UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

The Disconnect Between Academia and Practitioners: Barriers for Terrorism Research

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This Thesis has been completed as a requirement for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester.

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis aims to explore the academic-practitioner relationship within terrorism studies, identify limitations and opportunities, and determine the presence of a disconnect or otherwise. The academic-practitioner relationship is unexplored from the perspectives of the professionals within terrorism studies; therefore this thesis aims to address this gap. The challenges facing terrorism research are widely experienced, with reviews of the literature documenting issues including methodological issues and data access barriers, including Sageman's (2014) notorious article citing stagnation in terrorism studies. However, the impact on wider relationships with practice is rarely explored, and similarly, the issues facing practitioners.

Expert participants were defined as academics and practitioners operating as scholars with a keen interest in terrorism research or as practitioners operating in counterterrorism efforts, identified through their contributions to the field as researchers, or through their public profiles. Semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with academic and practitioner experts, allowing for experts to provide their experiences and opinions on the challenges and opportunities of the field facing their profession. This resulted in three themes being identified, forming the structure of the findings chapters: Scholarly & Professional Issues, Knowledge Exchange & Communication and Networking & Relationships. This provided an overview of the challenges facing the individual communities and alluded to wider issues contributing to the academic-practitioner divide within terrorism studies.

Moreover, this thesis provides a platform for the challenges faced by academics and practitioners in terrorism studies, improves awareness of the challenges facing each community and identifies opportunities for reducing any disconnects, to facilitate an effective and successful academic-practitioner relationship.

Keywords: Terrorism studies, academic-practitioner relationship, challenges and opportunities, disconnect

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INTRODUCTION

Forming the Research Question

This research looks to explore the academic-practitioner relationship in terrorism studies and to explore whether there is a presence of a disconnect between these two communities. Furthermore, this research explored the postulations, experiences and perspectives of experts operating as academics with a focus on terrorism studies or practitioners operating in counterterrorism professions. This research aims to explore the experiences of experts in the field of terrorism to identify challenges and opportunities for the professions, and to determine whether collaborative efforts would aid these. Moreover, to establish not only if a disconnect occurs, but whether this disconnect acts as a hindrance for academia or practice, and whether there are any synergies which reduce these challenges, closing the disconnect between these communities.

The origin of this research study was initially formed through my personal experience. My initial interest in terrorism research was sparked in my Master's studies, where I focused on the public fear of terrorism and whether this was substantiated based on the UK threat levels. It was during my Master's that I recognised the level of debate in terrorism studies and conflict over defining terms, specifically the foundational terms of 'terrorism' and 'radicalisation'. Further, I found it significant that through 5 years of studying criminality through my undergraduate and Master's degree, terrorism was not often discussed which was surprising due to the scale of the impact terrorism has on society. I developed a deep awareness of the literature and debates within terrorism studies which enhanced my interest further.

I began my PhD in 2017 after successfully being awarded a studentship from the University of Winchester for my research. The title of this research studentship was "Radicalisation and Extremism in Prison", and my proposal looked to examine the impact of the prison environment on the risk of radicalisation, exploring the extent and risks posed in UK prisons. At this time, there were great concerns and flashing media headlines referencing the "breeding grounds for terrorists" in prisons, with some scholars highlighting "hotbeds" of radicalisation or "schools of terrorism" (Silke and Veldhuis, 2017, 2; Jones, 2014). While this was an ambitious project, I acknowledged the significant gap in the literature, being that there was not research literature which accessed primary sources of prisoner interviews, therefore this would not only provide a unique insight for original research but provide an exciting contribution to the field and interesting perspectives on radicalisation.

At the beginning of my PhD with limited contacts within terrorism studies, both academics and practitioners and I found this to be challenging. I actively tried to network by attending conferences and reaching out to others in the field, however I was the only PhD student in my intake with a focus on terrorism and it was challenging to find my place as a new researcher within the field and at the university. My first year primarily consisted of networking and immersing myself in the literature surrounding prison radicalisation, terrorism.

I had identified various access routes for my data sources, such as through HM Prison and Probation Services, charities, and experts, however it became apparent that access was not possible. The strict security surrounding accessing this population proved to prevent research access due to sensitivity and safety concerns. Upon reflection, this was a significant setback for my research, but one which allowed for a period of introspection. It became apparently why this gap in the literature existed, that whilst there were vocal concerns of prison radicalisation, academic research did not have a strong empirical foundation in exploring this. I began to consider alternative options for my thesis, considering thematic analysis of the research field or to consider opensource material as a data source. However, having gained an awareness of the challenges in terrorism studies, I felt very strongly that I wanted my thesis to provide empirical, primary research to combat one of the concerns of terrorism studies becoming an 'echo chamber' and having an overreliance on 'secondary data' (Youngman, 2020; Schuurman, 2018). Due to these challenges, it was decided that my studentship title should be amended, as the ethical, data and project challenges were insurmountable.

It was at this stage I discovered Marc Sageman's (2014) infamous article discussing the 'stagnation in terrorism studies'. This, coupled with the reviews of the literature by Silke (2001) and Schuurman (2019), provided a 'lightbulb' moment, and provided context to the issues I had faced in my initial studies. These articles discussed the challenges facing scholars in terrorism studies relating to weak methodological techniques, restricted data access and an overreliance on secondary data which ultimately fuelled Sageman's claims that the field was idling. These articles framed my struggles throughout my PhD within the wider field, that I was experiencing the challenges that are prominent in the field but are rarely discussed. It seems that the issues I faced are not unique, however they had the ability to damage my progress with my research, and my confidence as an academic researcher.

This shaped my current research focus to explore the disconnect between academics and practitioners in the field of terrorism studies. This project allowed me to channel my experiences from the beginning of my PhD, apply the knowledge of the ethical considerations and data

access challenges to produce research which can inform working practices for academics and practitioners. Moreover, my experience formed the foundation for my research but expanded upon these through expert interviews to explore the difficulties of conducting terrorism research and operate in this field as a practitioner. I aim to explore whether such difficulties have an impact on the relationship between academics and practitioners and identify opportunities for collaboration to reduce the impact of these challenges.

Research Objectives

This thesis will explore the academic-practitioner relationship within terrorism studies to explore whether a disconnect exists. To do this, the research will identify barriers or limitations which affect each community and impact the wider academic-practitioner relationship. The experiences of experts operating in the area as academics or practitioners will be explored to identify areas which could be aided in order to facilitate effective academic-practitioner interaction.

This research aims to identify any barriers which impact terrorism research and to determine the nature of the relationship between academics and practitioners. Exploration into academic-practitioner relationships is relatively rare in terrorism studies, and furthermore, as this research explores the experiences and voices of both academic and practitioner experts, this demonstrates originality. Thus, this presents opportunity to impact academic and practice, by highlighting limitations and barriers impacting multiagency collaboration effectiveness, and demonstrate opportunity to encourage knowledge sharing and interaction. This research seeks to address prevailing challenges facing scholars and practitioners in terrorism studies and counterterrorism practice to facilitate the understanding of terrorism. This will have implications for academia, counterterrorism practice, and policy.

Structure of Thesis

The structure of this thesis has been organised in the chapters outlined below:

Chapter 1. Literature Review

This chapter explores the literature and seeks to identify any barriers and challenges experienced by academics and practitioners. Through identifying such challenges, it identifies possible areas which facilitate an academic-practitioner disconnect to be explored further. A number of barriers facing academics and practitioners were discussed, and aspects of the academic and practitioner perspectives explored.

Chapter 2. The Academic-Practitioner Divide

This chapter explores the academic-practitioner divide widely, drawing from literature from wider disciplines. To the researcher's knowledge, the academic-practitioner divide in terrorism studies is relatively underexplored and therefore, this chapter aims to provide wider context to the challenges facing this relationship. This chapter discusses the benefits and limitations of academic-practitioner interaction and frames this within terrorism studies.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology, the theoretical underpinning of qualitative research and ethical considerations. Furthermore, it outlines the interview format, question rationale and provides a reflective passage on methodological challenges.

Chapter 4. Findings – Framing the 'Definitional Debate'

This chapter explores the definition of terrorism in order to frame the research and position it within the field. The definitional debate has been a prevailing challenge for terrorism scholars, professionals, and policymakers, within the UK and globally. The perspectives of academic experts and practitioner experts were explored, with features of terrorism highlighted to illustrate differences and synergies in understandings. Furthermore, there is discussion surrounding the requirement of a universally agreed definition. This chapter provides a definition which encompasses the academic and practitioner perspectives whilst allowing the research to situate itself within the field.

Chapter 5. Key Findings 1 - Scholarly & Professional Issues

This chapter discusses the challenges raised by academics and practitioners faced within their perspective fields. The structure of this chapter first explores challenges facing academia including methodological considerations, the stagnation debate, and literature concerns. Secondly, the practitioner perspective is explored, including challenges such as funding requirements, reactive to policy and measuring success. This chapter analyses expert interviews and presents the findings.

Chapter 6. Key Findings – Knowledge Exchange & Communication

This chapter explores expert perspectives and presents the challenges facing knowledge exchange and communication between academics and practitioners in terrorism studies. For academia, challenges included data access, ethical considerations, and knowledge dissemination,

whilst practitioners highlighted areas of information sharing, academic engagement and interacting with research.

Chapter 7. Key Findings – Networking & Relationships

This chapter explores the experiences of academic and practitioner experts for networking within terrorism studies and provides insights into multiagency relationships. The chapter is divided into three sections. Firstly, the academic perspectives section discusses critical voices, networking challenges and the significance of academic networking. Secondly, the practitioner perspectives section outlines the experiences of forming multiagency relationships. This details relationships in the form of practitioner-to-practitioner and practitioner-to-academic in order to demonstrate the ability to form wider relationships, and also demonstrate limitations and opportunities for forming effective relationships in practice. This discusses elements of staff turnover, interpersonal dynamics, and multiagency experiences. Thirdly, the academic-practitioner relationships section explores existing relationships detailed by experts, and also highlights opportunities to aid and facilitate academic-practitioner interaction.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

Finally, the thesis draws its conclusion from analysis of the literature, findings, and personal experiences to evaluate the research aims. The ability to analyse individual experiences of academics and practitioners operating within this field provides a unique and valuable resource which has not been explored previously. The conclusion demonstrates originality of this research, the outlook for terrorism studies as a discipline, and provides recommendations to academia and practice. The study concludes that there is a disconnect between academia and practitioners within terrorism studies. This thesis illustrates where such a divide is situated, as well as highlighting opportunities and providing recommendations to address any disconnect.

CHAPTER 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review aims to discuss aspects of terrorism research which have been identified as issues or barriers for academic research and development. This research looks to establish whether there is a disconnect between academics and practitioners and determine the barriers which contribute to this gap. The overall research question looks to explore the relationship between academia and practitioners, the individual experiences of each community, and determine the requirements of multidisciplinary working. This research will investigate the influence of potential barriers facing academics including methodological issues, funding requirements, data access and the impact of the counterterrorism strategy. It will determine whether there are any barriers facing practitioners which act to prevent or restrict collaboration with academia and explore experiences of practitioners working within this field. The requirements of both academics and practitioners will be explored, to clarify the areas which require attention and the gaps within the field, to allow for effective development and knowledge sharing. The overall objective of this research is to identify the areas which can be improved to allow for both communities to benefit from effective interdisciplinary working, ultimately allowing for knowledge of terrorism to progress effectively.

Over the past decade, the rise of Islamist extremism has had a significant impact, with the threat of terrorism radiating worldwide. Since the 9/11 attacks in 2001, there has been a rapid increase in research on terrorism studies, with governmental attention turning to establish counterterrorism policies (Stephens, Sieckelinck and Boutellier, 2021). Following a review of the literature, Silke reported that since 2001 there had been 35,000 papers published with titles including 'terrorism' or 'terrorist', and this rapidly increases to 635,000 with a search of these words in text (Silke, 2019, 2). As assessments of the literature continued over the past 20 years, the concerns surrounding the standard of literature continued to intensify (Schuurman, 2019; 463). Experienced scholars have criticised terrorism literature, concerned that many studies lacked a basis in empirical evidence; using anecdotal information producing alarmist, conceptual and simplistic conclusions (Silke, 2019; Sageman, 2014; Archetti, 2013). The challenges of terrorism research have not gone unnoticed among scholars and policymakers.

Arguably the most effective tool for providing awareness, understanding, and support for policy decisions, public awareness and prevention is research, however research upholding high standards of scientific methods and rigour is lacking in the field of terrorism studies (Silke, 2004, 2). There are distinct difficulties with researching within this field, including poor methodological

practice, lack of empirical data and statistical analysis, and an abundance of conceptual research essentially weakening the research field. Additionally, issues with access to sensitive information, data ownership and lack of data sharing create difficulties for researchers before research has even begun. Whilst some claim that this hive of research activity has signalled the height of the field, with the range of research topics generating excitement and progress being undertaken (Silke, 2019; 4), Sageman (2011) noted 'stagnation'. Whilst debate surrounding theoretical understandings are common in academia, terrorism research is rife with uncertainty. For instance, the ability to simply define terrorism raises discussion relating to motivation and nature of crime, and issues remain prominent surrounding the term radicalisation, including indecision of processes and features.

Sageman discussed this in relation to terrorism research and the intelligence community, suggesting that '*we have a system of terrorism research in which intelligence analysts know everything but understand nothing, while academics understand everything but know nothing*' (Sageman, 2014, 576). Essentially, that while those working in intelligence work from evidence whilst potentially lacking theoretical knowledge, the study of terrorism within academia has presented theories lacking a basis in empirical evidence. This barrier has been acknowledged amongst academics however it is important to consider the impact this has on the future of research and its application in this area. Further, this highlights the crucial requirement for interaction between academics and practitioners when examining terrorism. In addition, whilst there has been advancement in counterterrorism methods in the literature, it is important to understanding the level of clarity surrounding the most effective approaches used by practitioners in intelligence and risk management roles.

1.1. The Definition Debate

A natural starting point for any academic writing focusing on terrorism is firstly to define the concept of terrorism. Commonly, many articles begin with a summarisation of the debate surrounding conceptualising terrorism and provide a concluding statement following this, providing a definition which the research will employ. This outlines one of the prolific issues in terrorism studies, and often seen as a somewhat simple issue: there is no universal definition for terrorism. With over two-hundred established definitions for terrorism, Greene (2017) outlined that terrorism is shaped by subjective perspectives and held as a social construct, with definitions varying depending on the research field or need for understanding. However, despite the prevailing debate and indecision when defining terrorism, it is challenging to prove a distinct

definition as the motivations behind acts of violence are difficult to decipher and often unclear (Richards, 2015).

This indecision is fuelled by the question: what constitutes terrorism? Schmid and Jongman (1988; as cited in Monaghan, Antonius and Sinclair, 2011) found that when two-hundred academics were posed the question 'which definition do you utilise?', more than half replied admitting to using their own (58%). The importance of aspects of motives causes for debate, with wavering emphasis placed on political nature, ideological significance and the use of violence. This is illustrated through the definitions provided below, which will be reviewed using characteristics outlined by Schmid (2004, 403-404). The ten characteristics outlined by Schmid (2004) were found to exist in incidents classified as terrorism and used to identify features included in definitions. These characteristics document the use of violence, threat of violence, the production of fear or terror in target group, targeting of civilians, use of intimidation or propaganda, a method or strategy of conflict waging, communicating to a wider audience, criminal and immoral acts of violence, primarily politically driven, and used as a tool of psychological warfare (Schmid, 2004, 403-404). The uncertainty is mirrored, and not confined to academia, but across various governmental bodies. In Section 1 of the UK Terrorism Act 2000, as summarised below from the CONTEST Strategy, terrorism is defined as:

"the use or threat of action which is designed to influence the government or an international governmental organisation, or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and which is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause. The action used or threatened must involve serious violence against a person, serious damage to property, endangering a person's life, creating a serious risk to public health or safety, or the intention to interfere with or seriously disrupt an electronic system" (HM Government, 2018, 20)

This definition incorporates many of the argued components of terrorism by emphasising the presence of political motivation, threat and actions of violence, through identifying the potential targets and features of the crime, along with the consequences of terrorism. However, in reality, this definition has been criticised for its ambiguous and broad scale. As discussed by Greene (2017), the adoption of a 'one-size fits all' definition has allowed for greater subjectivity, creating a reliance upon the categorizer's understanding of historical and political concepts in the current climate to categorise a terrorist incident (Greene, 2017). It could be argued that this definition does not work to define a crime as terrorism, but potentially, that many crimes could fall into this remit due to the inclusive and extensive nature of the definition.

The Crown Prosecution Service outlines that terrorism is:

… the use or threat of action, both in and outside of the UK, designed to influence any international government organisation or to intimidate the public. It must also be for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, racial or ideological cause (Crown Prosecution Service, 2017)

This definition also signals the importance of terrorist motivations having political motivations, similarly, mentioning ideological or religious rationale. However, this definition does not refer to the use of violence or detail the nature of crime. The target is identified relates to civilians and having a strategy to impact a wider audience, including governmental organisations. This definition, however, lacks substance in terms of the unique characteristics of terrorism, and as such, this definition is vague and the ability to identify terrorism through the use of this definition remains subjective.

And the UK Intelligence Service, MI5, define terrorism as:

Terrorist groups use violence and threats of violence to publicise their causes and as a means to achieve their goals. They often aim to influence or exert pressure on governments and government policies but reject democratic processes, or even democracy itself (MI5, 2019)

This definition details the use of violence and threat to further terrorist 'goals', illustrating the strategic nature of terrorism and exclusively emphasises the political target of terrorism, differing from the other definitions provided. There is no mention of the nature of motivation, specifically relating to political, religious, or ideological causes, which is viewed as a significant feature in the other definitions. In this definition, there is a clear target on democracy, with a desire for publicity to a wide audience for an anti-political agenda.

This demonstrates that whilst similar factors appear in each understanding, there is not a clear outline for what constitutes terrorism, and each definition signifies an understanding plagued with subjectivity, ambiguity, and disparity. The approach of a 'one-size fits all' definition has received significant criticism from law enforcement, experts, and scholars, claiming that a multidirectional definition would be more applicable across the varied crimes and legal contexts which terrorism presents (Greene, 2017, 412). The desire to provide a wide-reaching singular definition results in a vague and broad definition which attempts to encompass every possible scenario however, in reality it weakens the validity of the term (Greene, 2017, 412). With the increased application of terrorism definitions both within the UK and abroad, the scale of this issue is beginning to be revealed. There are over two hundred differing definitions for terrorism

in use worldwide, with great variation repeatedly seen within government documents and academic research papers (Jackson, 2008).

Schmid (2011) identified factors which are considered when defining terrorism, comparing governmental definitions with academic definitions. From this review, it showed that governmental definitions had a stronger focus on criminal aspects (85% compared to 35% respectively), however academic definitions possessed greater emphasis on political aspects (85% to 25%), communication (27%) and strategy (35%), however there was little discussion of these in governmental definitions. Finally, both understandings demonstrated the desire to cause terror or coercion, in the majority of government definitions (78% and 53% respectively) and academic definitions (59% and 38%). This review not only demonstrated the range in considerations when defining terrorism, but also the lack of commonality between governmental and academic understanding.

Richards (2014, 214) suggests that the inability to establish a universal definition of terrorism has allowed for state or non-state actors to adopt a conceptual understanding of terrorism in order to further their political interests, and consequently producing counter-terrorism strategies which can ultimately be uninformed and counterproductive in nature. Over the years, there have been great strides to further understand terrorism in a conceptual capacity. Jackson (2011) produced a potential universal definition, after reviewing the need for conceptual clarity and existing definitions:

"…*terrorism is violence or its threat intended as a symbolically communicative act in which the direct victims of the action are instrumentalized as a means to creating a psychological effect of intimidation and fear in a target audience for a political objective*" (Jackson, 2011, 123)

Jackson (2011) stated that the future research and development in the field is reliant upon a cohesive definition which can allow for a combined approach rather than allowing uncertainty dominating the field. Further, Monaghan et al. called for continued debate surrounding the terminology of terrorism, and claimed that a lack of such discussions, will render the field fractured and restrained (Monaghan, Antonius and Sinclair, 2011, 78). Schmid (2007) suggested that a distinct definition would pave the way for international agreement and evade defeatist positions of 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'. Finally, the creation of a universal definition, from an academic perspective, allows for the parameters and scope of the subject matter to be established (Silke, 2019, 15).

However, the call for a universal definition has been met with criticism. Many have claimed that the term itself has been overused, having developed into an emotive and politically-loaded term, utilised by governments, the media and throughout society to reflect political interests and so-called moral judgements (Schmid, 2007; Jackson, 2007; Greene, 2017). Many scholars have moved away from this conceptual debate, such as Roberts (as cited in Silke, 2004, 4); "I do not share the academic addiction to definitions. This is partly because there are many words that we know and use without benefit of definition". Further, Bryan, Kelly and Templer (2011, 94) state that they "believe if you want to take the meaning and context of that violence seriously you have to stop labelling it with a pejorative term such as 'terrorism'". This implies that the use of the term has impeded its use as an analytical classification due to sporadic application on specific groups, to delegitimise them. These authors highlighted that the connotations of terrorism have limitations has an empirical category, impede engagement with the problem and ultimately, the term is used to satisfy political agendas and funding bodies.

As illustrated, there are not only differing factors to categorise terrorism, but also differing approaches determining the need to establish a universal definition. Simeon (2019; 2) suggested that counter-terrorism policies have suffered, at both national and international levels due to a lack of consensus and universality of identifying terrorism and stated that consensus was critical to "combatting terrorism in all its manifestations". This illustrates the scale of the impact for differing definitions of terrorism, and the indicates potential barriers for the development of counterterrorism strategy and multiagency working when differing definitions are held. Further, the essence of a definition is to provide scale and scope of the issue being discussed. With the varying nature of terrorism definitions, both for what constitutes terrorism and the role of ideology, the capacity for multiagency working can be impeded.

Definitions work to provide conceptual clarity, therefore driving understanding and shaping interests. Differences in defining terrorism can impact what is classified as terrorism, as well as the impact the processes of investigating terrorism, with varying classifications for political and social factors. This work, where relevant, will establish the significance of the debate surrounding defining terrorism and the impact this has on research and policy. It will also look to document the individual definitions held by experts in order to provide some insight into the understanding of terrorism from an academic standpoint and practitioner standpoint.

<u>1.2. Emergence of Terrorism Studies</u>

In its essence, terrorism research has an established foundation from a multidisciplinary standpoint. Initially a sub-topic studied within other disciplines, terrorism studies draws from political science, history, economics, psychology and social sciences (Reid and Chen, 2007; Jackson, Gunning and Smyth, 2007). As terrorism continues to pose political, environmental, cyber and social threats, additional disciplines such as computer science, behavioural science and medicine also have a focus on terrorism (Reid and Chen, 2007; Haghani, Kuligowski, Rajabifard and Lentini, 2022). Many argued the establishment of 'terrorism studies' as a discipline is unnecessary, as organised crime is not a discipline in its own right and arguably poses similar threats to terrorism in terms of human suffering and economic impact. However, terrorism presents pertinent questions for researchers in the field which span beyond current terrorism threats, with the ultimate aim of preventing attacks and the risks from terrorism in the future (Silke, 2004, 27). The multidisciplinary approach of terrorism studies allows for a wide approach to tackle terrorism across social, political, environmental, and psychological systems (Reid and Chen, 2007). As terrorism remains an ever-looming threat, this multidisciplinary approach allows for knowledge sharing and theoretical exploration whilst providing scientific methods, to provide deeper insights into terrorism, is essential for academic growth.

The field of terrorism studies emerged in the late 1960s and was heavily dominated and directed by political and social sciences (Ceci, 2016). A historical perspective was also drawn upon, to provide insight for theoretical frameworks when data was deficient (Sandler, 2014). Research on terrorism has often been overlooked or disregarded, with researchers sitting within other larger academic disciplines and contributing scarcely (Silke, 2004). Early research into terrorism explored tactics and causes, identifying terrorist movements, and worked to define the phenomenon (Sandler, 2014, 257). The analytical study of terrorism was sparked through the use of event data, such as research conducted by Landes in 1978 who analysed skyjackings data to explore terrorists as "rational actors" (Sandler, 2014, 258). As research on terrorism began to grow, the self-critical nature of the study recognised the barriers facing researchers in this field (Schuurman, 2018). It was recognised that there was no clarity surrounding conceptual issues, much of the literature was alarmist and anecdotal, and produced generalizations and far-reaching conclusions (Schuurman, 2018). It appears, from subsequent reviews of the literature conducted by Silke (2001; 2008), Haghani, Kuligowski, Rajabifard and Lentini (2022) and Schuurman (2018), that these issues remain prominent in the field of terrorism research.

The attacks of 9/11 triggered a new era for terrorism research, with a dramatic rise in journals, research articles, published books, think-tanks, symposiums, and academic courses. Terrorism

studies has seen a great surge in knowledge, with great efforts to understand what drives an individual into terrorism, the features of terrorism, and to devise effective counterterrorism strategies to reduce the risk and threats of terrorism. As a result of the growing pressure on the government to take effective action against extremism, along with the great increase in awareness of terrorism prompting legal and political change, there was a transformation in the way terrorism research was viewed, funded and utilised.

St Andrew's University established Europe's first research centre for terrorism studies, named The Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) in 1994 (Handa CSTPV, 2023). This research centre has a broad interest, with a focus on terrorism, international relations and political violence. As one of the oldest research centres in the world for terrorism studies, this prestigious centre works to uphold high standards of academic insight and rigour, whilst ensuring a real-world impact through engaging with policy whilst acting as an independent body (Handa CSTPV, 2023). This centre looks to understand the features of terrorism, including the dynamics, characteristics, and consequences to provide deeper understanding and insight into terrorism and political violence. Along with producing world-leading research, the centre has developed terrorism-specific courses, offering certificate-level and masters courses whilst PhD students. This centre was the first to offer terrorism studies as a unique and distinct course subject (Handa CSTPV, 2023).

Over recent years, there has been a growth in the number of research centres dedicated to the study of terrorism; for example, the centres established at University College London, University of Nottingham and Kings College London. With this increase, there has also been a significant rise in the number of undergraduate and postgraduate courses specialising in "terrorism studies" from many universities, including MSc Counter-Terrorism Studies at Liverpool John Moore University and MSc Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Studies at Royal Holloway, University of London. The content of each course also differs significantly, each drawing from diverse academic fields including psychology, political science, international relations, intelligence and security studies, military studies, gender studies and history. This demonstrates the interdisciplinary nature of terrorism studies which is often viewed as unique to this field. That is, that terrorism draws from many disciplines in order to explore the issues facing academics in understanding the rise of terrorism, terrorist dynamics, characteristics and motivations, and providing insight into the fundamental questions which have plagued the field for decades.

Another significant development is the emergence of Critical Terrorism Studies, also referred to as CTS, signalling a move from an administrative to a critical research approach (Jackson, 2016;

Gunning, 2007). This development in a critical approach exists in criminology and sociology and encourages efforts to rethink and apply critical thought to existing and unchallenged mainstream views (Long, 2015). This emerged following claims that social science disciplines were influenced by political, social, and economic factors, and arguing that research was no longer able to ensure political objectivity and neutrality. This resulted in the birth of disciplines such as Critical Criminology, which claimed to replace the desire for research to support current political agendas, and rather to provide critical understanding of existing power structures and knowledge frameworks (Carrington and Hogg, 2011, 2). CTS emerged in terrorism studies in 2006 as a result of a discussion between scholars reflecting on the literature in terrorism research and is considered as a critical standpoint acting to challenge existing knowledge and understandings in terrorism research (Jackson, 2016, 1). This movement signals a shift away from administrative or traditional research, following claims that this is dominated by government-driven priorities, with research acting to problem-solve as opposed to critical engagement with terrorism directly (Gunning, 2007). In the years following, CTS has effectively become established as a subfield within terrorism studies, with an emphasis on methodology, epistemology and empirical research (Jackson, 2016). By doing so, CTS claims to overcome the issues which have caused problems for researchers within terrorism research and claims to have deepened and advanced the understanding of terrorism (Jackson, 2010).

There have been significant criticisms surrounding the formation of CTS however, relating to the claims made by those in support of this approach. Whilst many academics support the application of critical theory in terrorism research, insufficiencies and limitations of terrorism research have been widely recognised from an early stage by academics in this field, such as data restrictions and methodological issues (Horgan and Boyle, 2008, 52; Schuurman, 2018). Additionally, with criticisms of state-led research agenda, policy-relevant research is portrayed in a negative light, implying 'bad faith' amongst scholars involved in this type of research (Horgan and Boyle, 2008, 52). Further criticisms follow as some claim CTS unfairly dismisses previous decades of terrorism research, and Weinberg and Eubank (2008) warn that there is a risk that the CTS will become less engaged with terrorism research by becoming increasingly inward-looking, that it will effectively "become a study of itself" (Weinberg and Eubank, 2008, 194).

This research does not take an active stance supporting or criticising CTS, and rather adopts an external view of the advancements in the field and the impact this has on terrorism research. This differing approach to terrorism research presents an interesting consideration for this study. As the researcher will be exploring the experiences of experts in the field of terrorism studies, including academics, the expert's position on the CTS approach presents an interesting factor to

consider. This may influence the manner in which an academic interacts with external agencies, their experiences and solutions of barriers in terrorism research and the style of their research. As the field of terrorism studies continues to develop, there is not only a range in academic experience, pre and post 9/11, but also a range in future considerations for the field, and as such, the future direction of the discipline.

1.3. Counterterrorism policy and multiagency working

The call for a multiagency collaboration has stemmed from the UK counterterrorism policy, CONTEST (HM Government, 2018). This strategy was developed in 2003, in response to the 9/11 attacks, and publicly released in 2006 following the 7/7 bombings. There was a high priority for effective counterterrorism policies to be established, which birthed the UK CONTEST strategy which aims to 'reduce the risk to the UK and its interests overseas from terrorism" (HM Government, 2018). The CONTEST strategy has evolved since its conception, with the fourth version being released in 2018, titled CONTEST 3.0. This approach tackles radicalisation and extremism through a four-pronged approach, known as the 4Ps; Prevent, Pursue, Protect, Prepare.

The Prevent programme has been embedded into the wider culture and works to encourage people to identify vulnerable individuals exhibiting warning signs of radicalisation, and refer of these individuals to the Prevent programme. In order to provide this, multiagency work is essential. Throughout this, the Prevent strategy has identified the essential need for collaboration and multiagency work to tackle radicalisation and terrorism. In March 2015, compliance with Prevent duty was required for specific authorities, such as education, law enforcement, local authorities, health sector and prisons and probation services (Home Office, 2019). This actively worked to prevent individuals from radicalisation across a variety of sectors and institutions, through the identification of potential risks, referring individuals to Prevent to be assessed, and if deemed a threat, managed, and monitored through the Channel panel, to encourage de-radicalisation and disengagement.

It is important to consider the impact the 9/11 response had on shaping counterterrorism policy, and how lessons learned can continue to shape and inform policy. In the years following these attacks, a strong and dramatic response to terrorism was established in the form of counterterrorism policies, funding research, and the establishment of various agencies to specifically tackle terrorism, such as The Office for Security and Counter-terrorism and CoJIT (Combating Jihadist Terrorism and Extremism). Additionally, the discipline of terrorism studies

has become established, with a growing number of universities developing terrorism-specific degrees and research centres, and a number of dedicated researchers committed to answering the impending questions hanging over the field; what is terrorism (Schuurman and Eijkman, 2013)? What determines a terrorism act (Silke, 2004b, 59)? What causes someone to become a terrorist?

Throughout the CONTEST strategy, there is great emphasis on the requirement for multiagency working. Multiagency working is the collaboration of different services and agencies, both locally and nationally, to allow for the identification of risks, assess and coordinate activity, and ensure safeguarding as a priority. Terrorism is an offence which has a strong and profound impact on society, and as such, a combined approach and team-effort will increase the likelihood of identifying threats. As mentioned in the strategy:

"Our response to counter-terrorism is built on an approach that unites the public and private sectors, communities, citizens and overseas partners" (HM Government, 2018, 7).

In 2017, following a string of terror attacks across the UK, UK-prime minister Theresa May stated that:

"…*we need to become far more robust in identifying extremism and stamping it out across the public sector and across society. This will require some difficult, and often embarrassing, conversations*" (Gov.uk, 2017).

This call for a national conversation about extremism marked this intensified need for a collaborative approach across all sectors; law enforcement, government, academic, and the public.

Given the complex and sensitive nature of terrorism, multiagency working can be presented with barriers. The collecting of intelligence by one agency can also cause issues with ownership when presented with multiagency collaboration. Further, the sharing of sensitive information can present issues with confidentiality, data protection, and breach organisational guidelines. Additionally, accountability issues have been raised, with shared responsibility potentially leading to the sense that responsibility is held elsewhere, leading to failings (Radicalisation Awareness Network, 2016, 3). It is essential that all individuals and organisations are aware of their role, commitment to shared objectives and objective decision-making whilst ensuring trust and mutual respect (Atkinson, Jones and Lamont, 2007, 3). Atkinson, Jones and Lamont (2007, 3) noted that leadership was essential for multiagency working, with support from senior management essential in order to ensure effectiveness.

Despite the counter-terrorism policy widely implemented across the UK, there have been criticism and doubt surrounding its effectiveness. There has been great investment of government funds and research interests into counterterrorism policy, looking to produce new technologies, models, risk assessments and policy directions which will ensure public safety and national security (Lum, Kennedy and Sherley, 2008). The greatest criticism of the CONTEST strategy, and perhaps the most worrying, is that the policy itself is not entirely evidence-based. There is a distinct lack of empirical knowledge to substantiate the methods and priorities within the counterterrorism agenda. The government has funded this agenda, with little evidence that this can effectively tackle terrorism, or have any effect at all (Lum, Kennedy and Sherley, 2008). Further, with political agendas driving the direction of understanding and action, the reactive nature of counterterrorism policies is at best short-term, with changes in government signalling changes in strategy and tactics (Silke, 2001, 2). There is a need for evidence-driven evaluations into the effectiveness of such policies in order to ensure that the counterterrorism strategies are rigorous, rational and effective, and ensuring that they do not cause further harm (Lum, Kennedy and Sherley, 2008). This is an aspect which can be aided by academia. Yet, while multiagency working is encouraged, the scale and feasibility of this unclear. The nature of such work encourages strict security to protect national interests and ensure public safety. The impact of Prevent on the ability to pursue cross-agency working by intelligence analysts and practitioners working in counterterrorism is to be explored, to determine the most effective ways in which multiagency working can be achieved and to explore the current obstacles between academics and practitioners harming progression in the field, preventing complete collaboration and knowledge-sharing.

1.4. Methodological considerations of terrorism studies

When considering issues with terrorism research, concerns relating to methodology are paramount. With significant attention and growth in the field, the methodological considerations shed light on deeper issues with terrorism research. Often cited as the initial review, Schmid and Jongman (1988; as cited in Silke, 2001, 3) illustrated that a dramatic change in research practice was required to overcome methodological issues. Their findings demonstrated that the majority of research relied upon secondary data, including existing literature (100%), media sources (92%) and open access documents (92%) with a significant lack in new knowledge or data production (Schmid and Jongman, 1988, 138; as cited in Silke, 2001, 3). Further, 80% of the papers reviewed did not have a foundation in rigorous research practices, and a strong reliance upon two main sources: document analysis and interviews (Schmid and Jongman, 1988; as cited in Silke, 2001,

4). Following this review, Silke (2001) considered research published between 1995-2000, and demonstrated that methodology concerns continued to prevail, noting little change since the previous review. The majority of papers still held a strong reliance on secondary source information, a lack of permanent researchers, absence or restricted access of raw data and methodological restraints (Silke, 2001, 13). Silke concluded that:

"Ultimately, terrorism research is not in a healthy state. It exists on a diet of fast-food research: quick, cheap, ready-to-hand and nutritionally dubious. The result of a reluctance to move away from the limited methodologies and levels of analysis of the past is that while the field may appear to be relatively active and energetic, growth in key areas remains stunted and halting" (Silke, 2001, 12).

The results reported in this paper presented a worrying future for terrorism research, and whilst there appears to be some development, methodology presents great concern for establishing effective terrorism research. However, the reasons behind these issues require exploration. The concerns outlined in these and subsequent reviews have a keen focus on source information, data access, qualitative methods and use of statistics.

Historically, the majority of research on terrorism is reliant upon qualitative methods, and this remains to be main form of methods utilised (Ross 2004, 26; Schuurman, 2018; 10). Terrorism research has been called out repeatedly for the lack of quantitative data, and specifically the use of statistics. Statistical analysis provides researchers with the ability to differentiate between variables of significance, and those which are not. Statistical analysis can be in two forms: descriptive and inferential. Descriptive statistics provide a surface overview, as a means of data being presented and organised efficiently, while inferential statistics allow for trends and patterns to be identified in the data, providing a greater sense of reliability, and provide controls for weaker data sources (Silke, 2008, 35).

Silke (2001) found a mere three percent of papers utilised inferential statistics, compared to other fields such as criminology (60%) (LaFree and Freilich, 2011). Schuurman (2018, 8) reported that while statistical analysis is increasing in research articles between 2007-2016 (by 11.4%), the majority of this relates to the use of descriptive statistics. In terms of the overall sample reviewed, an overwhelming number of research articles did not apply any statistical analysis (78.1%), with 14.7% employed descriptive statistics, 1.3% utilised inferential statistics only, and a small number of papers used a combination of both (5.8%) (Schuurman, 2018, 8). This demonstrated that whilst there is an awareness for the development of analyses in terrorism research, this remains to be reflected in current research.

However, the lack of statistical research has been related to the quality and access to source information, which limits the ability to explore raw data. The data required for statistical analysis for terrorism studies is generally restricted, historical, inaccurate, or non-specific to the current issues in the country (Hagan, 2016, 20). Therefore, statistical analysis is impacted by limited data access, and as such, with existing challenges in the field and the near-absence of primary data, statistical analysis may be limited. Despite this concern, there is not a requirement for all research papers for terrorism research to possess statistical analysis, however, the disparity of quantitative methods utilising statistics is of concern (Silke, 2008). In 2001, this concern was highlighted as research was almost five-times more likely to be purely descriptive statistics, and this shows little improvement. To provide deeper validity and reliability to findings, and to produce findings on a deeper level, rather than of a descriptive nature, the use of statistics would allow for terrorism research to increase rigour and validity.

With the emotive nature of the topic, and the heightened sensitivity surrounding intelligence relating to terrorism, research is notoriously difficult. With strict security measures in place to protect vulnerable individuals or sensitive and potentially alarmist information, academics face barriers when attempting to access primary data. As such, there has historically been an over-reliance upon secondary source information for terrorism research, such as media reports, open government documents, books, and archival documents. Many academics have highlighted the need for more research to have an empirical foundation, and therefore referencing the demand for primary source information. The ability to distinguish between primary and secondary source information is not always straightforward, as Schuurman and Eijkman (2013) outline, using the example:

"*To take the examples of a car crash, the victims directly involved are potential primary sources of information on what happened, while an article written by a journalist on the same subject is a secondary source as it presents the writer's take on events rather than that of those directly involved*" (2013, 1).

Furthering this analogy, Schuurman and Eijkman explain if the researcher was investigating the media's portrayal of car crashes, the journalist and article would then become a primary source of information. This example demonstrates that the direct observation or involvement is crucial in determining primary source information, and the direction of the research question also holds value. Primary sources are those in which information is collected directly from the source, observed by the researcher. Examples of primary information sources include interviews with terrorists, data extracted from intelligence reports or ethnographic research (Schuurman, 2014).

Although the use of primary sources and empirical data are not directly correlated, the use of primary data does increase the reliability of information, with a shift from theorising to observation, providing that there are strong methodological standards employed for data collection (Schuurman and Eijkman, 2013, 2).

Secondary sources can provide an opportunity to provide beneficial and descriptive insights, and frame a phenomenon in a wide context, whilst ensuring lower costs and expense (Silke, 2001). However, this is reliant upon the employed methodology upholding rigorous and scientific standards. The issues with utilising secondary source information have been widely documented (Silke, 2001, Crenshaw, 2000, Schuurman, 2018). The source reliability can be called into question as it can be difficult to locate the identity, and therefore reliability, of the original source, producing a reliance on interpretive data rather than empirical data (Schuurman and Eijkman, 2013, 2; Crenshaw, 2000). Additionally, the reliance of secondary sources can discourage the collection of new information using primary data by creating a culture of reliance upon other's research data (Schuurman, 2019). The reuse of this secondary source produces findings which often provide complimentary support for existing research, yet these studies are limited in terms of expanding and exploring wider research areas. Researchers must also be cautious about the scientific boundaries and methodological concerns of secondary sources. This can include differing interview conditions, varying levels of involvement and context, which cannot be controlled through secondary data, or indeed masked when produced as primary data (Schuurman, 2018). With these concerns, the significance of widely used secondary sources in terrorism is recognised as an enduring issue plaguing the field.

However, Schuurman (2018) reviewed papers published between 2007-2016 and, although cautiously, praised the advances in the field over recent years, highlighting an increase in primary data usage, however noted that there remained enduring issues (2018, 1). Schuurman (2018) noted that the use of primary source data had increased in the literature, from 48.1% to 59.5% of reviewed papers. This increase, whilst not dramatic, does demonstrate a steadily increasing effort to generate new information directly from primary sources (2018, 7). Yet, the use of primary source information itself, is not enough to improve the reliability of data sources for research. Silke (2001, 70) noted that the use of limited data collection methods coupled with weak analysis techniques has contributed to the so-called failings in advancing terrorism research. Research has relied upon specific data collection techniques, primarily focusing on interviews, literature reviews, databases, speeches and writing, and policy documents (Schuurman, 2018, 7). Whilst it was noted that there has been positive development in terms of

the use of data collection techniques, there remains methodological concerns referencing the process of data collection.

The availability of data and permitted access to information or sources has limited the research methods which can be utilised. Researchers have used innovative solutions to overcome this such as the creation of databases, such as the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) and RAND Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (RAND-MIPT). This database has complied information from open sources in relation to terror attacks and associated information, if known. From these, many scholars have utilised or expanded these databases to allow for the systematic study of terrorism, radicalisation, attack characteristics and counter-terrorism strategy (Freilich, Chermak and Gruenewald, 2015, 354). However, Spaaij and Hamm (2015) warned that the use of such secondary-source of information should be used with caution. The limitation of such databases is widely recognised, with missing cases (Spaaij and Hamm, 2015, 174), missing values and multiple coders, affecting reliability (Freilich, Chermak and Gruenewald, 2015, 363). The impact of this misinformation impacts the results of findings, with incomplete datasets misrepresenting the current situation. Sageman (2014, 571) suggested that the level of analysis from such databases are highly restrictive as greater reliability and comprehensive data is required in order to explore the deep-rooted questions in terrorism studies. However, databases have provided a source by which information can be accessed, patterns and trends can be identified, and aid quantitative methods in terrorism studies (English, 2016; Freilich, Chermak and Gruenewald, 2015, 354).

Horgan (2012) claimed that there was an unwillingness from researchers to share their methodology process and access routes. There was therefore a deeper need for transparency between researchers, to share their experiences, issues and achievements, in order to improve the scientific validity of methods. Upon reviewing terrorism research articles, Schuurman (2018, 11) noted that there was a significant deficit in 'method' sections and noted difficulty in identifying the access routes and methodology in the abstract of research papers. As discussed, access to primary source information is increasingly difficult and rarely a viable option for researchers due to the heightened security and emotive nature of terrorism. Therefore, the interview data that has been collected needs to be of a high standard, upholding rigorous and scientific standards in order to ensure accuracy and empirical value, to produce new and impactful findings (Youngman, 2018, 11). To achieve this, Youngman (2018) called for self-reflection, whilst Jackson, Gunning and Smyth (2007) appealed for greater subjectivity in research to ensure critical engagement with literature. By recognising the effect of the researcher on data, encouraging the sharing of access routes and collected data, and employing

strict methodological technique, the lack of transparency and issues existing currently with data collection can be addressed.

Ultimately, methodology plays a vital role in the future of terrorism research, continued development in the field and increases the ability to address the pertinent issues in the field. Sageman (2014) called for non-sensitive data to be released to academics, and to improve the discourse between academics and practitioner within the intelligence communities allowing for both communities to '*benefit from the complementary strengths*' (2014, 565). Further, the author connects the influx of government funding without supplying access to primary source information has created exponential growth in speculative findings lacking empirical foundations, despite the methodological skill sets possessed by academics (2014, 565). In order to allow innovation to flourish and encourage advancement, channels must be established to ensure data sharing, knowledge and ensure collaboration between research and intelligence communities. It is important to not only reflect on the ways in which a lack of knowledge sharing has impacted the development of terrorism research, and ultimately shaped the direction in terms of data access and available information but also to understand that while this gap has been developing, the mirrored inefficiencies experienced in the intelligence and practitioner community, whilst this disconnect has been expanding.

1.5. Consequences of Funding

Prior to the 9/11 attacks, terrorism research received little funding attention, with research grants and bursaries rarely allocated to projects in this area. Silke (2019, 1) suggested that the lack of funding lead to a reliance on existing literature, poor methodological standards and quickly-produced research, restricting the production of high-quality findings. There were few academics committing their career to terrorism research, with many speculating the relevance of terrorism studies for scholastic study. However, in the years following 9/11, there has been a dramatic shift in attitudes. As terrorism has gained attention across the world, counterterrorism came to at the forefront of government policy and interests, leading to a striking increase in research budgets and funding for all areas of terrorism studies (Silke, 2019). Additionally, this increased interest saw the establishment of counterterrorism think-tanks such as Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, whilst many universities established research centres, and government and law enforcement agencies seen the growth of dedicated counterterrorism departments, such as National Counter Terrorism Security Office.

Academic conferences hosted by universities and professional societies have increased, along with the funding bodies offering funds. The British Psychological Society have hosted sponsored conferences and the availability of funded postgraduate research positions has been increasing, along with the establishment of dedicated terrorism degree programmes, encouraging students to pursue a terrorism-related research career. Silke (2004b, 25) stated that funding bodies such as ESRC responded to this increased attention quickly, awarding more funding to terrorism-related research, reportedly of £600,000. The influx of funding seen positive developments in the field, shown in the vast development of the wider field including a deeper understanding of factors and motivations for terrorism, effective counterterrorism, and risk assessments. Further Silke (2008, 33) noted that the increase in funding will encourage individuals to continue to conduct terrorism research without a reliance on fast and inexpensive approaches, allowing for the improvement of the discipline as a whole.

However, this increase in funding has brought with it some significant challenges to research agendas. With the government encouraging a strong focus on countering terrorism, the demands for researchers to meet their agendas is significant. With terrorism high on the government's priority agenda, funding has driven and dictated the direction of terrorism research. This has seen the development of strategies, programmes and understanding, however, providing excess funding with a lack of access to information has contributed highly to the lack of evidence-based research, and the formation of a counter-terrorism policy reliant on untested theoretical understanding (Lum, Kennedy and Sherley, 2008). This refusal to share information and data with academia, whilst encouraging research to support their political thinking has created a culture of division between academia and intelligence communities (Sageman, 2014, 576), and calling for research to support their direction, without providing the appropriate information. Silke (2008, 34) showed that whilst funding has increased, there has been little development in data gathering and analysis for terrorism research.

Further, Gearon (2018) acknowledged the tendency for terrorism and counterterrorism to be intertwined within government policy, with the majority of research having counterterrorism objectives, regardless of the research topic. Whilst this approach for research is beneficial for providing guidance in how findings can be operationalised, the political objectives are restrictive to the current political climate. As government agendas shift, research demands will also shift, therefore demonstrating the unhealthy connection between research and political policy, restricting long-term thinking out with the realms of government strategy. As Gearon (2018, 51) states, this is not to criticise the integrity of researchers, but highlight the association between counterterrorism policy and terrorism research, and the restrictions funding has placed on

academic actions. As Schuurman (2019, 464) states, the focus on current events and policies for funding opportunities creates struggles for researchers to work outside of these topics, which can have consequences for academic research, but also wider responses to terror threats:

"Furthermore, preventing a blinkered threat-perception from allowing potential new challengers from developing unnoticed until they can constitute a key terrorism-related threat should be part and parcel of long-term counterterrorism strategies" (Schuurman, 2019, 454).

The demand for researchers to produce research with a societal impact or application whilst upholding research excellence and within the realms of government agenda can have implications for the researcher. Smyth (2009, 208) noted the ethical considerations associated with the conditions attached to funding grants. In particular, the withdrawal of funds if the research findings do not coincide with government policies or support their political agendas. As a result, researchers may feel obligated to yield the 'correct' results from their research, therefore harming the integrity of the research and the researcher. This effect could also influence research which has been commissioned, contracted or through consultancy, demonstrating the impact of funding bias on research findings (Simundic, 2013). This can also impact the reliability of studies used by governments, potentially being selective of research findings to further their cause, presenting an unbalanced view of reality. Further, if the government withdraw funding following perceived unsupportive findings, a once valued researcher could be left feeling betrayed (Smyth, 2009, 208), creating hostile working relationships between academics and the government. Ultimately, this negative relationship between funding, political agenda, current events and academic research, coupled with lack of resources and data sharing has had significant consequences for the understanding of terrorism. Further, the focus of terrorism within the political landscape will not diminish anytime soon, therefore it is important to provide an understanding of the demands on researchers, and the impact this has on research, and by what means this can be improved.

1.6. The prevalence of one-time author contributions

The influx of funding into terrorism research has signalled a rapid growth in researchers focusing their attention to the area. Authorship has been identified as an area of concern within terrorism research. The growth of literature following 9/11 has signalled the increased attention for research into terrorism, with claims that almost 90% of all terrorism research literature has occurred in post-9/11 environment, compared to the previous decades of research (Silke, 2008, 28). This demonstrates not only the growth in terrorism research, but the impact terrorism has

had on the political and academic environment in the past two decades. However, this growth in demand and interest has highlighted the concern of one-time contributors and a lack of experienced researchers. A 'one-time' contributor is referred to as an author which produces one piece of research, before moving away from terrorism studies. This can have an impact on not only the reliability of research literature, but further, causes fluctuation in the volume of active researchers in the field.

Prior to 9/11, the lack of funding into terrorism studies resulted in emerging concerns around reliability and validity of research further, with a majority of independent researchers due to funding restraints (Silke, 2008, 33). A review, conducted by Silke (2004), reviewed research conducted between 1996-1999, which found that 90% of literature was produced by single authors, and perhaps more worryingly, 83% of literature was published by one-time contributors (Silke, 2004). However, author collaboration has seen improvement over recent years, with an influx of funding, the post-9/11 environment demonstrated a great increase in collaborative working, from both existing and new researchers (Silke, 2008, 34). Yet, the issue of one-time contributors continues to be an area of concern, with a lack of dedicated scholars (Gordon, 2007) with Schuurman claiming that despite improvement, there remains high levels of one-time contributors. In a powerful statement, Sageman linked this to the increased attention terrorism studies received in the post-9/11 era, stating:

"*The field was dominated by laymen, who controlled funding, prioritizing it according to their own questions, and self-proclaimed media experts who conduct their own ''research.'' These ''experts'' still fill the airwaves and freely give their opinions to journalists, thereby framing terrorist events for the public. However, they are not truly scholars, are not versed in the scientific method, and often pursue a political agenda. They are not trained to detect or analyze trends, but they certainly like to make sensational statements*" (Sageman, 2014, 566)

It is important to establish the reasons behind the occurrence of one-time contributors, and the potential barriers which restrict the continuation of researching terrorism. The existence of one-time contributors not only impacts the number of expert researchers in the field, and therefore the growth of research areas without continuous attention from dedicated academics. Further, it impacts the standard of the literature, with single contributors producing research which, while often a positive contribution, lacks the ability to ensure further knowledge, with the research interest a limited contribution to the literature. Consequently, it is important to address the question: what causes researchers to produce a single contribution before returning to previous interests? As terrorism is of interest to multiple disciplines, the cross over between specific

terrorism studies and other fields may cause researchers to briefly cover terrorism as an aspect of their overall research portfolios. The influx of funding could cause terrorism research to have increased attention as a 'side project' by researchers external to terrorism studies, allowing for a funded contribution without the obligation to continue further or additional research in the field. Finally, the barriers discussed in terms of methodology make terrorism an inherently difficult phenomenon to explore academically. With the barriers to access of reliable and substantial data and inability to produce new insights into terrorism, researchers may be faced with significant challenges. The impact of one-time contributors on terrorism studies is to be explored in this study, to determine not only the effect this has had on literature, the experts in the field but also to establish the requirements of scholars to ensure continuation of research on terrorism studies.

The availability of PhD funding, and the number of PhD research exploring terrorism have been increasing. However, despite this, there seems to be little evidence that these graduates continue to pursue terrorism research, with only a small minority of these students continuing with further research (Silke, 2001). Silke (2001) stated that active researchers are dependent on the rewarding recognition of their outputs. This recognition can take the form of journals devoted to terrorism research, and therefore the publication of research, and conferences and symposiums designed to encourage knowledge sharing and networking amongst academics (Silke, 2004, 25). As such, in order to retain researchers, and reduce the occurrence of one-time contributions, it may be effective to create an engaging and open approach to terrorism research. Yet, with the prevailing hurdles for terrorism research, as discussed in this review, it may prove difficult to reduce one-time researchers, and this phenomenon may reduce as barriers are overcome.

With the significant growth seen in terrorism studies, the field received attention from multiple disciplines. As previously discussed, terrorism was initially considered as a subtopic under political sciences, however the continued growth of attention from other fields has seen this become an established discipline in its own right. As such, with the cross-discipline attention this field received, it is possible that authors from other disciplines contributed to the field as a one-off, before returning to their initial field of research. The field of terrorism has adopted this approach, with many fields contributing to developing understanding, and whilst there are experienced researchers in terrorism studies, the field is not restricted to those authors with such experience. For example, when contributing to the debate for defining terrorism, Bryan, Kelly and Templer (2011, 80) signalled that they did not possess a background in terrorism studies, but instead, Social Anthropology, History and Peace Studies. The ability to draw

understanding from other disciplines has created a multi-disciplinary approach to understanding terrorism itself.

