toil. The same could be said for those involved in recruiting and handling informants. However, these emotive aspects have not been fully explored.

(Loftus, Bacon, & Skinns, 2022)

Whilst their paper is theoretical, Loftus et al. (2022) discuss empirical research which has pointed to the potential vulnerability of police informants. Although not specifically focused on trauma, they identify two facets of vulnerability that could potentially contribute to psychological distress during the process of being recruited for, and performing, a covert role.

First, their observation that research has 'demonstrated over and over that [CHIS] are people who overwhelmingly occupy the social, legal and economic margins.' (p. 5) draws attention to the fact that informants may be in a vulnerable situation at the point of any approach, particularly if they have engaged in criminal activity. This can create power imbalances whereby, 'because of their personal and structural hardships, informants may need police or state assistance at the very same time as they may fear them' (p. 6). In turn, Loftus et al. argue that this type of power imbalance might 'substantially undermine informants' autonomy to make decisions, which some regard as a fundamental dimension of human dignity' (p. 6).

One respondent interviewed by Choudhury & Fenwick (2011), who worked for a civil society organisation, drew attention to an example of such a power imbalance in the context of counter-terrorism. This interview describes cases of individuals seeking asylum, citizenship, or permanent residency in the UK 'being targeted for recruitment as police informants in the course of Schedule 7 examinations, with promises that their applications would be dealt with favourably if they cooperated' (p. 25). Whilst a 'senior counter-terrorism police officer' interviewed for this same study stated that the recruitment of informants was 'an

important by-product' of some Schedule 7 stops (p. 22), it is not possible to comment on the use of this tactic, nor its likely effects, based on such anecdotal data. However, this type of scenario illustrates how power imbalances might theoretically emerge in ways that could be distressing.

Concerns about the future implications of such an approach might induce anxiety, particularly amongst those who have been involved in criminal activity. For example, the tactic of threatening individuals with prosecution as a mechanism for recruiting them (Loftus et al., 2022) might be stressful. Relatedly, being tasked with informing on criminal activity risks exposing individuals to potentially stressful and traumatic experiences. Engagement in criminal activity – including activities related to violent extremism – can itself be a source of trauma (Lewis & Marsden, 2021). In some instances, engagement-related trauma can precipitate an individual's decision to disengage from their past offending behaviour. Asking individuals to return to, or continue engaging in, activities they found traumatising so that they can perform the role of a CHIS have the potential to be detrimental to their health.

Second, Loftus et al. (2022) cite research pointing to the psychological effects of working as an informant. For example, reflecting on a previous study in which Miller (2011) interviewed former police informants in the United States:

From his fieldwork, he identified the 'moral career' of informants as entailing a double stigma. While informants were routinely subjected to moral degradation and mistreatment by the police who controlled them, they also had to reconcile the self-stigmatization that came from the betrayal and deceit inherent to the role.

(Loftus, Bacon, & Skinns, 2022)

In this way, working as an informant/CHIS can be potentially distressing experience. Again, whilst empirical research is lacking, Bont's (2020) analysis of autobiographies written by former members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) notes that guilt about informing on members of the organisation was a source of 'moral injury' amongst this sample.⁵

CONCLUSIONS: RELEVANCE TO WORK ON TRAUMA

Whilst the evidence base is currently limited, there is some research to suggest that contact with the security services can be a potential source of trauma, particularly when these interactions are not sensitive to the risk of re-traumatising individuals who have suffered past trauma. The preliminary research conducted to date suggests that the extent to which a specific interaction is likely to be a source of trauma, or a cause of re-traumatisation, may depend on the tone, content, and context of the interaction. More research is needed to understand how each of these factors might contribute to and/or mitigate the risk of (re)traumatisation when interacting with the public.

4.4. ARRESTS AND POLICE RAIDS

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RELATING TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

Very few academic studies consider the direct experiences of individuals targeted by counter-terrorism raids and arrests. The research that does examine this topic primarily focuses on the impact of the arrest on family and community members, rather than the individual being arrested. Research relating to these broader impacts is examined in Section 4.8 below. Whilst few studies specifically focus on the psychological effects of being arrested for counter-terrorism offences, this section reviews relevant insights from studies that have focused on experiences

⁵ Bont (2020) draws on a widely cited definition from Litz et al. (2009) that sees moral injury as occurring when 'one perpetrates, fails to prevent, bears witness to, or learns about acts that transgress deeply held moral beliefs and expectations' (Bont, 2020, p. 3).

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

with the counter-terrorism system more broadly. Much of the data discussed below is anecdotal in nature, however it provides a useful insight into the possible direct and indirect psychological impacts of counter-terrorism arrests and raids.

EXPERIENCES OF RAIDS AND ARRESTS

A number of scholars have commented on how the specific features of counter-terrorism raids; for example, the presence of a large number of armed police officers aggressively entering a property, often in the early hours of the morning, might cause anxiety and fear among those present (e.g. see Roberts, 2011). However, these observations are typically made very briefly within discussions about broader issues and are rarely empirically informed.

Whilst not related to counter-terrorism, there is some evidence to suggest that armed raids might be particularly traumatic for those affected. For example, interviews conducted with individuals present at an armed immigration-enforcement raid in the US suggested that such raids are highly traumatic, with interviewees describing ongoing psychological effects that would likely meet criteria for a PTSD diagnosis (Lopez et al., 2018). Fear for themselves or others, including children, being shot or killed is a particular

source of fear and stress, as the officers conducting raids are heavily armed. Some respondents reported a lasting fear of the police and how interactions with authorities can be triggering.

Similarly, prisoners exposed to the use of force by police during their arrest were found to be more likely to experience manic and depressive symptoms compared to those whose arrests did not include force according to one study (Meade et al., 2017, p. 238). The authors conclude that the use of force by the police during arrest may be a particular source of trauma that warrants a specific focus when working with prisoners in correctional settings:

In terms of correctional policy, it may be worthwhile, for example, to identify inmates who were exposed to police use of force so that they might be assessed for trauma related needs. Such an assessment could facilitate placement decisions and inform supervision strategies, as well as direct inmates into appropriate treatments or interventions that could help to alleviate their mental health problems.

(Meade et al., 2017, p. 240)

Key Findings

- The specific features of counter-terrorism raids and arrests – particularly the presence of a large number of police officers – may be particularly distressing.
- Counter-terrorism raids can be traumatic for family members who are present. Knowledge of the raids can also cause concern and distress among the broader community.
- Raids and arrests have the potential to create lasting stigma for the person arrested as well as their family, even when they are released without charge.
- High-profile counter-terrorism raids that receive widespread media coverage can contribute to the stigmatisation of religious or ethnic minority communities.

Finally, analysis of the distinct but tangentially related issue of counter-insurgency raids by military forces reveals similar insights. Counter-insurgency house raids can produce shock and fear due to residents being woken in the middle of the night and large numbers of armed soldiers searching the property. The traumatic impact on children present is particularly noted:

Raids carry a high risk of causing serious trauma to children given their reliance on the family and home for security and stability. A raid shatters this image, as parents and elders are exposed as being unable to protect themselves, other family members, or the home itself containing the children's possessions (such as beloved toys, bed, books, clothing, etc.), which may be damaged as a result of the search. Further, the longer the men of the family are detained, the longer the period of isolation for the women and children who are dependent on them for material, physical, and psychological security. The raids may symbolize a destruction of the home that extends beyond the time of the raid itself. The children may suffer from post-traumatic stress and may be more likely to act out aggressively or undergo serious anxiety. This impact may last throughout a lifetime.

(Bailliet, 2007, p. 188)

Although the psychological effects of such experiences remain underexplored, anecdotally, individuals subjected to counter-terrorism searches at their properties have discussed how distressing the experience was for them and their families (e.g. Sabir, 2022). One of the few focused discussions of the impact of counter-terrorism police raids is found in Choudhury and Fenwick's (2011) research into the impact of counter-terrorism measures on Muslim communities in the UK. In this study, focus group data from areas marked by higher rates of counter-terrorism

arrests identified a higher level of awareness and concern about the raids among Muslim respondents than among non-Muslim respondents. The empathetic way in which some respondents discussed these raids again illustrated how one individual's experience of a counter-terrorism raid can vicariously impact community members:

When you hear about families that have their houses raided, I think that it's awful the way they barge into your house and, you know, go through everything, the way they trash everything, and then, you know, we made a mistake, we're sorry, if you even get that. Our people don't put in complaints because they want it to be over.

(Focus group participant in Choudhury and Fenwick, 2011, p. 75)

Participants in this study also described how being directly affected by the arrest of a friend or family member can produce strong psychological and emotional reactions:

The police knocked on the door at 7 in the morning, they arrested my son. He was 15 and they took him away for 36 hours. We called the lawyer and everything. They let him go. They said they made a mistake. I was 36 hours crying and praying....

