POLS 318: Theories of IR

Lecture 25 (04.14.2021):
International Terrorism: Effects and Responses

Rotem Dvir

Texas A&M University

rdvir@tamu.edu

Department of Political Science
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Overview

Review

WHAT WE COVERED LAST MEETING?

- International terrorism - an issue?
- Why important?
- Definition - scholars, public.
- The causes - a strategic approach.
- The causes - an organizational approach.
- The causes - an ideological approach.

Questions?? Email me!

Political Effects

Two overarching questions

1. Attacks increase with elections?

   - 2004 → 407 attacks.
   - 2005 → 761 attacks.

2. How attacks affect voting behavior?

Political Effects

Terrorism timing & elections

- Pre-election violence $\rightarrow$ affect process.
- Example: India (October 1999).
  - Jan.-June 1999: 31 attacks.
  - July - October: 53 attacks.
  - Evening/day of elections: 11 attacks.

- Post-election violence $\rightarrow$ protest results.
- Example: Philippines (May 2007).
  - Week after: 6 attacks.
  - 3 months after: 18 attacks.
  - Next 6 months: 27 attacks.

Political Effects

How elections process affects terrorism?

- Structure and domestic institutions.
- Democratic regime allow nonviolent expression of grievances.
- Elections $\rightarrow$ Less attacks.

- Turbulent time.
- High instability (potential leadership turnover).
- Elections $\rightarrow$ More attacks.

- Critical role for domestic institutions.

Political Effects

Elections and terrorism (Aksoy 2014)
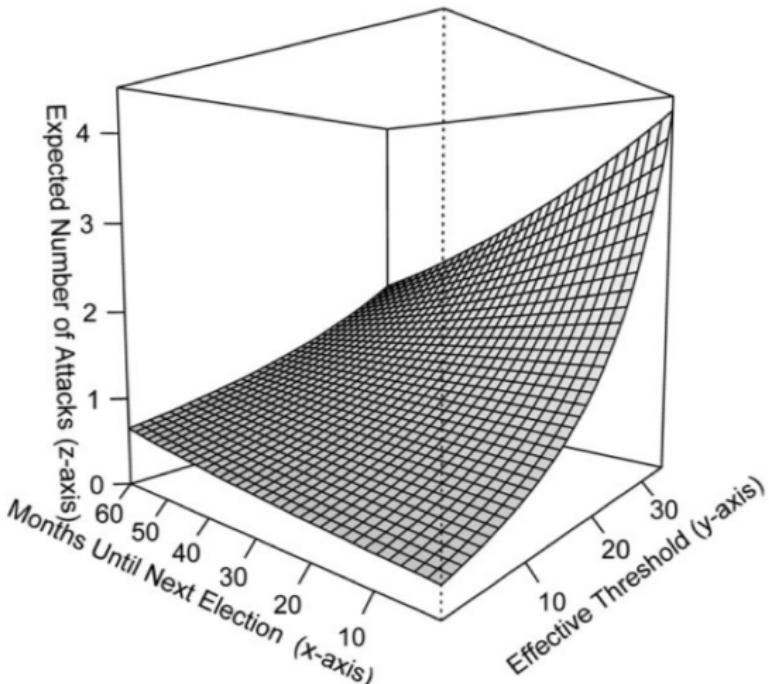
- Unpack institutional factors.
- Degree of freedom to participate in elections.
- Restrictions $\rightarrow$ inter-group competition and violence.
- *Permissiveness*: election threshold, proportional representation.

Data and Analysis

- Domestic terrorism incidents.
- Europe (1954-2004).

Political Effects

Elections and terrorism (Aksoy 2014)

Political Effects

Elections and terrorism

- Israel (1988): Intifada and close results.
- Israel (1996): challenger won by 30,000 votes.

Israel: March 1996

Jerusalem: 19 Killed   Tel Aviv: 13 Killed (Purim Massacre)

Political Effects

Elections and terrorism

- Spain 2004: surprise win by opposition.

Political Effects

Terrorism and electoral preferences

- Retrospective voting.
- Punish/reward incumbent.

- Valence theory.
- Parties experts in policy areas.

Rocket launches in Israel - expanding the threat

Political Effects

Threat of rockets

- Emerged in 2001, increased after 2005.

- Economic costs.

- Psychological costs - PTSD, violence, and anxiety.

- The threat - map ▸ RocketsMap

- Life under the threat (Alarm in Sderot Video clip)

- Government response - the "Iron dome" defense system.

Political Effects

Threat of rockets (Getmansky and Zeitzoff 2014)

- Spatial proximity to threat and voting behavior.
- Distance from localities to Gaza strip.

Results

- Voters under threat $\rightarrow$ support right wing parties.
- Support increase for nationalist parties.
- Significant effect (0.2%-0.6%) $\rightarrow$ 2-7 parliament seats.
- No punishment for right-wing incumbent.

Social and Psychological Effects

"Terror a population"

Social and Psychological Effects

Anxiety/fear (Huddy et al. 2005)

- Dominant individual response.

- Limits cognitive capacity.

- Risk aversion and uncertainty.

- Data: public surveys after 9/11.