Many scholars have linked the occurrence of one-time contributors to the issues facing the field in terms of methodology and data access. Sageman (2014, 569) stated that

"…because of the scattershot nature of the funding and lack of reliable data to be discussed below, the field is disorganised and few great researchers are attracted to it full time. Most participate in occasional or part-time projects according to funding while remaining on focused on their previous research interests" (Sageman, 2014, 569).

 The restrictive nature of these funding and data access barriers prove to limit a researcher's ability to conduct research. Youngman (2018) provided an interesting insight into the impact of academic networks within terrorism research. Youngman (2018) outlined that possessing established academic and governmental networks, perceived to have significant influence, have a particularly large impact on ability to conduct research. As such, having 'personal ties to an influential node within terrorism studies', as put by Youngman (2018, 10), greatly increases the impact a researcher's work will have. However, this statement could be reflective of most academic research fields, with established networks providing benefits in terms of access and exposure (Youngman, 2018, 10). In the field of terrorism, plagued with increased sensitivity and subjects promoting emotive outputs, these networks may prove crucial in order to produce effective research. This concern is not of privilege and therefore should not result in the blaming of researchers utilising networks. Yet, with an awareness of less experienced researchers, the more established scholars hold greater power, and as such may cause difficulty with data access, establishing connections, and 'breaking' into the field of terrorism research. Therefore, this may give insight into a cause for one-time authors, unable to gain traction in the field, and therefore more likely to produce single contributions before returning to their initial subject area.

The issues discussed in this section are required to be explored in order to identify reasons why some researchers are reluctant to pursue a career specifically in terrorism studies, and rather contribute rarely or sporadically. With the arguably counter-productive nature of funding terrorism research, it is important to address the concerns of experienced researchers in the field, to mitigate any damage to the literature base, and rather strengthen this. Ultimately, the goal is to ensure that the activity seen in terrorism studies is utilised to produce new and innovative knowledge contributions, high quality research with strict scientific rigor, to ensure development of the field, and secure a future for continual and beneficial academic growth.

1.7. The Government and Academia

With current concerns surrounding the reactive nature of terrorism research in response to government policy, there seems to be a disconnect between the requirements of research from the government, and necessary access for academics to conduct research in this area. As Sasse (2019) outlines, the impact of academic research can have a profound impact on government responses and infrastructure, with historians providing strategic support during the financial crisis in 2008, and findings from academic papers signalling the need for 4,200 new health visitor posts. However, a range of issues currently face academics when considering policy work.

This relationship is not specific to terrorism studies, with concerns surrounding the use and application of academic findings for guiding government policy and decision-making. The Institute for Government (Sasse and Haddon, 2018) released a report documenting the relationship between academics and the government, and communicates that effort is required from the government to utilise academic expertise and research effectively for policy formation. Academics can provide great support for policy officials through their range in expertise, introduce theoretical and critical thinking, and provide independent evaluations and evidence-based findings for current and future policies (Sasse and Haddon, 2018, 8). Yet, the connections between the government and academia are poor, with reports that some policy officials view academic engagement in the remit for analysts (Sasse and Haddon, 2018, 9). The barriers between policy makers and academics relate to the time requirements of building effective networks with academics, difficulty identifying relevant and suitable experts, and a lack of incentive for seeking external research expertise due to internal researchers (Sasse and Haddon, 2018, 9).

However, this is not necessarily the case for all academic areas, as the Institute for Government report demonstrated that scientific fields have secured strong links with governmental policy makers, along with some areas of social sciences, yet there remain issues with engagement in Arts and Humanities research, additionally with some areas of Social Sciences. Political agendas influence the interaction between research communities and policy making, with the report stating that:

"*evidence and expertise are more likely to be viewed through the lens of a policy maker's values and what they think will be politically acceptable*" (Sasse and Haddon, 2018, 12).

This presents an interesting consideration; that research which supports the political agenda will be viewed in higher regard, or more likely to be utilised by policy makers. This therefore has the potential to not only shape the interaction with the research community, but can potentially

impact the long-term relationship with academics, as research is perceived as 'more valuable' as the political agenda shifts and evolves. This aspect will be explored throughout this research as a potential barrier for multiagency working.

For terrorism research however, this issue presents hurdles to researchers from the outset. As Merari (2007) discussed, the lack of access to empirical data for researchers restricts the ability for academics to provide influential and impactful conclusions, and rather, risks producing generalisations lacking in evidence-based findings. Furthermore, the methodological hurdles and lack of data access faced by researchers can impact the reliability and validity, with a reliance upon theoretical frameworks with hypothetical results of the application. Finally, the government's perceived resistance to consult with external bodies results in the disregard of academic input, which in turn, impacts the direction and understanding of terrorism and counterterrorism policy in the UK (Merari, 2007).

The Institute for Government report concludes by calling for greater commitment from senior officials to incorporate greater academic input into policy making, utilising academic advice, and working with funding bodies to encourage this interaction, to establish an effective and efficient multiagency platform. However, this relationship also needs to be encouraged from an academic standpoint.

Support from universities is fundamental for academics to engage in collaboration with government and policy making. Sasse (2019) suggested that engagement with policy work is time consuming, and with additional requirements on academics such as teaching, research and administrative tasks, collaboration in policy work may not be possible. Sasse (2019) suggested that many academics may be unfamiliar with how to become involved in policy work, and identifying a point of contact to approach, thus limiting the ability to contribute effectively. Boardman (2009, 1505) conducted a study investigating the relationship between university-industry interactions in the US within different types of university research centres. The results from this study showed that previous research interaction with industry was essential for academics for interaction, whilst government centre programs are more likely to have industry involvement regardless of prior interaction. These results demonstrate that without governmental interest, engagement from wider external bodies is difficult for academics to attain without prior network connections. The requirement for established network connections with relevant departments or individuals could act as a barrier for researchers seeking an opportunity to contribute to policy work.

Policymakers have the ability to improve policies by ensuring reliability and rigour by utilising research and demonstrate that decisions are supported with evidence (Boswell and Smith, 2017). For researchers, the collaboration allows for the findings of research to have a greater impact on policy and society, and can also establish further resources, credibility, and exposure (Boswell and Smith, 2017). By ensuring effective the collaboration of policy and academic research, all resources and expertise can be utilised to ensure that counterterrorism strategies and policies are effective, efficient, and relevant. This relationship will be explored in this research to determine whether there is a disconnect between academia and government and the impact of this.

1.8. Intelligence Community and Academia

In the years following the 9/11 attacks, there has been great advancement in counterterrorism efforts, with the establishment of counterterrorism-specific policy, de-radicalisation programmes and risk assessments as countering terrorism became of high importance in government priorities. Through these developments, the framework for counterterrorism policy has been established, and enforced throughout organisations and agencies in society, to allow for early detection of radicalisation and with an aim to preventing terrorism. Intelligence is fundamental for terrorism investigations, and central to disrupting and preventing attacks. Within the UK, the primary intelligence agencies are established under the Joint Intelligence Community (JIC) department; comprising of the Security Service (MI5), the Secret Security Service (MI6) and Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), which work to establish, analyse and coordinate intelligence. There have also been established counterterrorism-specific efforts established in the police service, through the National Counter Terrorism Policing Network and intelligence-based policing (McGarrell, Freilich and Chermak, 2007), allowing for multi-force coordination and collaboration to detect, prevent and investigate terrorism.

However, this multiagency approach has spread wider than purely within intelligence communities. As determined by the Prevent strategy (HM Government, 2018), sectors throughout society have a duty to incorporate counter-terrorism measures in order to ensure safety and security, and to identify any potential risks to allow for intervention. With the impact that terrorism has in society, counterterrorism efforts are established in many agencies and sectors, including education, healthcare, prison and probation services, and local authorities (HM Government, 2018). This multiagency approach has been declared as essential, in order to improve the awareness of terrorist issues, allow for early intervention, and reduce the threat of

terrorism. The Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN, 2016) outlined that due to the complex nature of violent extremists, collaboration between professionals is essential.

Generally, for agencies, multiagency collaboration can provide a number of benefits for the overall workings of the organisation. It can provide a wider perspective for the area, providing extensive awareness of issues and a deeper understanding and focus. Further, it can increase the profile of the agency, allowing for increased access to external agencies and the establishment of positive networking relationships for more efficient knowledge sharing. With the wider support and knowledge network, it could allow for expansion in areas of focus, as well as improving operational factors such as planning and meeting demands for ever-increasing workloads (Atkinson et al., 2002, 98). These factors extend to practitioners also, whilst also benefiting from a holistic approach and develop experience of engaging in multiagency collaboration, improving standards of professional practice and developing a richer awareness of subject areas, and also, methods of working (Atkinson et al., 2002, 102)

This multiagency working, however, has not fully extended to academia. Academia plays an integral role in society by providing insight and expert knowledge in order to aid social development. The prevailing issues surrounding data access, as previously discussed, present issues for understanding terrorism and radicalisation. Yet, research on terrorism is not often outsourced to academics, and rather conducted in secrecy within governments, with information and findings withheld from the academic community (Sageman, 2014). This is largely due to the highly sensitive nature of the topic of terrorism, but also potentially the possibility of negative implications for the government or agency if they are presented unfavourably. Additionally, the nature of academic research; with core values of openness, scrutiny, autonomy, there may be significant concerns with collaborating with intelligence agencies. Secrecy and covertness are often central to intelligence, immediately contrasting the values of openness held in academia, and with concerns surrounding accountability and confidentiality, this may present obstacles. With conflicting methods for data collection and use of information, and the need to uphold ethical considerations in a highly sensitive field, intelligence and academia can be led to question how to approach, and ensure, effective collaboration (Gearon and Parsons, 2019, 85-89). Despite significant advancements in terrorism research, the scale and depth of these advancements has been limited, due to the data access restricting the production of new information, and consequently emphasising a lack of empirical knowledge and rigorous research.

The responsibility for identifying an individual posing a strong threat to society, either through radicalisation or mobilisation sits with the intelligence services and is dependent upon their

access to classified and restricted sources and information (King et al., 2018, 130). With growing threats from different extremist groups, it is of the upmost importance that there are distinct and accurate measures to detect the potential of threats. The approaches for counterterrorism in the UK have a heavy reliance on collaboration between every aspect of society; including policing, law enforcement, local government, intelligence and communities (Ruggiero, 2019). However, Ruggiero (2019, 61) found that experts called for greater collaboration between researchers and practitioners, coupled with "*less emotional attitude*s" from public bodies would allow for understanding of terrorism to excel. Furthermore, it was noted that there were benefits of consulting external researchers to further knowledge, specifically in relatively unexplored or emerging areas. However, in order to achieve this, access needs to be granted for academics in order to explore this effectively.

Due to the highly sensitive nature of terrorism, the information gathered faces strict security measures in which academics are not often granted clearance. However, for information that is shared, it is often dated or restricted in terms of content, or allowance for publication. The privacy surrounding terrorism data is deep rooted, with organisations unlikely to share information, with concerns surrounding GDPR, confidentiality, and security reasons. Gaining information on terrorism is not necessarily impossible, however there are various hurdles which are established which demonstrates the absence of this in academic research (Schuurman, 2017, 35). This therefore emphasises the gaps in knowledge, and the disconnect between academics and practitioners, and the consequences for academic research, however what is the impact of this disconnect for practitioners?

While Sageman's article had a focus on intelligence analysts in the US, similar understandings into struggles in terrorism-specific intelligence communities are not fully explored in the UK, to the researcher's knowledge. However, it has been suggested that the intelligence community has also been restricted on their ability to produce breakthrough findings. Similar to the lack of advancement in academic research, the lack of developments in intelligence communities to improve analysis, data collection and produce products for policy makers is heavily affected by government policy and priorities, which sets the tone for research (Sageman, 2014, 573). Sageman (2014, 573) discusses the problematic nature of the processing of data in intelligence communities. Sageman reported that the nature in which data is collected is primarily through intelligence reports, containing snippets of interview transcripts or communications rife with inherent bias. Finished reports are therefore at risk of being alarmist and sensationalist, and with false alarms and a magnitude of incoming data, it can be difficult to identify real threats (Sageman, 2015, 573). Additionally, the demands on intelligence services continue to grow. It is

estimated that around-the-clock surveillance of one individual can require between ten to twenty intelligence officers, therefore demonstrating the impact on staff and staffing requirements versus the perceived threat (Quiggin, 2017, 42). Yet, increasing the volume of officers is also not necessarily going to mend this issue, with the potential of increased numbers of analysts cautiously following false leads and potentially missing developments. Further, Sageman (2014) noted that there was a lack of scientific method applied to intelligence collection, with a bias to search for confirmatory evidence. With time sensitive requirements to produce reports for the wider community and government, Sageman (2014) noted that there is little time for analysts to immerse themselves in academic reading, relying on summaries or existing knowledge. This impacts the standards within the report, but also demonstrates the level of expertise with a lack of engagement in new knowledge. Sageman concludes with this closing thought, stating that "*we have a system of terrorism research in which intelligence analysts know everything but understand nothing, while academics understand everything but know nothing*" (2014, 576). If this claim is supported, this is where there is a blatant and distinct need for development.

Despite these factors, this is not to discredit the intelligence community. Additionally, the intelligence community, with the benefits of a strong relationship with academia, could benefit from developments in research and knowledge, aiding intelligence working methods and breakthroughs. The work conducted by intelligence analysts is crucial to identify threats and reduce the overall risk to public safety and security. As Sageman stated, referring to the intelligence community as IC, this is a fault in "*the government funding strategy and its refusal to share accumulated data with academia has created the architecture of the IC=academic divide preventing us from developing useful and perhaps counter-intuitive insights into the factors leading people to turn to political violence*" (Sageman, 2014, 576). As mentioned, the relationship between intelligence communities and academics within the UK requires further exploration in order to identify and address areas of shared issues which can allow for the development of firm knowledge and the growth in academic understanding, providing practical and operational benefits for the intelligence community. With the struggles to further academic understanding into terrorism and with failings in intelligence having fatal and dangerous consequences for the public and wider society, the approach should be improved, and all resources utilised. The limitations currently faced by both communities of academics and intelligence seem to mirror, and further that collaboration could in fact lease a new life into how terrorism is understood, tackled, and prevented.

With the identification of the disconnect between academia and intelligence communities mirrored throughout the literature base, this relationship needs to be explored. Academia could provide insights and processes which could aid intelligence collection, analysis, and knowledge, whilst intelligence communities could provide information and their processes to allow for development of empirical-based research and knowledge sharing. Ultimately, with a counterterrorism policy reliant on multiagency working, every resource should be utilised. The relationship between academia and intelligence communities needs to be explored in order to ensure that both communities can benefit from a positive relationship of knowledge sharing, empirical and theoretical understanding, and ensuring the most effective and efficient approach to tackle threats of terrorism.

The recognition of the existing struggles in the field of terrorism research does not however imply that the theoretical understandings produced by the field are insufficient. It is important to acknowledge the substantial developments and advances which have been made in the field of terrorism research, despite concerns. In fact, the insights provided have allowed for a remarkable understanding into many aspects of terrorism, such as motivations, ideology, terrorist movements and dynamics, along with reviews of counterterrorism strategies and terrorist risk management (Roberts, 2015, 62). Further, the advancements in terrorism research over the past 50 years or so, sparks great reason for optimism. As scholars are faced with barriers for research, innovative solutions have been utilised, and as more information becomes available for analyses, development is mirrored in methodological and theoretical understanding (Freilich, Chermak and Gruenewald, 2015, 365). The recognition of the hurdles plaguing researchers should be addressed to allow the field to develop effectively, to avoid 'stagnation' as claimed by Sageman (2014) or "halting" (Silke, 2001). This will allow for measures to be taken, which can identify ways which benefit the academic community for research quality and data access, and also the intelligence community, through deeper understanding and evidence-based approaches. This study aims to gain insight into the underlying issues, the impact of these for development, and allow for acknowledgment of such issues bridge the gap between academics and practitioners.

The issues discussed throughout this literature review not only demonstrate weaknesses in academic understanding and practice, but also present opportunities for these concerns to be addressed. Through establishing an understanding of the current research and practitioner environment, the gaps identified can be acknowledged, and potentially aided through the collaboration and collective efforts of both communities. Whilst there have been in-depth reviews of the state of the literature base and factors influencing terrorism research, there has

been no exploration of how this impacts professional relationships. Additionally, the requirements of academic research for practitioners working in intelligence, policy, security, and law enforcement services have not been widely explored. There is a need to explore the disconnect between academia and practitioners in the field of terrorism studies to determine the effectiveness of the current climate for knowledge sharing and advancing the field and illustrate any measures which could be improved. Further, this relationship must be explored and supported, in order for efficient multiagency collaboration and to ensure that all resources, expertise and knowledge is being fully utilised in the fight against terrorism. By doing so, this will allow for both communities to benefit from effective interdisciplinary working, form evidence-based decisions and counter-terrorism policy, ultimately allowing for knowledge of terrorism to progress effectively.

CHAPTER 2. THE ACADEMIC-PRACTITIONER DIVIDE

2.1. Introduction

The academic-practitioner divide is well recognised across a number of fields, including criminology, management and advertising (see Guerette, Lee-Silcox and Przeszlowski, 2019; Vosburgh, 2017; Hubbard, 2018), however it remains relatively unexplored in terrorism studies. This divide refers to the extent of collaboration or interaction between academics and practitioners working in the area which can have an impact on research and practice. The nature of this disconnect has far-reaching consequences, as a successful relationship between these communities can have a wealth of benefits, such as producing informed, evidenced research, organisational improvement and knowledge sharing (Davies, 2018, pp 287). There are significant challenges to address in terms of ensuring a flourishing and worthwhile relationship between academics and practitioners. When this research discusses a disconnect, this relates to the absence of an effective or positive relationship between academics and practitioner and explores the significance of this in the field of terrorism studies. This chapter will discuss the landscapes facing practitioners and academics, the benefits of a successful and fruitful relationship, and finally, it will discuss the barriers impeding cooperation.

Many fields have explored the academic-practitioner divide and therefore, such insights may provide clarity and prove beneficial to the situation observed within terrorism studies. Within social work, this has long been reported within academic journals over the last one hundred years and continues to prevail to this day, with further concerns of it expanding (Denvall and Skillmark, 2020, 2). Understanding the relationship between research and practice provides insight into the directions of the field and identifies opportunities for greater collaboration between academics and practitioners. As Schuurman (2019) stated, such relationships can illustrate the level of influence from government on the direction of research in terrorism studies, tied to reactive agendas and calls for funding or indeed, whether both communities can work effectively together whilst remaining independent, upholding the values of academia or practice (Schuurman, 2019, 464). Sageman (2014) controversially wrote: *"we have a system of terrorism research in which intelligence analysts know everything but understand nothing, while academics understand everything but know nothing"*. This highlighted his concerns with the state of the field, the consequences of a poor academic-practitioner interaction. There is limited exploration of Sageman's claim which considers the perceptions and experiences of academics and practitioners in terrorism studies, therefore this thesis will explore this further. Furthermore,

any disconnects which impact academia and practice will be explored along with considerations to improve the situation.

Academics and practitioners are naturally separate communities, with different roles, expectations, influences and training. Academics generally conducting research which will produce findings which can have generalisable or predictive power and provide large-scale impact (Roper, 2002; 339). Meanwhile, practitioners require actionable findings which can guide and inform practice (Roper, 2002; 339). The position of being naturally incompatible, as phrased by Ungureanu and Bertolotti (2020), to suggest "*if we weren't different, we would not exist*" (2020, 5) explores such attitudes. This is to suggest that practitioners cannot be taught their day-to-day role through scholarly theory as context plays a major role; whilst academics cannot rely on practice to advance scholarly exploration or inform publishable research (2020, 5). Furthermore, the issues faced by each community and indeed, the nature of response differs significantly, and therefore, efforts to bridge a disconnect in the academic-practitioner relationship may not be in the interests of each individual community (Ungureanu and Bertolotti, 2020).

The synergies between these communities, however, present opportunities for interagency working to improve organisational practice and knowledge for practitioners, and provide opportunities for academics in terms of future scholarship or collaborations for furthering research (Bartunek and Rynes, 2018, 81). Often referred to as the two-communities theory (Cornish, 2017; as cited in Denvall and Skillmark, 2020), this disconnect is the result of a poor application of research findings in practical settings, limited representation of the realities or voice of practitioners in research, a lack of mutual understanding of the field and variations in the conceptual language used by both communities (Denvall and Skillmark, 2020, 2). This concern, highlighting a disconnect which limits the interaction between academics and practitioners, is felt widely within terrorism studies. Terrorism studies, as previously discussed, is a highly sensitive subject area plagued with many methodological and ethical challenges for those operating within this field (Merari, 2007). Coupled with the notion of a disconnect impacting the interaction between academics and practitioners in the field, terrorism studies continue to face a range of challenges.

The nature of a disconnect is firstly debated; with some scholars suggesting the level of interaction is improving between academics and practitioners, whilst others believe the disconnect is expanding. Parker, Coleman, Manyindo, Mukuru and Schultz (2020) suggested that although collaboration between academics and practitioners can involve significant effort and

investment for both parties, the benefits of this interaction are extensive. Ruggiero (2019) suggested that greater collaboration will allow for greater understanding, as long as there is a less emotional attitude from practice, to allow for a wider platform of information and knowledge sharing, however currently, this resource is underused (Ruggiero, 2019). Allowing for decision-making and agendas to have a foundation based in scientific research provides insight into the effectiveness of programmes, practice and policy, allowing for public resources, which are already constrained, to be utilised more efficiently (Guerette, Lee-Silcox and Przeszlowski, 2019, 7). However, Merari (2007) outlined that the contributions from academics have, at times, been lacking in empirical evidence contributing to a degree of scepticism towards implementing research into government policy or professional environments. Furthermore, there are wider learning opportunities through dissemination, allowing for agencies to share their successes and failures. Similarly, Lewis (2019, 139) identified that whilst the gap exists between the critical or positive voices surrounding the Prevent programme, this may be improved through a mutual display of empathy for the opposing view to allow for improved relationships. In political science, Mead (2010) claimed that scholars are less likely to concentrate on real-world issues and a greater focus on narrow research questions which do not speak directly to practice (2010, 460). Further, the voice of the practitioner is underrepresented in the literature, both in terms of their experiences in the field, and their perception of the research-practice divide (Pinto, Spector and Rahman, 2019).

The position of whether such a gap is required is also debated; with some believing there should be efforts to reduce the disconnect between these communities, whilst others holding the opinion that there should be a discernible gap between academics and practitioners. Bartunek and Rynes (2014) highlighted that the majority of research examining the academic-practitioner relationship in wider fields has a direct focus on reducing the gap, with the overall assumption that narrowing the gap will aid theory development. However, as McNatt, Glassman and Glassman (2010) stated: "*gaps cannot be closed while academics and practitioners cling to different views of the world*" (2010, 7). The academic-practitioner relationship can only prosper if there is a shared objective and perspective, calling for greater communication between the communities.

2.2. Benefits and Limitations of Academic-Practitioner relationship

The shared benefits of such an interaction, however, are widely recognised and provide advantages for both communities. This could be in the form of engagement, evaluation,

knowledge-sharing and practice, as explained by Pinto, Spector and Rahman (2019). Pinto, Spector and Rahman (2019, 5) illustrated that for practitioners, such partnerships with academia could improve engagement by promoting buy-in, evaluate effectiveness of practice and programmes, and improve problem-solving and critical thinking which in turn would improve capacity. Meanwhile, academics are able to relate research greater to local issues, access data sources, extend their dissemination audience, provide scientific basis to implemented programmes, and develop methodological and theoretical understanding using lived experiences (Pinto, Spector and Rahman, 2019, 5). Being able to provide a sense of greater collaboration between these communities therefore provides solutions to some of the wider issues acknowledged within terrorism research, as outlined in reviews by Silke (2004) and Schuurman (2019).

Yet, differences between community cultures should not be diminished, nor should the impact of such barriers on this interaction. There is acknowledgement of the existence of issues between the worlds of academia and practice and recommendations for how these can be addressed, which have been widely explored. Communication poses one of the greatest challenges for the academic-practitioner relationship, impacting a number of areas. Academia is often directed at an academic audience, therefore reliant on complex methodologies, theory-based and littered with scholarly-specific terminology (Roper. 2002, 339). Further, academic publishing regimes and government evaluation frameworks such as the Research Excellence Framework also influence academia in terms of dissemination requirements. McNatt, Glassman and Glassman (2010, 6) claimed that the advanced methodological research skills were not being utilised to aid issues faced by practitioners. This can often be challenging for practitioners in terms of clarity and understanding, but it also questions the relevance of such findings and whether they can be used to inform and guide practice. If there is no evident connection to practice, practitioners may also be dismissive of the contribution of academics, disregarding the theoretical nature of the research as it does not speak to individual experiences (Roper, 2002, 339). Roper (2002) explains that if such papers from research are accepted by practitioners, they may be accepted on "faith" as the complex nature of academic papers do not speak to practitioners, as they are not the primary intended audience.

Additionally, the environment that each community operate are vastly different, providing opportunity for culture clashes. Practitioners tend to experience a culture of hierarchy in the workplace, for example within policing where the power dynamics have a large role, whilst debates are welcomed in academia in an often-competitive environment (Roper, 2002, 339). This clash could result in practitioners viewing the role of scholarly involvement as one of a

problem-solver, to provide recommendations and solutions to problems faced in practice. However, this could lead to dependency and also impact academic integrity, with scholars feeling obligated to meet requirements and abandoning their own values from an academic standpoint to navigate such expectations to ensure relevance to practice (Roper, 2002, 339; Bartunek and Rynes, 2014). This can prove problematic for academics who maintain an independent, objective and passive position from practice to reduce the impact of policy or practice on research direction or findings, or indeed for practitioners when academics do not play in this role; ultimately referring to the division of academic rigor and practitioner relevance (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014).

Credibility is essential in order to establish working relationships between vastly different communities. If a practitioner questions the credibility of a researcher, there is a limitation on the level of interaction that can occur. Hughes, O'Regan and Wornham (2008) outlined that the benefits of academic-practitioner relationships, such as improved knowledge sharing or recommendations for practice, are only achieved when there is a strong level of credibility established. Academics can gain credibility by increasing their interaction with practitioners and aligning their research to have a greater impact in practice, while practitioners can seek the expertise of academia more frequently in order to increase their credibility (Hughes, O'Regan and Wornham, 2008, 227). This can also advance the networks of academics and practitioners working collaboratively, with more contacts being able to contribute and therefore, allowing for the benefits of this interaction to have a greater influence.

Whilst interaction between these two communities may theoretically be straightforward, there are a number of concerns in terms of data and information sharing which restricts free-flowing interaction. Practitioners and academics work from different systems and under different yet equally stringent data requirements. For example, practitioners within terrorism studies, such as police, Prevent Officers or counterterrorism professionals, often with highly sensitive or top-secret data which can have wide ranging implications if released or communicated incorrectly. This can include reputational damage but also as the area of terrorism is highly sensitive, it can also have a severe impact on national security. For academics however, whilst scholars are able to handle and store sensitive information, the release of research papers in the public domain may provide cause for conflict for practitioners. This raises the concern of working at cross-purposes; with practitioners requiring research to inform practice and knowledge, however academics seeking to meet requirements dictated in the Research Excellence Framework such as demonstrating wider impact and meet dissemination requirements (REF, 2020). With both communities holding distinct priorities, this can create a basis for conflict when collaborating,

and further, the possibility to fulfil both communities with opposing interests seems unrealistic (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014).

From an academic perspective, research takes a significant amount of time, with rigorous data collection, analysis and report production. This time is essential in order to increase validity and rigor of research and to allow for a cumulative picture of the literature and knowledge development (Guerette, Lee-Silcox and Przeszlowski, 2019, 7). Meanwhile, practitioners work in a reactive environment, responsive to cost, implementation struggles and legal issues which are not fully addressed in literature (McNatt, Glassman and Glassman, 2010). Further, there is a requirement for instant responses to tackle crime, such as terrorism, for inquiries and rapid results (Guerette, Lee-Silcox and Przeszlowski, 2019). This therefore demonstrates the competing demands which need to be navigated in order to facilitate a relationship between academics and practitioners. Academics may require time from practitioners for interviewing or data access however practitioners may be unable to accommodate such a time constraint with existing deadlines and pressing issues. This is a significant barrier in terms of practicality of the academic-practitioner relationship, however this could be addressed by acknowledging the different challenges faced by the timeframes of practitioners and academics (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014).

2.3. Models of Interaction

Models are often implemented to ensure successful working relationships between multiagency or interdisciplinary partners and to ensure best practice. Ungureanu and Bertolotti (2020) identified that within marketing, research and practice are also viewed as distinct and separate communities. However, through proposing relational models, there are opportunities for interaction for both research and practice which provides plentiful advantages for both communities, and beyond.

These researchers suggest the interaction between academics and practitioners using three boundary crossing models. Firstly, the 'legitamation-based boundary spanning' model, which is characterised by "*whatever it is, as long as it works*" (Ungureanu and Bertolotti, 2020, 9), suggests that neither community is obligated to use the information or knowledge shared by the other partner, thus allowing for a seamless interaction which is fuelled by individual needs. This model avoids the somewhat contentious space of the formal interaction between academics and practitioners and allows for interaction based on needs. The 'mobilization-based approach', characterised by "*more credible than if we acted alone*", enables the position of a critical-friend

and positions academics and practitioners as allies. This allows each community to meet the separate objectives of each community, however dependency and one-sided relationships can form as either practitioners or academics provide a service to the other (Ungureanu and Bertolotti, 2020, 10). Finally, Ungureanu and Bertolotti (2020) propose the 'enactment-based' approach, which is characterised by "*how can we make this work together?*". This relational model requires high exertion from academics and practitioners on both sides of the interaction and involves wider collaboration with external partners such as government or policy. However, this interaction is to explore large-scale issues at the forefront of academic and practitioner efforts individually, but also to a shared overarching goal, and ultimately requires collaboration between both communities in order to provide a sense of clarity (Ungureanu and Bertolotti, 2020, 11).

Ultimately, a shared understanding of the expectations of each party from the outset, along with a common vision for outcomes will provide dimension to the relationship and avoid any miscommunications or confusion at a later stage. Roper (2002) discussed the capacity in which academics are able to collaborate with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in order to define this working relationship effectively, proposing the five following models; expert-consultant model by which the academic analyses problems and makes recommendations whereby the practitioner is the consumer; expert-trainer model by which an academic facilitates training to aid organisational skills in order to address a particular issue; joint-learning model by which research is used to address a particular problem, however there is the added continuing intention of improving organisational culture which encourages critical and conscious thinking, and the testing of assumptions and beliefs; the best-practice model which requires the academic to explore organisational practice and provide suggestions for improvement and finally; the theory-development model by which research has the purely academic purpose of aiding theory development (Roper, 2002, 339).

These models outline the individual capacity in which academics can interact with practitioners, and the skills that are provided or targeted in each situation. For expert-consultant and expert-trainer, practice usually initiates this relationship, whilst best-practice and theory-development models are initiated by academics seeking to create new knowledge.

These models suggest that whilst there may be a requirement for academics and practitioners to work together, and in order for this to be effective, a shared understanding of the scope of the relationship is essential and may require compromise. For example, if academics were to have a greater focus on issues of concern for practitioners to inform practice and produce research

which appeals to practitioners (McNatt, Glassman and Glassman, 2010, 8), practitioners must recognise the value of academic research and be willing to engage (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014). As discussed by Silke (2004, 58), research which is directed by practice becomes heavily influenced, and indeed constrained, by political agendas. Silke (2004, 58) also outlines that due to the fluctuations in the political landscape, with governments and policies reactive to change, this can also lead to researchers confused by their role. By limiting one's perspective to focus on reactive policy or political concerns, the wider academic inquiry becomes inhibited by matters of importance external to academia, producing "research fads" and routes of unproductive inquiry (Silke, 2004, 59). Further, this also brings into question academic independence and whether the true role of an academic is indeed to interact and inform practice, or whether, as highlighted by Schmid and Jongman, it is to maintain an objective position as a 'student of combustion' rather than a 'firefighter' (1988, 179).

In order to have a successful relationship, there must not only be an audience for academic literature in the practitioner community, but that practice must actually utilise research in order for both communities to foster a relationship where ideas can be challenged in a professional manner (Roper, 2002). Within terrorism studies, the relationships between academics and practitioners are not fully documented or explored within the literature and therefore by exploring models used externally of terrorism studies, as above, presents opportunities to identify the methods used in this field or indeed, which would aid such academic-practitioner interaction.

2.4. Terrorism Research

Terrorism research presents an interesting picture for academic-practitioner interaction due to the security and sensitivity of the area. As discussed, these issues are not often discussed within the literature for terrorism studies, and therefore this research will explore whether there are similar challenges are presented for academics and practitioners in this field. This is not to say that these challenges do, or indeed do not, exist, but rather to determine whether there are any aspects of the academic-practitioner relationship that could be facilitated to improve the standard of terrorism research for academics and working practices of practitioners.

Terrorism studies has long been characterised as an interdisciplinary area, spanning the fields of history and political sciences, to psychology and criminology. The nature of this interdisciplinary field demonstrates a narrative inclusive of many specialisms providing a range of advantages and, at times, inconsistencies (Youngman, 2018, 11). Methodologically, there has historically

been a lack of critical engagement, as stated by Youngman (2018), which has led to the repetition of a small source of literature, creating an academic echo-chamber. However, this field has developed significantly over the past decades, with greater self-reflection on the standard of literature and exploration of new and innovative research, which has greatly developed understanding (Schuurman, 2019). At the very core of terrorism studies, there has been a desire to explore the wider picture of terrorism by drawing upon wider fields, which has seen through the interaction of, not only scholarly disciplines, but also through the active dissemination of data findings widely. Academics are known to provide insight through Select and Advisory Committees at a policy level, and also through private partnerships with agencies and organisations including policing or CVE organisations as interaction extends beyond the context of the academic world.

There have been efforts to improve multiagency working in counterterrorism over recent years. Collaboration efforts have long been utilised by practitioners in the field, with multiagency partnerships being central to counterterrorism efforts. Under the Counter Terrorism Security Act 2015, the Prevent Duty (HM Government, 2015) brought to law the requirement for multiagency collaborations across all public sector bodies to protect vulnerable individuals from extremism and terrorism. This brought together agencies such as local government, social work, policing, health, and education to facilitate the protection of those vulnerable to developing extremist ideologies or becoming involved in terrorism. This multiagency approach adopts a safeguarding approach and utilises the skills and resources of each specialist agency to provide the best possible care to the individual of concern.

The future of counterterrorism efforts seeks to continue to utilise these multiagency frameworks and seems to be increasingly more open to partnership working in order to reduce the threats from terrorism. With academic experts having great awareness of radicalisation, terrorism, and extensive research to evaluate policy and practice it is important to determine the role of academia in this partnership. Furthermore, the sharing of academic literature and allowing this to inform critical thinking and training would allow for more prosperous relationships, not only between academics and practitioners, but also within multi-agency working groups in practice. Further, with the criticisms facing academics in terrorism studies, such as the limitations of theoretical findings or lack of access to primary data sources, the benefits of such an interaction may provide opportunity to positively address these concerns. This presents an interesting opportunity to strengthen the relationship between academics and practitioners in order to aid practice, but to also to inform research incorporating the experiences and voice of practitioners in this field. This could potentially address some of the methodological challenges facing

research in terrorism studies, and further, facilitate networking opportunities which could aid data access, empirical research and knowledge sharing, by bridging these communities.

2.5. Summary of Academic-Practitioner Divide

The wider recognition of the academic-practitioner divide in external fields demonstrates similar challenges highlighted within terrorism studies, although this relationship remains fairly under researched and unexplored. The field has long been plagued with criticisms relating to the standard of literature being produced, the lack of empirical evidence and new theoretical thinking, and methodological struggles, however the voice of the practitioner is often missing from debate. Whilst Sageman (2014) somewhat controversially acknowledged a disconnect, the opinions of experts within this field seems to be a missing voice in this debate. While there may be an existence of a disconnect in terrorism studies, the impact of this on those working in counterterrorism as practitioners or indeed, terrorism studies as academics, is not widely discussed. Rather, such consequences from a disconnect are either not felt or worse, not discussed. This thesis seeks to explore the experiences of those operating in the field as academics or as practitioners to determine firstly, whether there is a disconnect and secondly, the subsequent impact of this. This will allow for an understanding of the existing relationship and whether there are opportunities to bridge a perceived disconnect in order to provide mutual benefits widely for both communities.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Outline of Chapter 3: Methodology

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    3.4.5. Reflecting on Methodological Challenges

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide insights into the methodological considerations of this study and the approaches which were adopted. Further the research aims, data collection methods, participant information and sampling, and qualitative approach have been explored within this chapter. This thesis is based on expert interviews from the field of terrorism studies through interview sessions in order to establish whether there is a disconnect between academia and practitioners

and gain insight into the contributing factors for any barriers to effective collaboration. In this chapter, there will be further discussion of informed consent, power dynamics, confidentiality and the role of reflexivity.

Terrorism studies has long been criticised for weak methodological techniques applied to research, and concerns over the presence of a scientific basis for research, demonstrating poor academic rigor, no control samples and limited transparency (Silke, 2001; Youngman, 2018, 11; Jensen and LaFree, 2016, 27; Schuurman, 2018). This has wider implications for the application of research, such as informing practice and providing poor evidence base for counterterrorism policy (Lum, Kennedy, Sherley, 2008, 41). Terrorism studies is in a privileged position as its interdisciplinarity allows methodological techniques and epistemology to be drawn from wider fields, however Youngman (2018) was concerned of the lack of critical engagement when adopting alternative epistemological approaches in terrorism research. While Schuurman (2018) noted that methodology had improved compared to Silke's early reviews (2001; 2008), with studies by scholars utilising interesting methodological approaches and a greater statistical basis, the author had concerns that methodology sections are rarely stated outside of abstracts in terrorism research papers. This demonstrates the longstanding pursuit between terrorism studies and methodology, and therefore this research has placed great importance on its epistemological foundations. This methodological chapter seeks to openly discuss the techniques used and applied a systematic, qualitative research approach using primary data, demonstrating a scientific basis for terrorism research.

Research Aim:

This research aims to explore whether there is a disconnect between academics and practitioners in terrorism studies. This was examined through the following areas:

- To identify any barriers or limitations which impact the relationship between academics and practitioners
- To explore the experiences of academic experts to identify opportunities and challenges faced in terrorism studies and how this can impact the academic-practitioner relationship
- To explore the experiences of practitioner experts to identify opportunities and challenges faced in counterterrorism practice and how this can impact the academic-practitioner relationship
- To identify areas which could be improved or addressed to facilitate academic-practitioner interaction

This research aims to identify any barriers which impact terrorism research and to determine the nature of the relationship between academics and practitioners. To consider impact, by identifying areas where this relationship can be aided has the potential to improve multiagency collaboration effectiveness, encourage knowledge sharing and interaction, and address prevailing hurdles in terrorism studies and counterterrorism practice to facilitate greater understanding of terrorism. This will not only have implications for academic practice and understanding but inform counterterrorism practice.

Research Questions

To what extent do field-specific and individual challenges impact wider academic-practitioner interactions and relationships in the field of terrorism studies and counterterrorism?

To what extent do field-specific and individual opportunities facilitate academic-practitioner interactions and relationships in the field of terrorism studies and counterterrorism?

Is there a disconnect between academics and practitioners within terrorism studies and what areas can be identified which could improve any divides?

3.2. Theoretical underpinning of qualitative research

3.2.1. Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research is designed to provide insights into thoughts, feelings and experiences, and tends to use smaller sample sizes compared to quantitative research due to the level of depth of analysis (Sutton and Austin, 2015; Vasileiou, Barnett, Thorpe and Young, 2018). Experts working in the terrorism-related fields were interviewed to provide insight into the obstacles in the field, thus acting as primary data sources. In this instance, this research adopts Glaser and Laudel (2009, 117) definition of an expert interview, as "*people who possess special knowledge of a social phenomenon which the interview is interested in, and expert interview as a specific method for collecting data about this social phenomeno*n". Identifying such an expert has been outlined as expertise which "*must be publicly acknowledged, for instance through publications, media presence, professional position, etc*" (Bogner and Menz, 2002, 41; as cited in Wieser, 2017; 51). By utilising expert interviews, this provided an insight to the experiences of those working in the field, identifying opportunities to strengthen multiagency approaches. Qualitative interviewing allowed for interpretations to be explored through "guided conversations" and allowed for narratives to be presented (Kvale, 1997; as cited in Warren, 2011, 4). This was preferable over quantitative research due to the nature of exploring the perspectives of terrorism experts as it

gave a deeper insight into their experiences rather than a statistical, measurable output, placing the researcher in the interviewee's world (Coolican, 2019, 3).

3.2.2. Grounded Theory

This study adopted a Grounded Theory approach due to the systematic approach to data collection and analysis leading to theory formation, working in a cyclical process. This allowed for theoretical understanding to be developed as new ideas were presented and explored. Although the researcher had a level of pre-existing knowledge of prevailing and current barriers to terrorism research, which has been discussed, this approach allowed for the exploration of additional factors to be incorporated into the data collection and analysis stages as they are introduced by interviewees. This was taken into account when considering the epistemological approaches for this research.

Grounded theory was established by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as a qualitive methodology which works to ensure rigorous research through "the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, 2). Initially, this was established as a sociological methodology, however this qualitative method has extended its use into social sciences and beyond, including its use in fields management, finance and public health (Strauss and Corbin, 1997). Grounded theory marked the beginning of the change in qualitative methods; signalling a shift from "intuitive and impressionistic" approaches allowing researchers to utilise systematic procedures for data gathering and analysis, uniting process with the development of theory (Charmaz, 1996, 28).

Charmaz outlined six characteristics which are central to grounded theory as stated by Glaser and Strauss. These explain that data collection and data analysis are conducted concurrently, allowing for emerging codes and themes to be identified from the data rather than having defined hypotheses which are tested. These codes are then developed and tested through theoretical sampling to refine and confirm researcher's categories. Memos are also required in the form of academic notes, discussing theory development throughout the research process. The notion of bias is removed from grounded theory, with calls for the researcher to have no pre-existing hypotheses or notions prior to data collection, requiring literature reviews to be conducted post-data collection and analysis (Charmaz, 1997, 28). By implementing this process, Glaser and Strauss (1967, 6) claimed that the concepts and theories that emerge will not only have a systematic approach, but also be grounded in the data, improving empirical rigour (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, 6).

As the concept of grounded theory developed, Glaser and Strauss adopted different approaches; with Glaser using grounded theory as a method of discovery, adopting a positivist approach, whilst Strauss, in collaboration with Corbin, regarded this as a method of validation assuming a constructionist approach (Howard-Payne, 2016, 52). The researcher undertakes differing roles in these approaches; remaining as an external and neutral observer in the Glaserian grounded theory, whilst the Straussian method calls for the researcher to become personally involved in order to provide deeper understandings and descriptions regarding the participant's perspectives (Howard-Payne, 2016, 54). Further, whilst conducting research completely free of preconceived notions, is acknowledged as difficult by both academics, the approach to address this differs also. In practice, the researcher must have a direction or agenda for the interview in order to investigate the research subject (Allan, 2003; 8). Glaser (1978; as cited in Heath and Cowley, 2004) suggests that a broad approach to literature reading will allow for an awareness of the general problem areas, whilst ensuring subjectivity as a researcher. Yet, Strauss and Corbin allow for the use of literature and experience to promote theoretical awareness, utilising the sense of self and existing knowledge as a guide (as cited in Heath and Cowley, 2004). This research will look to adopt a Straussian-esque approach to grounded theory, as interaction with the literature and personal experience will be used to guide the research questions, however, the underlying theoretical understanding and emerging themes will be produced throughout the data collection and analysis stage.

The data collection and analysis phases, as mentioned, run simultaneously and are controlled by the theory development (Charmaz, 1996, 28). In terms of analysis, open-coding is the process which aims to disregard 'noise' from the data to identify phrases or recurring ideas which are relevant to the research, known as coding, or individually as code. Codes which relay a common theme are collectively grouped, creating a concept. Concepts are continually grouped to identify commonalities which are defined as categories through a process known as Axial Coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). It is the development of these conceptual categories which are the foundation of the theory, therefore the theory originated, and is truly 'grounded' in the empirical evidence, hence Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Allan, 2003; 1-3, Walker and Myrick, 2006, 549). Through Selective-Coding, the categories are reviewed and revised to allow for the theory to be defined and distinct. This process provides a means of organising the data through a systematic approach, whilst allowing the researcher to construct theoretical meaning through the development of themes and descriptions (Walker and Myrick, 2006, 549). The cyclical relationship between data collection and analysis in grounded theory allows for emerging factors to be identified in analysis and explored in subsequent data collections.

Although this research has an understanding of the current issues facing the field, the nature of the relationship between academics and practitioners is not fully established in the literature, and thus, through the use of a grounded theory approach, insight into this can be explored and hypothesised.

The Application of Grounded Theory

As a characteristic of Grounded Theory, the data collection and data analysis stages occurred concurrently in a cyclical process, demonstrating the ability to explore emerging themes and ideas with expert participants during interviews whilst allowing a theory to develop (Walker and Myrick, 2006, 551). This process allowed for the development of issues, such as the challenges facing new researchers which was raised by a number of academic experts, such as Expert 9 and 19:

"I think it can be really difficult for early career scholars to navigate that space"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

"I think it is a more difficult career now than it was […] one of the issues for the new researchers coming in is trying to navigate in a work environment where, it is tougher now to get full time, permanent positions"

Expert 19 – Academic Expert

This therefore allowed for the participant sample to expand to additional experts who have experience as new researchers, such as PhD students or early career researchers, to understand where the challenge lies within terrorism studies and allow the themes to emerge through these developments.

The researcher had an understanding of literature to develop a semi-structured interview guide, with questions relating to the common challenges facing academics and practitioners and also exploring aspects which were experienced by the researcher personally. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed following each interview session. These interviews were manually transcribed by the researcher using MS Word and anonymised after transcription to ensure participants could not be identified. This process of anonymity involved removing any identifiable factors such as names, places of work, partnerships or unique experiences.

These transcripts were then imported into NVivo (Version 12) which was used as a software to manage and code data during analysis. N-Vivo provides a straightforward, user-friendly interface which allows the researcher to manage data whilst remaining in control of the analysis process (Zamawe, 2015). Whilst there was consideration of using alternative methods to manage data, such as manually, the researcher had previous experience of using NVivo for previous

assignments and felt confident in their ability, however there was also an abundance of online support videos and tutorials for assistance. Additionally, N-Vivo provides the researcher with the ability to input transcripts and memos, facilitating the creation of evolving analytical frameworks through codes, concepts and categories alluding to the wider theme. There are also options to create Maps through NVivo, allowing for frameworks and mind-maps to be drawn in the same software.

Discovering Concepts and Categories using Open Coding

The initial step for analysis was to identify concepts within the data transcripts. To do so, the researcher used line-by-line analysis to examine any ideas, concepts, experiences and opinions posed by the expert interviewer. These were then labelled in N-Vivo as a conceptual label, summarising the overall intention of the excerpt response. This process was completed with all interview transcripts, in a cyclical approach as interviews were continued, and allowed for these conceptual labels to be grouped to form wider concepts. These concepts were given names in relation to the topic they discussed and in relation to the literature, for example, the following excerpt from Expert 14, was coded as 'genuine interest in their job', then as a concept labelled 'personal interest in counterterrorism' which could then be categorised further into 'knowledge and engagement':

"the people that work in this line of work aren't here because it's just a job, they are genuinely here because they've got a natural interest in counterterrorism"

Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert

As the open coding analysis continued to be developed and demonstrated a clearer picture of the responses in relation to the research questions, the number of codes reduced to form powerful categories which were more pronounced. There were 91 concepts for practitioner expert data and 104 concepts for academic expert data, producing a total of 195 concepts.

Connecting Concepts to form Categories using Axial Coding

Determining the relationship between concepts allows for the formation of specific and tailored categories, allowing for the data to be brought together meaningfully (Rieger, 2019, 7). Strauss and Corbin (1990, 13) required a 'coding paradigm' to be utilised during this analysis phase, considering the relationships between "conditions, context, action/interactional strategies and consequences" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 7). This stage is viewed as a crucial step for Grounded Theory, allowing the categories and concepts to provide greater depth and consideration to the theory (Vollstedt and Rezat, 2019, 87-88). This developed an understanding of each category by

considering the influence of conditions and interactions of each concept (see Figure 1. below). This research also considered these higher categories in relation to the wider literature to form connections with the wider field to provide greater generalisability of the research aims. This also provided greater rigor and power for the emerging categories as they had a wider foundation in literature whilst also being embedded in the data.

The groupings were then labelled through the most fitting title for the category, which can be demonstrated through the framework below. Additionally, the findings were reviewed to ensure relationships between codes were transparent to provide a solid foundation for each category.

Developing Theory through Selective Coding

Strauss and Corbin (1990, 13) outline this final stage as the method of revising categories and perfecting the theory (Walker and Myrick, 2006). This is achieved through establishing the higher coded categories and reflecting upon these to consider the wider theory. To provide imagery, a diagram was created in order aid this step and to view these connections clearly. Additionally, the reflections on interviews written by the researcher allowed for insights on the formation of relationships between ideas, concepts and interactions between the researcher and interviewee. These were similar to what Grounded Theory refers to as memos (Qureshi and Unlu, 2020) allowing the researcher to reflect on the experience, determine the strengths and weaknesses of their interview skills in order to ensure there was no influence or personal bias imposed on the interview data. Through the creation of additional codes and aspects to explore through research questions, this was continued and refined until theoretical saturation was achieved. The data collection and analysis led towards the initial research question exploring the disconnect between academics and practitioners, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters.
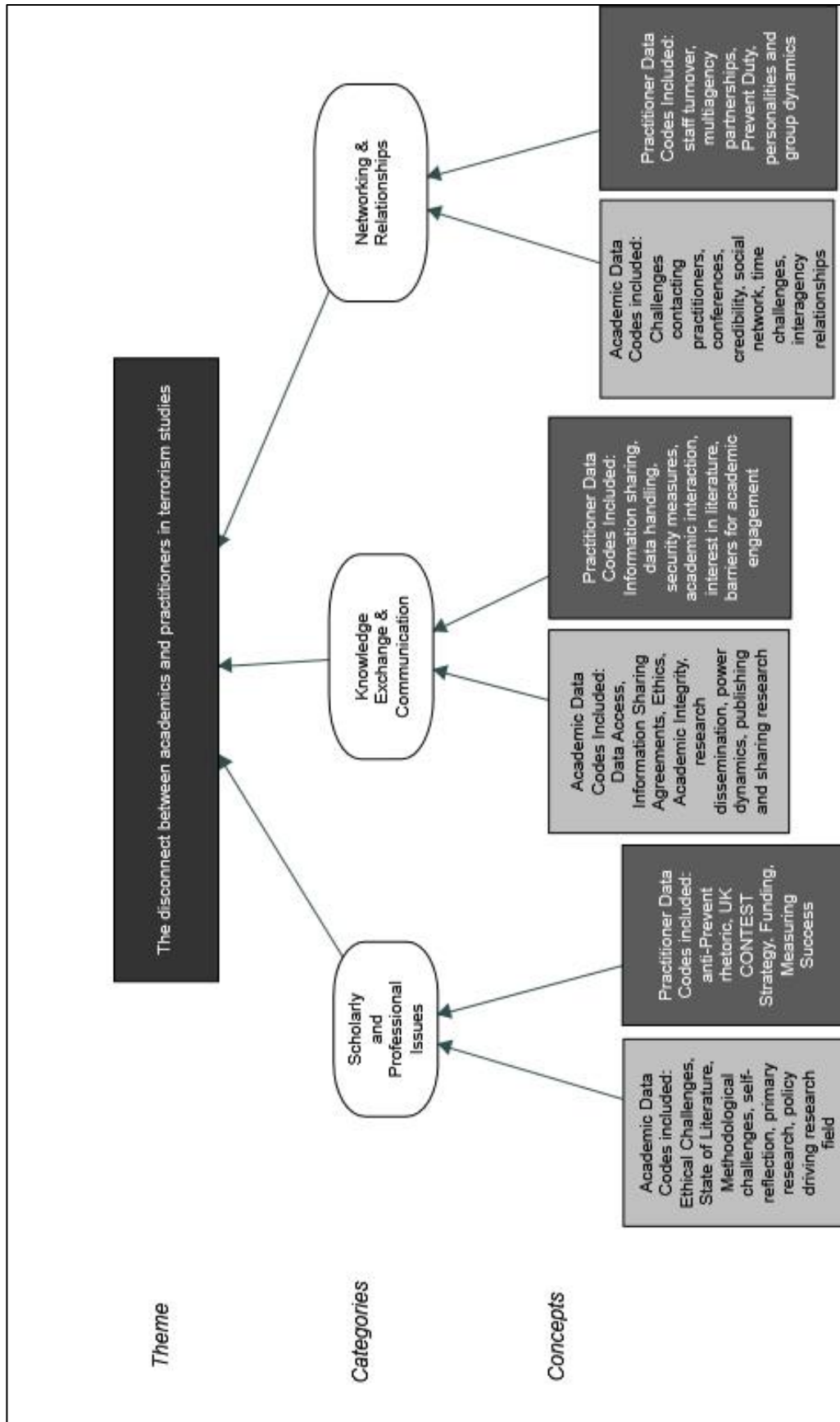
Figure 1. Framework illustrating theory development analysis process using Grounded Theory produced through NVivo 12

The final categories that emerged from data analysis form the basis of the findings chapters for this thesis, and are presented as follows:

- Chapter 5: Scholarly & Professional Issues
- Chapter 6: Knowledge Exchange & Communication
- Chapter 7: Networking & Relationships

These categories all lend themselves to the development of the overall theory which explores the disconnect between academics and practitioners in terrorism studies and the limitations of this relationship. The above diagram demonstrates the framework for the analysis stage of this thesis, including a selection of the concepts which led to the creation of categories and subsequently fed the theory development. Grounded Theory allowed for the theory to emerge from the data directly, and allowed for a scientific, analytical approach to be applied to this research.

