MAKING SENSE OF VIOLENCE IN THE DIGITAL AGE
SYMPOSIUM ABSTRACTS

KEYNOTES

Keynote I: NENA MOČNIK

Waging Violence in the Digital Age. The Use of ICTs in Prevention, Intervention & Restoration

The advent of technology and the normalization of the online presence have brought new aspects in the study of violence, so has increased the need to explore new practices in prevention, intervention and restoration of affected and traumatized individuals and communities. Rather than creating panic over the omnipresent impact of digitalisation, raising awareness and learning about the educational potentials of ICTs allow learners to use it for the greater good in dealing with violence in all stages. For many individuals, it is hard to understand that the same (or similar) rules of safety and constructive cohabitation apply in and out of the digital life. Scholarly evidence shows that online violence is unique and different in many ways, and that younger generations today are specifically threatened and at risk as they identify closely to their online identities. Poor knowledge and understanding of the digital world, virtual human relationships and online social dynamics allow spaces for new forms of abuse and violence. However, at the same time, they can also offer platforms for distribution of knowledge.

The keynote address focuses on the potentials of using ICTs in prevention, intervention and rehabilitation practices of dealing with collective violence. Dr Močnik takes examples from her own empirical work in the field of conflict-related sexual violence and intergenerational transmission of historical traumas. She will present concrete cases of using digital storytelling and memes in prevention programmes; mobile apps in intervention; and videogames in the context of intergenerational collective restoration and resilience in the aftermath of mass atrocities.

Keynote II: JEFF HEARN

(Men) Talking (About), Writing (About) and Imaging (About) Violence/Violation Offline/Online

In his talk, Prof. Hearn will talk about (and image) about violence and violation, and how violence and violation are talked, written and imaged, mainly by men. In this, he attends to some of the continuities and discontinuities between immediate, direct physical violence/violation, especially violence against women, and online violence/violation, especially 'revenge pornography', that is, non-consensual sharing and distribution of sexual images and texts, as well as considering overlaps and blurrings between offline physical and online virtual violence. Examples are drawn from previous work interviewing men who have used violence against women, collective memory work on violence, images used in representing violence, and recent work with Matthew Hall on so-called 'revenge pornography' and other online violations.

PANELS

PANEL 1: Thinking Violence in the Digital Age

IMEN EL BEDOUI (University of Tunis)

Our Screens as new site of Violence act: digitalized violence

Violence is an integral part of the humanity's history and still remains omnipresent in our screens and in Medias. With rise of digital media, we are witnessing new kinds of violence's manifestation. As Sorel state in his book On Violence that "The problem of violence still remains very obscure." we still facing this dilemma about violence issues. Transgressions made in virtual spaces goes viral more than any other spaces. Our screens become a source to nurture hatred speech and violence become more and more invasive. We will discuss how the digitalization occur its shades on violence too and how violence becomes epidemic phenomena with social Medias. What are the different manifestations of violence on digital scale? How digital violence affect people's life and psychology? How screens push some people to suicide?

We will try to reveal the dark side of the luminous screens by analyzing this contemporary phenomenon. People are absorbed by their screens, and behind these screens violence remains a real threat. By taking some example from social Medias, we aim to reconsider the impact of shared images and texts on screens to normalize and mediate violence.

ANNA WALKER (University of Plymouth)

The *Affect* of the Digital

The digital age offers an outlet for reaction, anger and misunderstanding, a manipulation of which hasn't been seen since the propaganda perpetuated in the 1930s. But the digital space also offers community and connection, the ability to outreach, share and organise across the globe. It provides us with the ways and means to organise and activate, and creates a forum for the exposure of hate, violence and cruelty. So how do we balance the bad with the good? And what exists in the liminal space in between? Digital media is not to blame, behind every on-line social media campaign of bullying, violence and hate there exists a human being or a community with an ideology.