- Proximity:
  - North-East $\rightarrow$ high threat perception.
  - NY area $\rightarrow$ anxious.

- Policy: military retaliation.

- President (Bush) approval.

Social and Psychological Effects

Security vs. Civil liberties (Davies and Silver 2004)

- Concede privacy and human rights for security.
- Data: 1300 respondents (11.2001 - 01.2002).
- Also important - trust in government. ▸ Trust

Panel A. Percentage of Prosecurity or Pro-Civil Liberties Responses to Each Item

Questions	Prefer Security	Protect Civil Liberties
1. Give up some civil liberties	45	55
2. Investigate protestors	8	92
3. Racial Profiling	18	82
4. Warrantless searches on suspicion	23	77
5. Monitor telephone and e-mail	34	66
6. Detain non-citizens indefinitely	47	53
7. Require national ID cards	54	46
8. Teachers criticize antiterrorist policies	60	40
9. Crime to belong to terrorist organization	71	29

Counter-terrorism

Government actions

- How do governments counter the threat of terrorism?
- The practice, tactics, techniques, and strategies by which various arms of the state combat or prevent terrorism.
- 1st challenge - what is success?

Successful CT goals:

1. Reduce attacks and damages.
2. Destroy group.
3. Containment.

Counter-terrorism

Unpack government policies: Hard power

- Deploy tangible resources to punish and deter terrorists.
- Military or police forces: drones, SF raids, policing and intelligence operations.
- Enemy-centric doctrine.
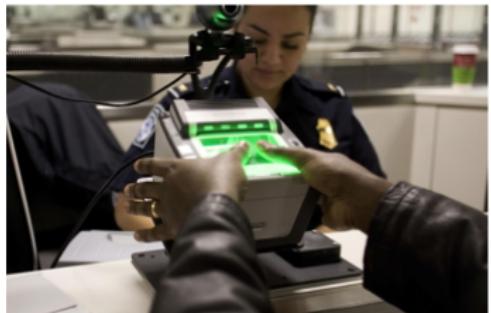
(1) Indiscriminate approach

- Impose costs on participants.
- Rational logic - coercion.
- House demolitions - Israel and Palestinian terrorists.

Counter-terrorism - Hard power

Indiscriminate Policy actions

Counter-terrorism

(2) Discriminate approach

- Method: leaders' decapitation
- Mixed evidence on effectiveness (few short-term benefits)
- Bin Laden and Al Qaeda $\rightarrow$ group structure.

Counter-terrorism

(2) Discriminate approach

- Other policies: house demolitions.
- Israel - focus on perpetrators and families.
- Evidence on effectiveness.

- Apprehend terror leaders.
- Turkey and PKK (Ochalan 1999)
- Leader removal $\rightarrow$ group demise.

Counter-terrorism

DRONES - A TOOL TO FIGHT TERRORISTS

Drones as CT policy

The Debate

- Backlash of attacks - public resentment.
- Not effective $\rightarrow$ recruitment, international laws violations.
- More than a "killing" machine?

Multipurpose CT Instrument (Mir and Moore 2019)

- Collect intelligence, large-scale surveillance.
- Anticipatory effects for terrorists.

Drones as CT policy

Multipurpose CT tools

- Pakistan: substantial drop in attacks (▸ PakistanAttacks)
- Also decrease in casualties.

- Implications for CT policy:
  - Use beyond decapitation is more effective.
  - Hard power and population centric approach: complement *humint* efforts.

Counter-terrorism

Unpack government policies: Soft power

- Indirect tools, focus on population.
- Capacity-building initiatives and countering radicalization.

Areas of policy

- *Economic*: limit financial flows.
- Tradeoffs - restricts intelligence efforts.
- *Political*: resist passive state sponsorship.
- UK - US (IRA); Spain - France (ETA).

Counter-terrorism

Soft power - Areas of policy

- *Social and cultural*: CVE strategies.

- Prevent radicalization process.

- Emphasize benefits of abstain from terrorism.

- Community outreach and engagement program.

- Capacity building, education and empowerment, integration.

- Non-violent channels of political contention.

- **Effectiveness**: difficult to evaluate.

- Individual interventions rather than broad-based programs.

CT actions - political aspects

Strategic approach

- Rational actor assumptions.
- Policy $\rightarrow$ based on a deliberative calculated process.
- Maximize return and match for threat.
- Halt ineffective policy.
- Example - Israel repression and terror attacks (14 days after lethal attacks).

CT actions - political aspects

Strategic approach

- Domestic effects on CT policy - why emphasize threat?
- Terrorism $\rightarrow$ salient to public.
- Politicians $\rightarrow$ survive in office.

- Visible actions: concrete barriers and metal detectors.
- Other options: covert actions and intelligence.

- Favor sub-optimal policy - visible to public.
- Why? Strategic politicians and public opinion.

CT actions - political aspects

Organizational approach

- Internal dynamics within government and CT agencies.

- *Security structure*: who dictates CT policy?

- Military or police?

- Why? Influence and survival.

- Examples: UK vs. France.

- *Interagency rivalry* and CT policy.

- Fight over influence - R.Clarke and AQ threat before 9/11.

