TANGLED ROOTS: SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THE GENESIS OF TERRORISM

NATO Security through Science Series

This Series presents the results of scientific meetings supported under the NATO Programme for Security through Science (STS).

Meetings supported by the NATO STS Programme are in security-related priority areas of Defence Against Terrorism or Countering Other Threats to Security. The types of meeting supported are generally "Advanced Study Institutes" and "Advanced Research Workshops". The NATO STS Series collects together the results of these meetings. The meetings are co-organized by scientists from NATO countries and scientists from NATO's "Partner" or "Mediterranean Dialogue" countries. The observations and recommendations made at the meetings, as well as the contents of the volumes in the Series, reflect those of participants and contributors only; they should not necessarily be regarded as reflecting NATO views or policy.

Advanced Study Institutes (ASI) are high-level tutorial courses to convey the latest developments in a subject to an advanced-level audience

Advanced Research Workshops (ARW) are expert meetings where an intense but informal exchange of views at the frontiers of a subject aims at identifying directions for future action

Following a transformation of the programme in 2004 the Series has been re-named and re-organised. Recent volumes on topics not related to security, which result from meetings supported under the programme earlier, may be found in the NATO Science Series.

The Series is published by IOS Press, Amsterdam, and Springer Science and Business Media, Dordrecht, in conjunction with the NATO Public Diplomacy Division.

Sub-Series

A.	Chemistry and Biology	Springer Science and Business Media
B.	Physics and Biophysics	Springer Science and Business Media
C.	Environmental Security	Springer Science and Business Media
D.	Information and Communication Security	IOS Press
E.	Human and Societal Dynamics	IOS Press

http://www.nato.int/science
http://www.springeronline.nl
http://www.iospress.nl

Tangled Roots:
Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism

Edited by

Jeff Victoroff

University of Southern California Keck School of Medicine, USA

IOS
P r e s s

Amsterdam • Berlin • Oxford • Tokyo • Washington, DC

Proceedings of the NATO Advanced Research Workshop on Psychology and Terrorism
Castelvecchio Pascoli, Italy
14–17 September 2005

Preface

This book represents the Proceedings from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) 2005 Advanced Research Workshop on Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism. The meeting that gave birth to these chapters was remarkable. The assemblage of expertise was unprecedented. Most of the chapters will stand as important, and some as major, contributions to the field. Taken as a unified whole– with its themes outlined in the introduction and its implications for the current global "war against terrorism" summarized in the Part 5– it will provide the general reader with a vivid and accessible account of what we really know about terrorism. And– without wishing to overstate the value of any one contribution to the huge task ahead–I fervently hope these Proceedings will help jumpstart the dialogue on this vital subject beyond the simplistic rhetoric of us-versus-them and into the realm of effective trans-national efforts to address the underlying causes of these dangerous conflicts. I am honored and proud to have edited this book.

At the behest of the NATO, in September of 2005, a select group of world authorities on the psychology of terrorism met in the mountain village of Castelvecchio Pascoli, Italy. The participants in this meeting included experts in psychology, psychiatry, political science, public policy, international law, criminology and political philosophy. Our charge was nothing less than to brainstorm toward a comprehensive statement of the real causes of terrorism, and to attempt to craft a meaningful plan by which NATO and all concerned nations may reduce that threat.

One must be humble in the face of such a task. Terrorism is as old as humanity. Some peoples in the world have faced terrorist threats for decades, receiving a scant gurgle of attention from the scholarly community. However—probably because of the unipolarity of the post-Cold War world and the posture of the United States as the only indisputable superpower—since the terrible events of September 11, 2001 a torrent of attention has been lavished on the subject of terrorism. Innumerable meetings, seminars, conferences and colloquia have been conducted addressing the topic. Thinkers of every disciplinary orientation, political stripe, and level of expertise have published thousands of thought pieces intending to explain the phenomenon of terrorism.

Yet there is a problem. Only a tiny proportion of this great outpouring of opinion has been based on legitimate empirical study. For example, of 1535 scholarly papers published on the subject of terrorism between 2000 and 2004, only 121 had the word "data" in their abstracts and a careful review reveals that genuine new data was reported in less than 10% of that subgroup. Rigorous methods of social science research have been largely neglected in the rush to punditry. As a result, the war against violent extremism is being conducted like a war on cancer that ignores the availability of the microscope.

One afternoon in Los Angeles, I spoke with Sarnoff Mednick—Director of the Social Science Research Institute at the University of Southern California. Dr. Mednick has been contributing to advances in international social science for at least four decades. He is a world-renowned authority on criminal behavior and its roots. We agreed that (1) terrorism represents a grave threat to the modern world and (2) the response to

terrorism is largely flying blind. Absent serious study by social scientists, those threatened by terrorism have been crafting policies based upon highly unscientific and sometimes grossly biased best guesses about what causes the problem and what will work to reduce the problem. Dr. Mednick has worked with NATO before. He has experience with and faith in their open-mindedness. He deserves the credit for an inspiration that day: let's ask NATO to support a different kind of meeting, a meeting to examine what we *really* know about the causes of terrorism, what we need to know, and how that knowledge might guide policy to reduce the threat. We asked, and NATO's Security Through Science Programme generously granted our request. They supported our extraordinary Advanced Research Workshop on Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism. These Proceedings are the result.

The book is organized to assist readers in finding the topics that interest them the most. What do we *really* know about the contributing causes of terrorism? Are all forms of terrorism created equal, or are there important differences in terrorisms that one must know about to customize effective counter-strategies? Does poverty cause terrorism? Are terrorists typically crazy, vengeful, misled, or simply making an entirely sensible choice? Why would people blow themselves (and others) up? Is the "war on terrorism" even a useful idea? Is it being fought wisely, or are much better ideas staring policy makers in the face? Do leaders of targeted nations willfully neglect the best solutions?

We truly hoped to address terrorism, broadly considered. But the historical context of this meeting (and perhaps a semi-conscious concern about a possible impending clash of civilizations) led to a disproportionate attention to substate terrorism in general and to Islamist extremist terrorism in particular. This should not be taken to imply any position regarding Islamist movements–far less a critique of any religion. It is simply that, at long last, an explosion of serious empirical terrorism research has occurred, chiefly provoked by the explosions of 9/11. So, just as Marxist/anarchist terrorism dominated the news and the scholarship of the 1970s, Islamist-related violence is the terrorism *de jour*.

Yet most of lessons in this book concern the basic human ingredients that combust to produce violent extremism. Thus–regardless of the mutations that occur in substate terrorism–the timeless scholarship here will hopefully be somewhat helpful even to our grandchildren. We might as well become expert at managing it, in all its protean manifestations, for terrorism is here to stay.

Jeff Victoroff

Los Angeles, 2006

Acknowledgements

This NATO Workshop and the resulting book were major undertakings that called upon the generosity and wisdom of many people. I wish to acknowledge, first, the faith in and encouragement of this project by NATO's Security Through Science Programme and particularly F. Carvalho Rodrigues, Programme Director of Human and Societal Dynamics in the Threats and Challenges Section at NATO's World Headquarters. I also thank Dr. Kenneth Craig Hyams, Chief Consultant of the Occupational and Environmental Health Strategic Healthcare Group in the U.S Department of Veterans Affairs, another early and steadfast supporter. Jessica Stern of Harvard University, Martha Crenshaw of Wesleyan University, and Jerrold Post of George Washington University offered generous and invaluable advice in devising the programme and completing this project. And I must gratefully thank Arie Kruglanski and John Horgan for inspiring ideas and great conversations.

Our graduate assistant, Kristine So, deserves much credit for her management of innumerable details of the project under challenging conditions. And the meeting would have been impossible but for the kind staff at Il Ciocco, most especially Bruno Giannasi and Katia Adami, who provided the setting and technical support that facilitated all our hard work.

Finally, I must thanks my beautiful wife Alla for her support and forbearance, not only during the week when the Workshop took me to Tuscany, but during the many months of preparation for the meeting and the subsequent months of editorial concentration to turn our important dialogue into a book.

Thank you. Thank you all.

Principal Contributors

Khapta Akhmedova, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology, Chechen State University, Russian Federation

Rogelio Alonso, Ph.D.
Lecturer in Politics and Terrorism, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Madrid, Spain

Brian Barber, Ph.D.
Professor, and Founding Director of the Center for the International Study of Youth and Political Violence, University of Tennessee, U.S.

Barbara Celinska, M.A.
Assistant Director of Research, Gaza Community Mental Health Programme

Martha Crenshaw, Ph.D.
Colin and Nancy Campbell Professor of Global Issues and Democratic Thought and Professor of Government at Wesleyan University, U.S.

C. Christine Fair, Ph.D.
Program Officer for South Asia, United States Institute of Peace, U.S.

Kimon Ganev, M.D.
Co-Director
Lecturer in Psychiatry, Medical University in Sofia, the Sofia University, and the New Bulgarian University, Bulgaria

Dipak K. Gupta, Ph.D.
Distinguished Professor in Political Science, San Diego State University, U.S.

Mohammed Hafez, Ph.D.
Visiting Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Missouri – Kansas City, U.S.

Hassan Hanafi, Ph.D.
Professor of Philosophy, Cairo University, Egypt

John Horgan, Ph.D.
Lecturer, School of International Relations, University of St. Andrews, Scotland; Staff member, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, U.K.

Shaul Kimhi, Ph.D.
Senior Lecturer in Psychology, Tel Hai Academic College, Israel

Arie Kruglanski, Ph.D.
Distinguished University Professor at the University of Maryland, U.S.

Gary LaFree, Ph.D.
Director, National Center for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), U.S.

Jitka Maleckova, Ph.D.
Program Officer, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, U.S.

Sarnoff Mednick, Ph.D.
Co-Director
Director, Social Science Research Institute, University of Southern California

Jerrold Post, M.D.
Professor of Psychiatry, Political Psychology and International Affairs and Director of the Political Psychology Program, George Washington University, U.S.

Tom Pyszczynski, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, U.S.

Samir Quota, Ph.D.
Director of Research, Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, Palestinian Autonomous Territories

Todd Sandler, Ph.D.
Robert R. and Katheryn A. Dockson Professor of International Relations and Economics. Professor of International Relations, Economics, and Law at the School of Law.
University of Southern California

Alex P. Schmid, Ph.D.
Senior Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Officer, United Nations' Terrorism Prevention Branch [now at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, St. Andrews, Scotland]

Anne Speckhard, Ph.D.
Adjunct Associate Professor of Psychiatry, Georgetown University Medical School and Professor of Psychology, Vesalius College, Free University of Brussels

Michael Stohl, Ph.D.
Professor and Chair, Department of Communication, University of California, Santa Barbara, U.S.

Nadya Tarabrina, Ph.D.
Chief, Laboratory of Psychology of Post-traumatic Stress, Institute of Psychology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Federation

Linda O. Valenty Shepard, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Public Policy and Political Science and Interim Director of the Institute for Policy Research, Cal Poly, US.

Jeff Victoroff, M.A., M.D.
Co-Director
Associate Professor of Clinical Neurology and Psychiatry, University of Southern California Keck School of Medicine, U.S.

Peter Waldmann, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus and Chair of the Department of Sociology, University of Augsburg, Germany

Margaret Wilson, Ph.D.
Senior Lecturer in Applied Psychology, University of Surrey, U.K.

Contents

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction:
Managing Terror: the Devilish Traverse from a Theory to a Plan

Jeff Victoroff

University of Southern California Keck School of Medicine

The world has careened away from the comforting stability of the Cold War's balance of power toward something else. Roughly speaking, from the Cuban missile crisis to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the orbits of the world's great powers were organized by the psychological gravity of mutually assured destruction (MAD). The world of 2050 may be organized by some other primary psychological force and reach a different equilibrium. But at present, we are off kilter. Globalization is diffusing (but hardly defusing) Western power. China and India are gaining. And the emergence of a global Muslim collective consciousness, simultaneously roiled by its own fractious struggle for identity, is causing many to conclude that Huntington's dire prediction of a clash of civilizations—a replay of the Crusades—has finally come to pass [1].

Amidst this disequilibrium and abetted by the extraordinary progress in high-speed communications, substate terrorism has gained the world's attention. A war has been declared against this genus of terrorism. Those who have declared this war may be unaware that terrorism is a permanent part of the human repertoire and that they have therefore declared a war without end.

As Sun Tzu warned, "If ignorant of both your enemy and of yourself, you are certain in every battle to be in peril" [2]. In order to manage the threat of substate terrorism—to reduce this danger to the level of an endurable problem--it is necessary not only to understand terrorism but also to understand ourselves. As the authors represented in this book remind us, we will only devise the optimum response to terrorism when we become aware that we are sorely tempted to choose suboptimal responses. Linda Valenty's final chapter (Chapter 24) lists some of the types of knowledge one must gain to claim a basic understanding of substate terrorism: " a working knowledge of social networks, organizational theory, human cognition, individual and group psychology, economics, religion, relevant cultures, relevant militaries, governmental actions and governmental constraints – as well as aspects of foreign policy and international law." Readers of this book will have an unmatched running start at that daunting list. Yet even this is insufficient. Insight is required. Self-examination is required—particularly for those leaders and policy makers who face the terrible life-and-death decisions that will inspire more or less bloody conflict. When we can say, "I think I know why this is happening," we are on course. When we can say, "I know that seductive sirens, in me and outside of me, will be urging me to make counterproductive counterterrorism decisions," we can lash ourselves to the mast and sail a safer course.

What is Terrorism?

It is traditional to the point of academic perseveration to preface any book on this subject with an attempt to define terrorism. That is no mean assignment. As Schmid and Jongman famously tabulated, more than one hundred definitions have been proposed [3]. In Held's eloquent review of the ongoing and contentious debate about this definition [4], she includes Teichman's admonition that the concept of terrorism is "the most ambiguous one on the list" of forms of militant resistance [5]. I strongly urge a simple Linnaean approach: first acknowledge that *terror* is a basic class of emotion. Then consider that humans have evolved many ways to capitalize on that emotion—the useful adaptation of causing fear in another. Then, just as a naturalist might classify his subjects, work down through the hierarchy of class, order, and family to identify the genus and species of terrorism that has recently become the subject of extraordinary attention:

Terror is fear. Terrorism is inducing fear in another to advance one's position. Thus, in the broadest and perhaps deepest sense, the chimpanzee who screams a threat and crashes a branch into the ground to intimidate a rival is a terrorist. The playground bully is a terrorist. The wife-beater is a terrorist. It is a mistake to regard terrorism as an unusual phenomenon. That mistake will lead one down the dead-end path of imagining terrorism to be some kind of abnormal or aberrant behavior, failing to appreciate the deep and abiding universality of inducing fear as a commonplace mode of hominid social intercourse.

Terrorism is also rule violation. Shortly after the Crusades, as European city-states outlawed the private warmaking of knights and princes, certain rules of engagement evolved by general consensus. Distinctions became codified between war and total war—the former being a contest of armies, the latter a no-hold's-barred bloodfest sparing no class of the competitor group—armed or defenseless, soldier or civilian, man woman or child. Perhaps due to innate human repulsion at certain forms of violence, the latter type of war was far more likely to provoke moral outrage and, to this day, invites international condemnation and war crimes tribunals. It violates rules. Societies (and animal species in general) can only advance when there exist reliable sanctions for rule violators, and when rewards (such as election to high office) accrue to trustworthy rule enforcers [see, e.g., 6, 7]. Terrorists are among the most egregious violators of the minimal rules necessary for human stability. This explains not only the rage they generate but also the advantages gained by those who grandly promise to punish them.

This is not to detract from the horror. It is easy to forget, holding a crisply printed book on terrorism, that we are talking about blood, agony, people screaming in pain, youngsters blown apart or burned alive, families shattered, communities annihilated, all the gristle and visceral reality of human violence, concentrated. I urge the reader to deny his denial and, if only for a heartbeat, visualize the terrible actualities we are trying to restrain. For that is what we fear--and that is what the terrorist tries to make us think about. If inducing fear did not work, humans would not have evolved the cerebral machinery to do it. To define terrorism in terms of its deepest origins may seem impractically inclusive, but to truly understand the genus of terrorism that shocks the senses and grabs the headlines--politically-motivated violent substate group

terrorism in asymmetrical warfare--it is necessary to first understand the ancient and universal fact that humans sense when it is advantageous to induce fear of pain and death in others. Adding the qualifiers "politically–motivated," "violent," "substate," and "group" simply narrows the discussion of this major and entirely normal class of human behavior down to the one fragment of the big picture that is (a) especially provocative, (b) easy to grasp and (c) easy to condemn.

Western terrorism scholarship, however, has been notoriously narrow-gauged in its conceptualization of the problem. As Crelinsten has put it, "The major weaknesses in the current approaches to the study of terrorism are: (a) *a truncated object of study*, which reflects (b) *a skewed focus of the researcher*, which stems from (c) *a narrow policy orientation on prevention and control*…." [8]. The vast majority of work in the field takes up the subject of substate, clandestine, often insurgent group terrorism and treats it as the thing itself. Crelinsten also says, "The muddled state of definitions in the field of terrorism also stems directly from this narrowing of conceptual frameworks to just those actors whose goals we find unacceptable" [8]. Held puts it another way: "Many of those who use "terrorist" as a term of denunciation apply it…to their opponents and refuse to apply it to the acts of their own government, or of governments of which they approve, even when such governmental action is clearly violent, intended to spread fear, or expectably productive of the killing of noncombatants" [4]. This is part of the broader problem that, in examining human violence, it is common to draw sharp moral distinctions between official and unofficial forms: "The private acts of destructive individuals are treated as illegal violence, while official acts of violence are granted the mantle of state authority, and thus shielded from criticism and criminal sanctions" [9].

Contrary to this bias, and sad to say, deliberately killing civilians is a time-tested strategy of the total war approach to "just war." Losers of wars who have acted this way have invariably been excoriated; but winners of wars that have been widely accepted as "just" have often employed the same tactics. When we name "the war against terrorism," therefore, we are discussing the desire to restrict the privilege of civilian-killing to favored states. The moral implications of this distinction are worthy of deliberation, but one should at the very least note that perception of this hypocrisy complicates efforts to reduce the unwanted behavior: terrorism-supporting populations are aware of media depictions of Western "counterterrorism" acts. They also have indelible memories. When people perceive rule violations, such as state-directed attacks that brutalize, violate the rights of, or kill civilians, they have little incentive to follow the rules themselves, and strong incentives to elevate leaders, including terrorist leaders, who hold out hopes for extravagant retaliation.

So, yes, one must condemn the grotesque, brutal and indiscriminate violence of substate terrorist groups. Yes, one cannot help but respond with moral outrage, rage, and vengeful instincts when those to whom we feel special bonds are attacked. Yes, perpetrators of such indiscriminate violence must be captured and brought to justice, or, if attacks are underway, killed. And yes, it is altogether reasonable to specialize in the genus of human terror-causing called substate terrorism, or even in the species called religiously-driven extremist terrorism. But for us to stare at the tree of substate terrorism in isolation and try to figure out how it got there would be like a botanist, gazing up in amazement at a giant Redwood, scratching his head and wondering how it got there while ignoring the grove of similar trees all around it and the 10,000 seeds littering the forest floor. Serious thinkers, leaders, strategists or policy-makers will realize that to confine our attention to substate terrorism means deliberately narrowing

one's focus, and that--stepping back from this particular tree--one can better appreciate that efforts to understand terrorism aim us straight into the immense forest of human fear-inducing behavior.

An ideal approach might be to examine how inducing fear--terrorism broadly defined--comes to play a role in human intergroup conflicts, how the particular choice of violence against noncombatants is made, and then, what individual and group dynamics might be modifiable through policy to reduce *both* the use of this ghastly tool in the arsenal of asymmetric conflicts *and* the conflicts themselves. What we did in meeting reported here—NATO's Advanced Research Workshop on Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism--was to begin that process. It was a thrilling experience.

For practical purposes, therefore, the group of experts assembled by NATO focused on the genus of terrorism that is currently commanding the world's shocked attention: substate terrorism in asymmetric warfare. Indeed, primarily as a product of current events, many participants in our Advanced Research Workshop focused even more narrowly on Islamist fundamentalist terrorism. I wish to acknowledge from the outset that these Proceedings tell just one part of the very big story of human terrorism. But it most certainly addresses a very important part of the whole. Substate terrorism, according to the recently released Human Security Report, represents one of the most dangerous threats to the security of human civilizations [10].

For the purposes of our meeting, there was general agreement that this genus of terrorism typically contains three elements: (1) it is a coercive and often brutal form of political communication; (2) it involves threats or attacks against non-combatants; and (3) the communication is intended to influence a broader target audience than those killed or wounded in the attack. That is, the terrorist's real goal is to spread fear in survivors.

What do We Know About Terrorism?

At the beginning of this extraordinary NATO Workshop I offered a brief introductory pep talk addressing the chasm between what is known and what is claimed to be known about terrorist motivations. My concern was one of simple epistemology: a proposed explanation is not even a theory unless that explanation is falsifiable. One can grandly opine—as the early terrorism literature does at length--that terrorists are driven by unconscious and unmeasurable human factors such as infantile sexual fantasies gone awry. But such untestable claims constitute spiritual beliefs, not science. Since Michael Stohl has expressed these ideas with far more eloquence than I can muster, I shall defer to his opening chapter in which he sets forth both the state of the art of psychology of terrorism studies and the long distance we need to go to fulfill the minimum requirements of science.

I will, however, offer a brief observation in defense of those who have pioneered this field: it is *hard* to study the psychology of terrorism. Apart from the obvious difficulties of agreeing on a definition, on the legitimate boundaries of the phenomena, on the disciplinary orientation and method of study and levels of analysis most likely to bear fruit, and on the prickly issue of potential culturocentric bias—even setting aside the practicality and danger of speaking with terrorists—the biggest stumbling block is that terrorism is enormously heterogeneous. There exist different *types* of terrorism;

within the type we call substate group terrorism, there are different *types of groups*; within each type of group, individuals play different *roles*; among those playing a given role, there is *individual variation*. Therefore, even when we overcome the many practical obstacles and are blessed with genuine data based on interviews with terrorists or their supporters, we risk either generalizing from non-representative findings (sampling error) or attempting to distill a unitary conclusion based on a mélange of non-comparable observations. Who would claim to know the mind of Usama bin Laden based on interviews with Timothy McVeigh or with Shoko Asahara or, indeed, with *anyone* else? Add to that the diplomatic and ethical challenges of direct study, the questionable value of the very popular (and overrated) methods of indirect study based on the hearsay of public sources or self-serving memoirs, the inescapable biases of cross-cultural psychology, and the lack of psychometrically valid instruments for measuring even such common concepts as "oppression," and we might forgive the most earnest scholar for less than definitive hypothesis-testing.

Finally, there is the issue of funding. Two of the participants in our NATO meeting—Gary LaFree and Arie Kruglanski—direct the National Center for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism at the University of Maryland. Their excellent research center was the recipient of a recent $12 million grant from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security to study the psychology of terrorism. This is, at present, the main federally funded effort to investigate the fundamental human causes of terrorism. By comparison, an estimated $350 billion has been expended by the U.S. to date in its prosecution of a "war on terrorism." Thus, the U.S. government has invested about 29,000 times as much to fight terrorism as to understand it. It is worth considering whether a somewhat greater proportional investment in psychosocial research might be required to intelligently prosecute this infinite war.

I can only express awe and gratitude for the efforts that were made by the participants at NATO's Workshop at Castelvecchio Pascoli. Those represented between the covers of this book have brilliant minds. While terrorism research continues to struggle toward agreement about its own boundaries, we must focus and devote ourselves to doing the best possible empirical studies. The profound efforts represented in this volume offer moving insights and excellent proposals to manage one of the most dangerous phenomena in the world.

The Chapters

Part 1

The three chapters in Part 1 of this book express a collective and much-needed caveat. What do we know—and indeed what *can* we know—about the causes of substate terrorism? These chapters construct the scaffold for all that follows.

Michael Stohl, a renowned authority on state terrorism, opens this book with a blistering critique of the state of terrorism research. He does not allow us the ready excuse that scientific research in this area is hard. He states—and justifies—that we have yet to make a good faith effort to accumulate and test knowledge claims about the root causes of terrorism. Karl Popper has long since offered simple guidance: theories must be falsifiable. But the lack of consistency in the definition and investigation of terrorism has blocked progress toward testing the falsifiability of the exuberant claims

to wisdom that dominate the literature. Stohl's superb chapter will introduce the reader to the size of the chasm we need to bridge.

Dipak Gupta is a wonderful scholar of human conflict whose hair-raising book *Path to Collective Madness* makes a kind of crazy sense out of the Rwandan genocide. His chapter in the present volume lays out the evolution of social science and economic methodologies applied in the service of understanding political violence. As he says, "Social, economic, and political inequalities do provide the necessary conditions for violent uprising, but they are not the sufficient causes. ….For that they need additional factors." He goes on to propose an integrated theory of economic and social psychology, but demonstrates that the current data gathering systems fail to give us what we truly need to apply this deep theoretical formulation to the problem of understanding and countering terrorism. He pleads for corrective action.

A claim has been advanced, and enthusiastically embraced by some counterterrorism warriors, that there is an old and a new terrorism. The "old" is purportedly rational and restrained. The "new" is purportedly bloodthirsty, apocalyptic, and unrestrained. Martha Crenshaw, one of the world's great authorities on the political science of terrorism (and editor of the mammoth *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism*), concisely examines this modern myth and surgically dismantles it in Chapter 3. In doing so, she exposes the fact that militarist policy makers—in their self-serving rush to label their prey as wild and evil and inaccessible to negotiations—perpetuate terrorism by alienating the very constituencies that must be engaged in a fruitful dialogue--those deciding whether or not to support terrorism.

Part 2

Part 2 of this book includes five chapters devoted to our need to advance terrorism studies beyond theory into testable hypotheses examined with rigorous methodologies—the science of the political psychology of terrorism.

The distinguished social psychologist Arie Kruglanski (co-editor of the upcoming *Terrorism Reader)*, begins this section by proposing an extremely useful distinction: one might regard terrorism as a *syndrome*—a unitary species of behavior—or as a *tool*—a strategy that might be employed in many different situations. He quickly exposes the poverty of the first approach and alerts us to the modern scholarship that has undermined seductively simplistic claims about "root causes" of terrorism. The question then becomes, under what circumstances and by what moral calculus do individuals and groups elect the terrorism tool, and how might one use the tool conceptualization to discourage this choice? The answer is not simple. If the only goal of swinging a hammer were moving a nail, alternate tools that accomplished the same result would be equally attractive. But what if there's pleasure, excitement, glory, or fulfillment of the urge for revenge in swinging the hammer? Kruglanski points out the important fact that the choice of the terrorism tool serves multiple psychological goals; political efficacy may only be a modest part of the whole. One of those psychological goals is community belonging. Thus, even before the final resolution of an underlying conflict, policies that reduce the community's enthusiasm for terrorism may help deter terrorists. (The trajectories of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Basque separatist group Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA) seem to bear this out.) The author's overall conclusion is that different users of terrorism value that tool more than

others. Counterterrorism policies, therefore, need to be customized depending on the terrorist group's flexibility about adopting alternative means toward their ends.