3.2.3. Reflexivity

Reflexivity, or reflectivity synonymously, is defined as "processes with the dual aim first of enriching one's lived experience, and then articulating this awareness as a contribution to the deepening of understanding of the field" (Attia and Edge, 2017, 36). By implementing the reflexive approach, researchers are able to contemplate on the overall research process and identify the changes that have had an impact on the research journey and on the individual researcher (Palaganas, Sanchez, Molintas and Caricativo, 2017, 426). This allows for a depiction of the shaping of the current research question, the process to obtain a substantial output and the researcher's impact throughout this journey, ultimately presented as an iterative and encouraging process (Palaganas et al., 2017; 426). Through this process, the researcher becomes a source of information, as their experiences become an element of the overall phenomenon to be explored (Attia and Edge, 2017, 36). This account will allow for self-critique, reflection on decision-making process, bias and the ethical issues that emerge throughout the process, which can prove to provide vital and valuable insight (Begoray and Banister, 2012, 2).

Adopting a reflexive approach allows for the researcher to become a subjective resource, rather than adopting a distanced approach to the phenomenon being explored (Brooks, 2014). In contrast to the traditional role of the researcher as independent from the research, reflexivity allows for the experiences and knowledge to provide deeper insight to the research process (Brooks, 2014). From a social science standpoint, reflexivity is very much interested in the

interaction between the researcher and the research; either adopting a retrospective approach, exploring the impact of the study on the researcher, or a prospective approach which explores the impact of the researcher on the research (Attia and Edge, 2017).

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009, 9) discuss the characteristics of reflexive methodology as "*careful interpretation and reflection*". Interpretation will and must consider existing knowledge and awareness of theoretical frameworks. Reflection, however, can be referred to as the "*interpretation of the interpretation*". This requires a commitment to self-reflection, calling for the researcher to look inwards to consider the impact of their own social background, theoretical knowledge, cognitive understanding and cultural views and review these using a critical approach (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009, 9). This introspective process questions the position of a subjective researcher to explore how the experiences and pre-existing knowledge influences the agenda of the research, and ultimately allows the researcher to reflect upon their relationship to the research critically, addressing their impact on the research process, and thus, increase scientific rigour (Palaganas et al., 2017, 427).

However, to ensure effective reflexivity, there is a requirement for a firm knowledge of qualitative inquiry and the qualitative foundation from which it bases its methodological considerations (Palaganas et al, 2017). In their book, Alversson and Skoldberg (2009, 11) outline the key reflexive areas in which researchers utilising this method should uphold. Qualitative research requires logical interaction with empirical material and should ensure high standards of rigour throughout the chosen technique. This logical and analytical approach must be applied to reflexive working, with researchers working inductively and systematically to ensure these principles are embedded in the research. There can be no disconnect between the method and the theoretical or existing knowledge as these can influence the researcher's interpretations and understanding of the research topic (Alversson and Skoldberg, 2009). Essentially, reflexivity allows researchers to acknowledge the interrelated nature of the relationship between themselves, the chosen method and processes, existing knowledge and experience, the participants and data, and in turn, the role they play throughout the process (Begoray and Banister, 2012, 2).

Reflexivity can be applied throughout the research process. As a process, researchers can incorporate reflexivity through utilising methods for documenting the process, such as the documentation of experiences in a reflexive journal outlining decision-making and initial perspectives. This can then be referred to following interview transcription to determine the presence of pre-understandings and the reliability of these in comparison to the data (Begoray

and Banister, 2012). The success of reflexivity is dependent on the researcher's ability to embrace openness to development, expression of values and skills, both personally and professionally, and ensuring congruence throughout the research process (Attia and Edge, 2017, 37). Additionally, reflexivity can be applied through the adoption of an auto-ethnographical method. This term, emerging over the last 50 years, refers to a research method which "*uses personal experience ('auto') to describe and interpret ('graphy') cultural texts, experiences, beliefs, and practices ('ethno')*" (Adams, Ellis and Jones, 2017). This approach is self-reflective and seeks to explore the impact of the researcher and how it informs the process of the research (Adam, Ellis and Jones, 2017, 2). Adoption of this approach allows for a narrative to be created of the researcher's journey, to provide greater insight into the processes, decision-making and experiences of the researcher.

Qualitative research is often criticised for its weaknesses in subjectivity, scientific methodology and researcher bias (Patnaik, 2013). With the implementation of reflexive methodology, the researcher's perspective becomes incorporated into the design and interpretation of research, providing insights greater than external observations, epistemological clarification and increasing rigour (Patnaik, 2013; Barusch, Gringeri and George, 2011). While there is no review of reflexivity in terrorism research, to the researcher's knowledge, (Barusch, Gringeri and George, 2011) noted that the presence of reflexivity in published social work papers was relatively sparse, being applied in only 14% of 100 sampled articles. It is suggested that the fear of appearing unprofessional, personal nature of disclosing characteristics or concerns whether this would meet editorial demands contribute to the lack of reflexivity in research. However, with increased transparency, accountability and insight, the rigour and validity of research findings are strengthened significantly (Probst, 2015; Barusch, Gringeri and George, 2011; Palaganas et al., 2017).

<u>The Application of Reflexivity</u>

As explained in the Introduction chapter, the underlying influence for this research proposal was heavily influenced by the researcher's own experiences which therefore had the potential to influence the direction of this research. Reflexivity allowed the researcher to develop a narrative of their experience, and a critical reflection leading to the formation of the current research question. Further, reflexivity was considered throughout the data collection and analysis stage by the researcher continually questioning their influence and ensuring to minimise their impact on the data, allowing experts' perspectives and additional themes to be explored. This was

incorporated through memos, allowing the researcher to consider their impact throughout the analysis process also. An excerpt from one memo can be seen below:

"I found this interview a bit more difficult than previous because the interviewee tended to change opinions throughout, however I felt that I was able to be reactive in my questioning"

Researcher, reflection on one Expert interview

A reflexive approach was employed throughout the interview process by ensuring the researcher considered her impact on the interviews and allowed the interviewees to speak freely and explore their own experiences without interviewer bias or leading questions. This allowed for greater awareness of the researcher's role in interviews and allowed her to develop rapport with expert participants to create a trusting environment which encouraged experts to share their experiences confidently. Additionally, the reflexive aspect allowed for greater introspection during and following interviews to highlight methods to improve style and questioning to further enhance qualitative interviewing skills. This allowed for reflexivity to be incorporated throughout the research project, from the conceptualisation, to data collection, data analysis, theory creation and in the findings. Reflexivity is often cited as a concept that is missing from terrorism research and therefore allowing this to be embedded in the research process provides demonstrates the capacity to do so with terrorism research more widely.

3.2.4. Impact of the Coronavirus on research

The outbreak of coronavirus (COVID-19) has had a significant impact across the globe and everyday life. In March 2020, the UK government enforced a nationwide 'lock-down' as an unprecedented step to prevent the spread of the virus, limiting interaction, enforcing social distancing, working-from-home rules and travel restrictions. This government-led intervention had social, economic and political consequences with schools, workplaces and businesses being closed as the quest for a vaccine was undertaken. Furthermore, there was no disclosed end date to this lock-down measure and as such, many people, where possible, were having to self-isolate, limit socialisation and work from home for prolonged periods.

This thesis was beginning the data collection stage of the research at the time of the outbreak and as such, a number of considerations arose. Whilst this research initially intended to conduct face-to-face interviews, due to restricted travel (being essential only) and social distancing, these were not permissible. Therefore, the researcher worked to ensure that video and phone call interviews were possible and ensure that she was aware of the challenges of this interview format in order to combat any weaknesses as much as possible.

Additionally, there was significant difficulties recruiting participants for interview as there was a significant impact on workloads, navigating work requirements and the changing format as people began working-from-home. For example, for academic experts, whilst many universities were still operating, campuses were on lock-down, with universities shifting towards online-lessons, cancelling examinations and assessment offered as coursework. This has impacted the way that university staff operate and teach, requiring increased efforts to facilitate this form of online learning during such an uncertain time. This required lecturers to provide lectures via video-conferencing with students presenting opportunities for technical difficulties, student engagement and knowledge sharing as the environment differed from classroom-based learning. Similarly, for practitioner experts, those working in offices and in public-facing roles were faced with navigating the changing work environment and establishing new working practices while faced with such uncertainty. It was therefore challenging to recruit participants as many did not have capacity due to the challenges of becoming accustomed to the uncertain and rapidly changing working requirements and working from home dynamics.

In recent years, reviews of the social impact of coronavirus have emerged and continue to be produced, demonstrating the impact on mental health (Choi, Heilemann, Fauer and Mead, 2020), working practices (Restrepo and Zeballos, 2022) and wider societal impacts (Hiscott et al., 2020). The impact of coronavirus influenced the data collection period of this research however it allowed the researcher to explore alternative techniques for the most effective data collection methods and for gathering participants to ensure the research could be conducted to the highest standard. These will be explored below.

3.3. From Theory to Practice

3.3.1. Overview of Research

Participants

Experts will be interviewed to give an insight into their experiences of working in the field of terrorism studies; either as academics or as practitioners. The term practitioner is used to refer to a working professional, outside of academia, involved in investigating terrorism, gathering intelligence, risk assessments or furthering counter-terrorism work. The term academic is used to refer to scholars who have contributed to the understanding of terrorism with a high profile for their research or identified through the publication of terrorism-related research articles. Academics will have a range of expertise covering topics within the field including terrorism

research, counterterrorism policy, risk assessment and radicalisation. Participation will be entirely voluntary and no incentives will be provided for participation.

Participants were selected through purposive sampling and also utilised snowball sampling through existing contacts and networks. As the research has a focus on UK counterterrorism policy and terrorism research environment, experts based or working within the UK were approached. Academic experts were identified through their public profiles on university webpages, published works in academic journals and networking at conferences. Practitioner experts were identified through public access websites, networking at conferences and through their active and publicly accessible social media accounts such as Twitter and LinkedIn. Professions included but were not limited to academic researchers, thinktank researchers, counterterrorism police officers, policy advisors and Prevent officers. There was a total of 32 participants interviewed; comprised of 16 academic experts and 16 practitioner experts. The age of participants ranged from 18-25 and 65+ years old and included 23 males and 9 females. Information about participants in relation to excerpts referred to in findings chapters can be found in Appendix A.
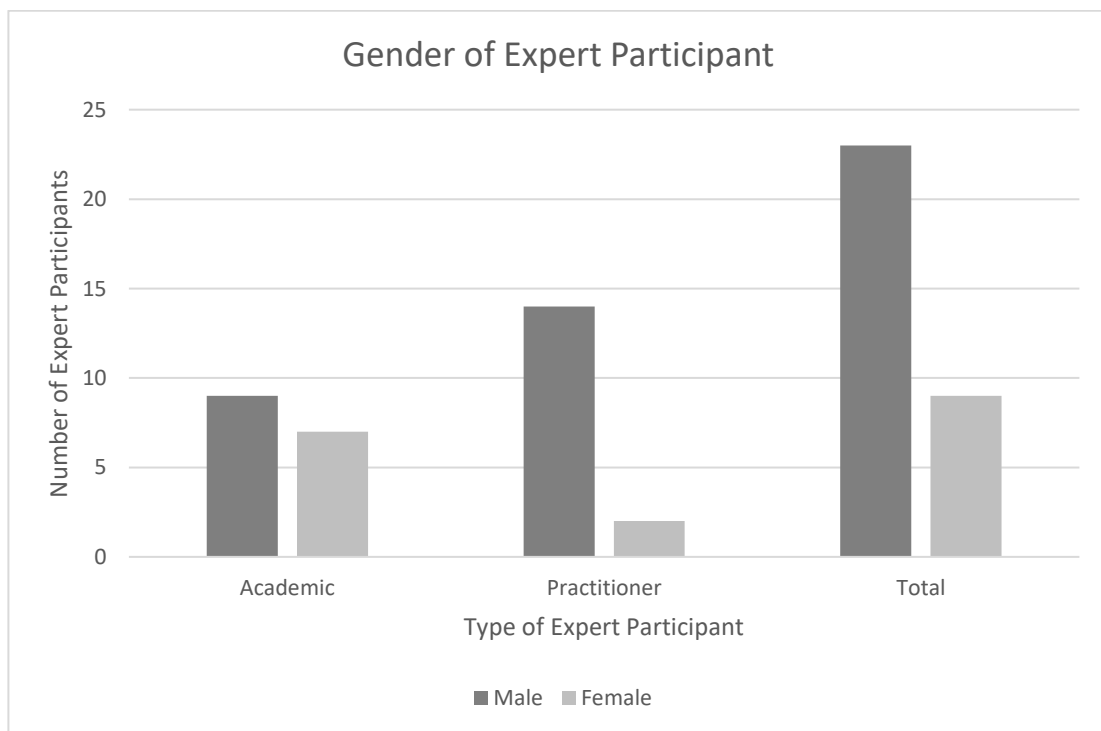
Figure 2. Graph of Gender of Expert participants interviewed for this research
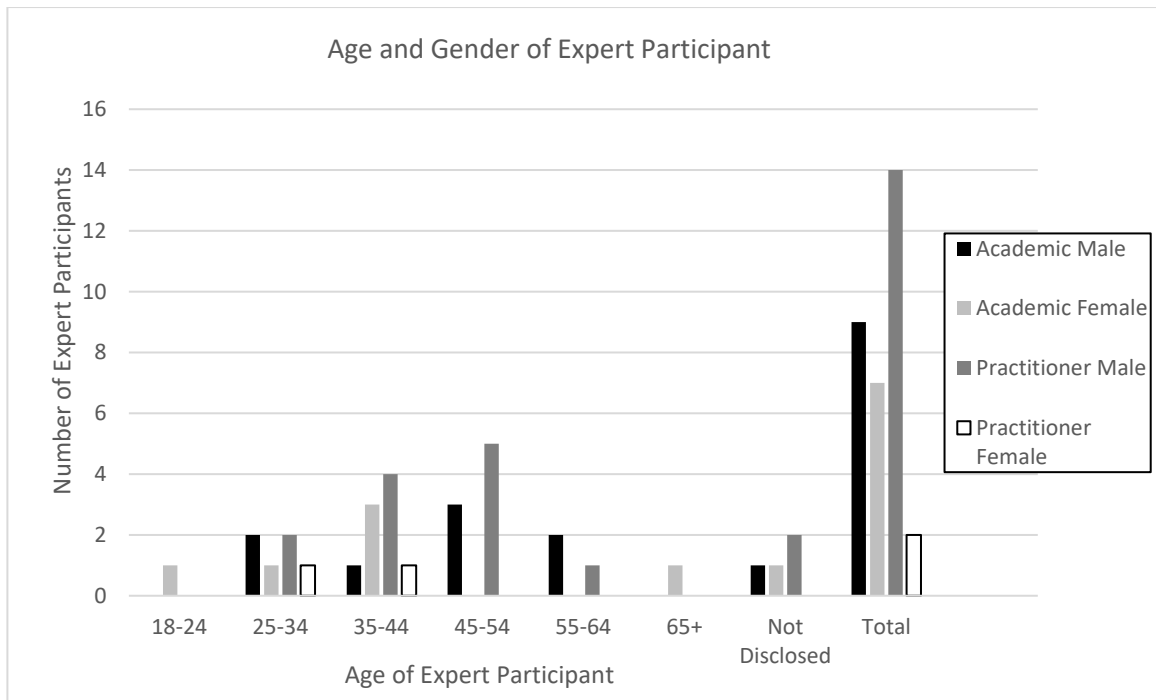
Figure 3. Graph of Age and Gender of Expert participants interviews for this research

Materials and data collection

Expert participants were asked about their experiences of working in the field of terrorism studies, the potential barriers which can restrict academic-practitioner relationships, and asked for their outlook for the future of terrorism studies. Aspects which were explored for academic experts included issues in terrorism research such as methodological struggles, ethical considerations and data access. For practitioner experts, aspects explored included multiagency partnerships, interaction with academia and the UK Counterterrorism strategy. Finally, the relationship between academia and practitioners was explored widely. This was in the form of a qualitative semi-structured interview which lasted between approximately 50 minutes and 1.5 hours. Participants were contacted via email with information about the study [Appendix B – Participant Information Form] and be asked if they were willing to participate. Following this, the consent form [Appendix C] and Demographic Questionnaire [Appendix D] was sent to provide greater information and this was completed and returned prior to interview. Participation was entirely voluntary, and consent was obtained following their interest in participating before any interview was conducted. Before the interview commenced, the consent form was discussed with the expert participant and they were offered to ask any questions or concerns, and to confirm their willingness to participate.

Procedure

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts, and whilst video calls were offered, all expert participants opted for their interview via phone call. All interviews were audio-recorded to allow for transcription post-interview. Participants were asked for their opinion and experience of working in this field, as well as exploring the wider definitional issue plaguing the understanding of terrorism, and if differences impact approaches. Questions were tailored to the type of expert, either academic or practitioner, in order to provide a comprehensive insight into the experiences of the individual. The interview schedule explored the established issues outlined in the literature, as well as providing experts scope to express their own views of achievements and failures in the field, therefore utilising the strengths of the semi-structured interviewing technique. Experts were fully debriefed following the interview and be provided with contact information for the researcher and thanked for their participation.

3.3.2. Qualitative Semi-structured Interviewing

Qualitative Interviewing is a technique used in various fields as a method of developing an in depth understanding of a phenomenon from those with personal experience and gaining further knowledge. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, 3) stated that this technique "*attempts to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations".* This allows for insight into a unique experience and is often utilised by researchers in social sciences for data collection. Although the concept of interviewing is relatively uncomplicated, there are many factors to consider in order to acquire an unbiased and reliable information. The research paradigm and interview type are dependent on the conditions of the environment, interviewer and interviewee.

In qualitative research, interviewing is the most common practice and involves three main types of questioning; structured, semi-structed and unstructured (Mason, 2002; Stuckey, 2013; 56). These styles share similarities with the intention of understanding opinions, beliefs and thoughts of the interviewee however differ in relation to the level of control exerted and conversational direction from the researcher (Stuckey, 2013; 56). A variety of question types are used in qualitative interviewing to introduce new subjects or allow for deeper exploration into answers. Open-ended questions allow for interviewees to give a free account, possibly producing lists, short answers or descriptive narrative answers (Weller et al., 2018, 2). Closed questions provide a precise or definitive answer, whilst probing questions can be used to encourage the participant to explore their answer further, and this can be in the form of a leading question for

confirmation, repeating what the participant said – known as an echo, and also through silence, encouraging the participant to continue speaking (Edwards and Holland, 2013, 73).

When considering the interview approach, the researcher explored structured, unstructured and semi-structured interview techniques. Structured interviews, also referred to as standardized or closed interviews possess a rigid style using identical pre-determined questions which are asked in the specific order for every interview. This approach does not allow for expansion or clarification on answers from the respondent, and additionally does not allow for the wording of questions to be adjusted for levels of understanding (Coolican, 2014; 169–170). However, the strict structure allows for the interviews to be conducted and replicated by different researchers and reduces researcher bias. This method is usually utilised in quantitative research as this data lends to quantitative data analysis.

Unstructured interviews differ as although the researcher has devised aims and objectives for their research, this flexible approach allows participants to talk without restrictions, using personal references and ideas. The researcher is able to respond for clarification, or to trace meaning in unexpected themes that emerge throughout the interview, however this technique requires flexibility to allow for the participant to provide the information (Edwards and Holland, 2013; 29-30). This technique is beneficial as it reduces interviewer bias and the interviewee may be more relaxed, therefore aiding information recall (Coolican, 2014; 170). However, due to lengthy interviews, this may result in less participants being interviewed due to time constraints and therefore may affect the information available which is relevant for the study (Arksey and Knight, 1999; 98). This technique is usually recommended for long-term field work as individuals are able to express their views at their own pace without interference (Jamshed, 2014; 87).

However, as this research aims to interview experts, a semi-structured interview was most suitable. A semi-structured interview combines characteristics from both structured and unstructured interviews producing qualitative data due to the nature of the approach. Typically, the researcher has prepared a series of questions or topics to discuss in the interview with the questions being flexible in terms of their wording and how the individual may respond. There is a degree of flexibility; encouraging the interviewee to provide their own answers and views. The researcher is still able to probe responses given by the individual for more information. This style will have the same basic questions covering the research topic. This approach uses open ended questions to provide richer and potentially more genuine responses and creates an informal and natural atmosphere.

In terrorism studies, it is relatively rare for methodological processes to be published in research articles, however many studies refer to the use of semi-structured interviewing. Semi-structured interviewing has been used to explore a range of topics in terrorism research, including interviewing terrorist offenders and ex-offenders (see Spalek and El-Hassan, 2007), experts and practitioners (see Rushchenko, 2019; McIlhatton et al., 2018), and community members (see Lynch, 2013). This approach allows for a great volume of information to be collected whilst exploring theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of responses (McIlhatton et al., 2018). This approach is additionally beneficial for terrorism studies as there is a lack of clarity surrounding fundamental terms, such as "terrorism" and "radicalisation". Semi-structured interviews provide interviewers to probe responses for deeper meaning or explanation, therefore obtaining an extensive insight from responses (Horgan, 2012, 206). A skilled interviewer is required as the interview relies on the rapport between the researcher and participant to ensure the participant is relaxed and provides reliable information (Coolican, 2014; 170; Edwards and Holland, 2013; 29).

3.3.3. Interview Format

The Coronavirus pandemic had a significant impact on this research as this coincided with the data collection period. Whilst initially, the researcher intended to conduct face-to-face interviews, this was no longer possible due to the restrictions on travel and interactions, and nationwide working-from-home policy to reduce person-to-person contact. The researcher offered video calls with participants, however all participants opted for voice calls. Additionally, the data collection period was also extended to account for experts being unavailable, allowing for a larger participant sample to be achieved.

Telephone interviews posed a number of advantages and disadvantages in practice of data collection. Face-to-face interviews are primarily viewed as the most reliable and richest source for interviewing as telephone interviews can present challenges in terms of building rapport, losing non-verbal cues and contextual information (Drabble et al., 2016). However, methods can be imposed to ensure that this is addressed effectively (Saarijarvi and Bratt, 2021). This can include additional follow up or probing questions to ensure that additional information is collected to supplement the absence of visual cues. Further, active listening and clear communication can aid the process, reducing misunderstandings and ensuring a flow to the interview (Farooq and Villiers, 2017). Nevertheless, telephone interviews provide greater logistical possibilities, with greater availability for scheduling and reducing time constraints (Self,

2021). The ability to hold phone interviews allowed for the geographical scale of the sample to be across the UK rather than specific to locations which could be easily travelled, allowing for a broader sample and experiences of individuals in the wider community. As interviews lasted approximately 1 hour, telephone interviews were not as time consuming for either party, as there was no travel to consider, calls could be scheduled whenever the participant had availability and there were no meeting requirements, such as organising a meeting room or facilities. Additionally, there is less financial strain and travel requirements and increased safety for the researcher (Drabble et al., 2016; Self, 2021). Finally, Opdenakker (2006) suggests that individuals are more comfortable and open when being interviewed over the phone due to the sense of invisibility and privacy. This was an important element to consider for expert interviews as they were asked to explore their own experiences and perspectives, therefore allowing a distance between the interviewer and interviewee could provide a sense of comfort to the expert to allow for greater disclosure and openness. Therefore, by adopting methods to counteract any weaknesses in this format, telephone interviews can be an efficient platform for qualitative interviewing.

The interviewer also considered video interviews, through platforms such as MS Teams and Skype, as they presented an opportunity to provide both verbal and non-verbal cues without having to have the interviewer and interviewee meet in person. This could provide a method which is not only time-efficient, but also financially advantageous, with no travel costs. It provides a real-time connection between the researcher and interviewee and allows for both parties to be in a familiar and comfortable environment, which may aid the level of information disclosed. However, Lo Iacono, Symonds and Brown (2016) noted the difficulties associated with this method, possibly affecting rapport building, restricted non-verbal cues, and poor internet connection disrupting the interview flow. As discussed, while this was offered to participants, telephone interviews were the preferred method of contact and therefore no video interviews were conducted.

Audio recordings allow for easier and richer data transcription and provides a basis for reliability and clarity (Al-Yateem, 2012). Additionally, notes can also be taken to document the interview to prompt and guide the researcher to explore additional points raised by the interviewee. Concerns surrounding anonymity and confidentiality in experts not wishing to be audio-recorded were explored, for fear of professional or reputational repercussions, however details on how their information will be anonymised was provided and data protection was of the highest priority. Notetaking would offered instead of audio recording interviews if there were any concerns from interviewees.

The researcher used their personal Dictaphone to audio-record interviews to aid transcribing data for analysis however notes were taken to counter potential human or technological errors. These were only accessible and solely accessed by the researcher. Audio files were deleted and all notes were destroyed after the interview was transcribed to ensure data confidentiality and anonymity. All participants were willing to be audio recorded for their interview and were happy for the researcher to take notes throughout the interview, and this was confirmed prior to beginning the interview, as all expert participants were asked for their consent to be recorded and made aware of the interviewer taking notes throughout the interview also. Informed consent was obtained before any recording commenced.

3.3.4. Rationale of Questions in Interview

An interview guide was created to provide structure to interviews to explore the experiences of academics and practitioners in their fields widely. This was devised to provide the researcher with a structure for the interview, however as a semi-structured interview, this was flexible and adaptable to allow for the interviewer to respond to ideas proposed by the interviewee and explore their own perspectives. This interview schedule was constructed by considering the areas discussed in the literature and the researcher's personal experiences which allowed for the narrative of the research question to be explored.

Question schedules differed between academic and practitioner interviews to facilitate for the differences in experiences and professions to be explored. For example, it would be inappropriate to question practitioners on methodological challenges in terrorism research as they are unlikely to have experience of this, whilst academics were similarly likely to have little experience delivering counterterrorism policy on the front-line. Therefore, questions were tailored for this divide in experience, however there were core questions which were able to be delivered in all interviews to provide some structure to discussions. The rationale of these questions shall be discussed in this section.

Introduction

In order for participants to feel comfortable, each interview began with an introductory question, allowing interviewees to provide an overview of their career journey, their area of interest and their experiences in the field. This question was devised in order to allow participants to feel comfortable in sharing with the interviewer without any pressures of challenging or complex questions, to ease into the interview process.

- *Can you tell me about the [work/research] that you do and how you got involved in this area?*

Definitional Debate

As explained in Chapter 4, the definitional debate is an issue which has plagued terrorism studies and can be divisive in terms of how to conceptualise terrorism. Determining which factors to include in their definition establishes an experts' positioning in the field and their view of terrorism, and therefore to understand their perspectives, it is important to ask their definition. Further, it allowed this study to explore the definitional debate and frame this thesis in relation to the wider field through establishing a definition of terrorism.

- *As you know, my study is looking into terrorism specifically, and I think one of the looming questions in terrorism studies centres around how to define it, so could I just ask how you would define terrorism?*
- *I'm sure you are aware that there are many definitions for terrorism, do you feel that it would be important for a universal definition of terrorism to be accepted and applied widely or is this possible?*

Multiagency Working and Relationship Building

Central to exploring the interactions between academics and practitioners is to understand how they operate both within and outside of their fields. This was referred to as multiagency working for practitioners and explored networking and interagency relationships for academics.

- *Are you involved in any multiagency working?*
- *If you don't mind me asking, what external partner agencies do you collaborate with?*
- *How have you found building these relationships with other agencies?*
- *Are there any barriers for MA working? What are the challenges for this working arrangement?*
- *How have you found networking?*
- *Would you say networking is an essential part for research on terrorism?*
- *Are there any risks to engage with policy and practice?*

Strategy and Prevent

As discussed, the UK counterterrorism strategy has been a significant focus for terrorism research since its implementation. For practitioners, this was an opportunity to explore their experiences of delivering this policy and understand the opportunities and challenges they face when interacting with practitioners and academics in this space. For academics, it was an interesting aspect to consider their positioning towards government counterterrorism policy, Prevent criticism and the counterterrorism efforts in the UK. Further, to understand these

experiences individually allowed for potential divides to be identified which could allude to a disconnect in terrorism studies.

- *Do you believe the current policies and strategies are effective in combatting extremism?*
- *Are you involved in any work with government or policy work?*
- *Do you feel that the government actively seek to hear from practitioners and academics?*
- *Are there any challenges for [practitioners/academics] when engaging with policy?*
- *What are the major challenges for your work in this area?*

Data/Literature

These questions were devised to explore academic perspectives of the state of the literature such as data access and methodological struggles. For practitioners, they were posed with questions relating to information sharing, knowledge generation and funding. Through understanding the challenges which are unique to each community, synergies can be established through shared concerns and through awareness of challenges facing the other party.

- *Is it straight forward sharing intelligence?*
- *Have you experienced struggles with data collection and access?*
- *Do you believe there are any methodological issues in the field of terrorism studies?*
- *What has been the impact of funding in this area?*
- *What are your most common sources for new information for knowledge and understanding?*

Stagnation in Terrorism Studies

Sageman's article in 2014 prompted a response from terrorism scholars who responded to his negative review of the field and its interaction with intelligence agencies, provoking subsequent articles and outputs refuting his claims. Yet, the arguments posed in the article divided scholars, which some agreeing that there was a degree of stagnation in the field, whilst others disputed this. This question was posed to determine the expert's positioning within the field and to determine their outlook on terrorism studies.

- *In 2014, Sageman noted stagnation in the field of terrorism, how much do you agree with that statement?*

Closing remarks

These closing questions were posed to provide a conclusion to the interview and allow the participants to summarise their experiences and perspectives. The interviewer addressed the overall research question directly here, having allowed the expert participant to explore their

own viewpoints casually and without pressure throughout the interview. The inclusion of such questions towards the end of the interview allowed for expert participants to have formulated their opinions by considering their own experiences and thus provide support to their previous answers by addressing the questions directly.

- *Do you think the relationship between practitioners and academia could be strengthened in any way?*
  Would you say there is a disconnect between academia and practitioners?
- *Finally, what is your outlook for the field and how do you see this developing in the future?*

This interview guide provided a supportive framework to explore perspectives and experiences of experts, and as with semi-structured interviews, there was a degree of flexibility to questioning. These questions listed above were not necessarily raised in all interviews due to conversational flow, nor should it be considered as a set list of the questions which were explored during interview.

3.4. Ethical Considerations and Reflections

3.4.1. Establishing Rapport

Establishing positive rapport with expert participants is essential to ensure that there was a level of trust been the interviewer and interviewee. Rapport is understood as the positive connection between the interviewer and interviewee leading to satisfaction for the interview process, increased recall and greater disclosure from the interviewee (Hillner, 2022), and by creating a positive rapport between the researcher and interviewee can establish a foundation of trust. As the researcher relies on the participant to enhance their understanding of the research topic, methods to facilitate rapport building can information sharing, such as ensuring authenticity and openness in communication, active listening and demonstrating respect (DeJonckheere and Vaughn, 2019). Harvey (2010) further supported these measures and suggested transparency, flexibility and maintaining high professional standards when interacting with experts. Establishing a positive rapport was central to the interview process to ensure participants felt comfortable and able to share their experiences in a trusting and professional environment.

Spradley (1979), along with other researchers (Dicicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006), depicted a series of stages in order to build rapport successfully between the researcher and participant; apprehension, exploration, co-operation and participation. The apprehension stage is characterised by elements of ambiguity and anxiety for both the interviewee and interviewer

due to the unfamiliarity with the new situation. Initially, the first question is required to be open-ended and relatively non-directive, although relating to the research. The exploration phases signals when the interviewee provides in-depth descriptions, leading to bonding between the participant and interviewee through listening, learning and sharing. This is followed by the co-operation phase which illustrates a growing mutual sense of comfort and trust during the interview, signalling an opportunity to ask sensitive questions. Finally, the participation phase signals that the highest degree of rapport has been established, encouraging the interviewee to guide the interviewer through their answers (Spradley, 1979).

In order to establish a professional rapport, it is essential for the researcher to be prepared for the interview. Whilst the benefits of a positive rapport are well documented, there is not a clear or distinct way to develop this. Gremler and Gwinner (2000; as cited in Bell, Fahmy and Gordon, 2016, 208) suggest that this can be developed through interviewer behaviour, such as courteous behaviour and common interests, empathy and honesty, and information and advice sharing. As the interviewees are experts in the field, it is important that the researcher familiarises themselves with the expert's contributions to the field; be that published papers or their role and experience (if available). This will demonstrate a level of respect, and also provide the researcher with a firm foundation for the expert's research or knowledge area, and allow this to guide the interview to gain deeper insights.

3.4.2. Informed consent

Ensuring that participant consent is 'informed' is crucial to any research to protect both the researcher and participant (Jones, 2012; Morrison, Silke and Bont, 2021). In order to achieve this, the researcher must clearly outline the research process with an explanation of the potential risks, outputs, and the possible scale of impact of the study (Jones, 2012; Morrison, Silke and Bont, 2021). Importantly, informed consent must be completely voluntary, and with the absence of pressure, dishonesty and deceit (O'Neill, 2003). Additionally, participants must be aware that there will be no consequences for their refusal to give consent, have an awareness of how their information will be managed and have the opportunity to ask questions (Jones, 2012; Grossman and Gerrand, 2021).

In this study, participants were provided with the Informed Consent Form [Appendix B] as required by the University of Winchester's ethical guidelines and RKE procedures. Prior to beginning interview, the informed consent form was discussed in detail and the expert participant was provided a platform to ask any questions or address any concerns. Participation

was entirely voluntary, and experts were made aware of the management of their data and given the option to withdraw within 30 days following the study should they wish. Following this date, data was anonymised and therefore it would not be possible to identify any individual participant from the data. There were no instances of participants withdrawing their data and all participants who agreed to interview provided their informed consent.

3.4.3. Power Dynamics

Although qualitative interviews are relatively informal in their structure, the associated power dynamics are multifaceted. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) have stated that this suggests the interviewer and interviewee are not equal partners throughout the process and therefore presenting an opportunity for a power struggle between the two parties. The interview process is dynamic with a shifting degree of power between the two parties. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) stated that most human interactions and relationships comprise of ranging power dynamics and thus "*the point is not that power should necessarily be eliminated from research interview, but rather that interviewers ought to reflect on the role of power in the production of interview knowledge*" (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015; 38).

In terms of language, the 'interviewer' is perceived to exert power over the 'interviewee', however many researchers have argued an inherent level of power for both positions (Anyan, 2013). The interviewer controls the environment and setting, and initiates questioning relating to their area of research therefore possessing an aspect of power (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015; 38). However, the interviewee also holds power throughout the interview as they control the content and manner of their responses, which is essential to the conversation. This can alter interpretations made by the researcher relating to their verbal and non-verbal actions signalling reactions or attitudes surrounding topics discussed during the interview. Additionally, the interviewee is responsible for the volume of content they provide and therefore the interviewer cannot attempt to speed up the process, suggesting another power dynamic (Nunkoonsing, 2005; as cited in Anyan, 2013).

An additional power dynamic to consider is the profile of the interviewee. Interviewing experts with extensive knowledge and experience in the field alters the power dynamics from the interviewer holding the majority of the power. As an expert, the interviewee acts as a source of expert knowledge, and as such, the interviewer may choose to appear less powerful and thus awarding power and direction to the interviewee in order to allow for them to drive the direction and insights of the interview (Anyan, 2013, 3). Further, adopting a more submissive

interviewer approach may play to the status of the expert, rather than having an experience as a power 'struggle', it will allow for an experience of learning and intellectual discussions. It is paramount that the interviewer upholds the professionalism of the situation, which can be displayed through preparedness, clear interview objectives and professional dress code. Further, power dynamics may differ depending on the profession of the expert; academic or practitioner. The researcher's position of a PhD researcher may hold different status in each community, and therefore the researcher was aware of their impact on the interview.

Power dynamics also have a different level of effect depending on the method of interview. It has been suggested that power dynamics are stronger in face-to-face interviews compared to telephone or video interviews (Drabble et al., 2016). In order to mitigate problems with power dynamics, the researcher must not only recognise their role in the interview, but the impact of this on the data collection and analysis process (Anyan, 2013). Adopting a reflexive approach proved useful for this stage to establish a narrative of transparency, critical engagement and reliability.

3.4.4. Data confidentiality, security and storage

Although this research project is exploring terrorism research, the research does not gather sensitive data on terrorism itself but rather the experiences of those working in the field. This, however, presented alternative ethical considerations to consider. The information gathered related to the experiences and opinions of the interviewee and as such, this may have been restricted in terms of what they can share, or what they are willing to discuss. Further, as the experts are working professionals, all efforts to ensure data protection were enforced to prohibit the identification of the interviewee. As part of the consent form, interviewees were offered to create a unique code which was be paired with their data should they wish to withdraw their data, for up to one month. Following this, the unique code was be deleted in order to ensure complete anonymity. When the interview is transcribed, all identifying factors, such as names of individuals or organisations was anonymised to ensure that individuals were not identifiable.

All data was stored on the researcher's personal laptop, which is password protected and used solely by the researcher. It was also be backed up on the researcher's account on the university system, which is also password protected and used solely by the researcher. All information was anonymised to ensure identity protection and only accessed by the researcher and discussed with the researcher's supervisory team. All data, audio transcriptions and interview transcripts will be deleted upon completion of the thesis. Experts were advised of these measures to be

reassured of the protection of their data and were made aware of how their information will be used through the information sheet. The information gathered was anonymised and analysed for the researcher's PhD thesis. Research will adhere to the ethical requirements of the University of Winchester and uphold 'gold standard' ethical guidelines and data protection practices, such as those outlined by the British Society of Criminology, British Psychological Society and Economic and Social Research Council.

3.4.5. Reflecting on Methodological Challenges

Maintaining control of interview

Control is often raised as a methodological challenge when conducting qualitative interviews as the participant often holds a degree of power as the knowledge holder and information sharer (Thummapol, Park, Jackson and Barton, 2019, 5). When considering the questioning approach, the researcher felt it best to use open-ended questioning and allow participants to freely answer regardless of length of response, to ensure their narrative was captured (Doringer, 2020). Whilst some scholars suggest preventing long responses to maintain control (Gray, 2004), a level of improvisation from the researcher can provide direction to the interview however does not harm the flow of conversation (Knapik, 2006, 83). In relation to this study, this is emphasised as an expert in their field and asking for their personal experiences, therefore control was influenced by such power dynamics. With these dynamics, one consideration which the researcher was mindful of was remaining in control of the interview, allowing for questions to be explored by the expert participant, but ensuring the interview remained on course to be relevant for the wider research question.

When reflecting on this, it could be noted that when experts began to move away from the interview question, they often tried to relate back to the initial question to ensure they had provided their full answer, without interference from the researcher who was allowing free-responses:

> *"... so just repeat the question on that one because I'm going off track a little bit..."*
>
> Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert

Additionally, there was acknowledgement from another expert who clarified at the end of their interview that they were aware of possibly moving away from questions, they would be happy to provide clarification. This response demonstrated that they felt comfortable with the format of the interview as they were able to speak freely, in a relaxed manner to openly discuss their

experiences without pressure. On reflection, this was a positive reaction to the researcher's interview style, and demonstrated a positive interview environment for participants to explore their experiences:

"I know I tend to ramble on about various bits and pieces but, if you listen back over it and think there is something you wish you asked or I didn't quite nail it for you, feel free to give me a call back or send me an email. I'm more than happy to clarify bits and pieces for you, because ultimately, I want to help you get done what you need to do. I'm more than happy for you to give me a shout and I'll help you out if I can"

Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert

Trust and Rapport

As mentioned, due to the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic coinciding with the data collection stage, the interviews for this research were not conducted in a face-to-face setting. While video interviews were offered, all interviewees opted for a telephone interview, which raised concerns over establishing rapport and trust with the interviewee. As literature suggests, face-to-face interviews have many advantages by providing additional information such as body language (Vogl, 2013, 137), as well as establishing a connection due to being able to interact in person (Vogl, 2013, 135). Whilst face-to-face interviews are often viewed as the ideal format for qualitative interviews, these were not permissible in the current climate and therefore, telephone interviews were hosted, and therefore the challenges of creating rapport, connection and trust with participants was at the forefront of the interviewer's mind.

To address this, the interviewer began the interviews by explaining about the study and allowed time to answer any questions from the participant. The first question was then utilised to allow participants to get comfortable talking, providing information about their experiences without any pressure of answering challenging questions. The interview was in a conversational tone and the researcher was keen to make the interviewee comfortable through responding to their answers, actively listening and creating an atmosphere of trust. Upon reflection, these efforts proved positive as many experts closed their interviews by commenting on the researcher's interview style and that they enjoyed the interview experience.

"No worries, Amy. And really nice to speak to you and you've got a lovely interview style so thank you so much."

Expert 32 – Practitioner Expert

Interviewing Expert Participants

In order to gain insight into the relationship between academics and practitioners, it was essential to speak directly to those individuals involved in this environment, as experts in their field. As a PhD student, it felt rather daunting to approach well-established terrorism scholars and highly experienced counterterrorism practitioners to speak with them about their experiences. This was due to a number of considerations, such as appearing professional to those operating in a field which the researcher intends to begin a career, to make a positive impression on high profile individuals in terrorism research and to demonstrate their ability as a researcher. In order to counter these feelings, the researcher ensured they were well prepared for each interview, ensuring the question schedule was sufficient, that there was flow to the conversations and employed reflexivity to their own inputs in the interviews. Upon reflection, this was a successful approach as the researcher received positive comments on their interview style and their questions throughout many of the interviews, demonstrating engagement from the expert participant and questions which challenged their thinking:

"these are really good questions because they are really challenging me to think through things because I'm struggling to give a definitive answer because the more I've thought about it, the more complex it becomes"

Expert 17 – Academic Expert

CHAPTER 4: FRAMING THE 'DEFINITIONAL DEBATE'

Outline of Chapter 4: Framing the 'Definitional Debate'

4.1. Introduction

4.2. Summary of Relevant Literature

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4.4. Defining "Terrorism"

      4.4.1. Features of Terrorism

      4.4.2. Summary of Definitional Debate

4.5. Universal Definition

      4.5.1. Perspectives from Academic Experts

      4.5.2. Perspectives of Practitioner Experts

      4.5.3. Summary of Universal Definition

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide context for the definitional debate for terrorism in the literature and position this research. It will outline the existing debate for conceptualising terrorism, review the definitions provided by interviewed experts to explore the understandings held by academics and practitioners. Additionally, it will explore the need for a universal definition of 'terrorism' which currently does not exist. This will provide a foundational understanding of the prevailing debate and will provide insight into the experts' understanding, positioning this research to explore barriers for academics and practitioners within terrorism studies.

4.2. Summary of Relevant Literature

As mentioned in the literature review (see Chapter 1), the definitional debate has circled terrorism studies for decades, with great efforts to provide some conceptual clarity to the question: what constitutes terrorism? (Simeon, 2019, 1). The term terrorism is ambiguous, sparking fierce debate as many have struggled to produce a universal definition which encompasses the complexity due to the emotionally and politically charged subject (Silke, 2004,

2). This is mirrored through the diverse range of definitions held by government bodies, practitioners and in policy, both nationally and internationally, as illustrated in Chapter 1.

In terms of the etymological origin, the first documented use of the term 'terrorism' has been traced to the "Reign of Terror" during the French Revolution, between 1792-1794 (Greene, 2017, 413). Originally used as a phrase with connotations of justice with the State punishing those against the revolution, terrorism rapidly became a political insult following the demise of the radical-Jacobins (Geffroy, 1979; as cited in Rapin, 2009, 165-166). There has been a growth in the application of the term, with over two-hundred definitions in existence globally, and this is ever-growing (Jackson, 2008; Matusitz, 2013).

Features of terrorism are intensely debated, with the social context, political agenda, or individual perspectives shaping the lens by which terrorism is viewed. With new terrorist threats, tactics and motives evolving and targets changing, the ability to define terrorism proves challenging. With this level of subjectivity, individual perspectives have a crucial role in shaping understanding of terrorism, as eloquently illustrated though Silke's analogy of the "Blind Men's Elephant" which sees three men describe an elephant when faced with one feature of the animal (Silke, 1996). In this, Silke explains that the man presented with the elephant's trunk will likely describe the shape of an elephant as that of a snake, whilst another grasps its leg and may describe the animal as sturdy and pillar-like (Silke, 1996). Silke concludes this analogy by stating, "*focused only on one aspect of the elephant, they have missed the reality of the creature*" (Silke, 1996, 12). This demonstrates the impact of differing perspectives and demonstrates the need for an adaptable understanding. Practitioners require a practical definition which provides an actionable position for legislative powers, whilst academics are influenced from their field of study or position in the argument of terrorism. This leads to inconsistency in understandings within and across these communities leading to a range of features which are used to classify terrorism.

The conceptual disparities have fuelled calls for a universal definition, which has been at the forefront of terrorism studies for many years, creating lively debate amongst scholars to provide conceptual and analytical clarity (see also Schmid, 2011; Richards, 2014; English, 2016). This challenge raises two questions; firstly, is a universal definition required? From a legal perspective, there is an undeniable requirement for conceptual clarity in order to remove uncertainty or doubt for classifying crimes and for successful conviction (Simeon, 2019, 2). The subjective nature of terrorism presents opportunity for exploitation and creates challenges for convicting those who have committed acts of terrorism. The interdisciplinary nature of terrorism

within academia leads to a wealth of definitions which has created disparity in understandings, enabling claims of a lack of consensus in terrorism studies masked in subjectivity (Zulaika and Douglass, 2008).

The second question addresses the practicalities of producing a universal definition. The well-used phrase *"one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter"* is often cited in the face of disagreement and inability to reach and seems to accurately encapsulate the scale of the problem. With the incorporation of political agenda, social and normative values, the perception of terrorism is masked highly in subjectivity. As anti-terrorism efforts have increased, the literature has become plagued with an ever-growing wealth of definitions, which is mirrored within policy and organisations. The subjective position of the individual defining the concept has a major role in how terrorism is understood and identified (Ganor, 2002, 287), however subjectivity provides no foundation when seeking conceptual clarity or provide an analytical and reasoned approach to countering terrorism (English, 2016).

Contrasting this, Ramsay (2015, 212) suggests that there does seem to be a consensus when defining terrorism, claiming that the issues conceptualising terrorism have been exaggerated, and inconsistency within academic understanding is not unique, nor is it a reliable indicator conceptual understanding. Conceptual debate is rife within numerous academic fields including social sciences, and therefore the inconsistencies observed in terrorism studies are not necessarily as significant as one would be led to believe. Whilst there may be indecision outlining the exact wording for the definition, there seems consensus for identifying terrorism.

Different approaches have been applied to produce a universal definition, and as such the debate is at an impasse (Richards, 2013). Firstly, as with any interagency collaboration, a shared understanding is of great importance. When a shared definition is held, the subsequent aims, values and directions can be focused based on the understanding of the issue (Warmington et al., 2004, 43). As terrorism is a complex problem for practitioners and academics, holding differing definitions will shape understanding and strategic approach. Secondly, a consensus encourages greater academic-practitioner collaboration, as there is shared clarity and thus, greater analytical rigor to improve working methods and understanding.

Exploring terrorism definitions held by academic and practitioner experts provides context for the subsequent views and perspectives that the expert provides, the challenges faced and the wider academic-practitioner relationship. Furthermore, it allows this thesis to carefully consider and adopt an understanding of terrorism which is relevant to both academics and practitioners in the field.

4.3. Data Analysis: Method

This research therefore explored the definitions held by experts to examine the features which are viewed as significant for defining terrorism and to determine any distinguishing factors for practitioners and academics. Using methods similar to Schmid and Jongman (1988) to explore the conceptual understandings, the following section will explore the features highlighted in expert definitions' and will discuss the significance of for each community.

All experts (32 participants overall; 16 academics and 16 practitioners) were posed with the question: "how would you define terrorism?". Experts were asked to provide their personal definition, if held, rather than reciting a definition on behalf of their organisation. This was to avoid any reliance on taught definitions or those held by organisations and allow for the features viewed as important to become apparent. This produced 32 responses in which 9 (28%) illustrated a reliance on the legal definition proposed in Section 1 of the Terrorism Act (2000), 4 (13%) claimed to not hold a definition or flexible definition depending on context, and 19 (59%) provided their own definitions. The responses demonstrated not only synergies between academic or practitioner perspectives, but features held within each community.

Additionally, 24 experts (13 academics, 11 practitioners) responded detailing the need for a universal definition for terrorism, and about the practicalities and possibilities of this. The responses demonstrated that the majority of experts felt that a universal definition was not essential (18 experts; 10 academics, 8 practitioners), compared to those in support (4 experts; 2 academics, 2 practitioners) and others were undecided (2 experts; 1 academic and 1 practitioner). The interview answers were examined to analyse the reasoning behind the responses to identify features which support or oppose the creation of a universal definition.

4.4. Defining "Terrorism"

4.4.1. Features of terrorism

To establish the characteristics disclosed when defining terrorism and their occurrence in definitions provided, the frequency of each element was determined, as illustrated in Table 1. Determining the frequency allows for common elements to be identified to comprehend the similarities and differences held. This demonstrates synergies or inconsistencies between elements referenced by the academic or practitioner approach to conceptualising terrorism. This review produced 25 elements of terrorism, illustrated in Table 1. Any elements which interconnect will be discussed as singular element rather than individual features, for example, *violence* and *force*. Word Clouds were also created in order to demonstrate the main features of

the definitions. These are illustrated below demonstrating the overall response (Figure 4), the response from academic experts (Figure 5) and from practitioner experts (Figure 6).

Element	Frequency Overall	Frequency in Academic definitions	Frequency in Practitioner definitions
Violence; force	75.00%	81.25%	68.75%
Political ideology; political goal	65.63%	56.25%	75.00%
Ideology; ideological motivation	34.38%	25.00%	43.75%
Threat	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%
Target of Violence	25.00%	12.50%	37.50%
Public	25.00%	18.75%	31.25%
Criminality; law-breaking	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%
Fear	21.88%	25.00%	18.75%
Religious; religiously motivated	21.88%	12.50%	31.25%
Indirect Victims	18.75%	18.75%	18.75%
Socially motivated; social change	18.75%	18.75%	18.75%
Influence Government	18.75%	6.25%	31.25%
Racial; racially motivated	15.65	6.25%	25.00%
Tactic; Method	12.50%	12.50%	12.50%
Damage	12.50%	6.25%	18.75%
State	12.50%	25.00%	0.00%
Group	12.50%	18.75%	6.25%
Casualties	9.38%	0.00%	18.75%
Non-state	9.38%	12.50%	6.25%
Extremist; extremist views	6.25%	0.00%	12.50%
Psychological impact	6.25%	12.50%	0.00%
Grievance; intimidation	6.25%	0.00%	12.50%
Coercion; exploitation	3.13%	0.00%	6.25%
Intergroup Conflict	3.13%	6.25%	0.00%

Table 1. Frequency table reporting elements used to define 'terrorism' by academic experts, practitioner experts and the overall understanding

Figure 4. Word Cloud illustrating the most common conceptual factors from experts provided during interview

Figure 5. Word Cloud illustrating most common conceptual themes from academic definitions provided during interview

Figure 6. Word cloud illustrating most common conceptual themes from practitioner definitions provided during interview

Violence was the most common element mentioned in expert definitions however academics mentioned this slightly more frequently than practitioners (81.75% to 68.75% respectively). This feature was also in the majority of organisational, governmental, and scholarly definitions. The inclusion of violence seems expected due to the range of violent tactics employed by terrorists, such as the use of suicide bombers, mass stabbings and vehicle attacks. The use of violence is not specified to one particular ideology or group. One aspect that became apparent during interviews was the desire to identify terrorism as a tactic or method of violence, as opposed to aligning the definition with existing or future threats. As discussed by Richards (2014, 217), viewing terrorism as a method of violence allows for classifying terrorism in terms of the crime committed rather than by those who committed the act, moving from an actor-centric approach to crime-specific focus. This provides greater analytical ability and scope to understand terrorism:

> *"We need to take each act on its own merits. We can't say that every piece of illegal activity that is carried out by a group such as ISIS, or a group like the Real IRA or the New IRA, should be defined as an act of terrorism. It's not just that a group is defined as a terrorist group and therefore everything they do is terrorism. We have to take each individual act as occult. […] some aspects of illegal activity […] would be better defined as acts of organised crime or non-political criminality"*

> Expert 15 – Academic Expert

Jackson (2011) noted that a direct focus on actors may ignore normative employments of terrorism, such as to oppose oppressive regimes, and the tendency to look favourably upon the actions of the state, or the '*inherent moral bias towards states*', infects the classifications of

terrorism (Jackson, 2011, 122). Therefore, viewing terrorism by the acts of violence is essential due to the complex and multifaceted nature of the crime itself.

