



# Overview

- 1 Quick review
- 2 Introduction
- 3 Measuring CT Success
- 4 CT Methods
- 5 Extra Material

# Review

## WHAT WE COVERED LAST MEETING?

- Financing: identifying the most effective way to move money to support terror operations.
- Assessing methods of financing: volume, risks, costs.
- Methods: couriers, informal systems as *Hawalas*, money services businesses and banks, false trade invoices, charities.
- **The terror-crime nexus**: incentives for terrorists and criminals.
- Cooperation in weak states with large *shadow economies* (Afghanistan and Pakistan).

Questions??

# Counter-Terrorism

## INTRODUCTION

- Main puzzle → which CT policy is more successful than others?
- Main research question: why do CT measures work in some cases and fail in others?
- Variation among states:
  - Type and amount of measures.
  - How discriminate are the policy actions?
  - Do measures target specific perpetrators/suspects or entire populations that are alleged to support terrorism?

# Counter-Terrorism

## DEFINITION AND BACKGROUND

- **Counter-terrorism:** the practice, tactics, techniques, and strategies by which various arms of the state combat or prevent terrorism.
- A top-down approach, independent or joint actions:
  - Military force and law enforcement.
  - Intelligence agencies.
  - Political offices.
  - Community groups and private sector members.
- **History:** Irish Special Branch (ISB) → Britain (1880s).
- 9.11 → CT as a top (global) national security issue.

# Counter-Terrorism

## COUNTERINSURGENCY?

- Counter-terrorism and Counterinsurgency (COIN).
- COIN: military, political, economic, psychological, civic and other actions to protect the population and restore the legitimacy of the government.
- CT Post-9.11: intelligence efforts, prevent financial flow and a host of defensive measures.
- COIN Post-9.11: eradicate threat, removal of Taliban and establish a new government that will be more capable of preventing terrorism.
- Similar overall objective, different means.

# Counter-Terrorism

- **Success:** crucial to assess CT effectiveness given the enormous increase in budget.
- **Challenge:** the CT campaign involves multiple measures, focusing on different goals (radicalization, prevention, post-attack, etc.).
- Research on counter-terrorism breaks down questions of effectiveness based on 4 broad categories (reflect the objectives).

# Measuring Effectiveness

## (1) Reduce attacks and damages

- Objective → decrease the number of attacks and damages (property, casualties).
- CT measures → protect specific locations (airports, embassies), or counter specific perpetrator group.
- Repressive vs. conciliatory policies in Canada (1985-2013):
  - Aggressive policy (domestic - more restrictions, global - joining the coalition attacks in Afghanistan): increase in extremist attacks.
  - Since 2010, combination of strategies reduces attacks.
- Curbing attacks in US: 80% foiled (full or partial), mostly due to internal information. [▶ Methods](#)



# Measuring Effectiveness

## (2) Destroy Terror groups

- Objective → increase the likelihood of a group's demise or shifting its focus from violence.
- CT measure → Leadership decapitation.
- **Demise:** inactive or resume activities within a 2-year period after killing its leader (Jordan 2009).
- Smaller and younger group are more vulnerable to decapitation while religion based organizations are more resilient.
- Overall, only 17% of the cases show decline.
- Decapitation is less effective when the goal is to end the group's tenure.

# Measuring Effectiveness

## (2) Destroy Terror groups

- Price (2012): the importance of how we conceptualize and measure success.
- Rejects the 2-year time lag; adopt a longer time frame to analyze groups' mortality rate.
- Findings: leader decapitation increases the mortality rate.
- Religious groups are less resilient and easier to destroy than nationalist ones.
- When decapitation happens early, its success chances are higher.
- Any type of *leader turnover* increase the likelihood of group's demise → more CT alternatives.

# Measuring Effectiveness

## (3) Containment

- Objective → restrict groups' actions to a specific locality, type or technology.
- CT measures that prevent access to (and use of) CBRN weapons.

## (4) Normative Values

- Objective → maintain core values facing terrorism threats.
- Trade-off: successful in thwarting an attack but harms norms and values that a society cherish.