Relatives have had their houses searched; they were raided and kept in custody for half a day. In the end all charges were dropped. I don't know the ins and outs. They want to forget about it... They felt completely helpless... even though they are innocent they feel like they've been branded. Even to mention it; what's happened to them, people feel like they are guilty. It makes you feel like you are being punished already for nothing.

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

(Focus group participants in Choudhury and Fenwick, 2011, p. 76)

Being arrested for a suspected terrorist offence can have negative long-term consequences for individuals and their families. For example, research by Spalek (2011) has noted how the lasting stigma from being arrested for a counter-terrorism offence might lead to an individual being ostracised by their community or losing their job, and may negatively impact family relationships. A respondent in this study suggested that the police have a responsibility to consider the longer-term consequences of arrests and, in cases where someone is released without charge, to take steps that will help minimise this stigmatisation, for example by publicly confirming the individual's innocence (Spalek, 2011, pp. 196-197).

Research has illustrated how both direct and indirect awareness of counter-terrorism arrests can contribute to a sense of vulnerability. Being arrested can lead to anxiety and in some instances, lasting trauma. This is demonstrated by Dr Rizwaan Sabir (2022), who notes how past trauma related to being wrongly arrested for a counter-terrorism offence 'would reappear when I least expected' (p. 174), citing an example of giving a lecture ten years after his arrest, and (incorrectly) suspecting that a member of the audience was there to conduct surveillance.

This type of traumatic experience can have broader psychological effects. Being aware that someone has been (wrongly) arrested can contribute to fears about being subjected to a similar experience, creating a sense of vulnerability and insecurity in the wider community:

[T]he anti-terror legislation, where you can just raid, that concerns me as that happened local to where I live. Their houses were raided, and nothing came out of it. That means that I could be the next target; my dad could be the next target; my cousins could be the next target. You just don't know.

(Respondent quoted in Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011, p. 77)

These broader psychological effects can have wide-ranging impacts. For example, research into the effects of counter-terrorism on Muslims in Australia cited police raids as impacting Muslims' sense of belonging within Australian society. As the respondent quoted below discusses, high profile counter-terrorism raids that received a lot of media coverage were seen to contribute to an increased marginalisation of Australian Muslims (Bull & Rane, 2019):

I think it started with those raids, when it started to escalate really high ... Then that's when all this ISIS – everyone was getting raided – and all this radicalisation started to happened. I think that's when it hit home in Australia with the raids.

(Focus group participant in Bull & Rane, 2019, p. 286)

Data gathered from Choudhury and Fenwick's (2011) focus groups suggested that these broader community-level impacts may vary depending on the specific individual who is arrested. Some respondents felt that if those arrested, or their families, were well known members of the community, the impact and knowledge about their arrest may be greater than for those who do not have established links to the community. Nevertheless, whilst individuals are perhaps more likely to be distressed when hearing about the experiences of somebody they know personally, the research on counter-terrorism stop and search discussed above illustrated how the psychological effects of the 'collective story' can spread to those with no personal connection to the individual who is physically stopped (e.g. Mythen et al., 2013).

Data from Thomas et al. (2017) suggests that police forces are conscious of the potential consequences of counter-terrorism raids and arrests, not just for the individual and their family but for the wider

community too. As one police officer from West Yorkshire stated:

We are very conscious of the impact of our actions as police. If we have to go and arrest somebody, it may just be one member of the family but when you've got masses of police in uniform, you've got the street closed off, you might have the helicopter in the sky, then the impact on that family, that street, that community, is massive. If we can get in, do what we need to do and get out without anybody realising the police have been in, that is the number one preferred option because it has less impact and it gives people more confidence that we are only doing what we have to do because we have no choice.

(Thomas et al., 2017, p. 74)

As discussed in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, the way in which the police conduct themselves can potentially exacerbate, as well as minimise, psychological distress. Police raids on homes that are conducted with consideration, and that reflect an awareness of cultural norms, can limit the negative impact of the raid and arrest. In particular, the inclusion of female officers can help regarding considerations of women and children that may be in the property at the time of the raid. Being considerate of prayer times and religious items such as prayer books can also help to demonstrate respect while a raid is carried out (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011).

CONCLUSIONS: RELEVANCE TO WORK ON TRAUMA

Anecdotally, there is some evidence to suggest that personal experiences of counter-terrorist police raids or arrests can be highly distressing, and that the psychological effects of this type of police activity can spread throughout families and communities. Whilst robust research relating to the counter-terrorism context is lacking, broader criminological research

seems to suggest that being raided or arrested for a terrorist offence is potentially traumatising, and might contribute to the development of sub-clinical, as well as clinical conditions such as PTSD. However, more research is needed to understand these effects as they relate to counter-terrorism policing, and the policing of other offences.

4.5. POLICE INTERVIEWING

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RELATED TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

There is very little research exploring experiences of being interviewed for a suspected terrorist offence, or the potential impacts that such experiences might have on someone's mental well-being. As a result, little is known about the extent to which being interviewed by the police in this context is likely to be traumatising.

There is a similar evidence gap within broader criminological research, which has tended to focus on police interviews of individuals who have experienced a traumatic situation. For example, where the interviewee is a victim, survivor, or witness of a traumatising event (see Jakobsen et al., 2017; Jakobsen, 2021; Langballe & Schultz, 2017; Risan et al., 2016, 2018). Although this research is valuable and provides insights into both the needs and vulnerabilities of interviewees and the impact this may have on interview practices and procedures, this body of research does not examine the police interview as a point of interaction between suspects and the criminal justice system.

Whilst trauma is not specifically examined in existing studies, a number of potentially relevant insights can be drawn from research examining different forms of police interview, including post-arrest interviews; interviews at port locations; and 'urgent interviews'. This section examines research which has looked at how those suspected of an offence experience interviews, even when this research does not discuss trauma or related concepts.

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

EXPERIENCES OF BEING INTERVIEWED AS A SUSPECT

The few studies that have examined police interviews in the context of counter-terrorism have focused on the conduct of the police officers, rather than on the psychological effects of their behaviour on those being interviewed. For example, Minhas et al. (2017) reported that police interviews with 22 individuals previously suspected of a crime in England (including three suspected of terrorism offences) were conducted correctly according to procedural requirements stipulated in the PACE (Police and Criminal Evidence) Act. Participants in the study – who were all Asian Muslims – shared the view that they were treated better during the interviews than at other points of interaction with the police, such as during their arrest and custody arrangements (Minhas et al., 2017).

However, almost two-thirds of the interviewees in Minhas et al.'s (2017) study perceived their interviewers to have 'demonstrated racial/religious stereotypes via discriminatory behaviour' (p. 158). Interviewees believed that these negative attitudes were due to being previously known to the police (31.8%);

due to their ethnicity (59.1%) or religion (31.8%); the police culture (13.6%); or crime-related location (22.7%). Whilst the psychological effects of this type of perceived discrimination were not explored in this study, it provides some evidence to illustrate how concerns linked to stereotyping might be distressing. For example, one respondent, who 'claimed he was wrongly accused and falsely convicted of a serious offence', discussed how he 'became so scared that police officers may link him with terrorism offences due to his religious background' (respondent quoted in Minhas et al., 2017, p. 167).

Pearse (2009) examined how terrorism suspects (n=30) were interviewed in comparison to suspects of other serious offences, and assessed whether coercive or manipulative interviewing tactics had been used to obtain a confession. Data for this study was drawn from transcripts and audio-recordings of police interviews conducted by Counter Terrorism Command at New Scotland Yard; the suspect's custody record; interviews with police officers; and a questionnaire distributed to investigating officers. It suggests that the interviewing approach used by police officers was informed by concerns that

Key Findings

- There is a lack of empirical research into experiences of counter-terrorism police interviewing, or how these experiences may impact the interviewee.
- We have found no empirical studies that have examined whether being interviewed by police officers for a suspected counter-terrorism offence might be traumatising.
- Although limited, there is some evidence to suggest that if the interview process is consistently carried out according to procedures stipulated in law, without coercion or manipulation, it may be less stressful than other points of interaction with the police for terrorism suspects.
- The 'urgent interview' may be an exception to the above point, as it has been suggested that it may be a moment of high tension and emotion for both the interviewer and interviewee. However, no empirical studies relating to this process were identified.

engaging in more robust tactics would potentially compromise the fairness of the interview process (Pearse, 2009). This study concluded that ‘the police interviewing of suspects in terrorist cases can best be described as polite, non-threatening and often non-productive’ (Pearse, 2009, p. 82). This conclusion was based on the general absence of maximisation tactics (emphasising the seriousness of the offence), minimisation tactics (minimising the interviewee’s perception of consequences) and manipulation by the interviewer. Pearse highlights that these findings contradict conclusions from research conducted in the 1990s, suggesting a shift in interviewing practice over time.

