

## **Futurity, Governance and the Terrorist Risk: Exploring the Impacts of Pre-emptive Modes of Regulation on Young Muslims in the UK**

Post the 9/11 and 7/7 terrorist attacks, national security issues have become an axial political concern in many western countries. Since this time a cluster of political elites, security experts, policy makers and academics have posited that the potentially catastrophic nature of the ‘new terrorism’ practised by Islamic Fundamentalist networks demands pre-emptive modes of legislation, surveillance and policing. The constellation of ideologies surrounding ‘new terrorism’ have led to the promotion of future based tools of risk analysis, such as horizon scanning, scenario testing and simulated disaster management. A discernible shift in risk assessment is in train from retrospective probabilistic estimations of harm to a pre-emptive approach heavily oriented slanted to dystopic future imaginings. This paper unpacks the assorted modes of pre-emptive regulation that have emerged in response to ‘new terrorism’ and problematizes their impacts on Muslim minority groups. First, we show how the socio-political construction of new terrorism has catalysed a changing set of security discourses within western nation-states which permit unprecedented forms of legislation and undesirable forms of policing and surveillance. Second, drawing upon evidence from a qualitative study in the North-West of England, we illumine the detrimental impacts of pre-emptive forms of counter-terrorism legislation on the liberties, values and lived experiences of young Muslims.

*Gabe Mythen and Fatima Khan*  
University of Liverpool, UK  
g.mythen@liverpool.ac.uk