

Overview

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Review

WHAT WE COVERED LAST MEETING?

- Environmental factors, the “root causes of terrorism” .
- Macro-level processes, grievances and opportunities for terrorism.
- permissive conditions:
 - Regime type, state capacity
 - Modernization and urbanization .
 - Technology.
 - Failed Foreign policies.

Questions??

The Structural approach

IMPLICATIONS: PERMISSIVE PRECONDITIONS

(7) Globalization

- Increased movement of people (across borders), and goods (market capitalism).
- Technological progress.
- Secularization and democratization.
- Diverse financing channels:
 - ① legitimate corporations (Bin-Laden's construction company).
 - ② Illegal enterprises and criminal actions.

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(8) American Dominance

- An increase in the political, military and diplomatic power of the US and its allies.
- Opposition to system dominance by one actor.
- Groups adopt terrorism since they cannot directly challenge the US with military power.
- Evidence: allied with US; London (2004); Madrid (2005).

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IMPLICATIONS: PRECIPITANTS

- Direct factors that make the use of terrorism not only possible but also moral.
- Multiple sources: socioeconomic, ideology, history and culture.
- Provide inspiration, increase group commitment, or instill ideological justification for using terrorism.

The Structural approach

(1) Globalization and "Clash of Civilizations"

- Disrupt traditional patterns of global behavior, as well as local norms and understandings.
- Economic redistribution widen disparities in society.
- Linked to US dominance, and western culture. [▶ ClashCivilizations](#)
- Market economy and disruption of local social structure.

The Structural approach

(2) Grievance-based explanation

- Economic, social and political conditions that create various grievances.
- Economic grievances: poverty, hopelessness, no educational opportunities, frustration and inequality.
- Data: little direct evidence for the link of poverty or unemployment with terrorism.
- Economic conditions and political factors: discriminatory or exclusionary government policies.
- "*Relative Deprivation*".

The Structural approach

(2) Grievance-based explanation (Cont.)

- Political grievances: self-determination and political rights.
- Examples: The PLO (The Israel - Palestinian conflict), Basque (Spain), Irish (Northern Ireland) and Chechens (Russia).
- Social grievances - a class struggle as motivation.
- Example: Latin America
 - Autocratic regimes fail to provide care for all citizens.
 - Population adopts Marxist approaches about social struggle.
 - Also accept armed resistance.

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(3) Authoritarianism and Repression

- Violent repressions against political action makes the use of violence seem justified.
- Repression → constraint for terrorism.
- Repression mobilize disadvantaged groups and enlarge pool of recruits/supporters.

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(4) Belligerent Foreign Policy

- Policy actions motivate retaliation (military intervention).
- The *Accidental Guerrilla Syndrome*:
Occupation in response to terrorism → popular resentment and anger among locals → join the armed struggle against the occupiers.
- Example: US invasion to Afghanistan (October 2001).
- *Terrorism blowback*: retaliatory terror strikes by weaker actors in an attempt to coerce a stronger military actor.
- Example: US and Libya clashes during the 1980's.

The Structural Approach

COUNTERING TERRORISM

- Focus on the underlying grievances and the factors that enable groups to form, recruit and sustain operations.
- Significant structural changes within states and across the globe.
- "Good global governance": efforts to undermine support for terrorism in societies at risk.
- Root explanations → comprehensive and long term strategies: combine short term use of force with long term collaboration for legal and economic actions.

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Critique 1: Structural factors are static

- Factors (wealth, regime type, ethno-linguistic cleavages) change slowly, while terrorism is more dynamic.
- Solution: focus on transitional explanations such as the sudden changes in the process of democratization.

Critique 2: Analyses too deterministic

- **Determinism:** environment is powerful factor, leaving no room for other motivations.
- Example: repression (variation between and within countries).

The Structural Approach

Critique 3: Everything causes terrorism?

- Extensive "list" of structural factors (some opposing - democracy and autocracy).
- Lack of terrorism in East-Central Europe to peaceful democratic transitions and foreign policies.
- Other countries did experience terrorism on a meaningful level.
- Norway - right wing terrorism attacks (2011).

The Structural Approach

Critique 4: Indeterminate or Counterproductive CT policy

- Complex policies which may be ineffective.
- Time lag between structural factors and policy solutions.
- Policies only provide outcomes in the long-run → problematic from a social and political perspectives.
- If "all environmental factors matter" → what policy?
- Example: Bush administration.
 - Weak states are a source of terrorism → extended military intervention (Afghanistan, Iraq).
 - Failed regime transitions that increase terrorism.
- Tradeoffs in policies to reduce terrorism.

Recommended readings

More studies on the structural approach to terrorism:

- 1 Braithwaite, Alex and David Sobek "Victims of Success American Dominance and International Terrorism," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2005), pp. 135-148..
- 2 James A. Piazza, "Draining the Swamp: Democracy Promotion, State Failure, and Terrorism in 19 Middle Eastern Countries," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 30 (2007), pp. 512-539.
- 3 Daniel Meierrieks and Thomas Gries, "Causality Between Terrorism and Economic Growth," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 50, Issue 1 (2013), pp. 91-104.



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THE NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS

and the Remaking of World Order

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..... *The Wall Street Journal*

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