John Horgan (author of the excellent recent book, the *Psychology of Terrorism)*, here provides an eloquent summary of the challenges facing those who hope to study terrorism and derive useful conclusions. In doing so, he boldly confronts the typical "us versus them" paradigm. He discusses the strengths and weaknesses of adding a criminological perspective, given that most terrorists are engaged in unlawful acts--a type of human behavior that has been the object of scientific investigation for more than a hundred years. Horgan intriguingly suggests listening closely to the rhetoric and communications between adversaries (e.g., the White house and al Qaeda) and examining whether governments and terrorists exist in a symbiotic relationship. This emphasis inspires one to ask a deep question: to what degree do adversaries create and nurture each other's authority? In the same vein, Horgan firmly reminds us that any future claim for comprehensive investigation of the nature of terrorism would be incomplete without examining state violence. Horgan urges a re-examination of the relationship between terrorism research and public policy. Even if scholars can persuade those wielding political and military power to follow the logical implications of empirical research (an enormous *if*), we will need to candidly examine whether our proposals have the desired impact. Perhaps most important for the ultimate goals of our work, Horgan calls a warning: perhaps governments *already* understand enough about terrorism to make better policy choices but lack the wisdom to act in any way other than that which is bound to perpetuate the cycle of violence. This warning is profoundly relevant not only to this NATO Workshop but to the great current enterprise of innumerable scholars, military analysts, and diplomats. Those who labor to provide governments with the best and most prescient predictions about the likely outcome of policy choices may be the very voices most likely to be ignored in a leader's blind rush to seem assertive.

Tom Pyszczynski and his colleagues offer a completely new perspective: terror management theory emerges from the discovery that the fear of death—the final annihilation of the self—strongly influences one's world view. They offer fascinating data in support of a conclusion that *mortality salience*, or reminders of death, significantly sways political positions to make people favor otherwise unattractive political ideas. Examples might include popular support for (1) undistinguished but bellicose leaders, (2) restriction of human freedoms and civil rights, and (3) extreme military adventures (e.g., the oxymoronic "preemptive war"). This is a double-edged sword. Islamist fundamentalist leaders may exploit the exact same psychological mechanism in the service of manipulating susceptible populations into ultimately self-destructive behaviors. Pyszczynski et al. ask, "If support for terrorist violence and extreme military solutions to the conflict in the Middle East is rooted in basic human tendencies for coping with core human fears, what could be done to reduce this readiness to support violence?" Their tentative answer to that question suggests one route toward the light at the end of the tunnel.

Gary LaFree et al. offer the perspective of global criminologists. Their massive database includes more than 73,000 terrorist incidents in 201 nations over almost three decades, from 1970 to 1997. Their chapter provides evidence that terrorism behaves, in some ways, according to the laws of other crimes: some places persistently experience higher rates than others. Not only do they find that terrorism is clustered in space over time, but that patterns observed in the past and present help predict the future: "Rapidly rising levels of terrorist strikes in a given country could indicate

substantial and prolonged risk of high levels of terrorism in the future." Iraq comes to mind. Yet it would be a mistake to simply read LaFree et al.'s chapter and come away with a mental map of what they call "terrorist hot spots." The conditions that spawn terrorism may well shift with the winds of politics and globalization to new arenas not reflected in any particular thirty-year data base, yet the monitoring system they have developed will be keenly sensitive to such shifts. While this chapter does not directly address the psychology of terrorism, the import of this method goes beyond the particulars of their tabulated findings, since the authors plan to extend their already massive data base both to include a longer time period and to examine possible contributing factors such as income disparities, land distribution inequalities, discrimination, limited educational opportunities, even low caloric intake. Such an extension will offer a powerful new approach to seriously test hypotheses about the psychosocial causes of terrorism.

If terrorism is political communication and counterterrorism is response, then terrorists and governments are engaged in an often brutal dialogue. Todd Sandler (author of the recent *Political Economy of Terrorism*) offers another approach to analyzing this dialogue: the robust tools of quantitative economics, especially game theory. Economists begin with the undeniable observation that individuals seek benefits. Game theory seeks the mathematical rules that we unconsciously follow in the course of bargaining to achieve the outcomes we most desire. The classic game with which readers of Sandler chapter need to be acquainted is the Prisoners' Dilemma (see Chapter 24 for a nice explanation). The essence of this game: if you could predict your adversary's intentions, it would help you decide the best way to serve yourself. But you can't. Like so many social interactions—and so many international affairs-- you must make your choice with incomplete knowledge and face the consequences. The "rational solution" is often to settle for a less-than ideal outcome [see, e.g., 11]. Applying this logic to the behaviors of terrorist groups and governments, Sandler and other game theorists have made some fascinating, counterintuitive, and very important discoveries, such as the fact that terrorist groups often act rationally and achieve their goals, while governments often act irrationally and play a losing hand. Most important for NATO and other international alliances, Sandler points out some of the losing strategies that perpetuate terrorism. For example, governments overspend for defensive measures against the transnational threat of terrorism, hoping to make terrorism someone else's problem but ultimately, in their selfish behavior, creating a "tragedy of the commons" in which no one benefits. And elected leaders typically forego the long-term benefits of rational international cooperation, preferring short-term political gains. This chapter also contains a prescription: "By making access to non-terrorist means of protest easier, grievance may be more often channeled into legitimate political actions."

Part 3

Part 3 of this book is rich with new information on a crucial topic: who supports terrorism and why? To leap ahead for a moment, readers of this entire volume will reach in inescapable conclusion: to focus on capturing and killing terrorists is unlikely to eliminate the problem and, in many political circumstances, quite likely to be counter-productive. If a population supports terrorism, an inexhaustible supply of new terrorists will emerge. If funders and sponsors go unrestrained, that supply will wreak

havoc. And when nuclear weapons fall into their hands, that havoc will change to face of the globe. These chapters contain a cornucopia of ideas that policy-makers might adopt if the goal is to reduce the threat, rather than to win elections:

Peter Waldmann (author most recently of *Terrorismus: Provokation Der Macht (*Terrorism: Provocation of Authority, 2nd edition)) is a world authority on the sociology of terrorism. Until now, most of his vital contributions have been available only in German. Here we are privileged to read (in English) his outline of terrorist group identity formation from the sociological perspective. How have the Tamil Tigers, the Palestinians, the Basques, the Lebanese Shia, the Irish Catholics, and other groups shrugged off the censure heaped upon them by civil societies for their support for terrorism? Waldmann answers this question by enumerating the conditions for the emergence of the radical community.   When a minority is attacked, when no central authority rises to its defense, and when that minority lives in a spatial concentration and benefits from the solidarity provided by shared history, culture, and myths, that community may successfully isolate itself from word opinion. By mentally closing ranks in self-defense, the community that supports a small group of guerilla fighters or terrorists is retreating to the cave of "traditional" values—essentially regressing to exhibit features of small, pre-industrial, pre-pluralistic societies. Social control in such societies is maintained by a rigid Manichean distinction--he who is not with us is against us—a psychic regression that is equally apparent in some otherwise modern societies responding to the threat of terrorism. This leaves little room for non-conformist moderates, on either side, to rescue their groups from the brink of pointless violence. But Waldmann's chapter also contains a hint of hope. Most people in the community yearn for a peaceful future. A moment tends to arrive when the concerned many gets inpatient with the bloodthirsty few. This may be the moment when offers of a compromise find willing takers and—as appears to have recently happened with the separatist group ETA—the terrorists are so isolated from the hearts of their community that they become marginalized and need to either announce victory and give up the armed struggle or suffer ignominious irrelevancy.

It has often been claimed by world leaders that poverty leads to terrorism. Jitka Maleckova offers compelling evidence against that fashionable claim. Using a wealth of international survey data, she crisply demolishes three truisms: first, that terrorists tend to be poor, second, that terrorists tend to come from poor countries, and third that terrorism is disproportionately supported by poor people. As a corollary, a group's level of education is also not well correlated with terrorist activity or support for terrorism. There are some intriguing exceptions. In Jordan, higher education strongly predicted *more* support for terrorism. (One wants to know what they teach in Jordanian schools, and whether, for example, it was bias in the educational content or the opposite, accurate knowledge of world affairs, that made those with higher educations more supportive of political violence). Terrorism, as Maleckova shows, is much better correlated with other factors. For example, countries that have a higher proportion of their population affiliated with *any* of four major religions—Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism—exhibit a higher rate of terrorism. And oppression clearly seems to be associated with terrorism, although hardly in a monotonic way: countries with little repression and those with a great deal of repression exhibit less terrorism. It is those in the intermediate range of oppression--for example, Iraq, which is in the midst of a tumultuous transition from reliable authoritarian repression to a less certain future--that exhibit the highest rates. Nevertheless, one cannot altogether rule out a link between terrorism and economic despair. The trove of data in this chapter shows that

those who commit terrorism and support terrorism are not poor. But it cannot answer the question: if there were fewer and less extreme disparities in wealth, within and between nations, would there be the same amount of terrorism? If, for example, the average income and future prospects of Palestinians and Israelis or of Tamils and Sinalese were identical, would terrorist leaders find as many recruits?

Christine Fair (author of the recent book *The Counterror Coalitions*) and Bryan Shepard look at support for terrorism in among almost 8,000 respondents in 14 Muslim countries. Their report reveals some perhaps surprising variations in the support for political violence between countries—highest in Lebanon and the Ivory Coast, lowest in Uzbekistan, Turkey, and Indonesia. Support also varied within countries according to a variety of factors, from age, gender, and marital status to ownership of a computer. Most intriguing for policy development, Fair and Shepard report that support for terrorism was associated with different demographic profiles in different places. As the authors tell us, this strongly suggests that policies intended to reduce support for terrorism must be thoughtfully individualized for their target audiences. Another important finding reported in this chapter: respondents who felt that religious leaders should play a greater role in the government were more likely to support terrorism. This finding seems very consistent with a recent paper by Henry et al. [12] in which the authors found that Lebanese subjects who were high on a measure of right wing authoritarianism supported violence against America. Without meaning to oversimplify a complex issue, one might conclude that a psychological orientation that favors authority, when combined with fundamentalist religiosity, is permissive of political violence aimed at civilians. Yet there is equal evidence that Americans who are high on a measure of social dominance orientation (that is, enthusiasm regarding the superiority of their ingroup) support violence against Arabs. Such findings may ultimately help us construct models of how minority groups on opposing sides who share a particular psychological bent take their nations to war.

The chapter by Rogelio Alonso (author of *Killing for Ireland: The IRA and Armed Struggle*) reports rare and valuable empirical data from semi-structured interviews with seventy members each of the two terrorist groups ETA and the IRA. Even as he reports this hard-to-get information, the author admits the limits of such inquiries. Yes, he says, we must push for rigor, but there is a downside to our earnest attempts to quantify behavior. As psychological methods advance in sophistication from conversation to interview to structured interview to "objective" rating instruments, something may be lost in translation. So another form of humility attaches to empiricism: what are we really measuring when we sum up subjects' responses to surveys or questionnaires? Dr. Alonso also alludes to the bold necessity, when talking to militants, of argument. After all, too few scholars have asked terrorists, "How could you do such a thing?!" The answers are sometimes instructive. Alonso memorably quotes one: "Actually the motivation [was that] I was young. When you are young there is an excitement to it. You are seeing guns, you had only ever seen them on the TV or in the comics, 'fuck, somebody has given me a gun, this is great' (…)" Such data expose the weakness of ivory-tower claims about the rationality and political meaning of political violence. One might call this the exemplar of the accidental terrorist, a testosterone-driven youngster who was destined for violence and turns to *political* violence as an accident of circumstances. Based on this treasure trove of first-hand experience, Dr. Alonso rejects the simplistic theories most often used to account for the motive of joiners: rational choice, psychological factors, deprivation, and

network theory. He emphasizes that no single factor provides an adequate explanation. A *combination* approach will prove more accurate.

I must also express unrestrained enthusiasm for the chapter by Brian Barber and his colleague, Joseph Olsen. Barber is a hands-on scholar of conflict, a man who has put himself in harm's way to tap into the thick red sap of ethnic, religious, and political divisions around the world, with particular attention to their impact on adolescents (and, by inevitable extension, the impact that adolescents might have on the course of such conflicts. His upcoming book is titled *Youth as Social Movers: Adolescents and the Palestinian Intifada*). This is the most informative chapter of its kind I have ever read. It reports results from multiple studies of Palestinian youth, their activism during the first *intifada* (civic uprising), and their willingness to actively participate in the future. The level of participation was astonishing: 73% of boys burned tires, 89% threw stones, 61% protected someone from Israeli soldiers, 81% brought supplies to fighters. Reading Barber and Olsen provides fascinating insights. For example, contrary to the assumptions that (a) activists are socially marginal troublemakers and (b) activists suffer more psychological distress, this research provides empirical evidence of *upside* that may be associated, under certain circumstances, with growing up in a conflict zone: young people may achieve a strong sense of group affiliation, life purpose, and civic mindedness. And the sense of personal growth was most robust for those who felt they could fight on forever.

These moving results provide unique insights into adolescent identity formation in the crucible of conflict. Conflict may crush the sprit of some, but it also offers special opportunities for identity formation. These findings also caution policy makers against oversimplifying the long-term "success" of beating back an insurgency. Youth forged on that anvil may gain a special sense of attachment to their group and its cause. Unless alternative solutions to the conflict are offered promptly, a generation of civic-minded soldiers, bred for battle, will be very ready to resume hostilities.

The chapter I contribute with my coauthors, Drs. Qouta and Stern (in Gaza and Israel respectively), as well as Barbara Celinska, Rula Abu-Safieh, and my graduate student, Janice Adelman, is based on recent research that would have been completely impossible without the remarkable indefatigability of the Gaza Community Mental Health Programme—a dynamic bastion of medical aid that struggles against incredible odds to provide services to the entire 1.4 million residents of the Gaza Strip. Our chapter reports a modest study that attempted to test several hypotheses about the emotional and physiological bases of sympathy for terrorism. It is one of a small but growing number of studies that explore the role of the human brain as the mediator of political attitudes. The results of this project suggest that sympathy for terrorism is not a simple phenomenon. Multiple factors--from perceived injustice/oppression to depression and anxiety--appear to contribute to a vulnerable population's conclusion that it is right to harm civilians for political purposes. We introduce the Oppression Questionnaire, a novel way to assess perceived oppression. And we suggest a simple notion: if one assesses perceived oppression (whether with a formal psychological measure or using simple surveys), and realizes that this perception is great, it can serve as a the canary in the mine—an alert to concerned policy-makers that danger is coming and that prompt attention to conflict resolution is required to head off the danger of support for terrorism

At a more micro-analytic level of analysis, one wants to know how substate terrorists are likely to behave in the course of a specific attack. Margaret Wilson takes up this question in her fine chapter on hostage taking. Terrorist behavior in sieges and

hostage incidents has been modeled since the 1970s. Wilson provides a clear path to fine-tuning those models to improve prediction of behaviors and to advance the scientific basis of strategic decision-making in real time when lives are at stake.

Our meeting was explicitly devoted to the psychology of terrorists, as distinguished from the psychological impact of terrorism on its victims. One might nonetheless argue that these are inextricably linked. Terrorists would not be motivated to act unless they predict a certain psychological impact on their intended audience, so their behavior is very much driven by the hoped-for distress of victims and those who love them. Nadejda Tarabrina of the Russian Academy of Sciences was invited to discuss the psychological impact of terrorism on civilians. She and her colleagues report a fascinating study of civilian responses to the threat of terrorist acts from a nation that has experienced some of the most gruesome attacks in recent history, such as the Chechen rebels' notorious Moscow *Nord/Ost* theater attack of October 2002 and the astonishingly cruel (and probably counterproductive to the Chechen casue) Beslan school hostage crisis of September 2004. One gets the sense of a whole society traumatized, tense, preoccupied, and wrestling with anticipatory grief. She introduces a novel and potentially valuable tool for measuring the pertinent psychological factors: the *Questionnaire of Terrorist Threat* (QTT). Among many other intriguing results, she reports that one reaction to the threat of terrorism is a search for information as part of a desperate effort to decrease uncertainty. (Terrorism scholars may exemplify that very urge. Claims of scholarly detachment notwithstanding, our vigorous efforts to understand the deep roots of terrorism may be provoked by our own anxiety in the face of this mortal threat.) Dr. Tarabrina's chapter is more than a valuable new scientific account of civilian distress; it is a warning about the urgency of finding ways to reduce terrorism to prevent large groups of human spending their lives as if under the Sword of Damocles.

In regard to the chapter by Egyptian philosopher, Hassan Hanafi, I must urge the reader to see beyond the surface. On first blush, the chapter reads like a grandiloquent jeremiad against those with power, in particular, the West. It unfortunately displays the pitfalls—common to both sides during a conflict--of assigning black-and-white hats in a world of gray. One can dispute his facts, his logic, and certainly his sense of balance. Yet one *cannot* dispute the author's vital point that the rhetoric of the discussion of terrorism tends to tip toward an unjustifiable moral certainty, ignoring the widespread use of authorized violence and the urgency of just resolution of grievances. One cannot dispute his crucial admonition that scholars must strive to insightfully examine their own motives. And one cannot doubt his passion. His chapter incarnates a point of view that anyone interested in terrorism needs to hear.

Part 4

Part 4 of this book narrows the focus to the motivations of suicide bombers. Counterterrorism experts are well aware that, while suicide attacks comprise a small minority of substate terrorist attacks, they account for the majority of maimings and deaths. Understanding the multiplicity of factors that drive individuals to this extreme moment will potentially help to devise polices likely to reduce the allure. Apart from the importance of these scholarly commentaries, it is moving to read facts that dispel the simplistic notion of angry adults willfully sacrificing themselves. That is horrific

enough.   But these chapters also tell the tale of the hopeless, the shamed, the manipulated, and the very very young exploited for someone else's agenda.

Anne Speckhard is studying terrorism in multiple regions.   This gives her the special advantage, enjoyed by few of us, of being in a position to compare similar phenomenon (e.g., suicide terrorism) in different political contexts.   In her deeply informed chapter she proposes two categorical factors that influence recruits: (1) trauma-based attraction to terrorism for those suffering in conflict zones (for which she gives harrowing examples), and (2) external sympathizers, such as Europeans who have increasingly leapt into the front lines of battles on behalf of those living in the Middle East.   Like others in this volume, Speckhard advises intelligent counterterrorism that recognizes the heterogeneity of suicide bombers at the societal, ideological and individual levels. Her advice emphasizes the best guess of many experts: block the spread of this contagion, give potential recruits hope, give them something to live for, and terror groups will go begging for these very lethal weapons-- human smart bombs eager to turn their exploding bodies into political expletives.

Mohamed Hafez starts from the position that the "why" of terrorist groups employing suicide bombing is self-evident. It is often an effective tactic. The question that remains is how do these bombers justify their extraordinary behavior? Dr. Hafez answers this question, in part, by reference to one of the popular theorists of the psychology of morality, Albert Bandura.   Bandura is known for his theory that moral disengagement is based on cognition.   I share Dr. Hafez's belief that this approach is valuable but inadequate.   For example, boxers, soldiers, and terrorists all employ violence to which their primary response might have been hesitation, repulsion, or guilt.   Contrary to the Banduran hypothesis, relief from that guilt may not be based primarily upon "cognitive reframing" but instead upon a much less intellectual process, such as the emotional desensitization that we know is produced by immersion in a violent milieu.   Dr. Hafez, in his excellent chapter, also proposes a more complex set of motivations, cautioning against any claim that cognitive-based moral disengagement is sufficient to explain this ghastly behavior.   With that caveat, Hafez nonetheless reports powerful new evidence, based upon the method called "content analysis," that typical suicide bombers probably *do* employ multiple mechanisms of moral disengagement.   I believe that Dr. Hafez has come to the exactly correct conclusion: "Moral disengagement…is part of the process of turning moral agents into immoral killers."

Shaul Kimhi and Shemuel Even, like Dr. Speckhard, recognize that suicide bombers are not all cut from the same cloth—a fact that counterterrorism approaches must take into account.   But they identify four rather than two main motivations: religion, exploitation, the desire for retribution, and social/nationalist ambition.   Each may drive different bombers to different degrees.   Like Dr. Hafez, they employ the method of content analysis to determine the most likely motivating factors in a given suicide bombing.   Here they report a careful examination of information available about 60 suicide bombers, concluding that each type of suicide terrorist follows a trajectory particular to his type.   This not only offers a sophisticated approach to classification but also strongly implies that different types are susceptible to different types of intervention.   Both this chapter and the Speckhard chapter expose a scholarly impasse: how finely should we attempt to sift the varieties of terrorism? What evidence exists, for the practical purposes of reducing the threat, that a given policy selectively reduces recruitment to *any* subtype of suicide terrorism?   That work is in its infancy.

Khapta Akhmedova is a young Chechen woman scholar. Given the images of Grozny in rubble after a decade of on-and-off war, it seems astonishing that such a scholar prevails in spite of the hardships and hazards of this work--and produces such important findings. She, with Anne Speckhard, here offers a chapter summarizing a striking research project. They used semi-structured interviews to gather very detailed information about 34 Chechen suicide bombers from family members and associates. One might well state that suicide bombing is never justified, but one cannot read this chapter without coming away with a moving picture of a traumatized and brutalized society, and people, individuals with families and friends and shattered dreams, acting at wit's end. Virtually every bomber was exposed to previous trauma such as the torture, disappearance, or death of family members—often multiple family members. Two findings stand out as instructive to Western policy-makers. First, religiosity was actually a *protective* factor; prior adherence to Sufi Islam reduced the likelihood of recruitment by the radical Wahhabists. This is a strong caution not to equate Muslim religiosity with vulnerability to radicalization. Second, fully half of the attacks were undertaken 6 to 8 years after the personal trauma occurred. Just as Dr. Barber's chapter teaches that those exposed to conflict in adolescence may commit to fight on forever, these results warns us not to assume that bygones will be bygones. When grievances persist, grief is not resolved.

Part 5

Part 5 of this book is intended to distill the best counter-substate-terrorism ideas from this growing body of genuine scientific evidence. Almost any of the chapters might be included here. Every author in this book offers such ideas. I wish, however, to give special territory to several authorities who clarify the threat and the need for a well-tempered response.

At the time of this writing, Iran has recently announced success in enriching uranium. The elite club of nuclear powers reacted with concern. One reason for the concern is that Muslim clerics with various degrees of Islamist hegemonic ambition presently rule that nation.   Another is that Iran's current president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, has announced his enthusiasm for wiping Israel from the map. But a third concern is that highly enriched uranium—along with plutonium—are elements that could convert the manageable problem of substate terrorism into an unmanageable global tragedy. Alex Schmid and Robert Wesely have written an outstanding chapter about the threat of terrorist attacks using weapons of mass destruction. Dr. Schmid is a legend in the circle of pioneers of terrorism research. His massive compilation of data and ideas—*Political Terrorism*--initially published in 1983 and now undergoing an update, is the essential text that introduced many of us to the field. In his chapter with Dr. Wesely, he lays out in terrifying detail the steps that substate terrorists plan to take to acquire and use weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear devices. He warns that, "If we look at the efforts of al-Qa'ida, we find that all steps except one…are in place for engaging in radiological and nuclear terrorism. The 'missing link,' the weakest point in Al-Qa'ida's efforts, is the acquisition of enough, and good enough, nuclear and radiological materials." Because of its relationship with substate groups labeled as terroristic, Iran's possession of high quality fissile material potentially has implications for the safety of people far beyond that nation's regional aspirations. An even bigger threat might be the "loose nukes" scattered about the former Soviet Union

and defended with dubious stewardship. The UN's 2005 Convention Against Nuclear Terrorism [13] and the IAEA Action Plan against Nuclear Terrorism theoretically add teeth to the international effort to rope in illicit trafficking. But Schmid and Wesley's chapter illuminates the reasons we all might lie awake, considering the likelihood that these fine-sounding resolutions might fail, and that nuclear terrorism is a mater of not if, but when. As this enlightening chapter, perhaps presciently, concludes: "If only one or two of these 300,000 potential atomic bombs get into the hands of the terrorists, the world will never be the same again."

Jerrold Post (author, among a number of other important texts, of the forthcoming book *The Mind of the Terrorist*) is one of the indisputable pioneers and heroic leaders of psychology-of-terrorism studies. Here he provides a new and very useful metaphor: support for terrorism spreads like the plague. It behaves in some ways like an infectious disease that follows established epidemiological patterns: the infectious agent is an extremist ideology; the vectors may be radical religious schools or the Internet; the vulnerable populations are alienated youth. While Post focuses on the subjects of his important research—Islamist fundamentalist terrorists--his approach might equally be applied to the various unhealthful memes that propagate though society, insinuating themselves into the tissue of culture and sometimes erupting into political violence. Post offers a detailed prescription for reducing the spread of infection and the vulnerability of the population, and even a way to treat those infected. He cites, for example, the success of the Italian *pentiti* program for re-engaging radicals in the work of society. He, like others in this volume, pleads for the intervention of moderate voices among vulnerable groups.

(A tough question that remains, of course, is how one group's desires--such as the West's wish not to be attacked--can be happily meshed with another group's desires--such as moderate Muslims' wish for peace, security, respect, and advancement--without imposing the first group's will on the free thought of those who must decide whether to support terrorism. The fine line between persuasion, educating, bullying, and psychological warfare is worth a book in itself.)

Linda Valenty Shepard adopts the same newly popular epidemiological heuristic, likening terrorist ideology to a dangerous contagion. But she approaches the necessary medical response in a very different way. Like this book's Dr. Sandler (and like the Nobel laureate John Nash, subject of the moving film "A Beautiful Mind"), Dr. Valenty Shepard considers how mathematical modeling might provide powerful insights into the behavior of terrorist groups. She escorts the reader gracefully beyond economic game theory to meet its brave new offspring, *behavioral game theory*, *prospect theory*, *agent based modeling*, and *order theory*. Then, with the lucidity of a fine teacher, she explains how a basic knowledge of these conceptual tools might be integrated with a deep appreciation of psychological dynamics to give counterterrorism policy makers a sophisticated new lever for shifting the balance of power away from the terrorists' side of the scale. It has been said that the purpose of the human brain is to avoid pain. Dr. Valenty asks us to do the brain work required to outthink our opponent—and points us toward a university of new ideas that we might adopt to avoid the anguish caused by inadvertently perpetuating terrorism.

The Devilish Traverse

NATO assigned us the solemn charge of developing a practical, psychologically informed programme to reduce the threat of substate terrorism. But the perilous path from a theory to a plan is as slippery as an icy grand traverse on a steep mountain slope. What's more, there is no single answer. The plans we need to prevent young people from becoming terrorists are quite different from the plans we need to disable committed terrorists. Plans that might influence an individual may be different from plans that will effectively impact a group. Plans that will work against terrorist groups that lean heavily on community support (such as the IRA or ETA) must be different from those targeting free-floating groups (such as Aum Shinrikyo). And plans to address one subspecies of terrorism might be wholly ineffective, or even counterproductive, if applied to another. For example, the detailed, practical, psychologically informed strategy that will enhance compromise between Sinalese and Tamil leaders will be very different from the strategy that will dissuade a wealthy Irish-American from funding the Real IRA or the strategy that will dissuade a 14-year-old Palestinian from volunteering for a suicide bombing mission in Tel Aviv four years hence. So we must insist on customizing solutions for each case and strive to avoid succumbing to the temptation to propose general grand plans that may constitute truisms, or worse, platitudes.

Taking that caveat as a given, after three days of individual presentations of new research, we took up our most arduous task: attempting to craft consensus statements to help guide NATO in its extremely challenging task of applying its great authority to the problem of substate terrorism.