This paper looks at the underlying threat and the overwhelming involuntary reflexes and unthinking attitudes and reactions that arise out of this threat. In *The Autonomy of the Affect* (1995), Brian Massumi explores the concept of two different systems, one a 'conscious automatic' system and the other an 'intensity system' that exists outside of normal physiological sequencing, beyond narration, and therefore incapable of integrating into normal functioning systems. It is a place of re-lived accumulative somatic affect. A place of neurobiological and chemical interaction, a hormonal meeting of the past and the present, a physicality of existence that comes into being from an event or series of events from the past. This heightened awareness to the overstimulation of sensory inputs is a defensive mechanism, in Massumi's words:

> At a certain conjuncture, the unfolding of the physical system's line of actions interrupts. The system momentarily suspends itself. It has not become inactive. It is in ferment. It has gone "critical." This "chaotic" interlude is not the simple absence of order. It is in fact a super-ordered state. (1998: 154)

This war of terror, the creation of fear, the notion of danger 'indiscriminate, coming anywhere, as out of nowhere, at any time' (Massumi, 2015: 22), is what is being perpetuated, manipulated and distorted. There are ways to combat this, there are ways for a deeper relationship with safety and security. It does however, require, training, education and different types of skills.

PANEL 2: Shaping Collective Imaginaries: Everyday Dehumanization and Integration

ERICA CAPECCHI (Bristol University)

The Aesthetics of Dehumanization: Considerations on Hate Speech and Racist Motivated Violence on Social Media in the Case of Torre Maura, Italy

Italy is facing today an increasing normalisation of ordinary racist motivated violence towards immigrants, Jews, Roma and other ethnic minorities which is implemented especially on social media by far-right and neo-fascist organisations. Hate speech and racial hatred proliferate on the pages of both institutional and extra-parliamentary far-right parties helping to create a climate of escalating fear and social disruption that may have a significant impact in real life. Notably, these groups make use of a specific aesthetics marked by a deep dehumanizing language which contributes to annihilating individualities and objectivising outsiders as enemies, criminals and invaders.

In April 2019 a small community of Roma people were threatened by local inhabitants of Torre Maura (suburbs of Rome) after being assigned to public housing. Protesters besieged the building for days and claimed their right to defend their neighbourhood because *Torre Maura is not the rubbish dump of Rome.* The protest saw the participation of neo-fascist organisations such as *Casapound* and *Forza Nuova* and was supported by institutional far-right parties such as *Fratelli d'Italia* and *Lega*, all of which fomented hate speech against Roma and inflamed social tension on social media.

This paper will reflect on the impact that the aesthetics implemented on social media by far- right politics may have on collective mentality in terms of manipulating people's perception of reality. It will look at the backlashes against these narratives into ordinary life by focusing on the case of Torre Maura and by making connections with other examples in today's Italy. In particular, the paper will analyse language and visual materials used by neo-fascist and far-right organisations on social media to try to build a racist narrative and shape the collective imagery. Finally, it will consider the scope of the ongoing process of normalisation of racist hate and violence by reflecting on Arendt's banality of evil and connecting to the concept of communicative capitalism (Dean, 2016).

FRANK OJWANG (University of Lapland)

A factual risk-analysis of integration process gaps administered to immigrants from conflict and protracted crisis contexts in Finland as a potential security threat to the High North

This analysis premises on integration program in Finland anchored around learning the Finnish language as the nerve center of integration. Broadcasted feedback on local media, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with immigrant communities show that the integration process is ineffective and does not facilitate satisfactory immigrant settlement in Finland. This is worst for immigrants from fragile and protracted crisis contexts such as Syria, Somalia, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. This study will help practitioners, policy makers, researchers and community to adopt effective and efficient integration process for all immigrants.

Research report by University of Helsinki (2019) holds that one in three people in Finland are anxious about potential assault. Researchers attribute the rise in fear of attack and terror threats, to immigrant increase in Finland. This research will draw concise context-specific conclusions from analysis from qualitative empirical material published in the arctic region before 2019. The researcher will adopt the grounded theory approach and analyses psychological and social theories during integration process for immigrants from fragile and protracted crisis contexts. Integration will be analyzed as a concept that can result in economic empowerment.

There are about 32,000 male and female immigrants from the fragile and protracted crisis contexts that moved to Finland between 2010 and 2018, 67% of this population comprise young adults aged over 15 years that risk joining radical or organized criminal groups with the greatest threat being extremist activities by the Islamist groups. The protracted crisis contexts have Islam religion as a common factor. The digital age complicates the process of preventing and countering potential threats drawn from activities of the groups. This research will focus on addressing how digital media can be used in integration process to diffuse/ counteract potential violence and security threats in the arctic region. Use of digital media sensitization will be promoted.