Research exploring the importance of procedural justice has also focused on the conduct of counter-terrorism police officers. An experimental study conducted in ‘a European democracy’, evaluated police officers’ use of a ‘procedural justice checklist’ during interviews with terror suspects at various sea, air, or land ports across the country (Langley et al., 2021). The study found that using the checklist led to a significant improvement in all the areas investigated by the research. These included the willingness of suspects to cooperate with the police, to obey the law, distributive justice, procedural justice, effectiveness, and feelings of resistance towards the state. The researchers concluded that the procedural justice checklist provides a simple but effective way of improving how counter-terrorism officers interact with their suspects, enhancing police legitimacy (Langley et al., 2021).

The three studies cited here, whilst not specifically examining the psychological effects of police interviewing, suggest that someone’s perception of their treatment by the police during such interactions can influence the outcomes of police interviewing; both for the interviewee (Minhas et al. 2017), and for the interviewer (Pearse, 2009; Langley et al., 2021).

One working paper explored the use of ‘urgent interviews’ with terror suspects, reviewing academic

research on police interviewing, and the legislation governing the use of urgent interviews (Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) code H) (Roberts, 2011). ‘Urgent interviews’ are a type of UK police interview, permitted in specific circumstances such as ‘a perceived threat to public safety and/or to the integrity of an investigation’. In these situations, rights to legal representation can be waived and the interview may be held in a non-designated place without the individual being arrested or charged, and with the interview only being recorded in the form of notes afterwards (Roberts, 2011, p. 5).

Roberts’ paper suggested that, because urgent interviews are likely to take place in an urgent, emotive and tense context, there is a risk of officers using more ‘robust’ (i.e. aggressive or threatening) interviewing methods (Roberts, 2011). When more robust interviewing methods are used, the interviewee may experience heightened vulnerability, anxiety and fear. It also suggested that more robust methods may be motivated by the interviewer’s own response to trauma and anxiety, suggesting the extent to which the interview is conducted in a controlled manner is informed, in part, by the officer’s ability to manage their emotions or distress (Roberts, 2011). However, there is a lack of empirical research on urgent interviews, and we are not aware of any empirical studies into how such interactions with the police are experienced or perceived.

CONCLUSIONS: RELEVANCE TO WORK ON TRAUMA

There is a clear evidence gap around both the process of interviewing individuals suspected of a terrorist offence, and the psychological effects that this interaction might have on suspects. It is not yet possible to comment on the extent to which counter-terrorism police interviews, or specific tactics for interviewing terrorist suspects, are likely to be a potential source of trauma. However, broader research relating to police interviewing in this context has highlighted the importance of police conduct and attitudes as key variables in how individuals experience this type of

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

interaction. Research exploring how such factors relate to issues such as psychological distress, including trauma, would therefore be useful.

4.6. DETENTION AND INCARCERATION

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RELATED TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

The experiences of those detained or incarcerated on terrorism-related charges have received very little academic attention, and almost no research has examined this topic through a trauma lens.⁶ This section draws instead on studies examining the psychological effects of incarceration for those tried and convicted of a terrorism-related offence, as well as those detained on suspicion who were later exonerated. It seems possible that the psychological impact of being detained may differ depending on, for example, whether the individual has committed a crime or has been convicted. However, there is insufficient research

with which to explore the psychological effects of different forms of counter-terrorism detention.

INCARCERATION-RELATED TRAUMAS

There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that experiences whilst detained and/or incarcerated for a non-terrorist offence can be traumatising, particularly for individuals with a prior history of trauma (e.g. Moloney et al., 2009; Terry & Williams, 2021). Incarceration has also been linked to higher levels of clinical conditions such as PTSD (Liem and Kunst, 2013). Whilst research exploring these effects in the context of terrorism offending is lacking, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that terrorism offenders might experience similar short-term and long-term psychological effects linked to their experiences of incarceration or detention.

Being incarcerated for a suspected terrorist offence can be a traumatising experience. Based on interviews with members of Al Qaeda, and Palestinian and Chechen terror groups Speckhard & Akhmedova (2005) have

Key Findings

- Prison can be a traumatising environment, particularly if the individual experiences or witnesses mistreatment or violence while incarcerated.
- The prison experience may be hard to overcome after release, leaving the offender with lasting psychological effects.
- Terrorism-related offenders may have a different prison experience to non-terrorism-related offenders. Terrorism-related offenders may potentially experience greater stigmatisation and marginalisation from both prison staff and other prisoners.
- Indefinite detention, without trial, can have serious psychological effects, including severe depression and anxiety, and possibly even symptoms of PTSD and psychosis.
- Criminological research has suggested that prison can be a potential space of re-traumatisation for individuals with a prior history of trauma. However, this issue has yet to be explored amongst suspected terrorist offenders.

⁶ The one sizeable exception to this statement is research on detention at Guantanamo Bay, which is not considered as part of this review because it is such an exceptional case.

argued that incarceration-related trauma amongst detained terrorist offenders is 'often underestimated'. They outline how specific experiences – particularly experiencing or witnessing violence – were particularly distressing for respondents. This included one Palestinian teenager who discussed how experiencing beatings, and witnessing severe beatings of others, had a serious lasting psychological impact on him, and fostered a desire for revenge against Israel.

Importantly, Speckhard and Akhmedova's study seems to focus on the experiences of individuals incarcerated in more repressive criminal justice systems (whilst the authors do not specify fieldwork locations, they allude to fieldwork in Israel and Russia). This means there are limits over the extent to which it is appropriate to generalise their findings to a liberal democracy such as the UK. However, the psychological effects of being exposed to prison cultures of violence are well documented in criminological research in countries such as the US and, to a lesser extent, the UK, although there are considerable differences between the UK and US penal systems that suggests a need for caution when generalising between them. For example, Jones (2020) reports that PTSD rates are significantly higher among US ex-offenders than among the general population, and identifies a culture of prison violence as a potential causal factor for elevated rates of PTSD. This study found that 721 from a sample of 1000 participants who had been convicted and incarcerated in the United States believe "they may suffer from PTSD due to incarceration" (Jones, 2020, p. 45). Jones' analysis also identified a range of comorbidities and experiences associated with trauma in this sample:

79.9% met criteria for irritability or anger, 87.7% met criteria for hypervigilance, 93.7% reported and met criteria for nightmares and sleep disturbance. 83.2% met criteria for feelings of guilt and shame. 91.7% met criteria for intrusive symptoms, 86.7% met criteria for direct exposure or witnessed a traumatic event in prison.

The question on being a victim of sexual assault while in prison resulted in 29.9% which was 299 out of 1000 participants saying yes. Another 88.7% met criteria for flashbacks and emotional distress. Only 10.7% of all the subjects that took part in this study reported having a previous history of post-traumatic stress disorder prior to going to prison.

(Jones, 2020, p. 47)

DeVeaux (2013) similarly draws upon his own experiences to illustrate how cultures of prison violence can be psychologically damaging. Autobiographical accounts such as DeVeaux's (2013) have notable limitations, as the experiences of one individual cannot be used to generalise about the effects of incarceration. However, this account stands out as one of the most explicit considerations of the traumatic nature of the prison experience as outlined below:

I found the prison experience traumatic because of the assaults and murders I witnessed while incarcerated, because of the constant threat of violence, because of the number of suicides that took place, and because I felt utterly helpless about the degree to which I could protect myself. I found the experience extremely stressful - during my incarceration, I was tense and always on guard because the threat of violence was real and ever present.

(DeVeaux, 2013, pp. 264-5)

Whilst robust quantitative data of this type is lacking for terrorist offenders, a number of smaller-scale studies have pointed to the longer-term psychological effects of being imprisoned for a suspected terrorist offence. For example, Speckhard and Akhmedova (2005) interviewed a young Palestinian who described living in constant fear of re-imprisonment in ways which negatively impacted his daily life and caused distress in his sleep. Another respondent, who had been

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

a member of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, discussed experiencing traumatic flashbacks to his experiences in prison. Whilst anecdotal, other studies have discussed cases where incarceration appeared to contribute to the development of PTSD amongst incarcerated terrorist offenders in Australia (Jones, 2014) and the UK (Robbins et al., 2005). Perhaps most interestingly, these studies illustrate that the distinct ways in which terrorist offenders and suspects experience prison might be relevant, a point discussed below.

THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF SUSPECTED OR CONVICTED TERRORIST OFFENDERS' EXPERIENCES

The distinctiveness of terrorist suspects' experiences of prison is clearly illustrated by Robbins et al. (2005), who discuss the experiences of individuals subject to indefinite detention in the UK. Before being removed from UK legislation, terrorism suspects could be detained indefinitely under the Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act, 2001. Qualitative analysis of reports on the well-being of eight detainees, written by 11 consultant psychiatrists and a clinical psychologist, provide an insight into the psychological impact of their detention. The study found that the indefinite nature of the detention had a strong impact on the mental health of the detainees. This manifested in the form of depression and anxiety, with some developing psychotic symptoms and others PTSD (Robbins et al., 2005). As this form of detention is no longer used, it is not appropriate to generalise these findings to the impact of detention more broadly. However, this research suggests that uncertainty about one's situation, particularly with no knowledge of an end point for the experience, may have serious consequences for mental well-being; a point that is echoed in Speckhard and Akhmedova's (2005) analysis.