We broke into three working groups. Working Group 1 addressed *Interventions to Reduce the Efficacy of Committed Terrorists.* Working Group 2 addressed *Preventing Substate Terrorist Groups from Recruiting and Retaining Young Member*s. And Working Group Three took on the even more difficult task in the limited time available: developing *Recommendations For Diplomatic, Political, Military, Economic, Legal and Human Rights Policies Likely to Prevent or Resolve Tension Provoking Conflict*. Each group submitted a report; we also received two Minority reports. Part 5 of this book includes the Recommendations of these Working Groups and the Minority Reports.

Finally, I have included the *Executive Summary With Policy Recommendations for the Consideration of the North Atlantic Council*. I make no pretense that this is a "consensus" statement. For all of our shared concerns and agreements, every expert at this Workshop—and probably every real authority on substate terrorism--would attach somewhat different weight to different parts of the grand strategy. Diverse views were held and vigorously expressed. Out of respect for that diversity, I will only represent the Executive Summary as my earnest effort to distill the essence of the majority viewpoint, and to extract the best, most vital, most practical recommendations for the consideration of the North Atlantic Council and for any government that strives to manage substate terrorism.

Readers will reach their own conclusions. But if leaders and policy makers read this book they will discover solid, persuasive, hard-won evidence for several crucial conclusions:

The motivations for engaging in substate political terrorism vary, but include interdigitating factors seen in every terrorist in different combinations and to differing

degrees: (1) perceived oppression and injustice, (2) perception of threat to self, community, or cherished ideas, (3) perception that alternative forms of expression are unavailable or ineffective, (4) belief that violence will be effective, (5) hatred of a competitor group, (6) revenge for personal trauma, (7) revenge for group trauma, (8) a sense of humiliation, (9) social learning of violence, (10) specific culture of martyrdom, (11) Manichean ideologies, (12) fantasies of group hegemony, (13) apocalyptic or "millenarian" fantasies; (14) desire to provoke extreme countermeasures; (15) group morale building, (16) demonstration of group leadership, (17) radicalization and bonding of aggrieved communities, (18) community support specifically for terrorism, (19) networks of contagion arising from valued contacts with others who support terrorism, (20) subsuming individual into collective identity (21) rationalizations of the grim brutality of attacking innocent civilians, (22) cognitive inflexibility, (23) altruistic service to one's group, (24) immaturity, (25) individual emotional distress, (26) innate aggressivity, (27) urge to establish individual identity, (28) perceived opportunity for personal social advancement; (29) glory seeking, (30) thrill seeking, (31) hero worship, (32) peer pressure, (33) sympathy for/identification with another group, (34) financial gain, (35) social benefits to intimates, and (36) factual knowledge that terrorists often get what they demand. Any analysis of terrorism that champions just one or another of these 36 contributing factors will provide a picture of political violence as vivid as a black and white photo of a rainbow. Indeed, this list is abridged. A real understanding of terrorism is increasingly possible, but it requires us to transcend disciplinary thinking, set aside our favorite theories, and wrestle in the rough with the tremendous complexity of the facts.

Similarly, certain observations regarding counterterrorism seem reliable: (1) Efforts to eliminate groups by military action will almost always fail. Corollaries include: (1a) some types of attacks on terrorists (e.g., targeted assassinations) have specifically been observed to increase recruitment; and (1b) military actions are subject to microscopic scrutiny and create opportunities for abuses that will multiply community support for terrorists. (2) Negotiation, though publicly disparaged, sometimes resolves the underlying conflict and makes terrorism moot (witness, to different degrees, Northern Ireland, Spain, and Sri Lanka). However, psychologically tone-deaf responses to legitimate grievances only boost the radicalization process. (3) In negotiations, despite the emergence of some predictable scripts, both terrorists and governments may exhibit irrational, self-defeating, or spiteful behaviors because what they *really* value may be inaccessible to consciousness. (4) Predicting terrorist actions in the absence of human intelligence (especially on-the-ground infiltration) tends to become an exercise in creative fiction. Analysts must bravely resist pressure to inflate the confidence one should have in their estimates. (5) Interdicting resources and snatching funding may sometimes be more effective than military might and stands less chance of ironically provoking increased community support for terrorists. (6) Due to the absence of a MAD deterrent, nuclear materials must never reach the hands of radicals who have no territory to protect. And, (7) though leaders need to believe in their own rightness, and political expediency will always trump knowledge-based policy proposals, terrorism is something of a *rara avis*. Most leaders and strategists cannot fall back on their instincts and prior educations to devise effective responses. Until governments realize the importance of truly understanding the roots of terrorism—and support research at a level consistent with the level of the long-term threat—gross mistakes will continue to be made at terrible cost. If there is a single take-home lesson for counterterrorism, it might be put in a sentence: if you want to

reduce substate terrorism, a primary emphasis *must* be put on giving vulnerable populations good reason to resist the insidious contagion of radical ideology.

Conclusion

The pathways to terrorism are fairly well understood. Increasingly, so are the wisest responses. But even knowing the best solution does not mean it can be pursued. Democracy--in all its capricious, cumbrous expression of collective will--is the best form of government yet devised. This book exposes one of its disadvantages: leaders yearn for election and power and glory. Electorates yearn for security. In times of threat, charismatic (and even not-so-charismatic leaders) win elections by promising that a righteous rain of fire will incinerate the very roots of evil. Some proportion of a threatened electorate will demand bloodthirsty revenge with little regard for the accuracy or efficacy of such punishment, and some elected leaders will be only too happy to oblige. Whether such leaders believe their own rhetoric or merely cloak their Machiavellian cynicism in the local flag is subject to debate. What is clear is that even when the wisest voices council the long-term benefits of moderation, the symbiosis between fear and power seeking may pervert the decision-making of the best regimes.

There is a seductive allure to righteousness. Among terrorists, among governments, and even among terrorism scholars--who may cry like Cassandras that their wisdom is ignored--there is a need to claim moral superiority. There is also a desperate psychological need to assign blame, and plenty to go around. Terrorists deserve blame for grossly violating the nearly universally accepted limits on warfare that evolved after the 12th century. Governments are complicit to the degree that they either tolerate terrorism or exemplify it in their behaviors. Leaders are to blame when, either through inexcusable ignorance of the nature of terrorism or from self-aggrandizement, they kick the hornet's nest and retreat to their bunkers to declare their valor, putting personal triumph and party profits ahead of the public good. Intelligence agencies are to blame when they yield to political pressure to tilt their estimates, fight one another for turf, or see the war on violent extremism as an opportunity to gain power. Military leaders are to blame when they follow orders like mute myrmidons and hide their special knowledge that the outcomes are likely to be bad. Profiteers are to blame when they revel in tragedy as yet another avenue to the pockets of tax payers. And terrorism scholars are to blame when they propagate pre-scientific fables and eschew the nitty-gritty of empirical work.

Yet there are heroes, too. Leaders sometimes weigh the popular against the true, and speak the truth. Public servants at every level sometimes tell leaders what they need to hear, not what they want to hear. Diplomats sweat to craft just compromises acceptable both to their masters and to competitors. Attorneys labor to protect the innocent and restrain leaders from imprudent leaps into repression. Intelligence agents and analysts devote—and sometimes risk--their lives discovering information that might protect civilians. Innumerable law enforcement personnel at all levels exercise the vigilance that makes the difference between life and death. Soldiers perform heroic feats (sometimes including standing up for human rights) that deserve honor regardless of how they got thrown into combat. Humanitarian aid groups often form the last bulwark against terror-provoking chaos in failed states and conflict zones. Some terrorism scholars, including several represented in this book, have risked their

reputations and even their lives to discover the nature of this beast. And—never to be forgotten-- courageous individuals in oppressed populations fight, sometimes at great personal risk, to advance the cause of non-violent conflict resolution. Contrary to claims that this is a "war unlike any other," it is in many ways a war like *every* other. Wars inspire the best and worst that humans and their institutions ever do.

In his 1996 treatise, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Samuel Huntington called NATO "the premier Western institution" [1]. This premier Western institution finds itself in the incredibly challenging position of attempting to understand and respond to a terrifying parade of threats in a way that will help defuse an avoidable global conflict. Fantasies of peace are not the answer. Committed terrorists must be disabled by all means compatible with the letter and spirit of international law. But fantasies of a clash of civilizations that demands a low level world war are also not the answer—any more than they were when the domino theory drove the U.S. to its Vietnam imbroglio. The danger is real, but preventive medicine will be vastly more effective than radical surgery at reducing the long-term agony threatened by political violence directed at civilians. We must plan for an irreducible base rate of terrorism. But to spend all our resources in a futile bid to eliminate the full-grown trees would be inexcusable when we could nip them in the bud. Put another way, one can build a fence at the top of a cliff or a hospital at the bottom. The former is far cheaper. Prevention of people *becoming* terrorists will be one of the wisest investments of the 21st century. The international community, including Muslim nations, must fight extremism on *both* sides--and exert its moral authority toward creating the conditions that make substate terrorism seem like an absurd and unnecessary choice.

References

1. Huntington, S.P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
2. Sun Tzu (1963). *The art of war*. Griffith S.B., Translator. London: Oxford University press. p. 84.
3. Schmid, A. & Jongman A.J. (1988). *Political terrorism. Revised edition*. Somerset, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
4. Held, V. (1991) Terrorism, rights, and political goals. In R.G. Frey & C.W. Morris (Eds.) *Violence, terrorism and justice* (pp. 59-85). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
5. Teichman, J. (1986). *Pacifism and the just war: a study in applied philosophy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
6. Clutton-Brock, T.H. & Parker, G.A. (2003). Punishment in animal societies. *Nature, 373*, 209-216.
7. Gürek, G, Irlenbusch B, Rockenbach B. (2006). The competitive advantage of sanctioning institutions. *Science, 312*, 108-111
8. Crelinsten, R.D. (1987). Terrorism as political communications: The relationship between the controller and the controlled. In P. Wilkinson & A.M. Stewart (Eds.), *Contemporary research on terrorism* (pp. 3-23). Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
9. Archer, D & Gartner R. (1984) *Violence & crime in cross-national perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
10. Human Security Centre (2005). *Human security report 2005*. University of British Columbia.
11. Camerer CF. (2003). *Behavioral game theory.: experiments in strategic interaction*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
12. Henry, P.J., Sidanius, J., Levin, S., & Pratto, F. (2004). Social dominance orientation, authoritarianism, and support for intergroup violence between the Middle east and America. *Political Psychology 26*, 569-583.
13. International convention of the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism. Accessed from http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism/English_18_15.pdf

This page intentionally left blank

Part 1

What Do We Know, and What Can We Know, About the Causes of Substate Terrorism?

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 1
Knowledge Claims
and the Study of Terrorism

Michael Stohl
Department of Communication
University of California, Santa Barbara

Abstract

Reviewing key results from the recent Campbell Collaboration on
Counterterrorism Research (as well as other contributions to the scholarly
literature), this paper will examine the knowledge claims, supporting data and
underlying assumptions of recent scholarship on terrorism. Throughout the intent
is to explore which data, what measurements and which statistical analyses would
increase our level of confidence in what we "know."

Keywords: terrorism, counterterrorism, database, review

Introduction

It is commonplace to declare that the events of September 11, 2001 dramatically
influenced our understanding of terrorism. It is also customary to note the various
declarations by journalists, politicians, and scholars that the events changed
"everything" and that the world would never again be as it was before that date and
spoke of the dividing line of the pre and post 9/11 world. Some argued that the events
conclusively demonstrated that there was a "new" terrorism, very different from the
"old" and that the future would be much more dangerous. Others argued that the
ferocity of the events demonstrated that the continuing poverty and unfulfilled
aspirations of much of the world's population was the underlying cause. Still others
were convinced that the events conclusively established the veracity of Huntington's
thesis of a clash of civilizations.

It is also the case that it is unlikely that anyone would contest that the events and
the reactions to them have also had a profound influence on the study of terrorism.
Scholars from many disciplines, most of whom had never turned their attention to the
problem of terrorism, now did so. Many scholarly associations asked their members to
consider what unique disciplinary insights they might be able to contribute to
understanding terrorism and also sponsored symposia, special issues of journals, and
collections of essays. This, coupled with the intense scrutiny of the media, has
produced--as we will see below--an unprecedented volume of published material.
While thus, there is no question that much greater attention has been focused on the

problem of terrorism than in years prior it is not necessarily the case that there has been either commensurate or even greater insight than existed previously. As Brian Jenkins suggested soon after September 11, "We are deluged with material but still know too little" [1].

In 1979, introducing a volume of essays on terrorism, I wrote the following:

> Political terrorism, while not a recent addition to the catalog of humankind's problems, has achieved a position of notoriety rivaled by few contemporary global crises. Media fascination and the undeniable fact that terrorism provides a riveting spectacle, coupled with the honest concern of governments and their population, have catapulted terrorism into a priority area for study. The burgeoning journalistic and scholarly literature that has resulted from this nascent awareness has unfortunately not been accompanied by a commensurate increase in the understanding of the phenomenon [2].

That essay and a series of updates [3-6] focused on concepts, underlying assumptions and political controversies in the study of terrorism and consistently concluded that the failure to recognize the implications of the underlying assumptions was preventing the development of better understanding of the problem that terrorism presented and how to respond to it. However, now with the benefit of another two decades of scholarly research, it is arguably the case that much deeper problems have prevented the study of terrorism from producing the breadth and depth of knowledge that the problems presented by the continual occurrence and response to terrorism demands.

This chapter explores those deeper problems by focusing on the development and assertion of knowledge claims, such as those found in the first paragraph that were uttered after September 11, and others with respect to terrorism and its study. Given the constraints of a chapter, it will do so by focusing on epistemological concerns and will not provide, except by way of illustration, a thorough review of the terrorism literature which--as will become almost immediately clear--is well beyond the possibilities afforded by the space allotted to this subject. What it will do is explore the questions scholars have asked, how they have asked them, what information they have accumulated to answer these questions and what means they have used to analyze the information. We will then consider what we need to do to be able to transform the quantity of scholarly attention into the quality of greater knowledge and make some practical suggestions that should assist us in building knowledge rather than simply accumulating studies.

Reviews of Terrorism Research

Prior to September 11 over the course of the previous twenty-five year a set of systematic reviews of the terrorism literature exploring many different facets of the literature appeared. There is much to be learned from these critiques and indeed many were authored by those who participated (or were scheduled to participate) in the NATO workshop for which this analysis was prepared.[1]

---

[1] Ariel Merari, Alex Schmid, Andrew Silke, Martha Crenshaw, Jeff Victoroff, and John Horgan.

Remarkably, taken together, and regardless of when they are done they have remarkably similar findings. Within these reviews the authors have looked at the backgrounds of the terrorism authors, the location of the articles in terms of journals, and the regions and groups upon which authors have focused. Often it has been noted that contributors to terrorism research publish one or two articles and then are never heard from again.

Most germane to our purposes they have also critiqued the definitional, typological, theoretical and epistemological approaches that the researchers have taken. Having done so, these scholars have rightfully critiqued virtually every component of the development of our collective approach to terrorism knowledge.

Almost all who spend time burrowing into the terrorism literature are struck by the collective inability both within the scholarly literature and the governmental and diplomatic worlds to come to a commonly agreed upon definition of the problem under study. The history is long but perhaps the most frequent reference to the problem is to Schmid [7]. Given the political context in which terrorism occurs it is not surprising that governments would have trouble agreeing upon a definition but scholars have also failed to consistently define (and thus as a consequence) delimit the behaviors and thus the actors, organizations and events that should be included in the study of terror, terrorism and terrorists. While, in general there is agreement that terrorism is "bad," and over time many have concluded that it that the elements of intent, violence, victim, audience, and fear should be included, there are still significant disagreements as to the inclusion of particular actors (states), legality and victims (combatants vs. non-combatants). Such disagreements mean that there are significant disparities in the actual events, actors and organizations under study.

Extensive critiques of typologies have appeared. Flemming, Stohl and Schmid [8] identify four broad categories of typologies based on those who try to classify groups, modus operandi, motivations and origins. Underlying their critique of the typologies is the finding that too many are idiosyncratic and not scientific. Too often the classifications are not developed with theoretical purposes and thus they do not lead to an ability to make general statements about classes of social phenomena, rather they simply allow for a descriptive moment. Thus while it is most useful to develop terrorism (or any other) typologies so that in effect they enable one to substitute variables for proper names [9] enabling the analyst to predict or explain behaviors or outcomes [10], typologies of terrorism infrequently meet this test.

Crenshaw-Hutchinson [11] moves beyond typologies to the lack of development of the most basic relational statements and their context. "Even the most persuasive statements about terrorism are not cast in the form of testable propositions, nor are they broadly comparative in origin or intent… In general, propositions about terrorism lack logical comparability, specification of the relationship of variables to each other, and a rank ordering of variables in terms of explanatory power."

Scholars have not, for the most part, approached the study of terrorism with the purpose of developing theoretically grounded studies and consequently they have not applied rigorous research methods to its study. Schmid and Jongman argue that "Perhaps as much as 80 percent of the literature is not research-based in any rigorous sense…." [7, p. 219]. As Ariel Merari has written, "By and large, terrorism literature is composed mainly of studies which rely of relatively weak research methods (Merari quoted by Schmid and Jongman [7]) and thus "resembles hearsay rather than twentieth century science" [12]. And Ted Gurr agrees arguing that, "With a few clusters of exceptions there is, in fact, a disturbing lack of good empirically-grounded research on

terrorism" [13]. Putting more bite into the critique, Merari suggests that, "This may well be an understatement" [12].

Thus in 1988 Schmid and Jongman could conclude "Much of the writing in the crucial areas of terrorism research …is impressionistic, superficial, and at the same time also pretentious, venturing far reaching generalizations on the basis of episodal evidence" [7].

A decade later, Andrew Silke compared this dearth of quantitative analysis in terrorism research for the period at the end of the 1990s with other social sciences, specifically forensic psychology and criminology. By analyzing articles published from 1995-2000, Silke found 86 percent of forensic psychology and 60 percent of criminology scholarly articles utilized statistics. In contrast, only 20 percent of the scholarly articles on terrorism attempted a quantitative analysis. He concluded, "Ultimately, terrorism research is not in a healthy state. It exists on a diet of fast food research: quick, cheap, ready-to-hand and nutritionally dubious….. It was found that the problems identified in 1988 remain as serious as ever" [14].

The Impact of September 11 On Terrorism Research

My original intention was to follow up on Silke's review of the terrorism literature from 2000-2005 by systematically reviewing the contributions to the two major scholarly terrorism journals and extract the knowledge claims made and note the empirical data and research methods used to support those claims. However, it soon became clear that most of the articles did not provide systematic use of empirical data or even detailed case studies. At about the same time, I was asked to review a protocol for the Campbell Collaboration on Counterterrorism research. [2] For those of you not familiar with the Campbell collaboration it is named in honor of psychologist Donald Campbell and its objectives are to prepare, maintain and disseminate systematic reviews of studies of "interventions," thus accumulating knowledge on applications of social science research. The collaboration is derived from and extends the epistemology of Donald Campbell as developed in his work on quasi-experimental designs and evaluation research (see http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/).

Lum, Kennedy and Sherley [15] systematically identified 14,006 articles published between 1971 and 2002 in all the available library electronic databases. They further identified which of the articles were published in peer-reviewed outlets by generating a list of peer-reviewed journals resulting in 6,041 articles. The articles were then sorted with respect to year of publication, subject matter, and the general methodology used for the research study.

There are some noteworthy findings in these sorts. As Figure 1 indicates, among the entire 14,006 works located, approximately 54% were published in 2001 and 2002. The 54% written in 2001 and 2002 represent the enormous outpouring on interest and concern after September 11 and are a remarkable total for just two years. They contribute heavily to the second finding about the nature of the publications. Focusing on the peer reviewed articles, 96% (5800) were classified by the authors as "Thought pieces," that is "articles where authors discussed an issue theoretically or offered an

---

[2] This protocol, by Lum, Kennedy and Sherley is now published , see
http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/doc-pdf/strategiesterrorprot.pdf

opinion." 1% (60) were "case studies," that is articles "which examined a particular situation from a (usually) historical approach." Finally, only 3% (181) involved "Empirical analysis," that is a study in which "an analysis (either quantitative or qualitative) had been conducted on terrorism data." In short it is easy to concur with Silke that, "By and large, terrorism literature is composed mainly of studies which rely of relatively weak research methods"[14]. Thus, it appears that much of the "knowledge" of terrorism is based on the accumulated "wisdom" of a generation of scholars who have studied events, perpetrators, responses and contexts, but not in general within the confines of a scientific paradigm of agreed upon data, definitions, concepts, relationships and methods.
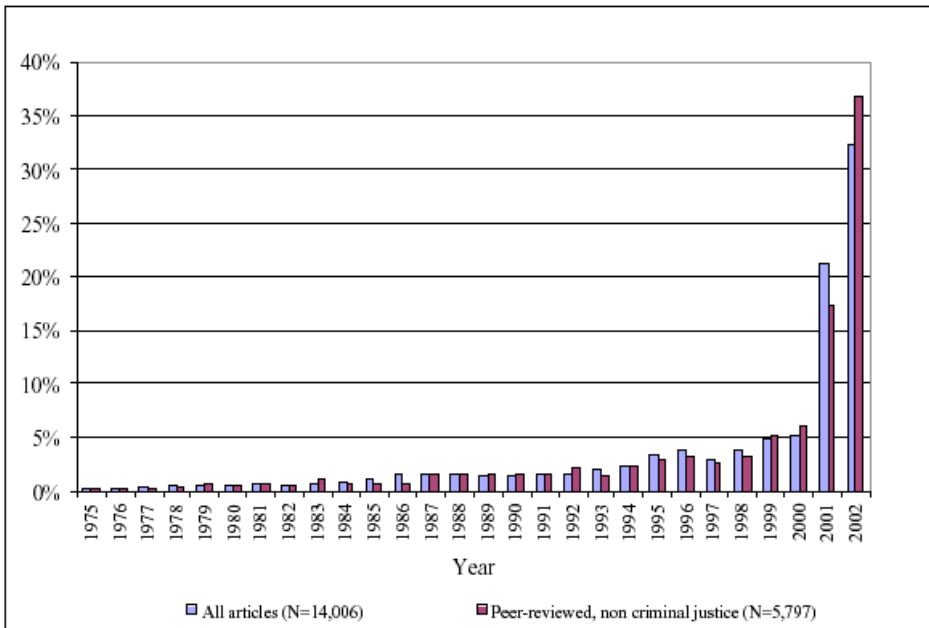

Figure 1. Yearly Distribution of Terrorism Publications as a Percentage of Total Publications*[3]

---

[3] Taken from Lum, Kennedy and Sherley (2005:23).

Madrid and New York

Two conferences that highlighted the work of academic working groups took place in 2005. The first occurred in Madrid in March commemorating 3/11 and the second in New York in September in commemoration of 9/11. A number of the participants overlapped and indeed Louise Richardson was chosen to present the summary of the root causes workshops in both conferences. There was remarkable consensus in both instances in terms of what terrorism scholars were willing to endorse as knowledge claims and what they were unwilling to claim.

For example at Madrid there were five groups that examined aspects of root causes, five that examined police, military, intelligence and other aspects of official response to terrorism, three that explored how democratic states respond, three which examined civil society and terrorism, and one that explored the impact of science and technology. There was remarkable congruence across the groups, composed of psychologists, sociologists, economists, criminologists, political scientists as well as representatives of the police, military, intelligence services, national diplomatic and international diplomatic corps, as well as the non-governmental sector. Regrettably, all agreed that there were no overarching explanations, no simple clear explanatory factors. All agreed that terrorism must be understood in the unique cultural, historical, political context and all agreed that democracies must confront and counter terrorism within the rule of law with no curtailment of civil liberties if they are to be successful in reducing the threat. Further, across the groups there was remarkable congruence in terms of how to confront terrorists and terrorist groups. All agreed that the keys involved inhibiting the joining of groups, provoking dissension within existing organizations, encouraging moderates to break away and involve themselves within the normal political process, finding accommodative opportunities to reward such participation but also promoting backlash within populations that terrorists purport to represent, reducing support within those populations and facilitating the exit of terrorists from the organizations in which they operate.

As a participant at the Madrid meeting, I don't disagree with any of these conclusions but, it is important to emphasize that the path by which the participants came to these conclusions better fit the category of what Popper (1934) might caustically designate as "wisdom" rather than "science." Thus, the assembled wisdom might be correct but the demarcation between wisdom and science that would allow proposing the necessary conjectures, collecting the appropriate data and subjecting those conjectures and data to tests which might arguably demonstrate their falsifiability has not yet met the standards of social science epistemology. Our problem, identified by Martha Crenshaw almost twenty years ago and still accurate today is that

> Even the most persuasive of statements about terrorism are not cast in the form of testable propositions, nor are they broadly comparative in origin or intent… In general, propositions about terrorism lack logical comparability, specification of the relationships of variables to each other, a rank ordering of variables in terms of explanatory power [7, p. 41].

While Merari has suggested that perhaps it is the subject matter that causes this difficulty, "Repeated occurrences of the same phenomenon are the basis of scientific

research. In the case of terrorism, however, there is hardly a pattern that allows generalizations. Clearly, the heterogeneity of the terroristic phenomena makes descriptive, explanatory, and predictive generalizations, which are the ultimate products of scientific research, inherently questionable" [14]. I would argue that it is our approach to knowledge about terrorism that is the underlying cause of the continuing inability to accumulate and test knowledge claims. Quite simply, we have not made a good faith effort.

Thus, if you accept the epistemological approach of Donald Campbell (heavily influenced by Karl Popper) that knowledge claims need to be subjected to testing and that the key to testing is the principle of falsifiability greater consistency in definition, operationalization, data collection, hypothesis formulation and testing needs to be applied to the study of terrorism.

Think Data

> "Originally I intended to look at assertions and compare to data but they are historical cases and anecdotes rather than assertions of data 'The plural of anecdote is not data'…"[4]

As indicated above, much effort must still be invested in the very first stage of scientific inquiry with regard to terrorism- the collection of data. There is a fundamental problem underlying the collection of the prime data that has been collected on terrorism events. We define terrorism (correctly I believe) in terms of intentions but we don't usually have data on the intentions of the perpetrators and most often have to infer motivation when we construct data sets. Thus we often don't distinguish terrorism from other forms of political violence in the actual data sets that have been compiled because we ignore the implications of **bargaining/coercion/intimidation** that we say differentiates terrorism from other forms of violence.

All the definitions include some form of intimidate, coerce, influence as well as violence or its threat. To illustrate, Stohl [3] defines terrorism as

> The **purposeful** act or the threat of the act of **violence** to create **fear** and/or compliant behavior in a **victim** and/or **audience** of the act or threat.

Similarly the United States Department of State since 1983 has these same elements but restricts the target to noncombatants and the perpetrators to sub national groups or clandestine agents:

> Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant* targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

---

[4] an aphorism attributed to the nutritionist Frank Kotsonis .(cited in a book review of Theodoropoulos D.I. Invasion biology. Critique of a pseudoscience. **J. RAVEN Invasion biology. Critique of a pseudoscience.** Theodoropoulos DI. 2003. Blythe, California: Avvar Books. 236 pp. *Annals of Botany* **94**: 196-197, 2004)

They add that "International" terrorism - is defined as "terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country."

The act (s) constitute the definition of the "event" by which we characterize the individuals and groups that have performed the act as "terrorists."

When one adopts an "events approach, one assumes that *the behaviors of terrorists are patterned,* and that the discovery of these patterns through even the simplest of statistical procedures can be helpful in combating terrorism [16].

If there are consistent patterns in terrorist behavior, rather than random idiosyncrasies, a strategic analysis may reveal them"[17].