"Section 1 of the Counter Terrorism Act […] so that's the definition I would go by. I think violence is probably the key word I would use in terms of the personal definition for me"

Expert 3 – Practitioner Expert

For the majority of experts, violence or the threat of violence was an essential feature of terrorism, and the absence of this within conceptual understanding is problematic. Concerns were raised following the 2011 iteration of the UK Counter Terrorism policy and its focus on extremism generally, and the inclusion of non-violent ideology (Richards, 2012, 17). Further stated in the Revised Prevent Duty 2015: "*being drawn into terrorism includes not just violent extremism but also non-violent extremism, which can create an atmosphere conducive to terrorism and can polarise views which terrorists can exploit*" (Home Office, 2015). The first mention of including non-violent ideologies was proposed by former Prime Minister David Cameron, suggesting that "*a key part of our strategy must be to tackle both parts of the creed – the non-violent and violent*" (Cameron, 2015). The inclusion of non-violent ideology suggests that there is a movement away from a focus on political violence and towards ideologies which have been deemed unacceptable by the State (Onursal and Kirkpatrick, 2019, 15). If an ideology is non-violent, does this indeed fall within the scope for terrorism? Acts of non-violent extremism can include recruitment, providing support for terrorism and financial crimes (Becker, 2019). If terrorism is defined by the use or threat of violence, this form of extremism would not be directly relevant. Considering non-violent extremism in this way suggests a non-violent ideology would develop into a terrorism concern.

"If it is non-violent, you question how it can therefore be conducive to terrorism? If it does have any kind of intrinsic connection with violence or terrorism, then it cannot be non-violent … what we are seeing I think is the broadening of the parameters of counterterrorism to include the way people think ideologically, as well as what they do. […] through the emergence or the discourse of radicalisation, […] the lines have become blurred for counterterrorism and its parameters. […] It should be to counter terrorism. […] the sense I get is that counter terrorism is now […] a little bit about countering ideology as well"

Expert 21 – Academic Expert

Another expert questioned:

"…one of the issues I have with the Terrorism Act 2006, is that it includes things that aren't actually violence which is hugely problematic when you start defining people […] of having committed terrorist offences that aren't actually violent […] what is different about a terrorist compared to a non-violent radical?"

However, violence does not solely distinguish an act of terrorism. For example, violence does not differentiate terrorism from other types of criminality, such as domestic abuse or mass shootings. This is where the definition shifts to have a conditional focus on violence, based on the presence of a wider political motivation. Many experts included a political motivation or objective when defining terrorism, with practitioners placing a slightly greater emphasis on this (75%) compared to definitions held by academics (56.25%). A political ideology has long been connected to terrorism, due to the intention of influencing the government, either directly or indirectly. Political motivations differ depending on the terrorist group and can influence the target selection and method of violence used. This can include political targets such as government buildings, events or employees and wider, targeting governments (Ahmed, 2018). In the UK, political ideology is the rejection of fundamental British values such as democracy, the rule of law and mutual respect for all (Stronach and Frankham, 2020). For Islamist terrorism, this is coupled with the desire to establish a 'Caliphate' state and a view of oppression from the West (Home Office, 2018, 7). It is not necessarily surprising that the political element is mentioned repeatedly in terrorism definitions from practitioners and academics. Academics have long concerned themselves with the politics surrounding terrorism and this is evident throughout literature (Jarvis, 2009, 11), whilst practitioners operate within government policy which has a reliance on the political aspect of terrorism and the subsequent consequences on the government.

"I've always seen terrorism as politically-motivated violence or the threat of such violence, [...] which would include religiously-motivated terrorism [...] there is this political dimension to violence which separates terrorism from spree killers or serial killers or some other types of mass violence [...] that is the key characteristic of terrorist violence, the political dimension"

Considering the elements of politics and violence alone does not distinguish terrorism from political violence more generally. This is when the relevance of the target selection comes to the forefront of the argument (frequency of elements: 25% for target of violence and 18.75% for indirect victims). This was an element which was significant for both academic and practitioner experts when asked to define terrorism; however, practitioners tended to place greater emphasis on targeting the public, casualties, and damage, as shown above (31.25%, 18.75% and 18.75% respectively). The use of violence against members of the public is also not specific to terrorism, as such individuals may be harmed during traffic accidents or warfare (Aran, 2019, 988). Yet, what is specific to terrorism is that such victims are targeted with the intention of

achieving a wider goal (Aran, 2019, 988). As Schmid (2011) explains, the target itself is a consequence of the political message; that the impact of publicity will send the message to the intended party, such as the government. As such, victims of terrorism are often civilians who have been indiscriminately harmed as an indirect consequence, and targeted to create great impact (Schmid, 2011, 80-81). This feature of terrorism seems to distinguish the act from other methods of political violence and therefore is an important feature to consider when establishing a definition for terrorism.

> *"any act which causes the public to be terrorised or an act which is motivated to change a society's approach or a government policy or law"*

> Expert 16 – Practitioner Expert

If a political motivation is pursued in the absence of violence, this does not constitute terrorism, however the inclusion of violence or the threat of violence, transforms the act to a form of terrorism. Therefore, the combination of both concepts is essential to classify an act as terrorism. This is further explained by this expert interview excerpt:

> *"…peaceful protests are always something that the police are going to support, terrorism is when you step over that line… but you cross the line into violence to affect those aims. There's nothing wrong with having a political or religious opinion or ideological position […] as long as you use lawful means to […] promote that opinion then that is not terrorism, and I would wholeheartedly support that"*

> Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert

Interestingly, ideology was also cited by multiple experts and featured in almost half of the definitions provided (43.75% of overall respondents; 25% of academic definitions and 34.38% of practitioner definitions). An ideology is a set of beliefs held which justifies certain behaviours, as "*those beliefs are regarded as absolute and the behaviours are seen as serving a meaningful cause*" (Borum, 2004, 3). This acts as the motive for an attack, fuelling actions through an extremist cause which can be political, racial or religious (Ahmed, 2018). Ideology can vary significantly between groups and shapes decision-making, including the attack method, targets and motivation (Ahmed, 2018, 376). The most recent amendment seen the incorporation of racial ideology to the UK's Terrorism Act (Terrorism Act, 2000).

> *"I tend to think of it as individuals of all groups who are wanting to perpetrate harm, so that's violence, the threat of violence, intimidation or […] serious damage, in support of their own ideologies, and that could be religious ideologies, it can be pretty much any ideologies but very much the work that we do is focused around religious or racially-based ideologies"*

> Expert 20 – Practitioner Expert

The exploration of definitions held by the experts who participated in this study demonstrates a level of consistency, regardless of occupation or background, across both practitioners and academics for defining terrorism. This consistency generally followed the trends of the field, as presented by Schmid and Jongman (1988) and Weinberg, Pedahzur and Hirsch-Hoefler (2004). Whilst there was inclusion of additional features by both communities, these reflected the focus on their role and wider interaction. For example, experts with a practitioner experience were more likely to mention features of civilian casualties, and governmental focus. Meanwhile, academic experts suggested elements such as the role of the State and psychological impact (see Table 1), demonstrating the impact of professional position in defining terrorism. Practitioners tend to act in a firefighting role, as suggested by Schmid and Jongman (1988, 179), working to tackle the immediate issues and threats, and therefore having greater emphasis on the immediate consequences from terrorist incidents. Additionally, with the majority of practitioner work being led or directed by government strategy and counterterrorism policy, there is increased importance placed upon the desire to create political change and influence government. This can also be seen in the definitions provided by practitioners, as there is an operational view of terrorism detailing the societal and political impact and the consequences on the tactics employed on society.

For academics however, there is room for the wider debate, as discussed above. Acting as "students of combustion", as analogised by Schmid and Jongman (1988), the role has greater scope for questioning and exploring the wider issues in terrorism. For example, the psychology of terrorism (see The Psychology of terrorism, Horgan, 2014) or indeed, the role of the State. The role of the State has long featured in scholarly debate, with academics questioning the notion that the State cannot commit acts of terrorism, with some scholars excluding the role of the State from terrorism completely therefore focusing on non-state actors (Hoffman, 2006, 18; Aran, 2019), whilst some academics see little distinction between state and non-state actors when identifying terrorism (Jackson, 2009; Jarvis and Lister, 2015). Listing terrorism as a form of "non-state violence" is common, with scholars such as Richards (2014) suggesting that state terrorism should be classified as a form of psychological warfare. Furthering this, Richards states *"terrorism and state terrorism, in my view, are separate phenomena, with the latter being of a much larger scale than the former"* Richards (2014, 235)

Some scholars, including those situated within Critical Terrorism Studies, would put greater emphasis on the role of the state (see Jackson, 2009; or Jarvis and Lister, 2015). By failing to consider State terrorism under the same microscope of morality, which is held to non-State terrorism, it demonstrates a level of acceptance towards specific types of terrorism, if

committed by the State (Jackson, 2009, 179). This argument claims that if the role of the State is acknowledged, it allows for greater understanding of terrorism by improving consistency and allows for improved analytical ability. Defining terrorism becomes less subjective as the parameters of the phenomenon have been clearly set, as terrorism as a method of violence, rather than being defined by the actors utilising terrorist tactics (Richards, 2014). Whilst this thesis does not intend to delve into this area of the definitional debate, the position of the expert in relation to the State may influence their understanding of terrorism.

From the expert responses, it seems that academics require greater flexibility in their understandings and there is a preference to hold a broad definition. It was explained that a definition should 'fit' the criteria of the research and therefore frame the overall research accordingly. One expert explained that they had a tendency to alter their definition of terrorism to correspond with the data they were using, for example, utilising the Global Terrorism Database's definition when referring to this dataset, or adopting an organisation's definition when working with data provided by them. Another expert explained:

"…we would focus only on the criminality […] or use violence to progress your cause, and because that's what our job was, to work forensically with violence, so it was […] violence that we focused on, and it was an ideologically agnostic approach"

Expert 1 – Academic Expert

Practitioners however, demonstrated that whilst an individual definition can be flexible, there is a tendency to rely to the definition provided in statute. The reliance upon the legal definition, provided in the Terrorism Act 2000, is somewhat expected for practitioners as this is often cited in policy, dictates legal powers, as well as influencing training and knowledge. Practitioners highlighted that whilst a distinct definition of terrorism did not exist, this did not concern them directly. A flexible and adaptive definition allows for terrorism to be explored through a range of lenses however setting parameters of terrorism dictates a legislative and legal foundation for action.

"I think it is useful to set boundaries and parameters, particularly again, in the international context so that we know what can be defined as terrorist acts."

Expert 12 – Practitioner Expert

4.4.2. Summary of Definitional Debate

In closing, the features of terrorism identified by experts were explored to determine any differences between academic and practitioner understanding. It is apparent that there are shared elements held by all experts including violence, political motivation and ideology. Due to

the complex nature of terrorism, definitions tended to be flexible and comprehensive to capture the multifaceted crime and are reactive to ever-emerging threats. This suggests that whilst there are differences in understandings, this is not purely between practitioners and academics, but disagreement within subgroups. Therefore, it is likely that the varying understandings held, as long as the main features align, will not negatively impact the academic-practitioner relationship, as possessing differing definitions of terrorism is not a unique challenge in this space, regardless of profession or context.

This study reviewed responses from experts and the wider field and has worked to produce a definition which will relate to academic and practitioner experiences. The definition is as follows:

"Terrorism is a method of violence or threat of violence for a political or ideological motive"

This conceptualisation has been formulated by identifying of crucial elements for experts and considering the wider debate space, whilst keeping this relatively broad in order to encapsulate the nature of terrorism and provide representation for the experts' understanding in this study. The purpose is to provide a broad, all-encompassing definition which acts as an inclusive definition to relate to academic and practitioner settings and provide flexibility and be widely applicable regardless of expertise. It will allow for this research to explore the relationship between academics and practitioners, using this conceptualisation to frame their experiences and understandings.

4.5. Universal Definition

After providing their definition of terrorism, experts were asked whether they felt a universal definition for terrorism would be beneficial for the field or indeed, whether this was possible. This generated a wealth of responses, demonstrating an awareness of the ongoing challenges of producing a universal definition and the relevance for their area of expertise.

"we can't define it, but we know it if we see it"

Expert 25 – Academic Expert

The above quote was mentioned repeatedly when posed with the question of establishing a universal definition for terrorism, demonstrating the struggles of defining terrorism. In this study, there was a general consensus that an agreed-upon definition of terrorism would not be possible, nor would it aid their work. There was recognition of the great efforts to produce this and divided the experts into distinct camps; those who felt a universal definition was not

necessary, those which were in favour of a universal definition and those who felt that it was not possible and instead avoid the definitional debate space entirely.

4.5.1. Perspectives from Academic Experts

Academic experts in favour of a universal definition demonstrated the difficulties of advancing a field with such issues around conceptual clarity. Counterterrorism policy is heavily politicised and is reactive to the government's agenda for responding to terrorism. One such example of this refers to the response to the attack in Vienna, Austria on 2nd November 2020, whereby the government announced their ban on what they termed "political Islam", allowing for preventative arrests, removal of citizenships and the closing of mosques (Moody, 2020). However, concerningly, there was no clarity for meaning of the term 'political Islam'. Furthermore, with such severe consequences for Muslim citizens, this has the ability to target minority populations in society and marginalise individuals further. This is an example of how the counterterrorism responses are sensitive to the political landscape and have wide-reaching consequences for society. The application of a universal definition of terrorism may provide parameters for guiding counterterrorism policy rather than being characterised by a reactive response lacking evidence-based decision-making.

As terrorism becomes increasingly international, the formation of a universal definition which is accepted on the global stage, demonstrates opportunity for greater synergies through international effort. With counterterrorism policy reflecting the political landscape of the country, and heavily affected by politicisation and context, the likelihood of a universal definition seems remote. However, clarity would be beneficial where this context is shared, for example, in regional approaches or national definitions, such as a country-wide definition for a united approach.

> *"…if terrorism is more international than it has ever been, and if therefore more international corporations have terrorism threats or respond to terrorism, then surely, we need to have an understanding as to what it is that we are responding against, and that's the rationale behind having an agreed conceptualisation of terrorism universally. […] whether that is achievable is extremely unlikely, […] at regional levels there is prospects of getting more consensus […] that is probably more likely."*

Expert 21 – Academic Expert

Related issues of disengagement or radicalisation are difficult to explore if terrorism is conceptually ambiguous. This suggests that a universal definition would provide a foundational understanding which would aid operational efforts against terrorism and clarity for terrorism

research. It may aid interdisciplinary working in terms of the collaborations with fields outside of terrorism studies or indeed, with practitioners. By possessing a shared understanding, it provides context for the foundation of the approach for both research and also professional relationships.

"if we don't really understand what it is […] if you can't operationalise it, how the hell do you measure it? […] all roads lead back to that fundamental confusion about what it is that we are talking about"

Expert 11 – Academic Expert

Academics tend to demonstrate that it is not possible to produce a universal definition, however many illustrated little concern around this. This was attributed to two reasons; firstly, that whilst there is not an established definition, there is a consensus on features of terrorism and therefore the absence of a universal understanding is not as troublesome as portrayed. Additionally, the presence of such lively debate is not unique, nor is it restricted to terrorism studies. For example, there is debate within criminology as to how to define crime (see DiCristina, 2016) and similarly in psychology, the nature vs nurture debate has prevailed for decades without any sign of resolution (see Ceci and Williams, 1999).

"…we tend to exceptionalise the notion of terrorism and the definitional debate that sits around it within terrorism studies, but actually there is broad agreement around what terrorism is, […] and the disagreements that exist aren't that different to those that operate in other spaces where academics enjoy arguing about concepts like war or peace or revolution, […] I don't really see the debate is as fractious as perhaps people try to portray it?"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

The inconsistencies surrounding terrorism research tend to be a result of the interdisciplinary approach and multifaceted nature of terrorism studies. Discussing criminology, O'Brien and Yar (2008, xi) mentioned that "*criminology is a multidisciplinary framework whose focus is dominated by questions of crime and justice*" (O'Brien and Yar, 2008, xi). This is an interesting approach from which to view terrorism studies; that the interdisciplinary collaboration fuels the direction and questions when exploring terrorism. Whilst a historian scholar may place greater focus on warfare or historical accounts of extremism (see Laqueur, 1977), a psychologist may consider aspects of victim impact or pathways to violence in greater regard (see 'The Psychology of Terrorism', Horgan, 2014), and a political scientist may explore the State influence or evolution of terrorism (see 'The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism', Rapoport, 2004). This demonstrates the diversity and complexity of the field and defining terrorism by aligning with the researcher's focus provides interesting challenges for producing a universal definition.

"I don't think that it is necessarily desirable to have one definition, and […] it isn't possible to have one that sits across all of those different spaces […]. We're able to cohere around a particular form of violence to sustain scholarly debate […] that's one of the functions of a healthy field of study, […] to have debates about concepts and theories and ideas […], provided that it is productive and constructive […]. I don't think it is necessarily desirable to have a universal definition and I don't think it would be possible because it is […] applied in lots of different sorts of spaces"

Expert 9- Academic Expert

Many academics demonstrated their decision to avoid the definitional debate and placed importance on transparency to position the research within the field. Now considered common practice, academics provide a definition at the beginning of their research paper to provide context for the reader to relate findings with the conceptual understanding, to determine the perspective of the scholar and the area which the scholar is contributing. This practice can be seen in almost every academic paper published on the study of terrorism and it seems that whilst there is such disparity in terms of understanding terrorism, this is a promising method to overcome this disputed space.

"…they need to declare their own definition […] approach, and […] ethical position as well, […] so that people know […] what your perspective is, […] what context, and how that connects with a wider picture. But you can't make assumptions that we are all dealing with the same thing, you have to be explicit. […] rather than waiting for the definition before you start the work, you start the work, you make sure you are clear […] such a way that the reader understands how you have labelled the group and why you have labelled the group in that way, and then you just confine your observations to that"

Expert 1 - Academic Expert

4.5.2. Perspectives of Practitioner Experts

There was a diverse response from practitioner experts, who generally reacted positively for a universal definition, however referred to the current use of the Terrorism Act 2000 definition as the overarching understanding responsible for directing decision-making. It was acknowledged that the inconsistency within the UK has created a definition which is malleable rather than providing a clear and distinct boundary to identify terrorism. As discussed above, the broadness of the definition is often welcomed by experts, who suggest flexibility is required as the threat from terrorism rapidly evolves and new risks emerge. However, an expert highlighted the disadvantage of such a feature, with difficulties when establishing whether an act is or is not terrorism.

"I would not be averse to there being one UK uniform definition of terrorism. […] the Act's definition from 2000s would be […] the prevalent one or the overriding definition, but I would

*have no issue with there being attempts to be more consistent… It is just the broadness of the
definition that you could squeeze in certain actions or activities and say "okay, that could be
terrorism""*

<div align="right">Expert 30 - Practitioner</div>

Similarly, another expert acknowledged that whilst different definitions exist, there is a greater
requirement to provide operational clarity, and that this could be reached by utilising a universal
definition. In terms of practical use, the definition is used to assign cases or workloads to the
relevant specialised team, and the desire for a clear-cut definition illustrates the operational
demands for being able to define terrorism.

*"I would say they are probably already there, the definitions, to be fair, but is important that they
are there for that reason, because […] you need to draw a line. I know it sounds pretty cold when
you're talking about the horrible things that could be happening to people and the personal
things, but there needs to be that line in the sand where you say 'oh sorry, that's not ours to deal
with, that's that department that deals with that'"*

<div align="right">Expert 8 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Whilst some practitioners suggested it may provide some contextual clarity, others remarked
that the impact of a universal definition would not necessarily provide greater advancement
opportunities for their work. The role of a practitioner within counterterrorism, be that policing,
Prevent, local government or policy, has operational impact, and the terrorism definition needs
to correspond with this. As Schmid (2004) outlines, the lack of a clear definition can hinder the
enforcement of counterterrorism strategies internationally, impacting extradition and
counterterrorism methods (Schmid, 2004, 379-380). The absence of this can hinder operational
capacity for combatting terrorism, as the concept and direction are steeped is disagreement.
This is not to say that a unified understanding would not benefit their work, but rather that
understanding is not contingent on being able to recite a word-for-word definition and has
greater reliance on operationalisation in practice; to identify, investigate and disrupt terrorism.
Therefore, there was little concern surrounding the conceptual debate, and greater emphasis
placed upon the practicalities of combatting terrorism.

*"…we can be pragmatic about how we come up with definitions that don't amount to having to
define terrorism and spending too long doing it. I mean from a practitioner perspective? You're
doing to end up going round and round and round in circles trying to come up with a definition
that suits everyone – […] rather than actually dealing with the problem. And when it comes down
to it, most of the time, most people, most governments, most organisations, can agree in
practical terms what threat they are dealing with."*

<div align="right">Expert 12 – Practitioner</div>

There is an opportunity for greater consistency, both nationally and internationally, when a universal definition is utilised. Currently, there is great dispute on the international stage for the components of terrorism, tactics and motives of terrorism. Additionally, the vast differences in threats from terrorism, counterterrorism approaches and political responses inhibits a consensus for defining terrorism (Wojciechowski, 2009, 7). These barriers were recognised by practitioners who felt that whilst a universal definition may provide clarity, the cross-purposes on an international stage would prevent this from being possible.

"…it would be difficult to have one universal one because different people will be looking at it from different ways […] The definition of terrorism would have to be quite vague and broad to be able to capture all the different aspects of what they are trying to do"

Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert

4.5.3. Summary of Universal Definition

This research explores the academic-practitioner relationship in terrorism studies and therefore the definition debate was a central component to explore. From the outset, whilst there is definitional disparity, the overall responses from academic and practitioner experts outlined similar features for terrorism, demonstrating consensus rather than a barrier. Additionally, the academic-practitioner relationship was unlikely to be impacted by differing understandings as long as the fundamental understanding of terrorism was similar. The requirement for a universal definition also differed in terms of necessity, with disagreement about the effectiveness or wider benefits this would provide. It seems unlikely that a universal definition will be reached imminently, therefore, to provide clarity and consistency, methods have been adopted to avoid the related challenges faced. These include adopting a flexible approach, holding a personal definition, or relying on a definition outlined in statute.

The ability to acknowledge but avoid the conceptual muddiness by circumventing the debate allows for academics and practitioners to focus their efforts on advancing the field. There is general consensus from academics that such debate is not harmful to the field and rather, demonstrates its health and success. Researchers can choose to step out of the conceptual box which could restrict the intellectual field, whilst allowing other researchers to interact in a welcomed and seasoned debate. For practitioners, whilst it may provide greater universal consensus, there is not a capacity, nor a need to debate such conceptual issues. With definitions provided in statute, this provides grounding for actions, understanding and decision-making to operate in their role.

As the general features of terrorism seem to demonstrate consensus across practitioners and academics alike, the existence of universal definition has little impact on the academic-practitioner relationship, as there is a shared understanding, therefore need not be a primary concern when exploring this relationship.

"…there is going to be some disjuncture in terms of practical engagement with policymakers, but yes, I think certainly, academic definitions are going to differ from state definitions of terrorism. But I don't think that's a stumbling block in terms of sitting down round a table and talking about challenges presented by terrorism"

Expert 21 – Academic Expert

This corresponds with the position of Ramsay (2015), who suggested that the debate may not raise as many concerns as one would be led to believe. The future of this field does not seem to be contingent on the formation of a universal definition, and the impact of the creation of this does not necessarily provide greater insight within the field. The concern for this research was that terrorism was viewed or defined significantly differently by academics and practitioners, which would then impact potential relationships between academics and practitioners. However, there seems to be greater synergies than differences. Furthermore, the differences, such as the inclusion of the State or non-State aspect, does not seem to impede the overall understanding of terrorism. Essentially, the main elements of terrorism are consistent, therefore any additional features do not necessarily need to act as a barrier for interaction between these communities.

Outline for Chapter 5: Key Findings: Scholarly & Professional Issues

5.1. Introduction to Chapter 5

5.2. Scholarly Issues: Academic Perspectives

    5.2.1. The Presence of an 'Echo Chamber'

    5.2.2. The Interdisciplinary Nature of Terrorism Studies

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    5.2.5. The Impact of the Research Excellence Framework

5.3. Professional Issues: Practitioner Perspective

    5.3.1 Reactive to Policy

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5.4. Summary: Scholarly & Professional Issues

5.1. Introduction to Chapter 5

This chapter will aim to present the challenges facing academics and practitioners which arise in their individual fields and discuss the subsequent impact of these on the academic-practitioner relationship in terrorism studies. The issues discussed throughout this chapter were raised by experts during interview and demonstrate the discipline-specific hurdles facing academics and practitioners which could act to inhibit wider collaboration between these communities. Increasing awareness of such challenges may provide greater understanding and illustrate opportunities to bridge any disconnects, or indeed ease any challenges which restricts academic-practitioner interaction.

As a developing academic field, it is relatively unsurprising that issues exist including epistemological, ethical considerations, political pressure and funding challenges. The politically-charged nature of terrorism presents methodological challenges as a result of its "sensitive, contested and criminal nature" (Spajj, 2021, 366), data restrictions and strict security measures limit access to data sources for research purposes proving difficult to overcome in the past. Sageman's notorious stagnation article (2014) called for non-sensitive information be released to academia for research purposes to overcome data access difficulties and subsequently, improve the relationship between practitioner and academia to reduce stagnation (2014). Schuurman (2018, 10) noted significant improvement from Silke's review (2001) which can be demonstrated simply, by comparing the figures presented by both academics: with 53.8% using primary data compared to 20% previously reported (Schuurman, 10; Silke, 2001, 10), and 39.2% relying on literature review methodology compared to 62% previously. This improvement demonstrates the desire to improve the standard of the literature but does highlight there are methodological challenges which researchers are required to overcome.

As mentioned in the literature review, terrorism research has seen significant attention in recent years, as Spajj (2021) illustrates:

"*Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2021, a thousand new books have been added to the terrorism literature each year. An average of four new books on terrorism is published each day; one book appears every six hours*" (Spajj, 2021, 7).

Yet, an influx of research papers does not necessarily equate to a healthy research field, with concerns of limited access to data, with an estimated 1% of research papers using terrorists as a direct source, as Silke (2008) claimed. And while the influx of research investigating terrorism has coincided with ever-evolving political landscapes and adaptive policy changes battling to reflect the current threat, the existing challenges of terrorism studies have remained. The concerns of a politically-driven research focus have also risen, with voices primarily from Critical Terrorism scholars such as Jackson (2015) who called for greater criticism and independence from politically driven research focus, (2012a, 183). Finally, reviews of the literature also signalled methodological challenges, including weak data collection methods and limited access to primary source data (Schuurman, 2018).

However, when considering the impact of issues within the field, academics are not alone in facing challenges. Practitioners also face a range of barriers when working with highly sensitive subject matter with real-world consequences, restricted data sources and everchanging and evolving policy. Counterterrorism efforts are very closely related to policy, and with the

controversial past of the Prevent strategy, practitioners are often tasked with countering anti-Prevent rhetoric whilst delivering protection for vulnerable individuals (Thomas, 2017). Finally, an additional challenge is the fluctuating funding for counterterrorism programmes in areas deemed priority and non-priority areas (HM Government, 2018). With these considerations, it is also challenging for those working in practice to measure success as, for example, factors contributing to a successful counter-radicalisation programme tend to be difficult to quantify (Mastroe, 2016).

The aim of this chapter is to present the separate challenges that practitioners and academics may face in their individual fields to understand any foundational barriers. This chapter will present the main issues which were raised by experts during interview; as challenges facing academics, and challenges facing practitioners. To do so, it will share the issues highlighted by scholars, and the impact this has on research, and it will also share the issues highlighted by practitioners which they face on a daily basis. This will allow for an understanding of any barriers which may facilitate an academic-practitioner divide and present opportunities to overcome these.

5.2. Scholarly Issues: Academic Perspectives

During interview, academic experts were asked to provide their experiences as a researcher, and to discuss any challenges which they have faced, including those which are widely known in the field, such as data access and methodological constraints. Furthermore, they were asked to provide their experience of navigating these challenges, for their opinion on the state of the literature, and any noticeable improvements or persisting concerns. The responses are explored and examined below.

5.2.1. The Presence of an 'Echo Chamber'

In Silke's review in 2001, the concern was raised of one-time contributors; with an awareness that 80% of papers were by authors who wrote one paper in terrorism studies and then returned to their initial field (Silke, 2001, 12). Schuurman (2019, 10) noted slight improvement in this between 2007-2016 (almost 75%) however, warned of a lack of field-specific researchers. The consequence of this is that the field-specific research community remains relatively small in terrorism studies, creating self-referential research with an overreliance on existing literature, raising calls of the creation of an echo chamber (Youngman, 2020, 11). The challenges of

sourcing primary data can emphasise this, resulting in knowledge being recycled, limiting the production of new information (Gunning, 2007, 365).

In one interview, an expert discussed their opinion on how echo chambers come to exist in terrorism studies, suggesting that the repetition of similar data and reliance on the same literature stifles the advancement of the field, and suggested that ultimately the lack of empirical data sources is damaging. Moreover, the expert's response illustrates a domino-effect: suggesting a poor empirical foundation for research is magnified by access challenges, ethical considerations and the sensitivity of the subject, ultimately forcing an overreliance on information which can be accessed by many, thus suggesting the validity of Youngman's (2020) echo chamber concerns:

"one of the things that comes across quite powerfully is just the lack of empirically-based, empirically grounded studies in the area, […] you get a lot of the same sort of small data points being recycled and recycled, […] the theories are too powerful for the methods […] that's one of the central problems. […] there isn't enough empirical data and that's because of the difficulties of undertaking that work, access […] researcher safety, co-operation, and just difficult… time consuming, costly... as well as getting it through institutional ethics as well to even undertake that work, I mean now, that's got worse and worse, anything that has been deemed to be security sensitive research…"

Expert 11 – Academic Expert

Limited data access presents various issues including a reliance on open-source material, such as databases like the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), and other sources such as media reports or court documents. Whilst the GTD holds information on more than 200,000 terrorist incidents from 1970-2020 (GTD, 2022), and provides great analytical information for assessing the impact of policy, geospatial risks, and global terrorism, the database is not without weakness (LaFree and Dugan, 2007, 198). McCann (2020, 15) raises issues with differing definitions of terrorism impacting the incidents included in the database and the associated variables and criteria, whist LaFree and Dugan (2007) raised concerns of the quality of open-source information on research frameworks (LaFree and Dugan, 2007, 189; LaFree, 2010). This illustrates the weaknesses of the information that is available to terrorism scholars, and also presents a challenge for academics looking to inform practice or government as research and subsequent findings will be based on the information that is available. If data access is challenging, then open-source information may only provide a limited insight for research to provide a basis to inform others, as explained by expert below:

"all of the research […] is based on open-access so media reports and things like […] manifestos that end up on the internet and that kind of thing, and what you end up with is a very skewed field towards secondary literature, […] you don't get that empirical database. […] you have very,

very broad sets of empirical data like the Global Terrorism Database which are really useful but it is very, very broad and you don't get necessarily the kind of information that government agencies want about why people become radicalised but the people you need to speak to are the terrorists, or the former terrorists and this is where there is a real gap in available material and it's problematic because terrorism studies is this huge field and every single university in the country has a module on terrorism and many, many post-graduate modules on terrorism exist and yet, we are working from such a thin dataset"

<div align="right">Expert 13 – Academic Expert</div>

This expert continued, highlighting their desire to work closer with practitioners in order to access more empirically rich data:

"my wish-list would be that we could get better access to that kind of empirical material from the people themselves or from the experienced professionals who are working in this field. It's a security issue, obviously. But I think there is an over-securitisation of some of this material that is problematic for the field"

<div align="right">Expert 13 – Academic Expert</div>

From conversations, it appeared that the data access struggles and the presence of an echo chamber are interconnected. This is to suggest that while there are issues with accessing primary source data and creating an empirically-sound foundation within terrorism research, the claims of the presence of an echo chamber will remain. The echo-chamber is the product of a research field which has been forced into an insular space due to the challenges of accessing data. And therefore, to counter the concern of the presence of an echo-chamber fuelled by repetitive research, literature or sources, novel ideas of accessing data or approaching methodological tools presents great hope. This sense of optimism was felt amongst academic experts who were interviews, one of which shared the anecdote below:

"Now it is […] about trying to, again, really hugely improve upon a lot of the methodological features that we can bring to the table, that we've seen in parallel fields of psychology, criminology, political science, and apply them in this space. […] I think there have been huge strides forwards, but […] what we're all trying to do is push a boulder up a hill. It's currently really slow, incremental, painstaking, there will probably be steps backwards, but you know, […] I think it is a field that is really flourishing at the moment and it is flourishing in all sorts of different directions. So, it is an exciting place to be a researcher at the moment."

<div align="right">Expert 5 - Academic Expert</div>

5.2.2. The Interdisciplinary Nature of Terrorism Studies

The interdisciplinary nature of terrorism studies was outlined in Chapter 1, discussing the emergence the discipline to draw epistemological methods and ontological understanding from other fields to explore terrorism (Jackson, 2007, 1). Interdisciplinary working is not unique to terrorism, and often raises many challenges which will be explored below. However, where

interdisciplinary working becomes relevant to terrorism studies is the increasingly political and sensitive nature of the topic, coupled with the increased attention terrorism has received from researchers over recent years (Youngman, 2020; Silke, 2001).

The interdisciplinary nature of terrorism studies has long been acknowledged with literature emerging from a number of fields including political science, education, psychology, criminology, geography, history and computer science (Bouchard, 2015). In fact, Gordon (2010, 447) demonstrated that over 100 fields had published research on terrorism, demonstrating an expansive foundation for the literature to be examined across many perspectives and academic viewpoints. Furthermore, interdisciplinary research allows for sharing between academic fields, including the sharing of theoretical frameworks, methodological tools and research practices. However, Youngman (2018) warned that while sharing such information would be useful, critical engagement is essential. This is, to engage with debates and practices in order to use interdisciplinary working as a tool for improvement; to enhance practice, methodological weaknesses and theoretical frameworks (2018, 13).

One expert felt passionately about the importance of interdisciplinary approach for researching terrorism. The interdisciplinary nature of the field mirrors the multifaceted form of terrorism itself and therefore, presents multiple avenues to explore its features. Having the ability to draw from many fields and to have many experts present opportunities to unravel the phenomenon using all available knowledge and tools.

"…terrorism research is not a discipline in itself; it is more a topic for us to research. […] terrorism research has been dominated by political science and international relations for years, but over recent years we've got more criminologists, more psychologists joining up, but also mathematicians, economists, geographers and others who are looking at it now. […] if we are to get the overarching understanding of terrorism, we need to look from different viewpoints, because terrorism can't just be understood just by understanding the political. It can't just be understood just by understanding national issues, you need to understand local issues […] individual issues […] the roles which people have within the terrorist group. You need to understand from the policing or the CT point of view, so to understand those individuals and their strategies and their tactics that they use. You need to understand the sociological rationale, and […] an understanding of finance and from an economic point of view. You need to understand […] the role of trust, the role of interpersonal relationships […] that won't all come from one discipline.

Expert 15 – Academic Expert

This expert continued that while the field as a whole appears to be interdisciplinary, there is not a requirement for the researchers within the field to be involved in multiple disciplines. In fact, the expert proposed that by having an individual being an expert in their own field whilst being

open to interdisciplinary working, allows for opportunities to explore different perspectives for shared problems, such as terrorism.

"We need to have this overarching view looking at different individual disciplines and that doesn't always mean that every article needs to be interdisciplinary, it doesn't mean that every researcher needs to be involved in multiple disciplines. What it means is that for those who are studying the topic as a whole, when we look at the topic as a whole, it needs to be considered from a variety of different ways by the body of researchers who are out there."

Expert 15 – Academic Expert

Another expert felt similarly, and again, their passion for the area was abundant. This expert explained the excitement to take an interdisciplinary approach to develop not only terrorism research, but also to share out with this research area, to contribute to other fields also. The expert explained that by working in a department which operated to foster interdisciplinary working, it not only improves terrorism research, but enhanced their own interest in the field.

"I think, for me as a researcher, interdisciplinary research is just really, really exciting, so I think it ticks both boxes: it's important, but it is also hugely exciting. […] in my department we've got psychologists, criminologists, engineers, mathematicians, statisticians, forensic scientists, chemists […] who are all interested in crime prevention. […] it's a really cool place to work at the heart of that, because any innovations that they do might be relatively applicable to my space. […] that's what I think really attracted me to this field of research in the first place was the interdisciplinarity and I think a lot of the researchers that you meet, especially the younger career ones, kind of have that thirst for inputs from different disciplines"

Expert 5 – Academic Expert

The positivity towards interdisciplinary research could prove beneficial to the academic-practitioner relationship as it has set a premise for working outside of a singular field. Therefore, academics in terrorism studies are particularly versed in being open to ideas outside of their field and are potentially prepared to interact in the wider world of practice.

However, one expert highlighted the implications for an extensive interdisciplinary contribution to the field. Their concern demonstrated the volume of fields contributing made it difficult to identify the impact of research, or indeed the audience. Journals publishing terrorism research extend out with terrorism studies, and indeed span many disciplines. Traditional disciplines such as political science, international relations and social sciences have long published, but there have also been publications for terrorism research in General Medicine, Electrical Engineering and Environmental Science (Gordon, 2010, 446). Furthermore, this expert raised an idea that there is a reigning field which is perhaps more dominant, which was also interesting. The expert suggested a shift from political science in the 2000s, towards a more psychology-focused

preference. This demonstrates the movement of the field, and the significant impact of growth in one area changes the direction of the field overall, and the audience.

"I think it is, but obviously you have different people playing that have different audiences or you know, different people get listened to. I mean certainly there is a lot of interest in the social psychologists or behavioural psychologists in the last few years, they've become very sort of dominant, whereas its more the political international relations [...] more dominant in the post-2001 [...] I think it's very hard to say, as academics, it's hard to stand back and say who is listening to what..."

Expert 1 – Academic Expert

The expanse of journals publishing terrorism research also brings challenges in terms of the quality of research published and may explain the challenges with methodological differences in journal articles for this field. As each field have different requirements for journal articles, methods sections vary significantly between articles, with some disclosing in great detail the methodology of the research whilst it is exempt from other papers. This was an issue which was related to the interdisciplinary nature of terrorism studies by one expert, who explained below:

"...psychology papers and psychology research is a lot more stringent in terms of the way you have to report your methodology, and questions of replication if it is a large-scale study or questions of collaboration in respects of qualitative research, and you just don't see that same level of quality in respect of terrorism studies journals. But knowing that that is not the norm, because you have got people coming in from anthropology, from ethnographic backgrounds, from sociology, from political science, from international relations who just do not think in those terms. They don't have a disciplinary norm that is shared, and I think that does cause problems in terms of quality."

Expert 9 –Academic Expert

The expert continued:

"but that broader point is that there are different norms when you don't have [...] a shared set of norms, particularly in the publishing space then it means that some sloppy stuff can get through and some really good stuff doesn't share it's learning about its methods that it used to undertake the research that then other people can then benefit from, so I think that can be a challenge. But it is not right across the board because there is some research that does clearly articulate the methodology, but [...] it's not the norm"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

Similarly, another expert mirrored this concern. While positive about the benefits of interdisciplinary working, the expert suggested that having such a drive for many areas to publish diluted the direction of the field overall. Furthermore, they suggested that perhaps having a shared, clearer objective for research would provide greater opportunities for

developing the field. Similarly, to what Youngman (2018) suggested, critical engagement was viewed as essential in order to fully benefit from the interdisciplinary nature of terrorism studies.

"on the one hand terrorism studies […] might remain perhaps still too responsive, I think that's probably what I would say, is that it remains a responsive discipline largely. […] it isn't, as a field, positioning itself in relation to particular kinds of debates, and I think that's a functioning part of its interdisciplinarity and its multi-disciplinarity […], there is a core group of terrorism studies researchers now, I think they are identifiable and they are making […] significant progress in different sort of spaces and domains and questions and so on, but I think most of those are still responsive to the contemporary, social, and political context so what I would probably like to see is a slightly more confident articulation of 'so what does this agenda look like moving forward?' and 'how can we be more creative and innovative about our process of engaging with that, and the directions that that goes in"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

A concern of the interdisciplinary nature of terrorism studies is the impact on career progression. There is unlikely to be a specific department for terrorism research specifically, rather that researchers fit into the wider department of criminology or political science for example. For this reason, this interdisciplinary aspect may need to be considered if researchers sit at the gaps between academic fields.

"…that does create its own problems in terms of career progression, because people might fall between cracks of criminology, political science, psychology, religious studies departments, and so it might make that sort of transition from PhD post-doc into a faculty member more of a challenge, but that's just the nature of interdisciplinary work no matter what the problem is, be it terrorism or be it something else"

Expert 5 – Academic Expert

Another expert also mentioned the challenges of career progression, suggesting that it is challenging to remain a generalist in this area, and due to the width of topics and areas within terrorism studies, having a specialisation with the relevant network is easier to maintain. They mentioned that by doing so, it was easier to establish a foundation for research publications and thus, a path for career progression:

"I'm in favour of interdisciplinary research, I think that's where the action is, I think that's where the exciting stuff is and that's my approach, […] it's possible to specialise particularly if you're […] pursuing career advancement and you're after a professorship or whatever. […] naturally you gravitate into a groove and you build up an area of expertise and you write more and more about the same subject. […] it is much more demanding, cognitively demanding but just practically as well in terms of your own social network of contacts, to be able to be working in various different… not discrete fields but […] aligned spaces or in terms of undertaking research in the prisons, secure estate […]. It is just much more demanding to be placing yourself in different areas within the field. It is just more productive to be mining one area and churning out your publications, it's just more efficient"

Following discussions with academic experts, there is a sense that the benefits of interdisciplinary working outweigh the negative aspects. There were important and significant challenges raised by experts with regards to interdisciplinary working, such as career progression, inconsistencies in research formats and methodological requirements, and diluting the literature from enhanced interest from multiple fields, as discussed above. Yet, the ability to draw from other fields to share knowledge, theories and methodology to enhance research within terrorism studies creates an energetic, exciting and vibrant workspace for researchers.

5.2.3. State of the Literature & Methodological Challenges

The sensitive and criminal nature of terrorism has created barriers leading to the methodological challenges referred to in literature. In 1988, Schmid and Jongman stated "there are probably few areas in the social science literature in which so much is written on the basis of so little research" (Schmid and Jongman, 1988; as cited in Schuurman, 2019, 3), which nicely frames the challenges facing academics. The methodological challenges, as previously discussed, refer to weak methods, the omission of methods completely, as well as an overreliance on secondary source material and lack of primary-source research (Silke, 2008; Silke and Schmidt-Petersen, 2017; Jackson 2014a;).

While the challenges have been widely documented, there has been a noticeable increase in recent papers which announce advancements in terrorism research and note significant development in methodological and epistemological considerations (Schuurman, 2019; Lawler III and Benson, 2022). The interdisciplinary nature of terrorism studies also provides opportunity to the exciting use of methodological tools from external fields, however critical engagement is essential to ensure no further weaknesses, as Youngman warned (2018; 11). Youngman explains there is a tendency to apply methodological techniques without considering the practicalities for the research field, the use in wider fields, and theoretical foundations of such methods, therefore greater critical awareness would provide a stronger understanding and application of research methods (2018, 11).

In Schuurman's recent review, he noted positive improvement for many of the areas of concern highlighted in previous reviews. The use of primary data continues to increase, which is also mirrored by a growth in data gathering techniques including interviews and document analysis (15.8%), questionnaires (3%) and terrorist interview data (2.3%) seen across the literature

(Schuurman, 2018, 8). This demonstrates that whilst previously there was an overreliance on secondary sources in over 80% of research, as reported by Silke (2001), Schuurman reported 53.8% of research papers employ a form of primary-source research (Schuurman, 2018, 10). While Schuurman noted optimism, this was not without some areas of concern. The concern of one-time authors remained prominent, and often authors work alone (Schuurman, 2019, 8). However, in a final proclamation, Schuurman makes the statement:

"Research on terrorism has not stagnated; it has begun to flourish" (Schuurman, 2018, 12).

During interview with academic experts, the methodological challenges facing terrorism studies were widely discussed. This demonstrated that such methodological challenges were at the forefront of the mind of experts, with some citing optimism at the development in methodological tools, whilst a degree of concern remained for others. One expert speculated that the issues around methodological challenges could be traced to the wider conceptual debate which plagues the field, as previously discussed. While terms like 'terrorism' and 'radicalisation' continue to be disputed, the methodological challenges could be a result of such confusion, questioning how research can explore features of radicalisation if radicalisation itself is contested:

"…the methodological challenges are partly reflected by the fuzziness of the concepts that we are working with. Radicalisation in particular, how do you study radicalisation? […] because terrorism and radicalisation are of course different things, one is downstream of the other and they both have cognitive and behavioural components supposedly, so you know, studying radicalisation is particularly difficult. What we tend to find is that it concentrates on those who have terrorist convictions and then extrapolate by reverse engineering the problem space and then talking about radicalisation. But of course, what we know is that large numbers of people supposedly radicalising […] don't go onto commit any type of violent act which, in terms of the predicted validity of the concept, that's rather surprising. So, it is bedevilled by this specificity problem throughout, […] I think that just comes back to the problems with the concepts"

Expert 11 – Academic Expert

It was suggested by multiple academic experts that while methodological challenges were an issue, it was not unique to terrorism studies. Such challenges could be seen throughout social sciences and, due to multidisciplinary nature of terrorism studies, it was unsurprising that the field had issues with this. Robb (2020) noted the requirement for greater critical engagement in social sciences to improve methodological standards, Stamatel (2009) called for collective and wide discussions to address the challenges facing criminological methodology and MacLeod (2018) recognised the impact of cognitive demand on methodology for interdisciplinary working. Furthermore, this consideration demonstrates another characteristic of the inward-looking terrorism studies field, due to its desire to continue to enhance and grow.

"I think it is the same across a lot of the Social Sciences that sometimes the methodology is not very good […]. This is a problem that isn't specific to terrorism studies in my opinion. Quite often you see this across general conflict literature and I don't think it is specific to terrorism studies from my perspective"

<div align="right">Expert 13 – Academic Expert</div>

There was acknowledgement of development, but a sense that that while this remained an issue in terrorism studies, this was a product of the multidisciplinary nature of the field itself. One expert mentioned that weaknesses could be accounted to differences in academic training between disciplines. Due to its interdisciplinary characteristic, terrorism studies received contributions from a wide range of fields, each with their own requirements for publication formats and thus, method sections. For example, requirements for stringent method sections for publication within a psychology journal may differ from requirements for other scholarly disciplines:

"I think it has improved but I still think it is a problem. And I think again, it is a function of the multi-disciplinary space in which terrorism studies is situated. Because if you think about the main journals in the field, they rarely have these methodological sections, they just don't invite them"

<div align="right">Expert 9 – Academic Expert</div>

Despite these concerns, there is an overall sense of improvement from experts in this study. As terrorism studies is a self-reflective field, it is not uncommon for scholars to be constantly questioning and critiquing the field to fuel advancement and growth. Overall, most academic experts were positive about the developments but recognise there persisting challenges which require attention in order to match the standards of other social sciences, as explained by one expert below:

"the field has improved a lot on where it was, and I think the standard of evidence in the area has also improved and the quality of the evidence that we are talking about has moved on from where it was. So previously, you were very dependent on case studies and very opportunistic research data and it has moved on from that. People are now asking for more, and there are studies that are providing it. And I think that, you still have issues, […] there is still a big lack of control groups in studies, we're still struggling to reach the standards that you would like to see in mainstream social science. Whether we will ever be able to do that completely, given the applied nature of terrorism studies and the hard-to-reach population that is being dealt with, I don't know."

<div align="right">Expert 19 – Academic Expert</div>

The expert concluded:

"while there are still issues, for me it is very hard to shake off the idea that "you know what, there has been a lot of progress" and I feel that quite strongly. There has been progress and it is

one of where […] we are steadily improving the quality of the data and the quality of the research as a result of that"

Expert 19 – Academic Expert

5.2.4. Stagnation Debate

In 2014, Sageman sparked extensive debate in the field following his article critiquing terrorism studies research and the weak collaboration between academics, the government and practitioners.

"*To draw my point to its extreme: we have a system of terrorism research in which intelligence analysts know everything but understand nothing, while academics understand everything but know nothing*" Sageman (2014, 576).

The notion of stagnation in terrorism studies was met with controversy amongst academics, as many have noted significant development in recent years and viewed the field with a sense of optimism (Schuurman, 2019), while others agreed that there was a degree of truth (Youngman, 2020). In the podcast *Talking Terror*, Dr John Morrison often posed interviewees with this stagnation idea, and found overall a sense of optimism (Morrison, 2020). While most noted that there has been development in the field, there was recognition that there is still room for improvement, specifically to ensure "theoretically, methodologically and analytically superior research" (2020, 17).

However, Sageman's article was not necessarily a direct assault on terrorism studies. The article commented on the wider issues facing the relationship between academia, the government and practitioners, including many of the themes outlined in this study, such as data access and knowledge sharing. For example, any stagnation in academic research due to the inability to access new data sources or restrictions surrounding research. Academic experts were questioned about stagnation to determine whether they felt this is an issue for terrorism studies. There was recognition of a disconnect in knowledge sharing between academics and governments, resulting in a sense that academia falling behind, as explained in the following interview excerpt:

"where I find the slight frustration from time to time, […] I know that research is going on and I know it will never be published because it is based on government data and it is secret data very often and that means that, […] under the collective good of knowledge generation, that there are parallel systems at work and that the academics are lagging behind that process because we don't have access to the data that obviously governments do. Now, obviously the government is, and data scientists […] are asking specific kinds of questions about that data, we as academics

would probably ask different ones, but I do sometimes worry that we are doing research on the outside of the wall and that there are folk in there who have done it 5 years ago […] based on much better data"

<div align="right">Expert 9 – Academic Expert</div>

This was mirrored by another expert, who recognised that when data access is restricted until many years later, the implications of accessing data at a later stage results academia producing dated research:

"…we are sometimes a little bit delayed as well, aren't we? We are a little bit behind the curve. So, you end up researching something that has happened and can become quite out of date, or applying frameworks that are out of date for newer issues"

<div align="right">Expert 11 – Academic Expert</div>

These concerns provided support for some experts who agreed that the field may be stagnating, as warned by Sageman (2014). One expert resonated with the section of the article discussing the disconnect between academics and practitioners and shared the following:

"I thought his points were really quite good actually, and I thought they made a lot of sense. Whilst we are moving ahead a bit more now […], there is still this massive gap between people who do this understanding and people who do this work, and this is something that [practitioners] said to me, you know "we have all the data, we have data, we don't have time to understand the data. You have time, but you don't have the data" […] practitioners are already aware that […] academics can really, really help them to do what they do well, and vice versa but […] it's a gulf between us"

<div align="right">Expert 31 – Academic Expert</div>

However, the vast majority of academic experts strongly opposed the article, with one expert suggesting that it was written as a provocation to promote debate in the field, which indeed it did. The reviews that took place in the following years often mentioned Sageman's stagnation paper (see Schuurman, 2018) and provided evidence to prove the advancements in the field, disagreeing with stagnation in terrorism research. Silke and Schmidt-Petersen (2015) recalled the dynamism of the field, stating that it was "far from being stagnant or moribund, terrorism studies is arguably enjoying a golden age" (Silke and Schmidt-Petersen, 2015, 10). Another expert also had concerns that the statements made within the article were not fully evidenced and therefore read more anecdotally than an evidence-based review. One expert felt that the article made generalised statements of stagnation which could not be applied fully to terrorism studies, as explained below:

"it is very […] broad sweeping […] I wouldn't agree from that point of view. I see the points that have been made in that, yes, I can see some of the points that arguably undermines some aspects

of terrorism research but I think it is too much of a sweeping statement to say that there is stagnation in the field of terrorism research"

<div align="right">Expert 21 – Academic Expert</div>

When posed with the question of terrorism studies stagnating, a great sense of passion was expressed by academic experts and it was evident that they felt there had been significant growth in the field coupled with a great sense of optimism. From one expert, they expressed no doubt that the field had made great progress:

"I mean for me, no question, the field is in much better shape today than it was 20 years ago, it has been transformed"

<div align="right">Expert 19 – Academic Expert</div>

And when this expert was asked their opinion on the future of terrorism studies, they demonstrated a similar expression of optimism:

"we are able to talk about things today in a lot more detail and […] focus than we could have 20-30 years ago […]. If we were to look at the radicalisation process or how people become involved, our understanding of the different factors that play a role are so much stronger today than they were then. And you could see similar types of improvements in a range of other areas, and some of the resources that are available today are incredibly useful […] I'm not surprised […] that while it's not 100% success, it is showing that the field does seem to be improving compared to where it was"

<div align="right">Expert 19 – Academic Expert</div>

5.2.5. The Impact of the Research Excellence Framework

Many academic experts discussed the impact of the Research Excellence Framework, also referred to as the REF, on their research and interacting outside of academia. Interaction with wider society is an essential element for research as an academic to demonstrate impact, as Gearon and Parsons acknowledged, which subsequently has had significant impact on universities (2019, 87-88). In the UK, research funding has long looked to explore the relationship between research quality and the end-user, ensuring that funding was providing impact to wider society. In 1986, to ensure research met such requirements, the UK government established Research Selectivity Exercise, which later, in 1996, became Research Assessment Exercises (RAEs) to allow for "authoritative and comprehensible quality ratings" for all disciplines to inform the distribution of research funding (HEFCE, 2009; as cited in Smith, Ward and House, 2011, 1369; Pinar and Horne, 2022, 173). The REF was introduced in 2014 as a tool to allocate an annual funding budget of £2-billion to universities, replacing the Research Assessment Exercise (UK Research and Innovation, 2022). This worked with the intention to improve accountability for public funding in research and provide a standard for information and

reputation across universities and higher education institutions (HEIs) (UK Research and Innovation, 2022).