One practice that has been used more recently in several countries, including the UK, is the separation of terrorist offenders from other prisoners.⁷ Several studies have explored the psychological effects of

such separation on terrorist offenders. For example, practitioners working in two Separation Centres housing extremist prisoners in England and Wales discussed how being separated from other prisoners might contribute to mental health issues (Powis, 2019). Although, it is worth noting that prisoners who had raised concerns about their mental health had not taken up the offer of specialist mental health support, which had 'led staff to believe this was a tactic to test boundaries and cause disruption.' (Powis, 2019, p. 26):

It was noted [by respondents] that, given some of the men were housed in the centres over long periods of time, they may be at an increased risk of developing mental health issues, particularly as the number of prisoners with whom they could associate was small and the close scrutiny from a high staffing ratio.

(Powis, 2019, p. 31)

Similar psychological effects are discussed by Jones (2014) in a comparative study of how prison systems in different countries respond to concerns about prison radicalisation. Jones examines the approach used in in Barwon Prison in Victoria, Australia, where individuals on remand for terrorist offences are separated from other prisoners, and segregated from one another. One of those on remand who was later acquitted claimed to be suffering with PTSD due to his treatment while in prison. In addition to segregation and isolation, he alleged inhumane treatment that 'included intrusive body searches, unnecessary handcuffing and shackling, and assaults. He also claimed he was served non-halal food and was restricted in his ability to practise his religion' (pp. 82-83). Jones (2014) also discusses how prisoners convicted of terrorism charges may experience greater stigmatisation by other inmates, as well as prison staff, adding to their marginalisation. Taken together, the distinctiveness of terrorist offenders' prison experiences when compared to other types of offenders has the potential to create distinct psychological challenges that warrant further empirical exploration.

⁷ For more information on this practice, see Ruschenko (2019).

PRISON AS A POTENTIAL SPACE OF RE-TRAUMATISATION

Prevalence of early-life trauma is known to be more pronounced amongst prisoner populations than the general population; this is particularly the case for those incarcerated for more serious offences (see Lewis & Marsden, 2020). In turn, criminological research has pointed to prison as being a potential space for re-traumatisation. As Miller and Najavits (2012) explain:

The correctional environment is full of unavoidable triggers, such as pat downs and strip searches, frequent discipline from authority figures, and restricted movement.

(Miller and Najavits, 2012, p. 1)

This type of re-traumatisation has yet to be empirically explored amongst incarcerated terrorist offenders. However, it is likely to be relevant to the terrorism cohort given that previous research has pointed to an apparent relationship between trauma and engagement in violent extremism (see Lewis & Marsden, 2021 for a review). Individuals who become engaged in violent extremism may have a prior history of trauma (Windisch et al., 2020), whilst engagement in violent extremism can itself be a source of trauma (Corner & Gill, 2020). Taken together, individuals incarcerated or detained for terrorist offences may have a distinct trauma history that informs their experience of prison.

Incarceration can be particularly challenging for women with pre-existing traumas or histories of victimisation. A number of studies have drawn attention to how the prison experience may trigger or exacerbate women's traumas. For women with a history of physical or sexual victimisation, re-traumatisation may relate to particular prison procedures, including physically intrusive searches, pat downs, and invasion of privacy (Moloney et al., 2009; Terry & Williams, 2021, p. 372). In Williams et al.'s (2021) study exploring black women's experiences of the criminal justice system in the US, their interviewees brought to light how witnessing violence, sexual violence and

exploitation of power dynamics within prison could be re-traumatising, triggering traumas experienced on "the street" (p. 1120). This study also found that incarceration is particularly traumatising for mothers separated from their children.

The issue of re-traumatisation draws attention to the importance of considering how traumas experienced at different stages of life might intersect (Lewis & Marsden, 2020). The intersection of different forms of trauma is more widely discussed in criminological literature than in research relating to counter-terrorism. For example, Chaudhri et al. (2019) note that:

[R]ates of lifetime exposure to trauma are elevated among persons with justice involvement (PWJI) compared to the general population, as a direct result of incarceration or via cumulative trauma across the life course in communities marked by structural racism and violence.

(Chaudhri et al., 2019, p. 1048)

Chaudhri et al. (2019) in turn argue that PWJI 'are among the most medically and socially complex populations'. This is argued to be informed by 'a unique combination of traumatic early life experiences, cumulative disadvantage in their communities and lived experiences, and circumstances faced when reentering [sic] the community after jail or prison' (p. 1048-9). Empirical studies exploring juvenile detention or incarceration through a trauma lens have highlighted the nature of these dynamics. For example, drawing on data from a Youth Participatory Action Research project, consisting of interviews (11 participants) focus group interviews and surveys (125) conducted by Leaders Organizing 2 Unite & Decriminalize (LOUD) – a US-based 'juvenile justice youth council' - Desai (2019) concludes that being detained can create circumstances in which various traumas may interact and cumulate:

From system-generated trauma of being in a detention center [sic] to the trauma of

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

being arrested to the complex trauma of interacting with law enforcement or being on probation, system-involved youth are struggling to find wellness and well-being.

(Desai, 2019, p. 652)

This type of cumulative effect is also examined by Maschi et al. (2015) who analysed the experiences of 677 older prisoners (aged 50+ years old) and identified a range of factors that contributed to stress and trauma amongst a sub-sample of 201 prisoners. These stressors included: social trauma (45%): being separated from family and community; interpersonal (31%): one-to-one abuse, harassment, neglect or bullying by staff (correctional or medical) or other inmates; structural (29%): referring to laws, policies and regulations, including arbitrary rule-making by staff that leaves prisoners feeling powerless; and cultural trauma (15%): societal attitudes towards inmates, reproduced by staff, relating to stigmatisation lack of personal identity and sub-human status. In particular, “separation from family and community” was stated by nearly half of the study’s respondents as a source of trauma and stress. Mental health issues were exacerbated by victimising, violent or abusive experiences in prison, along with medical neglect and a lack of planning and resources for being discharged and rehabilitation (Maschi et al., 2015, pp. 9-10). Incarceration-related trauma is therefore likely to be multi-faceted, and linked to experiences both before and during incarceration, but also to concerns about post-incarceration prospects.

CONCLUSIONS: RELEVANCE TO WORK ON TRAUMA

Whilst evidence relating to individuals convicted or suspected of terrorist offending is limited, evidence drawn from the broader field of criminology illustrates

how incarceration and detention is a potentially traumatising experience that can contribute to the development of clinical and sub-clinical issues. There is also some evidence to suggest that experiences in prison can be a source of re-traumatisation for individuals with a prior history of trauma. Issues of incarceration-related trauma/ re-traumatisation are likely to be relevant to those detained for terrorist-related offences, with research pointing to the particularly strict controls that these individuals may be subjected to during incarceration, and to an elevated presence of early-life trauma amongst some samples of violent extremists (Lewis & Marsden, 2021).

More research is needed to understand the distinctiveness of this cohort, and the extent to which individuals detained for terrorist offences are more or less likely to be traumatised by their experiences of prison. Based on the research discussed in previous sections that suggests being detained when innocent might be particularly distressing for individuals who are fearful of being wrongly prosecuted, more research is needed to understand the experiences of those who are detained before being released without charge.

4.7. CONTROL ORDERS

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RELATED TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

Control orders were introduced by the UK government through the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005 as a replacement for previous legislation allowing indefinite detention of terrorism suspects. Control orders were subsequently replaced in 2011. There is very little academic research on the UK’s implementation of control orders in relation to trauma or related psychological effects.⁸ However, broader research exploring the enactment of control orders provides some insight into how the stricter restrictions that may

⁸ One of the most detailed accounts of the experience of living under control orders is provided by the author and journalist, Victoria Brittain (2008). Despite its relevance, and the author often being cited in academic literature, it has been omitted from the main discussion because of a lack of methodological detail, which makes it difficult to determine the strength of its evidence. However, Brittain’s article argues that the individuals required to abide by control orders – having previously been detained indefinitely without trial – suffered with serious mental health conditions because of their experience, including a triggering of PTSD among those with pre-existing traumas.

be applied in cases of suspected terrorist offending (relative to other types of offending) can contribute to negative psychological effects. This section explores the limited research on the effects of control orders on both the individual and their families who were affected by the use of this power.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF CONTROL ORDERS

In many cases, those initially subjected to control orders had previously been indefinitely detained without trial prior to the practice of detention-without-trial being ended in 2005. As discussed in Section 4.6, there is some evidence to suggest that individuals who had been detained without trial struggled with mental health problems due to the indefinite nature of this experience (Robbins et al., 2005). That research raises the possibility that some of the initial cohort of prisoners released under a control order might have had a prior history of trauma linked to their previous detention, although this has not been empirically explored. Although there has been little empirical research into the psychological effects of control orders, one source cites the lawyer for an individual who was living under a control order at the time. Previously detained in Belmarsh prison and then Broadmoor special hospital, the client's life after being released under a control order was described as 'one beset by serious psychiatric, physical and emotional difficulty' (in Zedner, 2007, pp. 180-181).