When designated terrorist groups are then involved in another act of political violence or a bank robbery, the act because it is performed by the designated terrorist organization is often deemed an act of terrorism. Are terrorists people who conduct terrorist actions or order others to conduct terrorist actions or simply members of groups that employ terrorism? These questions become extraordinarily important when we attempt to construct explanations of who becomes a terrorist and use such data to analyze the psychological, sociological or political traits associated with terrorism. Should we exclude these events, these persons from analysis? What impact do these choices have on our sample of events, persons, and organizations and how does that influence what we think we know about terrorists and terrorism? I don't raise these questions to argue that we should exclude particular acts or groups but rather to understand that, rather than indicating approval for such behavior, it may be that we need to distinguish these acts and include them in a wider analysis of the role of violence and other activities that support such organizations as political actors. As I have written elsewhere, "the cliché that One Man's Terrorist is Another's Freedom Fighter confuses what terrorism is with the terrorist actor. An actor is a terrorist when the actor employs terrorist methods. Although one may wish to argue that the particular ends justify particular means, they do not alter what those means are. Likewise, all actions by groups that have performed terrorist action in the past are not ipso facto terrorism. Until we are willing to treat one man's terrorist as everyone's terrorist, we will make very little progress in either our understanding of the problem of terrorism or begin to take steps to effectively reduce its occurrence." [5]

These are not simple questions but unless we need to clearly understand what such answers imply for our understanding.

---

[5] The late Senator Henry Jackson addressed this issue directly: "The idea that one person's "terrorist" is another's "freedom fighter" cannot be sanctioned. Freedom fighters or revolutionaries don't blow up buses containing non-combatants; terrorist murderers do. Freedom fighters don't set out to capture and slaughter schoolchildren; terrorist murderers do. Freedom fighters don't assassinate innocent businessmen, or hijack and hold hostage innocent men, women, and children; terrorist murderers do. It is a disgrace that democracies would allow the treasured word "freedom" to be associated with acts of terrorists. [Henry Jackson, 1979, cited by Schultz, G.P. 1986 "The Challenge to Democracies," in B. Netanyahu (ed.) *Terrorism: How the West Can Win.* New York: Farrah, Straus and Giroux, pp. 16-24.]"

Data for What: The Purpose and Description of Information Found in the Incident Databases

What data do we have and what can they tell us about terrorism? The two most widely used data sources on terrorism are the Rand/St. Andrews data set and ITERATE.

Here is how each source describes themselves:

1. RAND Terrorism Chronology 1968-1997 and RAND®-MIPT Terrorism Incident database (1998-Present)**:** The RAND Terrorism Chronology 1968-1997 serves to monitor all international terrorism incidents and to make them available to the public. All information was taken from open source materials such as newspapers and every effort was made to verify the accuracy of the information found in the reports. This database is intended only to aid those seeking to better comprehend terrorism and should not be used as a tool for any sort of analysis, predictive or otherwise.

The RAND®-MIPT Terrorism Incident database (1998-Present) serves to monitor all terrorism incidents worldwide, both domestic and international, and to make them available to the public. All information was taken from open source materials, such as newspapers and every effort was made to verify the accuracy of the information found in the reports. This database is intended only to aid those seeking to better comprehend terrorism and should not be used as a tool for any sort of analysis, predictive or otherwise. http://www.tkb.org/RandSummary.jsp

2. ITERATE "has relied on press, television and radio reports- mainly through the mainstream media, and including U.S. and foreign outlets- international news services, accounts in scholarly journals, books, memoirs, interviews with principals, and so on…although the State Department, ITERATE, and Rand corporation compilations have roughly similar inclusion and coding conventions, differences nonetheless remain that could befoul any attempts at dataset mergers [16].

These are the two most widely used non-governmental data sets for the analysis of terrorism. The RAND/MIPT actually cautions us not to use the data for analysis. The first thing one should notice beyond that is ITERATE throughout its history has focused on international terrorism events. The RAND data set focused on international events until 1997 and on both domestic and international events from 1998 on.

As indicated above, as a percentage of the total scholarly studies on terrorism we use them too infrequently. Too often, however, our hypotheses and the data used to test them do not match.[6]

---

[6] A notable exception here is the work of   Sandler and his co- authorrs. Sandler is one of the compilers with Mickolus, Murdoch and Flemming of the ITERATE data set. These studies very clearly ask questions appropriate to the data. See: Enders, W., G.F. Parise, and T. Sandler (1992) A Time-Series Analysis of Transnational Terrorism: Trends and Cycles. *Defence Economics* 3:305-320. Enders, W. and T. Sandler (1991) Causality between Transnational Terrorism and Tourism: The Case of Spain. *Terrorism* 14:49-58. Enders, W. and T. Sandler (1993) The Effectiveness of Anti-Terrorism Policies: Vector-
Autoregression-Intervention Analysis. *American Political Science Review* 87:829-844. Enders, W. and T. Sandler (1996) Terrorism and Foreign Direct Investment in Spain and
Greece. *KYKLOS* 49:331-352. Enders, W. and T. Sandler (1999) Transnational Terrorism in the Post-Cold War Era.*International Studies Quarterly* 43:145-167. Enders, W. and T. Sandler (2000) Is Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening? A Time-Series Investigation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44:307-332.

After September 11, many argued that poverty breeds terrorism and that it is in the long term self-interest of the developed west to improve living conditions and aid development so as to reduce the threat of future terrorism. While the connection between poverty and terrorism has long been suspect, the study by Krueger and Malekova originally published by the National Bureau of Economic Research drew the most significant reactions [18]. Krueger and Malekova deny the relationship between poverty and terrorism arguing that the terrorists are not poor and terrorism does not occur in the poorest countries. They use public opinion data and analyze the determinants of participation in Hezbollah militant activities and conclude that having a living standard above the poverty line or a secondary or higher education is positively associated with participation in Hezbollah. They also found that Israeli Jewish settlers who attacked Palestinians in the West Bank in the early 1980s were overwhelmingly from high-paying occupations.   In their revised and extended study however they have a footnote in which they draw on the ITERATE data set. If we use the ITERATE data as our dependent variable, we find that GDP per capita is unrelated to the number of terrorist events occurring in a country [19].

Unfortunately, their careful analysis and use of the data for the appropriate testing is not found in all the studies that follow. Li and Schaub [20] use the ITERATE data and focus on where the incidents occur not where the country of origin of the perpetrators are. Thus because the data which they analyze consists of transnational events they focus on where the terrorism occurs, not on its origins and therefore not on the economic conditions which may have given rise to the grievances of the perpetrators. They conclude:

The effect of economic globalization on the number of transnational terrorist incidents within countries is analyzed statistically, using a sample of 112 countries from 1975 to 1997. Results show that trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), and portfolio investment have no direct positive effect on transnational terrorist incidents within countries and that economic developments of a country and its top trading partners reduce the number of terrorist incidents inside the country. To the extent that trade and FDI promote economic development, they have an indirect negative effect on transnational terrorism 2004: 232).

They thus ignore domestic terrorism data and domestic political grievance information that may confound their observed relationships.

Bloomberg et al. [21] develop and explore the implications of an economic model that links the incidence of terrorism in a country to the economic circumstances facing that country. Their theoretical argument posits that terrorist activities are undertaken by groups that are unhappy with the current economic status quo and unable to effect political decisions to improve their situation. They find that for democratic, high-income countries, economic contractions (i.e. recessions) can provide the spark for increased probabilities of terrorist activities. However, as with Li and Schaub, the data they employ comes from the ITERATE file and therefore does not necessarily track the activities of local political groups, and in fact, most often not making it difficult to have confidence in the specification of the relationship.

One must recognize that there are few databases for the study of terrorism and that the primary databases that have been exploited thus far by scholars are composed of only a small percentage of the sum total of terrorist events. Transnational or international terrorism is relatively infrequent as compared to domestic terrorism but there are very few accessible domestic terrorism databases and no comprehensive cross national domestic terrorism database. Compiling these databases is extraordinarily

time consuming, difficult and expensive. Those who compile such data do not necessarily want to share it and the majority of area or country experts who study political violence and terrorism are not inclined to create databases [see 22]. Unfortunately, until such event data sets are compiled, shared and constantly explored and subjected to critical evaluation, we as a scholarly community will be hard pressed to move forward. Beyond the difficulties of creating the scholarly community commitment and obtaining funding to collect the data, we will also have to confront our reliance on the media to do so. The tables below should provide a brief illustration. The New York Times is at the heart of the collection of much events data, particularly international. As the U.S. newspaper with the acknowledged lead in international coverage it is the first choice of many researchers. Obviously, different contexts provide lesser and greater interest in certain types of stories over time. The table provides information on the number of New York Times stories on terrorism and the number of events found in the two major non- governmental databases. As can be seen, September 11 had a profound influence on the coverage of terrorism in the United States, Israel and the Philippines (see Tables 1 and 2). While terrorism in Israel and the Philippines may have dramatically increased post 9-11, it is also reasonable to speculate that in the Philippines case the increase in the databases is connected to the greater focus on the country because of the identification of Philippine groups as part of the Al Qaeda network.

Table 1: The New York Times Coverage of Terrorism, MIPT and ITERATE Databases

Country	September 99-August 01 Stories	September 01-July 03 Stories	September 99-August 01 MIPT incidents	September 01-July 03 MIPT incidents	September 99-August 01 ITERATE incidents	September 01-July 03 ITERATE incidents
Israel	257	1102	82 357 Occupied territories	220 744 Occupied territories	3	24
UK/ N. Ireland	23	37	10	6	9	8
Sri Lanka	14	14	43	13	3	1
Philippines	14	142	74	80	9	9
United States	366	4353	54	36	5	7 (4 on September 11)
Total	1366	10000				

Table 2: Wall Street Journal Coverage of Terrorism, MIPT and ITERATE Databases

Country	September 99-August 01 Stories	September 01-July 03 Stories	September 99-August 01 MIPT incidents	September 01-July 03 MIPT incidents	September 99-August 01 ITERATE incidents	September 01-July 03 ITERATE incidents
Israel	51	370	82 357 Occupied territories	220 744 Occupied territories	3	24
UK/ N. Ireland	4	20	10	6	9	8
Sri Lanka	1	2	43	13	3	1
Philippines	4	94	74	80	9	9
United States	42	1377	54	36	5	7 (4 on September 11)
Total	244	4269				

Beyond the difficulties of time, money and commitment, if the collection of terrorism data is to be improved, it will also have to consider again the question of data for what. The most important determinant of that answer should be data in the service of theoretical questions. Much of the literature on terrorism has been divorced from the disciplinary studies of the larger category of political violence and political instability. I would argue that this has contributed to the atheoretical approach and the relatively small accumulation of knowledge.

Conclusion: Think Tilly and Gurr, not Tilly or Gurr

Careful gleaning of the literature turns up some sound quantitative, comparative and historical studies of terrorist phenomena. But the fact remains that the research questions raised in the literature are considerably more interesting than most of the evidence brought to bear upon them. With a few clusters of exceptions there is in fact a disturbing lack of good empirically grounded research on terrorism [23].

Think Tilly and Gurr (not Tilly or Gurr) is shorthand for arguing for a theoretically grounded approach to the study of terrorism as collective violence. I would argue that the two most important analysts of collective violence in the past forty years have been Charles Tilly and Ted Robert Gurr. While they have their differences and approach the problem from very different methodological stances, with Tilly relying primarily on the historical case study and Gurr on the cross national study of groups and nations, they both focus on the relational context of violence and they both recognize the contribution that the other's primary orientation may make to a more complete explanation and understanding. When examining the roots of terrorism, I believe the most useful question we can confront is why do particular individuals, groups, organizations or states, in particular circumstances, choose to use terrorism as a tactic, rather than what is the root of terrorist behavior? That is, we need to concentrate primarily on the political choices, the development of contentious groups, the

interactions among contentious groups and regimes rather than the particular individuals who engage in the behavior. We need to separate leaders and followers.

Gurr [24] identifies three sets of conditions that affect the decision-making calculus of the potential terrorist actor within the expected utility approach. <u>Situational</u> conditions include the political traits of challengers (the status and strategies of the opposition) and the terrorists' own political resources for countering those challenges (organizational strength, support and public acquiescence). <u>Structural</u> conditions are those that define organizational relations with their opponents and supporters and determine or constrain their response options. <u>Dispositional</u> variables are conditions that can be expected to influence how organizations regard the acceptability of strategies of violence and terrorism. Norms supporting the use of violence are shaped by direct or mediated experience with violent means of power and are potentially inhibited by values held by supporters of the cause.

Stohl and Stohl [25] extend the ideas found in Gurr and influenced by the work of Tilly as well identify Eight R's for understanding global organizing. They may be applied to issues of terrorist behaviors and organizing to identify the key characteristics that should be considered for understanding not only the choices of action that terrorists may take but also what their potential capabilities and impacts might be. The eight Rs include:

1. RELATIONSHIPS: What is the organization's network?
2. RULES: How do systemic structures affect the organization, its network and its opportunities?
3. RESOURCES: What are the organization's resources and what are its potential opponents?
4. RECORD: What are the history of the organization and the history of the region where it operates? How does that affect the organization's choices?
5. REGION: What are the organization's zone of operations and referents?
6. READINGS: How does the organization perceive and interpret its and its opponents "reality," "symbols" and "routines"?
7. RATIONALES: What provides meaning and understanding for the organization?
8. RESPONSIBILITY: How does the organization justify its actions to itself and to potential supporters and others?

Thinking Tilly and Gurr also implies drawing together the area specialists and historians with the quantitative and behavioral social scientists and thus providing not simply data but context, not only nomothetic but also idiographic knowledge building. We need to look for patterns and explanations across classes of events, persons, organizations that our statistical analyses may provide but we also need to embed these analyses with knowledge of the particular cultures, organizations, history and other characteristics that provide difference. We need to generate the kind of theoretical competition that Tilly and Gurr provided for explaining political violence, building their cases on the basis of carefully collected and carefully analyzed data, providing conjectures that could be refuted and accumulating theoretically based knowledge that expanded the range of events, processes and contexts in which these explanations were subjected to test. As long as we continue primarily to rely on the repetition of untested knowledge claims that we all "know" are true, our "wisdom" will continue to be untested and our knowledge will not grow.

References

1. Jenkins, B. "The organization men: Anatomy of a terrorist attack" in James Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose (eds.) How did this happen? Terrorism and the new war (New York: Public Affairs 2001).
2. Stohl, M. 1979 Myths and Realities of Political Terrorism in M. Stohl (ed.) *The Politics of Terrorism*. New York: Marcel Dekker.
3. Stohl, M. 1983a in M. Stohl (ed.) "Introduction: Myths and Realities of Political Terrorism," in M. Stohl (ed.) *The Politics of Terrorism*. New York: Marcel Dekker pp. 1-23.
4. Stohl, M. 1983b in M. Stohl (ed.) . " Conclusion: Issues and Controversies Concerning Contemporary Political Terrorism," in M. Stohl (ed.) *The Politics of Terrorism*. New York: Marcel Dekker, pp. 447-462.
5. Stohl, M. 1988a in M. Stohl (ed.) " Demystifying Terrorism: The Myths and Realities of Contemporary Political Terrorism, " in M. Stohl (ed.) *The Politics of Terrorism*. New York: Marcel Dekker. pp. 1-30.
6. Stohl, M. 1988b in M. Stohl (ed.) " Conclusion: Responding to the Terrorist Threat: Fashions and Fundamentals, "in M. Stohl (ed.) *The Politics of Terrorism*. New York: Marcel Dekker.
7. Schmid, A. & Jongman A.J. 1988. Political terrorism. Revised edition. Somerset, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
8. Flemming PA, Stohl, M, and Schmid, AP. (1988). The Theoretical Utility of Typologies of Terrorism: Lessons and Opportunities, in Michael Stohl (ed.) The Politics of Terrorism; Third Edition: Revised and Expanded. Marcel Dekker, January 1988: pp. 153-195.
9. Przeworski, A. and Teune, H., 1970. *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*. New York: Wiley-Interscience.10. Zisk, B. (1981) *Political Research: A methodological sampler*. Lexington, MA. : D.C. Heath and Company.
11. Crenshaw-Hutchinson, M. 1981. The causes of terrorism. Comparative Politics 13:379-399.
12. Merari, Ariel (1991) "Academic Research and Government Policy on Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 3: 88-102.
13. Gurr, T. 1988. "Empirical Research on Political Terrorism: The State of the Art and How it Might Be Improved" in R. Slater and M. Stohl (eds.) Current Perspectives on Political Terrorism, New York: St. Martin's Press. pp. 115-154.
14. Silke, A. P. 2003. Becoming a terrorist. In Terrorists, victims and society, edited by A. Silke, 29-53. Chichester, UK: Wiley.
15. Lum, C., Kennedy, L.W., and Sherley, A. "Strategies Related to the Prevention, Detection, Management and Response to Terrorism: A Campbell Systematic Review. retrieved 10 September 2005 from http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/doc-pdf/strategiesterrorprot.pdf
16. Mickolus, E. 2002, How Do We Know We're Winning the War Against Terrorists? Issues in Measurement *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* 25: 151–160.
17. Crenshaw, M. The logic of terrorism: terrorist behavior as a product of strategic choice" in W. Reich (ed.), Origins of Terrorism (Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Center 1990) pp. 7-24.
18. Krueger, A. B., and J. Maleckova. 2002. Education, poverty, political violence, and terrorism: Is there a connection? Working Paper No. w9074, National Bureau of Economic Research. retrieved 10 September 2005 http://papers.nber.org/papers/w9074
19. Krueger, A. B., and J. Maleckova. 2003. Education, poverty, political violence, and terrorism: Is there a causal connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 17, 4: 119–144.
20. Li Q and Schaub D. (2004). Economic globalization and transnational terrorist incidents: A pooled time series cross sectional analysis. J Conflict Resolution 48, 230-258-2.2004.
21. S. Brock Blomberg, Hess, G., and Weerapana, A., 2004 Economic Conditions and Terrorism. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 20(2): 463-478 .
22. Ross, J.I. 2004 Taking Stock of Research Methods and Analysis on Oppositional Political Terrorism *The American Sociologist*, 35, 2: 25-37.
23. Gurr, T. 1970. Why men rebel. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
24. Gurr, T. 1986. "The Political Origins of State Violence and Terror" in M. Stohl and G. Lopez Government Violence and Repression. Westwood, CT: Greenwood, pp. 45-72.
25. Stohl, C. and Stohl, M. (2006) *Approaching Globalization* (unpublished manuscript)

Chapter 2
Tyranny of Data:
Going Beyond Theories

Dipak K. Gupta
Department of Political Science, San Diego State University

Abstract

This article takes a look at the availability of data on terrorism and discusses the limitations that they impose of the theoretical development of terrorism research. The post-911 days have seen increased importance being placed on terrorism as a significant area of scholarly inquiry. The sheer volume of published literature has been nothing less than breathtaking. Yet, the level of publicly available data on terrorism has not kept pace with the scientific needs of testing hypotheses. After providing a brief survey of major strands of theories, this paper proposes a new look at the needs of collecting open source, publicly available data on terrorism.

Keywords: terrorism, theory, data, review

Introduction

In the ideal academic world theories are tested for their cogency with empirical data. In the realm of scientific inquiry, hypotheses are falsified with empirical investigations and our knowledge base increases by the extent of statistical significance of the proposed correlations between dependent and independent variables. Such testing is a necessary tool for public policy analyses. Much of macro and microeconomic theories were established through hardnosed statistical analyses. The success of empirical analyses, along with the pressing needs of developing proper policies for government intervention in the market place in the aftermath of the Great Depression accorded economists -- the only ones among social scientists – a formal seat in the inner sanctum of power in the United States and elsewhere. Statistical analyses certainly do not produce a single set of recommendations as evinced by the continuing controversy over our many fiscal and monetary policies. However, such testing assures us of a steady increase in the body of knowledge by allowing us to develop a broader understanding of the general laws by which actors can be expected to respond to a set of properly designed stimuli or incentives to shape their aggregate behavior. Thus, we can see that availability of good data does not ensure a single policy outcome and may, in fact, ensure a proliferation of different theories and hypotheses. However, the fact that such extended debates could be held on the basis of testable hypotheses elevated economics to the level of a true policy science.

Today the world faces one of the gravest challenges emanating from the threats of global terrorism. The needs to mitigate such threats require the proper analyses based not on prejudice and presupposition but on proper analyses based on sound empirical techniques. However, before we examine the limitations of the data that restricts current research on terrorism, we would like to examine the current theories of terrorism behavior. Thus, the following section will be devoted to a bird's-eye view of the voluminous literature on the issue. Section three will take stock of the available data. The final section will conclude with the needs of additional information and address the question: who should be entrusted with the collection of such information?

Theories of Political Movements and Terrorism

A number of books and articles have done a great service to the readers by putting the burgeoning contributions to the understanding of global terrorism within a manageable framework (see for example, [1-3] Weinberg, Pedahzur and Hirsch-Hoefler, 2004; Victoroff, 2005; Bjorgo, 2005). Yet, in the realm of social sciences, there seems to be a gap in our understanding of acts of terrorism from a coherent behavioral perspective. The vastness of the existing literature requires an overall scheme of classification.

Before we begin our discussion, it is important to start with three important and interrelated caveats. Within the extremely diverse literature, there is a thin but resolute strand on which there is a general agreement: it is impossible to offer a universally accepted definition of terrorism [1, 4] (Schmid 1984; Weinberg, Pedahzur, and Hirsch-Hoefler, 2004). Therefore, with the term terrorism remaining largely ambiguous, conveying different meaning to different people, its analyses suffer from an inherent and yet incurable conceptual weakness.   This current effort is no exception to this rule

Second, although terrorism has a long history, its systematic analysis has a short past.   In fact, the earlier significant writings concerned themselves with social movements rather than terrorism. Hence, we should view terrorism in its broadest possible connotation as a part of a larger social movement, a politically inspired collective action to procure public goods for the enjoyment of every member of the community.[1]

The third caveat relates to our attempt to put the burgeoning literature on terrorism in a schematic form. It is useful to note at this point that these classifications are not airtight and, therefore, are merely heuristic ideal types with a considerable degree of conceptual overlap.

---

[1] The concept of public goods was introduced by Samuelson (1965) and is defined with two important attributes, *excludability* and *exhaustibility*. Public goods are for the enjoyment of every member of the community, regardless of their level of involvement in the effort at procuring these goods. Thus, if tax dollars pay for clean air, a destitute person who does not pay any taxes is free to enjoy the benefits of a clean environment. Second, the benefits of public goods do not get exhausted with the increase in the number of users. Therefore, when a new child is born, we don't worry about her share of the clean air (see Baumol and Blinder, 1985, pp 543-44).

A Classification Scheme of Theories of Collective Movement and Terrorism
Case Studies and other non-theoretical approaches

Table 1
Classification of Theories of Social Movement and Terrorism

No Theoretical foundation	Studies Based on Theoretical Foundations			
	No explicit assumption regarding human nature		Explicit assumption regarding human nature (Rational Choice Model)	
Descriptive studies	Individual (micro) based	Societal (macro) based	Individual (micro) based theories	Group (macro) based
Historical case studies	Social learning Psychological approaches Psychopathology Social psychology Social learning Identity theory Narcissistic personality Paranoia hypothesis	Social Structural theories • Marxist theories Western sociological theories Relative Deprivation theories Resource mobilization theories	Individual cost/benefit analysis and the decision to participate in a collective action	Strategic use of violence by terrorist groups (game theoretic approach).

We have presented my classification scheme for analyzing social movements in general, and terrorism in particular, in Table 1. We may start out with a dichotomy: those who use theoretical frameworks for analyzing the causes of terrorism and those who do not and, in stead, draw conclusions from detailed descriptive studies. The vast majority of the books and articles do not use any theoretical structure. For instance, Walter Laqueur's (1977) classic study of terrorism is a historical analysis [5]. So are the works of eminent social and political historians such as Theda Skocpol [6] and David Rapoport [7-9]. Similarly, terrorism specialists, such as Brian Jenkins [10], Alex Schmid [4], Bruce Hoffman [11], Rohan Gunaratna [12] Marc Sageman [13], or Clark [14] have made valuable contributions that are not grounded in any particular social theory. Similarly, numerous case studies by noted academics have made significant contributions toward our understanding of various terrorist groups and the motivations of individual participants (see for instance [15]). Then there are numerous books and articles by eminent journalists, which illuminate us about the ground realities in which terrorism can flourish (see for example [16]).

Psychological approaches

For those who use theoretical framework, we may start with yet another dichotomy: where the researchers make an explicit assumption regarding human behavior and where they do not. In the area of social movements, most theories make no explicit

assumption about what motivates an individual. The social structural theorists seek the root causes of political violence and social movements within the structure of the society. In contrast to the meta-structural theorists, psychologists, psychiatrists and social psychologists study individual behavior and attempt to understand their collective behavior. Since psychiatry and psychoanalyses are driven by observations of individual behavior, their approach to the analysis of political violence started out by scholars attempting to understand the motivations of the leaders [17].[2] One of the most interesting findings of this line of reasoning is that while terrorist groups are some times led by people, who may be classified as "insane," "psychopathic" or "sociopathic," the foot soldiers of terrorism are rarely diagnosed as such [18-23].

A number of studies have been conducted on the basis of detailed interviews of the terrorists and participants in the violent social movements by eminent psychiatrists or psychologists. Their collective work has significantly enhanced our knowledgebase regarding the motivations of not only the leaders [24, 25] but also the followers in the global campaigns of terrorism [13, 23, 26-34].

However, the results of the interviews or careful studies of case histories of the terrorists by trained psychologists and psychiatrists produced contradictory results. In fact, the myriad literature on the psyche of the terrorists produced the meager harvest of two conclusions: First, the vast majority of the perpetrators of the terrorist acts, however egregious, cannot be classified as psychotics or suffering form any other diagnosable maladies of the mind. Second, there is no stable profile of terrorists or potential terrorists.[3]

Social structural theories

The sociologists and political scientists hypothesize that social and political movements take place as a result of imbalances within the social structure. For instance, Karl Marx argued that the capitalist system of production dissociates laborers from their own fruits of labor. As a result, they feel alienated. Their alienation gives birth to political actions ("class struggle") against the capitalist socio-political and economic superstructure. Practicing Marxists throughout the world based their revolutionary activities on the theory of class struggle. In this struggle it was not important to focus on the psychological aspects of an individual since their participation resulted from the manifest destiny of the flawed system. Therefore, although "alienation" is a psychological term, Marx and his followers were by no means interested in the psychological state of an individual. They assumed that the existence of alienation of the proletariats would propel them to take up arms against the capitalist system as soon as they realized the "true" causes of their anguish.   The revolutionary leaders only differed as to how this "realization" would come about. While Mao [35] and Lenin [36] proposed extensive "education" for the "politicization of the masses," Guevara [37], Marighela [38] and other Marxist revolutionaries, such as the leader of the Naxalite movement in India Charu Mazumder [39, 40] argued for armed insurrection to serve as the catalyst force to ignite the fire of class hatred.

---

[2] Although Freud (1929) in his later life attempted to use his own theory of psychoanalysis to the understanding of social violence by arguing for a dialectical process between love and death, eros and destruction, his line of reasoning did not fare well in the subsequent scholarly evolution.

[3] For a detailed discussion of the psychological theories of terrorism, see Victoroff (2005).