AVRIL TYNAN (Turku Institute for Advanced Studies)

Violence on Demand: Digital Consumerism in Dystopian Fiction

Projected into a dystopian future, fiction tends to acknowledge, exaggerate, and build upon the present. Often, what is presented as an extraordinary feat of social advancement is little more than a perverse application or modification of current knowledge, ideology, and situations. The case of digital advancement, therefore, offers

only an additional divergence of contemporary possibilities, and indeed, it is often one of the most evident links between the present and the dystopian future.

In Margaret Atwood's *Oryx and Crake* (2003), for example, online games and video websites form the basis of leisure activities between friends Jimmy and Glenn (Crake). This recognizable link between the reader's present and the narrative's future helps to ground the rest of the largely biological- and chemical-based dystopian elements of the book. The digital violence, therefore, comes as little surprise within this framework of potentially realizable futures. In *Oryx and Crake*, live executions, animal snuff, and child sex-trafficking and pornography are readily available for viewers through digital platforms such as nitee-nite.com, hedsoff.com, brainfrizz.com, and *HotTotts*, their titles crude introductions to their content. In reality, access to this sort of violence is not unavailable today, with executions and child pornography streamed across the world; Atwood merely banalizes the violence to show how it may be integrated without panic into our everyday future possibilities.

The representation of digital violence in dystopian fiction not only helps to situate other, less feasible potential situations within a structure of possibility, but also helps us to acknowledge how we are complicit in the structural violences of consumerism that surround us today. Digital violence, I contend, is part of a wider structural violence inherent in contemporary consumerism. Ultimately, the narration of such violence through dystopian fiction may help us to acknowledge our implication within wider networks of structural, consumerist violence.

PANEL 3: Rhetorical Constructions of Violence

AURÉLIEN MAIGNANT (University of Lausanne)

Cognitive bias and narrative effects: the digital storytelling of violence

Can narratives explain the complexity of systemic violences ?

An evening, you turn on the national television channels and listen to the testimonies of the french inhabitants of Calais, whose lives are disrupted by the presence and actions of hundreds of refuges. Face-camera and with a certain emotion, the stories follow one another. The next day, someone provide you a systemic explanation of the violence in Calais, with figures and geopolitical analyses to support it. The production of your knowledge on a single object, the migration crisis, will take place under two specific regimes of "belief concatenation" (Citton, 2009). This underlines the question of the explanatory power of narratives at an intersubjective level of explanation (to

speak the language of cognitive psychologists), i.e. the ability of the experiences told to build our beliefs on the real world.

Media theories insist on the emergence of new forms of narratives on the cyberspace. Many describe and denounce the way in which these narratives seek to influence our beliefs and values, through what psychology calls "cognitive biases". Surprisingly (or not), these "cognitive biases" created by digital storytellings are often known by narrative theory, which has long studied them under the name of "narrative effects" (that certain choices or story structures seek to produce on their audience).

I will try a description of some of those cognitive bias/ narrative effects induced by some contemporary media storytelling of systemic violence. I will specifically question the three "categories of characters" described by rhetorical narratologists, such as J. Phelan (2004). In their view, characters always appear to the spectator through a balance (allegedly decided by those who tell the story) between his mimetic (similar to a real individual), thematic (allegorical, pretext for a systemic discourse on the real world) or synthetic (as a function of the story) functions.

I would like to focus on a known tension in narrative theory between the experiential effet/bias of the mimetic function and the systemic effect/bias of the thematic function. I will try to underline that narrative theory helps us to understand how digital narratives construct our views on victims and oppressors, using the experiential power of narrative to conceal systemic violences, based on examples drawn from viral narratives on social networks.