The REF examines individual pieces of research on three criteria; "research environment, research outputs and non-academic impact" (Pinar and Horne, 2022; REF, 2021). Increasing the importance of impact, from 20% to 25% weighting (Morrison, Silke and Bont, 2021, 272) has placed a great deal of requirements on researchers to provide evidence of the impact of their research in practice, defining impact as, "an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia" (REF, 2021). This in turn has been met with great criticism from academics and has been the topic of fierce attention in since its enactment. There have been concerns of objectivity when assessing research (Pinar and Horne, 2022, 175), "peer-review bias" (Pinar and Unlu, 2020), and Watermeyer (2016) voiced concerns of research direction being influenced by research considered impactful by funding bodies. This connects with a wider criticism of terrorism studies is that it is interconnected to policy, driven by rapidly changing government agenda as opposed to having independent direction (Crenshaw, 2000, 415; Schuurman, 2019, 464). By connecting funding with the scale of impact in practice, it creates a reliance to be relevant to policy, presenting a wider identity crisis for academics in this space. This sentiment was similarly voiced by Gearon (2018, 51) who suggested that whilst governments or security service fund research, the secretive nature which cloaks the agency prevents awareness of the application or wider impact of subsequent findings.

> *"researchers are defined by the funding that they can get so we need to be able to engage in more open research like funding bodies, and […] develop ways to carry out our research in different ways. Not ignore unfunded research as well. […] we need to have hiring structures in place that will recognise the value of research that isn't just impact driven, so the REF is another thing that is a barrier towards this because we are being constantly told, "okay, you are the terrorism researcher so that of course will have impact, that research will have impact". If you're doing something that is based on 1920s and a small group in what was known as Czechoslovakia, that's not going to have impact. So, you could be pushed and there could be pressure based on the REF to carry out more impactful research and that's not healthy*

Expert 11 – Academic Expert

Identifying whether impact has been achieved from research was raised as a concern from academic experts. The challenge came when researchers were unsure whether their research contributed to practice, as they were unlikely to receive any feedback which attributed any changes to their research. Therefore, this proves difficult to measure the impact of their research as it was challenging to attribute any shifts in policy or practice to their paper directly. Reed, Bryce and Machen (2018; as cited in Jessani et al., 2020, 2) called for greater communication between scholars and policy-makers to provide feedback for impact, and alert academic when

there has been substantial impact which could be referenced, and this one suggestion which could improve the situation for academics in terrorism studies.

"I'd like to think that our research will at least be partially influential in what they do, but we can't claim it is our research that they're simply implementing our research, and also until the moment that it happens there is no guarantee that it will be because policy has multiple influences on it, you know something represents, something reflected some of our findings might have been underway"

Expert 3 – Academic Expert

An additional challenge is that due to the highly sensitive subject area, it was not uncommon for research papers to remain unpublished, or for sections to be redacted prior to publication. This presented issues for academics in terms of their responsibility to contribute to their research field, uphold academic integrity and measure wider impact, and thus, removing the ability to disseminate work highlighted a significant barrier. Whilst some may question the ability to ensure academic integrity and consequently refuse to interact in this space, others indicated that there were routes around such issues:

"…from an academic point of view, you can maybe evidence impact for the REF through some kind of testimonial work. So, recently we did some work on […] but we couldn't really publish it because of some of the things that people say, but they can still write a nice letter to say "look, you've had an influence on what we have done", so in that way, you can negotiate around it"

Expert 17 – Academic Expert

Maintaining academic independence is also crucial when interacting with practice to ensure that research remains objective and produces reliable, unbiased findings. One expert discussed the importance of having the confidence to uphold independence when interacting with practice, ensuring that the academic-practitioner remained a positive, mutually-beneficial relationship:

"…with the way that academic careers are, there is a lot of focus now on the REF and the impact that our work has, it is very easy to fall into the trap of "if I do this, I'll get a great impact statement for the REF so I'll go along with that". But if people are able to stay true to their beliefs and follow what exactly the data are telling them, and be able to say when a policy is wrong, then it can be hugely positive. But if they don't have the confidence to do that then it can be a negative experience"

Expert 15 – Academic Expert

An additional issue for academia arises when they produce research for practice which does not support the political agenda, but the government decide to implement the policy regardless of this. Hennink and Stephenson (2005, 170) suggested that policy-makers are specifically interested in the political agenda and will only consider research which focuses on such priority areas, and may have little interest in any research outside of this. This impacts not only the

degree to which academic research is utilised in practice effectively but can also have implications for future academic contributions if researchers feel their voice is not heard or acknowledged. One expert discussed that in order to overcome the negativity surrounding this, there is a hope that whilst the research may not have influenced the particular policy, it will have a greater impact on the wider knowledge space:

"if you were to look at a number of counterterrorism approaches, you would have policies which, the evidence isn't there that this is going to work, but for various reasons, the government or various government departments will still trundle ahead with it. […] I have very modest expectations about the impact that any particular piece of research I'm working on will have on policy, […] it is lovely when it happens, but probably, it isn't the norm. […] it is kind of the case that if you expect it to be the norm, and if you expect research findings to have an impact that you're setting yourself up for a world of suffering and frustration. […] where research has more of an impact is in relation to […] the wider level of awareness, […] education, […] of understanding of a problem, and […] the research is feeding into that ecosystem so that people's expectations and perceptions […] are changing. And that's more long-term and slower, […] but for me that's probably the more real one"

Expert 19 – Academic Expert

However, many academic experts also acknowledged significant improvement in terms of the willingness of governments to engage with academia and embrace research findings for policy development. Sasse and Haddon, in a paper for the Institute for Government, noted that there was "real enthusiasm" to improve government-academia interaction in all government departments (2018, 56). They recognised that whilst progress to integrate academia further in policy is gradual, established relationships with academia across multiple disciplines and an understanding of how to implement academic findings in policy is required (2018, 56). However, this eagerness to collaborate with academia was acknowledge by the following expert interview excerpt:

"I think there is progress there, I think the government departments here in the UK […] are much more interested in research than they used to be. I remember back in the early 2000s, no government departments were sponsoring research for terrorism or counterterrorism, it just wasn't happening. Whereas now, the Home Office, Ministry of Justice, lots of the departments have funding for some issue relating to terrorism and counter terrorism […], it is much more on the radar compared to where it was […] The hope being that evidence from this research then informs policy and practice. That isn't necessarily always the case, but again, I do think it feeds into the wider ecosystem and you are hoping for positive benefits as a result of that"

Expert 19 – Academic Expert

Another expert identified the potential to foster the academic-practitioner relationship in relation to research findings and access to data. Research has the potential to provide mutual benefits to both academia and to practice by providing insight into issues which practitioners

may be facing, whilst allowing academics to gain access to data sources which can better inform research and subsequent findings:

"…for practitioners, there is an opportunity […] to say "well we can give you the impact if we can use whatever findings and so on and tap into academic expertise". I certainly use that approach in order to gain access quite a few times, so, "I want to do this work, but if there are certain questions that you think are really important for your organisation we can discuss bringing those in so then I can produce something that has impact", they can say that, you know, they can offer me all the access that I need in order to do the work and everybody wins"

Expert 17 – Academic Expert

Many of the challenges raised in this section are not specific to terrorism studies but have implications of scholars spanning other academic disciplines. Reviews of the REF can be seen in literature (Smith, Ward and House, 2011), social sciences (Pinar and Horne, 2022), media (Adams, 2013) and tourism (Phillips, Page and Sebu, 2020). The impact section of the REF is notoriously time consuming and costly, with Kelly noting the cost exceeded £55 million to examine impact submissions (2016, 666). Furthermore, there have been calls for greater clarity for impact criteria due to the subjective nature of the process (Sutton, 2020). Ultimately, there are many challenges for academics to navigate when interacting with practice which remain relatively unique to researchers. There are a number of factors for academics to consider prior to interacting with practice, such as negotiating expectations of outputs for practitioners, identifying and mitigating any areas whereby academic integrity could be compromised, and understanding the realities on measuring impact. Despite these concerns, the ability to influence to the wider space, outside of academia, proves to be an exciting and promising area for academics to contribute to, and one which, when done effectively, has great benefits for all.

5.3. Professional Issues: Practitioner Perspective

Practitioners working in the field of counterterrorism face a variety of challenges in their work, which will be explored below. While this chapter will discuss the CONTEST strategy (HM Government, 2018), namely Prevent, this thesis does not intend to address the Prevent agenda but rather recognise the challenges which face practitioners in their work whilst exploring the academic-practitioner relationship. Additionally, while not all practitioners were working directly under the Prevent strand, Prevent was a large point of discussion for interviewees, as well as being notorious in the counterterrorism field, and therefore it was important to address this. Similarly, this is not to assume this chapter will discuss all issues for the practitioner field,

however, it will present the themes and information collected from practitioner experts who were interviewed.

5.3.1. Reactive to policy

One challenge for practitioners is that they work according to policy, which is everchanging and rapidly evolving, ultimately impacting working practices. While experts interviewed were practitioners in different areas of CVE work, all were familiar with the Prevent strategy and discussed the impact on their work. The highly political nature of terrorism itself shapes the focus of work for practitioners in the field, and this requires practitioners to continue to adjust and responsive to the changing policies and threats.

> *"it is interesting as well because their work can change depending on the demographic of the UK at the time. So, 5 years ago it was probably very heavily international-based, Syrian conflict was ongoing, you had Manchester, Westminster Bridge, Bororugh Market all in the space of 3 months of each other, a lot of the Prevent work then was all heavily focused around international terrorism whereas I think if you were to go and ask the Prevent world now, in this kind of Brexit/post-Brexit type space, a lot of the work will be extreme right-wing that they are doing right now as well, so it kind of changes and moves dependent on, I don't want to say the mood of the nation, but wherever the work is"*

> Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert

The UK's counterterrorism policy CONTEST (HM Government, 2018), composed of 4 strands (Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Prepare) as explained, has been a policy which has received a great deal of attention since implementation in 2003, and has been widely criticised. With concerns of targeting Muslim communities and using surveillance, Prevent was hailed as a racist agenda which acted to securitise society, targeted Islamic communities, and impacted free speech (Thomas, 2020, 12; Thomas, 2017). However, now in its third iteration, known as Prevent 3.0 (HM Government, 2018), there have been amendments to the policy to address the criticisms, accept the failures of previous years, and work to improve, including the introduction of the Prevent Duty (2015). There have been efforts to reduce the controversy surrounding Prevent by increasing awareness and reducing the secrecy surrounding the programme, mirrored by statistics and figures being released publicly by the Home Office each year (Factsheet: Prevent and Channel - 2021, 2021).

> *"…what we would have found in the very early days is a very police-led strategy with not a lot of publicly available information, whereas both Police and [government body] and practitioners have realised the value of being a lot more open about what we do, so now we are in a situation where, for example, on an annual basis the Home Office routinely publish their Prevent referral figures. And I think that was quite a brave thing for them to do in a sense because it could open them up to criticism depending on how figures are interpreted. But they are there, and they are there for all to see."*

One expert explained that in response to significant criticism, the government became more guarded around Prevent, which presented challenges in terms of openness and awareness. There have been efforts to reduce the controversy surrounding Prevent by increasing awareness and reducing the secrecy surrounding the programme, mirrored by statistics and figures being released publicly by the Home Office each year to "increase the transparency of Prevent delivery" (HM Government, 2018, 39). This approach of transparency was not just discussed in relation to Prevent, but to counterterrorism as a whole. There seems to have been an effort to shift from securitising all information and operating as an insular organisation, allowing for multiagency collaboration wherever possible.

"So previously, in days gone by, if you were to walk up to an old Special Branch office and chap the door, they might open it slightly to see who you are, you wouldn't be let into the room, there would be very little discussion and they would help you out if they absolutely had to but they wouldn't generally offer up any help. Whereas now, it is completely the opposite."

Another expert positively explained this cultural change towards openness demonstrated over recent years of counterterrorism working practices to encourage sharing information and improve risk management. This message was mirrored in an article by Pantucci, demonstrating that the repercussions of not sharing were far more significant than withholding information, described as a "complete inversion of our normal paradigm" (2021, 22). This has been a universal cultural shift felt across CVE, also encouraged by the Prevent Duty (2015) which works to improve transparency and openness amongst trusted agencies. One expert discussed their experience:

"we've kind of went from this need-to-know where everything was kind of locked down to the nth degree to now, the saying now is 'Dare to Share'. I know it sounds a bit silly but […] we try and break out as much as we can. […] you look across the world and you see any terror attacks that happen on the news and it says "oh such and such an agency knew about him 3 years ago and didn't tell anyone", so you know I think there is that feeling where you "dare to share", you share as much as you can and then that way, you're less likely to miss anything out"

As Thomas (2020, 12) outlines, while there are critics who will remain anti-Prevent, those who recognise past failings but acknowledge growth to the policy, or indeed those who now support the policy. A significant challenge facing practitioners working in the Prevent space is addressing the misconceptions about the modern-day Prevent policy. Regardless of the reaction to policy, it is the front-line practitioner who is faced with the challenge of addressing ant-Prevent rhetoric,

and indeed, tasked with delivering policy. One expert explained the damage anti-Prevent rhetoric can have in practice:

"this ideological battle by this anti-Prevent lobby and trying to use the Prevent of olden days as a bit of a leaver into these vulnerable families to say "look the state is against you, they are here to arrest everyone because they think you are all going to be terrorists" etc, etc, is actually really damaging. So, practitioners now, who may not have even been in the police service in 2006 are having to deal with some of the riff wars from how certainly some Muslim communities reacted to the first delivery of Prevent, what we call Prevent 1.0"

Expert 28 – Practitioner Expert

Practitioners also spoke of moments where the anti-Prevent rhetoric entered their interactions with academia. With Prevent officers operating in further education spaces, and universities involved in the Prevent programme, practitioners discussed interactions with academics who were against the Prevent strategy, and countering this and ensure proactive working relationship which occasionally proved challenging:

"you have the conversation with them, you explain why it's not racist, you explain why it's not spying, you explain why it is not just targeting Muslims and they just go "No, no, nope, nope, nope", and you explain to them how if one of the members of your family was at risk, would you get them help, "of course I would", "well that's the Prevent programme", "no it's not, I'm not going to do it". They just don't… it's like a badge of honour"

Expert 16 – Practitioner Expert

One notable addition to CONTEST was the Prevent Duty (Revised Prevent duty guidance: for England and Wales, 2022) in 2015. This statutory duty allowed for Prevent to be delivered by multiagency platform, calling for collaboration with organisations including police, education and health (Prevent Duty, 2015). Many practitioner experts discussed the impact of the Prevent Duty and the positive impact this had on the growth of acceptance of the strategy overall. The language around Prevent has changed greatly through the adoption of safeguarding strategies. Often referred to as the "14th strand of safeguarding" (Expert 4), practitioners explained that Prevent simply is about safeguarding vulnerable individuals. One expert explained that the adverse connotations of the term 'Prevent' had masked the overall safeguarding goal of the strategy, and thus, the adoption of safeguarding language and using safeguarding at the core of the policy helped show the intentions of the Prevent strategy:

"I think when you use the term 'Prevent' it comes with some baggage as well, with the term, so I think by explaining it and outlining what it really is, it's this emphasis about keeping people safe, vulnerability, I think about trying to stop people before they become a potential criminal is I think, a lot easier to accept ultimately. So yeah, I think the emphasis on safeguarding is vital, it clearly explains what it is"

However, one expert highlighted a disconnect in terms of the political aspect of policy and practitioners conducting policy on the front line. This expert claimed that the controversial name of Prevent held greater significance in the wider social policy arena, fuelling debates and conversations at a higher level. However, with those who have had first-hand experience of the work or who are familiar with Prevent at a local level, there was much less resistance as the benefits of the policy were contextualised and evident:

"I always found actually, in my practical experience, that there seemed to be a disconnect between the wider national legal debates that take place about Prevent and those who actually have experience with it on the ground, in that, it seems to be much more divisive when you get to the national framing about what Prevent is, but at a local level, people see it for what it is. Especially when they have practical experience of it and they have seen the impact that it can have and the significance of some of the cases we get, so it is not hard to convince people, they are generally very much on board with Prevent"

<div align="right">Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert</div>

One expert acknowledged that while some speculate the relevance to safeguarding and suggest it was used as a crutch to support a flawed policy, the approach of safeguarding has transformed Prevent for the better.

"Yeah, so just to be clear on this, the safeguarding approach of Prevent was, I think, more by accident than design. There are some critics out there who say "you co-opted the language of safeguarding to increase buy-in of Prevent and bring people onboard who ordinarily would not be onboard, like teachers, like social workers, etc." but actually, it was the other way round. Prevent had evolved into more of a safeguarding policy, simply because, and this is the bit that is always missing from the conversation, as we went out there trying to identify people who were vulnerable to radicalisation, we found ourselves getting more and more upstream"

<div align="right">Expert 30 – Practitioner Expert</div>

One practitioner expert outlined that due to the negative voices that surround Prevent, a defensive approach has been adopted by government or CVE agencies when approached for research purposes or in response to potential collaborations. The expert explained:

"There was a lot of silence on Prevent and not really wanting to rebut some of the silence and the myths that were out there about Prevent. So, Prevent has got a bit of a brand issue. […] There has not been nearly enough work by the government or successive governments actually, to […] rebut that quite vociferously. I think that it is a brand that, in 2006, was rolled out very quickly, absolutely mistakes were made, but Prevent of today is not the Prevent of 2006. So, what you find is when you are a researcher or a consultant or a community organisation and you want to engage with government on Prevent, you will find quite a lot of defensiveness about it because they have been burned a number of times, they have adopted a bit of a siege mentality to the point in which they can't even counter constructive criticism, sometimes, because it's seen as weakness"

With the controversy surrounding Prevent presenting distinct voices for both supporters and critics, the role of practitioner continues to address this. Considering the academic-practitioner interaction, academics should be mindful of the impact of prejudice surrounding Prevent and the subsequent criticism which Prevent practitioners have faced. With the criticism faced, practitioners may become increasingly defensive and closed to research opportunities, restricting a resource for academics and limiting academic-practitioner interaction. Further, criticism without providing practical solutions created a distance between practitioners and academics, instilling a lack of trust in academic outputs (Tasan-Kok et al., 2016, 628) While practitioners are tasked with enforcing the policy and combatting the controversy on the front-line, experts voiced that there needs to be greater action from senior voices and within government to openly counter anti-Prevent rhetoric, address the previous failings and misconceptions widely to fully allow for Prevent to be understood, and accepted. One expert explained:

"But it is a great advertising PR that is winning over, sadly, hearts and minds that are so necessary for the programme's success. And also, for winning over the liberal institutions, so there are a lot of academics and a lot of politicians, influencers who buy in to that narrative and then in the meantime, the practitioners are sort of sitting the middle, who are seeing the day-to-day impact of the work and the day-to-day need are saying "give us an alternative" and there has never been one"

Expert 32 – Practitioner Expert

Despite the challenges with being reactive to a policy which is seen by many as damaging and controversial, the passion from those working in the field is abundant. From speaking with the practitioner experts, their commitment to the overall goal of the policy and the importance of their work is evident, accepting that while past failings have caused misunderstandings, safeguarding vulnerable individuals is the overall goal, and one in which the importance is fully realised.

It is, it is brilliant. It is such a brilliant place to work. And it is hard to say that without coming across as bigging up it's just, I don't know… It's just really interesting and the only thing that I can say, having seen first-hand the difference that it has made on people's lives and more so than any other area of policing that I ever worked in, you know. To have people contact you years after they went through the Channel process and say, "if it wasn't for Prevent, I'd be dead now", "if it wasn't for Prevent, I'd be in prison", "Prevent saved my life". It almost sounds trite, but those are real-world conversations that Prevent practitioners all over the country have had with people"

Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert

The expert continued:

"So yeah, it is… when you can see the difference that it has made, while a lot of criticisms are valid, and even the invalid ones need to be dealt with in some respect, it makes that a lot easier to take when you can actually go to bed at night knowing that you have tried your best to do something well because it was the right thing to do and it has made a difference."

Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert

5.3.2. Funding

Another area which was raised by practitioner experts which was challenging was the issue of funding. Counterterrorism programmes in the UK, namely Prevent, is funded by the Home Office which also holds oversight of all evaluation and monitoring of the programmes (HM Government, 2021). The CONTEST Strategy (HM Government, 2018) outlined a yearly budget of £2-billion to deliver the priorities and approaches through the 4P strategy (HM Government, 2018, 12). The Home Office are also responsible for identifying priority areas which are funded to employ a Prevent Co-ordinator and are seen as higher-risk areas, which are reviewed yearly. The remaining areas are known as non-funded areas and receive little to no funding, which presents issues in terms of workload for officers in the area. One expert explained:

"certain local authorities have been deemed high priority areas so they get additional resources. But those resources are based on current funding packages that often run out after a year, so you obviously have a problem with staff retention because it isn't always a permanent role. And obviously when local authority areas drop out of a funded area list, then staff leave. So often you get local authorities that dip in and dip out of a funded area list, and so you have real problems for retaining staff. That's one thing. You then get local authorities who […] wont share staff or flex staff across areas when they have problems. Then you get non-priority areas that don't really have any staff, or they have somebody who is double or triple hatting as their Prevent Co-ordinator whilst doing other jobs"

Expert 16 – Practitioner Expert

This demonstrates a challenge for practitioners in this area as funding is somewhat unpredictable, experienced staff have concerns around job security. Further, areas are deemed a priority based on risk factors determined by the Home Office, such as number of referrals. Hypothetically, if staff are in a funded area, more referrals will be able to be made due to the existing available resources, ensuring future funding for the area. However, in an unfunded area, this presents challenge as staff may be unable to cover the area, therefore unable to make as many referrals to secure future funding, but also leaving areas unfunded to potentially harbour risk. One expert described the challenge:

"when you come to the next round of funding, you have areas which have dedicated full-time staff that are able to go out and encourage people to make referrals and identify risk, so they get

more risk, and if they get more risk they get the money, whereas staff that aren't funded don't have the time to go out and raise awareness so it becomes a bit of a virtuous circle, that the funded areas always remain funded areas and the non-funded areas never become funded areas"

<div align="right">Expert 16 – Practitioner Experts</div>

One expert discussed their working relation to funded and non-funded areas, demonstrating the challenge of managing workload under this system:

"I've got [number of] counties. Within that, [number] of the counties have got Prevent priority areas, I also work in the other [number] counties and I have to apportion my time […] I can't just spend all my time in the priority areas and say, "I'm not coming into the other three counties because you're a lower risk", I manage that on different levels. So what I might do, is that there are places in [regional area] that have access to no Prevent resources and therefore will struggle, whereas […] [regional area] is already really good at Prevent and they are already doing that really well, so although they are in a high-risk area, I don't need to spend a whole lot of time there, I just need to keep them ticking over and I do need to focus some of my time, efforts and energy in a lower risk area because they haven't got the expertise, the time, the resources, they're not used to making Prevent referrals so they might be more reluctant, might not recognise stuff as easily, might not understand the relevance especially with the online aspect of radicalisation"

<div align="right">Expert 20 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Another challenge which was raised was being able to positively utilise funding for Prevent in communities which held negative views of the programme. The damaged brand of Prevent itself, from previous iterations and failings, had left communities unwilling to accept funding from the programme, demonstrating that the political nature of counterterrorism efforts. The expert explained:

"I've got another one that is a funded area that really doesn't want to deliver Prevent and without getting into the details, they would like the money to come into the communities to have some community projects, but we don't want to be associated with Prevent in our community. So that is representatives not wanting to feel that they are seen publicly as accepting government money for Prevent because it might not sit well with some of our communities… and that's where it becomes political"

<div align="right">Expert 20 – Practitioner Expert</div>

While funding was deemed a challenge for practitioners, many experts also discussed the impact of austerity on changing working practices and navigating the significant cuts to public services. In 2010, the Conservative-Liberal Democrats coalition government introduced fiscal policy to reduce government spending on public services and placed greater emphasis on 'work-first' policies (Wiggan, 2016, 639). The austerity policy impacted those working in social services and presented challenges as funding was reduced, resulting in a shift in working practices. For many,

collaboration with other organisations was a solution to managing the reduction in funding, as explained by one practitioner expert:

"I think when austerity happened, obviously that in itself ensured that the police were speaking and working more closely with partners, you know, just working more effectively, and utilising I suppose the partnerships and being part of that ongoing conversation so in terms of policing, whether that would be you know, Prevent or dealing with anti-social behaviour, what we will try and do is clearly work with communities, work with wider partners"

Expert 6 – Practitioner Expert

Yet, workforces were negatively impacted by the cuts in funding, as outlined by another expert who detailed the impact of the realities of austerity on their work in counterterrorism. Brown (2020) acknowledged that there has been relatively little research attention on the impact of austerity in the criminal justice system, which seems to be similar for counterterrorism. Austerity has had significant impact on workforces, with staffing numbers reduced widely (Brown, 2020). For counterterrorism policing, intelligence was impacted from the collapse of Neighbourhood policing initiatives, as interaction at a local level was reduced due to the there was an 18% cut to workforce (Loveday, 2017, 1). Whilst the current Conservative government pledged an additional 20,000 police officers, this accounts for positions lost as a result of austerity (Brown, 2020, 241). For counterterrorism efforts, such restraints resulted in greater collaboration from partner agencies to compensate for workload challenges and to ensure a quality service, however the impact of austerity was widely discussed by practitioners during interview:

"Austerity, I mean, when you are talking about 40% cuts to local authorities, by-and-large the resources that local authorities have are the people, so when you are talking about 40% cuts, it's actually 40% of its people. So the people that were made redundant at that local authority level, on which so much of this multiagency work is contingent, were in what is seen as 'softer safeguarding' so community engagement, youth engagement roles, […], youth offending teams were absolutely decimated so that causes problems when you have the multiagency workers sitting around the table talking about 5 cases […], trying to design what an intervention would look like and then you have local authority saying "well we have absolutely no resource to bring to bear those interventions" so you've got to think really creatively and think about even potentially funding through the programme, intervention work, using civil society organisations"

Expert 28 – Practitioner Expert

For those practitioners not operating in the Prevent space, funding is also a concern. The delivery of the Prevent strategy is dependent upon government funding, therefore demonstrating a level of control from government over CVE initiatives. There have been claims however, that funding should be independent from governments unless there are distinct security objectives, as this allows for operation within communities without concerns of state influence (Briggs, 2010). For thinktanks and other agencies, accessing funding can present ethical challenges such as ensuring

independence, managing power dynamics and remaining unbiased and objective. The changes to working practices as a result of austerity were evident (see Wiggan, 2017; Loveday, 2017) and this demonstrates the significance of practice being responsive to policy, and the challenges this presents for practitioners working to deliver counterterrorism work on the front-line. With fluctuations in funding impacting working practices and the scope of work, the challenge facing practitioners is often reactive to the political landscape. With decreased funding, practitioner experts spoke of limited or finite resources, which ultimately placed pressure on the agencies involved to deliver counterterrorism efforts:

"…there is a national strategy in place, we've got a framework in place for delivering that, I think there is healthy appetite amongst the agencies to deliver it. I think the threats as we move forward are budget resources on the basis that public services and others are under significant financial pressure so the resources are being cut, and I think that if resources are being cut it becomes difficult to deliver what you want to do, and in some cases that makes intelligence systems difficult to deliver because you don't have the resources available to deliver it"

Expert 2 – Practitioner Expert

Ultimately, funding was a significant challenge for practitioners. With fluctuating budgets and resources, practitioners are required to be flexible and adaptable in terms of finding innovative and collaborative ways to continue to deliver counterterrorism efforts to high standards.

5.3.3. Measuring Success

There has been great debate in the literature surrounding how to measure the success of counterterrorism efforts. Mastroe (2016) explained that the majority of evaluations focus on implemented projects, acknowledging the statistics such as participants and measures taken by agencies involved (pp). Whilst this presents an overview of the programme, it demonstrates where the challenge of measuring success lies. As Mastroe states:

"Part of the problem is that the ideal outcome variable requires proof of a counter-factual, such as observing the individuals that did not radicalize (as a direct result of the CVE initiatives), but would have radicalized otherwise, which is an impossible task. (Mastroe, 2016, 51)"

The challenge is measuring this unquantifiable singularity. Operating in a pre-crime space to prevent an individual from potentially becoming radicalised and possibly continuing into terrorism presents many unknowns. When presented with such uncertainties, it is challenging to identify sole measures which could be confidently associated with CVE efforts and success. This was one challenge which was raised by practitioners. Additionally, as counterterrorism work is highly sensitive and has winder impacts on security, the details on success stories are unlikely to be shared.

"The number of case studies […] that are perceived negatively, and as practitioners, we know the truth behind them, but it is not necessarily our place to […] say it because it is confidential. […] we normally only hear about the negative stories in the press, but we are not in the position to champion our success stories because we rely on the consent of the individuals concerned. They haven't committed a crime. It is up to them whether they want their story shared […] many of them […] would rather keep a low profile and don't necessarily want to […] have their personal life story publicised because obviously it is sensitive and it is private and it maybe doesn't show them in the best light […]. So, it is difficult. We know we've got loads of success stories; we are just not in a position where we can share them"

Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert

Further, a practitioner expert gave credit to the ability of researchers to forge trusting relationships with individuals to allow for them to share their experiences, using research participation as a platform. Central to establishing such trust is ensuring mutual respect, openness and efficient communication, as outlined in the framework proposed by Dave et al. (2018, 7). Similarly, with public trust in government fluctuating, communities had greater trust when there was transparency and actions aligned with expectations creating credibility (Schmidthuber, Ingrams and Hilgers, 2020). Where there are issues of trust, academics are well versed in establishing trusting relationships and bound by strict ethical standards, producing informed outputs which protect participants. As outlined by Ospina and Dodge, academic-practitioner collaboration can provide mutual benefits such as providing opportunities for shared learning, knowledge production, empirical and evidenced basis for decision-making (2005, 7). Therefore, the academic-practitioner relationship is a tool which could be used to inform practice, further research and thus, knowledge creation. This expert acknowledged that a possible contribution from academia could address this, and could provide a beneficial insight for practice also, aiding the academic-practitioner relationship:

"…the kind of link up with academics and practitioners can really be valuable because I think it would be easier for people to share their experiences with a credible researcher rather than a tabloid journalist […], when they know their information is going to be treated sensitively, anonymously, objectively and fairly, and all those sorts of things. And that way, there can be some genuine learning coming out of it […]. I can see the benefits for the reputation of Prevent, but that for me comes secondary to the wellbeing of the individual concerned and the capacity to actually learn and improve and inform policy and strategy..."

Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert

Yet, practitioners did not seem overly concerned with the debate of measuring success in terms of measuring their achievement. As demonstrated from the quote above, the overall aim is to safeguard vulnerable individuals and prevent them from committing an offence, therefore individual achievements are difficult to quantify. Instead, there is an overarching aim of protecting individuals, which was profoundly stated by one practitioner expert:

"…if it saves anybody, that's a success in my books."

<div align="right">Expert 16 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Further, there appears to be a culture of self-reflection and improvement amongst those working in this field, and when faced with reviews or criticisms, some practitioners relish with the opportunity to improve practice and allow for their work to be shared, reflected and improved. As Harris-Hogan and Barrelle (2016, 4) outlined, collaborative efforts between practice and research allows for greater knowledge and understanding of terrorism, but also enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of CVE efforts through such partnerships, thus benefitting public safety and security.

"There are always improvements to be made. Training has improved massively in recent years […] one of the best indicators for this is just how open Prevent practitioners have been to an independent review of Prevent, even though […] it could have repercussions, positive or negative for those that work within Prevent. But I think the fact that every single Prevent practitioner that I know is openly supportive of an independent review […] says a lot about the network we work in because there is a real drive to improve and do things better. […] they see it as an opportunity to showcase some of the good work that we have done that has gone unnoticed in recent years"

<div align="right">Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert</div>

5.4. Summary: Scholarly & Professional Issues

There are many challenges facing the individual communities, some of which have been outlined in this chapter. The aim of this chapter was to illustrate these challenges faced by both the academic community and the practitioner community in order to demonstrate the individual experiences of each party. In order to have an effective relationship, holding an awareness of the challenges which faces each community externally of the relationship is important in order to understand their foundation. For the academic-practitioner relationship in terrorism studies, there were various opportunities which were identified whereby a positive collaboration could relieve challenge and aid partnerships.

For academics, the challenges of internal debates within terrorism studies and persisting challenges are difficult to avoid as a researcher. However, there is a great sense of optimism radiating from academic experts interviewed in this study. It is evident that although there are issues, the desire for terrorism studies to continue to grow and positively develop is a primary concern of all academics which were interviewed in this study, and one met with positivity. Academics highlighted areas by which a positive relationship with practice could reduce challenges facing academics in their field. These include accessing data which can allow for

better informed and more relevant research, and an understanding of the requirements of academics under the REF, whilst providing evidence of impact for policy and practice.

For practitioners, the challenges of addressing anti-Prevent rhetoric, operating in a pre-crime space and navigating the political landscape under changing policy and funding proved challenging. However, similarly to academic experts, practitioners demonstrated a great sense of optimism for CVE work and a great sense of achievement. The passion held by practitioners and their commitment to their work in this field was evident throughout and highly commendable. Practitioner experts indicated areas which could be aided by a positive relationship with academia could reduce challenges and aid practice. These included challenging anti-Prevent rhetoric and considering the amendments to Prevent, rather than having a significant focus on past failings, producing practice-relevant research which can inform challenges faced by practitioners and providing evaluations for measuring success effectively and ensuring effective multi-agency working.

This chapter demonstrated the challenges facing academics and practitioners in their respective spaces to increase awareness of the individual barriers which are faced prior to any academic-practitioner interaction. By doing so, it provides context for challenges and allows for greater transparency of common issues, individual struggles and opportunity to identify efforts to ease any natural disconnect between the two communities. This will be explored in subsequent chapters as this thesis continues to explore the interaction between academics and practitioners.

Outline of Chapter 6: Key Findings 2 – Knowledge Exchange & Communication

6.1. Introduction

6.2. Academic Perspective

    6.2.1. Data Access

    6.2.2. The Difficult Practicalities of Access

    6.2.3. Implications for New Researchers

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    6.3.1 Intelligence & Information Sharing

    6.3.2. Engagement with Academia

    6.3.3. Challenges for Academic Engagement

6.1. Introduction

Knowledge exchange and communication refers to the interactions between academics and practitioners to share information including research findings, intelligence and data. Hughes, Bence, Grisoni, O'Regan and Wornham (2011, 42) presented essential factors which ensure effective and efficient communication between academic-practitioner communities, referred to as "soft factors". These are that practitioners and academics share mutual understanding of interaction and outputs, manage expectations and that assumptions are addressed (Hughes et al., 2011, 42). Benoit, Klose, Wirtz, Andreassen and Keiningham (2019) suggested that interaction between these communities benefits the knowledge curation and the sharing information, yet academics and practitioners must address any gaps. This chapter examines the perspectives of terrorism experts to explore this, to identify barriers which facilitate a divide and

highlight areas which could aid the academic-practitioner relationship. This will improve awareness of the academic-practitioner challenges and opportunities for knowledge exchange and communication.

6.2. Academic Perspective

6.2.1. Data Access

Previous reviews of terrorism literature including by Silke (2001; 2008) and Crenshaw (2000) highlighted concerns relating to data access, yet in recent years, the narrative seems more optimistic (Gill and Corner, 2017; Chermak & Freilich, 2013). Schuurman (2019) highlighted recent publications had improved access to data with reliable sources, demonstrating greater use of primary data inspiring the generation of new ideas and exciting avenues for terrorism research. Schuurman (2019) stated: *"The lack of research based on primary sources, one of the most enduring and detrimental problems to face the field, finally appears to be abating […], the increased use of first-hand information places the development of a stronger empirical foundation for understanding terrorism and counterterrorism within scholars' grasp"* (Schuurman, 2019, 10).

Data access challenges were raised by all academic experts during interview, demonstrating the scale and enduring impact this has on terrorism studies. Fundamentally, terrorism is a matter of national security and triggers extensive political, social and economic consequences (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2008, 7). Heightened security is due to the associated risks, along with the reputational and ethical challenges it presents. Lundberg, Narayanan, Levy and Salganik (2019) illustrated that while practitioners may wish to openly share data with academia, they have a responsibility to protect information and safeguard individuals (2019, 1). Terrorism data and intelligence is handled with strict sensitivity and is rarely accessible outside of official government, law enforcement or security service channels as security is paramount (Werlinger, Hawkey, Botta and Beznosov, 2009; Zhu, 2019). This has created a challenge for terrorism scholars to access relevant data sources to produce empirically-based research, as one expert noted:

"people are keen not to […] put National Security at risk. […] You have to jump through a lot of hoops to get access […] and it's detrimental to the field. […] we need that information, and […] it would help these security agencies […] to have that information and for it to be subjected to the rigor and extensive analysis that academia is about. […] I don't know if there is data because we don't get access! We have no way of knowing. […] we don't have any way of knowing, for

example, that Prevent works. We have no way of evaluating that because we just can't get
access to the information that we need to evaluate it"

Expert 13 – Academic Expert

Academics are responsible for producing research which can enhance knowledge and theoretical understanding despite data access often being withheld. Primary-source data is that which is directly from the original source and, as Grossman and Gerrand state, is "*a gold standard in terrorism research: highly valuable to work with, and often very difficult to come by*" (2021, 246). The desire for primary data in terrorism studies has been extensively recognised, with many scholars calling for stronger sources and voicing fears of an overreliance on secondary data impacting the reliability and standard of research (see Schuurman and Eijkman, 2013; Grossman and Gerrand, 2021; English, 2016; Schuurman, 2019; Schmid, Forest and Lowe, 2021). Terrorism studies is often criticised for poor empirical and statistical research however this appears to be a consequence of the lack of access to data (Braddock, 2019).

It could be argued that the ideal data source would be terrorist interviews, which would undoubtedly unearth a wealth of psychological insights, the motivations and drivers of terrorists and address enduring questions. Landmark studies which have accessed terrorists directly are highly regarded and widely referenced, such as Horgan (2009) and Berko and Erez (2006) and more recently, in a study by Candilis, Cleary, Dhumad, Dyer and Khalifa (2021), and those which access first-hand accounts from terrorist autobiographies (Altier, Horgan and Thoroughgood, 2012; Grossman and Gerrand, 2021, 247). Access to terrorists is unlikely to become more extensively accessible in the near future due to data sensitivity, ethical considerations and risk assessments, as well as protecting and safeguarding vulnerable individuals.

"I do find it quite frustrating, […] it can hold back progress because […] working face-to-face with those convicted of a terrorist offence is actually a very rich and important source of information, and the information I've been able to access since is mainly open-source, […] it's whatever is out there in the public domain […] and it's not as rich as the information you get directly from the person who embodied the experience […] the terrorist voice is missing a lot from the discourse"

Expert 1 – Academic Expert

The sensitivity of terrorism research more broadly continues to limit data access. While there are comprehensive databases available which provide empirical data, including the Global Terrorism Database, these remain relatively limited and are widely used, therefore new empirical evidence is not introduced to the space. Limited access to primary data sources from practitioners can impact the research field significantly. As discussed in the Scholarly & Professional Issues chapter, the presence of an echo chamber demonstrates the consequences of a lack of data

access there is concern in the research field of the creation of an echo chamber (Youngman, 2020; Schuurman, 2018).

> *"one of the things that comes across quite powerfully is just the lack of empirically-based, empirically grounded studies […] you get a lot of the same sort of small data points being recycled […] the theories are too powerful for the methods, […] that's one of the central problems. […] there isn't enough empirical data, and that's because of the difficulties of undertaking that work, access being one of the main ones"*

<div align="right">Expert 11 – Academic Expert</div>

It is challenging to address the questions raised by practice, such as understanding radicalisation or analysing counterterrorism policy, as data is not available. The criticisms of terrorism studies, relating to the overreliance on secondary data or weak empirical foundations is a consequence of the inability to access primary source data and an inability to identify routes or contacts for data access. One academic explained their experience and the wider implications:

> *"…access is really hard to get but it is also really hard to get access to people who are counterterrorism […] professionals. […] all of the research […] is based on open-access […] and what you end up with is a very skewed field towards secondary literature, […] and you don't get necessarily the […] information that government agencies want about why people become radicalised, but the people you need to speak to are the terrorists […] and this is where there is a real gap in available material and it's problematic because terrorism studies is this huge field […] and yet, we are working from such a thin dataset really. […]. It's a security issue, obviously. But I think there is an over-securitisation of some of this material that is problematic"*

<div align="right">Expert 13 – Academic Expert</div>

6.2.2. The Difficult Practicalities of Access

Accessing practitioner communities is not novel and can prove beneficial for academia and practice. Whilst many practitioners cannot release the sensitive information held, accessing their experiences as counterterrorism front-line experts has provided great insight and ultimately, is a resource which should be utilised more frequently. This academic-practitioner relationship can provide another resource for scholars to explore and introduce new thinking to a field which relies on secondary data, however data challenges remain. When data is sensitive, it is rarely used outside of the intended use, for example accessing police interview data, because of data protection protocols, there is inherent risk and publishing challenges attached. This can present barriers, even when both parties are willing to collaborate:

> *"I don't think I've ever had instances where I haven't had those problems in anything I've ever done. And that's even when you get sign-in from statutory agencies […]. Getting data is a huge problem […] particularly in the area of terrorism research. […] I was working on a project […] and*

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we had a whole series of different research questions we were trying to look at and […] we could only answer half of our research questions and that's because we couldn't get […] complete data from all the police forces […] it was just incredibly difficult to get data. […] access to data sources is a continual problem"

<div align="right">Expert 11 – Academic Expert</div>

The expert continued with an anecdote:

"I did some work, […] and it took me 6 months [to get access], and that was with the buy-in of the main agency players, […] the [agency] wanting the research to go ahead and pushing for it. […] you couldn't have more open doors […] and it still took 6 months to get into this place! […] and then […] you've got […] all the restrictions that operate at a university level as well, with regards to the ethics commission committees […] I would say for every single project I've ever worked on access is the core issue"

<div align="right">Expert 11 – Academic Expert</div>

This can limit knowledge creation as it can be challenging for scholars to get involved in terrorism studies. From personal experience, it is not difficult to identify gaps in the literature within terrorism studies. For example, prison radicalisation is notoriously under researched using first-hand accounts from offenders and ex-offenders (Silke and Veldhuis, 2017), however the hurdles to explore this is, by the most part, insurmountable. Some experts illustrated that research is tied to political agenda and is dictated by accessible data. For example, funding calls for research exploring a phenomenon relevant to policy or practice may receive greater accessibility. There was general consensus from academic experts that the UK counterterrorism policy influences research, with an expert expressing concern of organisations holding power over research interests by controlling access, restricting the ability of academics to explore areas:

"Oh, I mean, yes very much so. Most of what gets researched is a direct result of what gets funded […] if institutions don't want that work undertaken then there's no obligation for them to allow it. They exercise complete control"

<div align="right">Expert 11 – Academic Expert</div>

As data is often inaccessible or restricted, there is a fear of academia falling behind by relying on outdated or archived information (Schuurman, 2019). This is not to suggest that research is not undertaken, but many experts suggested that those research papers which do have such data sources are unlikely to be published widely due to sensitivity or data access agreements. Further, internal research conducted by government bodies or law enforcement is rarely published or disseminated widely therefore this presents a challenging research environment. One academic was concerned that research is somewhat removed compared to the current reality, and subsequently, is less applicable for practice. If the impact of academic research is less relevant to practice or fails to examine appropriate data, practitioners are less likely to engage or facilitate research, which works to strengthen a disconnect.

"I think that's where I find the slight frustration […], I know that research is going on and I know it will never be published because it is based on government data and it is secret data […], what I worry about […] under the collective good of knowledge generation is that there are parallel systems at work and that the academics are lagging behind that process because we don't have access to the data that obviously governments do. […] the government is and […] agencies are […] asking specific kinds of questions about that data, we as academics would probably ask different ones, but I do sometimes worry that we are doing research on the outside of the wall and that there are folk in there who have done it 5 years ago you know, based on much better data"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

Another data access consideration is the position of research, such as a positive or critical approach towards counterterrorism policy. Jackson (2014) acknowledged that those who had established a close relationship with policymakers were more likely to access data, presenting issues for scholars from Critical Terrorism Studies who are inherently more critical of policy and of government efforts (Jackson, 2014). A critical narrative can act as a barrier for researchers gaining access when criticism is not well received by practice, presenting challenge for scholars to interact with practice whilst upholding academic distance and integrity (Jackson, 2014, 14). This impacts the academic-practitioner relationship as the communities are unlikely to interact, as experienced by one expert who adopted a more critical approach to their research:

"I think it's partly because of the work that I do because it is about the impact of policy on people […], it is going to be about me critiquing and people don't always take that well, and the conclusion that you might come to in that sort of work that might not be very useful for practitioners"

Expert 13 – Academic Expert

However, this was not necessarily reflective of all experiences by academic experts. Facilitating a critical approach provides practitioners with direction for achieving best-practice and informs operational practices if the relationship is strong enough to support critical insight. Panda and Gupta (2014, 157) suggested that academic research is unlikely to be acted upon if it is not relevant to actionable improvements for practice. This was an interesting consideration, as this research demonstrated that practitioners had a willingness to engage with academics and welcomed those with opposing views. This was the experience of an academic expert who shared that they were invited to provide critique to inform practices and provide comments for improvement.

"…what they're looking for is a sort of […] 'critical friend'. […] somebody who could […] bring in their area of expertise and critically examine what it is that they do. […] I think some people have this idea that when you collaborate with partner agencies that somehow, they co-opt your research or make sure that you sort of report things that are beneficial to them. That's not been my experience of it whatsoever. They are constantly seeking to be questioned […] and they are

ultimately looking to be the best that they can, so they are looking for many different voices of different views of things to […] help improve their practice"

Expert 5 – Academic Expert

Several academic experts interviewed had experience working as an advisor in some capacity at governments or policy-level. These academic advisors understood that whilst they were being asked to provide insights for a specific topic, they must be transparent that such a recommendation was only based on information available to them. This was primarily due to the limitations around data access and a concern that when advising in this capacity, without a full understanding of the full relevant data, the outputs may be inaccurate or provided with false confidence. This illustrates the practical implications for academics operating in practice, navigating the challenges of data access, oversensitivity and the real-world implications of restricted academic access to data. One academic explained:

"we don't have absolute answers to things so there is always that sort of tension […] because all our information is partial […] we don't have access to complete datasets or knowledge, so you can say, "on the basis of what I know, this is what I think might be a good idea" […]. But of course, when you are dealing with secretive information which you don't have access to, […] in a space like terrorism or extremism where you often have very limited data […] policymakers might say 'what do you want me to do on the basis of what you just told me?" […] People aren't going to like what you say, there is a risk that you will be speaking with a false confidence because you don't have access to all the information, and your priorities are not their priorities, so you know, although you might share a problem space, you do not share a position in relation to that problem"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

6.2.3. Implications for New Researchers

The limitations of data access can be challenging for new researchers entering the field. From personal experience as a terrorism studies doctoral student, the true scale of data access issues is accepted but relatively unspoken, and this appears to be the case for other researchers entering the field. Reviews of the literature, such as those by Silke (2001) and Schuurman (2019) explored the challenges of data access, and while challenges with primary data access is usually discussed, it is uncommon to read of the struggles to attempt access. Whist it not challenging to identifying existing gaps in the literature, these bring additional methodological considerations for the researcher in terms of how to approach the research question using data which can be accessed.

"I think it can be quite tricky when you are new to the field - as PhD students […] - to find the topic for their PhD that is both manageable in that time, is able to collect data that a PhD student would have access to, and that is also contributing something. […] Especially because […] if you want to do a PhD in terrorism you kind of have to come across an idea and get lucky in that, rather than in other disciplines (where) there is still a lot of really obvious research gaps[…], whereas, they will be there in terrorism studies […] but then you also have the additional issue of "well how am I going to research this, how am I going to get access to data in a way that would answer that question"

Expert 25 – Academic Expert

An academic expert emphasised the role of reputation on data access, which was fostered through a successful relationship with practitioners, however, requires experience to cultivate. Reputation was considered in terms of academic standing and university ranking. Perkmann, Salandra, Tartari, McKelvey and Hughes (2021, 6-7) discussed reputation and academic-practitioner interaction, citing a positive correlation between engagement and reputation, and successful partnerships having reputational benefits amongst fellow academics. It was also noted that those with a higher reputation were less willing to share data with fellow academics and were more secretive of data (Perkmann et al., 2021, 7). Data sharing provides greater resources, producing informed scientific research and social progress, therefore if academia can provide insights for practice, this should be encouraged (Fecher, 2015). One expert highlighted possible methods used with practitioners to successfully access primary data sources, stating "a*ccess to data is a constant challenge, but it is an opportunity*" (Expert 5). There was a narrative of improvement from experts, demonstrating potential for access, adopting novel techniques to answer pertinent questions in terrorism studies. The follow expert demonstrated that their optimistic outlook for terrorism studies was rooted in the improvements in data access and techniques:

"You know, when I was a PhD student, most presentations that you would see the first line would be "you know there is no data in this area so I'm going to give you a theoretical model" but now you go to [conferences], you know huge amess of data, really innovative ways of collecting it, so I think it is a field that is really flourishing at the moment and it is flourishing in all sorts of different directions"

Expert 5 – Academic Expert

One method which practitioners could share information would be that sensitive information such as names or tactical investigative methods are redacted from data prior to releasing to academia. Ensuring academics have a secure closed network for accessing the information could improve the security of data handling, which could reduce practitioner concerns. This would avoid any data management issues and ensure that data owners were confident that information would be handled safely and effectively. Allowing the release of anonymised

information, such as interview or court transcripts, to be released after the investigation has closed would allow for scholarly analysis, aiding academic knowledge and allowing for informed practice. However, for new researchers without an established network or connections, this source of information is challenging to access, demonstrating barriers for doctoral students in terrorism studies.

"…we managed to handle data that they had taken away all of the sensitivities in-house and could share the data from there. […] I wouldn't know the individual's name or any identifiable information but I would see a lot of 1s and 0s for the actual data. So, it is certainly possible, but it's not like any random academic can turn up and get their hands on this because it takes a long time to develop credibility […], so then they can see you as somebody they would want to deal with, you know? They're not just going to hand out data like that to anybody"

Expert 5 – Academic Expert

Universities with a higher ranking can be viewed as more prestigious, providing a level of credibility to researchers (Benoit, Klose, Wirtz, Andreassen and Keiningham, 2019, 539). Despite this, experts did not tend to consider the university reputation for data access, however it is important to consider the wider implications of institutional reputation. Terrorism studies is an inherently challenging space for data access and considering the role of university prestige and reputation could demonstrate areas where some academics have an advantage over another when interacting with practice, as the university's prestige acts as a factor of credibility. This could lead to prestigious universities forming academic-practitioner partnerships benefiting from funding and networking opportunities, whilst less prestigious universities struggle to achieve access as their influence is less pronounced (Dommett and Tromble, 2022; Kinzelbach, Saliba and Spannagel, 2021).

Once an academic has worked with a practitioner successfully, a relationship forms which can be utilised for future research collaborations. Establishing a positive reputation as an academic allows for practitioners to build trust and confidence, facilitating greater opportunities for interaction. As a result of this, this can facilitate greater access to data and information in order to produce research which can inform practice. The academic-practitioner relationship will be explored in the next chapter, Networking and Relationships; however, it is interesting to consider the importance of this on accessing data. One expert illustrated there experience below:

"I think that if you develop a reputation as being somebody that has the infrastructure in place to handle that type of information and producing work that is impactful on practice and procedure, […] I think that they would go somebody with a reputation over someone who they have never

dealt with previously. So, like, a lot of it does hinge upon reputation, your credentials and all that kind of stuff"

<div align="right">Expert 5 – Academic Expert</div>

Data access remained an issue for many academics, yet there was a sense of improvement. There was a degree of hope for accessing information from practice, illustrating that by reducing the academic-practitioner divide and facilitating a positive working relationship, a foundation of trust can be established with practitioners which presents opportunities for collaborative working.

6.2.4. Ethical considerations for Terrorism studies

Academics in terrorism must consider a broad range of ethical considerations throughout the research process in terms of data access, research purposes and dissemination. This section aims to consider the factors which were raised by academic experts which were more unique to terrorism studies, however, many ethical considerations which align with other academic fields such as anonymity, confidentiality and data storage are still applicable. Often research proposals including the term 'terrorism' become tarnished by the associated ethical challenges and creates a sense of sensitivity which presents restrictions for the research before it has begun. Professionally, academics have a requirement to advance knowledge and understanding, however they also have social responsibilities to the wider public (Miller, Massoumi and Miller, 2020, 119). Obtaining ethical approval demonstrates a complex struggle for terrorism researchers as there are many factors to consider, such as the highly political nature of terrorism, along with the challenges of researching in this secure and sensitive space. Gearon and Parsons highlighted that sensitive research areas such as in educational or correctional settings may face greater ethical challenges including harm disclosure or confessions of criminality whilst also attempting to uphold participant confidentiality (2019, 89).