# Counter-Terrorism: Methods

**TABLE 13.2** Examples of Counterterrorism Strategies, Tactics, and Programs

|                              |                                 |                              |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Airport screening            | Emergency preparedness          | Prison building              |
| Anti-terrorism home products | Foreign aid                     | Psychological counseling     |
| Arrests                      | Embassy fortification           | Punishment/sentencing        |
| Assassinations               | Gas mask distribution           | Religious interventions      |
| Bilateral agreements         | Hostage negotiation             | Situational crime prevention |
| Blast-resistant luggage      | Investigation strategies        | UN conventions               |
| Building security            | Legislation (e.g., Patriot Act) | UN resolutions               |
| CCTV                         | Medical antidotes               | Vaccinations                 |
| Community/NGO initiatives    | Media efforts                   | War (counterinsurgency)      |
| Weapons detection devices    | Metal detectors                 |                              |
| Diplomacy                    | Military intervention           |                              |
| Educational programs         | Multilateral agreements         |                              |

Source: Lum, Kennedy, and Sherley 2006

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# Counter-Terrorism: Methods

- Most research is not encouraging:
  - ① Fortification and punishment are ineffective.
  - ② Military intervention increase attacks in short-term, has no clear long-term effects.
  - ③ UN actions are ineffective.
  - ④ Changes in political context is suggestive and uncertain.
- Ethical-practical trade-offs: CIA, fake vaccinations in Pakistan and searching for Bin laden.
- Negative effects: global health programs, western health workers targeted (9 dead in a 2010 attack).

# Counter-Terrorism: Methods

## UNPACK METHODS: HARD VS. SOFT POWER

- **Hard power:** deploy tangible sources (military/police forces) to attack and deter terrorists (and their supporters).
- Enemy centric doctrine: isolating and destroying terror groups.
- CT tools → drone strikes, military intervention, increased policing and intelligence operations.
- **Soft power:** indirect tools to address terrorism.
- Population centric methods: target the underlying enabling causes of terrorism.
- CT tools → capacity-building initiatives, stem finances, economic development and countering radicalization.

# Hard Power Instruments

## INDISCRIMINATE REPRESSION

- Objective → impose costs on perpetrators, and offer benefits to those that abstain from violence.
- A central aspect: *coercion and punishment*.
- Rational perspective: high costs from terrorism and deterrence.
- **Deterrence**: discriminate or indiscriminate policy.
- Example: Israel house demolitions during 2nd Intifada.
- Discriminate actions → deter further terrorism.
- Repressive indiscriminate actions backfire (population view actions as illegitimate).

# Hard Power Instruments

## INDISCRIMINATE ACTIONS

- Mass surveillance.
- The global war on terror and public perceptions of these methods.
- More invasive actions: collecting fingerprints for any visitors and immigrants to the US, additional private information.
- Criticism → damages to civil liberties and normative costs. Why?
- Government is responsible to ensure citizens' privacy rights and freedom even facing threats of terrorism.

# Hard Power Instruments

## INDISCRIMINATE ACTIONS

- Main indiscriminate policy → Military intervention.
- Logic (9.11): preempt the global reach of terrorism, and eliminate their resources.
- Evidence of effectiveness is highly questionable: the onset of the Global War on terrorism increased global attacks by 74%.
- This is the **escalatory effect** of military interventions.
- The Abu-Ghraib prison controversy (Iraq, 2003-04).



# Hard Power Instruments

## DISCRIMINATE REPRESSION

- The extended use of armed drones (UAVs).
- How to distinguish between suspects and non-combatants?
- Effectiveness: multiple costs (Cronin 2013).
  - ① Further alienation of populations abroad.
  - ② Did not interrupt recruitment, planning and training of terrorists by the global network.
  - ③ Violation of human rights and national sovereignty of states.
- Byman (2013): effective in curbing attacks by denying sanctuary to perpetrators and killing prominent leaders.
- Other benefits: low cost, precision weapons that reduce civilian casualties.

## Recommended readings

More studies on Terrorism financing:

- 1 Patrick B. Johnson, "Does Decapitation Work?: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns," *International Security*, Vol. 36, Issue 4 (2012), pp. 47-79.
- 2 Jenna Jordan, Margaret E. Kosal, and Lawrence Rubin, "The Strategic Illogic of Counterterrorism Policy," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Winter 2017), pp. 181- 192.
- 3 Jason K. Lyall, "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (June 2009), pp. 331-362.