Control orders placed strict limitations on the household where the individual lived. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, Guru (2012) highlights how control orders might impact family present at the property. Based on interviews with six wives and family members of individuals arrested for a terrorist offence in the UK – including some who had been placed under a control order upon their release – Guru pointed to the negative psychological effects of being subjected to police searches under the terms of a control order. As one interviewee recalled:

Every week they'd come and search everything ... Their intrusion was incessant. They'd come and say the tag's not working... Many officers would... stay in the house for about 5 hours, search and strip everything... Even my underwear! They'd open the draws; I felt so disgusted, I binned away the underwear afterwards... even now I am traumatised, I have nightmares, I still remember, I wake up thinking they're in the house.

(Interviewee quoted in Guru, 2012, p. 1161)

Guru also noted how control orders designed to isolate an individual effectively imposed the same isolation on the other members of their household. Visitors to the house were restricted, whilst many people would avoid visiting out of fear of being criminalised by association

Key Findings

- Several individuals held under control orders had been detained indefinitely under previous legislation and were already struggling with poor mental health prior to being placed under a control order. In some cases, there are indications their mental well-being deteriorated further under control orders.
- Control order restrictions and requirements had the potential to be traumatising, humiliating and stigmatising for the wives and children of those affected.

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

(Guru, 2012, p. 1163). Control orders were also found to disrupt life in the household, creating pressure and potentially putting a strain on the marriage. As one interviewee recalled:

... [U]nder a control order the police would come at any time, day or night. Now we are divorced. The police kept coming to the house, scaring the kids. I couldn't cope with all the questions... I still didn't feel secure; even when I was asleep I would wake up panicking, thinking the police were in the house... I feel that the police are to blame.

(Interviewee quoted in Guru, 2012, p. 1164)

Although all counter-terrorism measures can produce psychological effects that extend far beyond the individual who is targeted by them, this research indicates how some counter-terrorism measures – including control orders – may produce significant and unavoidable psychological effects.

CONCLUSIONS: RELEVANCE TO WORK ON TRAUMA

Whilst control orders are no longer used in the UK, research exploring the impact of this measure on individuals and their families draws attention to how the distinctive nature of criminal justice measures related to terrorist offending might be relevant to understanding the negative psychological effects some of those subject to counter-terrorism measures seem to experience, including in relation to trauma. Whilst these findings cannot be considered representative of the experiences of those subject to more contemporary counter-terrorism restrictions, they underscore the importance of considering the psychological effects specific measures might have on individuals and their families when considering new legislation, and when applying legislative powers in practice.

4.8. IMPACTS ON FAMILIES

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RELATED TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

Police raids, arrests, imprisonment and control orders have been highlighted as counter-terrorism measures that can impact the mental health of family members of those accused or convicted of terrorism offences. Whilst these broader effects have been discussed in passing in previous sections, the following discussion specifically explores how different types of interaction with the criminal justice system in the context of counter-terrorism might affect family members and close associates of those targeted.

IMPACT OF POLICE RAIDS AND ARRESTS ON FAMILIES

As noted in Section 4.4, counter-terrorist police raids can be a traumatising experience for family members who are present. This type of psychological effect is captured by Guru's (2012) interviews with six wives of terrorist suspects in the United Kingdom. As one interviewee recalled, being subject to a police raid can elicit a sense of shock:

They came at about 5 in the morning, broke the door down... they blocked off the roads. There were 20 to 30 of them. There were cars everywhere... They had riot shields. They forced entry, broke the door... They filled every single room, kitchen, garden, living room. They were screaming 'police,' 'police'. They didn't give me a chance to get dressed.

(Interviewee quoted in Guru, 2012, p. 1161)

The women interviewed by Guru (2012) described the humiliation they felt at strangers viewing them immodestly, in large part due to the unexpected and early morning intrusion. Guru (2012) argues this demonstrated a lack of cultural sensitivity and a disregard for modesty that left pious women in particular feeling humiliated and vulnerable. A

comparable study interviewing 24 wives of terror convicts in Indonesia found similar results, with many of the women suffering long-term psychological effects from the arrest of their husbands (Rufaedah & Putra, 2018). Respondents discussed struggling with public stigmatisation and becoming targets of verbal abuse and threats of physical violence. The authors conclude by pointing to the ongoing trauma and associated issues that their respondents continued to suffer from:

The impact that they feel is no different than other stigmatized [sic] groups in general. All participants feel sad, traumatic, regretful, and they do not want this incident to reoccur. One participant experienced change in her response to loud noises and door knocks at night due to excessive fear as a result of the incident of her husband's arrest.

(Rufaedah & Putra, 2018, pp. 1341-1342)

Guru (2012) also drew attention to a perceived lack of consideration for the well-being of children affected by police raids. One of Guru's respondents outlined how children may find the raid a traumatising experience, which is exacerbated by their parents being taken away:

The kids were frightened – crying... screaming. They even wet themselves standing. They were so scared when they saw their father on the floor... Even the older ones urinated themselves because they were so scared. I tried to reassure them that he would be back soon... but I could not stop them crying.

(Interviewee quoted in Guru, 2012, p. 1166)

A number of non-counter-terrorism related criminological studies have examined how police raids might be particularly traumatic experiences for children. Arditti's (2012) review of empirical research into child trauma related to parental incarceration highlights the traumatic impact

Key Findings

- Police raids and arrests can be traumatising for the family members present, particularly for children. Consequently, it has been suggested that more care and consideration should be paid to ensuring the well-being of children during police raids.
- Family members may suffer from abuse, stigmatisation and alienation from the local community because of a perceived association with terrorism. Stigmatising events can occur at various stages of the justice system process, from arrest through to release.
- Imprisonment creates additional burdens for the offender's wife, and the experience of visiting her husband in prison – particularly with a child – can be a retraumatising event.

on a child of witnessing the arrest of a parent. Studies found the experience may increase both the likelihood and symptom intensity of PTSD. Depending on the context of the arrest, in some cases the child may witness violence, use of weapons, or the parent participating in criminal activity. In addition to trauma, research reviewed by Arditti (2012) suggests that children may also develop a hatred or fear of police.

Guru discusses how children may face bullying and hostility from the local community in the aftermath of their parent's arrest. Whilst mothers can feel anxious about the decision about how much to tell their children about their father's situation (Guru, 2012, p. 1166). A community outreach worker interviewed by Choudhury also Fenwick (2011) noted:

There was an arrest... the impact on the family has been very detrimental... children have been subject to bullying... subject to abuse in the streets in the shops... it's very difficult to rebuild your

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

life after an event like that... people have distanced themselves.

(Focus group respondent in Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011, p. 76)

As police raids and arrests draw a large amount of attention to a property and those living there, the residual impact can be lasting stigmatisation and isolation for the family, with detrimental effects for both adults and children. However, there are ways of reducing these effects. Focus group respondents in Choudhury and Fenwick's (2011) study concluded that:

[T]he impact of arrests and raids on the wider community can be partially mitigated by careful planning and consideration of various needs, particularly of innocent members of families that are caught up in a raid. In general, given that the majority of arrests do not lead to a charge, efforts directed at ensuring low-key arrests with minimal publicity were viewed positively by research participants.

(Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011, p. 84)

IMPACT OF IMPRISONMENT ON FAMILIES

Parental incarceration is commonly recognised as a potential source of childhood trauma and is included in the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) framework that is widely used to assess the presence and effects of early-life trauma (Felitti et al., 1998). Whilst the ACEs framework is now being used to examine the trauma history of violent extremists (Windisch et al., 2020; Grimbergen & Fassaert, 2022), it has yet to be applied to the family members of violent extremists. As a result, the extent to which parental incarceration for a terrorist offence is a potential source of trauma remains unclear. The only studies that speak to this issue do so in passing. For example, Abbas (2019) notes how attending court proceedings can be traumatic for family

members, whilst Guru (2012) notes how visiting family members incarcerated for a terrorist offence in prison can be a distressing activity, especially for children. Guru (2012) discusses how visiting a family member may require travelling for hours for only a brief meeting once they have gone through prison security, which then may be an upsetting experience for their children to witness (Guru, 2012, p. 1167).

