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Ethics on the radar: exploring the relevance of ethics support in counterterrorism

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5. Ethical issues of counterterrorism professionals

This chapter bridges the theoretical and empirical parts, since it intends to develop a typology of ethical issues in the practice of counterterrorism based on literature and international comparative research. Counterterrorism is widely characterized by secrecy. This implies that it is quite difficult to develop an informed understanding of the ethical issues that occur in this field. Many counterterrorism measures that can potentially cause ethical dilemmas are based on secret intelligence reports and security agencies and are implemented within the realms of secrecy as well. At the same time it has to be acknowledged that the general impression of the practice of counterterrorism as veiled by a prevailing secrecy is not entirely accurate.

In the case of the Netherlands (any many other democratic countries) there are many publicly available terrorist threat assessments that inform parliament and the public about the threat and make the analysis by the state as transparent and accountable as possible. Examples include the last fifty terrorist threat assessments produced by the Dutch Fusion Center within the national counterterrorism coordinator's office. The public versions of those threat assessments can be accessed in Dutch and English by visiting the coordinator's website under www.nctv.nl. There are also periodic progress reports about the state of counterterrorism that accompany threat assessments and periodic evaluations of counterterrorism policies (Noordergraaf et al., 2016, National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, 2011) and scientific discussions about those threat assessments (Abels and de Roy van Zuijdewijn, 2017; Bakker and de Roy van Zuijdewijn, 2015; Van der Veer et al. 2018). Availability and use of this expertise with the greatest possible transparency also shapes an informed ground on which the parliament can build their measures on. In addition, both parliament and the public have a rich frame of reference about the state of counterterrorism at their disposal when making their own judgements. An analysis of a selection of those publicly available analyses, reports and evaluations could probably identify some ethical issues. Such an analysis, however, would provide predominantly indirect and perhaps also interpreted information. The goal of this chapter is to explore what counterterrorism professionals themselves consider as ethical issues by addressing the following

research question: How can the ethical issues faced by counterterrorism professionals be categorised?

In order to answer the research question two sources of input will be used. First, the findings of a general literature research will be presented. Second, the findings of an international comparative study on the handling of ethical dilemmas by counterterrorism professionals in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom will be presented.

5.1 Findings from literature research

In this section the findings from a general literature research will be presented. The basis of this literature is cross-disciplinary as contributions from the field of counterterrorism studies, philosophy, ethics, war studies and political sciences have been consulted. As mentioned earlier there was a growing academic interest in ethics and counterterrorism throughout the process of this research. However, this growing interest did not reflect an interest in the dilemmas of counterterrorism professionals (Badde-Revue et al., 2018; Taylor, 2018). The findings of the literature review will be presented under five different categories.

Terrorism-as-crime paradigm

First, the international counterterrorism efforts after 9/11 have been, for a certain period, coined as a "war against terrorism". To consider counterterrorism within democracies from a military point of view is not only problematic, but dangerous, since "(C)onfusing the different contexts of a well-ordered liberal democracy at peace, a liberal democracy under a state of emergency, and a theatre of war leads to a dangerous blurring of the distinctions, for example, between what is an appropriate police power of detention of suspects under a state of emergency, as opposed to normal peacetime conditions" (Miller, 2009: 11). Within a terrorism-as-crime paradigm there are only exceptional situations in which state action is justified in overstepping the lines of the role of a democratic state. This would be a one-off action that is morally justified, all things considered, as opposed to an institutional practice that is morally justified in the setting of a liberal-democratic state (Miller, 2009: 4 and 116).

General responsibilities of governments

Second, a couple of overarching notions regarding the ethics of counterterrorism are worth discussing before diving into an inquiry of the concrete ethical issues counterterrorism practitioners are facing. When ethics and counterterrorism are discussed on an abstract level, a large portion of the literature is devoted to the ethicality of terrorism as such. As mentioned above, this perspective is not included in this research in order to keep focused on the specific research questions. It has been stated that "an ethics of counter-terrorism can ... not be fully understood without reflecting on the ethics of terrorism" (Van Elk, 2017b:

142). The question remains, however, if the often rather politically loaded discussions on the perceived ethical permissibility of some forms of terrorism can make a substantial contribution to the discussion of the ethics of counterterrorism.