MIŁOSZ WOJTYNA (University of Gdańsk)

Beyond Opinion, Beyond Violence: Interpretation, Narrative, and Solidarity

A significant event in the history of Gdańsk, the assassination of Paweł Adamowicz has become the object of what Maria Mäkelä calls "instrumental storytelling" (2018): it has been narrativized (storified) in individual, unreliable, speculative accounts disseminated throughout the contemporary mediatrix (Taylor and Saarinen 1994). Following Michał Paweł Markowski's claim that excessive reliance of contemporary public discourse on opinion, conviction, and belief results in violence and conflict (Markowski 2019), this article not only analyzes the rhetorical construction of various narratives circulating in electronic media after the tragic event, but also observes how these "narratives of violence" refuse to employ story-critical interpretation strategies and, instead, comply with a reductive, polarized, opinion-based rhetoric characteristic for contemporary electronic media. Claiming that these polarized social media narratives not only "evade complexity" (Walsh 2018) but also make it impossible for the individuals to build social bonds beyond the circle of "like-minded" people, the article proceeds to discuss conclusions from a series of interviews conducted with

Gdańsk residents about their experiences of the events surrounding the assassination. Finally, in the light of these conclusions, the paper suggests that story-critical interpretation offers not only an alternative to discursive violence, but also a promise of a new social order.

ROKSANA ZGIERSKA (University of Gdańsk)

Storytelling-Hatredtelling- the Role of Impaired Communication in the Rise of Digital Violence

Communication has always been at core of human understanding. All fields of human engagement and cooperation, be it business, art, popular culture, politics or education are based on interaction, on relationship between sender and receiver. Established channels of communication enabled people to adapt to all sort of changes in the surrounding world. However, in the recent years the pace of technological development which affects all aspects of human lives has been significantly faster than ever before. Between 2013 and 2015, more data was generated in the world than throughout the entire history of mankind until that period, which seems to result in the need of redefining communication. People have become equipped with great tools such as social media, but their inability to fully comprehend the impact those media may have results in severe consequences. Hatred and cyberbullying have become ubiquitous and due to the anonymity that internet provides it is extremely hard to control and fight such instances of digital violence.

Together with the rise of social media, one can observe a slow dominance of experience over the written word. People create idealised versions of their lives via platforms such as Instagram or youtube. The reality does not appear too matter that much. More and more researches highlight the negative effect of such storytelling on mental health and general wellbeing of people. Even though it may seem far fetched to connected the unattainable presentation of life with internet hate and cyberbullying, in terms of the negative effect and possible harm they produce both seem to belong to the category of digital violence.

It seems that in recent years the role of the basic form of narration was taken by TV series. The scripts of the most popular shows are often time very complex narratives. The act of watching TV series, especially on streaming platforms such as Netflix, in many ways resembles the act of reading and serves a similar role on social level. Thus it is not surprising that shows depict and tackle important social issues. Digital violence becomes interwoven and inseparable part of popular shows storylines, however not only to the expect result. For instances, show *13 Reason Why* which was made in an attempt of drawing attention to different kind of abuse experience by teenagers was proven to be responsible for the increase number of suicide attempts among young people.

The proposed paper aims at the discussion whether impaired communication may be seen as one of the root causes of digital violence based on the analysis of storytelling used in both modern social media as well as in the selected TV shows revolving around the topic.

PANEL 4: Rhetorical Constructions of Violence

CASSANDRA FALKE (University of Trømso)

Narrating the Terrorist Self

Phenomenological and communitarian accounts of identity development portray selfhood as developing within a given framework of intersubjective relationships. These frameworks include family and community relationships that precede one´s birth as well as a whole matrix of relationships that develop because of proximity or personal choice. Constructivist accounts of identity creation similarly assume a matrix of cultural relationships that give individuals the language and symbolic structures needed to performatively define themselves. These conceptions of selfhood accept that much of who we are to become is given. The ideology of terrorism says otherwise; it says you can make yourself who you want to be – a hero, a martyr, an individual not defined by circumstance.

My proposed essay centers on the ways that terrorist organizations use the complexities of cross-cultural experience to catalyze recruits´ identification with trans-national goals. I will focus particularly on ISIS, looking at their online recruiting literature to examine the ways they mobilize a nationalist narrative to motivate violence, without a geo-political nation. By manipulating the language of community and the belief in a supra-historical place that can serve as a surrogate homeland, these organizations tap into a conception of home derived from a Western nationalist narrative, one in which place, community, and shared belief are supposed to provide the grounding for identity. Although important research has been done on the use of visual media in ISIS propaganda, the significance of digitally-disseminated textual narratives for terrorist recruiting has received less attention. This paper analyzes selected narratives from *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*, ISIS´s internationally-distributed multi-lingual online magazines, suggesting that the narrative presentation of insurgents as national heroes has been an essential, but overlooked motivation for foreign fighters and "lone wolf" terrorists.