However, research has explored the issue of childhood trauma linked to parental incarceration more broadly, and there has been a growing interest in developing interventions and treatments to tackle such trauma (e.g., Morgan-Mullane, 2018). In line with Guru (2012), this broader research points to prison visitation as a potentially traumatising experience. For example, Arditti and Savla (2015) found that parental incarceration may be a predictor of child trauma in single caregiver homes. Their results indicate that child trauma symptomology is heightened in families with an incarcerated parent. The study also suggests that visiting the parent in prison may mediate the development of these symptoms:

[P]arental incarceration impacts parent perceptions of child trauma symptomology via the quality of children's visitation with the non-resident parent. To the extent that visiting a parent in prison is problematic and distressing, the incarceration of a parent can equate with elevated levels of child trauma symptoms.

(Arditti & Savla, 2015, p. 557)

Similarly, Arditti's (2012) review of child trauma linked to parental incarceration identified a variety of different ways that children who may have been traumatised by their parent's initial arrest might be re-traumatised or have their trauma intensified during their parent's imprisonment. This includes trauma linked to visiting their parent in prison, and to poverty and stigmatisation which might further damage the

child's ability to cope with the situation. Arditti (2012) concludes:

The available literature suggests that parental arrest and subsequent incarceration can directly link with traumatic separation as a result of parental loss and disrupted attachment. However, the bulk of research points to a cascade of family process alterations that stem from a parent's incarceration and likely influence the extent to which children in fact experience trauma, which may be not a singular event but a complex continuum of experiences over time.

(Arditti, 2012, p. 195)

This type of 'cascading' effect is supported by broader research into ACEs, which has illustrated how different forms of childhood trauma often cluster together (Lewis & Marsden, 2021). For example, a study into ACEs using data from the US 2016 National Survey of Children's Health, found that children of incarcerated parents are exposed to almost five times as many ACEs compared to children without incarcerated parents (Turney, 2018). Just as ACEs have been linked to a range of maladaptive behaviours in adolescence and childhood (Lewis & Marsden, 2020), a recent review article identified a link between parental incarceration and maladaptive outcomes later in life:

[W]ith some exceptions (e.g., when abuse by the incarcerated parent has occurred), parental incarceration is negatively associated with child, adolescent, and adult adjustment, including less optimal behaviour and poorer mental health and academic outcomes, even controlling for factors that distinguish families prior to parents' incarceration or contact with the criminal justice system.

(Poehlmann-Tynan and Turney, 2021, p. 9)

The authors of this review highlight several factors which moderate the relationship between parental imprisonment and maladaptive outcomes. These include gender, race, and the child's relationship with their parents, in addition to exposure to incidents relating to their parent's incarceration, such as the arrest. The family environment and economic hardship are also underscored as potential mediating factors (Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2021, p. 9).

Whilst research exploring the secondary impacts of imprisonment on family members has tended to focus on the experiences of children, Robbins et al.'s (2005) analysis of individuals who were indefinitely detained under the Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act 2001 found that the wives of several detainees developed sub-clinical and clinical issues related to this experience. Robbins et al. (2005) note that the indefinite length of their husband's detention had affected wives' mental well-being, with these effects exacerbated by their own isolation as a result of their husband being removed from the home. Reportedly, one of the wives was assessed to be presenting with signs of PTSD, another as experiencing a 'phobic anxiety state', and three were suffering with clinical depression (Robbins et al., 2005, p. 408).

POST-RELEASE CHALLENGES

One point of the criminal justice process that has received almost no attention is the process of release. This was not a focal point of discussion for any of the studies reviewed for this report but is briefly alluded to by Cherney (2021). Based on interviews with 55 practitioners, prisoners and parolees, this study concluded that wives and other family members often 'experienced anxiety about [an inmate's] return to the family home' (Cherney, 2021, p. 128).

Guru (2012) also points to the ongoing challenges related to stigmatisation and alienation that family members might face. Guru discusses how, in the process of men being released from detention, the family may be required to move to new accommodation, often with little notice. Aside from the practical challenges that

4. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EXPERIENCES

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

wives may face in having to take care of packing and moving to a new home without any assistance, Guru (2012) discusses how families might face challenges in trying to integrate into a new community, whereby 'any promise of resumption of normal life, however, would soon be dashed, as the men's arrival would be conspicuously announced by a blaring convoy of police sirens bringing them 'home"' (p. 1163).

As noted above, the visibility that surrounds terrorist offending can create specific challenges linked to stigmatisation and alienation. As these issues have not been discussed in relation to trauma, more research is needed to understand the short- and long-term psychological effects of these reintegration challenges, both for the individual who has been released from prison, and their families.

CONCLUSIONS: RELEVANCE TO WORK ON TRAUMA

The research discussed above provides evidence of how the psychological effects of contact with the criminal justice system can extend beyond the individual who is directly affected. More research is needed to explore these effects as they relate to terrorism-related offending. Whilst broader criminological research provides robust evidence of how partners and children can be negatively affected by the arrest, incarceration, and release of a family member, the distinctiveness of terrorism-related offending may create specific challenges for family members that warrant further exploration. This includes in relation to how arrests and raids are conducted; the specific restrictions that may be placed on individuals arrested for such offences; and the stigma that is associated with this type of offending.

5. CONCLUSIONS

KEY FINDINGS

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES

Police Stop and Search

Counter-terrorist police stops may produce both direct and indirect psychological effects. Indirect effects extend beyond the individual who is stopped, and can vicariously affect families, friends, and communities.

- Being stopped and searched can be distressing and stigmatising for the individual who is stopped. The highly public nature of some police stops can exacerbate these effects.
- Perceptions that the police disproportionately target particular ethnicities or religions for counter-terrorism stops can create stigma for specific communities and local areas.
- Fears of stop and search powers being abused or conflated with other measures - such as police detention - can create anxiety.
- The widespread use of stop and search in particular areas and among particular populations – especially young, male Muslims – can contribute to perceptions of ethnic or racial targeting leading to an erosion of trust and confidence in the police.
- Perceptions of being unfairly treated by the police can exacerbate feelings of distress. In contrast, positive perceptions of procedural justice can help reduce feelings of distress.

Trauma has not been explicitly examined in relation to counter-terrorism police stop and search. However, research relating to stop and search practices in areas unrelated to counter-terrorism has identified

a potential relationship with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

Airports, Ports and Border Security

Research relating to experiences with airport and border security also points to the direct and indirect effects of these interactions:

- Airport counter-terrorism security measures are commonly cited as a cause of distress, anxiety and humiliation, particularly for Muslims, or those assumed to be Muslim by airport authorities due to visible identity markers.
- Racial and religious profiling at airports in the Global North is frequently discussed in academic literature. This research argues that the disproportionate frequency with which Muslims, in particular, are subjected to stops and interrogations contributes to a broader collective narrative of unequal treatment and stigmatisation that permeates through communities and damages trust with state authorities.
- Border security practices can create a heightened sense of anxiety and stress for those with uncertain citizenship status, due to fear of the potential consequences.
- No-fly lists and passport removals can have a substantial impact on the mental well-being of those affected, potentially causing stigma and humiliation in addition to anxiety about the possible impact on their job security, housing, and family life.

Contact with the Security Services

There is a key evidence gap relating to experiences of engaging with the security services. There are very few empirically informed studies. Although

5. CONCLUSIONS

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

some international research has been carried out on experiences in the USA, Sweden and, to some extent the UK, for example in the context of historical responses to the IRA, research remains limited and largely theoretical. However, a number of preliminary observations can be drawn from the research:

- Disruption methods by security services that include revealing that an individual is under surveillance can create stress and anxiety.
- Informing someone that they are under surveillance by the security services, and the implicit threat (whether real or perceived) of deportation, may be re-traumatising for individuals with a prior history of persecution and state violence.
- The public nature of some interactions, for example, when it takes place in someone's workplace, risks stigmatising the individual.
- Fear that others will find out about someone's interactions with the security services can be a cause of stress and anxiety.

Arrests and Police Raids

The experience of being arrested for a counter-terrorism offence is under-researched. Whilst there is a similar evidence gap relating to experiences of counter-terrorism police raids, there has been some anecdotal discussion of this experience in the literature:

- The specific features of counter-terrorism raids and arrests – particularly the presence of a large number of police officers – may be particularly distressing.
- Counter-terrorism raids can be traumatic for family members who are present. Knowledge of the raids can also cause concern and distress among the broader community.
- Raids and arrests have the potential to create lasting stigma for the person arrested as well

as their family, even when they are released without charge.

- High-profile counter-terrorism raids that receive widespread media coverage can contribute to the stigmatisation of religious or ethnic minority communities.

Police Interviews

There is a lack of empirical research into experiences of counter-terrorism police interviewing, or how these experiences may impact the interviewee.