From a general point of view, ethical issues are inherent to counterterrorism since states are bound to proportionality in all of their actions. This holds also true for the field of counterterrorism (Wellman, 2013: 109). That governmental officials like counterterrorism professionals carry special responsibilities has been concluded in one of the few studies on the morality of counterterrorism: "... state responses are justified only when they respect the human rights of all those affected, especially the human rights to privacy, liberty, due process and to be tortured. ... Public morality, the moral considerations relevant to the actions of public officials, is very different from the morality of private agents" (Wellman, 2013: 131).

Some scholars assume that a reflection on the ethics of terrorism requires a form of "counter-terrorism (that) should be oriented at facilitating political constitutions and institutions that enable others to live a good life" (Van Elk, 2017b: 151). However, they provide little concrete added value when suggesting "the stabilization of conflicting political relations and interests, the enhancement of socio-economic living conditions and the empowerment of communities" (Van Elk, 2017b: 151). Such suggestions are not only general but also based on an ill-perceived understanding of terrorism as being rooted in social-economic conditions or the power of communities as such.

Ambiguity of policies

Third, in looking at some extreme cases of counterterrorism policies, the question arises whether the general responsibilities of a government within a terrorism-as-crime paradigm are guiding all counterterrorism policies. More recent literature on this issue suggests to consider counterterrorism as exceptionalist case and to apply new moral and legal standards (Taylor, 2018). The issue still to be clarified is whether those new standards would reflect on a broader scale certain specific procedures that are put into practice already. The procedures in place in many countries to preventively shoot down a commercial airplane hijacked by terrorists, raises questions of whether such a special moral

responsibility is effectively embraced. A comparable ambiguity might apply in the case of preventing killings of Western citizens in conflicts or war zones by, for example, drones in order to prevent terrorism abroad or in the homeland. One decisive difference between the policies regarding hijacked airplanes in the West and the use of drones is the fact that in the latter case, a war situation can imply different standards. In the case of a hijacked plane in the West, the principle of the lesser evil (Ignatieff, 2004; Ignatieff, 2002) seems to prevail. The basic assumption is that preventively killing all passengers and crew aboard a hijacked airplane would cause fewer victims than an airplane crashing into a populated area or a busy complex of buildings. Different dimensions of the ethical dilemmas attached to such a case are already discussed above. For the purpose of the discussion here, it is interesting to note that there seems to be a gap between the generally held idea of the intrinsic morality of counterterrorism on the one hand, and practices of counterterrorism dealing with moral complexities and relative moralities on the other.

State of emergency

Fourth, apparently there is a kind of terrorism that overrules the generally held idea of the intrinsic morality within counterterrorism. In its ultimate form, this might be the case when a real or perceived state of emergency is at stake (Noordegraaf et al., 2017) or, to put in the words of the just war theorist Michael Walzer, when a "supreme emergency" is applicable: "Though its use is often ideological, the meaning of the phrase is a matter of common sense. It is defined by two criteria which correspond to the two levels on which the concept of necessity works: the first has to do with the imminence of the danger and the second with its nature. The two criteria must be applied. Neither one by itself is sufficient as an account of extremity nor as a defence of the extraordinary measures extremity is thought to require" (Walzer quoted in Wellman, 2013: 118). Practically speaking, it would be not easy to handle those criteria. Imminence in the case of terrorism is difficult to define and the imminence of a threat might be already expired once some form of procedure with checks and balances would have assessed the status of specific threat. Such a potential delay is also related to the reality of counterterrorism practice that the nature of danger is not always clear and rarely unfolds quickly. In addition, as far as the terrorist threat is concerned, relatively limited actions by a small group of people

or even by a lone actor can have far-reaching consequences. The latter opens up the potential range of supreme emergencies and challenges in any system to mitigate the risks of errors in declaring supreme emergencies. In addition, safeguards to prevent overreaction of legitimate state responses, to mitigate the unintended consequences of state responses to supreme emergencies and to repair consequences of state action in cases where supreme emergencies turned out not to be at stake in the end, would be difficult to install.

