

POLS 429: International Terrorism
Lecture 24 (03.25.2020):
Psychological and Social effects of Terrorism Vol. 2

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Overview

- 1 Quick review
- 2 Introduction
- 3 Security - Liberty Debate
- 4 Extra Material

Review

WHAT WE COVERED LAST MEETING?

- The psychological and social effects of terrorism.
- How threat perceptions and negative emotions impact public perceptions and policy preferences?
- Distinguish between threat perception and anxiety, their determinants and how it shapes policy preferences.
- An alternative view – anger, and its political effects.
- Anxiety and anger: contrasting effects on voting (France 2016).
- Unpacking threat perceptions: personal and national.

Questions??

Terrorism: Psychological and Social effects

- Studies address questions about the relationships between terrorism incidents and various psychological and social effects.
- Most studies provide evidence regarding public support for certain policy preferences to address the threats of terrorism.
- The national security - civil liberties debate.
- Treating terrorism suspects - public perceptions.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

- The challenge: democratic values facing security threats.
- **Context:** critical factor in the the debate.
- In certain scenarios securing civil liberties becomes prominent and have immediate implications on our everyday lives.
- Do, and how much, are citizens willing to accept certain restrictions on their freedom, in exchange for greater security?
- Examples of restrictions:
 - ① Surveillance of papers and communications.
 - ② Search in belongings.
 - ③ Detention without *Habeas Corpus*.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

- **The paradox?** Open democratic society as a precondition for terrorism.
- Reduce threat → accept restrictions → are we willing?
- Which needs are more essential? Safety/Security vs. self-actualization and freedom? (Maslow 1954)
- **Civil liberties:** Not a stand-alone construct (or belief) but a function of the trade-offs involved.
- Restrictions → material costs for civilians.
- **Trade-offs:** the extent of public support for government actions vs. the loss in civilian rights.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

- Past debates: individual security of civilians versus the civil liberties of disliked or threatening groups in society.
- Context of terrorism threats: a new interpretation of this value trade-offs.
- The need to protect individuals *from the government's* actions.
- A fundamental element of democracy that is reflected in the bill of rights.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Davis and Silver (2004)

- Factor 1: Threat perception.
- Terrorism (9.11), severe emotional reactions and support actions to reduce the threat.
- Greater threat and willingness to forgo basic civil liberties: enhance attention to information as we seek ways to address the source of anxiety.
- Shift from habitual behavior → less reliant on social norms protecting civil rights, and accept government intervention.
- Terrorism: a national threat (less emphasis on personal safety).



Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Davis and Silver (2004)

- Factor 2: Trust in government.
- An individual degree of support for other democratic institutions and processes.
- Trust → how much are we willing to concede personal freedom for security, provided by the government.

EXPECTATIONS

- ① High threat perception and trust → support for pro-security and government actions (even if it involves violating rights).
- ② Low threat perception and trust → increased unwillingness to forgo civil rights for enhanced security.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Davis and Silver (2004)

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

- ① Dogmatism: conservatism and trust in authority.
- ② Interpersonal trust: less open to government intervention.
- ③ Pride, patriotism: aggressive national security, reject outsiders.
- ④ Liberalism - conservatism differences.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

- ① Race and ethnic group: African Americans and civil rights.
- ② Age: Older are more conservative.
- ③ Community: Urban residents more diverse.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Davis and Silver (2004)

- Data: 1300 survey respondents (Nov. 2001 - Jan. 2002).
- Results: overall, greater support for civil liberties (%55).

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



Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Davis and Silver (2004)

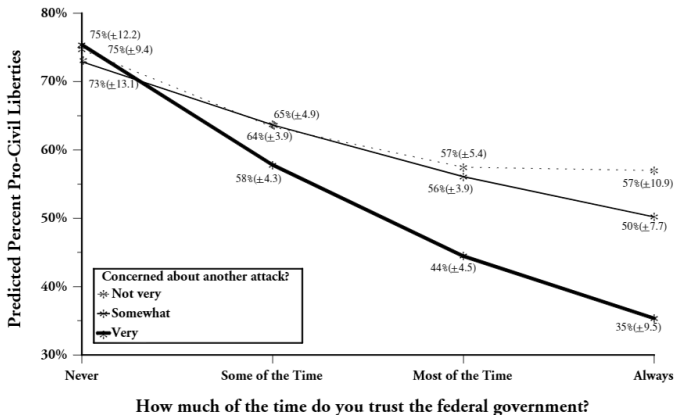
- National threat reduces support for civil liberties, and increase support in government.
- Personal threat → no clear effect.
- Other effects:
 - Dogmatism and pride.
 - Inter-personal trust.
 - Urban.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Davis and Silver (2004)

- The willingness to forgo civil liberties is a result of the conditional relations between threat and trust in government.