In Western sociology and political science, Smelser [41], Lipset [42], Deutsch [43], and Huntington [44] sought reasons for political stability and rebellion within the folds of social structure.   When imbalances cause structural strain (Smelser and Deutsch) or a regime suffers from a lack of political legitimacy (Lipset), or the demands on the polity outstrips its ability to deliver (Huntington), social order tends to break down

Relative deprivation theory

Insightful as they were, the early efforts at linking sociopolitical and economic inequalities to rebellions and insurrections did not address the critical question of testing the hypotheses with the help of empirical investigations.   While structural theorists were happy attempting to explain rebellion in the third world nations, the decades of 1960s and 70s saw a rising tide of dissident activities in the affluent West, where the structural inequities were supposed to be low.   Davies [45], Feierabend and Feierabend [46, 47] and Gurr [48] attempted to provide an answer to this puzzle by attempting to fuse an essentially individual-based theory of aggression, proposed by Dollard et al [49] to the structural conditions of a society.   They argued that when expectation outstrips achievement -- regardless of the absolute levels of economic consumption or the provision of political rights -- frustration is generated.   The collective frustration turns to anger and hence, to violence.

Concerns over mass rebellion and terrorism in Europe and North America, saw a significant increase in government funding for collecting quantitative data on various aspects of political violence [50-54]. The accumulated numerical information gave a shot in the arms for quantitative research into mass movements and allowed researchers to test hypotheses with statistical techniques. Thus, a number of scholars attempted to establish a link between social movements and factors of economic inequality. For instance, Hibbs [55], Venieris and Gupta [56], Muller 57] attempted to correlate political violence with inequality in income. Russett [58], Mitchell [59], Paige [60], Paranzino [61], Midlarsky [62], Midlarsky and Roberts [63], Seligson [64] examined its causal link with land distribution. Gupta [65] attempted to develop a surrogate for measuring relative deprivation as a determining factor of sociopolitical instability. Unfortunately, the results, based on cross-national analyses produced a mixed bag of relatively weak correlations. This demonstrated the fundamental weakness of the macro theories of revolution.   Social, economic, and political inequalities do provide the necessary conditions for violent uprising, but they are not the sufficient causes.   In other words, acts of rebellion do not take place simply because there is widespread frustration. For that they need additional factors.

Resource mobilization theory

The search for the sufficient causes of political violence propelled a number of prominent sociologists [66-70] to offer theories of resource mobilization. Their theory points to the need of social networks to channel the individual frustrations and alienations into a coherent collective action.   In this theory the community institutions and social networks become effective mobilization vehicles for collective action when the dissident leadership can draw on shared beliefs and worldviews that motivate individual actors and legitimize the acts of rebellion.   Although the resource

mobilization theory attempts to bring about a synthesis between social structural theories and psychological theories, the problem they face is that a theory of rebellion based on leadership and social networking is not amenable to testing of hypotheses based on statistical techniques. Therefore, those who have attempted to offer quantitative evidence (e.g., [71]) have faced number of serious methodological problems.

Rational Choice and Behavioral Challenges

While the above-mentioned theories shed important lights on the motivations of rebellious behavior, none of them make any effort at modeling the mind; they do not make any fundamental assumption about what motivates a human being. Only neoclassical economics builds its theoretical edifice on the foundation of the assumption that human motivation. Writing in 1881, Edgeworth, one of founding fathers of neoclassical economics, asserted that: "the first principle of Economics is that every agent is actuated only by self-interest" [72: p.18]. This fundamental assumption of human motivation has since been the foundation on which the edifice of economics as a social science has been constructed.

The formal theoretical structure of economics is based on the rational calculation of maximization of self-utility, given an individual's set of tastes and preference. In this theoretical structure, one does not question the origins of tastes and preferences and takes them as given.[4] Economic methodology, born out of the need to understand market behavior of buyers and sellers, made spectacular advancements in formulating and testing hypotheses by using econometric analyses. Their success allowed economists an unprecedented access to the inner sanctum of power; they alone among social scientists became integral parts of macroeconomic policy making in the United States and elsewhere. Thus, in their classic study, Stigler and Becker felt justified in asserting: "Our hypothesis is trivial, for it merely asserts that we should apply standard economic logic as extensively as possible" [73: p. 89].

This success soon allowed economics and its progeny--the rational choice theories--to impose their hegemonic control over other branches of social sciences.[5] The popularity of rational choice theory in the realm of political sciences began with the publication of Anthony Down's 1957 seminal work and quickly became a recognized discipline [74]. Let us discuss the development and shortcomings of rational choice theory in understanding the motivation of the terrorists.

The name "rational choice" carries with it a number of important implications. To begin with, the rational choice not only models an actor's decision-making calculus, it proceeds to define *rationality* itself. It tells us that rational people take decisions based on the assessment of expected benefits and costs of each action and that to do otherwise, is "irrational", or a bit more charitably, "a-rational."

The precept of economic rationality can be applied to the action of a single participant in an act of political rebellion [75] or a rebel organization [76, 77], or to a

---

[4] For a vigorous defense of economic rationality, see Stigler and Becker (1977). And for a cogent criticism, see Sen (1990).
[5] For an excellent early discussion of this hegemonic influence of neoclassical economics, see Hirschleifer (1985). For one of the latest, see Ruttan (2002).

state actor [78].[6]   These analyses of human behavior are based on the ubiquitous assumption of self-utility maximization by a "rational" actor, where rationality is strictly interpreted as following the dictates of maximization of narrowly defined self-interest. There are several important analytical problems with the assumption of individual short-term *selfish* utility maximization.

The American political science literature, in the decades immediately following the WWII was awash with celebratory writings of the democratic achievements of the voluntary association of free citizens to further their own interest. The triumph of democracy over its totalitarian alternative was seen through its bedrock assumption of voluntary association. Yet, in 1965, in one of the most influential publications, Olson [79] pointed out the logical pitfalls of using economic rationality in explaining the emergence of voluntary associations. His original intent was to explain why people did not automatically form collective organizations and mobilize to provide public goods. Olson introduced the term "free rider" in the social science lexicon, where "rational" individuals would argue that since the benefits of a public good is not restricted to those who participate in the attempt to procure it, it would make sense for each individual to free-ride and let others pay for it. With everybody reasoning this way, no public goods would be produced. Suppose, there are two individuals both of whom would benefit from a political change resulting from the removal of a tyrant from power. However, one has decided to participate in an act of political dissidence, the other has decided to do nothing. We can see that the two actions would mean the following to the two members of the community:

Participant = Benefit – cost

Non-participant = Benefit

As we can see from the above formulations, since a non-participant does not have to pay any cost (from loss of time, income to even loss of life) to get benefits from a collective good, there is no reason for any rational human being to participate in a collective action. Furthermore, as the group size increases, a single participant's contribution to the cause becomes increasingly insignificant. A single voter cannot affect the outcome of a national election. Nor can a single Islamic suicide bomber can expect to establish a global Islamic state with his or her sacrifice. Therefore, nobody would have any reason to contribute to a collective cause. As a result, no collective action will ever be undertaken, no war will be fought (and won), and much of what we see around us as public goods within an organized society will cease to exist.

There are several important policy implications of rational choice theory for the analysis of acts of political dissidence. Tullock [80] pointed out that given this paradox, a revolutionary is either an irrational being or is a hypocrite, who hides his ulterior self-serving motives under the guise of lofty ideals. The former case, such behavior is a matter of psychology or psychiatry and in the latter case his actions are no different from those of a common criminal. In either case, economics has nothing to contribute toward the explanation of such acts. Thus, Olson [79: pp. 161-62] noted that

---

[6] The literature on the use of "rational actor" model to political rebellion is voluminous. I am mentioning only a few representative ones.

It not clear that this is the best way of theorizing about either utopian or religious groups…. Where nonrational or irrational behavior is the basis for a lobby, it would perhaps be better to turn to psychology or social psychology than to economics for a relevant theory.

During the mid-1980s in a private correspondence to the author, Sir Arthur Lewis, a Nobel Laureate economist, responding to an empirical study of cross-national political violence, remarked that:

Political disturbance may be likened to a big and dangerous dog that is peaceful most of the time, but occasionally barks shyly, or gets very angry or even bites a member of the family. What you are asking is what causes these changes of mood. This is a problem of psychology.

The second implication of the rational choice theory is that if these acts are no different from those of common criminals, the only way to restrict such behavior is to increase the costs (punishment) of participation.[7]

History has its own way of injecting irony. Olson wrote his famous book to repudiate the idea of instant formation of interest groups within a democratic system and to explain inactivity even in the face of a dire collective need. His book was published just when the country was going through a "participation explosion." While his seminal contribution created a cottage industry among the academics explaining why people would fail to form groups in many areas of economic political lives, another noted economist observed that "astoundingly large number of citizens, far from attempting to free ride, have been taking to streets, to the nation's capital, or to other places where they expect to exert some influence for change" [81, p. 5]. The illogic of collective action flew in the face of human need to form groups and attempt to solve problems facing an entire community or even a nation.

The behavioral challenge

The parallel course of the dialectical evolutionary process of Western social sciences saw the development of rational choice school starting in the 1950s while a contrasting view of trying to understand how people *actually behave* as opposed to how they *aught to behave* was shaping up under a broad and extremely loose rubric of behavioralism. In his presidential address to the American Political Science Association, Robert Dahl (1961: 763) began by noting that: "Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the "behavioral approach" in political science is the ambiguity of the term." The behavioral approach in the United States started by the "radicals" in the academia and was greatly aided by the infusion of new ideas from Europe as well as the development of survey methods as a tool of analysis, which gave researchers a window into the minds of the people.

Economist Amartya Sen puts the problem with the concept of economic rationality the best by pointing out that "universal selfishness as *actuality* may well be false, but universal selfishness as a requirement of *rationality* is patently absurd" (emphasis Sen's) [83, p. 16]. However, after nearly half a century of criticism of rational choice,

---

[7] For a discussion of economic approach to criminal behavior, see Becker (1976).

exposing its fundamental flaw, behavioralism came to the end of its tether for one simple reason: It could not offer an alternate framework. Thus, Elinor Ostrom in her Presidential address to the American Political Science Association nearly four decades after Dahl acknowledged the shortcomings of the assumption of economic rationality, but insisted that "While incorrectly confused with a general theory of human behavior, complete rationality models will continue to be used productively by social scientists, including the author" [84, p. 9]. An accepted theoretical framework, which Thomas Kuhn calls the "normal science" is never discarded until and alternate framework is proposed and its advantage over the former is clearly demonstrated [85]. As a result, despite the shortcomings of the methodological monism of neoclassical economics, without an alternative theoretical structure, the behavioral challenge turned into a failed revolution.

Economics and Social Psychology: An Integrated Approach

While models on individual motivation based on rational choice theory provide an excellent and time-tested set of hypotheses, we propose that their explanatory capabilities may be significantly improved by combining it with social psychological theory of group behavior. This is particularly true when it comes to the analysis of terrorism. This is because terrorists, unlike common criminals, seek public goods for their entire community [86]. As Bruce Hoffman [11, p.43] correctly points out, "...the terrorist is fundamentally an altruist: he believes he is serving a 'good' cause designed to achieve a greater good for a wider constituency …. The criminal, by comparison, serves no cause at all, just his own personal aggrandizement and material satiation." Myriad work in the field of social psychology support the hypothesis that peoples' demand for public goods and altruistic behavior toward the member of their community is predicated upon the strength of their formation of collective identity [87]. Terrorism is the outcome of a complex social process. Its motivations are not different from any other collective action in which humans as social beings participate on a daily basis. Therefore, the root causes of terrorism should not be sought within the hidden maladies of the mind or in the deep crevasses of brain tissues. Terrorism results from the social processes, which determine our multifarious motivations. The limitations of rational choice approach based solely on the premise of maximization of selfish utility -- the only methodology that aims at developing a formal model of human behavior -- call for its expansion to include the other primordial human need: the need to belong to a group.

Taking Stock of Data

After reviewing the existing theories of terrorism, we may take stock of the existing data sets that are available for empirical research. Data on terrorism are collected by: a) intelligence agencies, b) other government agencies, c) individual academics d) academic institutions and individual academics conducting (mostly government) funded research, e) private "think tanks" conducting government sponsored research f) private for-profit corporations and g) international agencies. A thumbnail picture of this data-gathering scheme has been placed in Table 2.

Each of these seven categories of data collectors carries its respective strengths and weaknesses. For instance, the intelligence agencies concentrate on much more practical day-to-day gathering of information with the explicit objective of thwarting future terrorist attacks. However, their products are classified and therefore not available for independent scrutiny. Although these intelligence agencies often hire noted academics and terrorism experts for projects with long-term visions, which look into the "root causes of terrorism," the clandestine nature of their work puts these out of free-flowing discourse by the experts in the field. Also, intelligence communities often exclude "open source" information, which may open them up for the risk of missing the forest for the trees.

The non-classified data collection on terrorism is sometime undertaken by government agencies other than the intelligence services. For instance the US State Department started collecting international terrorism data and posting them on their web site. However, it was fairly transparent that the purpose of this exercise was purely political and was directed entirely for the domestic audience to claim steady progress in the "war on international terrorism." After some highly publicized fiascos (particularly when the data did not support their claim), this effort was quickly terminated [88, 89].

Table 2
Terrorism Data Collection Effort

	Objective	Availability	Strength and Weakness
Intelligence Agencies	Short-term counterterrorism	Not available publicly	"Connecting the dots." Practical use of data collected through intelligence sources. Example: the CIA, the FBI, etc.
Government agencies	Demonstration of policy success	Publicly available	Often having domestic political agenda. Example: US State Department, Israeli Defense Force, etc.
Individual academics	Academic research and publications	Not available to other researchers	Likely to be less political biased. However, may be limited in scope. Example: Data collected by Ariel Merari, Robert Pape, etc.
Academics/ institutions with large grants	Future social science research	Available publicly	Wide acceptance in the academic community. Example: Inter-university Consortium Data, USA;
Think tanks with government sponsored data collection	Research and dissemination of information	Available publicly	Wide acceptance. Example: RAND-MIPT, International Counterterrorism (ICT), Israel South Asian Intelligence Report (SAIR) India. Etc.
For-profit organizations	Collection of data for sale	Available on subscription basis	Expensive and selective
International agencies			Not currently available

Although there is no accurate count of individual academics collecting primary data for their personal research, a quick study of the relevant journals would convince anyone of their preponderance. These efforts are extremely time consuming and often lead to heated exchanges in the academic conferences. Moreover, the difficulty with

such efforts is that the results of empirical investigations can vary significantly depending on who is collecting the data. Also, quite often, data collected by an individual scholar are not shared with others, although some noted journals, such as the Journal of Conflict Resolution, American Political Science Review and many other economic journals stress the need of their contributors to post their data on their web sites.

There are a number of think tanks and other research outfits that carry out government sponsored research and make their data publicly available on their web sites. The most notable effort in this area is the RAND Corporation's MIPT Knowledge Base (http://www.tkb.org/Home.jsp) data series on global terrorism. Similar series for the South Asian region are also available from South Asian Intelligence Report (http://www.satp.org/).

There are also a number of for-profit corporations that collect terrorism data for sale. Frequently, these data sets are proprietary and cannot be used as open source information.

Finally, one of the most common sources of cross-national economic data is the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. The data from these sources fuel the vast majority of scholarly research and policy analyses worldwide. Yet, sadly, reflecting the extreme political sensitivity there is no such comparable source of information for terrorism.

Limitations of Current data Sets: Discussion

The current effort at collecting terrorism data suffers from a number of shortcomings. The first problem stems from the definition of the term. In the final analysis, terrorism is strictly a political act. That is why it is so difficult in reaching a consensus regarding its definition [4]. The political nature of the beast stands in the way of collection and distribution of information on terrorism in a more standardized form than any indicator of economic performance. Therefore, despite their shortcomings, data on economics are widely available while similar information is largely missing for terrorism. Yet, the irony of this situation is while the need for a full-scale debate on policy issues is in desperate need, arguments go back and forth without having the advantage of a common basis of observed information.

Second, the present data collection on terrorism is restricted only to the incidents of attacks. None of the available datasets contain any information regarding counterterrorism. Therefore, scholars such as Enders and Sandler [90] and Kaplan, Mintz, Mishal, and Samban [91] who have examined the relative efficacy of various counterterrorism tactics have done so with privately collected data. Once again, this does not allow the larger academic community to get involved in the analysis of counterterrorism measures.

Third, there is a serious paucity of data regarding the modality of recruitment in the terrorist groups and the motivations of the individual members for joining. Closely connected to this issue is the lack of information regarding the factors that cause people to leave the path of violence [23].

Finally, if we accept the premise that there should be a concerted effort of collecting and disseminating terrorism data, we may address the question, who should head such effort? As we have noted the international institutions play a major role in

compiling data on economics and many other types of social statistics. However, the political nature may interfere with a highly politicized body, such the United Nations leading the way. Although no institution is totally impervious to the politics of international terrorism, it is important that we find an institution with the maximum possible acceptance by the scholarly world.

Prompted by the needs of the time, there has been a virtual explosion of analytical studies covering nearly every aspect of terrorism. We should note that historically, good data have never preceded good theories. Keynesian revolution in macroeconomics came without the benefits of large aggregate data. However, his theories spurred a concerted effort at gathering information on the economy. We can only hope that the current interest will see such a development in the field of terrorism.

References

1. Pedahzur, Ami, A. Perliger, and Leonard Weinberg (2003). "Altruism and Fatalism: The Characteristics of Palestinian Suicide Terrorists." *Deviant Behavior*. 24: 405-23.
2. Victoroff, Jeff (2005). "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49 (1): 3-42.
3. Bjorgo, Tore (2005). *The Root Causes of Terrorism*. London: Routledge.
4. Schmid A, Jongman AJ. (1983). Political terrorism: A research guide to concepts, theories, data bases and literature. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company.
5. Laqueur, Walter (1977). *Terrorism*. London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
6. Skocpol, Theda (1979). *States and Social Revolutions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
7. Rapoport, David (1977). "The Politics of Atrocity." In Yonah Alexander and Seymore Maxwell Finger (eds.) *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspective*. New York: John Jay Press.
8. Rapoport, David (1984). "Fear and trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions." *American Political Science Review*. 8(1):
9. Rapoport, David (2005) "Four Waves of Terrorism." In Dipak K. Gupta (ed.) *Terrorism and Homeland Security*. Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth.
10. Jenkins, Brian M. (1975) "International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict." In David Carlton and Carlo Schaefer (eds.) *International Terrorism and World Security*. London: Croom helm.
11. Hoffman, Bruce (1998). *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
12. Gunaratna, Rohan (2002). *Inside Al-Qaeda: Global Network of Terror*. New York: Columbian University Press.
13. Sageman, Marc (2003.) *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
14. Clark, Richard (2004). *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror*. New York: Free Press.
15. Bloom, Mia (2005). *Dying to Kill*. Columbia, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.
16. Miller, Judith (1996). *God Has Ninety-nine Names: Reporting From A Militant Middle East*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
17. Wolfenstein, E. (1967). *The Revolutionary Personality: Lenin, Trotsky, and Gandhi*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
18. Crenshaw, Martha (1981). "The Causes of Terrorism." *Contemporary Politics*. 13: 379-99.
19. Ferracuti, Franco (1982). "A Sociopsychiatric Interpretation of Terrorism." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*. 463: 129-40.
20. Reich, William. (1998) "Understanding Terrorist Behavior: The Limits and Opportunities of Psychological Inquiry." In William Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Washington D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Press. 261-79.
21. Silke, Andrew (1998). "Cheshire-Cat Logic: The Recurring Theme of Terrorist Abnormality in Psychological Research." *Psychology, Crime, and Law*. 4: 51-69.
22. Merari, Ariel (1998). "The Readiness to Kill and Die: Suicidal Terrorism in the Middle East." In William Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Washington D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Press. 192-207.
23. Horgan, John (2003). "The Social and Psychological Factors in Suicide Terrorism." In Tore Bjorgo (ed.) *Root Causes of Terrorism*. Proceedings from an International Expert Meeting in Oslo.

24. Post, Jerrold (1993) "Terrorist Psycho-logic: Terrorist Behavior As A Product of Psychological forces." In W. Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press25. Schneider and Jerrold M. Post (2003). *Know Thy Enemy: Profiles of Adversary Leaders and their Strategic Cultures.* Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala. : USAF Counterproliferation Center, [2003] Edition 2nd ed.

26. Russell, C. A, and B. H. Miller (1983) "Profile of A Terrorist" In L. Z. Freedman and Yonah Alexander (eds.) *Perspectives on Terrorism.* Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc.: 45-60.

27. Clark, R. (1983). "Patterns in the Lives of ETA Members." *Terrorism*, 6:423-54.

28. Weinberg, Leonard and William L. Eubank (1987) Italian Women Terrorists. *Terrorism: An International Journal*. 9: 241-62.

29. Strenz, T. (1988). "A Terrorist Psychosocial Profile: Past and Present." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*. 11: 91-111.

30. Handler, J. S. (1990). "Socioeconomic Profile of An American Terrorist: !960's and 1970's." *Terrorism*. 13: 195-213.

31. Robert S. Robins and Post, Jerrold (1997) *Political paranoia : the psychopolitics of hatred*. New Haven : Yale University Press

32. Robins, Robert S. and Post, Jerrold (1997) *Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred*. New Have, CT.: Yale University Press.

33. Hassan, Nasra (2001) "An Arsenal of Believers: Talking to the 'Human Bombs.'" *The New Yorker*. 77: 36.

34. Pedahzur, Ami, A. Perliger, and L. Weinberg, (2003) "Altruism and Fatalism: The Characteristics of Palestine Suicide Terrorists." Deviant Behavior. 24: 405-23.

35. Mao Tse-Tung (1961). *Mao Tse-Tung on Guerrilla Warfare*. Trans. Samuel B. Griffith. New York.: Praeger.

36. Lenin, V. I. (1969). *What Is to be Done?* Originally published in 1902. New York: International Publishers.

37. Loveman, Brian and Thomas M. Davies (1985). Guerrilla Warfare: Che Guvarra. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

38. Marighela, Carlos (1985) *Manual of the Urban Guerrilla*. Chapel Hill, N. C.: Documentary Publication.

39. Banerjee, Sumanta (1980) *In the Wake of Naxalbari: A History of the Naxalite Movement in India*. Calcutta: Subarnarekha.

40. Ray, Rabindra (2002) *The Naxalites and Their Ideology*. 2nd edition. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

41. Smelser, Neil J. (1963). *Theories of Collective Behavior*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

42. Lipset, Seymore (1963). *Political Man*. New York: Doubleday.

43. Deutsch, Karl W. (1969). *Nationalism and Its Alternatives*. New York: Knopf.

44. Huntington, Samuel P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

45. Davies, James C. (1962). "Toward A Theory of Revolution." *American Sociological Review*. 27: 5-19.

46. Feierabend, Ivo and Rosalind Feierabend (1966). "Aggressive Behavior within Polities, 1948-1962: A Cross-National Study." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 10: 249-71.

47. Feierabend, Ivo and Rosalind Feierabend (1972). "Systemic Conditions of Political Aggression: An Application of Frustration-Aggression Theory." In Feierabend, Ivo (ed.) *Anger, Violence, and Politics*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

48. Gurr, Ted R. (1970). *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: University of Princeton Press.

49. Dollard, J. et al. (1939) .*Frustration and Aggression*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

50. Banks, Arthur S. and Robert B. Textor (1963) *A Cross-Polity Survey*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

51. Banks, Arthur S. (1971). *Cross-Polity Time Series Data*. Cambridge, MIT Press.

52. Feierabend, Ivo, Rosalind Feierabend, and Betty A. Nesvold (1969). "Social Change and Political Violence: Cross-National Patterns." In Hugh D. Graham and Ted R. Gurr (eds.) *Violence in America: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence*. New York: Signet Books.

53. Taylor, Charles and Michael T. Hudson (1973). *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

54. Taylor, Charles and Michael Jodice (1982). *Annual Events Data*. Inter University Consortium.

55. Hibbs, Douglas P. Jr. (1973). *Mass Political Violence: A Cross-National Causal Analysis*. New York: Wiley.

56. Venieris, Yannis P. and Dipak K. Gupta (1983). "Sociopolitical and Economic Dimensions of Development: A Cross-Section Model? *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. 31 (4): 727-56.

57. Muller, Edward N. (1985). "Income Inequality, Regime Repressive ness, and Political Violence." *American Journal of Sociology*. 50: 47-61.

58. Russett, Bruce M. (1964). "Inequality and Insurgency: The Relation to Land Tenure to Politics." *World Politics*. 16: 442-54.
59. Mitchell & Seligson, (1968). Op cit.
60. Paige, Jeffrey M. (1970). "Inequality and Insurgency in Vietnam: A Re-Analysis." *World Politics*. 23:24-37.
61. Paranzino, Dennis (1972). "Inequality and Insurgency in Vietnam: A further Re-Analysis." *World Politics*. 24: 565-78.
62. Midlarsky, Manus I. (1982). "Scarcity and Inequality: Prologue to the Onset of Mass Political Revolution." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 26:3-38.
63. Midlarsky, Manus I. And Kenneth Roberts (1985). "Class, State, and Revolution in Central America: Nicaragua and El Salvador Compared." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 29: 163-95.
64. Seligson, Michell A. (1966). "Agrarian Inequality and the Theory of Peasan Rebellion." *Latin American Research Review*. 31: 140-57.
65. Gupta, Dipak K. (1990). *The Economics of Political Violence: The Effects of Political Instability on Economic Growth.* Praeger, New York: N. Y.
66. Tilly, Charles (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, Mass.: Adison Wesley.
67. Tilly, Charles (1993). *European Revolutions 1492-1992*. Oxford, UK.: Basil Blackwell.
68. Tarrow, Sidney (1994). *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
69. McAdam, Doug (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
70. McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly (1996). "To Map Contentious Politics." *Mobilization: An International Journal*. 1 (1): 17-34.
71. Varshney, Asutosh (2002). *Ethnic Conflict and Civil Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
72. Edgeworth, Francis Y. (1881) Mathematical psychics, an essay on the application of mathematics to the Moral Sciences. London, Kegan Paul, 1881. [New York, A. M. Kelley, 1961]
73. Stigler, George J. and Gary Becker (1977). "De Gustibus Non Est Disputandum." *American Economic Review*. 67(1), 76-90.
74. Downs, Anthony (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper.
75. Lichbach, Mark I. (1995). *The Rebel's Dilemma*. Ann Arbor, MI.: University of Michigan Press.
76. Chong, Dennis (1991). *Collective Action and Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
77. Kydd, Andrew and Barbara Walter (2002). "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence." *International Organization*, Vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 263-296.
78. Stohl, Michael (2003). "Expected Utility and State Terrorism." In Tore Bjorgo (ed.) *Root Causes of Terrorism*. Proceedings from an International Expert Meeting in Oslo.
79. Olson, Mancur (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press.
80. Tullock, Gordon (1971). The Paradox of Revolution. *Public Choice*. 11:89-99.
81. Hirschman, Albert O. (1971) *A Bias for Hope: Essays on Development and Latin America*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.
82. Dahl Robert (1961) "The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph For A Monument To A Successful Protest." Presidential address. *American Political Science Review*. V. 63. 763-72.
83. Sen, Amartya K. (1987). *On Ethics and Economics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
84. Ostrom, Elinor (1998). "A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action: Presidential Address." *American Political Science Review*. 1-22.
85. Kuhn, Thomas (1970). *Structure of Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
86. Gupta, Dipak K. (2005, forthcoming) "Exploring Root Causes of Terrorism" in Tore Bjorgo (ed.) *Root Causes of Terrorism*. London: Routledge.
87. Gupta, Dipak K. (2001) *Path to Collective Madness: A Study in Social Order and Political Pathology.* Greenwood Publishing (2001).
88. Krueger, Alan B. (2004) "To Improve Terrorism Data, the US Should Follow The Lead of Economic Statistics." *New York Times* (Late Edition (East Coast)). New York, N.Y.: Jul 22, 2004. p. C.2
89. Krueger, Alan B. and David D. Laitin (2004) "'Misunderestimating' Terrorism" Foreign Affairs. September-October. V. 83, pp- 5-8.
90. Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler (2004) "What Do We Know About the Substitution Effect in Transnational Terrorism?" In Andrew Silke (ed.) Research on Terrorism: trends, Achievements, & Failures. London: Frank Cass, pp. 119-137.
91. Kaplan, Edward H, Alex Mintz, Shaul Mishal, Claudio Samban. "What Happened to Suicide Bombings in Israel? Insights from a Terror Stock Model." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. Washington: May/Jun 2005. Vol. 28, Iss. 3; p. 225-245.