From an ethical perspective there is no decisive answer: from a Machiavellian tradition in political theory a state can set aside "moral principles for the sake of good outcome" (Benn quoted in Wellman, 2013: 114). On the other hand, even the protagonist of the school of the lesser evil, Walzer, doubts whether such an act-utilitarian stance would be justified (Wellman, 2013: 121). Wellman at least is unsure whether the attacks on 9/11 constitute a supreme emergency and whether it would have been justified to shoot down the planes if the government had known about the situation beforehand (Wellman, 2013: 120). This theoretical deadlock is of little use to the practice of counterterrorism. It might be that a theoretical situation that would qualify as a supreme emergency remains theoretical in nature. Or as Wellman has put it, being "released from the moral obligations that limit measures of counterterrorism ...is highly improbable under any foreseeable conditions in the real world" (Wellman, 2013: 113). At least the years following 9/11 illustrated that the idea that we are facing catastrophic terrorism (Bakker, 2015a) as a threat to the very existence of our free societies turned out to be exaggerated. Without playing down the potentially devastating effects of terrorism, the perceived exception of a supreme emergency and the related blurring of ethical standards of counterterrorism is more a theoretical construct than a constructive contribution to the practice of counterterrorism.

Ticking bomb scenario

Another issue often mentioned when discussing the ethics of counterterrorism is, fifth, torture in the light of a ticking bomb scenario (Ginbar, 2008). In this scenario, we are aware of a ticking bomb that will soon detonate, and have a potential terrorist in custody that is suspected of knowing the whereabouts and technicalities of the bombs. In this case, shouldn't we do our best to stop the

bomb from going off by torturing the individual when necessary? As mentioned above, this research does not focus on the implications of such scenarios, or the ethical issues attached to torture. The main reason is that it is a rather fictional scenario for the Western democratic context, since the terrorist threats deriving from groups, networks and even lone terrorist actors are rarely totally detached from other societal actors, as publicly available threat assessments and studies on lone actors illustrate (Schuurman et al., 2017). However, the implications of applying torture to the entire practice of counterterrorism are ever more important. Torturing in case of a perceived or real ticking bomb scenario could prevent the imaginary bomb from going off, but would blow up the framework of the democratic legal state on the long run. This does not mean that the state should not do its utmost to counter the threat. It is still possible to "do anything humanly possible to save the lives at risk. Which means doing everything in our power that does not involve losing our own humanity. Which in turn means never to torture or otherwise ill-treat another human being, whatever the circumstances" (Ginbar, 2008: 360). Intensive interrogations belong to the arsenal of options available, and are, even in the case of jihadists, considered as more effective than threatening or using torture (Soufan Group, 2011).

The next section will turn towards an international comparative study in which ethical issues of counterterrorism professionals have been identified.

5.2 Findings from study among counterterrorism professionals

In 2013, the National Coordinator for Counterterrorism and Security commissioned research on the handling of ethical issues in sectors like health care, police and defence, and the potential lessons to be learned in the field of counterterrorism. After completion, the study has been sent to the Dutch parliament with the intention to further inform counterterrorism practices. In the letter of the Minister of Security and Justice, it is stated that the conclusions of the report can help in implementing and deepening counterterrorism policies (Ministry of Security and Justice, 2014). The interest attached to ethics emanates from the identification of the issue of ethics and counterterrorism as a strategic theme by the first counterterrorism coordinator Tjibbe Joustra. By highlighting ethics as strategic, special attention was devoted to ethical issues within the Dutch public service. External interest into the ethics of counterterrorism was encouraged and displayed, for example, with a public conference on the issue in 2010. The main proceedings of this conference have been collected in the Dutch publication Counterterrorism and ethics (Kowalski and Meeder, 2011). Nevertheless, in a period in which close allies of the Netherlands were involved in the torture of terrorism suspects, it is apparent that highlighting ethics as a strategic theme was not a common practice among other Western allies of the Netherlands.

Within the 2013 international study put together by RAND Europe (Reding et al., 2013), the researchers worked also on an inventory of ethical issues experienced by counterterrorism professionals in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, in France. The researcher interviewed practitioners in different areas of the practice of counterterrorism. What ethical issues did the researchers come across, and how could the experiences of these counterterrorism professionals be categorised? Due to the confidentiality of counterterrorism work, these ethical dilemmas were abstracted and categorised. In total, four types of ethical issues could be distinguished among counterterrorism professionals. These abstract categories will be illustrated by concrete examples of counterterrorism practice. It is important to note that these examples have not necessarily been mentioned by the interviewees. However, they can illustrate and clarify what the separate categories stand for.