► IdeologyCivilRights



Expanding findings

Garcia and Geva (2016)

- An experimental approach → directly estimate the causal effects.
- Account for:
 - ① Domestic or transnational threat.
 - ② The effectiveness of CT policies.
- Effectiveness as a moderator → If a policy is seen as ineffective, then it is not accepted even facing high degree of threat.

Theory and Research design

Garcia and Geva (2016)

- Domestic attacks to garner less support for reducing civil liberties (social identity theory).
- Attacks are viewed as internal (criminal) acts that the government can address without extended or severe actions.
- Unclear how to distinguish between hate crimes and domestic terrorism.

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

- 1 Treatment 1: Lethality. ▸ LethalTextHigh ▸ LethalTextLow
- 2 Treatment 2: Degree of policy invasiveness. ▸ InvasiveHigh
▸ InvasiveLow

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Garcia and Geva (2016)

- Main findings: effectiveness is a crucial factor shaping the degree of support for reduction in civil liberties.
- When measures are effective, support for policy is higher.
- Stronger results for transnational terrorism.
- Domestic threat → even high degree of threat and effective policy options are no longer supported.
- Threat is the same for domestic and transnational; yet the extent of support for invasive CT policies is different.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Piazza (2015)

- Motivation: previous work suggest that overall, US citizens reject the use of most practices.
- Yet, some support to less extreme practices: subject detainees to stress position, noise, sleep deprivation and harsh interrogation.
- Also, support actions such as continued detainment with no access to lawyers or without pressing official charges.
- More extreme measures: waterboarding, exposure to extreme heat/cold.
- Focus: terrorism threat and the religious affiliation of the perpetrator.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Piazza (2015)

- Since 9.11, the threat is seen as Islamic/Arab terrorism.
- Why support harsh measures? psychology of threat perceptions and rejecting out-group members.
- Expects low support for using such measures against Anglo-American suspects of domestic right-wing terrorism.
- Data: experiment with about 1200 respondents during 2011.
- Treatments: differentiate Muslims and non-Muslims using names or group affiliation.

Security - Civil liberties dilemma

Piazza (2015)

- Results: low support for extreme interrogation measures.
- Detention: supports against Islamic, but not versus right wing suspects.

Table 1. Survey Questions about Extreme Interrogation and Detention Techniques

Interrogation	Strongly Support				Strongly Oppose (1)	No Answer	Mean	S.D.
	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)				
Applying electric shocks to the suspect	8.3%	13.1%	23.6%	26.2%	26.4%	2.2%	3.40	1.40
Holding the suspect's head under water	8.6%	10.8%	22.5%	26.1%	28.9%	2.8%	3.44	1.45
Making the suspect go naked	8.7%	11.9%	25.9%	28.2%	22.1%	2.9%	3.31	1.41
Exposing the suspect to extreme heat or cold	10.2%	17.8%	27.0%	22.8%	19.1%	2.9%	3.11	1.42
Punching or kicking the suspect	6.8%	8.1%	25.8%	32.3%	24.3%	2.4%	3.49	1.34
Forcing the suspect to remain in a physically stressful position for long periods of time	13.5%	24.3%	26.0%	17.7%	15.8%	2.4%	2.88	1.40
Withholding food and water from the suspect	11.2%	21.1%	24.3%	23.7%	17.0%	2.5%	3.03	1.41
Bombarding the suspect with loud noise for long periods of time	13.3%	25.9%	27.3%	16.8%	14.0%	2.4%	2.82	1.37
Not allowing the suspect to sleep	17.3%	29.5%	25.0%	13.6%	12.0%	2.3%	2.64	1.36
Yelling at the suspect	24.4%	31.7%	27.2%	8.6%	5.4%	2.5%	2.28	1.22
Detention								
Not allowing the suspect to meet with a lawyer	8.8%	10.7%	25.9%	31.1%	21.0%	2.2%	3.36	1.35
Holding the suspect indefinitely without charge	7.6%	15.3%	26.6%	28.2%	19.7%	2.3%	3.27	1.35
Trying a suspect before a military commission instead of a criminal court	18.2%	25.5%	31.7%	11.4%	10.5%	2.4%	2.60	1.32