Chapter 3
Have Motivations for Terrorism Changed?

Martha Crenshaw
Wesleyan University

Abstract

This paper offers a critical assessment of the argument that the terrorism we confront today is entirely new. It analyzes the assumptions behind the "new" terrorism view point, questions its usefulness as an explanation of the threat, and assesses the negative implications of its policy recommendations. My conclusion is that the knowledge we have of the psychology of past terrorism may be limited, but it is by no means obsolete. Instead we should integrate and build on our accumulated research findings in order to understand the present and the future.

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, policy

Introduction

The assumption that the motivations for terrorism have changed is rooted in a series of assertions by proponents of a "new" terrorism school of thought [1,2,3,4,5,6]. Their argument is that the terrorism from the 1990's to the present is fundamentally and qualitatively different from the terrorism of the preceding years. Advocates of this perspective argue that the phenomenon has been transformed and that our knowledge of the past is at best irrelevant and obsolete and at worst dangerously misleading. In their view we should discard the old psychological paradigms. I offer a critical assessment of this school of thought from the viewpoint of political psychology [7]. I also ask why, despite its flaws, this point of view is so attractive, particularly to policy-makers and policy elites. I then explain its policy implications. I conclude that we would be mistaken to disregard our accumulated knowledge, despite its limitations.

The "New" Terrorism Model

Briefly summarized, this conceptual model (although not rigorously formal by any means) asserts that terrorism has changed in three basic ways. First the "new" terrorism is said to differ in terms of the goals and motivations of its perpetrators. Second, highly lethal and destructive methods are thought to distinguish the "new" terrorism from that of the past. Third, terrorism is assumed to be different today in terms of the organization behind it.

According to this conceptualization, whereas the "old" terrorists were political and pragmatic (most past terrorists are characterized as nationalists), the "new" terrorists, who are defined primarily as Islamic extremists, want only to destroy. They are often described as millenarianist, with apocalyptic visions. They are absolutists who lack a practical political agenda. Thus their demands are considered to be nonnegotiable.

Furthermore, just as their goals are considered unlimited, so too are their methods. The "new" terrorism model reverses Brian Jenkins's familiar aphorism to say that terrorists want a lot of people dead and not a lot of people watching. Supposedly destruction is an end in itself. The new terrorists are thus assumed to be particularly attracted to the use of weapons of mass destruction, or WMDs. (This assumption begs the question of whether WMDs would actually be more destructive than conventional weapons. We should remember that the September 11th attacks involved the innovative use of old techniques.) They are also assumed to favor suicide attacks, since they presumably care nothing for human life but seek only to please a deity or realize a utopia. Suicide attacks are also preferred because they are more lethal than other forms.

Last, rather than forming hierarchical and centralized conspiracies, like the terrorists of the past, the new terrorists are said to be organized in decentralized flat networks that are geographically dispersed. They resemble a franchise operation, and members communicate at a distance. Their operations are increasingly transnational because of organizational structure as well as the global ambition of challenging the power of the United States and its allies.

In order to focus on psychological issues, my analysis must leave aside a number of other important questions. For example, how well defined and logical is the concept of the new terrorism as well as the distinction it makes between new and old? How applicable are these concepts to the facts? Is there empirical support? Which groups belong in which category? For example, is Hezbollah a case of new or old terrorism? When did the old terrorism end, and the new begin?

In my view, what is most important from a psychological perspective is that the factor that drives the distinction between new and old terrorism is its motivation, although the proponents of this argument do not explicitly recognize motivation as a causal mechanism. Motivation and objectives, in the sense of beliefs and ideology, explain the choice of methods. Thus methods are not chosen out of opportunity or on the basis of calculations of ends vs. means. In fact, even the assumption of a flat rather than centralized organization is partially derived from psychological assumptions about motivation.

Thus instead of reacting to a political situation or to a social context the new terrorists are thought to act on the basis of beliefs and world views derived from religious doctrines. Typically the Salafi school of Islam is singled out as the most important source of contemporary terrorism. Al Qaeda is the most prominent and obvious example of those ideas. "New" terrorists are thought to be fanatical extremists and to seek destruction for its own sake. For example, L. Paul Bremer contended that violence is at the heart of their beliefs and that they act because they hate us and our values [3]. Walter Laqueur attributed the new terrorism to a mind set characterized by rage, aggression, sadism, paranoia, and fanaticism. According to him the "new breed" of terrorist enjoys killing [4]. They lack a concrete political agenda. By way of contrast, the old objectives behind terrorism are thought to be pragmatic, restrained, tangible, and local. The old terrorists are instrumental. According to Simon and

Benjamin, the old terrorists wanted a seat at the table while the new terrorists wish to destroy the table [1].

This interpretation of terrorism sees beliefs as so powerful that they can promote a sense of cohesion and solidarity in the absence of the small group interactions and dynamics that normally contribute to group identity and collective behavior. Beliefs within Al Qaeda, for example, are said to be so strong that they compensate for face-to-face contact among members of the group. Terrorism can thus occur by inspiration and imitation alone, not by direction. Distrust and isolation are overcome by the power of doctrine. Such terrorists can communicate via the Internet and cell phone without need for personal interaction. Furthermore, the transnational dimension of Al Qaeda is due primarily to the motivation behind it, that of creating a worldwide *umma*.

This framework of analysis tends to blur the distinction between the individual and the group, between personal aspirations and collective goals. The use of terrorism is not just a matter of collective identity but of a desire to destroy that unites all militants. Hatred is the key individual motivation. Thus this view assumes a uniformity of individual motivation that creates a collective motivation and fosters cultures of violence.

In terms of this model, doctrine and belief also dictate the means of terrorism. In effect, the end is the means. The new terrorists seek lethality above all. They are indifferent to life, even seeking their own deaths. Thus suicide terrorism is a corollary of this model. In contrast, the terrorists of the past are said to have been highly discriminating and selective. Their violence was "carefully calibrated"[1]. They did not practice excessive brutality as a choice. In fact, if we accept the model of the new terrorism, the new terrorists do not appear to choose targets or tactics. Instead they are compelled by their beliefs.

Examining the Model in Light of Political Psychology

The psychology of terrorism has been studied for over twenty years. Many key figures in the field are represented in this volume [8,9,10,11]. What is the value of what we have learned? Should we simply discard the accumulated knowledge that we have acquired over time? Do psychological analyses of terrorism support the assumptions of the new terrorism model? Do political and social psychologists think that the motivations for terrorism have fundamentally changed? In essence, the answer is no. A curious fact is that psychological analyses are not concerned with the purported distinction between new and old terrorism. In general they concur that motivations and dynamics have remained much the same over time. Nor do they point to a new irrational fanaticism that makes terrorism entirely different. Instead they see continuity and evolution. Thus from the point of view of psychology, we should not dismiss what we know about the terrorism of the past as archaic.

Two extensive reviews of the literature on terrorism reached similar conclusions about the progress we have made. Victoroff concluded that the field has too many theories in relation to the amount of available evidence [12]. He argued that psychological theories of terrorism need to be tested in a systematic way. We need more empirical studies and less speculation. Yet he also notes a core of consensus in the field. Terrorist behavior is always determined by a combination of factors. In terms

of psychological makeup, terrorists are heterogeneous. Each is motivated by a particular complex of experiences and traits. Nevertheless, he suggests that four traits may be characteristic of "typical" terrorists in underground conspiracies. They are highly committed to an ideological cause. They have a high personal stake in a conflict. They may also exhibit low cognitive flexibility, low tolerance for ambiguity, and elevated tendencies toward attribution errors. They are capable of suppressing moral constraints against harming others. Groups with different ideologies have similar group dynamics.

Borum has also thoroughly reviewed the literature on the psychology of terrorism [13]. He similarly recognized the need for more empirical research. He cited a review by Silke that found that the majority of the articles in the primary journals of the field in 1995-99 were "thought pieces" with only a minority of the work based on new data. Yet Borum also noted that three motivational themes were prominent and consistent in the literature: perceived injustice, identity, and a need for belonging. These factors strongly influenced individual decisions to join terrorist organizations and to engage in terrorist behavior. Personality traits are not good predictors. Life experiences have different effects on different people, although certain histories may be markers of vulnerability. It is best to analyze decisions to join, continue, and desist as processes or pathways. Once formed, groups struggle to maintain loyalty and cohesion. Recruitment is essential.

From my brief synopsis of these reviews, we can see that the general findings from psychology are much more complex and nuanced than the conclusions of the new terrorism school. Overall, what do psychological studies tell us? They dismiss explanations based on psychopathology or distinctive personality traits. There is no one terrorist personality or simple profile, although it is the case that most but not all active terrorists are young men. Instead, most psychological research focuses on the interaction between the individual and the group. Studies note, for example, that recruitment processes and indoctrination practices are often similar across different groups. The structure of beliefs is familiar. Enemies are dehumanized, stereotyping of outgroups is rampant, conflicts are presented as absolute, and attribution errors are common.

Individuals decide to form or join such violent groups for a variety of motives. They may act because they have experienced personal humiliation or loss. Others seek financial gain or social stature. Many identify as strongly with the group as with the political cause that it represents.

Most members of violent underground organizations employ the same mechanisms for overcoming moral inhibitions. Within these organizations roles and functions are specialized, which may permit moral disengagement and avoidance of responsibility for killing. The process of radicalization is gradual, not a sudden conversion. Commitment to extremism often comes in stages. Members of underground conspiracies often knew each other before being recruited into the organization; they were high school or college friends, siblings, or were joined by other affective bonds.

Furthermore, ideology has always been important to terrorism. The nationalist ideologies that are now thought to have been so moderate and reasonable have often been stronger and more conducive to radicalization than others because of their roots in a community united by history, memory, and tradition. In fact nationalism is likely to encourage rather than discourage indiscriminate violence against members of an

opposing community or outgroup. Many mass killings take place within the context of communal conflict and civil or ethnic war. Lack of discrimination in violence is not tied exclusively to religion. (Consider genocide in Rwanda, for example.) All ideologies employed by the underground groups that use terrorism promote a "subjective reality." All belief systems behind terrorism legitimize attacks that would otherwise be regarded as socially transgressive or taboo. All have a moral component. They dwell on injustice. As conflicts escalate, each side accumulates more and more grievances, and more and more atrocities to avenge. Revenge remains a dominant motive for terrorism over time, beginning at least in the nineteenth century.

The groups that use terrorism, whether old or new, have audiences and constituencies whose support they seek. All need critical social support and cannot long survive without it. Audiences and constituencies can be a source of restraint as well as incitement. Groups often compete with each other for support from the same social movement sector. Such competition may lead to escalation or decline.

Terrorism varies in terms of the selectivity of its targeting. However, this variation is not necessarily associated with the distinction between religious and secular groups.

Thus psychological studies cast considerable doubt on the "new terrorism" hypothesis. The research findings that I have summarized apply equally well to the new as to the old. Much about terrorism remains the same. How do we resolve this problem? The premise that there is a "new" terrorism depends on the assumption that motivations have changed. However, psychological studies do not support this assumption. Should we say that there is nothing new? Or should we look for other explanations of change in terrorist behavior? (We might also question the assumption that terrorist behavior has fundamentally changed. It is not completely accepted that terrorism is becoming consistently more lethal and its users more eager to kill civilians. So-called suicide terrorism remains extremely rare in comparison to other forms of terrorism.) I conclude that we should look at resources and opportunity as much as changes in doctrine and ideology. We should not assume that the content of radical beliefs, particularly within Islam, is the primary cause of the terrorism that we face today. Focusing only on doctrine may lead us to ignore important changes in the context for terrorism, such as globalization and protracted political conflicts.

Policy Implications and Dilemmas

Why has the new terrorism school of thought become so prevalent and so popular? We can first point to the emotional shock of the attacks of September 11th. It is tempting to attribute being caught off guard to the novelty of the threat rather than to lack of preparedness. At the same time, as a political fact of life, policy-makers tend to define any unforeseen threat as fundamentally new in order to call attention to it and to mobilize the support of the public for the government's response. Furthermore the new terrorism model permits top-down processing of information. If policy-makers can rely on a set of simple assumptions about terrorism, they need not worry about a contradictory and confusing reality. The psychology of decision-making tells us that in the presence of incomplete and ambiguous information, policy-makers are prone to rely on prior cognitive assumptions. Doing so saves them time, energy, and stress. In the same vein, terrorism "experts" might find it convenient not to have to take the time

to study the long history of the phenomenon. Similarly, psychological studies of conflict processes tell us that we are likely to perceive an enemy as evil, engage in stereotyping, dehumanize the enemy, and see the adversary as monolithic. We tend to attribute motives to adversaries rather than trying to understand them. "They" are volitional, whereas "we" are constrained by circumstances. Our behavior is situational, while theirs is deliberate. Framing policy against terrorism as a war encourages such categorical differentiation. It is also sometimes and unfortunately the case that attempts to understand and explain terrorism are misinterpreted as attempts to justify or excuse it. Not being "tough enough" on terrorism is a political charge that carries enormous weight in contemporary debates.

What are the policy implications of assuming that contemporary terrorism is entirely new? First, if the demands of the new terrorists are considered to be nonnegotiable from the start, then governments need make no effort to bring such groups to the table or seek a compromise with them. Governments are not inclined to try to persuade such opponents to accept a democratic bargain or share power. If the enemy is undifferentiated, then there is no point in trying to piece off moderates from extremists. If the adversary is irrevocably hostile and implacably bent on our destruction, then logically the only response is one of force. Defeat is the only solution. Extraordinary measures against terrorism thus become acceptable, even though they may alienate the constituencies whose support is critical to ending terrorism.

The idea that there was a fundamentally new terrorism began initially with the fear that terrorists would acquire WMDs. The Aum Shinrikyo sarin gas attacks on the Tokyo subway system in 1995 reinforced this fear. Apprehension led to an extraordinary focus on the specific risk of WMD terrorism, which was assumed to be the only form that catastrophic or mass casualty terrorism could take. While the danger is real, it is possible that its imminence was exaggerated and that preoccupation with it led to a neglect of possibilities that were more likely if less exotic. (Paradoxically an emphasis on the threat of WMDs can make the use of such weapons even more attractive to terrorists because they expect that their use is likely to cause extreme public fear. Our exaggeration of the WMD threat may thus increase the value of such an attack to terrorist groups.)

Another possible policy consequence is the stigmatization of Islam and the prejudicial stereotyping of all those who adhere to Islamic doctrines that are defined as extremist or fundamentalist. Although the United States government is clear that the war on terrorism is not a war against Islam, many Muslims feel on the defensive. It is important that the public understand that terrorism is not automatically associated with religion. Moreover, focusing exclusively on terrorism inspired by Islamic doctrine may lead governments to neglect nationalist or other secular sources of terrorism at their peril.

Reliance on the new terrorism model also leaves many anomalies and questions unanswered. For example how are Western governments to deal with the possibility that Hamas will gain significant power through democratic elections in Palestine? If they assume that Hamas is an example of new terrorism, and will thus never moderate its ambitions, then should they oppose the expressed will of Palestinian voters? The outcome of the elections in Algeria in 1992 is instructive. How can the new terrorism model explain the political evolution of Hezbollah in Lebanon? If there are no lessons to be learned from policy toward "old" terrorism, then what guidelines should governments rely on?

Conclusion

Considering the full range of psychological research on terrorism can help us reach a more sophisticated and balanced conception of the threat than the new terrorism model offers. We must understand that the motives for terrorism are differentiated and complex, not uniform and simple. Serious academic research has much to say about the relationship between the individual and the group, the belief systems that support extremism, the dynamic processes that lead to violence, the links between religion and politics, and the role of identities in conflict. Without knowledge of different forms of terrorism, we cannot make the comparisons that will further our understanding. Relying on the new terrorism argument would thus severely limit the scope of our empirical research.

References

1. Benjamin, D., & Simon, S. (2000). The New Face of Terrorism. *The New York Times*, January 4.
2. Benjamin, D., & Simon, S. (2002). *The Age of Sacred Terror*. New York: Random House.
3. Bremer, P. (2001). A New Strategy for the New Face of Terrorism. *The National Interest,* 23-30.
4. Laqueur, W. (1999). *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
5. Lesser, I. O., & al., e. (1999). *Countering the New Terrorism*. Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation
6. Morgan, M. J. (2004). Waging War on Terror: The Origins of New Terrorism. *Parameters, 34*(1), 29-43.
7. Tucker, D. (2001). What is New About the New Terrorism and How Dangerous is It? *Terrorism and Political Violence, 14*(3), 1-14.
8. Post, J. M. (2005). When Hatred is Bred to the Bone: Psycho-cultural Foundations of Contemporary Terrorism. *Political Psychology, 26*(4), 615-636.
9. Horgan, J. (2005). *The psychology of terrorism*. London; New York: Routledge.
10. Silke, A. (2003). *Terrorists, victims, and society: psychological perspectives on terrorism and its consequences*. Chichester, West Sussex, England; New York: Wiley.
11. Silke, A. (2004). *Research on terrorism: trends, achievements & failures*. London; Portland, Or.: Frank Cass.
12. Victoroff, J. (2005). The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 49*(1), 3-42.
13. Borum, R. (2004). Psychology of Terrorism: Tampa FL: University of South Florida.

This page intentionally left blank

Part 2

The Psychology of Terrorism: Toward a Scientific Approach

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 4
The Psychology of Terrorism: "Syndrome" Versus "Tool" Perspectives

Arie W. Kruglanski
Department of Psychology and
National Center for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
University of Maryland

Abstract

The collection of empirical data is essential to an understanding of a phenomenon. However, data collection needs to be guided by theoretical analysis. In this talk I examine two distinct psychological approaches to terrorism that view it as a "syndrome" versus a "tool". The syndrome perspective assumes that terrorism is a psychologically meaningful entity, i.e. that terrorists are characterized by a specific set of traits that distinguishes them from non terrorists, and that terrorism as a phenomenon has a definite set of root causes (such as poverty, or oppression). The tool perspective (based on goal-systems theory) assumes that terrorism is a means that any social agent (individuals, states, non state agents) could use as a tactic in real or imagined conflict. The employment and the relinquishment of terrorism could be understood in terms of the general dynamics that govern the use of any means toward goal attainment. These two psychological perspectives on terrorism have divergent implications for the kind of data one would collect to further the understanding of this phenomenon, and counteracting it.

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, social psychology, poverty, oppression, dynamics

Introduction

An important objective of this conference is to ponder the role of empirical data in the social and psychological study of terrorism. I very much agree with this objective and I also feel that data are theory driven, and that their utility is proportionate to the extent that they illuminate a significant (conceptual) issue. If so, the kind of data about terrorism one would want to collect depends on one's theoretical framework.

Against this backdrop, I would like to sketch for you two distinct psychological conceptions of terrorism that have correspondingly different implications for data collection. I would like to label these conceptions, provisionally, as the underline syndrome versus the underline tool perspectives. By "syndrome" I mean a conception of terrorism as a monolithic entity, or a "thing", that is, a meaningful psychological construct with identifiable properties. Like the "medical model" of psychopathology it portrays terrorism as a kind of "disease" with a definite etiology, and symptomatology. This

perspective implies, for instance, that there exist definite internal and external causes of terrorism, the internal causes having to do with personality traits that predispose one to become a terrorist, external causes related to situations (e.g., of poverty, or political oppression) that may push everybody toward terrorism. The syndrome approach suggests that a generic "terrorist group" has distinct organizational structure and evolutionary trajectory, and that terrorism has identifiable beginnings and endings.

Above all, it suggests that one could generalize from one terrorist group to all the others. Based on that logic, it follows that the psychological study of the urban terrorists of the 70s would offer important lessons for understanding the Salafi terrorism of the present, the Jewish Zealots of the first century A.D., the Muslim Assassins of the 11th to the 13th Centuries, or the Thugs of India who sowed terror in that country for fully twelve hundred years, between the 7th and the 19th Centuries.

By contrast, the "tool" approach is rooted in the psychology of goal-means relations [1, 2]. It assumes rather little about the uniform properties of terrorists, or their organizations. Instead, it views terrorism as a <u>means to an end</u>, a tactic of warfare that anyone could employ. It suggests that like the rocket launcher, the tank or the AK-47 assault rifle, terrorism may be utilized by non-state militias, state-sponsored armies, and even lone perpetrators. The "psychology" here is very different than that of the "syndrome" approach. Its major concerns are the conditions under which an individual or a group would opt for a given course of action versus its possible alternatives, given similar objectives.

Terrorism as a Syndrome

The terrorist personality

It seems fair to say that the "syndrome" approach has yielded relatively little by way of understanding terrorism as a general phenomenon. Take terrorists' personality traits and motivations. Early psychological studies inquired whether terrorists are driven to extreme violence by some kind of psychological disturbance. However, painstaking empirical research on the German Red Army Faction (the Bader Meinhoff Gang), on the Italian Red Army Brigades, the Basque ETA and the various Palestinian organizations didn't reveal anything particularly striking about the psychological makeup of members of terrorist organizations. As McCauley [3] summarized it: "The results of these investigations take several feet of shelf space, but are easy to summarize. The terrorists did not differ from the comparison group of non-terrorists in any substantial way; in particular, the terrorists did not show higher rates of any kind of psychopathology….Indeed terrorism would be a trivial problem if only those with some kind of psychopathology could be terrorists. Rather we have to face the fact that normal people can be terrorists, that we are ourselves capable of terrorist acts under some circumstances. This fact is already implied in recognizing that military and police forces involved in state terrorism are all too capable of killing non-combatants. Few would suggest that the broad range of soldiers and policemen involved in such killing must all be suffering some kind of psychopathology…" (pp. 36-37).

"Root causes" of terrorism?

Perhaps then, the external <u>root causes</u> of terrorism are the unifying <u>thread</u> common to

terrorism everywhere? Though this may seem like an appealing idea, research seems to have "struck out" here as well. No systematic relation appears to exist between poverty and terrorism, both at the level of the individual perpetrators and/or at the level of their country of origin [4, 5]. At the individual level, not all terrorists are disadvantaged. In fact, the leading ones often are quite well off (e.g., Osama Bin Laden, the 9/11 terrorists, the Baader Meinhoff gang, or members of the Weatherman Underground here in the U.S.). Several empirical studies have failed to find any direct connection between either education, or poverty, and the propensity to engage in terrorism [4, 5, 6].

Things do not look any different at the aggregate level. Thus, in the late 1990s and 2000, when terrorism against Israel citizens was soaring, the average Palestinian was reporting an optimistic economic forecast, and unemployment was declining. A recent time-series analysis looking at the relation between economic conditions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the number of terrorist incidents found none [4].

Come to think of it, the link between poverty and terrorism is obscure from a conceptual perspective. Presumably, its underlying logic is that poverty produces suffering and frustration, and that this breeds aggression against others that translates into terrorism. But in scientific psychology the simple frustration-aggression hypothesis has long been discredited [7]. Just because one is frustrated does not necessarily mean that one would aggress. Instead, frustration could lead to withdrawal, depression, escape, or aggression against self instead of against others. In short, conceptual considerations and empirical evidence converge to suggest that poverty is neither a sufficient nor a necessary cause of terrorism.

If not poverty, or poor education, what then might be the root cause of terrorism? Some data reported by Krueger and Laitin [4] reveal that many of today's terrorists originate in countries that suffer from political repression. But recall that Western democracies such as Germany, Italy, Spain, France, Canada, or the US have all seen instances of indigenous terrorism, whereas Stalin's Soviet Union, for example (a repressive regime by all criteria), or Hitler's Nazi Germany saw none.

Nor does psychological theory support a causal connection between repression and terrorism. Political oppression could be frustrating, to be sure, but, again, the causal link between frustration and aggression is tenuous at best [7]. Other responses to oppression such as escape have been common. Thus, rather than engaging in terrorism tens of thousands of Germans attempted to escape the oppression of the former GDR by fleeing over the Berlin Wall. Many individual terrorists across the globe are no more politically oppressed than they are poor. Often they have enjoyed all the freedoms that democratic societies afford, yet they elected to pursue terrorism, nonetheless.

These varied considerations raise doubts that, if not poverty or illiteracy, then political oppression is the <u>root cause</u> of terrorism. In fact, they raise doubts whether the search for ultimate "root causes" of terrorism, of whatever kind, isn't likely to prove disappointing.

Root causes versus contributing factors

At this juncture, I wish to disavow something I am not saying. I am not suggesting that personality traits and inclinations are <u>irrelevant</u> to terrorism, nor that poverty or oppression are necessarily irrelevant to terrorism. But their potential relevance to

terrorism is in the role of <u>contributing factors</u>, which is logically different, and admittedly weaker, than the relevance of <u>root causes</u>.

By a "root cause" I understand a factor that is both a necessary and a sufficient condition for an event. For instance, influenza A virus is a root cause of the A type influenza (the avian flu). This flu will not occur without the virus, and presence of the virus in a susceptible bird guarantees the occurrence of the flu. Specific personality factors, poverty, oppression, etc. <u>cannot</u> be considered the root causes of terrorism because they are neither necessary nor sufficient for terrorism to occur.

By contrast to "root causes," "contributing factors" may be correlated with given variables of interest <u>under specific circumstances</u>. For instance, in Lebanon where anti-Israel terrorism was salient and acceptable right wing authoritarians have been found to support it more than individuals low on this dimension. However, in the U.S. where the idea of terrorism is an anathema, right wing authoritarians were more supportive of counterterrorism than individuals low on this dimension. In circumstances where terrorism is framed as a tool of collective struggle, persons with collectivistic versus individualistic motivations were more inclined to endorse it. Where the idea of terrorism is salient and positively valued, malignant narcissists, that is persons given to unlimited power cravings, absence of conscience, a paranoid outlook and unconstrained aggression may be more likely to support it than others. And individuals high on sensation seeking may be more likely to support it than individuals low on sensation seeking. However, where terrorism is socially shunned, individuals high on sensation seeking may seek gratification in pursuing other thrills, bungee jumping, extreme skiing, skydiving, etc.

It also is plausible that individuals under conditions of abject poverty or intolerable oppression, hence unable to attain their goals via conventional means, would be easier converts to terrorism <u>if the idea was suggested to them</u> than perfectly content persons busy pursuing their lives' objectives. In this sense, poverty or oppression could well constitute contributing factors, increasing individuals' openness to terrorist rhetoric, without them automatically causing terrorism.