First, the legitimacy of interventions is often an issue for professionals. Does a given situation justify the use of special powers? Is sufficient verified information available to support specific interventions that limit civil liberties for the sake of containing a threat?

Second, the operational cost-effectiveness and the underlying issue of risk avoidance present puzzles on the desks of counterterrorism professionals as well. How many resources should be spent on the collection of information in order to ensure that difficult decisions are based on an accurate assessment?

Third, core characteristics of counterterrorism like secrecy and transparency also constitute ethical problems regularly. How to balance the secrecy of information that is often intelligence-based, on the one hand, and the need for transparency in a democratic society on the other? How to spread out this balance in different situational contexts? How to handle this tension in a highly internationalized web of information exchange?

Fourth and finally, and as an addition to the findings of the RAND-report, the political nature of counterterrorism seems to constitute another key ethical problem. What are the political consequences of certain interventions for the management of governmental organizations, governmental leaders and the broader society? How to handle professional assessments or decisions given the overruling political dimension of all major actions of counterterrorism professionals? Does the fear of being held accountable politically affect assessments or decisions?

5.3 Analysis and discussion

This section provides an analysis of the previous findings. The outcome of the analysis is laid down in a typology of the current ethical issues counterterrorism professionals are facing. What would an overall typology based on the input so far look like, and how would it be structured? I propose a typology that tries to meet three criteria: First, I try to differentiate between various levels that can be distinguished. Second, I seek to distinguish between different key ethical issues within each level. Last but not least, I aim to integrate the findings into the typology and to suggest a sound typology in itself. In doing so, I suggest differentiation between four levels: the structural level, the political level, the professional level and the personal level. All these levels would include, in total, ten categories of ethical issues. The different levels, as well as the associated ethical issues, will be explored in the remainder of this section.

The distinction between different levels is, like the establishment of the typology itself, an effort to build a more abstract representation of the research findings. It is important to note as well that this typology is explorative in nature and intends to contribute to an understanding of how and why counterterrorism professionals are dealing with ethical issues. In the remainder of this section I will run through the different levels of the typology and the different categories of ethical issues of each level.

Structural level

When discussing a preliminary typology of ethical issues in the practice of counterterrorism, different categories of ethical issues will be linked to different levels. The first level is the structural level, as opposed to the political, professional and personal level. This is not to say that on these other levels structural affairs do not matter. The structural level influences all the other levels, as it forms the basis of each of the other three. The core characteristic of the structural level is that the ethical issues are predominantly rooted in the structural domain. As such, the first level of the typology of ethical issues in the practice of counterterrorism is the structural level, composed of three categories.

The first category is the morality of counterterrorism in our world risk society. As shown above, the context of our current world risk society implies the perpetual anticipation of governmental policies and actions to avoid risks as posed within our liquid times. This anticipatory spirit permeates society and citizens alike and constitutes an overarching structural ethical issue in itself. As such, it brings the following questions into play: How far should the anticipatory character of policy making go in shaping our society and how much structural space is left to intrinsically limit the consequences of the anticipatory character of our world risk society? What are the effects on counterterrorism?

The existence of inconsistencies within and among democratic counterterrorism approaches constitutes the second category of ethical issues. The Dutch counterterrorism approach is based on the national democratic legal order embedded in European law and human rights declarations on the level of Europe and the United Nations. One crucial notion of this fundament is to observe human rights and respect human life. This implies that preventive killings of citizens on a domestic level are illegal. Yet at the same time, it is possible, as shown above, to shoot down an aircraft and preventively kill innocent citizens on behalf of a larger cause. The latter demonstrates an inconsistency with the way policies in a democratic state in general and counterterrorism policies in particular are designed. Such an inconsistency can cause and feed ethical issues in the practice of counterterrorism. If structural frameworks of counterterrorism can be applied in a fundamentally different way in one case, the question remains present within the practice of counterterrorism whether this would be applicable in another case as well. The example of the hijacked airliner is of course an extreme and exceptional case. As mentioned before, the practice of counterterrorism is much more rooted in less dramatic cases, in which bureaucratic routines play a large role. But even in such unspectacular cases human lives can be at stake if, for example, certain sensitive information on individuals is exchanged with certain partners. The extreme example has been used in this case to demonstrate the ultimate effects of the much more nuanced practice of counterterrorism.