NAREK POGHOSYAN (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation)

Global Arms Race and Artificial intelligence

The accelerating pace of technology development in recent years, in particular the use of artificial intelligence, has led experts to raise serious concerns that, along with its benefits, it can pose many dangers to humanity when machines can think and make decisions for themselves. Particularly risky is the fact that the development of artificial intelligence and autonomous weapons can be used to target certain national, religious, racial groups, thereby increasing the risk of genocide and mass killings.

Nowadays, when the global arms race with artificial intelligence is a reality, experts are turning their attention to banning autonomous lethal weapons. In addition, in order to prevent the potential negative consequences of artificial intelligence development, industry professionals have suggested the need to develop an ethics of artificial intelligence. It is envisaged that appropriate legislative mechanisms based on the protection of human rights and ethics will be created to prevent potential risks arising from the development of robotics and artificial intelligence technology over time.

PANEL 5: Digitalizing Violence: Archives and Dating Apps

CAROLINE WILLIAMSON SINALO (University College Cork)

Digitizing the memory of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi: Aims and Challenges of the Genocide Archive of Rwanda

From an experiential standpoint, this paper will discuss the Genocide Archive of Rwanda (https://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php/Welcome_to_Genocide_Archive_Rwanda), a digital collection of materials related to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. This archive, the first of its kind in Rwanda, was established by the archive and documentation department of the Aegis Trust Rwanda, a non-governmental organisation that strives to prevent mass atrocity and genocide through education. The archive's collections include testimonies, audio and video materials, photographs, physical objects, documents and publications as well as interactive mapping data. Claver and I began our involvement with the archive in 2010: Claver as the archive manager and me as a doctoral student, funded by an AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Award which involved working with the Aegis Trust and

spending a year as part of the digitization team in Rwanda. The paper will first set out some of the goals of the genocide archive, including preserving the memory of the genocide; protecting physical items (which would fast deteriorate in the hot climate of Rwanda if put on public display); providing survivors with a voice; enabling us to hear the voices of those involved in the genocide including perpetrators and rescuers; providing a public space for commemoration; and providing an online tool that can be used for educational purposes as well as peacebuilding. The paper will also discuss some of the challenges involved with establishing the archive including: those posed by dependency on international funders; those relating to language and translation and those relating to the historical record, which has, up to now, been documented predominantly by outsiders. Finally, the paper will discuss how archive staff have attempted to respond to such challenges.

JURKY PÖYSÄ (University of Eastern Finland)

Aspects of violence within online dating worlds

The research about online dating services (Tinder etc.) is just about gaining serious academic ground. Though concentrating on positively understood emotions, love and sexuality, online dating services tend at the same time to promote also a potential forum for the opposite, bullying, teasing, and milder forms of violence like "ghosting" as an interesting example of a phenomenon typical for social media. Also gender and different cultural background play an important role in what the users meet in online dating worlds. This paper is planned to be a preliminary exploration of varieties of violence within this kind of contexts as experienced by men and women (using interviews of the users as the main source material). Also the analysis of the user profiles is interesting in this regard: what do they reveal about possible violent experiences of the users and how do they shelter the users from having ones.

PANEL 6: Normalizing Structural Violence

SOFIA WANSTRÖM (Åbo Akdaemi)

Reframing the story: counter narratives and the MeToo campaign as a discursive space

The MeToo movement has been highly debated over the past two years. From empowerment and exposure, to victimization and ruthless social media justice, people debate the positives, negatives and limitations of the movement. Debated also is the definition, or lack thereof, of sexual harassment and assault. Some people are concerned that a lack of definition, and thereby a lack of a common understanding of what experiences meet the requirements for sexual harassment or assault, causes women to categorize "any" experience under the umbrella of MeToo.

In this paper, I argue that the lack of definition is something positive. No strict definitions meant that there was no bar preventing people to share, which opened a discursive space for discussing topics that may fall outside of the normalized notion of harassment and assault. Thereby, the movement presented an expanded view of what experiences could be considered harassment and assault, and how these do not exist separate from each other but connect and overlap. Subsequently, by challenging the normalized view of sexual harassment and assault, the stories can be considered as counter narratives to dominant cultural narratives determining and cultivating sexual violence in society.