"Ethically, it is the sensitive nature of even looking at counterterrorism, there is the ethical nature of looking at counterterrorism in the context of race and politics, so there are those aspects as well that feed into a very complex picture"

<div align="right">Expert 7 – Academic Expert</div>

Terrorism research faces challenge at ethics panel due to the risk and sensitivities of the topic. Academics are required to have their research approved by their institutional ethics panel prior to starting their research to ensure researcher safety and safeguard (Morrison, Silke and Bont, 2021). Researching terrorism presents additional challenges when panels do not have an expert within terrorism studies to understand the field, raising challenges for researchers to achieve

ethical approval, as panels are overcautious when presented with terms such as 'terrorism' or 'extremism' (Morrison, Silke, Bont, 2021, 271). This was voiced by experts in this study who felt ethics panels were overly punitive with any research which relates to terrorism and subsequently underwent lengthy processes and found it extremely difficult to achieve ethical approval for projects. Academics cited attributed difficulties to security or safety concerns by ethics panels, which were often unsubstantiated and overly cautious. Morrison, Silke and Bont (2021) suggested the introduction of a Framework for Research Ethics in Terrorism Studies (FRETS) which works to provide guidance for ethics panels, when presented with a terrorism research proposal, to improve procedures and develop understanding to allow for safe and ethical terrorism research to be undertaken. This would allow for research to be considered fairly, without associations of 'terrorism' prejudicing ethical board decisions. Ethics panels' adopting this type of guidance would likely reduce the challenges terrorism studies researchers face who, despite ethical studies, are unable to pass the first hurdle in the research process:

"…to get a proposal through an ethics panel at a university, especially one that does not have anyone who works in this field on the panel, is really, really hard. So, people either consent that what you are doing is much more security focused than it actually is or […] it is difficult to get it through because they are concerned that it could be security sensitive even though it isn't. So, it's quite hard to get things through our ethics panels"

Expert 13 – Academic Expert

Academic experts highlighted rarely being able to access practitioner data, despite practitioners holding vast data and intelligence. However, when access is granted, it is important to consider the ethical considerations of why. Participation in research or access to specific material may have been granted to broadcast a success or promote a positive narrative for the organisation or strategy, manipulating the outcomes of the research. This reflects social desirability bias whereby participants provide answers which are most socially acceptable or most socially presentable rather than the reality (Grimm, 2010). Whilst there are methods to counter this, such as altering interview style and questionnaires (Nederhof, 1985), it is an important to reflect on the impact of this, ethically, as the researcher. To consider this critically, this would illustrate that research can be used as a tool to broadcast achievements whilst masking failures, opposing the overarching goals of academic research. The expert below explained their considerations when interacting with practitioners:

"…police […] might be very cautious about how they come across in research so […] as a researcher you always have to remain aware […] that there is the official versus the unofficial narrative that can come out in research, to what extent have you been granted access […] because […] that particular case study is very happy with how they are doing things on the ground and they are very willing for that type of information to come out, whereas if you are not

granted access to a place for example, why is that? Why aren't you granted research? Is it to do with how things are done on the ground, is it to do with something a bit more practical like time constraints and funding […]?"

<div align="right">Expert 7 – Academic Expert</div>

One concern which was expressed from academic experts was that they were unsure as to whether their work was utilised by governments or agencies and highlighted the difficulties of identifying the impact of their work. This is a wider issue which explores the relations between academia and government, and the impact of the REF (Khazragui and Hudson, 2015). Operating in a field as sensitive as terrorism studies means that political and social awareness is crucial to fully consider the use of research. Researchers should consider the power interests involved with their findings and consider not only the use of the research, but how the findings are comprehended and the implications of whether it is ignored or supported, as stated by Mills, Massoumi and Miller (2020, 120).

"…this type of work throws up lots of ethical problems, and I want more transparency and […] more thoughtful criticism in terms of what research we are doing and what the ultimate goals of it are. […] scientists need to proceed with caution in terms of what knowledge we generate and how it is being used. And of course, the problem is that we don't have any control over how knowledge is being used and mobilised and by whom […], that can lead us into big, big, big problems"

<div align="right">Expert 11 – Academic Expert</div>

Finally, experts raised concern around the ethical considerations of research dissemination with practice. Academics have a professional responsibility to publish their research findings to promote knowledge generation to inform the literature and wider community (Benoit, Klose, Wirtz, Andreassen and Keiningham, 2019, 529). Dissemination concerns are mirrored by practitioner communities, concerned of research using practice data risking data leaks, reputational damage or impacting public trust (Bargh, Choenni and Meijer, 2016, 483). When governments or organisations conduct research, it is primarily for internal purposes and unlikely to be widely publicised due to concerns of national security (Resnik, 2006). This creates a disconnect between academics and practitioners in terms of dissemination requirements, working at cross-purposes. This is an ethical consideration to be aware of for academics intending to interact at practice level, and that whilst it is possible to publish research, there are undoubtedly ethical considerations relating to academic integrity and dissemination, as explained by the excerpt below:

"So often, external partners will want a piece of work doing with very, very specific aims, but they also don't […] really want to be criticised for their actions, so this raises a bit of a challenge. So as an academic, you have to publish your research and you know, under the REF criteria […], so with the work I did for the [agency], […] if I couldn't publish it or it couldn't be published there would

be no point in doing it whatsoever. You know, you spend two years of your life doing something that wouldn't… you basically have to keep secret"

<div align="right">Expert 17 – Academic Expert</div>

6.2.5. Academic Integrity and Independence in Practice

Academics discussed academic integrity and independence when interacting with practice and considered importance of upholding academic values in academic-practitioner interactions. It is important to firstly illustrate the meaning of academic integrity within the context of this research. Conceptualising academic integrity presents numerous challenges as it can be understood in different ways due to its multifaceted nature (Cutri et al., 2021). Integrity encompasses the values which are portrayed by a 'good' academic, as outlined by Tauginiene et al. (2019), therefore academic integrity "*encompasses principles, norms and regulatory frameworks instrumental for driving appropriate conduct in education and research*" (2019, 345). A shared standard of ethical principles, research and academic values are central to lead decision-making, practice and behaviours (Tauginiene et al., 2019, 345). Academic integrity is crucial to establish credibility both within academia and externally, to produce research of high academic standard and to ensure that the research upholds ethical principles (Cutri et al., 2021). Academic misconduct can bring an academic's integrity into question, having damaging consequences reputationally for the scholar and the wider institution (Macfarlane, Zhang and Pun, 2014). Within an academic setting, integrity can relate to teaching and research relating to plagiarism, dishonesty and poor practice (Macfarlane, Zhang and Pun, 2014).

Similarly, there is uncertainty when defining academic independence as it is referenced in different circumstances, both academically and internationally (Magnusson and Zackariasson, 2019, 1404). In the context of this research, academic independence relates to the ability of the scholar to remain objective and uphold academic values when faced with challenge from external sources, such as political coercion or funding pressures. As discussed by Barnes (2019), the requirement of academic independence is essential for research dissemination and the expansion of knowledge and thinking. This has long been recognised as a challenge for academics, with Barnes citing the American Association of University Professors from 1915:

"…academic freedom comprised three elements, '... freedom of inquiry and research, freedom of teaching within the university or college; and freedom of extramural utterance and action (AAUP, 1915: 1)"; as cited in Barnes, 2019, 592)

Independence and integrity share a similar foundation, illustrating the importance of academic values and practice to ensure the reliability, ethics and validity of the subsequent research. As outlined by Mills, Massoumi and Miller (2019), this responsibility has aspects of social and professional actions to uphold integrity. Socially, academics are compelled to consider the impact of their research on society rather than a mere focus on policy, considering the impact of scientific knowledge on the public, whilst professionally, ensuring ethical practice, scientific methods and protect knowledge (REF, 2014).

One concern which was raised by those academics have established working relationships with practitioners was the attitude from fellow academics. Many felt that they were judged by fellow academics when they interact externally of the academic field, be that with police forces, policymakers or government. These academics recalled instances whereby their integrity and independence were called into question due to their interaction with the wider community. Many of the academic experts cited instances whereby their independence and integrity were called into question as their research spoke to practice or policy. These negative attitudes were challenging for experts to receive and could impact not only the scale of researchers who are willing to engage in practice, but also have reputational implications impacting career progression. If they are viewed as being compromised or not valuing academic integrity as paramount, this could create a challenging working environment.

"…there is certainly a reputational risk. […] I know there are going to be places where I will never be able to have a job, […] there are departments […] who just have that ethos within them that there should be a clear gap between what academics do and what practice does. That your research shouldn't be speaking to practice, it should be about knowledge creation, and that any form of collaboration will tinge […] your results. […] there are people who very strongly hold those opinions, so by engaging like that, you're carrying some reputational risk because that is just what some people will instantly think of your work and you. […] some people just automatically presume you're just like an agent of the state and as I said, […] it is not how I think of it but it's definitely how others think of it."

Expert 5 – Academic Expert

However, it is important to understand why these attitudes towards these practice-facing academics exist. Often, these communities work at cross-purposes, and it is not possible to remain objective when the overall goals of each party differ significantly. This is to suggest that it may not be possible for the researcher to fully uphold academic values, ethical behaviours, and academic practice when they are in an environment which does not necessarily conform to similar values. Whilst academic-practitioner relationships can provide numerous benefits, these relationships ultimately have different objectives for the output of research and could be damaged by unexpected criticism or findings. One academic discussed the repercussions for

producing a report which was critical of the practices of an organisation for their counterterrorism efforts.

"…there is always the problem of going native […]. When you develop close links with agencies […] who have their own agendas, I think it becomes increasingly difficult to undertake anything that can be called independent research. It becomes necessarily coloured by other agendas […] it's very easy to be drawn into other agendas […], it becomes very difficult […] to be critical of policy and practice and agencies when you are close to them. […] there is a sense that you are always compromised, and you find yourself working to others' agenda. So, there is an argument […] that there is a firewall between research […] and policy.

Expert 11- Academic Expert

To counter this, academics highlighted the importance of whistleblowing when there are concerns around academic integrity. Raising concerns by whistleblowing provides researchers a voice to protect against research misconduct or abuses of power and can work to secure academic integrity and independence (Devine and Reaves, 2015). One expert detailed a situation whereby the piece of research which involved working with practitioners began to follow political agenda rather than existing academic understanding. In this instance, the expert described the importance of having the confidence to uphold academic integrity irrespective of the potential consequences to the relationship.

"a couple of things have made us as the research team think 'that's totally contrary to what other research or other academic research says'. So, we had a teleconference recently that was purely about us basically sounding the alarm, […] we worked it through and it has now allayed a lot of the concerns, but at first it was a bit like 'why are we on this call, why are you making so much fuss'? […], we risked almost damaging the relationship, but we felt like we had to say what we had to say because that's our role"

Expert 3 – Academic Expert

This expert explained that while voicing concerns could damage their relationship with practitioners, the importance of independence and ensuring integrity was central to establishing a positive environment whilst maintaining their role as an academic. Academics and practitioners have separate aims which direct their focus and dictate their behaviours and actions therefore it is important to have an understanding of these to ensure a successful relationship between both communities. Differing aims are not necessarily damaging for academic-practitioner collaboration, however, it is important to outline the requirements of each party at the beginning of the relationship, understanding the core values and establishing how these can be supported throughout. Furthermore, that any concerns can be raised and discussed, without jeopardising the relationship.

"I think for the academics you have to sound the alarm if you feel you are being steered away from, say, what the funding is for or what the findings are and I think that's where academics have to keep […] a good close iterative working relationship with end users […] but you need to maintain that academic discipline"

<div align="right">

Expert 3 – Academic Expert

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Additionally, academic experts raised the issue of being requested to produce findings to coincide with the desired organisational narrative. This was concerning and a situation which risked academic independence and integrity in accordance with an agenda or policy. This impacted academic willingness to interact with practitioners and created an air of suspicion surrounding academics who were involved with practice, with concern from some fellow scholars who felt they were compromising academic values. Watermeyer noted the negative consequences of interacting with practice, noting the destructive impact on academic identity, upholding a critical voice and the objective goals of the research (2014, 365). To explore this critically, the power dynamics in the academic-practitioner relationship present a challenging situation whereby academics seek to produce impactful research which can inform practice, however, must navigate the expectations and requirements of practitioners whilst upholding their integrity and independence as paramount.

"I would always put a question mark over anything that talked about independent research. You've got to take that with a big pinch of salt because now […] in every part of that process, in terms of the drafting of the final reports, are the comments from the commissioners because […] the commissioners always play a role in the final product which, you know, I don't agree with. And you may be asked to tone something down, soften some of the language, make other amendments. The issue of authorial intent and where that lies starts getting a little bit blurred"

<div align="right">

Expert 11 – Academic Expert

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Another concern that academic experts raised was the influence of political pressure. The area of counterterrorism is politically charged, and arguably closer to the political agenda than other areas of academic focus due to the widescale ramifications a terrorist attack and the reactive nature of government counterterrorism policy. This presents a situation whereby the political landscape of the attitudes surrounding counterterrorism policy and the government agenda for tackling terrorism has the potential to direct research focus or influence academics operating in this field. Furthermore, practitioners operate in accordance with government strategies and policies, such as CONTEST strategy (Home Office, 2018). Therefore, an intention to interact at practice-level could require a predetermined agenda to align with political strategy, and therefore directing the overall research focus. Navigating such power dynamics may result in academics having to speak against situations which are in opposition to their academic morals and values. Having the confidence to whistle-blow or refuse in situations which could damage

integrity or independence is crucial to this interaction as an academic. One expert explained the pressure they experienced when they refused to alter the findings of a report, and the confidence to uphold their values in order to uphold their integrity as a researcher, and ensure that there was no reputational damage:

"I was under huge pressure for the last piece of work I did to make it more publicly palatable […], and I refused to do it and it was really, really hard. I was getting phoned at home, […] all kinds of soft pressure but ultimately, I thought, while it might make me feel better now, I would lose my reputation quite quickly"

<div align="right">Expert 17 – Academic Expert</div>

This presents a challenge for new researchers who may not have the confidence to speak against such pressures. Their desire to impact policy may lead to unintentional situations where misconduct may occur. It has been estimated that around half of PhD students experience 'imposter phenomenon', a constant disbelief in their success, leading to sabotaging behaviours (Van de Velde et al., 2019; Wilson and Cutri, 2019; as cited in Cutri, 2021, 4). As it can be challenging to become involved in this area, there may be a greater tendency to conform, rather than risk damaging relationships which took significant amounts of time and effort to cultivate, therefore presenting barriers for researchers when considering their positioning and their integrity. This has wider implications for working relationships, future research, and careers.

"…there are definitely some reputational issues. […] it can be really difficult for early career scholars to navigate that space. Some don't care at all, they've just enjoyed being engaged with policy and practice, but others are really reticence to that because it does have the potential to shut down certain sorts of avenues […], because there are some academics who would just totally oppose […] anybody's engagement with people who either say they believe to be practicing and implementing discriminatory and prejudicial policies"

<div align="right">Expert 9- Academic Expert</div>

6.2.6. Knowledge Dissemination

Dissemination presents numerous challenges for academics when they are unable to publish articles or findings from research with practice. Terrorism studies is an area of heightened sensitivity and by accessing practitioners or working with government agencies, academics are often required to adhere to strict data management standards. These include setting non-disclosure agreements and complying with regulations such as the Data Protection Act 1998 and GDPR (Revised Prevent duty guidance: for England and Wales, 2021). Due to these regulations, publishing findings which related to sensitive information raises concerns from practitioners. Academics and practitioners often work at cross-purposes for dissemination, with academics seeking to share research findings widely and transparently to inform the knowledge base and

allow for theoretical exploration and development (Gera, 2012). Practitioners, however, work to tackle current issues and address real-time concerns with the primary focus on public safety, focusing less on wider knowledge sharing. Inhibiting academic dissemination can create challenges such as limiting publications and impacting career development.

"academics are going to be interested in publishing if they are involved in research and practitioners and policymakers not so much […]. […] if you were an academic and you were only doing that kind of work, where you weren't able to publish the findings, then your academic career is going to suffer being you won't be referable, and you would struggle. The advantage of doing that kind of work is […] it can bring in research funding which the university is usually quite positive about, also it will be very interesting work, so it can give you access to audiences and stakeholders that you might not otherwise have easy access to […] But I think, if you were only doing that kind of work then your career would take a hit because you would […] be very limited in terms of your publications"

Expert 19 – Academic Expert

Due to the sensitivity of the area of terrorism research, data access is challenging. An academic expert shared their experience of being unable to publish research which interacted with practitioners, resulting in a conflicting situation whereby scholars try to meet the requirements of practitioners whilst upholding academic values. The ability to access data from practitioner organisations can also come with conditions for data use or dissemination of research. When data is restricted, it presents challenges for the dissemination of research as information or findings may be redacted or restricted for security purposes. As a result of this, research may not be published, or indeed, have wider impact. It can be challenging for a researcher to measure the scale of impact for their research. In accordance with the Research Excellence Framework, research should have a wider benefit than to purely further academic knowledge, for example, to effect, change or benefit society, policy or quality of life (REF, 2014). This presents challenges for researchers who have publishing requirements, as this would be a potential barrier. Further, it causes a trade-off situation whereby academics can secure much-needed data access to further knowledge, but may be limited in their dissemination abilities and impact which are academic requirements.

"the bottom line is that you can provide knowledge and provide space for engagement with different sorts of questions in relation to the interaction of academic knowledge and policy and practice, but you never know what they are doing to do with that […]. So, if you publish something, you don't know how people are going to use it, you don't know how people are going to interpret it but you can certainly say this is what I think about this and this is how it should be done but there is no guarantee that it will be so you know, you are a bit relying on fortune in that regard"

Expert 11 – Academic Expert

However, dissemination is not necessarily a challenge for the academic-practitioner relationship. Experts expressed that they were able to establish successful partnerships with practice and ensure that they are able to share research findings in accordance with academic requirements. They ensured to secure their right to dissemination and outline their intentions at the beginning of the working relationship, ensuring that practitioners were aware of dissemination requirements and ensured this was included as part of the agreement.

"I think there are really big challenges around the clashing agendas and different agencies. My approach has always been just be really honest and clear at the start about what they are, […] I was always clear about what was going to happen and they were happy with that. It would be much harder to do the work and then try to negotiate things like publication further down the line when they know you are being critical. It's about […] everyone being clear about the expectations and what everyone's needs are"

Expert 17 – Academic Expert

Another dissemination opportunity for academics operating in practice is through training and workshops. Academics have the opportunity to communicate knowledge to front-line practitioners through training sessions or by delivering presentations tailored for communicating research to practitioners who can utilise information to inform practice. By doing so, it allows for practitioners to have a comprehensive understanding of existing knowledge by providing insights from their own research and the wider literature (Benoit et al., 2019, 537). This opportunity was highlighted by the following expert:

"I've done presentations, […] workshops, […] training courses. […] my commitment is really to engage with the real-world and to try and bring academic research and knowledge to bare on the problems that practitioners and policymakers face"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

As Gera (2012) noted, for knowledge exchange to be successful, academics need adopt a style to present and share findings which would be accessible by practitioners. This would require reducing academic jargon, addressing the tone of voice, and ensuring an accessible format which would enable practitioners to derive actionable conclusions (Gera, 2012, 264; Bailey, 2022, 9). Some academic experts recognised such challenges experienced by practitioners, including time restraints for literature engagement and acknowledged methods which could ease the challenges when sharing information with wider communities. One expert detailed their efforts to address by producing knowledge in alternative forms, such as in briefing notes, to allow for easier engagement and ultimately improve knowledge exchange between academics and practitioners.

"academics don't really help themselves, […] the writing that they do is aimed at other academics. Whereas, when you're trying to make impactful policy or practice, […] they don't have time to […] read a 10,000-word paper, so you have to […] produce your work in multiple formats. So, very short briefing notes, quick online lectures, having an active twitter or LinkedIn page where they can directly access what it is that you are doing, things like that make it easier for your research to be disseminated […] rather than a 10,000-word journal article that is behind a paywall"

Expert 5 – Academic Expert

6.3. Practitioner Perspective

6.3.1. Intelligence & Information Sharing

Information sharing was a significant challenge for practitioners to overcome the difficulties of sharing intelligence and data between partners and external agencies. Often, academics will highlight the need for data access, however from speaking with practitioner experts, it is increasingly challenging for information to be released as they are bound by strict data management controls, vetting and intelligence classifications.

"…information sharing has always been a key challenge, particularly when you are working with counterterrorism cases and […] you've got to be vetted to work in that counterterrorism environment […]. So, information sharing is difficult […] and it is particularly aggravated by the sensitive nature of some of the information you are working with within CT"

Expert 26 – Practitioner Expert

Under the Prevent Duty (Revised Prevent duty guidance: for England and Wales, 2021), practitioners are required to consider information sharing on individual cases, contemplating multiple factors. Firstly, consent obtained from the individual to allow for data sharing to occur. Secondly, organisations must adhere to Data Protection Act 1998 and, where relevant, the Common Law Duty of Confidentiality (Revised Prevent duty guidance: for England and Wales, 2021) and abide by these regulations. Additionally, that information is only shared with partner agencies in conditions where it is strictly required to protect vulnerable individuals (Revised Prevent duty guidance: for England and Wales, 2021). Whilst the Prevent Duty outlines regulations for data sharing, practitioner experts explained the reality was increasingly complicated.

These developments were not unique to counterterrorism efforts but rather the result of advancements to policing broadly (McGarrell, Freilich and Chermak, 2007, 144). Yet, due to the increased secrecy and security surrounding counterterrorism, the effects of this cultural shift were felt dramatically, as conveyed by experts during interview. The drive to encourage

multiagency working led to greater transparency to provide greater care for individuals identified as vulnerable, encouraged further by the Prevent Duty (Gov.uk, 2015). A discussion paper from College of Policing outlined the Policing Vision 2025, the policing plan for the next decade (Christmas and Srivastava, 2019). The key objectives included greater community engagement and improved data sharing in order to "*enable the transfer of learning between agencies and forces so we can work more effectively together to embed evidence-based practice*" (Christmas and Srivastava, 2019, 8). This highlights the drive from policing to be more forthcoming with data sharing between partners and placed importance on effective data sharing being core to the overall mission. This is a sharp contrast from previous restrictive approaches adopted by policing which was acknowledged by experts:

"The whole purpose is that you have got to share […] I think one of the phrases that the police use is 'dare-to-share' because the whole idea is that you can't keep things back. Once a decision has been made by the police, […], they have to do deconfliction just to confirm that there are no ongoing live police investigation or information doesn't tip it over into a live investigation. Once that decision has been made, then they share everything because they have to, because the whole point is to get all the different intels that everyone holds together and create the best care plan for that individual"

Expert 16 – Practitioner Expert

Previously, the repercussions of sharing information could have wide ranging consequences, including threats to national security, disrupting investigations, risking individual safety, and reputational damage (Information Commissioner's Office, 2021, 229-230). Traditionally, policing had adopted a 'prosecution-led' approach, acting in a reactive space for tackling criminality (Burcher and Whelan, 2018). However, the mandated implementation of the National Intelligence Model in 2005, which set principles and standards for investigations to ensure actionable intelligence, indicated shift towards Intelligence-led Policing (ILP) methods, utilising a proactive approach to preventing crime (Burcher and Whelan, 2018; Home Office, 2005; McGarrell, Freilich and Chermak, 2007, 143). The ILP approach analyses intelligence in order to produce strategic and intelligence-based actions to manage and assess risk (Maguire and John, 2006; Burcher and Whelan, 2018; McGarrell, Freilich and Chermak, 2007). To achieve this, information sharing was central to policing approaches which created an inherent need for community engagement and multiagency partnerships, signalling the shift in culture from traditional policing methods. Experts expressed that with this increased intelligence sharing comes greater accountability. The CONTEST strategy states that "strong accountability will underpin our approach" (HM Government, 2018, 30) and this was mirrored through the management of facilitating data sharing and is embedded into practice:

"15 years ago, IT systems weren't joined up. A lot of it was done paper-based things so it was far easier to either hide things or for things to be misplaced. Whereas now, if I've got a piece of intelligence and I send it to somebody, all of that is time-date stamped, so I've got no recourse, nobody can turn round to me and say 'well you didn't send that to me', it is all evidenced there […], the period of accountability lends itself more to improved sharing and transparency and I've never worked any differently and I can't see it going back to the way that people used to work. I can't see any benefits to the old way as opposed to the way that we are doing things now"

Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert

Information sharing agreements (ISAs), also referred to as information sharing agreements, are crucial for all parties to manage and share information securely. ISAs allow for the parameters of information sharing to be determined to address the expectations of all involved. These are used to facilitate secure information sharing from practitioners-to-practitioners or agency-to-agency and establish effective trusting partnerships which can share sensitive information for counterterrorism purposes (London safeguarding children Partnership, 2021). An important distinction to determine is with whom the information is being shared. For example, a police officer may wish to share information with a local government practitioner who is also involved in the Prevent process. Though information sharing agreements are required, there is an understanding of the management and use of data for its required purpose; to protect an individual from potentially being radicalised.

"Having the information sharing agreements is also really important so that […] everyone sat round that table is able to […] legitimately and lawfully able to share the information […] to reduce the risk of terrorism, […] crime […], or to keep somebody safe, to increase the protective factors around somebody"

Expert 30 – Practitioner Expert

Information management was discussed as an important aspect. The Government Security Classifications (GSCs) (Cabinet Office, 2018) was the most common system used to determine the sensitivity of information to share, ranking into three tiers ranging from Official, Sensitive and Top Secret. By marking information in a category allows for those handling the data to have a universal approach towards management whilst restricting access depending on clearance. Different agencies handle sensitive information and therefore there must be capacity to handle information that is shared. For example, information classified as 'Top Secret' details serious risks to national security and public safety, therefore requires extremely sensitive and secure management requiring specialised information systems and strict controls (Cabinet Office, 2018, 4). While policing is inherently intelligence-oriented, partners involved in multiagency partnerships may be less proficient in information handling, and thus may require additional

staff training, new systems or information management processes, and consequently impacting the overall data management culture at the organisation, as explained by the following expert:

"I think the difficulty is putting into place the data sharing arrangements, getting training and getting awareness of individuals about the use of intelligence, because I think the police are very, very good about intelligence, but I think local authorities and other agencies are less intelligence focused. So, there is a cultural change that you need to make about introducing that sort of issue, and once you have got that cultural change, it is about having robust systems in place and having a common way of interrogating, classifying and collating the information and actually making sense of it"

Expert 2 – Practitioner Expert

The multiagency panel which reviews cases within Prevent, the Channel Panel, requires all parties to cooperate with the panel "as far as is compatible with the partners' legal responsibilities" (HM Government, 2020, 23) however inhibits any breaches to GDPR, DPA 2018 or Human Rights Act 1998. It also states that these policies are not to restrict data sharing, but instead facilitate information sharing within a structured framework which acts to protect information, intelligence and individuals involved (HM Government, 2020, 23). To ensure confidentiality is upheld, each Channel panel member are required to read a confidentiality declaration at the beginning of every meeting (HM Government, 2020, 25). However, there are situations whereby practitioners are unable to share specific information with partner agencies. This presents challenge for managing multiagency relationships where there is intelligence which could be shared between partners however the practitioner is bound by confidentiality or data security. While withholding information presents a challenge for multiagency working, it seemed that this was an accepted element at the interchange between practice and information sharing. When information is shared, there are systems in place to fully protect the individuals concerned, and this was viewed as essential by many practitioner experts to ensure a robust and dependable sharing process.

"…we deal with intelligence that marked up to top secret […] it does hinder us, for the right reason […] because a lot of it is really sensitive stuff, so you need to watch and control who has access to it. […] we've got national systems that are there for us to share sensitive intelligence with other forces and with other counterterrorism units and some trusted partners, but like I say, the controls on that are really tight so obviously […] there are processes in place for how you move and how you handle that intelligence"

Expert 8 – Practitioner Expert

Additional challenges become apparent when practitioners wish to share information with academia due to the differing objectives of each party. Previously, academics, notably Sageman

(2014, 576), have criticised practitioners for not sharing information making data access increasingly challenging. However, it is important to understand the challenging situational factors for practitioners when they are approached by academia for data. For example, a comment raised by Sageman (2014) called for non-sensitive information to be released to academia for analysis (Sageman, 2014, 565). Yet, whilst this seems a relatively straightforward solution, one expert explained that whilst this was previously possible, the introduction of GDPR legislation has not fostered a data sharing relationship with academia:

"it's been slightly more problematic with academia […] before GDPR, we did some work […] with [name] University and we found some information sharing agreements, and they were quite keen to see the transcripts of interviews, so imagine if we arrest a terrorist and he or she is interviewed on tape, and then the convicts often go to prison, and what we were keen to say is can you map this route to radicalisation […] so we can get upstream […] and spot the signs early and educate people about the signs that they should be looking out for and prevent it at an early stage. […] we've got all this information and we were able, under the old system, to share this with the university and we got some quite good work done"

Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert

The expert continued:

"Then with the new system, they got really windy about sharing data with academia, and it became a problem. And the issue is that the CT network […] is not a legal entity in its own right. So if I want to share specific information with you, we have to get the signature of the unit head […] from the other 8 regions […] because the information belongs to the network. […] it became this huge, long document that needed signatures from people all over the country for me to be able to share information […] and that kind of grind things to a bit of a halt"

Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert

This expert identified the bureaucratic challenge for partnering with academia, demonstrating that the legislative barriers restricts the ability to interact, despite the desire to do so. This practitioner identified this as a significant barrier for practice, and whilst they held the academic contribution in high regard, they felt that the administrative demands limited their ability to work closely with academia, illustrating a disconnect between both communities. This divide is not uncommon outside of terrorism studies, with many fields experiencing similar challenges when engaging with practice, as practitioners are bound by such regulations (Murphy and Fulda, 2011; Douglas and Braga, 2022). However, the expert recognised that academia could have significant benefit to practice:

"…the sky is the limit […]. I think the mutual benefit is obvious in terms of all the material that we've got, all we need to do is get a legal basis to share it, which has become very bureaucratic, and we need […] to build a bridge from both sides. […] academia needs to work hard to allow us to be able to share information […] but we need to be a lot less risk averse about sharing. But

once we do that, we've got this real benefit [...], you can apply your academic skills and analytical abilities to making sense of [...] this information that we have got [...], we both benefit, and that [...] needs to be the way forward"

<div align="right">Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Another challenge practitioners face when data access is requested from academia relates to publication and dissemination. As discussed by Bartunek and Rynes (2014), academics have a responsibility to publish their findings to enhance knowledge and are important for career development. This, however, may appear counterintuitive to practitioners who operate in strict and controlled environments, abiding by data management legislation, data security and information sharing restrictions. Put simply, the two communities work at cross-purposes. Academics seek to inspire knowledge sharing and disseminate findings widely which is central to their role, meanwhile practitioners are concerned with risk management, data security and are unlikely to divulge information publicly. This was a specific concern from practitioner experts, as releasing information from investigations could expose policing tactics used for terrorism which could ultimately reduce their effectiveness if published:

"...the academic side of it probably wouldn't get access to absolutely everything because of sensitive techniques and various other bits and pieces that would have been used during the investigation that you don't want them being published or being put in the light of day because it could then compromise the tactics being used for future investigations"

<div align="right">Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert</div>

6.3.2. Engagement with Academia

When reviewing the academic-practitioner relationship in terrorism studies, it is important to consider the opportunities for engagement with academia. Practitioners were asked to explain their interactions with academia and the extent this informs or is applicable to practice.

Over recent years, there has been a change in culture towards embracing academia in practice with recognition of the benefits within practice. For example, policing has encouraged such interaction with the College of Policing stating: "*Links between academia and policing influence research and inform decisions in policing*", establishing academic partnerships and funding for research collaborations (College of Policing, 2022). The interaction with academia and practitioners can have multiple benefits for practice through producing research which can directly inform working methods, provide reflections and critique to enhance practices, and provide rigor for evidence-based decisions (Strudwick, 2019). The adoption of the academic-practitioner relationship in practice was recognised widely by practitioner experts during interview:

"in the last […] 10 years, […] prior to that it has never been this way, there has been an explosion of interaction on all levels. So, […] [regional area] police is an organisation for counterterrorism policing, you will find the links between policing and academia are many and varied at all levels"

<div align="right">Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Literature engagement was common practice for practitioners, and whilst not all interviewed experts accessed research papers, there was an overall desire to engage. Practitioners discussed their engagement with academic literature in two contexts: personal and institutional. Personal engagement references the desire of an individual to seek academic literature with the objective of furthering their understanding and knowledge, whilst institutional engagement is a professional requirement set by the organisation. A significant driver for personal engagement was an unwavering interest in the subject area and a desire for additional knowledge to feed this passion. Terrorism studies is an expansive discipline covering a variety of subject areas, ranging from differing ideologies (Islamist extremism, far-right extremism), exploring underlying processes of radicalisation in prisons, schools, and society, to understanding the psychological and political environments leading to terrorism (for trends in research topics, see Schuurman, 2019). As such, there are a variety of avenues to explore within the field in terms of research papers, books and academic courses. The following expert explained that their personal engagement had led them to engage often in online courses and reading to maintain a level of knowledge for their profession:

"I've also done some […] online courses […] and I have done a couple of those around Middle-Eastern studies, terrorism-linked courses around the world, and I am always interested to do something else. So yes, I'm always on the look-out. I do read quite a lot, more for my particular focus around Islamist terrorism, that's what I've been interested in. I've got some friends who are more interested in right-wing, so I do try and keep up to date with that. I download and read various books or articles around terrorist activity and development or activity around the world. But just in general professional development and knowledge really"

<div align="right">Expert 20 – Practitioner Expert</div>

The expert continued that while there may be some encouragement from their institution to engage with literature, their engagement is driven by a desire to enhance their knowledge on their subject area, driven by their passion. Graves, Ruderman, Ohlott and Weber (2012) found that job enjoyment positively correlated with performance and career satisfaction and found that the subsequent positive emotions may "*create an urge to explore and take in new information which in turn increases knowledge and mastery of complex situations*" (2012, 1661). The practitioner explained that engaging with academia allows them to be informed when interacting with others, allowing greater credibility to their knowledge and practice:

"We are encouraged to do it, but I read a lot more about terrorism, extremism and radicalisation than I have to or am encouraged to or even need to. I find this subject matter really, really interesting and I find it is really helpful to be able to talk to people about it when you get involved, particularly when you are involved in a higher education setting and you might get involved in an academic conversation. I think it helps then because people see that you are well informed so you are maybe considered to have a more valid viewpoint"

<div align="right">Expert 20 – Practitioner Expert</div>

There was encouragement from organisations for practitioners to engage in academic literature, however the emphasis placed on this varied. Some practitioners discussed a reactive requirement of academic reading, for example if there was a terrorist incident, they would be expected to have knowledge of the associated ideological, situational, and political factors, therefore placing reliance on literature to contribute to this. However, the majority of practitioners did not have distinct papers to read but rather, a broad engagement was encouraged. Critical engagement was also urged with their reading, including negative or anti-CVE narratives, to be informed when faced with such challenge in practice:

"we are recommended, you don't necessarily have a formal reading list, but I think there is that encouragement to ensure that you are reading around your subject and you aren't just static and just accepting the status quo. I think it is also good to read those which are critical, […] because I think you've got to know what, even those who are vehemently against what you stand for and what you do, you need to see what their viewpoints are because some of it might be legitimate, so also taking that onboard"

<div align="right">Expert 18 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Other types of engagement with academia included hosting scholars to speak at events or conduct training sessions with practitioners, subscribing to academic journals to ensure access to scholarly content and actively striving to ensure a positive academic-practitioner relationship:

"We will generally have the author in to speak to our teams, we have a slack channel that we share probably 10 articles a day, we subscribe to a number of academic journals as an organisation. We like to think of ourselves as working positively with academia"

<div align="right">Expert 22 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Ultimately, the practitioners which were interviewed had such passion for their field and thus, engaging with academic literature was often viewed as an opportunity to enhance their knowledge and understanding, and therefore was welcomed. When personal interest in engaging with academic literature was present, the overall passion for their role was significant. This was reported by one practitioner who noticed this within their team:

"the people that work in this line of work aren't here because it's just a job, they are genuinely here because they've got a natural interest in counterterrorism. And I'm thinking of the people

Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert

From interviewing practitioner experts, it was evident that engagement with academic literature and with scholars in practice is driven by a passion to develop knowledge and understanding. Whilst there are barriers in place, such as paywalls and unclear access routes for practitioners, there is an appetite to learn and engage with academic literature, and a desire to use this knowledge to inform practice.

6.3.3. Challenges for Academic Engagement

Despite instances of positive academic-practitioner relationships, practitioners face numerous challenges. Whilst challenges to the academic-practitioner relationship may impact wider fields, addressing these in terrorism studies highlights areas to reduce the effects on the academic-practitioner relationship and bridge any gaps between these two communities. To draw from wider management literature, challenges include translating academic knowledge to practice (Shapiro, 2007; as cited in Lahat, 2019, 175), time restraints and resources (Newman, Cherney and Head, 2016, 29), differences in narratives, objectives and outlook (Lahat, 2019, 175).

During interview, practitioner experts reported a barrier which prevented their engagement with academic literature related to cost. While there are open-source information options, academic journals are often behind paywalls therefore requiring subscription to the journal or to buy individual articles. From reviewing the price list for Elsevier (2022), subscriptions range from around £130 to £65,000, depending on the journal itself. Additionally, between 2008-2014, universities in the UK paid £192million each year to access journals and databases, and this has been steading rising over recent years (Research Libraries UK, 2022). With budgets being increasingly tightened and earmarked for specific projects, access to scholarly journals is not often high priority for many practitioners.

"availability of academic research […] has always been a bit of a barrier that so many journal articles are behind paywalls etc, and there is not a lot of access for practitioners"

Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert

Another challenge which was raised by practitioners was the language which was used in academic writing. Academia is written in a style which aims to be "concise, precise and authoritative" and to do so, is often complex grammatically and utilises sophisticated language (Snow, 2010, 450). This can be challenging for those unfamiliar with this style of writing to

engage with, and can disrupt learning and understanding (Snow, 2010). This presents a barrier for knowledge sharing between academics and practitioners who ultimately are writing for different purposes and audiences. A practitioner discussed engagement with academic literature, stating:

"…some journals and some papers are just so hard to read, just impenetrable. […] those which are almost written for a publication, not a journal publication, but […] for an article in the Times are just so much more accessible for obvious reasons. […] also the firewalls and the fact that I don't have a JSTOR account […] means that I can only read what is out there publicly or if someone else has got hold of it, so there are those kinds of barriers, too"

Expert 18 – Practitioner Expert

In addition to linguistical barriers, engaging with academic papers can be time consuming. Typically, academic papers range from 3,000 to 10,000 words, whilst practitioners tend to work more effectively with concise, summarised reports without academic jargon, leaving detail for appendices (Fairbairn, Holbrook, Bourke, Preston, Cantwell and Scevak, 2014, 9; Benoit, Klose, Wirtz, Andreassen and Keiningham, 2019, 535). Schlogl and Stock (2007) noted that academic papers were typically 50% longer than practitioner reports or standard briefing papers. A significant concern of practitioners during interview was whilst they possessed a keen interest to engage with academic literature, they do not have the capacity in their workload to read such lengthy papers.

"The argument from the staff here would probably be that they don't have time to sit down and read 20, 30, 40-page documents and they need things in […] a briefing note […] so a lot of that aspect is left to people's own devices"

Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert

Time restraints further impacted practitioners' ability to analyse collected data as their workload is typically reactive to current situations. Some practitioner experts discussed that data collected through intelligence sources is often utilised only for investigative purposes, lacking deeper analysis of trends or emerging threats. This mirrors one of the issues raised by Sageman in 2014, claiming that "intelligence analysts know everything but understand nothing, while academics understand everything but know nothing" (Sageman, 2014, 576). Whilst this statement is contentious, and somewhat provocative, there is a basis for the underlying message. This suggests that practitioners collect a vast amount of information which, due to time constraints, they are unable to examine, whilst academics possess time to analyse data but are unable to gain access. This was raised by practitioners during interview:

*"I think practitioners sit on a mine of data where they don't know what to do with it […]. So, […]
because practitioners generally are dealing with huge volumes of risks and threat and their day-
job is intense, they don't have the time to be analysing data. So, there is a need there […]. For
academia, they can't get access because they might not be vetted, and they can't get funding. So,
you've got key challenges there for how do you bring the two together, you know?"*

Expert 28 – Practitioner Expert

This signals a disconnect, and an opportunity to bridge this gap by bringing academia and practice together. As illustrated earlier in this chapter, this addresses a challenge identified by academic experts who identified they were unable to gain access to data sources. The opportunity demonstrates that academia has the resources, expertise and time to analyse and explore data to provide greater insight and inform practice, whilst practice has high-quality intelligence and real-world experience of terrorism issues yet is unable to conduct comprehensive analysis due to their reactive workload and time constraints, demonstrating potential synergy.

6.3.4. Practitioner Representation in Research

Participation in research presents opportunity for academic-practitioner interaction, often with academics approaching practitioners for their insights. Wai (2020) suggested that research which encourages the contributions of practitioners has greater likelihood of producing applicable solutions for problems experienced in practice and promotes wider systematic advancements (2020, 5). Further, Haines and Donald (1998) placed great importance on having practitioners involved in research as it increases relevance to practice and has wider applications, and that representation of practitioner voices and experiences will increase their willingness to interact with research. Experiences of front-line practitioners is relatively unexplored in terrorism studies. Practitioners can provide insight into policy effectiveness, emerging threats, and risk management therefore it is important to incorporate practitioner voices to demonstrate the lived experiences and realities of counterterrorism efforts. Many practitioner experts shared that they were contacted by academics for interview relatively frequently, as demonstrated below. However, the frequency for participation differed between practitioners and requests tended fluctuate.

*"It seems to go through phases, […] I might have two or three people contact me in a 6 to 12-
month period. I've probably not spoken to anybody for a year, now. I don't know whether it goes
in cycles or whether it is like buses, you know? A few come along at once and then none for ages
[laughs]. […] I would probably say over the last few years […] maybe by 8 or more in the last 3 or
4 years"*

Practitioners are contacted by academics for multiple reasons including for insight into counterterrorism efforts. However, one practitioner recounted being contacted by students at dissertation stage asking how their research could aid policing practices. The practitioner identified that this was a challenge as counterterrorism policing focuses differed across regions and what may produce valuable research for one force may not be applicable in another. It has the potential to create academic crossover whereby the suggestions made by one practitioner is already being researched. The practitioner recognised this as an issue and discussed their efforts to create a more transparent method for identifying areas which could benefit from academic input.

"what I will get is contact from quite a few people […] who will say […] "I'm an undergraduate […] in […] terrorism but what do you think I should do my dissertation on?" […] I'm thinking, wow, you're coming to me because you're in the [area] but actually there are 8 other regions, and I could now direct you to do something that there is a student down in Cornwall already doing and you would be kind of duplicating work. […] if we as a counterterrorism policing network are going to benefit from the work of academia, […] with all your time and efforts that we are going to benefit for pretty much for free, we could do with setting you on with and pointing you in the direction of a piece of work that no one is doing, something that is new"

Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert

The expert continued:

"I had this appetite, so like create me a database, get in touch with all the academics, […] what have they done, and what are they doing? […] we can then point people in the right direction and go "[….] it's your doctorate, this is academia not policing, but if you really want to help policing what we would really like you to focus your studies on this particular bit, if possible". And then we've got a national overview of academia and counterterrorism policing that would be pulling together"

Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert

This practitioner highlighted a significant area which could bridge connections between academia and practice. Whilst academics and practitioners do interact, the practitioner perspective is one of sporadic research requests for participation and for advice for how research can be relevant to practice. As discussed, it is not always clear for academics to identify practitioners to speak with and as there are increasing challenges for gaining access, it is challenging to identify how research can speak to practice without having any prior network connections. This could be one area which could be addressed to ensure a clear channel for practitioners to engage with relevant active research. This would also benefit academics as they would be able to clearly identify a community of practitioners who would be willing to engage in research.

Overall, there was a willingness to engage with research from practitioners. Many practitioners spoke of their eagerness to engage when there was the possibility of research improving effectiveness and efficiency in practice. However, practitioners discussed that their goal for academic engagement was not purely to support their counterterrorism efforts but to provide critique and identify inefficiencies to allow for better working practices. The following excerpt recognises the benefits by which a practitioner-academic relationship can aid counterterrorism efforts whilst also welcoming evaluation and criticism from researchers on working practices:

> *"I think I'm very much on board with fostering good relationships with academia and practitioners. […] it adds value to the work that we are able to do anyway because as practitioners we are […] sitting on all the data, […] real-life experiences, […] Channel cases, etc, but I think researchers and academics have the skills and the expertise to be able to interpret that data – skills that I certainly don't have, you know? […] if it is for the greater good, then there is co-operation. And that's not to say that we should only engage with academics who are favourable to Prevent […] because that wouldn't necessarily get us anywhere. It's people who are credible, who are objective, who can tell us things that we don't necessarily want to hear […]. I've always been really happy to engage with academics"*

> Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert

Poor academic practice can influence practitioner willingness to engage with academia. Practitioners are well-versed when facing criticism around counterterrorism policy, referencing the Prevent controversies, and as demonstrated, welcome the opportunity to refute challenges. However, one practitioner shared an anecdote of one researcher not being fully transparent about their anti-Prevent views until the research was published, leading to the practitioner feeling their voice was misused and misrepresented. This presents an issue of transparency and trust between the academic and practitioner, which are central to research code of ethics and conduct (Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012). Powell, Winfield, Schatteman and Trusty (2018, 72) suggested that the existence of preconceived notions of attitudes and priorities in partnerships proves challenging to the academic-practitioner relationship. Whilst the practitioner welcomed discussions with an academic with opposing views, the distinct lack of transparency harmed their willingness for future interaction, creating a divide with academia and practice.

> *"there is an element of caution from practitioners because the whole area of research in respect of Prevent can be quite divisive and lots of agendas […] and it is sometimes very difficult to identify what they are. But I […] would never shy away from engaging with an academic who has previously published negatively about Prevent, I don't personally see that as a barrier. But I have had negative experiences from academics from an ethical point of view, and I think that could have wider consequences for research as a whole"*

> Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert

Hughes et al. (2011) placed great importance on including practitioners in knowledge creation to improve engagement with academia and subsequently improving knowledge exchange. A concern raised by practitioners was that research did not reflect their experiences or voice. This impacted the expert's opinion on research, expressing concern that it would not have relevance to practice, nor would it display the realities of practitioners' experiences. The expert highlighted their desire to partake in research to address these concerns.

"That's what I find frustrating about some research pieces is that you look at who they have interviewed and there is no one who actually does the day job, it's just a bunch of critics or their dataset is like 15 people, and I just don't think it is enough to base an entire point around, so I think I really want to be able to offer my views and feed into research when it comes up"

Expert 18 – Practitioner Expert

Another practitioner expert claimed the academic-practitioner relationship is not fully utilised but would provide great opportunity. To draw from management literature, Hughes et al. (2011, 43) presented empirical evidence to demonstrate positive partnerships between practitioners and academics provided stronger research outputs and greater likelihood of practitioner engagement. Similarly, the practitioner expert called for greater interaction with academia, allowing for practitioners to inform research by sharing knowledge and experiences, whilst academics could have a platform to disseminate their research and allow it to not only speak to practice, but the realities of counterterrorism policy.

"I think both are sometimes flawed and both could listen to each other more. And I do think that more constructive and more frequent conversations and sharing between academia and practitioners would be really, really helpful and beneficial. […] if you've got platforms where academics are interested in these subjects and practitioners could share their views […], break some of the myths […] and also, how they deliver the work practically on the ground. I think both would improve if we could encourage that and facilitate that"

Expert 20 – Practitioner Expert

6.3.5. Positioning Academics in Practice

Practitioners were asked whether they felt academics had a role in their processes or whether practice and academia interacted purely for knowledge exchange. This is an interesting interaction to explore between practice and academia as their overall objectives and expectations for research appear dissimilar. For practice, research is often used as a solution to correct any institutional issues and to inform working process (Benoit, Klose, Wirtz, Andreassen and Keiningham, 2019, 529). Meanwhile, academia seeks to empower knowledge sharing and develop theoretical frameworks and evidence-based models which can aid social development and generate new information and thinking (Rynes, Bartunek and Daft, 2001).

During interview, practitioner experts identified three main areas for academic engagement. Many practitioners felt that academics were not required on the 'front-line', for example, to actively participate on Channel Panels in the Prevent programme. This was as they felt there was not any added value of academics involved at this level as there was greater emphasis on operational processes and ensuring security at this sensitive level. However, they identified that academics could provide analytical insights for the extensive data collected by practitioners, which is relatively unexplored due to time restrictions and workload demands. Furthermore, academics could aid practitioner approaches and knowledge by provide theoretical insight which could inform practice and processes.

"I think practitioners sit on a mine of data where they don't know what to do with it, you know? So, an analysis piece, an objective analysis piece, asking intelligent questions of it, being able to navigate their way through data to come up with conclusions, because practitioners generally are dealing with huge volumes of risks and threat and their day-job is intense, they don't have the time to be analysing data, so there is a need there, there is a customer there"

Expert 28 – Practitioner Expert

The second area where practitioners identified a need for academia was for training and knowledge development. Practitioners shared their experience of asking academics to present their research to teams in order to provide an opportunity for professional learning and ensure up-to-date knowledge for relevant terrorism topics. This method of sourcing academics for training provides practitioners with first-hand experience of research knowledge, ensuring current thinking and providing an empirical foundation for informing decisions. This also allows for academia to inform practice, providing rigor to decision-making for counterterrorism efforts and creating opportunity for research to impact:

"Channel panels will fairly regularly meet and having training inputs, so they'll have one on autism or mental health or whatever it might be from an expert. […] we've had academics […] give updates on their research on radicalisation or socialisation to violence or lone actors, so delivering their research to a panel to help inform them, so that when they then go behind closed doors to make confidential decisions about people, they are potentially better informed about some aspects. […] say you are seeing an increase in instances of autistic people being referred to Prevent […], it would make sense to have an […] academic to come in and give their take on […] what you can do from a social care perspective or from a mental health perspective to help this individual navigate some of these challenges- that would be great"

Expert 30 – Practitioner Expert

The third area was for academia to sit at a national level with senior management to provide informed support for strategic direction. It was recognised by practitioners that academics therefore had the ability to influence policy and recognised their position at a governmental and managerial level. The connection for academia and practitioners at a local level was less

prominent for practitioners who identified that academics were more likely to interact at a higher level as they felt that management held budgets for research and held an organisational view which provided a wider picture which would be more beneficial for research. Further, the ability of academia to shape policy and direct decision-making was recognised.

"it is sometimes difficult when you are on the front-line of it because what you are trying to do is use all your powers and resources to combat something, and sometimes it is difficult when you are firefighting to take a step back and actually say "okay, these are the trends, these are the issues, and this is how we can deal with things better". And that's maybe where academia […] could come in […]. It's probably more at a regional or national level, so they hopefully influence policy"

Expert 2 – Practitioner Expert

6.4. Summary for Knowledge Exchange and Communication

The aim of this chapter was to explore the experiences of academics and practitioners in knowledge exchange and communication in terrorism studies. Each community identified challenges and opportunities which have been discussed above and summarised in the table below.

	Academic Expert	*Practitioner Expert*
Data Access	Inability to access data	Maintain strict data sharing and intelligence management policies Unable to freely share information
Capacity to analyse data	Capacity to explore and analyse to identify trends and gain understanding, unable to gain access	Hold vast information but unable to fully explore and analyse due to time restrictions of profession
Engagement with research	Challenges with disseminating research which involves practice or sensitive data use	Challenges accessing academic research due to paywalls and unclear path to find literature
Ethical considerations	Power dynamics, measuring impact	Information sharing, navigating data management, external information sharing

Represented in academia/practice	Academics willing to interact through training and presentations	Practitioners willing to participate in research when approached
	Upholding academic independence and integrity against practitioner expectations and power dynamics	Voice not always represented in research, questioning relevance
Time	Meeting academic requirements for article submissions	Not able to engage with lengthy articles due to time constraints of profession
Dissemination	Potential of restricted or redacted dissemination	Unable to publish or share information widely

Table 2. Summary of challenges and opportunities from expert participants in Knowledge Exchange & Communication

The issues raised seem to mirror the challenges faced by the other community. By establishing an understanding of the challenges facing each side of the academic-practitioner relationship, the divide in this area can begin to be understood. However, this also highlights the opportunities to improve this relationship, which will in turn, reduce the challenges facing each individual community. For example, the struggle to access data for academics is mirrored by the challenges facing practitioners to allow access to information. For academics, accessing data would enable research to be more relevant to practice allowing for greater ability to measure impact, inform practice and provide greater insight into terrorism and counterterrorism literature. For practitioners, establishing an effective method of data sharing, whether that be through sharing redacted information from closed or dated cases and securing information sharing agreements with academia would in turn allow for greater benefits to practice such as informed training and knowledge sharing opportunities, greater knowledge of the trends and providing an evidential basis for strategic decision making.

Outline of Chapter 7: Key Findings 3 – Networking & Relationships

7.1. Introduction

7.2. Academic Perspectives

    7.2.1. Interdisciplinary Nature of Terrorism Studies

    7.2.2. Networking and Critical Voices

    7.2.3. Academic Voice

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7.3. Practitioner Perspective

    7.3.1. Experiences of Multiagency Working

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    7.3.5. Engaging with Partner Agencies

    7.3.6. Personalities and Interpersonal Dynamics

7.4. Academic-Practitioner relationships

    7.4.1. Forming relationships

    7.4.2. Academic Input in Practice

    7.4.3. Networking Opportunities

7.5. Summary of Networking & Relationships

7.1. Introduction

When examining the academic-practitioner disconnect in terrorism studies, it is important to understand how each community operates and establishes working relationships, along with their capacity to do so. Effectively establishing a successful academic-practitioner relationship improves the exchange of knowledge, informs research processes, heightens dissemination

opportunities and widening networking prospects (De Pelecijn and Feys, 2021). Multiagency interactions, whether that be academia-to-practice or practice-to-practice, offer an opportunity to combine resources and allow for collaborative working to combat a shared issue (Mazerolle, Cherney, Eggins, Hine and Higginson, 2021, 4).

There have been many studies exploring the relationship between academics and practitioners in a number of fields; from criminology (Yu, 2020), policy (De Pelecijn and Feys, 2021), management (McCabe, Parker, Osegowitsch and Cox, 2021), accounting (Chalmers and Wright, 2011) and public health (Smith and Wilkins, 2018). For example, in 1995, Caldwell and Dorling explored the importance of networking between law enforcement and academia in the UK, and they found that each group utilised networking differently (1995, 108). The researchers found that academics were more likely to network, committing more time to networking opportunities and reaching out to practitioners more often than practitioners would contact academics (1995, 108). Additionally, academics viewed networking as a significant feature of their job, whilst practitioners found contact with academics less useful, a notion which will be explored in this chapter (Caldwell and Dorling, 1995, 109). Whilst multiagency working is commonly adopted in many workplaces, it can be challenging to achieve an effective relationship as both parties influence the success of the collaboration (Mazerolle et al., 2021, 4). For terrorism studies, networking and relationships between academics and practitioner communities have been relatively unexplored therefore this chapter will draw from wider literature to examine similarities and challenges raised by experts during interview.