Political level

The issues of the structural level are partly interwoven with the political level, since choices of structural nature can and are made at the political level as well. The important distinction between the structural and political level is, however, that ethical issues at the structural level are not, or are only to a minor degree, subject to political considerations. They exist, so to say, as an expression of how societies and the world are, or, to be more precise, how societies and the world as such can be understood and explained with the use of concepts. The political level will reflect on ethical issues that are mainly the outcome of political choices. Furthermore, ethical issues present at the professional and personal level can have political dimensions or can be the outcome of a political decision. The basic distinction here is that ethical issues on the political level are predominantly of a political nature. In many concrete cases, the theoretical distinction might be less clear in practice than in theory.

On the political level the third category of ethical issues can be distinguished, the dealing with a real or perceived state of emergency. The basic origins of ethical tension are rooted in the idea that a state of emergency would change the ethical limits of counterterrorism action in order to face an existential threat to society or the democratic legal order. Besides the legal implications of a state of emergency, there remains the ethical question of whether certain values would have to be observed regardless of the situation. Three dimensions can be considered as important here. First, a reason to respect certain values could be to avoid lowering counterterrorism to the ethical standards of terrorists in general (Clarke, 2004). Second, a more practical approach could be to avoid the trap of going for the 'lesser evil' in the face of evil. A confrontation with the evil might contribute to an escalation and could provoke an uglier evil as well (Ignatieff, 2004). This could end up in a downgrading spiral of lowering ethical standards (Ammicht Quinn, 2016). Third, especially in the field of terrorism the notion of terrorism as theatre and its performative power (De Graaf, 2010) implies a risk of a blurred line between a real and a perceived state of emergency. After 9/11, the concept of catastrophic terrorism has earned some support, although the terrorist threat as such was not quite existential in nature. In recent years, it turned out that, due to intensive media coverage, the period of recovery after an attack and subsequent hunt for the perpetrators can

constitute a perceived state of emergency for large parts of society. To announce a state of emergency, like in France, or to act like as if there is one after the lockdown of Brussels, can be a way to counter certain concrete threats. In general, however, such an approach has been rather ineffective, if not counterproductive (Noordegraaf, 2017).

A fourth category of ethical issues to be considered is the politicization of counterterrorism. In the findings feeding this typology, the political character of counterterrorism has been mentioned as a characteristic feature. It somehow mirrors the political nature of terrorism that was discussed above when dealing with the issue of defining terrorism. Another aspect of the politicization of counterterrorism is the reproduction of permanent pre-emptive counterterrorism policies in the light of terrorist threats. The pre-emptive nature of counterterrorism policies has already been mentioned earlier as a prominent feature of the world risk society, as coined by Beck (Beck, 2007). This category has a special role within the typology of ethical issues. The degree of politicization of counterterrorism can determine to a large extent the (intensity of the) presence of other ethical issues at both the structural and professional level. Through the means of politics the circumstances at the structural level can be influenced. At the same time politics can shape the conditions at the professional level.

Whether an intervention in the field of counterterrorism is legitimate or not is the fifth category of ethical issues. Crucial questions raised in the literature review above can be seen from this perspective, like the question whether the use of special powers is justified. It is precisely this question that touches on the cornerstone of ethical reasoning within intelligence services and law enforcement agencies as primary implementers of special powers. The answer to this question boils down to other actors within the practice of counterterrorism as well. The framework of reference to deal with this question is primarily of a political nature. Politics sets the boundaries of counterterrorism in law and determine, to a large extent, the gravity of ethical issues. As such, there is a far reaching influence of politics on this category.

The genuine tension between secrecy and transparency is the sixth category of ethical issues. Secrecy dominates the operations of intelligence and security

services in the field of counterterrorism. Since many follow-up actions outside the intelligence and security services are based on secret intelligence and reports, the secrecy of those services permeates the overall operation of the practice of counterterrorism. Although a certain level of secrecy is needed to ensure efficiency of governmental authorities (Frissen, 2016), it is obvious that this secrecy is challenged by the key principle of transparency in an open democracy. This tension between secrecy and transparency is reflected by ethical dilemmas within the practice of counterterrorism.