CT actions - political aspects

Organizational approach

- Standard Operational Procedures (SOPs): the good.
- And the bad: "automatic" response, ignore context/issue.

- British army and "the troubles" (N.Ireland).

CT actions - political aspects

Ideological approach

- Ideas, beliefs and norms drive CT policy.

- 9/11 through the eyes of different nations:
  - US - act of war (aggressive military response).
  - Germany - Criminal act (police).
  - Japan - political crisis.

- Perceptions driven by historical experience and relations with other nations/actors in the international system.

CT actions - political aspects

Ideological approach

- Beliefs, ideologies and public support for CT policy.

- *Ethnocentrism*: in- and out-group view, counter external threat.

- High values $\rightarrow$ powerful CT response.

- *Authoritarianism*: nature of authority, traditions and use of violence.

- High values $\rightarrow$ offensive and repressive polices.

- Evidence in US public after 9/11.

Government response to terrorism

What's the bottom-line?
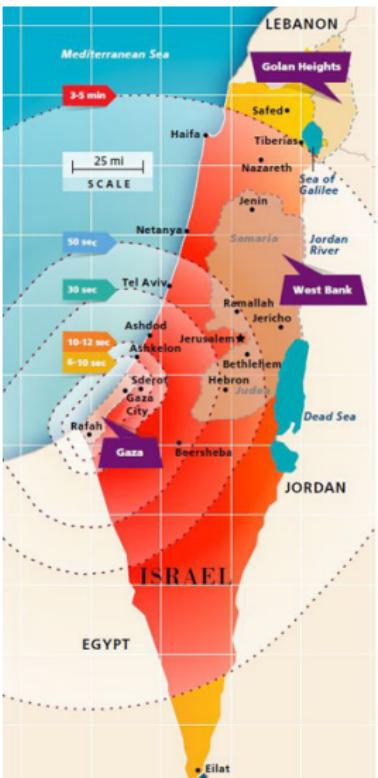
- *Indiscriminate repression* → likely to fail.
- Increase support for terrorists and harm legitimacy.
- Examples: US - AQ, Israel - Palestinians.

- *Discriminate policy (leader decapitation)* → context dependent.
- Success depends on organizational factors and situation.

- *Soft power* → most promise and potential.
- Focus on benefits of abstain rather than punishment.
- Difficult to implement.

Recommended readings

More studies on the effects of terrorism and CT polices:

1. Godefroidt, Amélie, and Arnim Langer. (2020). "How fear drives us apart: explaining the relationship between terrorism and social trust." *Terrorism and Political Violence 32*, 7, 1482-1505.

2. Cordell, Rebecca. (2019). "Security-Civil Liberties Trade-offs: International Cooperation in Extraordinary Rendition." *International Interactions 45*, 2, 369-400.

3. Burstein, Alon. (2018). "Armies of God, armies of men: A global comparison of secular and religious terror organizations." *Terrorism and political violence 30*, 1, 1-21.

Rocket threat on Israel
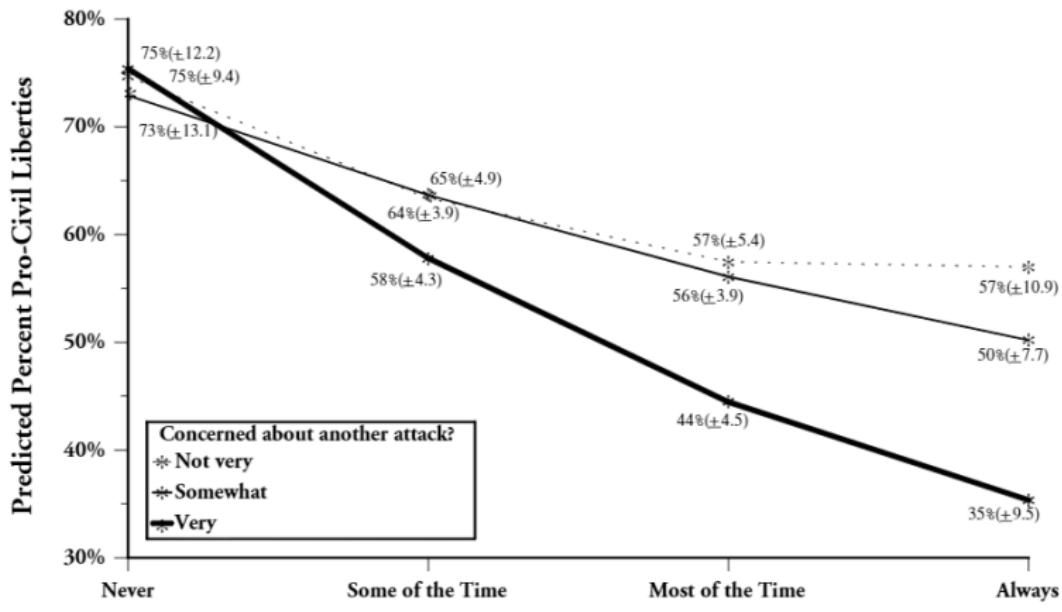
Terrorism, trust and civil liberties

Drones program in Pakistan