Group dynamics

Is the terrorist <u>group</u> characterized by a unique manner of functioning? The <u>pyramid model</u> implicit in the writings of Gurr, Sprinzak, and McCauley highlights the broad base of support that terrorist activities require. The foundation of the pyramid consists of the sympathizers with the terrorist cause who may not themselves be prepared to embark on terrorist activities. "In Northern Ireland, for instance, the base of the pyramid has been all who agree with the concept of "Brits Out." In the Islamic world, the base of the pyramid has been all those who agree that the U.S. has been hurting and humiliating Muslims for fifty years…" [3; p. 21].

In this vein the decline in the 1970s of the *Front de Liberation du Quebec* (FLQ) has been attributed to the decline of political support for its activities by the separatist *Parti Quebecois*. The decline in the U.S. of the Weather Underground has been attributed to a withdrawal of the New Left's support from its violent approach.

The pyramid metaphor is valuable (and probably applicable to current major players in the terrorism arena, like Al Qaeda, Hezsbollah, Hamas, or the Basque ETA). But the question is whether they apply to terrorism as a <u>general</u> category or to <u>particular</u> terrorist organizations, however important. This brings up a fundamental

issue: What exactly can be meant by "terrorism" as a psychological category, and how can it be defined. Unfortunately, the conceptual picture in this department is rather murky.

Defining Terrorism

Schmid and Jongman [8], in their comprehensive volume, *Political Terrorism,* list no less than 109 definitions of terrorism and they do not even pretend to be exhaustive. Why is it so difficult to agree on a definition? A major difficulty is that the term 'terrorism' is highly pejorative these days, evoking the motivation to distinguish it from forms of aggression that one wishes to condone. Consider a recent definition of terrorism by the US Department of State. It asserts that: "'terrorism' is a premeditated, politically motivated violence (conducted in times of peace) perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine state agents, usually intended to influence an audience to advance political ends."

This allows one to set terrorism apart from (1) state originated violence at times of war (e.g. the bombings of German or Japanese cities during WWII), (2) incidental killings of noncombatants (the so called "collateral damage"), and (3) underground resistance to occupation. One cannot help but wonder whether this definition of terrorism, and many others, have not been shaped by the desire to set it apart from forms of violence that one's own nation or its allies were engaged in and that one wished to defend as legitimate and moral. It has been often said that one person's terrorist is another's person freedom fighter, an inevitable consequence of allowing one's <u>motivations</u> to dictate one's <u>definitions</u>. As a case in point, Khalil Shikaki's public opinion poll of December 21 found that 98.1% of the Palestinian's surveyed <u>agreed or strongly</u> agreed that "The killing of 29 Palestinians in Hebron by Baruch Goldstein at al Ibrahimi Mosque in 1994" constitutes terrorism, whereas 82.3% of the same respondents <u>disagreed or strongly disagreed</u> that "The killing of 21 Israeli youths by a Palestinian who exploded himself at the Dolphinarium night" constitutes terrorism.

One way out of the quandary is to "bite the bullet" and define terrorism in terms of a core element found in nearly all the definitions, the strategic use of terror for the advancement of one's objectives. Several authors indeed came close to such a "mother of all the definitions" of terrorism, for instance, Hoffman [9] who proposed that "Terrorism is a purposeful human political activity...directed toward the creation of a general climate of fear, and...designed to influence in ways desired by the protagonist, other human beings, and through them, some course of events." Similarly, Carr [10], stated that "terrorism... is simply the contemporary name given to, and the modern permutation of, warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable" (p. 6).

Carr fully realized that this definition "draws no distinction between conventional military and unconventional paramilitary forces." Yet to him, this precisely is the point, because: "Anyone who asserts that a particular armed force or unit or individual that deliberately targets civilians in the pursuit of a political goal is for some reason not an exponent of terrorism has no genuine interest in defining and eliminating this

savage phenomenon, but is rather concerned with excusing the behavior of the nation or faction for whom he or she feels sympathy..." (p. 7).

Terrorism as a Tool

The approaches, immanent in the definitions proposed by Carr and by Hoffman, represent a shift from a syndrome perspective on terrorism to one that views terrorism as a tool, deployed for a purpose, of whatever kind. In this vein Telhami [11, p. 15] criticized the "syndrome" views inherent in "the global war on terrorism as if [it were] a movement, an ideology or a political coalition, with little differentiation between cases." Instead, he proposed to view "terrorism…as an instrument, not a movement; as an immoral means employed by groups some of which have just causes, some of which don't…" [11].

The "tool" view of terrorism as a utilitarian use of fear requires the coming to terms with the fact that in recent history numerous organized states actually perpetrated "terrorism." Rummel [12] estimates that during the 20th century, 169,000,000 people were killed by the activities of governments including 130,000,000 million killed by people's own governments. The remaining 39, 000,000 are the estimates of civilians killed by enemy forces during various wars. In the preponderance of those cases, "killing by government" was carried out in order to break the enemy morale, and hence to advance the state's objectives. This, of course, is quintessentially "terroristic."

According to Rummel [12], merely 518,000 civilians were killed in the 20th century by non-state groups, of which genuine "terrorists" (e.g. as opposed to guerilla fighters), are only a part. This amounts to less than half of one percent of the civilians whose demise was brought about by state power.

Rounding off this discussion of terrorism's users is the realization that isolated individuals too can and have employed this tactic. Ted Kaczynski, the ill famed "Unabomber," used terrorism in a pristine isolation. So, apparently did Igal Amir, Isaac Rabin's assassin. Erik Rudolph, the Atlanta bomber appears to have been a "lone gunman," relatively speaking. John Muhammad, and Lee Malvo, the Washington area snipers, used terrorism in a pair-wise formation, etc.

Implications of the "Tool" View

The Moral Dimension

A major implication of the "tool" view of terrorism was seen to concern its moral unacceptability, warranting a total "war on terrorism" aimed to eradicate it in all of its shapes and forms. Telhami [11, pp. 16-17] expressed it clearly: "The argument against terrorism is essentially moral: To dissuade others from using such tactics, one has to speak with moral authority. The ends no matter how worthy cannot justify the means... the deliberate attack on civilian targets is unacceptable under any circumstances. Carr [10], similarly branded terrorism as "murderous", "brutal" and "savage", on an equal plane with such morally reprehensible activities as genocide, piracy, and slavery. Much like Telhami [11], Carr [10] could see "no circumstances under which [it is] excusable" (p. 24). He ultimately argued for the deployment of an unremitting force

against terrorism, warranted by the essential <u>immorality</u> of the phenomenon and its <u>evil</u> nature.

Moral dilemmas

But the "end doesn't justify the means" doctrine, though intuitively appealing turns out to be more complex than meets the eye. For, strictly speaking, it <u>is precisely</u> the end that justifies a means, what else?   Why else would one get into a car and <u>drive</u> (the means) if not to <u>get somewhere</u> (the end)? Why else would one <u>maintain a diet</u> (the means) if not for <u>one's health</u> or <u>appearance</u> (the end). At least literally then, the "end doesn't justify the means" statement seems inaccurate.

A more nuanced interpretation of this phrase, however, <u>is</u> reasonable. Its intent is that a <u>given end</u> does not justify the means <u>if</u> that means undermined another important goal. For instance, the goal of attaining "freedom from oppression" may appear not to warrant the means of "targeting civilians" because this undermines the superior end of "preserving human life." That makes perfect sense. But what if the undermined end was <u>less</u> important than that the end advanced by the given means? For instance, would one <u>lie</u> to save a child's life? Would one steal from the rich to give to the poor? Both latter cases, exemplify Kohlberg's [13] moral dilemmas in which an activity (e.g., lying, stealing) detrimental to one goal (such as that of honesty) may serve a superior end (the saving of a life, alleviation of suffering). In fact, Kohlberg [13] regards the decision to lie or steal under these circumstances as a more evolved form of morality than a rigid adherence to the compromised objective.

What this boils down to then is a *<u>moral calculus</u>*: An end advanced by the means justifies it if it exceeds in moral significance the end obstructed; it doesn't justify it if the opposite held true. It is in those terms precisely that Harry Truman justified after the fact the use of the A and H bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: that ending the war and saving countless American and Japanese lives was more important than the preservation of the fewer lives the bombing would claim. Numerous Americans agreed. In short, morality, rather than in black and white, often comes in shades of gray.

The moral calculus implicit in the "end justifying means" issue isn't just a matter of armchair philosophizing. It has important implications for how one thinks about the "war on terrorism." First, terrorists and their supporters may feel morally justified in their activities if they deem the ends advanced by terrorism superior to the ends forestalled. Of course, we deemed their activities reprehensible because our moral calculus is different from theirs. Secondly, we too under the appropriate circumstances might sacrifice (what to us appear) the less important for the more important objectives. Thus, in our war against terrorism we occasionally risk the infliction of 'collateral damage' and the killing of innocent civilians because we deem such risks as necessary and unavoidable. The terrorists and their supporters as well as the families of the victims would surely beg to disagree with our moral calculus in this matter.

Thirdly, the fight against terrorism <u>itself</u> might appear morally ambiguous, if the terrorists fought a cause we deemed just, and consistent without own moral priorities, e.g. the spreading of democracy, and civil society, the protection of human rights.

Global war on terrorism

In short, the notion of the "global war on terrorism" may need to be reassessed. First, it seems unrealistic. Because anybody can, has, and potentially will use the "fear factor" in an attempt to advance their important objectives (just think of the presumed deterrence presumed to justify the death penalty!) - - taking seriously the fight against all "terrorism" could mean a fight on too many fronts and against too many enemies. Secondly, because of the moral complexities involved we need to choose our battles carefully, and focus on terrorists whose defeat is truly worth the price. This means replacing the indiscriminant globality of our struggle by focused specificity. In contrast to a general "war on terrorism," it suggests restricting it to specific groups that use terrorism against ourselves. In words of the 9/11 commission "…the enemy isn't just "terrorism", some generic evil. This vagueness blurs the strategy. The catastrophic threat at this moment in history is more specific" [14; p. 362].

The Psychology of Means Deployment and the Use of Terrorism

The tool of terrorism

What kind of means is terrorism? By now, early into the 21st Century, "terrorism" boasts a "a variety of tactical techniques honed by decades of the terrorist experience, recorded in terrorist manuals, available on the internet, and caught up with cutting edge technologies. Whereas the 19th Century Anarchists practiced terrorism through the assassination of public figures, subsequent terrorist movements enlarged the repertory of violent moves to include the hijackings of planes, the kidnapping and/or beheading of hostages, suicide bombings, car bombings, or the use of poisonous gas. The greatest current fear is the potential future use by terrorists of the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) [15], which might bring the terrorist threat to the dreaded next level. Today's terrorism also has an immediate access to the mass media, and hence is capable of spreading its message to billions of people worldwide. In short, today's terrorism constitutes a highly appealing and accessible "tool," a means of carrying out a variety of belligerent activities against potential adversaries.

Launching terrorism: Issues of Instrumentality.

Psychologically speaking, the launching of terrorism, as that of any other means, requires a belief that it is an effective means instrumental to attainment of one's cherished objectives [16]. Indeed, the various ideologues of terrorism were at pains to provide elaborate rationales for the instrumentality of terrorism. A well known rationale, offered by 19th Century Russian Anarchists and echoed by the leftist terrorists of the 1970s and the 1980s, was that terrorism would unveil the state's impotence and provoke it to repressive measures contrary to its stated values. This would unmask its hypocrisy and pave way to the Revolution.

A different rationale for terrorism against the West was grounded in the notion that, at the end of the day, the West is soft and degenerate [17], and that it will crumble under the sustained thrust of terrorism. Thus Sayyed Hassan Nasserallah, the leader of

the Hezbollah, articulated a "spider web" theory about the mere appearance, but not the reality, of Western (Israeli) potency. A similar justification was offered by Osama Bin Laden who in a 2003 sermon stated "America is a great power possessed of tremendous military might and a wide-ranging economy, but all this is built on an unstable foundation which can be targeted, with special attention to its obvious weak spots. If America is hit in one hundredth of these weak spots, it will stumble, wither away and relinquish world leadership."

Issues of legitimacy

Because of its extreme nature that flies in the face of major moral injunctions, the use of terrorism requires not only instrumental but also high-powered moral legitimation, [one wouldn't normally commit suicide bombings for a middle class tax cut, or for prescription drugs for seniors]. In other words, it is incumbent to convince the would-be recruits to terrorism that in this instance the end indeed justifies the means. Such justification has typically invoked collectivistic ideologies about justice to the "people," freedom from oppression, service to God, or retribution for crimes against one's nation. For instance, Osama Bin Laden in a 1997 interview with CNN had this to say in justification of a jihad against America: "We declared jihad against the United States, because the U.S. government is unjust, criminal and tyrannical. It has committed acts that are extremely unjust, hideous and criminal….The mention of the US reminds us before everything else of those innocent children who were dismembered, their heads and arms cut off. This U.S. government abandoned even humanitarian feelings by these hideous crimes…"

Discouraging terrorism

The "tool" conception of terrorism has implications for strategies of discouraging terrorism. In brief, this may require persuading the perpetrator that (a) this means is ineffectual, (b) that there exist alternative, more effective, means to the actor's ends, and (c) that terrorism constitutes a hindrance to the attainment of other, important, objectives.

Though schematically simple, implementation of these strategies is anything but, in fact. A major difficulty is that events are subject to construals, often biased by motivations. For instance, despite the *devastation* it brought to the Palestinian people *throughout much of the second intifada*, about 80% of the Palestinian population supported the use of terror tactics (e.g. suicide bombings) against the Israelis, believing this to be an effective tool in their struggle, all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is not that motivations imbue judgments directly, rather they work through the recruitment of supportive arguments for the desired position. As noted earlier, extreme Islamists have maintained that the West is weak and corrupt, hence that it will crumble under pressure if not sooner, then later [17]. This credo immunizes its believers against present setbacks, viewed as temporary stumbling blocks on the way to an ultimate victory. The often invoked parallel with the Crusader state, that after centuries' existence was reconquered by the Muslims under the command of Saladin, is also cited as a proof that, at the end of the day, jihad against the West will pay off [18]. In short, proof is in the "eye of the beholder", and it is often shaped by motivation.

Multifinality

Terrorism may be difficult to give up also because, beside its presumed advancement of the perpetrators' ideological (political, religious, ethno-nationalistic) objectives, it affords the emotional satisfaction of watching the enemy suffer, giving one a sense of great potency. In that sense, terrorism is "multi-purpose" [2], compounding its appeal. From this perspective, such policies as "ethnic profiling," "targeted assassinations," or the inadvertent "collateral damage" inflicted during anti-terrorist campaigns might backfire by fueling the rage of the terrorists and their supporters, hence amplifying the emotional goal of vengeance against the enemy [5]. A recent empirical analysis [19] suggests that "targeted hits" by the Israeli forces actually boosted the estimated recruitment to the "terrorist stock," presumably due to the Palestinians' motivation to revenge the fallen comrades. Thus, whereas "targeted hits" do hurt and presumably reduce the perceived efficacy of terrorism, they concomitantly increase the appeal of terrorism by inflating the intensity of the emotional goal it may serve, creating a complex trade-off situation.

Feasibility of alternatives to terrorism

 Whereas additional goals (such as revenge) may increase terrorism's appeal, availability of alternative means to the terrorism's goal may decrease it. For instance, following the election of Abu Mazin to presidency of the Palestinian authority, and a renewed chance to revive the peace process (i.e. an alternative means to ending the Israeli occupation) —support for suicide attacks among the Palestinians dipped to an all time low in seven years, reaching a mere 27%, according to the Palestinian pollster Khalil Shikaki (March, 2005).

    Alternative objectives. Dissuading the users of terrorism from its deployment may involve a rekindling of alternative objectives, incompatible with terrorism. In the Palestinian context, the opposition to suicide attacks [20] is particularly pronounced among Palestinians likely to subscribe to alternative, individualistic goals, e.g. professional, family-related, or material goals. Thus, such opposition reached 71 % among holders of B.A. degree, compared to 61% among the illiterates, 75% among employees compared to 62% among students, and--curiously enough--74% among individuals willing to buy lottery tickets (i.e., presumably interested in material goals), compared to 64% among those unwilling to buy them.

A Means-Ends Classification of Terrorism Users

The "tool" view of terrorism, affords a classification of terrorism users in accordance with their commitment to that particular means. Users can be committed to terrorism because of its intrinsic properties, such as the sense of power it bestows and the appeal of violence. Also, terrorism perpetrators may admit no alternative means to their objectives. In such cases, the group's commitment to terrorism may be total.

    In such category belong Utopian Islamist groups that according to Rohan Gunaratna [21], a major expert on Al Quaeda, follow the "doctrinal principles of no

negotiation, no dialogue and no peacemaking." Furthermore, Apocalyptic Islamist groups "firmly believe that they have been divinely ordained to commit violent acts and are most likely to engage in mass-casualty, catastrophic terrorism." Given such depth of commitment to terrorism as a tool—it is unlikely that anything short of a total defeat will convince such groups to relinquish its use.

The situation is rather different for users of terrorism for whom it represents merely one among several available instruments, to be launched or withheld in appropriate circumstances. Hamas, Hezbollah or Sein Fein, for example, though not shy of using terrorism, have other means at their disposal (diplomacy, media campaigns) as well as other goals (of political, or social variety). Hamas, for example, desisted from the use of terrorism in the immediate aftermath of the Oslo accords between Israel and the Palestinians, as several Palestinian militias did recently in light of renewed hopes for the peace process. Hezbollah has been recently doing well in the Lebanese elections and insisting on having its supporters serving as ministers in the Lebanese government.

Of particular interest is the possibility that a shift to alternative means to one's original objectives, e.g. becoming a player in the political process, may introduce (in a bottom up fashion) alternative objectives served uniquely by politics yet undermined by terrorism. Conceivably, an organization such as Hezbollah, to the extent that it became part of the Lebanese government, might feel the responsibility for the Lebanese economy and be leery of jeopardizing foreign investments or tourism by risking costly Israeli reprisals.

In short, different terrorism users vary in their potential for relinquishing its employment. "Negotiating with terrorists" is unlikely to work with perpetrators whose commitment to terrorism is total and unconditional, but it might work with ones who may entertain alternative means, and who value alternative goals.

Concluding Comments

It is time now to come full circle and to ask whether the tool conception of terrorism constitutes a reasonable theory, and, pertinent to our present concern, how does it relate to data. Does it account for prior data and does it offer suggestions for further data collection? The answer to both questions would appear to be a guarded yes. For instance, the various contributing factors to terrorism (authoritarianism, sensation seeking, malignant narcissism) may work by introducing motivations to view terrorism as an efficient and moral means to one's objectives. The "pyramid notion" that terrorist organizations may decline when their community support is withdrawn is consistent with the idea that when one's goal of community-belongingness is undermined by one's support of terrorism, one's enthusiasm for this particular means tapers off as well.

Additionally, the tool conception of terrorism offers numerous avenues for further inquiry. For instance, it suggests that feasibility of alternative means may reduce the support for terrorism. Thus, if independence or self-determination could be gained by a referendum (as in the case of Quebec) terrorism may become less appealing than if no feasible political mechanism existed to bring it about, as appears to be the case in Spain. The tool analysis suggests that, if alternative goals became salient that were incompatible with terrorism, support for terrorism would decrease. Muamar Quadaffi's

support for Palestinian terrorism declined when it became clear that this hurts his image and international respectability. The efficacy of policies such as targeted assassinations could be re-examined from the tool perspective, the question being whether the price the terrorists are made to pay, undermining their goal of smooth organizational functioning, is or is not offset by the increased magnitude of the revenge goal, and how does the balance of these two objectives play out over time.

A final word

Admittedly, the tool conception of terrorism glosses over numerous differences between instances of terrorism and it treats in similar terms diverse users of terrorism (states, non-state players, individuals). Such differences might be of importance descriptively and historically, hence of considerable interest to political scientists, sociologists or cultural anthropologists. From the psychological perspective, however, they might represent surface differences reducible to a deep structure possibly captured by the tool conception of terrorism.

References

1 Gollwitzer, P. M., & Bargh, J. A. (1996).   *The Psychology of Action: Linking   Cognition and Motivation to Behavior.* New York: Guilford Press.

2 Kruglanski, A. W., Shah, J. Y., Fishbach, A., Friedman, R., Chun, W. Y., & Sleeth-Keppler, D. (2002). A theory of goal systems. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. (pp. 371-378). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

3 McCauley, C. (2004). Psychological issues in understanding terrorism and responses to terrorism. In C. E. Stout (Ed.) *Psychology of Terrorism: Coping with a Continued Threat.* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

4 Krueger, A. B. & Maleckova, J. (2003). Education, poverty, and terrorism: Is there a causal connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 17, 119-144.

5 Atran, S. (2003). The genesis of suicide terrorism. *Science*, 299, 1534-1539.

6 Berrebi, C. (2003). Evidence about the link between education, poverty and terrorism among Palestinians. *Princeton University Industrial Relations Sections Working Paper* #477.

7 Berkowitz, L. (1993). *Aggression: Its causes, consequences and control*. New York: McGraw Hill.

8 Schmid, A. P. & Jongman, A. J. (1988). *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Databases, Theories, and Literature.* Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company.

9 Hoffman, R.P. (1984). Terrorism a universal definition. Ph.D. Dissertation, Claremont Graduate School.

10 Carr, C. (2003). *The Lessons of Terror: A History of Warfare Against Civilians*. New York: Random House.

11 Telhami, S. (2004). *The Stakes: America in the Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

12 Rummel, R. J. (1996). *Death by Government*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

13 Kohlberg, L. (1984). *The psychology of moral development: The nature and validity of moral stages*. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row.

14 *National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States, The 9/11 Commission Report*. (2004). New York: Norton.

15 Schweitzer, G. (1998). *SuperTerrorism: Assassins, Mobsters, and Weapons of Mass Destruction.* New York: Plenum Trade Publishers.

16 Crenshaw, M. (1990). Questions to be answered, research to be done, knowledge to be applied. In W. Reich (Ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. (pp. 247-260). New York: Cambridge University Press.

17 Buruma, I. & Margalit, A. (2004). *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*. New York: The Penguin Press.

18. Hillenbrand, C. (1999). The *Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

19. Kaplan, E., Mintz, A., Mishal, S., & Samban, C. (2005). What happened to suicide bombings in Israel? Insights from a terror stock model. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism,* 3, 225-235.
20. Shikaki, K. (2004). Palestinian survey research. Unpublished raw data
21. Gunaratna, R. (2002). *Inside Al Quaeda: Global Network of Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chapter 5
Understanding Terrorism:
Old Assumptions, New Assertions,
And Challenges for Research

John Horgan
School of International Relations, University of St. Andrews
Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, U.K.

Abstract

This paper raises a series of issues relating to how we might understand and respond to developments both in terrorism and in terrorism research. While the events of 9/11 have marked a critical turning point in the establishment of a strong sense of momentum in research efforts, it may be premature to support a call for the establishment of terrorism studies as a distinct discipline. Terrorism remains a multidisciplinary subject and, in this respect, it is important that debate ensues both within and between disciplines in terms of ascertaining the relevance of individual disciplines, and the disciplinary boundaries that exist between different perspectives. The author presents a discussion of some issues emerging from psychological perspectives on terrorism, and raises the need to consider the behavior of the State in models of non-State terrorism.

Introduction

It is an exciting time to be engaged in terrorism research. An area that was once the territory of but a few dedicated scholars has attracted phenomenal levels of interest. For those who had been engaged in terrorism research prior to the events of 9/11 there have also been changes, albeit of less significance to even the keenest of newcomers. Although as a subject terrorism has long been acknowledged as warranting a complex, multidisciplinary approach, there are promising signs of fruitful debate emerging both between and within disciplines. The psychology, political sociology, and history literatures have grown significantly, while recent reflections by leading criminologists have lamented why prior to 9/11 there was apparently "no criminology of terrorism" to speak of [1]. In fact, such intra-disciplinary reflection about the potential of hitherto underdeveloped perspectives might suggest that the domination of political science approaches to terrorism might be facing challenges that may have interesting implications. In any event, psychological and criminological perspectives in particular face critical turning points, and the flow of new ideas, new methods and new ways of

thinking about terrorism (and in particular, the enormous potential of drawing on new analogies [2] – given the continuing difficulties in gathering certain kinds of data for terrorism research) is emerging possibly faster than the speed with which we can absorb its significance.

This rapid growth will bring a number of additional unexpected challenges. One is an increased level of specialization in terrorism research. On an individual level this would suggest increased competition between researchers, and as Moghaddam [3] suggested in his critical paper on specialization and despecialization in psychology, it may well result in researchers specializing in functions or rigidly-held perspectives that cannot be easily displaced by another. The difficulty this issue may pose for terrorism researchers, however, is two-fold. On the one hand, the search for niche areas--and what individual researchers might convince themselves to be recognized contributions to terrorism research--will be heavily influenced by a wide range of factors. These might increasingly include the ability to move in the right networks, or as Burnett and Whyte [4] suggest, to become an "embedded expert," or to raise relevant research funds, an activity that is increasingly a function of the former. To an extent this has already happened in the US, where the growth of University courses on terrorism is due to range of factors that are, again, less obvious to an outsider than a recent argument by Gordon [5] gives it credit for.

Indeed, and to extend Moghaddam's arguments from psychology, on the whole, the 'what' and 'how' we research terrorism will continue to be influenced by non-scientific criteria. Seasoned scholars might say that this is inevitable within any academic endeavor and that to suggest that it is new is naïve, but these issues are worth raising because of the unique position terrorism research efforts currently enjoy. Although calls for a specific 'terrorism studies' *discipline* are in my opinion questionable, a critical threshold in terrorism studies has been reached in the years since 9/11 that is now seeing the establishment of exciting new centres of excellence in terrorism studies both in Europe and the US, and within those established academic disciplines seriously questioning their actual or potential contribution.

In a short paper such as this there is little point in attempting to identify all of the issues that stem from this discussion, but a second issue seems pertinent. With increased specialization, we may see an accompanying increase in isolation and fragmentation, and consequently, we may face the danger of our analyses becoming too context-bound and untransferable. We may also face, as Reich [6] warned, the resurfacing of the danger of losing perspective on the explanatory power of what extra-specialized approaches and their results bring with them. One implication of all of this is that it is always useful to take a critical assessment of where we are and where we think we are going. Will this quantitative change in terrorism research necessarily bring with it more knowledge, more understanding, and (if this is a valid link in terms of the contribution of terrorism research) ultimately less terrorism? Gordon laments the post 9/11 opportunity to "create an autonomous terrorism field of study in spite of the excellent conditions and very good timing that had been created after 11 September 2001" (p.58). In particular her justifications for this are that:

- Terrorism is a growing social, economic and political problem that needs a solution on an international scale;
- Knowledge about this phenomenon is rapidly increasing;
- Terrorism is spreading and employing new technologies: it is no longer geographically bound;

- Terrorism infiltrates every aspect of life and has become a serious consideration in national budgets;
- It shapes the course of scientific research and penetrates most disciplines;
- It has disciplinary tools such as various kinds of publications (journals, books, reports), researchers in every field, and conferences as well as private, governmental, and university research institutes.

On these issues alone, we may well wonder why there is no discipline of obesity studies, heart disease studies, AIDS studies, poverty studies or global warming studies – all of which pose far greater threats to safety and survival than terrorism. Gordon uses the analogy of the Stockholm syndrome victim in US academics as a way of explaining the growth of interest in terrorism in that country. She says that as veritable victims, US academics have engaged in self-blame, subsequently initiating a series of courses 'designed to foster a better understanding of the motivations and rationale that drives [their] abuser to such acts' (p.51). This, in the case of the hostage, Gordon asks us to accept, leads to the victim coming to believe that they deserve the abuser's violence. Absent from Gordon's argument, however, is the acknowledgement that victims and offenders do not exist separately: they often draw on each other for a variety of reasons (this point will be returned to below) that have as much to do with expectations about self-empowerment and recognition of legitimacy as anything else.