This chapter will explore networking and relationship building from the perspectives of practitioners and academics individually. Additionally, it will highlight the challenges faced when seeking cross-agency and academic-practitioner relationships as well as the benefits of these. To the researcher's knowledge, this is an area which is unexplored in relation to terrorism studies through the direct narratives of academics and practitioners in this field. This chapter will explore the individual perspectives to determine relationship building in each profession, to then identify synergies or parallels. To achieve this, this will discuss the challenges and successes of networking and relationship building between academics and practitioners in terrorism studies and identify areas which could bridge any disconnects between the two communities to ensure effective professional relationships.

Academic experts discussed their experiences of networking externally of academia and their efforts to build effective relationships for terrorism research. This section will discuss these experiences along with the benefits and challenges faced when pursuing such relationships.

7.2.1. Interdisciplinary Nature of Terrorism Studies

Operating in an interdisciplinary discipline means scholars are experienced in interacting with those in wider disciplines. There are multiple disciplines which have contributed to terrorism studies, including psychology, political sciences, history and criminology (Youngman, 2020, 1101), offering exciting opportunities for collaborative efforts, and drawing theoretical understanding or methodological frameworks from external fields (Horgan, 2011). Further, this demonstrates that terrorism studies can speak not only to wider academic fields, but that it can also provide a unique perspective for research which speaks to policy or practice (Horgan, 2011, 208). One practitioner explained the interdisciplinary make-up of their department:

"outside of my specific research group, in my department we've got psychologists, criminologists, engineers, mathematicians, statisticians, forensic scientists, chemists, you know we've got loads of different people who are all interested in crime prevention"

Expert 5 – Academic Expert

As Youngman (2020, 1094) discusses, terrorism studies has the ability to shape and direct policy, arguably to a greater extent than many other disciplines and therefore has opportunities to engage with government, practice, media and policy (2020, 1094). Academics play a vital role for government, providing policy-facing research to facilitate an evidence-base for policy and decision-making (Sasse and Haddon, 2019). In this setting, academics can become involved through submitting papers, acting as an advisor, and being in receipt of funding from government, CVE practitioners and other institutional bodies (Sasse and Haddon, 2019). Academic knowledge can be transferred through "consulting, joint research, contract research an informal networking" (Zhao, Brostrom and Cai, 2020, 305). Academic experts shared their experiences of operating in this space:

"some of the research is funded by government departments or other agencies […], so you'll have Ministry of Justice or Home Office or others like that will have sponsored research at different times […] I've had some links with [organisation] and the [international organisation] and others […], and it has usually been in the case of an expert consultant and it is kind of contributing to some of their work or some of the research they are taking, you know, identifying priorities for attention and that kind of stuff"

Expert 19 – Academic Expert

7.2.2. Networking and Critical Voices

Through these experiences, academics can establish contacts and networks with professionals through networking. This is central to building relationships for academics interacting with practice, as Streeter (2014) stated, it is a strategic tool to "surround yourself with happy people who are happy to help you" (Streeter, 2014, 1112). It is utilised by academics to enhance information sharing, to advance research and engage with practice (Ahoba-Sam and Charles, 2019). On a wider scale, networking can pose numerous challenges, however the benefits of networking allow for partnerships between universities and industry to produce wider contributions to society, both socially and economically (Ahoba-Sam and Charles, 2019).

"I would say it is not straightforward to develop those relationships but if your research is policy facing then there is almost always an appetite to learn from policymakers and practitioners what can be relevant to them. There is a whole range of very practical issues to get over, in order to communicate your research to them, but I do think it is possible"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

With the Research Excellence Framework driving academics to provide evidence of impact, many seek to interact with practice and policy to achieve this (Cairney and Oliver, 2020, 228). Through interaction with practice, academics can impact theory and knowledge development and can influence wider initiatives and strategies (Panda and Gupta, 2014; Mathieson, 2019). However, this interaction is often challenging, with opposing power dynamics, political narratives and manipulating findings or framing findings to support policy (Cairney and Oliver, 2020, 229; Youngman, 2020).

"…if you publish something, you don't know how people are going to use it, you don't know how people are going to interpret it but you can certainly say "this is what I think about this and this is how it should be done" but there is no guarantee that it will be so, you know, you are a bit relying on fortune in that regard"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

The role of an academic is not to provide unwavering support for a policy or agenda, but rather to provide an independent, critical and informed voice (Shore and Wright, 2004). However, this can provide conflict with a political agenda which is pushing narrative a specific direction, therefore working at cross-purposes (see Chapter 6; see also Gera, 2012; Brandon et al., 2006; Bartunek and Rynes, 2014). This creates conflicts in developing effective working relationships between academia and practice, restricting interaction between these communities. This was the experience of an academic expert who explained:

"it is quite difficult if you are coming from a critical perspective because […] Prevent […] has come into a lot of criticism […] and so it is difficult to build relationships with counterterrorism practitioners when they are constantly being criticised and if you are also there to criticise them, so it is difficult to build those relationships […]we are coming at it from different perspectives […] it has been difficult basically, to have those conversations because you're having those conversations at cross-purposes"

Expert 13 – Academic Expert

The academic continued explaining that whilst this was challenging, academic integrity was paramount to practice interaction (Expert 13). One criticism that academics who interact with practice face is that they have been influenced or appear close to practice therefore questioning independence, referred to by Henry (2016) as "going native". Another concern relates to funding calls which impose restrictions such as holding powers to request findings are reworded, language is changed or selecting specific dissemination options (Buckley, 2022, 4). This is challenging for academics to interact with as it conflicts with their professional remits and independence. In a reflective piece on gentrification, Lees (2022) highlighted similar concerns and suggested that to effectively combat an issue with policy, there must be engagement. Such engagement may present in a less academic form, however, to inform solutions, academics should be encouraged to contribute. Yet, Lees suggests adopting a "Theory of Change" methodological approach to consider the contribution in terms of applicability, outcomes, and impact, whilst engaging with practice and policy to ensure a strategic and practical output (Lees, 2022, 112). This ensures that academic integrity is upheld as this allows academics to uphold their own values, contribute to a considered solution whilst encouraging effective collaborative efforts. Ensuring that academic integrity is upheld allows for "boundaries" to be established in the relationship with practice, allowing for negotiation and constructive critique between the parties (Henry, 2016).

"[…] there was a funding call for academics who were involved in counterterrorism research, it was funded by government […] the funding call itself didn't seem to be particularly proscriptive but the small print was that the [government department] reserved the right to change some of your, not your results, but your interpretation. So, there is a fear, there is a risk, that if you do work with some of these agencies and the government, that your work is not going to be independent, that there is potential for involvement. And obviously, the fear that there is that any criticisms that you might make will be tampered in some way or any recommendations that you might make might be changed, and so your independence and your academic independence is put at risk […]. And that is a risk as an academic"

Expert 13 – Academic Expert

The mistrust surrounding Prevent created challenge for academics interacting with communities for research. Establishing trust is an essential element for engagement with participants in

research (Wilkins, 2018) and an element which one academic expert found challenging due to the political connotations of counterterrorism policy. Fear of academics being in partnerships with government due to their interest in Prevent created apprehension for participants to interact, raising challenge for research. An academic expert discussed the challenge of establishing trust and transparent interactions without fear of government interaction (Expert 13). Further, as Prevent is a contentious area, academics feared that it had created distance with practice whereby criticism was not welcomed, and adopt a defensive response to critique, impacting trust and presenting challenge for academic integrity. Fear of criticism was a critical theme that emerged from interviews with academic experts, recognising the impact of critical research findings on wider relationships. Academics highlighted instances whereby policymakers and practitioners terminated relationships or avoided future interaction when the output of research was not favourable to their own objectives, as explained by one academic expert:

"one of the real challenges around this is that you build a relationship but then if you're really independent and publicly critical, of course that relationship ends. […] They wanted an independent […] review which I did and they didn't like the outcome of it. […] I think there is a real problem with academics and security agencies in the amount of challenge that they can provide"

Expert 17 – Academic Expert

This is a mirrored in Critical Terrorism, that a critical perspective is not always well received by practitioners or government bodies. As Jackson (2007) outlines, the relationship between knowledge and power is closely linked, with some governments seeking knowledge to support or promote their agendas whilst excluding critical voices which oppose their intended narratives (2007, 3). This belief is a foundation of Critical Terrorism Studies which questions the interplay of governments calling on academia to inform practice, and questions the interaction of academia outside of their own space to uphold academic values. When academic critique is met with discontent, it highlights the challenge of interacting with practice whilst maintaining academic distance and integrity (Grossman and Davies, 2021, 24). This can also result in academics refusing to interact with practice as some may find it challenging to manage relationships with strong political influences:

"…in more politicised areas, I've noticed there is definitely a sense of "can you provide some sort of academic input that is sort of supports what we want to say publicly" which is why I won't really engage with them"

Expert 13 – Academic Expert

However, not all critique has been met with such conflict, with many practitioners and policymakers seeking academic insights to inform policy, enhance learning and debate, utilising

expertise and ensuring best practice (Grossman and Davies, 2021, 12). In fact, the UK government has increased their funding for research, actively encouraging academia to interact with policy (UK Parliament, 2022). Providing a critical approach can allow practitioners to identify weaknesses in approaches to improve, but also provide them with opportunities to improve critical thinking (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014, 1185; Grossman and Davies, 2021). From expert interviews, it appeared that constructive critical interactions with academics were often welcomed by practitioner experts as it allowed them to debate and challenge controversial topics and identify inefficiencies.

"A colleague said to me once, a policymaker, they would much rather read critical terrorism studies […] because they are interested in challenge and I think that's the other thing, particularly in a policy space, not saying it's perfect but they build in the structure of critical challenge, […] to find out what the problems are and to try and resolve them, and that to me is a really constructive space"

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

7.2.3. Academic Voice

The academic voice is an invaluable source for governments and organisations to utilise, fuelled by scientific insight, independent knowledge, and data analysis, which could be employed to inform policy and best practice. Academics who engage with practice have a strong desire to contribute in such a way, to have impact and provide evidenced solutions for problems faced by practitioners (Expert 9). In recent years there has been recognition of greater effort from the UK governments to acknowledge academic voices, such as through interactions with universities and research centres including the Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST) (Knight and Keatley, 2020). This has been recognised through increased dialogue and communication, consulting and having academics in advisor roles, and increased funding for academic research (Niemczyk and Ronay, 2022; Merari, 1991). Through improved relationships, research can encourage knowledge exchange, increase author citations and allow for greater influence in practice and impact widely (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014, 1196). In terrorism studies, there is limited information about academic-policy interactions and academic-practice interactions, however, academic experts in interview highlighted this improvement.

"I think there is a movement towards listening more to academia, I think it's far better than it used to be […] I think historically it maybe wasn't the case, but I think now […] looking at various different aspects of […] what the research is saying on the ground, providing those platforms for academics to get their research findings out there, to inform government, to guide government, and to improve the policy for the better"

Expert 7 – Academic Expert

7.2.4. Establishing Successful Networks

It is challenging to identify networks and contacts within terrorism studies due to the inherently secure and sensitive nature. It is unlikely to have easily identifiable contacts to build relationships and as a small field, there is greater emphasis on networking (Youngman, 2020, 1099). This can present challenges for academics who do not have access to networks prior to beginning their research, including new researchers or PhD students with no existing contacts. For many PhD students, access to their supervisor's network allows them to gain access, along with existing contacts established by universities (Expert 13). However, for those without these apparent links to the field of terrorism, the field can be daunting for a PhD student to navigate and cultivate relationships in a sensitive area. Zhao, Brostrom and Cai (2020) supported this by explaining those without "personal industry connections or experience" were less likely to engage in practice, despite a desire to engage or where such interaction would be encouraged.

> *"…the other big thing is to get to know the people and get the contacts because often they are not public for obvious reasons. So, you have to be very patient and give people time to answer, but also you have to be patient in finding other contacts because they don't have email addresses on their home page or anything like that"*

<div align="right">Expert 23 – Academic Expert</div>

Another expert also stated:

> *"I think that it is difficult, particularly for scholars who aren't already part of that carousel of government funding, but also for younger scholars and career researchers, it is very difficult to get into those kinds of areas without being introduced through your advisor or someone you know"*

<div align="right">Expert 13 – Academic Expert</div>

Many academics expert spoke of a moment similar to that described by Grossman and Davies (2021, 21) as a "break-through moment". This was explained as repeated unsuccessful attempts to establish connections with contacts, until meeting one contact which opens access to wider network. This concept was also referred to as "luck" by a number of academic experts who suggested that while it was challenging to identify contacts, this was overcome by a single contact who is willing to interact and introduce the academic to their network (Expert 3; Expert 16). Facilitating academic-practitioner networking and encouraging the sharing of established contacts and relationships would allow for greater transparency in terrorism studies and provide direction for those entering the research field, as well as those wishing to interact with practice.

> *"I'm sure it is something that you have encountered in your research that you might struggle to get access but suddenly you have "break-through moments" where you meet a particularly important person or somebody who is well connected who can sort of hook you in"*

Networking can be a time-consuming task for academics in practice for multiple reasons. Staff turnover can damage relationships as contacts are lost, getting fact-to-face interactions can be difficult and receiving responses is challenging (Expert 9) (Henry, 2016). Practitioners typically operate on shorter time-frames than academics, responding to real-time situations and have limited time to partake in research or interact with academia (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014). Contrary to this, Walsh, Tushman, Kimberly, Starbuck and Ashford (2007) found that some practitioners are still willing to interact despite the time constraints as the benefits surpass any conflicts. Time constraints are a consideration for academics interacting with practitioners as it can limit responses from practitioners, impact relationship building and can lengthen research timeframes as it can be increasingly challenging for academics to achieve sufficient sample sizes (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014).

> *"…policymakers are busy. Really busy actually and […] you have to absolutely manage your expectations about when or whether people will get back to you, about what kind of policy you will get back in terms of engagement, and what tends to be the case is that if they are working on a problem which you are able to help inform their thinking around, then they will be very interested and they will be very accessible and available, but if you're not, then they won't be"*

Expert 9 – Academic Expert

7.3. Practitioner Perspective

Practitioner experts shared their experiences of relationship building within counterterrorism work. This section will discuss the experiences of adopting a multiagency partnership and the benefits and challenges of doing so. In this instance, a multiagency partnership refers to "*a cooperative relationship between two or more organisations to achieve a common goal*" (Berry, Briggs, Erol and van Staden, 2009). This section will explore practitioner expert's experiences of partnership working and explore where academia sits within this.

7.3.1. Experiences of Multiagency Working

Practitioner experts discussed the cultural change towards adopting a multiagency approach and the significant role of the Prevent Duty (2015) (Gov.uk, 2021) in encouraging this collaborative approach. Many practitioner experts shared that their networks had expanded significantly, from being insular or working with singular agencies, to transforming into a larger network of agencies, commonly including policing, local authorities, healthcare, education, as well as agencies like border force, HM Prison Service and National Crime Agency. These networks allow for greater information sharing, decision-making, allowing for professionalisation:

"it has been professionalised. We're now, rather than just providing briefings and highlighting what our concerns are, we're involved in safeguarding [...] so there has been quite a huge shift in role. And what we are also doing more and more is ensuring that if issues are affecting local communities, we're in regular contact with the police officers on the ground through to senior management to sort of highlight issues and just ensuring that the wider partnership is cited and communicated with. I think [...] it has been professionalised quite significantly"

Expert 6 – Practitioner Expert

Multiagency working is not specific to counterterrorism work, nor is it a novel approach to encourage greater synergies between agencies for policy delivery. This approach is encouraged when there is limited information sharing between key agencies, a lack of responsibility held by agencies with unclear accountability channels and inconsistency in delivering policy (Cheminais, 2009, 2). This reflects the experiences of practitioner experts during interview, who discussed the shift to multiagency working positively, highlighting the successes of collaborative practices. One practitioner discussed the cultural shift in counterterrorism policing towards open information sharing and attributed greater accountability to multiagency working (Expert 14), and further acknowledged that shared forms and processes reduced risks of missed threats (Expert 14).

"there is far more integrated working than there probably was 10 years ago because there is an understanding that in order to comfortably manage and mitigate the risk then we've got to work closely together[...] as long as those discussions take place at the right level [...], and there are tried and tested structures and processes in place between all the organisations so that they know what to do and the national intel system has helped to standardise a lot"

Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert

The Prevent Duty, placed within The Counter Terrorism and Security Act 2015, assigns "specified authorities to have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism" (Gov.uk, 2021). The introduction of this statutory duty resulted in organisations holding responsibility to establish interagency working to effectively protect individuals from radicalisation and terrorism (HM Government, 2020b). This prompted the requirement of agencies to share information, problem-solve through the Channel Panel, which consists of a partnership between relevant agencies (HM Government, 2020b, 11). This required a great cultural shift for many organisations, such as policing, which traditionally adopted a more singular approach to their role:

"When I first joined the police, we didn't do that so much, I basically policed, you know? I was on the beat dealing with the calls, but now, through my service, we work more and more closely and are in daily contact with a whole host of organisations with a view of assisting them, and obviously [...] the Channel meetings, local authority run, chaired partnership meeting that we are a part of, so yes, it is just the norm now"

The expert continued:

"different organisations can deal with the same issues in slightly different ways, so that in itself provides you with more strings to your bow and you can decide who is best placed to either support or do something because ultimately, I think the police have realised that we aren't always the best people to deal with problem or provide the relevant support […] everyone in the police now will problem-solve within partnerships and go to partnership-based problem-solving type meetings"

<div align="right">Expert 6 – Practitioner Expert</div>

The introduction of the Prevent Duty (2015) provided a legislative foundation for collaborative working, ensuring that the process was professional (Expert 6), established trust between partners (Expert 4) and has been viewed as the "blueprint for the way ahead" for counterterrorism work (Expert 8). It is important to consider factors which facilitate opportunities for successful multiagency working in practice.

7.3.2. Common Goal

Holding a shared objective was raised by experts as essential for multiagency partnership success. The notion of working together towards a shared goal, with safeguarding "at its heart" (Expert 24), created a space for agencies to collaborate and recognise their input towards the wider objective. This idea of a shared goal has been widely credited towards producing effective multiagency partnerships (Mazerolle et al., 2021; Atkinson, Doherty and Kinder, 2005; Dhillon, 2007). Mazerolle et al. (2021) demonstrated that the overall quality of a multiagency partnership was related to the existence of shared objectives held by members. By ensuring this, operational challenges such as information sharing or knowledge exchange were less challenging and there were improvements for the interpersonal aspects of trust, confidence and respect (2021, 7). Spalek and McDonald (2012) found that holding a common objective mitigated the effects of personality differences or intergroup conflicts as the shared goal helped to direct focus and worked to connect the group with a sense of unity (2012, 23).

"the more eyes and ears of people supporting the end goal the better. There is so much information out there you know, from the local doctors right through to the postman to the social service, to probation, to prison service, you know, everyone plays a part in the bigger picture"

<div align="right">Expert 26 – Practitioner Expert</div>

For the Prevent strategy, the overarching goal of multiagency collaboration is to ensure safeguarding of vulnerable individuals from radicalisation and extremism (Gov.uk, 2021). Although each agency will approach this through different methods, with this shared goal, it

allows for considered decision-making, securing a sense of shared responsibility and confidence amongst partners.

"I think that moving forward, ultimately everyone's goal in this business is to prevent attacks and to stop them from happening. That focus isn't really going to change"

<div align="right">Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert</div>

7.3.3. Understanding Their Role

A crucial component of multiagency working is ensuring that all partners understand their role within the partnership and subsequent expectations. Adapting to cultural change, as discussed above) could cause increased fear and anxiety for those less prepared or experienced (Brandon, Howe, Dagley, Salter & Warren, 2006). As discussed, the Prevent strategy has been a highly controversial policy, with concerns around Police-led interventions, criminalisation and their role in Prevent (O'Toole, Meer, DeHanas, Jones and Modood, 2016, 171). Whilst there is some weight to these claims, particularly in relation to the initial iteration of Prevent (Thomas, 2020), the focus here is on the element of multiagency relationships. An expert explained that the implementation of the Prevent Duty was enforcing multiagency working which was intended to be included in Prevent initially.

"…the original Prevent strategy was really hoping that other agencies would step up to the plate, particularly local authorities, on a whole host of different levels; training, resources, safeguarding […] and quite frankly, as the Police drove forward and went over the top of the trenches and ran across the battle field, the local authorities and other agencies sat there and said "well hang on, what are we supposed to do here? We're not really quite sure what we are doing"

<div align="right">Expert 30 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Brandon et al. (2006, 396) proposed that lacking understanding and experience of a successful multiagency relationship increased uncertainty and anxiety in professional relationships. This anxiety related to workloads, working at cross-purposes and uncertainty of expectations. Additionally, this encouraged fears of change, the unknown and enhanced feelings of inability and self-doubt (Brandon et al., 2006, 401). Through acknowledging the nature of risk and threat in counterterrorism work, coupled with the sense of anxiety and fears proposed by Brandon et al. (2006), the importance of understanding the scope of one's role is essential for successful partnership working. As such, the impact of ineffective multiagency working was demonstrated by the practitioner expert who continued:

"…so what you then had was the initial controversy around Prevent which was that it was Police-led, and the Police as an intelligence organisation, […] so now you have this intelligence-led organisation pushing forward this counterterrorism initiative in communities so it was branded as

securitisation, but it was never meant to be that way. [...] there was always supposed to be that multiagency wrap around support for people"

Expert 30 – Practitioner Expert

As illustrated by Brandon et al. (2006, 401), providing clear processes providing structure to work, ensuring effective training and systems are in place and allowing cross-agency learning can all facilitate positive multiagency relationships, reducing the difficulties discussed above. Considering what the expert discussed, the implementation of the Prevent Duty (2015) provided a statutory foundation to support the facilitation of multiagency working. It provided a basis for training for all agencies involved and allowed local authorities to take a lead on the Prevent strategy whilst acknowledging the wealth of differences in experiences and approaches to an effective and constructive partnership:

"That is the strength of multiagency work [...], we all approach problems within our cultural, organisational cultural perspective in very different ways, and they all have a role to play in that design and implementation and intervention for an individual"

Expert 28 – Practitioner Expert

7.3.4. Staff Turnover

One aspect which was challenging for practitioner multiagency working with the impact of staff turnover. Staff shortages and turnover have a negative impact on multiagency partnerships, as key contacts move positions and become replaced by a new member of staff which requires a new relationship to be formed (Atkinson, Wilkin, Stott, Doherty and Kinder, 2002, 127; Atkinson, Jones and Lamont, 2007, 45). This was mirrored by practitioner experts during interview, finding staff turnover significantly impacted multiagency partnerships. If relationships are built on an individual level between two contacts, this creates challenge when one individual leaves, as the contact point for the agency has also gone, requiring a new relationship to be formed which can be time consuming and challenging.

"People have competing priorities, sometimes the relationships are based on individual relationships rather than based on more procedural relationships, so if one person leaves that means that that relationship is gone, which is quite frustrating, whereas if it was based in actual procedure, then if that person leaves, then it means that person can just pick up where they left off. [...] It means you don't have to bang your head against the wall a few times because someone has left after only a few months, and you have to put in the extra leg work to build that relationship up again"

Expert 18 – Practitioner Expert

The movement of staff could be related to promotion or career advancement (Expert 4) or funding restrictions, such as local authority areas dropping from the funded area list therefore

losing their Prevent funding (Expert 16). However, this impacts the wider effectiveness of the multiagency partnership, as individual expertise, values and experiences may differ, creating a shift in the dynamics of the partnership (Expert 30). One expert also commented that in their personal experience, "the movement of staff can be a little stale" (Expert 14) noting that retaining staff allowed for a more knowledgeable and experienced workforce on a practical and strategic level. Furthermore, as counterterrorism work is often reactive and ever-changing, lessening staff turnover would provide individual partners with experience to become more knowledgeable, allow relationships to be forged between agencies and teams rather than on an individual level, and create a stronger foundation for multiagency partnerships (Pinto, Spector and Rahman, 2019).

"it takes some years to get your head round and to be really effective you would probably need to keep people where they are to focus on this because it's so important. And if we do that, we will forge those relationships and build on those relationships with our partners so that we do get that real multiagency confidence, trust, third sector, community approach to it, to tackle an issue"

Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert

7.3.5. Engaging with Partner Agencies

Communication is at the heart of multiagency working and is essential to attain collective goals (Bond and Gittell, 2010, 119). It takes many forms within multiagency partnerships, encompassing both formal and informal communication, information sharing and management, and intelligence systems (Mazerolle et al., 2021; Sloper, 2004, 571). Put simply, the quality of communication established between partners and agencies determines the success of the collaboration (Atkinson, Jones and Lamont, 2007, 50). Failures in communication within counterterrorism could have significant concerns for national security and public safety if information is missed or not addressed (Mazerolle et al., 2021, 4).

Challenges to communication can arise when there is no formalised process for information sharing or protocols, leading to confusion over the scope of the role, disparity in individual and team outputs and can weaken confidence in the partnership (Atkinson and Maxwell, 2007; Sloper, 2009, 576). Additionally, differences in understandings and acronyms can lead to individuals feeling excluded or misinformed (Atkinson, Jones and Lamont, 2007, 81). Agencies can also view situations from different operational and strategic standpoints, for example social work may approach a situation differently than policing, leading to disagreements or conflicts around best practice and decision-making (Sloper, 2009, 576). The Prevent duty, as commended

by one practitioner, mandated multiagency working to allow for a unified approach and formalised process to deliver counterterrorism strategy.

"There would have been much more variation nationally in terms of how far advanced different regions were with their Prevent delivery and whether or not they had a Channel panel in place and who attended the Channel panel etc. But I think the legal Duty gave everyone a framework to work, and it provided a benchmark if you like, that people could aspire to, that would set the bar to what the expectations should be and I think that was really beneficial in bringing partners to the table"

<div align="right">Expert 24 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Cheminais (2009, 91) discussed strategies to ensure positive communication is built into the foundations of partnerships. Firstly, as discussed above, holding a shared objective allows for communication to be guided by the collective goal, shaping the direction and scope of interactions (Cheminais, 2009, 91). Secondly, exploring the differences in terminologies used and ensuring a shared understanding allows for partnerships to create a shared language which can ease any conflict in communication (Atkinson, Jones and Lamont, 2007, 53; Atkinson, Wilkin, Stott, Doherty and Kinder, 2002). With differences in intelligence systems and information management, training can be implemented to ensure that all individuals are confident with handling and sharing information securely and safely (Sloper, 2009, 576). Ensuring a standardised process for documenting information, completing forms and meeting objectives allows for unified operational and strategic outputs locally and nationally (Atkinson, Doherty and Kinder, 2005, 13). From speaking with experts, differing information systems, handling processes proved to be an obstacle which must be primarily addressed to form effective working relationships. With differing systems, information was more likely to be mishandled or misplaced, and created challenges for information sharing when systems did not communicate.

"Whereas previously, if everybody was doing it differently, on different forms and templates then there was always the possibility that there was something slipping through the cracks. Whereas, although I can't say for definite that it won't happen, it is far less likely to happen now"

<div align="right">Expert 14 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Reciprocity was raised by practitioner experts in the context of information sharing (Mazerolle et al., 2012). As discussed previously, there have been great efforts to improve information sharing across agencies, with practitioners referencing the Police's efforts of "dare to share" (Expert 8; Expert 16) to provide all partners with information to make informed and collaborative decisions. Yet, challenges arise when information sharing is one-way, with some information being unable to be shared due to its sensitivity or confidential nature (Joyal, 2012, 367). One practitioner shared that being unable to share, whilst another agency has been transparent with

their information, can be damaging for relationships as it can appear to be one-sided or illustrates inadequate trust in the partnership.

"if it is classified at a level that we can't share, it would probably be frustrating for some of our partner agencies. You know, if you were in social services and you couldn't tell them something that you wanted to tell them, but you can't because of classifications and the manner in which the intelligence has been gained, then it is very difficult. But that is just the nature of the work"

Expert 26 – Practitioner Expert

Trust is a crucial element for multiagency working and is central to its success both in terrorism studies and beyond (Lamb, 2012). One way to build trust is through information sharing, demonstrating openness which is required for successful knowledge exchange (Spalek and McDonald, 2012, 25; Joyal, 2012). Having a partnership which has its foundation in trust provides validity to the partnership, which will have wider impact to those interacting with the group. Trust is essential to counterterrorism strategy, not only to multiagency partnerships, but to the communities it serves and to the success of the wider policy. The importance on trust could not be overstated by practitioners (Expert 22), with the damaging effects of lack of trust would be to consider the critiques of the first iteration of the Prevent strategy, and the stigmatising effects on Muslim communities (Cherney, 2018, 62). To demonstrate one's commitment is another way of building trust, illustrating dedication to the shared cause, an interest in subject area and commitment to the relationship. This was illustrated by one practitioner who highlighted that having a trusted partner which was knowledgeable about the relationship and the field provided a positive environment for the multiagency relationship:

"I think well informed and trusted partners. So, if you are engaging with someone who knows what they are talking about, that short-circuits a lot of misunderstandings. And if you go into it believing their good intentions and they go into it believing yours, then the relationship can withstand setbacks"

Expert 22 – Practitioner Expert

7.3.6. Personalities and Interpersonal Dynamics

To ensure effective outputs from teams, whether that be internal or multiagency teams, it requires co-operation, actionable outputs, communication, and conflict resolution (Curseu, Illies, Virga, Maricutoiu and Sava, 2019, 638). Negative impacts, such as through personality clashes or poor interpersonal dynamics, can damage or create an ineffective multiagency partnership. Interpersonal dynamics such as team environment and quality have a large role in multiagency partnerships, with opposing personality traits creating opportunity for conflict (Virga, CurSeu, Maricutoiu, Sava, Macsinga and Magurean, 2014). Traits such as "conscientiousness, agreeableness and emotional stability" (Mount, Barrick and Stewart, 1998) were found to

improve performance in group working, whilst neuroticism was found to decrease collaboration (Dillon et al., 2021, 5). This was a theme which was raised during interview, as when there is intergroup conflict posed by personality clashes, challenges arise (Expert 30). If intergroup conflicts are unmanaged, this can be particularly damaging for the multiagency relationship as a whole. Virga et al. (2014) stated that personality clashes leading to internal conflicts within the group is a significant element for poor interagency working. These authors posed that when personalities do not align in agreeableness and conscientiousness, along with shared interests and knowledge exchange, relationships cannot be successful (Virga et al., 2014). A practitioner expert explained this in their experiences whereby personality challenges were responsible for multiagency failures:

> *"When there are such conflicts, it risks damaging the professional relationship. […] We've had police forces where we have had great relationships with and then one person rotates out and one person rotates in and doesn't necessarily like our ideas and then all of a sudden, the relationships deteriorate. […] But humans are humans, and CVE is no exception so your interactions with people can often be personal, even if they are big organisations"*

> Expert 22 – Practitioner Expert

One practitioner expert discussed the requirement of mindfulness of other working cultures and professional approaches when interacting in multiagency working, suggesting that key to managing conflicts within partnerships was strong communication and accepting other views and perspectives (Expert 26). Another method to mitigate any conflicts in personality-driven situations is to have a collective aim and to celebrate the differences between approaches and knowledge, facilitating an effective working environment which uses challenges as tools for a successful partnership (Zhang, Sun, Jiang and Zhang, 2019, 69). When countering poor relationships and interpersonal dynamics within a multiagency partnership, leadership is crucial. Zhang, Sun, Jiang and Zhang (2019) found that whilst knowledge exchange was effective in managing personality conflicts, positive leadership actively aided creative thinking and mitigated personality differences. It is important to therefore consider the importance of leadership in the multiagency work in counterterrorism when managing personalities. In Channel, the multiagency panel for Prevent, it is the role of the Chair to manage conflicts and create an effective and constructive environment for decision-making and interagency working. One practitioner discussed the consequences of having a poor leader in control in such situations:

> *"The defects would be that if you have a weak Channel chair. Also, if you look for unanimity across a decision, that doesn't normally happen, and really good Channel panels would usually say that the Channel chair and some of the Channel panel members would usually have the casting vote in relation to how it should be progressed, but you do get some Chairs who want to*

try and get everyone round the table to agree, and as you know, like everything in life, there will always be someone who disagrees and that often creates an inertia in a meeting"

<div align="right">Expert 16 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Whilst this was raised in relation to counterterrorism practitioners, it is important to consider that these barriers to multiagency working are not specific to this field, but rather an issue facing interaction between agencies generally. As the literature suggests, personality challenges, intergroup dynamics and communication differences can pose hurdles for any sector and has been explored in areas such as psychology (Curseu, Illies, Virga, Maricutoiu and Sava, 2019), medicine (Dillon et al., 2021) and management (Driskell, Salas and Driskell, 2018). A practitioner expert wanted this to be clear, stating:

"I think, a lot of the time our sector is guilty of fetishizing itself, and yes of course the fact that there are potentially lives on the line makes things more extreme and the fact that secrecy makes things more extreme, […] I think that far too often we think that we are special, where actually, most of the kind of interagency communication stuff, if things go well some things go badly, are just interpersonal dynamics more broadly"

<div align="right">Expert 22 – Practitioner Expert</div>

Practitioner perspectives of challenges to multiagency working in terrorism studies have been relatively unexplored. This provided insight into how practitioners operate and establish relationships and illustrates parallels and challenges to consider for academic-practitioner relationships. Despite there being challenges, it was widely acknowledged that multiagency working was a positive advancement for working and now accepted as standard practice due to the successes of collaborative working. Whilst this section focused heavily on practitioner-practitioner relationships within Prevent, it demonstrates the ability to establish effective partnerships and a willingness to engage out with individual agencies, demonstrating scope for interaction with academia.

7.4. Academic-Practitioner relationships

The academic-practitioner relationship has been examined for many years across different academic fields, including criminology (see Henry and Mackenzie, 2012), public health (see Smith and Wilkins, 2018) and management (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014) addressing disconnects between academics and practitioners, and factors for successful relationships. For terrorism studies however, this remains relatively untouched. In fact, whilst there is wide recognition of data access challenges and accessing sensitive areas (see Chapter 6), there is little discussion in terrorism studies surrounding the relationship between academics and practitioners.

The academic-practitioner relationship can provide mutual benefits, allowing practitioners to utilise analytical skills and knowledge exchange which may not be possible with their daily working constraints, whilst academics are able to access practical expertise whilst developing theoretical understanding and access information which would be otherwise unavailable (Roper, 2002, 110). Roper (2002) stated that when such partnerships are successful, strong relationships are formed and fuelled by empowered members allowing for shared achievements and collaborative benefits (2002, 119). This section will explore the experiences of academic and practitioner experts when networking and building relationships in terrorism studies.

7.4.1. Forming relationships

To form effective relationships between academics and practitioners, it is essential to consider the following factors, as listed by Roper (2002). Firstly, as with any partnership, it is important to understand the objectives of the collaborative partnership, to establish goals and create distinct roles which can guide the individuals in their responsibilities (Roper, 2002). Furthermore, establishing research questions, data analysis and findings along with dissemination intentions are important to consider (Ilardi, Smith and Zammit, 2021, 6) As there is a sense that academics and practitioners operate at 'cross-purposes' (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014), establishing these foundational rules allows for any potential conflicts to be mitigated.

> *"My approach has always been, just be really honest and clear at the start […] I was always clear about what was going to happen, and they were happy with that. […] It's about, even if you disagree with them, everyone being clear about the expectations and what everyone's needs are out of the relationship"*

> Expert 17 – Academic Expert

Experts discussed their experiences of academic-practitioner relationships, citing multiple successful and established collaborations between agencies and universities. These interactions included police-university partnerships as well as interaction with funding bodies and government policy. University partnerships provide benefits for students, scholars and the university, by having first-hand contact to data, reputational benefits and unique student opportunities such as presentations, training, and providing contact networks for students from an undergraduate level. These partnerships facilitate sharing between academics and practitioners, allowing academics to access datasets and practical expertise which can be used to utilise primary source data to produce evidenced research and enhance knowledge positively (Ilardi, Smith and Zammit, 2021). Interaction with scholars provides practitioners to access new and innovative knowledge and research papers (Henry and MacKenzie, 2012). Further, practitioners can receive greater insights into trends or phenomenon influencing their work,

providing them with greater resources to facilitate decision-making. This interaction therefore creates a bridge between the two communities which addresses one of the greatest hurdles whilst providing mutual benefits.

"this is where the synergy comes from the collaboration between policing and academia, because they can process that data in ways that we can't […]They've got […] a fantastic way of looking at big data […] you've got all these really, obviously cutting edge, because its academic by definition, ways that they can help us analyse and make sense of all this stuff so that we can go 'ah, so actually we can learn from that", and as a result of that we can now use that to inform our decision-making around"

Expert 4 – Practitioner Expert

Central to the success of an academic-practitioner relationship is securing trust between individuals and establishing a positive reputation. For practitioners, this means that agencies have high trust in the academic coupled with the scholar possessing a strong reputation based on their academic work to allow a strong foundation of trust to be established (Palacious, 2022, 120). For academics, this is to ensure that practitioners understand the role of the academic, encourage critical debate and insights and ensure transparency (Grossman and Davies, 2021). Additionally, ensuring trust at a personal level and committing time to the relationship has been found to facilitate trust between the organisation and academic, combat any conflicts and improve ability to contribute to the literature (Van de Ven, 2018). Ensuring a trusting relationship between academics and practitioners coupled with a strong research reputation, as an academic and university, facilitates future collaboration with practitioner partnerships, leading to stronger collaborations, greater access for research and more informed research that effectively speaks to practice, as explained by an academic expert:

"…if you develop a reputation as being somebody that has the infrastructure in place to handle that type of information, and producing work that is impactful on practice and procedure, then another agency was thinking of doing something similar in house, I think that they would go somebody with a reputation over someone who they have never dealt with previously"

Expert 5 – Academic Expert

Poor trust in academic-practitioner relationships can have considerable implications for the partnership in terms of ethical issues. Breaches in trust through poor academic practice was a significant red flag for practitioners, and one which was essentially damaging to not only the individual relationship but their willingness to interact with academia in future projects (De Pelecijn and Feys, 2021). This can also have significant damage to the reputation of the scholar and the university (Brennan, 2004). Mirrored in the following excerpt, one practitioner stated that a poor experience of interacting with research from one practitioner can lead to other

practitioners refusing to interact with academics, be wary of criticism and fear for any repercussions of research findings.

"The biggest barrier has been where we have had academics be a little bit dishonest or deceitful with practitioners and therefore practitioners are […] a bit more nervous to get involved, so there is that aspect of it. So, it creates a bit of a vicious cycle where one academic deceives a practitioner, word soon spreads and then another academic who is completely above board approaches the same practitioner network and gets rebuffed because 'once bitten, twice shy', so that doesn't help"

Expert 30 – Practitioner Expert

Academics must be reflexive of self-censorship and their independence, whilst upholding ethical principles of confidentiality and preventing harm to participants (Surmiak, 2019). As Orr and Bennet (2012) illustrated, working in a partnership across disciplines includes navigating unclear loyalties and bureaucratic politics (Orr and Bennet, 2012, 487). The complexities of maintaining academic independence and integrity have been discussed throughout this thesis (Chapter 6, Chapter 7). Reflexivity provides academics with a tool to step outside their own perspective and review their impact and other factors on the wider situation. One academic discussed the implications of ensuring their research is reflective of their experiences whilst balancing the complexities of navigating an increasingly sensitive area and managing respected practitioner contacts:

"There have been so many times I have been in the room with somebody or something sensitive has been revealed, and I think all academics face this dilemma, and you have to be sensible about what you can say publicly, so you're curating yourself in a way. […]Or sometimes people who trust you will show you something that they probably shouldn't and then you've got to think, you know, ethically, "alright, so I need to negotiate that situation so if I'm public about that, that can be traced back to that individual so you lose the do no harm principle of ethics, I'm directly harming that individual". So, there is that kind of self-censorship"

Expert 17 – Academic Expert

Another challenge which was raised by practitioners was the notion of the academic "ivory tower". This term refers to the power of universities holding significant knowledge and controlling the dissemination of this, whilst being disconnected from the realities of daily life (Buckley and Du Toit, 2009, 2; Glasser and Roy, 2014, 89). This concept is often used by practitioners who feel their voice and perspective is not reflected in academia and when research is not indicative of their lived experiences (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014). Panda and Gupta (2014) suggested that Business practitioners are unlikely to refer to academic research for 'actionable' solutions for any issues, as it can lack relevance (Panda and Gupta, 2014, 157). This creates conflict for academics who are looking to engage with practice, as practitioners may not

recognise the relevance and may refuse to interact. However, through engaging with this space, through research participation, training, knowledge exchange and presentations, academics can begin to break down the "ivory tower", becoming more approachable and improving academic-practitioner relationships. This will allow for their contribution to be informed, valuable and applicable to practice (Rauchfleisch, Schafer and Siegen, 2021; Newbury-Birch, McGeechan and Holloway, 2016; Buckley and Du Toit, 2009).

> *"…academia needs to be taking information from the ground, but I think there has been an over influence of this idea of 'experts' in terrorism and 'experts' in extremism and it is an interdisciplinary subject, I don't believe anybody could be an expert, especially academics unfortunately. They do not have the rubber-hits-the-road understanding of the issues they are talking about"*

Expert 32 – Practitioner Expert

7.4.2. Academic Input in Practice

While practitioners are experienced in multiagency partnership working, it is important to consider where academics can sit within this to facilitate engagement. From this chapter, it is evident that the Prevent Duty worked to facilitate collaborative partnerships between agencies, however the role of academia is not explicitly expressed, and thus could potentially work to place academia out with these partnerships. Academia has a unique contribution in that it can inform thinking of those operating in this space by providing knowledge through relevant training sessions, presentations on current thinking and new research, and provide literature, fuels practitioners with the knowledge to make effective decision-making, as discussed in Chapter 6.

One consideration from an expert participant was that academia is better situated at a managerial-level, influencing strategic decision-making rather than interacting directly in counterterrorism initiatives. This was an interesting concept as they felt that academia held power to influence strategy and policy, recognising the value of input from scholarly research. However, the value of the academic was not to have an active role in partnerships in terms of actively participating in Chanel panels, but rather to assume a knowledge exchange position to inform thinking. Therefore it may be more fitting for counterterrorism policy to highlight the position for academia to take, to create a position whereby academics can easily identify where their input is needed and to assume their role more clearly. As the Prevent Duty outlined the need for greater collaboration, distinct guidelines for the role of academia within this space would greatly facilitate the academic-practitioner relationship.

"the connection needs to be at a national level, where they can pull all the resources together […] and deal with that […] So, I think, at a local level, the level of data that may be available may be insufficient to have a real meaningful study […] it probably needs to be at a national level in order to influence change, […] – is academia connected at a policy level? And to be honest, I don't see it"

Expert 2 – Practitioner Expert

It can be challenging to establish academic-practitioner relationships when such conflicts in attitudes and opinions exist (Powell, Winfield, Schatteman and Trusty,2018, 72). Additionally, practitioners may also hold a defensive position to protect themselves from any reputational damage, coupled with the risk of any negative interactions with academics potentially preventing practitioners from being willing to interact in the future. Yet there was a willingness from practitioners to engage with academics in healthy debate and to collaborate positively, the risks posed great consideration in this relationship for practitioners. This identifies an opportunity for academics and practitioners to come together in a non-confrontational, informed space to allow for positive debate and conversations to facilitate relationships as academic-practitioner collaboration can be mutually beneficial for knowledge generation and shared learning. This would allow for the fear of reputational damage, confrontational interactions and inefficiencies to be addressed.

"…there is a divide. […] you can strive and do everything that you can from your side of things as a researcher, but if something hits the news or Prevent comes out […], that can have implications on working with practitioners because it could maybe further entrench that academic-practitioner divide"

Expert 10 – Academic Expert

7.4.3. Networking opportunities

As discussed above, it can be challenging to identify individuals within organisations, both for academics seeking practitioners and for practitioners with an interest in scholarly research. Academic conferences can be used by academics to identify contacts for research, networking to establish their presence in the field and for professional development (Sanders et al., 2022). Further, conferences allow newer researchers to meet academics and practitioners to engage with for research and also as sources of guidance and learning (Chapman et al., 2013). In terrorism studies, there are annual and international conferences such as the Society for Terrorism Research conferences (Society for Terrorism Research, 2022) along with terrorism specific symposiums from a number of universities across the UK.

Graham and Kormanik (2004) noted that whilst practitioners are welcomed at academic conferences, the symposium format of the information is challenging to engage with

meaningfully as there is limited opportunities to interact and debate. Further, it was challenging as a practitioner to find time to engage in academic conferences (Orr and Bennett, 2012, 490) and can find it challenging to resonate with scholarly work as it can be less relevant for practice (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014, 1187). One issue that was highlighted throughout almost all expert interviews was the struggle to identify practitioners to contact for research purposes or identifying academics to interact with practitioners. Bartunek and Rynes (2014, 1187) cited that encouraging interaction between practitioners and academics creates opportunities to break down the divide between the communities, therefore "*opening up the Ivory Tower to practitioners and their concerns*" (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014, 1187). This sentiment was also supported by an academic expert who felt that interaction in both academic and practitioner spaces could facilitate positive relationships between the two communities:

"…although we may be talking at cross-purposes at times and we may be criticising one another, because practitioners criticise academics also too it's not purely practitioner centred, but we are basically reliant on one another and so I would hope that we can move to more positive. […] it is difficult to make those connections. So, we need, really, for practitioners to be at conferences […] and perhaps academics need to get out of the conference mindset, perhaps we need to be more open to ways of extending information and knowledge with one another outside of the conference and outside of the academic journals […]. It's a bubble and if we could find ways of living outside of our respective bubbles, that would be a good thing"

Expert 13 – Academic Expert

Another tool that can be used is to seek networks for academics or practitioners is to utilise social media platforms such as Twitter or LinkedIn. Many academics and practitioners operate public profiles to establish networks and contacts, and one expert suggested it during interview to connect with more participants (Expert 19). The establishment of such social networks has allowed for academics to create public profiles in order to promote their research, establish contacts and share their expertise and research more widely (Gomez-Vasquez and Romero-Hall, 2020, 1). Jordan and Weller (2018) discussed the benefits of social media, such as providing a directory of academics, tracking impact and wider dissemination and recruitment spaces. However, challenges of online abuse and privacy were raised, with a preference for alternative networking opportunities remaining prominent (Jordan and Weller, 2018). In a field which has previously been somewhat insular in nature due to concerns over safety or security, social media has allowed for individuals to be identified with greater ease however further research is required.

"So often, when we publish a paper and we advertise it on Twitter, I'll often have multiple parts of government or police reaching out, you know, saying 'I saw you advertised this, it looks

interesting, can you send it on' and I won't just send on the paper, I'll send on our one-page briefing note"

<div align="right">Expert 5 – Academic Expert</div>

7.5. Summary of Networking & Relationships

This section explored factors of academic, practitioner and academic-practitioner relationships that exist in terrorism studies, networking opportunities and the requirements to form an effective working relationship. There was a sense that there is indeed a place for academic-practitioner relationships in terrorism research, acting to connect the academic 'ivory tower' and the practitioner space to facilitate positive relationships and beneficial outcomes (Powell, Winfield, Schatteman and Trusty, 2018, 62). There were successful partnerships between police forces and universities discussed, between advisory bodies and government as well as individual academics seeking practitioner environments to provide academic insight. To preserve confidentiality, the nature of these relationships was not fully detailed, however this chapter highlighted factors which contribute to the success and failures of these partnerships.

For practitioners, multiagency working has become standard practice for many, through the implementation of the Prevent duty and the interactive nature of CVE work. With a shared objective between partners, conflicts such as personality differences and intergroup conflicts can be mitigated. For academics, networking and relationship building is at the heart of academic research and due to the interdisciplinary nature of terrorism studies, academic experts were proficient in operating outside of their field. By establishing a positive relationship with practitioners, academics can provide an informed, critical voice to facilitate knowledge exchange and learning for practice. Overall, there was a willingness to engage, and the academic-practitioner relationship has the ability to provide great insight and research benefits for the field of terrorism studies for both practitioners and academics.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

This thesis explored the presence of a disconnect between academics and practitioners in terrorism studies and identify the underlying causational factors for such a divide. Throughout this thesis, controversial topics stemming from exploring the space were discussed, such as the definitional debate or the Prevent strategy. The purpose of this thesis was not to provide a review of such topics or enter the debate space, but rather illustrate the challenges facing academics and practitioners operating within terrorism studies. As such, this research conducted expert interviews with academics and practitioners in terrorism studies to explore their perspectives and to outline any opportunities and challenges influencing academic-practitioner interaction. These factors were explored in the findings chapters and organised into three main categories: Scholarly & Professional Issues, Knowledge Exchange & Communication, and Networking & Relationships. Through examining the expert interviews and the existing literature, multiple areas were identified which presented an academic-practitioner disconnect. A significant challenge for this thesis was that literature on this subject within terrorism studies is limited, resulting in discussions of the wider literature and consequently, evidencing the originality of this research.

8.2. Positioning the Disconnect

8.2.1. Exploring the Disconnect

From reviewing the literature and analysing interviews conducted with terrorism experts, this thesis presents evidence which supports the presence of a disconnect. This research explored persistent issues raised within literature, by experts during interview, and considered the researcher's own experiences as a new researcher in terrorism studies.

This thesis has provided an analytical overview of the challenges and opportunities for terrorism professionals operating in this field. The 'definitional debate' proved to reveal an interesting trend of academics moving beyond the conceptual debate and demonstrated that a universal definition was not essential for 'terrorism'. Rather, individual definitions could be utilised the parameters of the concept are clearly stated. Therefore, differences in conceptualisations of terrorism did not act to disconnect the academic-practitioner relationship providing there was mutual understanding. This research explored multiple factors influencing academics in this space including academic integrity, data access and information sharing, and methodological

techniques. Factors influencing practitioners included knowledge exchange, CVE Policy, networking, engaging with academic literature and funding.

Following data collection and analysing expert accounts, findings were presented in three chapters; Scholarly & Professional Issues, Knowledge Exchange & Communication, and Networking & Relationships. The structure of each chapter was determined by the challenges raised by experts during interview and expressed below.

	Scholarly & Professional Issues	Knowledge Exchange & Communication	Networking & Relationships
Academic Findings	• Echo chamber • Interdisciplinary • State of literature • Methodological Challenges • Stagnation Debate • Measuring Impact	• Data Access • Ethical Considerations • Academic Integrity & Independence • Knowledge Dissemination	• Interdisciplinary • Networking and Critical Voices • Academic Voice • Establishing effective contacts and networks
Academic-Practitioner Findings			• Forming relationships • Networking Opportunities
Practitioner Findings	• Reactive to Policy • Funding • Measuring Success	• Intelligence and Information sharing • Engagement with Academia • Challenges for engaging with academia • Practitioner Representation • Positioning Academia in Practice	• Multiagency Working • Shared motivation and objectives • Understanding role • Personalities and Dynamics • Staff turnover

Table 3. Structure of thesis chapters illustrating the main challenges, raised by expert interviews, discussed within thesis

This thesis explored challenges and opportunities for facilitating interaction between academics and practitioners, offering mutual benefits, and addressing existing challenges through collaborative efforts. Exploring challenges facing each community allowed for synergies to be identified and comparisons to be drawn to highlight opportunities for academic-practitioner collaboration. For example, the frustrations academics hold towards limited data access are met by practitioners who are bound by strict data management and handling protocols. Rather than frustration, this presents opportunities for collaborative efforts to facilitate a solution, providing mutual benefits for both academics and practitioners and improving the working relationship.

One of the most significant findings to emerge from this research was the overall willingness from academics and practitioners to interact with each other. From academics, there was great recognition of the benefits of informing research, accessing primary source information, networking with CVE practitioners, and allowing research to have greater impact and wider dissemination applications. From practitioners, there was an eagerness to gain academic knowledge to inform practice, improve working, enhance understanding, and address prevailing challenges. With such willingness from both sides of the divide, there is great promise for the future of this relationship, and for the future of terrorism studies.

This thesis provides a unique insight into terrorism studies for those operating, contributing and fuelling the field. As discussed previously, terrorism studies has been an inherently reflective discipline, seeking to continually improve and grow (Silke, 2001). This thesis presents an exciting insight into terrorism studies, utilising scholarly and practitioner voices to detail challenges and opportunities, contributing to the wider reflective narrative of terrorism studies. This perspective is rarely examined in terrorism studies, allowing for an introspective account directly from academics and practitioners, providing a platform to discuss the issues facing each community, facilitating conversations for challenges faced, and highlighting areas which could be addressed to inform practice and academia, and benefit the academic-practitioner relationship.

8.2.2. Definitional Debate

The impact of the terrorism definitional debate on the academic-practitioner relationship is relatively underexplored, presenting an instance of originality for this research. As discussed, there is great uncertainty surrounding the term "terrorism" and the characteristics due to the emotive, politically-charged nature of terrorism and the wider societal impact (Silke, 2004, 2). As outlined in Chapter 4, there is great disparity in definitions held in academia, law enforcement, government and across policy. Assumed definitions are influenced by the perspectives, outlooks, intentions, and objectives of the agency or individual, incorporating a level of subjectivity and thus, impacting the analytical power definitions can provide (Ganor, 2002, pp. 287; Richards, 2013). For example, governments tended to regard the political aspects of terrorism highly, while practitioners value applicability in legal and policy contexts, and academics relate their conceptualisation to their research interest. This has led to an array of definitions floating around terrorism studies which have been met by calls for a universal definition to provide greater conceptual clarity (Schmid, 2011; Richards, 2014).