- We found no empirical studies that examined whether being interviewed by police officers for a suspected counter-terrorism offence might be traumatising.
- Although limited, there is some evidence to suggest that if the interview process is carried out according to procedures stipulated in law, without coercion or manipulation, it may be less stressful than other points of interaction with the police for terrorism suspects.
- The 'urgent interview' may be an exception to the above point, as it has been suggested that it may be a moment of high tension and emotion for both the interviewer and interviewee. However, no empirical studies relating to this process were identified.

Detention and Incarceration

Studies point to the potential for detention and incarceration to be a potentially traumatising experience for those suspected or convicted of terrorist and non-terrorist offences:

- Prison can be a traumatising environment, particularly if the individual experiences or witnesses mistreatment or violence while incarcerated.
- The prison experience may be hard to overcome after release, leaving the offender with lasting psychological effects.

- Convicted or suspected terrorist offenders may have a different prison experience to non-terrorist offenders. Terrorism-related offenders may potentially experience greater stigmatisation and marginalisation from both prison staff and other prisoners.
- Indefinite detention, without trial, can have serious psychological effects, including severe depression and anxiety, and possibly even symptoms of PTSD and psychosis.
- Criminological research has suggested that prison can be a potential space of re-traumatisation for individuals with a prior history of trauma. However, this issue has yet to be explored amongst terrorist suspects or offenders.

Control Orders

Whilst control orders are no longer used in the UK, a small number of studies have previously discussed the psychological effects of this counter-terrorism power:

- Several individuals held under control orders had been detained indefinitely under previous legislation, and were already struggling with poor mental health prior to being placed under a control order. In some cases, there are indications their mental well-being deteriorated further under control orders.
- Control order restrictions and requirements had the potential to be traumatising, humiliating, and stigmatising for the wives and children of those affected.

Impacts on Families

A number of studies have explored the broader effects that one individual's direct experiences of contact with the criminal justice system might have on family members and friends.

- Police raids and arrests can be traumatising for the family members present, particularly for children. Consequently, it has been suggested that more

care and consideration should be paid to ensuring the well-being of children during police raids.

- Family members may suffer from abuse, stigmatisation and alienation from the local community because of a perceived association with terrorism. Stigmatising events can occur at various stages of the justice system process, from arrest through to release.
- Imprisonment can create additional burdens for an offender's wife, and the experience of visiting her husband in prison – particularly with a child – can be a retraumatising event.

Strength of the Evidence

- There is limited empirical research that addresses the psychological impact of many interactions with the criminal justice system in the context of counter-terrorism, with the possible exception of experiences at airports and other border crossings.
- The evidence base relating to contact with the security services; police interviews; and arrests and police raids is particularly weak.
- Evidence is largely drawn from smaller-scale qualitative studies. Whilst these studies are crucial for understanding individual and community experiences, they cannot be used to generalise about the effects beyond those contexts.
- Trauma is rarely examined explicitly in relation to counter-terrorism. Instead, references to trauma in existing studies are largely anecdotal.
- There is some evidence to suggest that interactions with counter-terrorism criminal justice measures can be a potential source of trauma, but more research is needed.
- The evidence base relating to contact with the criminal justice system for other types of non-terrorist offending is more robust. This research provides further evidence of how such contact can produce negative psychological effects, including trauma.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

Conclusions and Recommendations

It is not yet possible to comment on the extent to which the interactions between suspects, offenders, their families, and those enacting counter-terrorism measures discussed in this report are likely to be traumatising. Whilst there is evidence to suggest that each of these interactions – particularly experiences at airports – have been a source of distress for some individuals, this evidence cannot be used to generalise about these effects.

More research is needed to understand the direct and indirect psychological effects of the various interactions examined in this report. Future research might explore:

- Psychological effects that manifest at both the individual and at the community level;
- The extent to which interactions risk re-traumatising those with a history of trauma;
- The cumulative effects of repeated contact with the counter-terrorism system;
- How the conduct of practitioners might exacerbate or mitigate psychological effects;
- The potential efficacy of embedding principles of trauma-informed policing and/or procedural justice into counter-terrorism criminal justice processes.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

READ MORE

Choudhury, T. & Fenwick, H. (2011). *The impact of counter-terrorism measures on Muslim communities*. Equality and Human Rights Commission Research Report, 72.

Guru, S. (2012). Under siege: Families of counter-terrorism. *British Journal of Social Work*, 42(6), 1151-1173.

Langley, B., Ariel, B., Tankebe, J., Sutherland, A., Beale, M., Factor, R., & Weinborn, C. (2021). A simple checklist, that is all it takes: a cluster randomized controlled field trial on improving the treatment of suspected terrorists by the police. *Journal of experimental criminology*, 17(4), 629-655.

Schclarek Mulinari, L. (2019). The spectrum of repression: Swedish Muslims' experiences of anti-terrorism measures. *Critical criminology*, 27(3), 451-466.

Sentas, V. (2016). Policing the diaspora: Kurdish Londoners, MI5 and the proscription of terrorist organizations in the United Kingdom. *British Journal of Criminology*, 56(5), 898-918.

REFERENCES

Abbas, M. (2018). Producing "internal suspect bodies": divisive effects of UK counter-terrorism measures on Muslim communities in Leeds and Bradford. *British Journal of Sociology*.

Abbas, M. S. (2019). 'I grew a beard and my dad flipped out!' Co-option of British Muslim parents in countering 'extremism' within their families in Bradford and Leeds. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(9), 1458-1476.

Arditti, J. A. (2012). Child trauma within the context of parental incarceration: A family process perspective. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 4(3), 181-219.

Arditti, J. A., & Savla, J. (2015). Parental incarceration and child trauma symptoms in single caregiver homes. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 24(3), 551-561.

Bailliet, C. M. (2007). 'War in the home': an exposition of protection issues pertaining to the use of house raids in counterinsurgency operations. *Journal of Military Ethics*, 6(3), 173-197.

Blackwood, L., Hopkins, N., & Reicher, S. (2013). I know who I am, but who do they think I am? Muslim perspectives on encounters with airport authorities. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 36(6), 1090-1108.

Blackwood, L., Hopkins, N., & Reicher, S. (2015). 'Flying while Muslim': citizenship and misrecognition in the airport. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 3(2), 148-170.

Bont, E. (2020). Moral injury in Provisional IRA members: Preliminary evidence of moral beliefs injuring, protecting & disillusioning. *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

Brittain, V. (2009). Besieged in Britain. *Race & Class*, 50(3), 1-29.

Bryant Davis, T., Adams, T., Alejandre, A., & Gray, A. A. (2017). The trauma lens of police violence against racial and ethnic minorities. *Journal of Social Issues*, 73(4), 852-871.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

Bull, M., & Rane, H. (2019). Beyond faith: social marginalisation and the prevention of radicalisation among young Muslim Australians. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 12(2), 273-297.

Chaudhri, S., Zweig, K. C., Hebbar, P., Angell, S., & Vasan, A. (2019). Trauma-informed care: a strategy to improve primary healthcare engagement for persons with criminal justice system involvement. *Journal of general internal medicine*, 34(6), 1048-1052.

Cherney, A. (2021). The release and community supervision of radicalised offenders: Issues and challenges that can influence reintegration. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33(1), 119-137.

Choudhury, T. & Fenwick, H. (2011). The impact of counter-terrorism measures on Muslim communities. Equality and Human Rights Commission Research Report, 72.

Corner, E. & Gill, P. (2020). Psychological distress, terrorist involvement and disengagement from terrorism: A sequence analysis approach.

Desai, S. R. (2019). "Hurt people, hurt people": The trauma of juvenile incarceration. *The Urban Review*, 51(4), 638-658.

DeVeaux, M. (2013). The trauma of the incarceration experience. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 48(1), 257-278.

Geller, A., Fagan, J., Tyler, T., & Link, B. G. (2014). Aggressive policing and the mental health of young urban men. *American Journal Of Public Health*, 104(12), 2321-2327.

Gillespie-Smith, K., Brodie, Z., Collins, K., Deacon, K. & Goodall, K. (2020). Moving Towards Trauma-informed Policing: An Exploration of Police Officer's Attitudes and Perceptions Towards Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs). *The Scottish Institute for Policing Research*.

Guru, S. (2012). Under siege: Families of counter-terrorism. *British Journal of Social Work*, 42(6), 1151-1173.

Hickman, M. J., Thomas, L., Nickels, H. C. and Silvestri, S. (2012). Social cohesion and the notion of 'suspect communities': A study of the experiences and impacts of being 'suspect' for Irish communities and Muslim communities in Britain. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 5(1), 89-106.

Independent Office of Police Conduct (2022). National Stop and Search Learning Report.

Jackson, D. B., Fahmy, C., Vaughn, M. G., & Testa, A. (2019). Police stops among at-risk youth: Repercussions for mental health. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 65(5), 627-632.

Jakobsen, K. K., Langballe, Å., & Schultz, J. H. (2017). Trauma-exposed young victims: possibilities and constraints for providing trauma support within the investigative interview. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 23(5), 427-444.