Professional level

The next level of the typology of ethical issues is the professional level. The attribution to the profession might cause some misunderstanding, since all ethical issues dealt with in this chapter manifest themselves in the practice of counterterrorism. They are therefore experienced by counterterrorism professionals during the execution of their profession. Naming this level as 'professional' does not disregard or neglect the manifestation of ethical issues from other levels within the professional life. The basic distinction of the professional level is that the associated ethical issues are mainly rooted within the execution of the profession itself.

The seventh category of ethical issues is about professional values in the light of opposing interests. It is a quite broad category in the sense that it addresses principal questions like the weighing of prevention versus repression, the implementation of special powers, or the extensive strive to challenge the limits of the law. The practice of counterterrorism raises on a regular basis those kind of issues where professional values are key to the debate. On a less fundamental level there are other professional concerns regarding resources, measures and policies at stake which constitute the eighth category. It brings together different ethical issues from the professional level. One string of those issues is related to the availability and allocation of resources and raises the following questions: are there enough resources available, are the resources allocated well, and is counterterrorism action based on a sound allocation of available resources in a given situation? Another string deals with measures and policies and all ethical

issues that are related to their conception, interpretation, implementation and evaluation.

Personal level

The last level of this typology is the personal level, which represents ethical issues that are rooted in the person or personal circumstance of the counterterrorism practitioner but manifest themselves within, or as a consequence of, the practice of counterterrorism. This level can be confusing, given the fact that most of the ethical issues counterterrorism practitioners are experiencing have an impact on the practitioner as a person and can be considered as ethical dilemmas. The main distinction here is that the personal level does not include the level in which ethical issues manifest themselves, but rather the level of origin of those very ethical dilemmas.

The effects of conflicting values on the integrity of the counterterrorism practitioner constitute the ninth category of ethical issues. The core of the ethical issue is rooted in personal values that might conflict with the values of the team, department, organization or government the individual is serving. These conflicts can differ in intensity, but in their ultimate form can lead to serious situations, such as whistleblowing.

The last category of ethical issues is about authenticity in private life. This rather abstract denominator brings together all those examples in which counterterrorism practitioners experienced ethical dilemmas in the conduct of their private lives due to knowledge about threats or the effects of particular measurements. While last in the list, this category can cause considerable ethical hardships, due to the fact that ethical issues of a professional origin interfere with the personal life.

All distinguished levels and the corresponding categories of ethical issues have been summarized in Figure 3. The aim of the proposed typology is to clarify different ethical issues and to distinguish between them in order to better understand the diversity of ethical issues and their backgrounds. The typology remains to a certain extent a scientific construction, since in practice the

boundaries between the different levels remains less strict than the typology might suggest.

Figure 3

Typology of ethical issues in the practice of counterterrorism

	Level		Category of key ethical issue
I	Structural	1	Morality of CT in world risk society in liquid times
		2	Fundamental inconsistencies
II	Political	3	State of emergency
		4	Politicization of CT
		5	Legitimacy of interventions
		6	Tension between secrecy and transparency
III	Professional	7	Discovering and upholding professional values
		8	Professional concerns regarding resources, measures and policies
IV	Personal	9	Integrity in the face of conflicting values
		10	Authenticity as professional in private life

5.4 Conclusions

The goal of this chapter is to develop an understanding of how the ethical issues faced by counterterrorism professionals can be categorized based on general literature research. In addition, an international study based on interviews with counterterrorism professionals in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and France has been consulted. An analysis of the findings leads to the proposition of a typology of ethical issues in the practice of counterterrorism. This typology suggests that some ethical issues are structural in nature, as they are an expression of the world risk society or a reflection of fundamental inconsistencies. All other types of ethical issues – whether political, professional or personal - are not only connected to this structural level, but are often closely related to each other.

The boundaries between the different levels and, to a lesser extent, the different categories, remain fluid. A striking observation is that many personal or professional dilemmas are connected to the political level of ethical issues. The role of politics in the field of counterterrorism can therefore influence to a certain extent some of the structural conditions in which ethical issues in counterterrorism occur. Politics can also shape the conditions in which professional ethic issues can appear and can be dealt with. This typology can strengthen our understanding of ethical issues that counterterrorism professionals are indeed facing. Furthermore, the different categories of ethical issues can offer tailor made opportunities to deal with those categories as well.

Before diving into the application of ethics support within the practice of counterterrorism, the next chapter will identify how counterterrorism professionals are currently dealing with ethical dilemmas.