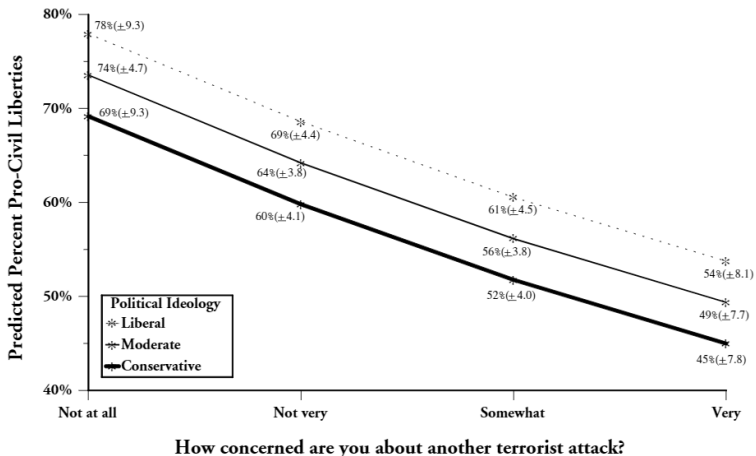
Recommended readings

More studies on the psychological and social effects of terrorism:

- 1 Hetherington, Marc, and Elizabeth Suhay. "Authoritarianism, threat, and Americans' support for the war on terror." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 55, no. 3 (2011): 546-560.
- 2 Dragu, Tiberiu. "Is there a trade-off between security and liberty? Executive bias, privacy protections, and terrorism prevention." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 105, no. 1 (2011): 64-78.

Threat and Civil liberties

DAVIS AND SILVER (2004)



Garcia and Geva (2016)

Experimental Design: High threat condition

- "At this time it is estimated that the attacks have resulted in 86 federal employee deaths as well as the deaths of 140 civilians who were in the vicinity of these busy commercial sites. Close to 100 injuries have also been sustained and the count is still rising.
- The terrorists threatened extreme violent actions in response with this being the first attack of many more destructive events to come.
- The Homeland Security Advisory System has raised the domestic threat level to 'red,' which is the highest level of alert.
- White House officials have warned that anyone living in close proximity to any type of government facility should be worried"

Garcia and Geva (2016)

Experimental Design: Low threat condition

- " Fortunately, only two injuries were sustained by Federal agents and no civilian casualties have been reported.
- The Homeland Security Advisory System has maintained its terror alert to 'green', which is the lowest threat level and is often used under minor situations such as these.
- White House officials have also released a statement saying that there is nothing to be particularly cautious about and that the general public should go about their daily business because the situation has been easily contained.
- It also does not appear that there will be a similar incident in the near future."

Garcia and Geva (2016)

Experimental Design: Invasive policy - High

- " This piece of legislation...imposes greater restrictions on immigration, personal privacy rights in public areas, and individual informational privacy, as well as alterations on rights to individual physical privacy and criminal procedural laws.
- Section 205 allows for the collection and storage of all personal financial information, educational information, travel information, as well as data from internet service providers.
- Section 207 allows for the retention of DNA samples from individual pro- files of suspected criminals even if they are not charged with a crime, as well as randomized DNA sampling at airport security checkpoints.
- Section 209 restricts the constitutional rights to protect individuals from the arbitrary deprivation of basic freedoms such as arrest and detention.

Garcia and Geva (2016)

Experimental Design: Invasive policy - Low

- " This piece of legislation...imposes slightly greater restrictions on immigration as well as restrictions on privacy rights in public areas.
- Section 201 sets additional standards for citizenship, admission, and expulsion.
- Section 203 further limits the number of yearly travel visas to foreign citizens and creates additional requirements for visa applications.
- Section 205 provides authority for Federal and local law enforcement to utilize automatic number plate recognition systems."