The material discussed was collected in a national MeToo campaign among the Swedish speaking minority in Finland, in the fall of 2017. The campaign, called #dammenbrister, collected 950 stories within a secret Facebook group with over 20.000 members, 385 of the stories depict experiences of sexual assault. In this paper, I focus on experiences that are in the "gray zones" of assault, i.e. experiences that are not included in a normalized notion of what sexual assault is, e.g. assaults conducted by means of emotional manipulation or on sleeping women.

MIKOŁAJ MARKS (University of Gdańsk)

Violence and the question of morality in modern videogames − the worlds more real than reality

The subject of my presentation are two titles (*Red Dead Redemption 2* 2018, *Detroit: Become Human* 2018). Both games are relatively new, widely recognized, and both directly deal with violence. The days we live in are marked by the appearance of complex virtual worlds which are so detailed that our reality seems bleak in comparison. Such worlds are inhabited by the living characters with serious problems. Each act of violence is a result or a part of a narrative. There is always a reason, like revenge, lust for justice, or a chaotic urge to wreak havoc.

The player gets to control a person in a narrative and to look from the outside perspective at the outburst of violence. This process rises multiple questions: Is the player really outside? What is the most engaging in this kind of gameplay? Does the player feel any guilt while committing virtual violence? Studying the answers can shed light upon the general opinion on the subject of violence.

Next aspect of both games that I want to analyze is the resolution of morality issue. What makes the subject of violence so disputable is the matter of choice. Videogames give the player the power to choose whether to be good, bad or a bit of both. While in our reality we usually learn about violence from the media, in games we have an opportunity to study what lies behind the violent act directly. *Red Dead Redemption 2*, a massive western, open-world RPG game uses a different method that focuses on the player's choices to resolve this problem than *Detroit: Become Human*, an adventure game. Both videogames , however, offer an important insight into the matter of violence.

BRIE MCLEMORE (University of California, Berkeley)

BBQ Becky and the Ideal Citizen: Policing as a Tool for Gentrification

In April of 2018, a White woman named Jennifer Schulte called the police on two Black men in Oakland, California for using a charcoal grill in a supposedly non-grilling area. The wife of one of the men filmed Schulte's phone call with law enforcement. What transpires is a 26-minute video that has been viewed millions of times across every social media platform. Schulte garnered national attention, but it became quickly apparent that she did not exist in a vacuum. Over the following months, social media became inundated with video footage of White people calling the police on Black people engaging in mundane activities. Using the video of Schulte as a case study, I will explore White anxieties within historically Black spaces, which have, through a decades long process of divestment, become associated with criminality. My assertion is that policing and the law have been mobilized as a tool for removing Black bodies in service to gentrification. I also situate Schulte within a broader analysis of what it means to be a "good citizen," which has evolved in the face of Neoliberalism. This has created a larger trend in which "concerned" citizens mobilize the law to harass and surveil presumably deviant Black subjects. This provides insight into the rise of neighborhood watch groups and crime tracking apps, in which civilians adopt proactive policing, not in place of the carceral state, but alongside it, as neighborhood residents actively and enthusiastically partner with police to remove those deemed to be a threat.

<u>WORKSHOPS</u>

WORKSHOP 1: Reading Seminar

1. Anastasia Powell and Nicola Henry, *Sexual Violence in a Digital Age* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), chapter 4, 'Rape Culture Unveiled);
2. Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessalynn Keller, and Jessica Ringrose, 'Digitized narratives of sexual violence: Making sexual violence felt and known through digital disclosure', *New Media and Society* 21:6 (2019), 1290–1310.

WORKSHOP 2: by Anna Walker

We often underestimate the power of simply taking a breath. In this workshop we will focus on methods to centre and anchor the body to better deal with anxiety, stress and trauma. We will focus on the breath and breathing to understand how we communicate and engage with each other, whether in person, on social media, or on video platforms. Through directed breathing and voicing the breath, we will explore methods to track and understand the body's responses and to recover our ideal equilibrium (which is different for everybody). Together we will find ways to bring one's body back to centre so that choice once again enters into our interactions and decision-making processes, rather than reaction, anxiety or anger.