Jakobsen, K. K. (2021). Empathy in investigative interviews of victims: How to understand it, how to measure it, and how to do it? *Police Practice and Research*, 22(2), 1155-1170.

Jarvis, L., & Lister, M. (2017). 'As a woman...'; 'As a Muslim...': Subjects, positions and counter-terrorism powers in the United Kingdom. *Critical social policy*, 37(2), 245-267.

Jonathan Zamir, T., Hasisi, B., & Margalioth, Y. (2016). Is It the What or the How? The Roles of High Policing Tactics and Procedural Justice in Predicting Perceptions of Hostile Treatment: The Case of Security Checks at Ben Gurion Airport, Israel. *Law & Society Review*, 50(3), 608-636.

Jones, C. R. (2014). Are prisons really schools for terrorism? Challenging the rhetoric on prison radicalization. *Punishment & Society*, 16(1), 74-103.

- Jones, C.D. (2020) Study on the Mental and Emotional Cost of Incarceration. *Open Journal of Medical Psychology*, 9, 41-49.
- Kapoor, N., & Narkowicz, K. (2019). Unmaking citizens: passport removals, pre-emptive policing and the reimagining of colonial governmentalities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(16), 45-62.
- Langballe, Å., & Schultz, J. H. (2017). 'I couldn't tell such things to others': trauma-exposed youth and the investigative interview. *Police Practice and Research*, 18(1), 62-74.
- Langley, B., Ariel, B., Tankebe, J., Sutherland, A., Beale, M., Factor, R., & Weinborn, C. (2021). A simple checklist, that is all it takes: a cluster randomized controlled field trial on improving the treatment of suspected terrorists by the police. *Journal of experimental criminology*, 17(4), 629-655.
- Lewis, J. & Marsden, S. V. (2020). Public Experiences of the UK Counter-Terrorism System. Lancaster: Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST).
- Lewis, J. & Marsden, S. V. (2021). Trauma, Adversity and Violent Extremism. Lancaster: Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST).
- Liem, M., & Kunst, M. (2013). Is there a recognizable post-incarceration syndrome among released "lifers"? *International journal of law and psychiatry*, 36(3-4), 333-337.
- Litz, B. T., Stein, N., Delaney, E., Lebowitz, L., Nash, W. P., Silva, C., & Maguen, S. (2009). Moral injury and moral repair in war veterans: A preliminary model and intervention strategy. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 29(8), 695-706.
- Loftus, B., Bacon, M., & Skinns, L. (2022). The moral and emotional world of police informants. *The Police Journal*.
- Lopez, W. D., Novak, N. L., Harner, M., Martinez, R., & Seng, J. S. (2018). The traumatogenic potential of law enforcement home raids: An exploratory report. *Traumatology*, 24(3), 193.
- Maschi, T., Viola, D., & Koskinen, L. (2015). Trauma, stress, and coping among older adults in prison: Towards a human rights and intergenerational family justice action agenda. *Traumatology*, 21(3), 188.
- Mazerolle, L., Bennett, S., Davis, J., Sargeant, E. & Manning, M. (2013). Legitimacy in policing: A systematic review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 9: i-147.
- Meade, B., Steiner, B., & Klahm IV, C. F. (2017). The effect of police use of force on mental health problems of prisoners. *Policing and society*, 27(2), 229-244.
- Miller, N. A., & Najavits, L. M. (2012). Creating trauma-informed correctional care: A balance of goals and environment. *European journal of psychotraumatology*, 3(1), 17246.
- Minhas, R., Walsh, D., & Bull, R. (2017). An exploration of perceptions of real-life suspects' from the Asian Muslim community relating to the police interviewing practices in England. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 12(2), 158-174.
- Moloney, K. P., van den Bergh, B. J., & Moller, L. F. (2009). Women in prison: The central issues of gender characteristics and trauma history. *Public health*, 123(6), 426-430.
- Morgan-Mullane, A. (2018). Trauma focused cognitive behavioral therapy with children of incarcerated parents. *Clinical social work journal*, 46(3), 200-209.
- Mythen, G., Walklate, S., & Khan, F. (2013). 'Why should we have to prove we're alright?': Counter-terrorism, risk and partial securities. *Sociology*, 47(2), 383-398.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Psychological Effects of Criminal Justice Measures

- Nagra, B., & Maurutto, P. (2016). Crossing borders and managing racialized identities: Experiences of security and surveillance among young Canadian Muslims. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 41(2), 165-194.
- Nagra, B., & Maurutto, P. (2020). No-fly lists, national security and race: The experiences of Canadian Muslims. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 60(3), 600-619.
- Pearse, J. (2009). The investigation of terrorist offences in the United Kingdom: The context and climate for interviewing officers. In R. Bull, T. Valentine & T. Williamson (Ed.), *Handbook of psychology of investigative interviewing*. Current developments and future directions (pp. 69-90).
- Plümecke, T., Wilopo, C. S., & Naguib, T. (2022). Effects of racial profiling: the subjectivation of discriminatory police practices. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1-21.
- Poehlmann Tynan, J., & Turney, K. (2021). A developmental perspective on children with incarcerated parents. *Child Development Perspectives*, 15(1), 3-11.
- Powis, B., Wilkinson, K., Bloomfield, S., & Randhawa-Horne, K. (2019). *Separating Extremist Prisoners: A Process Study of Separation Centres in England and Wales from a Staff Perspective*. London: Ministry of Justice.
- Ragazzi, F. P. S. M., Davidshofer, F., Perret, S., & Tawfik, A. (2019). The Effects of Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Radicalisation Policies on Muslim Populations in France: A Quantitative Study. Centre D'Etude Sur Les Conflits, Liberte, Securite (CCLS).
- Risan, P., Binder, P. E., & Milne, R. (2016). Regulating and coping with distress during police interviews of traumatized victims. *Psychological trauma: theory, research, practice, and policy*, 8(6), 736.
- Risan, P., Binder, P. E., & Milne, R. J. (2018). Establishing and maintaining rapport in investigative interviews of traumatized victims: A qualitative study. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 12(4), 372-387.
- Robbins, I., MacKeith, J., Davison, S., Kopelman, M., Meux, C., Ratnam, S., . . . Taylor, R. (2005). Psychiatric problems of detainees under the Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act 2001. *Psychiatric Bulletin*, 29(11).
- Roberts, K. (2011). Police urgent interviews with terrorist suspects under PACE: Risks and mitigation. IPES Working Paper, 36.
- Rufaedah, A., & Putra, I. E. (2018). Coping with stigma and social exclusion of terror-convicts' wives in Indonesia: An interpretative phenomenological analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 23(6), 1334-1346.
- Rushchenko, J. (2019). Terrorist recruitment and prison radicalization: Assessing the UK experiment of 'separation centres.' *European Journal of Criminology*, 16(3), 295-314.
- Sabir, R. (2022). *The Suspect: Counterterrorism, Islam, and the Security State*. London: Pluto Press.
- Schclarek Mulinari, L. (2019). The spectrum of repression: Swedish Muslims' experiences of anti-terrorism measures. *Critical criminology*, 27(3), 451-466.
- Sentas, V. (2016). Policing the diaspora: Kurdish Londoners, MI5 and the proscription of terrorist organizations in the United Kingdom. *British Journal of Criminology*, 56(5), 898-918.
- Spalek, B. (2011). 'New Terrorism' and Crime Prevention Initiatives Involving Muslim Young People in the UK: Research and Policy Contexts. *Religion, State and Society*, 39(2-3), 191-207.
- Speckhard, A., & Akhmedova, K. (2005). Talking to terrorists. *Journal of Psychohistory*, 33(2), 125.

Terry, A. N., & Williams, L. S. (2021). On the outside looking in: Rural girls, trauma, and involvement in the criminal justice system. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 30(3), 368-388.

Thomas, P., Grossman, M., Miah, S., & Christmann, K. (2017). Community reporting thresholds: Sharing information with authorities concerning violent extremist activity and involvement in foreign conflict: A UK replication study. Research Report. CREST (Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats).

Turney, K. (2018). Adverse childhood experiences among children of incarcerated parents. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 89, 218-225.

Tyler, T. R., Fagan, J., & Geller, A. (2014). Street Stops and Police Legitimacy: Teachable Moments in Young Urban Men's Legal Socialization. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 11(4), 751-785.

Williams, J. M., Spencer, Z., & Wilson, S. K. (2021). I am not your felon: Decoding the trauma, resilience, and recovering mothering of formerly incarcerated Black women. *Crime & Delinquency*, 67(8), 1103-1136.

Zedner, L. (2007). Preventive justice or pre-punishment? The case of control orders. *Current Legal Problems*, 60(1), 174-203.

For more information on CREST
and other CREST resources, visit
www.crestresearch.ac.uk



CREST

CENTRE FOR RESEARCH AND
EVIDENCE ON SECURITY THREATS