When considering the academic-practitioner relationship, the definitional debate did not signify a disconnect between the communities. Whilst each may hold different definitions, the

underlying characteristics and primary features of terrorism tend to align, allowing for shared objectives, aims and understandings to be established, negating the requirement for a specific definition (Warmington et al., 2004, pp. 43). Further, as there was great awareness of definitional ambiguity amongst academics and practitioners, it was not uncommon to hold differing definitions of terrorism, whilst facilitating interaction between academics or with practitioners.

This research supports the notion that whilst a universal definition may provide a degree of clarity, it would not necessarily impact the academic-practitioner relationship as the absence of such a definition has little impact. This was similarly stated by Ramsay (2015) who warned that the definitional debate was excessive and that the potential for terrorism studies, and consequently CVE, was not dependent on a universal definition. Whilst the conceptual space welcomed academics willing to contribute, many had moved away from this debate with recognition that greater clarity would not necessarily provider greater benefits and stating one's definition in their research has become integrated as normal practice. Similarly for practitioners in this space, the professional definitions were set by the higher powers within organisations which directed their practice and understanding without the need for a universal definition.

This research, in accordance with this, presented its definition of terrorism to provide wider context to this study. This was conceptualised by reviewing features raised by experts during interview and considering the characteristics central to the academic-practitioner relationship. In any instances of challenge for academic-practitioner relationships, the definition provided in this research could provide a common ground for a shared understanding to be established. However, as discussed, the definitional debate did not facilitate a disconnect between academics and practitioners within terrorism studies.

8.2.3. Data Issues
Data Access

Data access has been criticised in reviews of the literature by Silke (2001) and Schuurman (2018), referencing the limitations for accessing primary-source information, creating an overreliance on secondary-sources, open-sources and existing literature (Youngman, 2020; Ross, 2004). It was evident from expert interviews that data access remained a significant challenge for terrorism researchers. Restricted access to primary-source data and poor data sources were raised by all academic experts during interview, demonstrating the scale and prominence of the issue. Whilst Schuurman (2018) noted improvement in the use of primary-source data use in terrorism research, this remained one of the most profound challenges facing academic experts. As

Schuurman and Eijkmann stated, without the use of primary-source data, it can be challenging to move from theoretical-based approaches towards stronger empirical findings which could differentiate between "merely *possible* to those that are *likely*, let alone *proven*, to be valid" (2013, 3). This has much wider implications for policy which relies on academic research to inform strategy if research cannot access relevant sources. This is not to suggest that all terrorism research that is produced does not have academic rigor or provide evidenced, high-quality research to inform practice. However, it illustrates the consequences of poor data access on research and wider applications.

Sageman echoed similar concerns, crediting "the government strategy of funding research without sharing the necessary primary source information with academia" (2014. 565). Whilst there are significant research areas which require exploration, accessing relevant data proves challenging. Whilst Silke (2008, 3) suggested funding would negate a reliance on fast and inexpensive approaches, funding opportunities must facilitate research by providing relevant data sources for the research goals. This presents as a disconnect between academics and practice currently, and one which could be addressed through determining relevant access routes.

The REF 2021 (Research Excellence Framework, 2021), which requires academics to demonstrate the wider impact of their contribution, is used to dictate government funding for research and therefore presents challenge for maintaining academic distance. As discussed by Morrison, Silke and Bont (2021), concerns connecting funding to state-agenda poses numerous ethical considerations and academics must consider their independence in these interactions. Additionally, it provides academic research with a political direction, focusing on areas relevant to policy or political agenda with a current-world focus (Jackson, 2007). However, refusal to interact in this area reduces funding opportunities for terrorism studies. When considering the impact on the academic-practitioner relationship, this need not be inherently negative as this presents opportunity for academics to have direct links to policy, relevance with practice and to facilitate wider networking in practice. Further, it establishes a platform to have academic voices heard at policy-level, allowing research to contribute to counterterrorism policy. Following expert interviews, the positives of interacting with practice were voiced loudly, and while some academic experts questioned the scale of impact achievable, there was a willingness to interact at a policy level.

Whilst there is literature on methodological deficiencies and data access struggles of terrorism studies, there has been little awareness around the underlying causes (Silke, 2001; Schurmann,

2018; Youngman, 2020; Grossman and Gerrand, 2021). These challenges mirror one another, with data access blocked by restrictions to share information. This thesis identified this as a significant disconnect, not only in terms of access but also because such challenges are not voiced widely. Some scholars called for practitioners to propose new questions which could aid practice, whilst allowing data access (Pinto, Spector and Rahman, 2019, 2; Braddock, 2019, 4). This would provide greater evidenced-based policy decisions, whilst allowing academics to inform practice, measure impact and further knowledge sharing. By considering the restrictions facing academics and practitioners, alternative routes can be considered for data access which work effectively for both communities, such as obtaining anonymised data, accessing historical data from closed investigations or by establishing data sharing agreements with wider universities to form working partnerships.

This research sought to determine whether data access remained a challenge for academics in terrorism studies, and from reviewing expert interviews, it was determined that this issue prevailed. Data access is widely recognised as a challenge, however the connection between limited access and causation factors are not often raised, specifically from the perspectives of academics and practitioners. Herein lies the element of originality, by voicing the struggles facing academics and practitioners to allow for synergies to be identified and create opportunity for mutual improvement and wider benefits.

Data securitisation

Terrorism has long been treated with great sensitivity, due to the associated threats to national security and public safety. This was raised as a challenge by academic experts who claimed the level of securitisation was overstated, and consequently, was a barrier for research. Access to terrorists directly for research purposes is often cited as the ideal data source, however in reality is extremely rare, with only a handful of researchers having achieved this. John Horgan's contribution from interviewing terrorists has been cited over 1500 times, demonstrating the demand for this type of research (Horgan, 2005). The emotive nature of terrorism proves to restrict data access to ensure researcher safety, individual safety and institutional security. Many academics noted the impact of over-securitisation, that the risks surrounding terrorism creates automatic barriers which restrict interaction of any kind when the term "terrorism" is included. Accessing information deemed as secure or sensitive by official sources proves challenging as they are bound by internal data sharing policies, abide by Government data security levels and require significant efforts to allow academic access.

There were claims that additional ethical considerations for access, information management and security raise greater concern for terrorism research, with ethics panels are more stringent, cautious, and more likely to refuse approval due to the term "terrorism" (Esholdt and Jorgensen, 2021, 2; Morrison, Silke and Bont, 2021). Conway stressed for terrorism-specific research guidelines to assist researchers however, currently, there is not an established "code of ethics" for terrorism research (2021, 375). This sentiment was supported by Morrison, Silke and Bont (2021) who introduced the "Framework for Research Ethics in Terrorism Studies" (FRETS), which works to assist ethics panels in objectively reviewing terrorism research proposals. This framework assesses "participant's right's, safety and vulnerability; data storage and security-sensitive material; and the ethical review process" (Morrison, Silke and Bont, 2021, 271). By applying such frameworks, this allows terrorism researchers to stand on an equal platform for ethical review, without any pre-existing notions preventing research being conducted. This would also remove this barrier for researchers, allowing for more opportunities for academic-practitioner interaction.

The result of such challenges creates a situation whereby academia falls behind practice due to their inability to access relevant data sources or ability to conduct ethical research, and this was a significant concern for many experts. This was highlighted as a significant disconnect between academics and practitioners; demonstrating struggles with the connotations of terrorism for research, securitisation, ethical barriers and access.

8.2.3. Accessibility and Dissemination

Poor Communication and Accessibility

Academics should be mindful of the language and format when interacting with practice to ensure efficient communication and to reduce misunderstanding. Burawoy (2011) theorised four typologies for knowledge, categorised by the profession it is designed for and distinct audiences. Knowledge was first divided into "instrumental" or "reflexive" categories, with the former adopting a problem-solving approach, and the latter discussing values and dialogue (Burawoy, 2011, 31-32). For the instrumental category, the first knowledge type was labelled as "professional knowledge" which was of scholarly level, requiring methodological design and techniques. "Policy knowledge", however, sought to provide answers to prevailing questions and operates from a specific set objective (Mills, Massoumi and Miller, 2020, 121; Burawoy, 2011, 32). For the reflexive category, "Critical knowledge" is designed for academic consumption featuring a reflexive aspect. "Public knowledge" has a degree of academic focus, it aims to

facilitate narrative between academia and public about wider society (Mills, Massoumi and Miller, 2019, 121). This framework demonstrates the differences in knowledge between professions and audience requirements. Whilst academia typically handles information differently, when interacting with practitioner audiences, it must consider the alternative methods and adapt to allow for efficient knowledge sharing.

The impact of the poor communication and dissemination barriers raised during interview were widely credited for facilitating a disconnect. This was not surprising considering the wider impact this had on knowledge sharing, data access and collaboration. Practitioner experts identified that a priority for interaction with research is ensuring it informs best practice and has a level of operational applicability. This was significant as they were not unwilling to interact with academia, but the requirement of informing working practices was essential for engaging with research.

The format of academic research can present significant access challenges in terms of paywalls, length of published articles and the complexity of scholarly language which can isolate those attempting to explore research areas. Holding an understanding of this presents an opportunity to address this disconnect. Producing research in accessible formats, such as in briefing papers or summarising key findings would allow for practitioners to access academic research without concerns over professional time constraints or understanding academic styles. For academics, this would allow research to have a wider impact and reach audiences which could apply research findings in practice, facilitate knowledge sharing and encourage collaborative efforts between academics and practitioners in terrorism studies.

Another area which was highlighted as a significant challenge was the ability to identify contact points for networking. Practitioners operating in counterterrorism have a level of secrecy and anonymity for safety. As such, it is unlikely that agencies have an open-source list of practitioners listing those willing to interact with academics or contribute to research. It can be challenging for academics to identify practitioners to network with for research purposes, without face-to-face interactions at conferences or initiating contacts through existing networks. For practitioners, experts highlighted that they were unsure of where to access academic research due to paywall restrictions, and additionally only tended to interact with academia when they were contacted directly. Conferences provide great opportunity for sharing new research and thinking, establishing networks and to establish a level of credibility amongst peers, however, conference organisers must work to encourage awareness of events to both practitioners and academics to ensure engagement (Chapman et al., 2009).

There are many solutions to remedy this disconnect. Agencies could assign a "point of contact" to manage relationships with universities and allow academics to identify CVE practitioners willing to engage with research (Lefebvre, 2020, 101). Allocating this role to practitioners prevents academics from becoming lost in the practice, unable to establish contacts and impacting research projects. Academics could also interact with fellow academics, to share contacts and networks for the wider benefits. One expert raised the suggestion of creating an online platform which could facilitate academic-practitioner relationships through promoting upcoming research and disseminating findings whilst also providing practitioners with a voice to illustrate areas which could benefit from research, to allow for integration of academia in practice. Whilst there would be security aspects to consider to ensure that information was handled efficiently and ethically, this could provide an interactive platform which reduces networking challenges for those wishing to engage with practice. This would undoubtedly be a great resource for new researchers entering the field without an established network.

8.2.4. Multiagency Partnership

The Natural Divide

As discussed throughout this thesis, academics and practitioners often operate at cross-purposes, which was signalled as a disconnect. However, interestingly, some experts were not concerned by this, and rather recognised the disconnect as a feature of the distinct characteristics of the professions. Academics and practitioners adopt different roles with competing priorities, and as such, a natural divide illustrates that the professions are conducting themselves within their professional environment. Das (2003, 29) referenced a "natural divide" between scientific and non-scientific professions and suggested that this disconnect can be overcome when differences are recognised and accepted, including opposing priorities, information sources and language differences. Yet, Das supported claims by Weick (2001; as cited in Das, 2003) that the disconnect between academics and practitioners is the consequence of intangible, sweeping ideas from research which does not comply with practitioner timeframes, facilitating the divide. Simply accepting there are differences between the communities does not proactively address this disconnect. Rather, a comprehensive insight into the challenges facing both communities which prevent them from collaborating presents a greater opportunity to tackle issues which can be overcome to improve academic-practitioner relationships. This is an element of originality for this thesis, as there is critical engagement with the challenges facing academics and practitioners to raise awareness, and work to reduce any barriers.

This encapsulated the disconnect as a feature of the field, in that academics and practitioners operate in different worlds which are unlikely coincide naturally. Whilst there are opportunities to collaborate, this disconnect will be apparent as the fields do not typically coexist. This was an interesting consideration, but one which only acts to accept the presence of a disconnect and the associated challenges, without considering the potential benefits of bridging a divide. It would be possible to consider the role of practitioners and academics whilst respecting professional boundaries, and still facilitating an academic-practitioner relationship. By ensuring the requirements of academics and practitioners are voiced, there can be collaborative efforts whilst upholding individual and shared values. Maintaining the individual identity of each community was central to ensuring a healthy relationship and opportunities for collaboration can be encouraged without attempting to remove all disparity.

When exploring the disconnect between academics and practitioners, the role assumed by academics is often discussed. Many scholars reference Schmid and Jongman's well-known statement asserting that the academic role is not to "firefight" but to remain a "student of combustion" (Schmid and Jongman, 1988; Silke, 2001, 2; Morrison, Silke and Bont, 2021, 272; Youngman, 2018, 6). This is to suggest that the role of academia is not to aid working practices, but rather to uphold professional distance and provide academic insights to promote knowledge creation. This is often purposed by Critical Terrorism scholars, who maintain that academia should not be driven by policy or political agendas, therefore should distance from practice to uphold the values and objectives of an academic. Jackson (2007) suggests that the "state-centric" approach to terrorism studies allowing politics to dictate narratives, approaches and discourse on terrorism, removing independent academic thought.

An expert acknowledged that whilst academics and practitioners may not interact fully, the level of interaction is appropriate and therefore there is no disconnect. They recognised the significance of having dissimilarities between academics and practitioners and that such dissimilarities should not be misconstrued as a disconnect. Another expert did not recognise a disconnect in a brazen, evading sense. They discussed that there was no animosity between the two communities, but rather, academics and practitioners operate in different worlds. This coincides with feelings from other experts, identifying that areas where a disconnect exists is not necessarily cause for great concern. The disconnects exist as a result of two spaces which operate differently to one another, have opposing aims and objectives and face different challenges. As such, the expert did not account a disconnect, but rather recognised a natural divide. They are not communities that are intended to interact freely and should maintain distance, therefore a disconnect does not exist.

Whilst a number of these issues are recognised in other disciplines, they remained unaddressed in terrorism studies in the context of the academic-practitioner relationship. This thesis discussed suggestions for disseminating research to practice such as academics providing briefing notes or condensed papers for practitioners. Whilst this seems a simple solution, this illustrates straightforward steps which could address competing issues which restrict academic-practitioner relationships. Academic independence is a wider issue facing academia as a whole, with the threat of powers pursuing their own agenda and suppressing opposing views (Barnes, 2019, 591). Academic integrity must be upheld to the highest standard, especially when research can directly impact practitioners or the public (Jackson, 2008, 303). If open communication between academics and practitioners can be facilitated, managing boundaries and expectations, this would allow academics to uphold objectivity, provide critique without concerns of damaging relationships or reputation and maintain scholarly distance (Dodson and Cheeseman, 2018, 2). It would also provide practitioners an opportunity to have their voice represented in research and provide a foundation for mutual benefit. While academics and practitioners may appear to operate at cross-purposes, providing solutions for individual barriers allows for issues to be voiced, discussed and confronted in order to ensure a prosperous, beneficial and healthy academic-practitioner partnership.

Situating Academic Input

To further consider the disconnect, it was important to determine the role academia is expected to take in practice. While practitioners identified that academia would be more suitable at strategic, managerial levels, it was also apparent that practitioners felt that their first-hand experiences would not be relevant or applicable for research. This highlighted another disconnect area of recognising the value of practitioner voices in research, both from practitioners themselves and a research opportunity for the narratives of counterterrorism professionals to be vocalised. Practitioner voices offer a unique and vital source of information, allowing for greater impact, relevance, and application for research (Pinto, Spector and Rahman, 2019). If there is little awareness around practitioner contributions to research, this inhibits the interaction between academics and practitioners before relationships can be established.

A front-line practitioner expert recognised a disconnect as they had not experienced any direct interaction with academia. This was not illustrative of an unwillingness to interact with researchers or with academic research. When asked about the presence of a disconnect, they admitted they had not been contacted by academics prior to the interview and it was relatively

rare to interact with academia at a local level, signalling opportunity for greater interaction with front-line practitioners. As Hardwick and Worsley discussed, practitioners operate in a distinctive position, at the boundary between the public, organisations and policy and thus prove to be a vital and exciting source of knowledge for research (2011, 135). Widening this source of information for research and utilising the practitioner voice as a data source would facilitate greater knowledge production, sharing and insight for academia to explore.

Practitioner experts voiced their concerns facing anti-Prevent rhetoric, stemming from the initial iteration of the Prevent Strategy. The significant controversy surrounding the surveillance of Muslim communities and targeting minorities prompted public outcry, mirrored with vast academic critique on the infamous policy (see Thomas, 2020). Practitioner experts noted the challenge of interacting with academics who hold anti-Prevent views for networking, suggesting that it was difficult to establish constructive relationships when faced with such opposing viewpoints. While practitioners were well versed in addressing anti-Prevent rhetoric, they had to consider reputational damages and opposing agendas when interacting with research, if their narratives were misused. Practitioners were increasingly open to critique as it provided them a platform to address any misconceptions and identify areas which could be improved. This was a sentiment also proposed by Dodson and Cheeseman (2018), who stated practitioners often welcome constructive criticism and can use research as a means to voice their own concerns which, as practitioners, may be unheard. As front-line practitioners, their influence on policy is relatively low as they do not hold power to change but are tasked with delivering policy. Academics should work to ensure a positive interaction can occur as to not discourage practitioners from engaging with academia, therefore addressing a potential disconnect area. Capturing the practitioner voice provides vital narrative for research and this was central for examining a range of practitioner perspectives for this thesis to fully capture the range of experiences from counterterrorism practice.

8.3. Outlook for Terrorism Studies

In 2014, Sageman painted a pessimistic outlook for terrorism studies, depicting the disconnect between academics and intelligence communities as truly problematic and "unbridgeable" (2014, 565). To support these claims, Sageman noted the poor academic research, inability to gain access to data with an overreliance on historical or secondary sources, therefore demonstrating a "stagnating" field which is unable to advance. For intelligence communities, Sageman claimed their inability to analyse findings due to time constraints, differing skillsets and

political influence. Interestingly, these points were raised repeatedly in expert interviews, demonstrating that these factors did contribute to the academic-practitioner disconnect in terrorism studies. However, Sageman's notorious article warned of a bleak future for the field and emphasised that these issues could not be mitigated. This pessimistic outlook was not fully reciprocated from expert interviews, nor from reviewing wider literature. Whilst the disconnect between academics and practitioners was identified, there was not an overall sense of cynicism amongst the terrorism studies professionals. Experts spoke of a great optimism and promise, recognising that whilst barriers exist, there were novel and exciting ideas emerging and opportunities to bridge the academic-practitioner disconnect through collaborative working and mutual partnerships.

Many scholars have signalled their optimism for the future of terrorism studies. Silke and Schmidt-Petersen opposed Sageman's claims of "stagnation", claiming terrorism was "enjoying a golden age" (2015, 10). Whilst they recognised the legitimacy of concerns raised, the poor academic quality was not unique to terrorism studies, and rather viewed the intense interest in the subject and rapid growth in articles positively. When reviewing opinions of stagnation, Morrison found there was a greater sense of optimism, citing improving data access routes, dedicated and highly-skilled researchers and research moving beyond policy-specific topics (2020, 16). Efforts must be made to ensure academic rigor, methodological techniques are of high standards to ensure the field continues to prosper (Morrison, 2020, 17). Freilich, Chermak and Gruenewold (2015) mirrored such optimism, acknowledging the promising advancements in research complexity over recent years. The scholars recognised the importance of encouraging multiagency working to combat terrorism, the input from funding which provides greater opportunities for research and the innovative advancements which can be seen throughout the literature. Whilst challenges remained in the field, Freilich, Chermak and Gruenewold recognised a flourishing field fuelled by continual growth (2015, 365). The positive outlook was shared by Schuurman (2018) however acknowledged the requirement for dedicated researchers to terrorism studies and funding which allows terrorism research to focus on issues more widely than counterterrorism specifically.

This research does not intent to disregard advancements in the field, and rather, looks to provide areas of introspection by identifying any challenges faced by academics and practitioners, which can promote opportunity to bridge any gaps and enable greater opportunities for both communities. From expert interviews, whilst the challenges raised indicated the disconnect prevails, there was discussion of the substantial improvement over recent years, promoting a great sense of prosperity. There was a sense of excitement from academic experts who felt that

terrorism studies has evolved and addressed initial concerns, and that new research which shows great promise in combating issues relating to methodological challenges and primary source data access (Silke and Schmid-Petersen, 2015).

There was also recognition of the developments in practitioner communities, promoting a sense of optimism for the future of CVE practice. Whilst the initial iteration prompted great controversy, the Prevent Strategy appears to have worked to a stable condition, with practitioner experts noting the inclusion of safeguarding vulnerable individuals, as reported by NPCC (National Police Chiefs' Council, 2020). With the introduction of the Prevent Duty (2015), multiagency collaboration has allowed for joint efforts to protect individuals, incorporating areas such as schools, healthcare, policing and further education. A positive outlook for CVE efforts was proudly voiced by practitioner experts, demonstrating that whilst challenges remain, there was a sense of optimism and passion for continual growth and advancement in counterterrorism efforts.

One of the most promising findings from this thesis was that there was a profound willingness from both academics and practitioners to engage with one another. This demonstrates a level of awareness for the mutual benefits which academic-practitioner relationships can provide and that while challenging, partnerships foster knowledge creation, enable information sharing and benefits national security and public safety (Lefebvre, 2021, 102). It illustrates a level of self-reflection, with practitioners able to identify a requirement for academic input to aid practice, and academics able to identify areas they can provide evidence-based knowledge and inform. There was a level of support for the message behind the controversial statement made by Sageman: "intelligence analysts know everything but understand nothing, while academics understand everything but know nothing" (2014, 576). There was recognition of the skillsets of both academics and practitioners: with practitioners reactive to counterterrorism threats and manage risk but are unable to extensively analyse data due to time restraints or skill sets, whilst academics possess the analytical abilities to examine and analyse data and produce informed outputs but lack access. Whilst there multiple challenges have been highlighted throughout this thesis, this divide has the potential to be bridged to provide greater benefits for academics and practitioners, due to a shared willingness to engage from both communities. Willingness facilitates a platform to discuss potential barriers to collaboration, thus presenting opportunity to form effective academic-practitioner relationships.

"It's a strange one because there is willingness on both sides to heal the rift, there is absolutely willingness. […] [practitioners have] access to huge amounts of data but no processing capability, no analytical capability over and above what is immediately in front of them. And then on the

researcher side, those great ideas that are probably a little bit divorced from reality of what it is that practitioners actually need"

<div align="right">Expert 28 – Practitioner Expert</div>

<u>8.4. Limitations</u>

In terms of limitations for this research, the sample size could be addressed in future research. As explained in the methodology section, the data collection period of this research coincided with the Coronavirus pandemic. This impacted the number of people willing to partake in research as changes in working requirements restricted time availability, such as for academics having to adapt to online lecturing and differing coursework assignments. Similarly, practitioners were impacted by working-from-home requirements which altered demands. This resulted in invites being declined or receiving no response. Additionally, whilst some participants agreed to participate, they requested to schedule their interview for weeks later when working requirements were more manageable. The sample size therefore demonstrates the intention of gathering a substantial sample size, obtaining saturation and completing data analysis whilst maintaining the timescale of the research.

Whilst the sample size was relatively small, this does not indicate that the research does not hold reliability or credibility. Whilst it was challenging to continue to identify participants, data collection continued until saturation was achieved, meaning that interviews were not producing new themes, data or concepts which had not already been mentioned (Fusch and Ness, 2015, 1409). Furthermore, Guest et al. suggested that saturation can be attained from as little as six interviews (2006; as cited in Fusch and Ness, 2015, 1409). Having interviewed 32 experts for this research, the data provided a substantial level of saturation and reliability for findings, as supported by Rubin and Rubin who similarly stated large sample sizes are not required to increase the validity of research findings (2005, 68).

A second limitation was identifying experts to take part in the research. As explained, the sensitive nature of the subject area makes it challenging to identify practitioners in this space. As a new researcher in terrorism studies, whilst the researcher worked to network and establish connections, it was challenging to identify contacts without a pre-existing network. This also supported one of the findings from this research which demonstrated a challenge for new researchers in this area without established networks or access to potential contacts. Further research could look to explore the disconnect in the field with a larger, established network which may prove to be less challenging for time constraints and for identifying participants.

Moreover, as the UK government enforced a nationwide lockdown, restricting person-to-person interaction, this also impacted the format of interview. Whilst initially, the researcher had hoped to conduct face-to-face interviews, all interviews were conducted as phone calls between the researcher and expert participant. Further research could look to conduct face-to-face interviews, which provide greater information such as body language and to establish rapport through interaction (Vogl, 2013). Furthermore, it would be interesting to compare the nature of responses from telephone calls compared to face-to-face interviews to determine whether interview techniques had an influence on nature of information disclosed.

This research also specifically focused on terrorism scholars and practitioners based within the UK. However, it would be interesting to examine a wider viewpoint, from academics across Europe and indeed, internationally, to determine the scale of challenges facing terrorism studies. Additionally, the practitioner experts had a range of CVE backgrounds, including policing, Prevent Officers, local government, policy-advisors and thinktanks. Interviewing practitioners from one specific area, such as solely policymakers could identify area specific challenges which could be useful to explore. This researched looked to present an overview of the field of terrorism studies and counterterrorism practice to present the most common challenges facing professionals in this space, and to explore the relationship between academics and practitioners.

8.5. Future Research

Throughout this thesis, there have been areas which have been identified which could benefit from attention from future research. Furthermore, this thesis outlines areas which could provide relief to some of the challenges faced by scholars and practitioners and aid the disconnect. Additionally, as this has provided an overview of the disconnect between academics and practitioners, future research could look to explore individual factors which have been raised in this thesis, such as knowledge exchange, networking, data access or communication. Additional research areas have been highlighted below:

- *The phenomenon of one-time contributors*

Future research could explore this by interviewing academics who have contributed as a one-time contributor to identify contributing reasons for sporadic contribution to terrorism studies and determine any barriers which facilitate movement away from the field

- *The relationship between interdisciplinarity of terrorism studies and career development*

The limitations of interdisciplinary research could prove interesting for future research. This could explore career progression opportunities, academic identity and the impact this has on wider terrorism research.

- *Experiences of females in terrorism studies and counterterrorism practice*

As can be seen from the participant information, the majority of participants in this research were male, however this was not by design. There have been great efforts to explore the role of women in terrorism to understand mobilisation and their role in extremism (see Banks, 2019; Von Knop, 2007). However, it would be interesting to look at the discipline of terrorism studies itself in terms of academics and practitioners, to determine the experiences of females in counterterrorism work. It would be interesting to explore whether there is a gender divide in greater detail.

- *The relationship between academic research, counterterrorism policy and funding bodies*

As explained in the thesis, funding bodies have influence over research direction in terms of where funding it placed. It would be interesting to explore this interplay further, exploring how funding bodies identify topics for research and measure their impact on academic literature, as well as determining the relationship between academia and funding bodies.

- *The relationship between funding, the political agenda and counterterrorism practice*

Additionally, the impact of funding could also present an aspect of CVE practice to explore in terms of budget resources, changing political agenda and competing objectives. It would be interesting to consider the allotted funding for the CONTEST strategy and consider this with the outputs and successes of the strategy.

- *The political connection to terrorism as a crime*

It has long been acknowledged that terrorism research and counterterrorism initiatives are heavily influenced by the political landscape (Jackson, Gunning and Smyth, 2007; Spaaij and Hamm, 2015; Silke, 2001; Schuurman, 2018). However, the connection between terrorism and politics would be an interesting area to provide greater knowledge. The crime of terrorism has a connection with politics that is unlike any other crime facing society, potentially due to the political ramifications of terrorism compared to other organised crimes. This highlights an interesting area to explore, and to provide greater knowledge on the connection between terrorism and politics in comparison to other serious crimes.

- *The impact of poor data access on knowledge development in terrorism studies*

Whilst data access has restricted research in specific areas, such as prison radicalisation, future research could explore the impact of poor data access on knowledge development, identifying topics which pose particular challenges to raise awareness of the barriers for academic research. Further, as Knight and Keatley state, if policy requires a stronger evidence-base, there need to be greater efforts to enable and facilitate this (2020, 227). Considering the wider impact of poor data access could also have implications for international or comparative research in terms of representing the risk from terrorism, the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies and efforts to combat terrorism.

8.6. Recommendations to academia and practice

It is important to consider recommendations which could address the disconnect in the academic-practitioner relationship in terrorism studies, and present methods to implement or consider in practical environments. In practice, counterterrorism policy has embraced a multiagency approach, encouraging collaborative efforts between agencies to protect against individuals against terrorism. With multiagency at the heart of CVE initiatives, the role of academia is pronounced. Bartunek and Rynes referenced Austin stating: "the value of the academic is often less in the actual research and more in helping practitioners improve their critical thinking" (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014, 1185). Academia can provide vital contributions to inform practice, facilitate learning and knowledge sharing, and analyse and examine trends and emerging threats. Opportunities to encourage academic input in practice aids informed decision-making, knowledge sharing and evidence-based practice. Practitioners can provide academia with real-world context, incorporating the practitioner voice to research, facilitating information sharing which improves relevance and application in practice.

The following recommendations could bridge the disconnect in terrorism studies, thus providing opportunities for academia and practice.

8.6.1. Communication and Networking

To counter the challenges of identifying contacts and establishing networks, there should be greater transparency for contact identification for individuals willing to interact with academia/practice. The first recommendation is to create a secure database which could act as a shared platform between academics and practitioners allowing interaction, to demonstrate a willingness to participate in research, to share research findings and to improve communication. Whilst relationships based on person-to-person interaction are beneficial, wider partnerships between organisations and universities have greater longitudinal value as not reliant on personal

circumstance, therefore facilitate wider relationships have improved scope for success, for encouraging additional partnerships and a stronger foundation for partnerships.

As discussed, while an original aspect of this thesis, accessing academic and practitioner communities to explore the relationship is significantly underexplored in terrorism studies. Academic-practitioner relationships have been extensively explored in wider fields, such as management literature (Bartunek and Rynes, 2014) and social work literature (Joubert and Hocking, 2015). Therefore, encouraging greater access to practitioner communities would enhance representation of the practitioner voice in academic research. Deeper understanding of the academic-practitioner relationship within terrorism studies could uncover opportunities for great collaboration and ease challenges facing the individual communities.

8.6.2. Data Access and Awareness

Data access has a significant impact on the academic-practitioner relationship, as detailed in this thesis. Improved data access for academic research and efforts to reduce bureaucratic processes for practitioners to facilitate data sharing for research purposes would aid this challenge for both communities. Such efforts could look to provide academics with anonymised data, historical case material or similar less sensitive information

Awareness of the challenges facing each community would also reduce any conflicts for academic-practitioner interactions. This would allow for practitioners to be aware of academic challenges (such as academic integrity) and academics to be aware of practitioner challenges (data sharing restrictions). Priorities and boundaries should be established when partnerships commence, encouraging open communication to manage expectations. Academics could also work to have greater reflexivity on their work, inputs, outputs and presence in practice. Improving the accessibility of academic research through the production of briefing papers or summary articles for research papers to encourage engagement and knowledge sharing without impeding practitioners with time demands or those unfamiliar with scholarly language.

8.6.3. Multiagency Partnership

Partnerships exist within terrorism studies, however there is not necessarily a requirement for academia to be involved. For example, the Counter Terrorism Alliance (ProtectUK, 2022) seeks to bring together policing, public and private sector knowledge to encourage information sharing. Government agencies such as the Home Office, National Counter Terrorism Security Office are also involved in this Alliance. However, incorporating academia within such partnerships could prove invaluable. The Strategic Hub for Organised Crime Research (SHOC) (RUSI, 2022) seeks to produce research relevant to policy by encouraging collaboration with academia, policy makers,

practice and the private sector, integrating academia in multiagency partnerships. Such partnerships would facilitate clearer routes for academics to inform practice, as well as evidence the research impact and contribution and acknowledgement of academic contributions operating within the REF framework.

Ethical panels to have an awareness of terrorism studies research not an overly cautious response which inhibits new and novel research from being conducted. Terrorism is not novel in terms of the sensitivities surrounding research and security, for example, other serious and organised crimes will face similar hurdles, such as human trafficking. For sensitive research focus areas, frameworks to assess these objectively should be considered, as proposed by Morrison, Silke and Bont (2021). Alternatively, panels could include an expert aware of sensitive research areas, removing concerns of overcautious outcomes.

These suggestions demonstrate areas which, if addressed could ease the divide between academics and practitioners in terrorism studies. This would allow for mutual benefits for both communities, allowing for informed research and practice, providing a stronger scientific basis for counterterrorism policy widely. In the fight against terrorism, the academic-practitioner relationship is a valuable partnership, and one with extensive and comprehensive benefits for understanding terrorism and developing effective counterterrorism strategy.

8.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this research has explored the notion of a disconnect between academics and practitioners in terrorism studies, with a focus on the UK terrorism research and counterterrorism community. The initial formation of the research was sparked by the personal experience of the researcher's PhD journey and has drawn upon a wide literature base exploring the challenges facing academics and practitioners in the field. Expert interviews were conducted to capture the perspectives and experiences of those operating in terrorism studies as an academic or as a practitioner to gain insight into the prevailing issues and opportunities facing the profession, as well as exploring the academic-practitioner interaction. Following data collection and analysis, the findings were presented in three chapters detailing each category identified: Scholarly and Professional Issues, Knowledge Exchange & Communication, and Networking & Relationships. Following extensive analysis and consideration of the findings, this research concludes that a disconnect exists between academics and practitioners in terrorism studies and details the various barriers which facilitate a divide. Suggestions to ease the

disconnect were discussed, along with the limitations of the study, areas for future research and the outlook for terrorism.

The identification of a disconnect in terrorism studies need not be a detrimental conclusion to draw. In fact, the introspective nature of terrorism studies has long noted the challenges facing terrorism research and cyclically addresses these to allow for advancements. Rather, having awareness of such challenges allows for methods to overcome such difficulties to be identified, enabling greater opportunities for advancements in this field. As such, the findings of this thesis act as guideposts for academics and practitioners to identify where their input may bridge such a gap; for example, academics producing a briefing paper form of new research to disseminate to practitioners to ease challenges of accessing scholarly writings, or for practitioners to have greater awareness of the requirements for academic dissemination and prepare to interact in this space with this in mind. Overall, despite the challenges facing academics and practitioners, the shared willingness to interact showed great promise, demonstrating a passion to advance knowledge, inform practice and gain greater insights for understanding terrorism.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A - Additional Information on Expert Participants

Expert Number	Type of Expert	Profession/Area of Interest	Years' experience	Method of Interview	Date of Interview
1	Academic	Academic with interest in psychology of terrorism, radicalisation and CVE. Previous experience as a practitioner.	20+ years	Telephone Call	22 April 2020
2	Practitioner	Chair for Local Government group tackling Serious and Organised Crime	5 years	Telephone Call	21 April 2020
3	Academic	Academic with interest in terrorism, racial injustice, Prevent and CVE policy.	20+ years	Telephone Call	29 April 2020
4	Practitioner	Regional lead for Counterterrorism Policing interest in Prevent, Protect and Prepare elements of the Contest strategy and partnerships	23 years	Telephone Call	22 April 2020
5	Academic	Academic with interest in terrorism,	10+ years	Telephone Call	01 May 2020

		radicalisation and political science			
6	Practitioner	Counterterrorism Police Officer with interest in Prevent strategy	6 years	Telephone Call	12 May 2020
7	Academic	Criminologist with interest in counter-terrorism, policing, counter-radicalisation policies, Prevent	9 years	Telephone Call	04 May 2020
8	Practitioner	Detective Inspector Police Officer in counterterrorism	27 years	Telephone Call	29 May 2020
9	Academic	Academic with interest in radicalisation, de-radicalisation, counter-extremism and risk assessment	13 years	Telephone Call	06 May 2020
10	Practitioner	Researcher at thinktank with an interest in Prevent, evaluation, counter-terrorism and psychology	8 years	Telephone Call	02 June 2020
11	Academic	Criminologist with interest in terrorism, counter-terrorism, radicalisation, policing	21+ years	Telephone Call	25 May 2020

12	Practitioner	Researcher at thinktank with interest in violent extremism, terrorism and prevention.	10+ years	Telephone Call	05 June 2020
13	Academic	Academic with interest in representations of terrorism, counter-radicalisation discourse and practice, gender and radicalisation.	9 years	Telephone Call	26 May 2020
14	Practitioner	Detective Inspector in Counterterrorism Policing	12 years	Telephone Call	18 June 2020
15	Academic	Academic with interest in psychology of terrorism, and terrorism	10 years	Telephone Call	09 June 2020
16	Practitioner	Police officer in counterterrorism	Not disclosed	Telephone Call	26 June 2020
17	Academic	Academic based in Sociology department with interest in security and policing	22 years	Telephone Call	15 June 2020
18	Practitioner	Prevent Co-ordinator with interest in Prevent, education and CVE	5 years	Telephone Call	29 June 2020

19	Academic	Academic with an interest in psychology of terrorism, radicalisation and counterterrorism	27 years	Telephone Call	25 June 2020
20	Practitioner	Prevent Coordinator with interest in radicalisation, Islamist extremism and terrorism, Prevent and safeguarding	7 years	Telephone Call	07 July 2020
21	Academic	Criminologist with interest in Terrorism/Counter-Terrorism, radicalisation, extremism	20 years	Telephone Call	01 July 2020
22	Practitioner	Practitioner with an interest in CVE and radicalisation	14 years	Telephone Call	10 July 2020
23	Academic	PhD candidate with interest in deradicalization and disengagement	2 years	Telephone Call	03 July 2020
24	Practitioner	Prevent Coordinator with interest in Prevent	7 years	Telephone Call	20 July 2020
25	Academic	PhD candidate with interest in Disengagement,	1.5 years	Telephone Call	06 July 2020

		psychology of terrorism			
26	Practitioner	Advisor for Government agency with expertise in counterterrorism policy	Not disclosed	Telephone Call	21 July 2020
27	Academic	PhD candidate with interest in Prevent strategy, Prevent duty and education	Not disclosed	Telephone Call	07 July 2020
28	Practitioner	Advisor in CVE exploring international terrorism, policing with interest in counterterrorism	10 years	Telephone Call	21 Juy 2020
29	Academic	PhD candidate with interest in Prevent strategy and radicalisation	4 years	Telephone Call	10 July 2020
30	Practitioner	Prevent Officer with interest in radicalisation, socialisation to violence and policy	12 years	Telephone Call	27 July 2020
31	Academic	PhD candidate with interest in psychological radicalisation	10 years	Telephone Call	10 July 2020
32	Practitioner	Practitioner with interest in radicalisation, risk	9 years	Telephone Call	31 July 2020

		assessment frameworks and disengagement			

INFORMATION SHEET

TITLE OF PROJECT: The disconnect between academia and practitioners: barriers for terrorism research

You are being invited to take part in a study investigating the struggles faced when researching or investigating terrorism, the barriers and issues for research in this field, and the application in a practical setting, and determining any gap between academia and practitioners. Before you decide to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Please do not hesitate to contact the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Invitation to take part

My name is Amy Morrison and I am an PhD student at the University of Winchester. As part of my doctoral thesis, I am carrying out the above study that you are being invited to participate in. Participants are required to be over the age of 18 to take part in this study and are required to have research or practical experience working in the terrorism studies field.

What is the study about?

There are various ethical considerations when conducting research or working within the field of terrorism research. Issues with data access, methodology limitations, one-time author contributions have been raised as potential barriers for terrorism researchers, and the areas of uncertainty within the field are widely understood. It is also important to understand the requirements of practitioners in the field, and the use and application of academic research. With attention focusing on a multiagency approach, this collaboration between academia and practitioners must be examined in order to identify the effectiveness of this, whether there are any gaps in knowledge sharing, and proposing methods to address these. This study aims to explore the experiences of individuals working in this area to gain a better understanding of the hurdles and requirements for progressing the field, allowing for an in-depth understanding to how these can be addressed to ensure progression and multiagency working.

Why have I been approached?

I am recruiting participants that have experience working in terrorism research, either within academia or as a working professional.

Do I have to take part?

No, it is your decision to participate in this study. If you decide to take part, you will be asked to complete a consent form. However, if you no longer wish to participate you may stop the interview at any point, and you will not be disadvantaged in any way. You will be asked to provide a unique code which will allow for your data to be recognised should you wish to have it removed from the research. This will be deleted from the data 1 month following the completion of the interview, therefore you will have 1 month to withdraw your data if you chose to. Following this, your data will be unable to be removed as it will be completely anonymous and unidentifiable.

What will I need to do?

If you agree to take part in the research, you will be asked to take part in an interview with the researcher. This interview will last approximately 40 mins to 1 hour and will be conducted via face-to-face, phone call or video call, depending on your preference.

Will my identity be disclosed?

No. All information collected throughout this study will be kept confidential. All personal information collected will be anonymised to ensure strict confidentiality throughout this project.

What will happen to the information?

All information collected from you throughout this research will be kept secure and confidential. This information will be used for my PhD thesis and therefore it is anticipated that this research may be published in a journal or report, and discussed at conferences. However, should this occur, your anonymity will be ensured. All information will be anonymised to ensure that you will not be able to be identified, and confidentiality will be ensured. The data will only be accessed by the researcher and may be viewed by the student's supervisors. There are two members of staff from the University of Winchester supervising this project. No information will be shared with any other persons. All the data collected will be stored on password protected computers and kept securely.

Who can I contact for further information?

If you require any further information about the research, please see my contact information below:

Name: Amy Morrison

E-mail: a.morrison.17@unimail.winchester.ac.uk

This research has received ethical approval from the University of Winchester Ethics Committee:

Chair: Samantha Scallan

Contact information: ethics1@winchester.ac.uk

Project reference number: RKEEC191105

Please see below for any GDPR inquiries:

GDPR Contact: Joe Dilger

Contact information: joseph.dilger@winchester.ac.uk

Thank you for your time

CONSENT FORM

It is important that you read, understand and complete this consent form. Your contribution to this research is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged in any way to participate, if you require any further details please contact the researcher.

This project looks to explore whether there is a disconnect between academia and practitioners in the field of terrorism studies. It will explore the current issues facing researchers and practitioners investigating terrorism, and look to identify potential areas for improvement and opportunities for effective multiagency working. This research will explore this through interviews with those working in the field of terrorism studies; either as a practitioner or academic.

Please initial in the box to indicate your consent and sign at the end of the form if you are happy to take part and to indicate your full and informed consent.

	Agree
I have read the Participant Information Sheet and I fully understand the nature of the study	
The researcher has discussed the project and consent form with me and addressed any questions I had	
I confirm I am over the age of 18	
I understand that I will be taking part in an interview and will answer the questions to the best of my ability. I understand that I am not obligated to answer any questions that I do not wish to answer, and this will have no negative effect	
I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded, and that this will be transcribed, and deleted upon completion of the project	
I understand I will be asked to take part in an interview lasting approximately 40mins-1 hour	
I understand that I may contact the researcher with any questions about the study, and I have been provided with the contact details of the researcher	
I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions and treated with strict confidentiality.	
I understand that data will be accessed by the researcher and may be viewed by the university supervisory team involved in this project. There are two staff	

members from the University of Winchester supervising this project. No other information will be shared with any other persons.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am able to withdraw from the interview at any time, and withdraw my data within 1 month, without consequence or explanation	
I understand the process to withdraw my data if I choose to do so, and will remember my unique code which will identify my data for the researcher should I remove it	
I understand that my identity will be protected and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will be included in any report	
I agree to the use of direct quotations from my interview being reported in the results of this study	
I agree for my data to be used in this dissertation submission and publications and I am aware that I will be anonymous throughout any publication	
I confirm I have academic or practical-based experience of working in terrorism research or related topics	
I understand that this project is not affiliated with the Government, law enforcement or prison service and all information will be used only for a university thesis	

I understand the information above and I am happy to take part in this project. I sign below demonstrating my consent.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Unique Code

If you wish to withdraw your data within 1 month, please provide a unique code. This is not compulsory however you will need to provide this code if you wish to withdraw your data.

Your unique code can be composed of the following:

- a selection of 6 digits of your choice eg. 123456
- a combination of letters and numbers of your choice eg. abc123

Please <u>keep a note of your unique code</u> as the researcher will not be able to identify your data without the unique code.

Your unique code: _____

This research has received ethical approval from the University of Winchester Ethics Committee:

Ethics Committee:

Chair: Samantha Scallan

Email: ethics1@winchester.ac.uk

Project Reference Number:

RKEEC191105

Please see below for GDPR inquiries:

GDPR Contact: Joe Dilger

Contact Info:

joseph.dilger@winchester.ac.uk

Thank you for your participation

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

		Response (delete as appropriate)
Gender		Male Female Other _____ Prefer not to say
Age		18-24 25-34 35-44 45-54 55-64 65+ Prefer not to say
Highest Qualification Achieved		Secondary School Education (Highers, A-Levels) Undergraduate degree (Bachelor's degree or equivalent) Post-graduate degree (Master's degree or equivalent) Post-graduate degree (PhD or equivalent) Other _____ Prefer not to say

Would you consider yourself:		An Academic
		A Practitioner/Practical Experience
		Both
		Other _____
		Prefer not to say
Area(s) of interest (e.g. youth radicalisation, risk assessment, Prevent, etc)		
Years of relevant experience:		

Thank you for your participation.

Expert	Type	Page Discussed	Quote
4	Practitioner	122	"I think by having Prevent as the 14th strand of Safeguarding, by supporting the local police so that those boots on the ground have the time to collaborate with other partners and engage people and communities on their agenda, we will be able to build a bridge of trust to those communities, and the traffic that comes over that bridge […] about violent extremism, and its two way trafficking as a bridge of trust in that we can deliver information to them, what do you need to look out for and who do you ring, how do you report something if you're worried? And for them to come and tug our sleeve and say "I've got some information or intelligence that I'm worried about, who do I tell? I trust you because I've worked with you over such a length of time", that front line investment, that early intervention, that working together with communities on general engagement to build a trust, because in relation to terrorism, if we are going to stop terrorists early, it is entirely dependent on community members and family members telling us, we're not going to find it for ourselves. And that for me is the blueprint, the model, and it's already tried and tested, it's just whether we've got the resources to invest in it, to continue to build on it, to allow Counter Terrorism policing I suppose to get the best out of it, and I think that ethos of embedding counterterrorism also with Prevent, I think having Prevent as the 14th strand, to achieve those aspirations for a whole society approach, for everybody to be aware of terrorism, everyone needs to be aware of everyone's vulnerability to it"
5	Academic	139	"Access to data is a constant challenge, but it is an opportunity"
13	Academic	172	"there is a risk, that if you do work with some of these agencies and the government, that your work is not going to be independent, that there is potential for

			involvement. […] the fear that there is that any criticisms that you might make will be tampered in some way or any recommendations that you might make might be changed, and so your independence and your academic independence is put at risk to some extent. And that is a risk as an academic. But also, if you are seen to be too cosy with government agencies and the police through your funding sources, then you will struggle to access. […] I did some interviews with [participant group] in [regional area] and, you know, I was giving them the consent forms and the information sheet and they were very worried that it was something to do with Prevent and I had to really reassure them that this was completely independent, it was nothing to do with any government sources of funding or any agenda, but it was completely unfunded research[…] but there was a real fear there that what they said would be taken out of context or used for purposes that they didn't want them to be used for"
9	Academic	174	"my commitment is really to engage with the real world and to try and bring academic research and knowledge to bare on the problems that practitioners and policymakers face"
13	Academic	175	I mean part of it is that it is difficult to make those connections. So, we need, really, for practitioners to be at conferences and obviously there are some at conferences, and perhaps academics need to get out of the conference mindset, perhaps we need to be more open to ways of extending information and knowledge with one another outside of the conference and outside of the academic journals because obviously not everybody has access to these journals. It's a bubble and if we could find ways of living outside of our respective bubbles, that would be a good thing to do. And I know that that is done, but I think that it is difficult, particularly for scholars who aren't already part of that carousel of government funding, but also for younger scholars and career researchers, it is very difficult to get into those kinds of areas without being introduced through your

			advisor or someone you know. And so, just having more space for the exchange of ideas is what, in my opinion is what we really need.
3	Academic	175	"I've done a lot of work with [police force], […] and again, that was something that was dealt out of personal relationships that I had built from going, giving presentations and you know, just sort of meeting people. So, a lot of it is just contacts and a lot of it is just pure luck. And then the more that happens, the more it generates that opportunity.
9	Academic	176	"One of the issues, especially with policymakers, is that they change a lot, so, they are constantly on rotation, so although you might develop a really positive working relationship with one person, you know, in 18 months-time they could be working in the Department for Transport, so if we're talking civil servants and policymakers, that can be really quite challenging because there is a churn and that means that it is harder to sustain those relationships and that really, that can disrupt working processes"
14	Practitioner	177	there's far greater accountability now than there ever […] we share as much as we can. Be it with divisional officers or a partner agency […] we will share it generally CT to CT, but if it is at a criminal level then we will make sure that it still gets sent to the relevant force […]
14	Practitioner	177	"Whereas previously, if everybody was doing it differently, on different forms and templates then there was always the possibility that there was something slipping through the cracks. Whereas, although I can't say for definite that it won't happen, it is far less likely to happen now"
6	Practitioner	178	"…there has been a lot of work conducted since the start in terms of professionalising the job, obviously we've got the Prevent Duty which basically assists us greatly in that, and obviously other organisations do sit with us for the problem-solving process and […] communication […] So, it has been professionalised, we're now rather than just providing briefings and highlighting what our concerns are, we're involved in

			safeguarding of individuals, and we do sort of assist a lot of people who were referred through, so there has been quite a huge shift in role"
4	Practitioner	178	"we will forge those relationships and build on those relationships with our partners so that we do get that real multiagency confidence, trust, third sector, community approach to it, to tackle an issue"
8	Practitioner	178	"it's kind of seen as a bit of a blueprint for the way ahead"
24	Practitioner	178	"at its heart, it is about safeguarding. It is important that the right professionals are heavily involved in the strategy. You know, people with expertise in education, or mental health or social services or whatever it may be. The same way that it works for people who are at risk of other forms of social harms, so substance misuse or domestic violence or anything like that, I just think our support is much richer when we benefit from the expertise of partners, you know?"
4	Practitioner	180	"I think that people in policing move around too much, I think that partners kind of feed that back to us quite a lot - that you build a relationship then someone moves on and I think that the staffing and people like myself, I suppose, my own career progression in a way, would naturally lend itself to me moving on soon"
16	Practitioner	181	"certain local authorities have been deemed high priority areas so they get additional resources. But those resources are based on current funding packages that often run out after a year, so you obviously have a problem with staff retention because it isn't always a permanent role. And obviously when local authority areas drop out of a funded area list, then staff leave. So often you get local authorities that dip in and dip out of a funded area list, and so you have real problems for retaining staff"
30	Practitioner	181	"…you get a new personality coming in, they need to be brought up to speed on how things work, what are the Prevent processes, who are all these people round the table that they have never met before, and then you're slightly aware of their personality and how they view the world as

			well. So, you might have somebody who comes in with a really strong safeguarding perspective from the Police sits round the table and is very good at community engagement who then leaves, and you have somebody who […] has never really had that community engagement […] therefore, they are going to struggle with that part of the job, and so that will change the dynamic of that multiagency working"
14	Practitioner	181	"I think that the movement of staff can be a little bit stale, so the people that we have had in as embedded officers have been here forever more or less, so there doesn't seem to be as much movement of staff as you would maybe get elsewhere, but on the plus side of that they retain a wealth of information and knowledge and understanding of how things operate"
8	Practitioner	182	"'Dare to Share', I know it sounds a bit silly but 'Dare to Share', so we try and break out as much as we can. […] I think that's on the back of, you know, you look across the world and you see any terror attacks that happen on the news and it says "oh such and such an agency knew about him 3 years ago and didn't tell anyone", so you know, I think there is that feeling where you dare to share, you share as much as you can and then that way, you're less likely to miss anything out"
16	Practitioner	183	"The whole purpose is that you have got to share […] I think one of the phrases that the police use is 'dare to share' because the whole idea is that you can't keep things back. […] when a referral is made, they have to do deconfliction just to confirm that there are no ongoing live police investigation or information doesn't tip it over into a live investigation. Once that decision has been made, then they share everything because they have to, because the whole point is to get all the different intel that everyone holds together and create the best care plan for that individual"
22	Practitioner	183	"And trust is the kind of the thing that takes years to build and can be destroyed in an afternoon"
30	Practitioner	184	"if you've got 2 people out of the 4 or 5 people that don't get on, then just on a

			purely human level, it doesn't really matter what forms you have in place, there are going to be challenges there […] they will all struggle if the relationships between the people sat around the table aren't good. So, it is very much driven […] by the personalities involved in it"
26	Practitioner	184	"you have to be tactful in the way that you deal with people, and some people will come from different backgrounds, have different views and are looking at things from a different perspective, so you just have to take that all on board, you know. A lot of it is to do with your communication style and understanding what peoples' views are and taking them on board when giving your own views on certain areas I suppose. So yeah, communication has had a massive impact"
19	Academic	191	"…on twitter, it is quite easy to find people working in this field or people who are formers who are open about it and now work in this field so, I have also contact people I don't know yet and opened up and told them about my idea"