As in the past, one catalyst for such calls is the implicit idea that there is theoretical and conceptual strength to banding together and pooling perspectives and outlooks. I believe that in the case of terrorism research, the opposite is more likely to be true. Every social scientist faces challenges in appreciating the relevance of their own disciplines to understanding terrorism and the relevance of our contributions to one another as a research community. Despite the gaps in our current knowledge and lack of conceptual clarity in some core areas, it is because of this mixture of individuality and diversity of approaches, questions, perspectives and methods that terrorism research is such an enriched area, this despite its relative infancy. In the critical mass of research output that now exists however, there are many issues of disciplinary 'identity' to be worked through, and for these and other reasons I think there is good cause to resist attempts to encourage premature convergence on hugely complex issues at this early stage.

That being said, and while there will always be limitations and challenges (some new, some old) and differences of opinion about the direction of our efforts, it is also imperative that we resist the ingrained notion in terrorism studies that it is theoretically barren or significantly underdeveloped. This might have been true 20 years ago, but we cannot say the same today. Criminological approaches to terrorism may be underdeveloped (or their significance misunderstood), but to say that there is no criminology of terrorism is misleading and self-defeating. There are several reasons that might explain this negativity and insecurity – one might be that we have unrealistic expectations about how our research might be capable of impacting the political process (indeed, the relationship between terrorism research and public policy does need revisiting, particularly how we might model successful 'impacts' – an issue that had profound impact at conference sessions at the Club de Madrid International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security in March of 2005). Secondly, we may have unrealistic expectations about what the purpose of terrorism research is – what are

we trying to do? Alternatively, what does 'understanding' terrorism actually imply in the post 9/11 era? Is this something we ought to attempt to measure by the formulation of consensus on a definition, a theory, or something that we ought to measure by evaluating the success we have in contributing outputs to policy formulation? We will struggle to provide clear answers to these questions. Perhaps more worryingly, the failure to think in criminological terms about terrorism may represent a persistent difficulty in prising the concept of terrorism away from the monopoly and overarching influence of, State-centric definitions. If this move becomes a reality, then clearly terrorism is placed within the realm of the 'normal' and ultimately seen as something more manageable and controllable with much clearer policy implications.

A serious consideration of this issue would seem to lead to an exploration of where terrorism research efforts might want to be directed in a broader sense. While some disciplines are struggling internally to find common ground in approaching the terrorism issue – psychology immediately comes to mind, and this will be discussed below – it is imperative that we find constructive ways of taking stock of what progress we have already made. Raufer [7] warned that we risk drowning in a 'tide of misunderstood facts' – he may well be correct. The current ambiguity about the nature of Al Qaeda allows researchers to indulge in the wildest of speculation about even the most seemingly straightforward elements of this growing franchise – in the past 12 months Al Qaeda has been compared variously to Aum Shinrikyo, an octopus, a business firm, Starbucks, McDonalds and even a social construction. It might also be the case that in the academic community we risk drowning in a tide of unwarranted (self-) criticism and duplicity of effort. I suggest this for two reasons: as argued earlier, increased specialization is without doubt going to happen, and as a result we will face a number of challenges that need consideration. Related to this is that we might benefit from a critical discussion of, at a macro-level, 'where we are going' (and how we want to get there). One outstanding issue that might be resolved from this kind of approach is difficulty in understanding why the lessons learned from past experiences of dealing with terrorism go unheeded when confronted with so-called 'new' terrorisms, new threats and new attacks. The reality of counterterrorism today is that perhaps these lessons have been learned, but perhaps what is naïve is that we in the academic community have for too long made incorrect presuppositions about the intentions or assumptions of the state in countering terrorism. Perhaps the wrong response is the response, and perhaps we have been directing the messages from our research at the wrong audience? On the other hand, it may be that Governments have learned all of the lessons from responding to terrorism in the past, but continue to distort and exaggerate the threats posed by terrorism simply because they cannot exploit either the flexibility or imagination to respond to terrorism in ways other than those which only feed into-- and ultimately give rise to-- even more terrorism or support for it.

For the moment, however, we should accept that any obstacle to research is never insurmountable. Indeed, it may not be so much that the apparent lack of theoretical progress is the predominant challenge for the development of our understanding of terrorism. One might argue that the main issue is the dearth of data with which we can test hypotheses and refine theories before attempting to cast them aside to present our own. The problem (which has become increasingly obvious since 9/11) is that--perhaps a by-product of both increased academic attention and the multi-disciplinary approaches to terrorism research--there is an ever-present failure to adequately integrate new research with existing knowledge on terrorism.

Recent work by Stern [8] and others [9] serves as a reminder to the academic community of how it is possible to interview terrorists, to listen to what they have to say, and to learn from what they have to say. Indeed, the confusion is no longer about whether this is possible, but rather what the point of such exercises actually is. If we speak to terrorists in an effort to uncover some *truth* about why they became involved in terrorism, then we have a good recipe for disappointment. The search for "truth," however noble in its aspiration, is naïve. It leads one down a dangerous and beguiling path into premature notions of root causes and other simplistic explanations of terrorism and the behavior of those who engage in it. But by asking the right questions and listening to how terrorists construct the meaning of the world around them, how they make sense of their activities linguistically, psychologically, emotionally, we ourselves are more open to seeing patterns and trends more clearly. We also begin to access psychological constructs that can be objectively identified, engaged in, and quite possibly, challenged at a policy level. So while we can now access and collect the data, it may be worth thinking more critically and openly about what we can do with it. And of course, we might want to increasingly acknowledge that the same logic applies to asking questions about the language and behavior of State actors. One under-appreciated lesson from the War on Terrorism is the extent to which the spokespersons for both the White House and Al Qaeda may well be mutually intertwined in the corruption of language, the hijacking of core concepts once relatively unambiguous to the masses, in an ever-escalating physical and ideological battle for hearts and minds. In a sense both parties now seem to be regularly demonstrating their ability to draw on each other both to construct and convey legitimacy. "YOU are the terrorists", everyone seems to be telling each other now. A programme of research to make explicit patterns and trends in such communication would be of enormous benefit.

Psychology and Terrorism

As above, a challenge for academics is overcoming the reluctance to study terrorists in terms of a) *what* they do in a fuller, more comprehensive sense and b) *how* they do it. This issue is deceptive in its simplicity. The predominant characteristic of the psychological literature to date is the preoccupation about *why* they do it. I suspect that if we continue to allow our thinking to be shaped by this mesmerizing question, we will equally continue to be closed off from, ironically, eventual ways of actually disrupting, challenging, and undermining support for terrorism (for which there have been encouraging discussions) [10]. We must leave behind the schizophrenic language of questions about 'what makes them they way they are'. Perhaps the only meaningful answer to this question is that it is the process of *involvement with terrorism* (and what they subsequently do as 'terrorists') that makes terrorists what they are.

We cannot realistically change the root causes of terrorism (or 'preconditions', to use a more appropriate term), let alone aspire to remove them in the vain hope that this will somehow reduce terrorism. This is not how terrorism works, because terrorism is still most usefully thought of as a *strategy* that, due to the qualities of the violence associated with it, tends to set in motion a chain of events and counter-events that raises what at the outset might be a manageable problem into something altogether more dangerous and complex, and (as a result of onlookers' responses to it) seems to make the problem increasingly more difficult to understand and address. Indeed,

perhaps an alternative definition of terrorism is that terrorism is something that people *do* as part of a process, with political, social and psychological qualities and dimensions that people engage in, and emerge from anew, with constantly changing (and constantly refining and focusing) perceptions about the nature of what they do and have done at all stages, including ever-changeable perceptions about their motivations for doing so (again, at all stages). The specific qualities, features, arenas and outcomes of the engagement differ from place to place, time to time, and 'offender' to 'victim', back to 'offender'. One increasingly obvious pattern in this symbiotic relationship is that the State continues to engage the terrorist threat with the same dogged persistency (and knowledge that it is fighting a war it cannot win in terms of a clear victory, yet this is not seen as a valid reason for discontinuing the struggle) that the terrorists use to fight a war that paradoxically will lead to the state engaging it in ways that only serve to sustain this cycle of mutual animosity and victimization. As suggested above, the terrorist and his victim are in this sense two aspects of the same thing. Perhaps it is the case that stressing their similarities may lead us to identifying more clearly the adaptive aspects of both how terrorists and their audiences make decisions that affect themselves and each other, but these questions can only be answered with systematic research.

Jessica Stern [11] raised a number of concerns about the problems emerging from the War on Terrorism's initiatives. The world is far more dangerous, she says, primarily due to the consequences of invading Iraq. One lesson learned, she argues, relates to how we might formulate policy in the face of overwhelming pressure and anxiety. Although she is correct in identifying the importance of the issue, this statement may carry with it an assumption that we in the academic community are correct in presuming what the state's intentions actually are. If some of the many goals of terrorism are to make us afraid, to interfere with our daily lives, to change our priorities, to overreact and to cause more terrorism, then one might wonder about how strikingly similar are the outcomes of the state's engagement with non-state actors. Can we really say now that terrorism does not work?

Seeing terrorism in this way would seem to lead us right back to the beginning of this discussion and consider the lack of criminological thinking about terrorism in an even sharper light. Criminology clearly needs to claim ownership of many of the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of terrorism that other disciplines either address in part only, or ignore. Related to this is an interesting debate raised by Weinberg et al. [12] in a recent issue of *Terrorism and Political Violence*. In an attempt to evaluate efforts (implicit efforts perhaps) to reach consensus on the definition of terrorism, Weinberg and colleagues lament the fact that we may not be fortunate in defining terrorism as a very wide range of violent activities (p.787). But this may not be as grave a limitation as they suggest. It may be much more conceptually beneficial to at once retain the status of terrorism as something quite specific, as a strategy for instance, but that which brings with it a very wide range of subsequent associated activities (violent and non-violent, legal and illegal, focused and seemingly unrelated). Criminology and psychology seem to offer the conceptual tools capable of reconciling the individual's involvement and engagement in a broad range of behaviors, roles and functions into and out of which people constantly move according to a variety of related group and organizational processes.

Some Practical Considerations for Research

Although the issue has been debated extensively elsewhere [13], I increasingly believe that at present the single most useful way for psychologists to engage in terrorism research is to view involvement in terrorism in terms of a process via which we can seek to identify the ways in which the individual makes particular decisions in certain contexts and phases (in terms of initially becoming involved in terrorism, remaining involved (and doing unambiguous terrorist activities), and disengaging). From what research already exists, the data suggests the existence of a complex set of dynamic, interacting factors, a process of assimilation and accommodation (to employ an underused analogy from cognitive psychology), qualitatively distinct processes of incremental progression [14], with perhaps different stories for different kinds of people at different stages of political and organizational development [15]. What we frequently fail to appreciate in considering contemporary terrorist movements such as the European and African Jihadi affiliates of Al Qaeda is that even the same terrorist movement can attract and engage people in very divergent ways, whether they be home-grown or foreign, seasoned 'natives' or the increasingly worrying 'local walk-ins' [16]. So far, positivist thinking has slowed the progress of psychological approaches to terrorism. Personality accounts were expanded far beyond their capability (indeed, some were stretched as far as root cause explanations – itself a problematic term), and the decision either to get involved in terrorism per se or to engage in terrorist activities was understood by considering terrorism a pathology – a state or 'condition' as opposed to 'something that people do under certain conditions'. A by-product of this was a failure to acknowledge the significance of appreciating involvement in terrorism as best characterized by dynamic processes and shaped by ideology at the level of both *content* and *behavioral process*. Accounts using personality traits as an explanatory variable in the process of becoming involved in terrorism are incompatible with the complexities of the terrorism process, but finally the ambiguity of such approaches has meant that they are now in long-overdue decline, while simultaneously giving way to more exciting initiatives [17] using innovative methodologies. The second conceptual failure we must redress is the inability to distinguish between the reasons people first becoming involved in terrorism from the reasons they continue to engage in (and subsequently, or perhaps consequently) disengage from terrorism. This is consistent with useful criminological frameworks [18] but its significance to understanding the development of terrorism has been grossly ignored [19].

Another issue that needs consideration and that is also grounded in criminological theory is the tendency for terrorists to consistently claim to be victimized. In criminological analyses, we know that there is often an artificial dichotomy between offender and victim – as Fattah explains, neither role is predetermined or fixed [20]: 'yesterday's victims become tomorrow's offenders and vice versa'. This is often a difficult concept to grasp, particularly for certain kinds of offences (e.g. sex offenders who were abused as children) and how we might think about notions of responsibility. The point is that not only are such roles interchangeable, but that they may be assumed, as Fattah suggests, either simultaneously or consecutively. This issue is largely neglected in analyses of terrorism. Related to this, we have tended to discuss terrorism and terrorists (just like 'crime' and 'the criminal') as if they are something different and distinct from other things. On one hand, we can appreciate that before the public, it is probably the violence associated with terrorism that causes this perception: televised

beheadings in Iraq to Western onlookers and violent punishment 'assaults' in Belfast to those who do not live in Northern Ireland seem excessive, disproportionate and clearly abnormal (if not sadistic). But what we miss here is often confused in discussions about understanding violence per se, and that is the issue of *legitimacy*. Violence comes from many sources, and violence is a common, normal feature of politics: states have armies and police forces that use violence 'legitimately' (by their own admission and justification), and terrorists do the same without being able to harness that seemingly-widespread legitimacy (i.e. from the state and its accompanied trappings such as widespread media exposure and so on).

Even the most basic recognition of this fact suggests a momentary change in thinking about why and how violent political behavior emerges in the first place, and is sustained (regardless of whether we call it 'terrorism' or something else, the behaviors themselves remain the same). To extend this thinking further, a recent example might be useful. One might wonder: why there was not obviously organized violent resistance from the Israeli settlers recently removed from Gaza? Despite the drama and emotion surrounding the removal, did the settlers not seem surprisingly restrained? Perhaps the issue is not what makes people violent, but what are the constraints that stop violence in circumstances where it is used against them and retaliatory violence is 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate'. For an additional illustration, if we return to the earlier example of Provisional IRA members who carry out these attacks, a punishment beating may seem sadistic, excessive and disproportionate, but it is primarily a visible demonstration of power, control and retribution carried out in the name of a wider movement of people that is deemed to be an appropriate act of retaliation given the circumstances. Much psychological research on terrorism--and in fact on violent behavior more general--has tended to assume the existence of finite precipitating conditions (sometimes assumed to exist 'within') to produce violence. Perhaps it may be more useful to change the focus momentarily to the inhibitory systems that restrain the expression of violence? (In psychological terms, this probably represents an important micro-management issue for terrorist leaders, in terms of, for example, the grooming of potential suicide bombers.)

Regardless, future analyses of terrorism must incorporate in a more meaningful way the violence used by arms of the State, because legitimacy and its trappings are not issues the substance of which we can somehow embed in a psychological quality (e.g., as in how we might tell a child 'stealing is a bad thing that bad people do'), but a social construct, often, as hinted earlier, symbiotically existing much as we are seeing now between the proclamations both by Ayman Al Zawahri and George W. Bush. Assumptions about the inerrancy of the state and its monopoly over the use of violence have obvious parallels with assumptions about the inerrancy of the scriptures for fundamentalists. We might recall that in the aftermath of 9/11 the U.S. Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, warned that we would all need to adhere to a 'new vocabulary' given that we were all going to be engaged in a new kind of war [21]. Although frequently overlooked, I think there is embedded in this thinking some powerful notions. There is an increasingly obvious sense in which what constitutes 'terrorism' has its origins in (and draws strength from) non-illegal activities that are difficult to capture in any objective sense but have an aura of state criticism or 'subversion' about them. Indeed this is almost always a critical quality of political groups who subsequently turn to terrorism. One lesson from this is that there is deep danger in uncritically acquiescing to the monopoly held by the state in defining, and consequently, identifying the nature of the threat faced. Donald Rumsfeld's efforts in 2003 to take refuge in the 'known unknowns' [22] and the intangibility of the threat

facing the U.S. illustrate this perfectly, and this was very evident in the UK following the London bombings of 7th July, 2005, where the apparently disregard for civil rights was being casually justified in technical discussions about the nature of intelligence and hugely distorted views were expressed about the nature of religious ideology and how it impacts behavior. If we consider the process of terrorism as being sustained as solely 'from below,' then we quickly buy into this new vocabulary, its associated posturing and related (though mostly hidden) agendas.

Again, this raises a wider set of issues that need much more careful development, and I will not try to do this at the moment. For the moment, however, it may be that there is a need for the academic community to consider once again a possible terminology change from 'terrorism.' Of course, and to be realistic, we all know that we are stuck with the word terrorism – it is an accepted concept (that is until we try to define it). But at least thinking about terrorism in a broad fashion places the problem of terrorism into a broader context, to include State as well as non-State actors much more systematically. I am not seeking to highlight only the use of violence by the State (although this is an obvious element of the equation), but again, want to highlight how each side uses each other for its own purposes, and particularly in terms of how each side uses the other in the construct of its legitimacy. Clear examples of this are found in the communiqués of Saif Al-Adel [23], the former Egyptian special forces officer who became involved in Al Qaeda through the Egyptian Islamic Jihad movement.

To try to refocus this discussion, I would reiterate that the search for root causes, as it stands, continues to implicitly assume the existence of passive actors and consequently ignores both context and interaction. Another implication of this recognition, and the concomitant acceptance of the relevance of both rational choice and victimological perspectives is that they lead, logically, to different approaches to terrorism prevention. Instead of focusing only on background issues (e.g. traits, people etc.), more attention is drawn to the terrorist event itself and the situational factors that influence its commission (and continued commission). So in effect we shift the debate from one of pathology (no matter how subtle) to one of opportunity: to extend Fattah's paper on the marriage of victimological and criminological concepts, the ideas change from ones of 'attributes,' 'profiles,' 'root causes' and so on to ones of 'motive,' 'opportunities,' 'target selection,' 'association,' 'risk' and 'choice.' We move from the terrorist's action only to the interaction of the terrorist-with-victim (and victim-terrorism, and eventually, victim-terrorist-victim-terrorist etc. etc.). Psychological approaches would benefit enormously from this kind of conceptual challenge. Consider for example, not asking the question 'is this person, this terrorist, suffering from some sort of special condition or delusion' to 'how do we account for this person's actions and experience in this particular context?'[24]. For several reasons, it may not be easy to think about involvement in terrorism in this way. There is a tendency, even after 9/11, for us to be beguiled by other approaches and disciplines. Concepts of criminality and deviance (both of which mirror the ways in which states construct concepts of non-state actors, including terrorists) have always been dominated by sociology, but as indicated earlier in suggestions of seeing terrorism as a process, these accounts fail to see the significance of kinds of involvement and stages of involvement and how the individual makes decisions under particular conditions and in certain contexts [25]. There is currently an overemphasis on quantitative and predictive approaches to understanding violent behaviour more generally, and within these we frequently lose a sense of the individual and of individual processes. The tendency is to focus on 'internal' rather than contextual accounts. Although it may well be premature to

entertain seriously the notion of meta-analyses of data-driven empirical studies of terrorist behaviour, we must incorporate analyses that attempt to identify patterns in individuals' own accounts of their behaviour. Again the focus is on process, on the dialogue and communication between individuals and parties and how that determines or exerts a controlling influence over behaviour [26]. The benefits of serious consideration of these issues within a programme of research may prove more beneficial than we might allow ourselves to imagine.

---

[1] Hamm, M.S. (2005) 'Terrorism Research and the Crisis in Criminology', Theoretical Criminology, 9, 2, 237-251; also see Rosenfeld, R. and Buchner, B. 'The Unanticipated Contributions of Criminology to Understanding Terrorism', paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, 14 November 2002.

[2] Hundeide, K. (2003). 'Becoming a Committed Insider', Culture and Psychology, 9, 2, 107-127.

[3] Moghaddam, F. (1989). 'Specialisation and Despecialisation in Psychology – Divergent Processes in the Three Worlds', International Journal of Psychology, 24, 1, 103-116.

[4] Burnett, J. and Whyte, D. (2005). 'Embedded Expertise and the New Terrorism', Journal for Crime, Conflict and the Media, 1, 4, 1-18.

[5] Gordon, A. (2005). 'Terrorism as an Academic Subject After 9/11: Searching the Internet Reveals a Stockholm Syndrome Trend', Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 28, 45-59.

[6] Reich, W. (1990). 'Understanding Terrorist Behavior: The Limits and Opportunities of Psychological Enquiry', in W. Reich (ed.), Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 261-279

[7] Raufer, X. (2002) 'Anatomy of the Mind of the Islamic Militant And Western Perceptions'. DRMCC. Online at: http://www.drmcc.org/dyndocs/4096462e1d942.pdf.

[8] Stern, J. (2003). Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill (New York: HarperCollins).

[9] Post, J.M., Sprinzak, E., and Denny, L.M. (2003). 'The Terrorists in their Own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists', Terrorism and Political Violence, 15, 1, 171-184; also Post, J.M. (2005). 'When Hatred is Bred in the Bone: Psycho-Cultural Foundations of Contemporary Terrorism'. Political Psychology, 26, 4, 615-636.

[10] Post, J.M. (2005). 'Psychological Operations and Counterterrorism', Joint Force Quarterly, 37, Fall, 105-110.

[11] Stern, J. (2004). Fearing Evil. Social Research, 71, 4, 1111-1126.

[12] Weinberg, L., Pedahzur, A., Hirsch- Hoefler, S. (2004). 'The Challenges of Conceptualising Terrorism', Terrorism and Political Violence, 16, 4, 777-794.

[13] Horgan, J. (2005a). The Psychology of Terrorism (London: Routledge); Horgan, J. (2005b). 'The Social and Psychological Characteristics of Terrorism and Terrorists', in T. Bjorgo (ed.) (2005) Root Causes of Terrorism. (London: Routledge); Silke, A. (ed.) (2003) Terrorists, Victims, Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences (London: Wiley).

[14] Taylor, M. and Quayle, E. (1994). Terrorist Lives. London: Brassey's.

[15] Jamieson, A. (1989). The Heart Attacked: Terrorism and Conflict in the Italian State (London: Marian Boyars).

[16] McAllister, B. (2004). 'Al Qaeda and the Innovative Firm: Demythologising the Network', Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 27, 297-319.

[17] For example, Post et al. (note 10), Burgess, M., Ferguson, N., Hollywood, I., 'From Individual Discontent to Collective Armed Struggle: Personal Accounts of the Impetus for Membership or Non-membership in Paramilitary Groups', Unpublished Draft (Liverpool: Department of Psychology, Liverpool Hope University College, 2003); Crawford, C. (2003). Inside the UDA: Volunteers and Violence (Dublin: Pluto); Sageman, M. (2004). Understanding Terror Networks (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

[18] Farrington, D. (1992). 'Explaining the beginning, progress and ending of antisocial behaviour from birth to adulthood', in J. McCord (ed.), Facts, Frameworks and Forecasts: Advances in Criminological Theory, Volume 3 (New Brunswick: Transactional Publishers); Clarke, R.V.G., and Cornish, D.B. (1985). 'Modeling offenders' decisions: A framework for research and policy', in M. Tonry and N. Morris (eds.), Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research, Volume 6 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); Cusson, M. (1993/2004). 'A Strategic Analysis of Crime: Criminal Tactics as Responses to

Precriminal Situations', in R.V. Clarke and M. Felson (eds.), <u>Routine Activity and Rational Choice: Volume 5</u> (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction), pp. 295-304.

[19] With some notable exceptions, e.g. Taylor, M. (1988). <u>The Terrorist</u> (London: Brassey's).

[20] See in particular, the analysis by Fattah, E.A. (1993),   'The Rational Choice/Opportunity Perspectives as a Vehicle for Integrating Criminological and Victimological Theories', in R.V. Clarke and M. Felson (eds.), <u>Routine Activity and Rational Choice: Volume 5</u> (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction).

[21] For a discussion see Horgan, J. (2005b, note 18).

[22] Burnett and Whyte (note 7) p.1.

[23] Horgan, J. (2005a, note 18) p.135.

[24] Pilgrim, D. (200x), 'Psychiatric Diagnosis: More Questions Than Answers', <u>The Psychologist.</u>

[25] For a recent discussion, see Horgan, J. (2005b), note 18.

[26] Taylor, M. and Horgan, J. (2001). The Psychological and Behavioural Bases of Islamic Fundamentalism. <u>Terrorism and Political Violence</u>, 13, 4, 37-71.

Chapter 6
Crusades and Jihads: An Existential Psychological Perspective on the Psychology of
Terrorism and Political Extremism

Tom Pyszczynski
University of Colorado at Colorado Springs
Abdollhossein Abdollahi
Islamic Azad Uinversity-Zarand Branch and Kerman Shahid Bahonar University
Jeff Greenberg
University of Arizona
Sheldon Solomon
Skidmore College

Abstract

The implications of terror management theory (TMT) for understanding both how people react to terrorist attacks and what motivates people to support terrorist violence and extreme military solutions to the problem of terrorism are discussed. TMT is a general theory of human motivation, behavior, and culture that posits that people are strongly motivated to maintain faith in their cultural worldviews and high levels of self-esteem because of the role these psychological structures play in protecting them from deeply rooted fears of death and vulnerability that are inherent in the human condition. Research investigating the effect of subtle reminders of death on support for martyrdom activities, extreme military interventions, political leaders that emphasize the superiority of the ingroup, and the restriction of civil liberties is reviewed, followed by a consideration of implications of the theory for reducing the ongoing conflict that breeds both terrorist violence and extreme military interventions. Emphasis is placed on the common psychological forces that promote escalation of hostilities on all sides of the current conflict.

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, terror management theory, TMT

Introduction

Terror management theory (TMT [1]) is *not* a theory about terrorism, per se, but rather, is a theory about how we humans cope with the existential dilemma of wanting to live but knowing we must die. However, in the wake of the terrorist attacks perpetrated on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001, we realized that the theory provides insight into the psychological forces that influence both how people react to terrorist attacks and the motivation to take their own lives along with those of

innocent civilians as a way of airing political grievances. From the perspective of TMT, the 9/11 terrorist attacks confronted Americans, in particular, and the world, in general, with a dramatic reminder of death and vulnerability while at the same time challenging aspects of the cultural worldviews that protect people from these very basic fears. The targets of the attacks--the World Trade Center and the Pentagon--were major symbols of American economic and military might.   The attacks were committed in the name of the attackers' God as retribution for perceived wrong doing on the part of America and the Western world, and shattered the myth that such tragedies cannot happen on American soil. By both reminding Americans of a very basic human fear and challenging aspects of the beliefs that protect them from these fears, the 9/11 attacks left the nation reeling. As we have discussed elsewhere [2], many of the reactions exhibited by Americans in the wake of these attacks, such as increased patriotism, displaying of flags and other ingroup symbols, respect for heroes, desire for vengeance, intolerance for dissent, and attempts to help the ingroup, eerily echoed the findings of numerous laboratory tests of TMT in which participants are reminded of their mortality and exposed to threats to their worldviews.

In this chapter, we provide an overview of TMT and supporting research, and use this analysis to shed light on the psychological forces that lead people on all sides of this conflict to support terrorist violence and extreme military interventions as solutions to the problem of terrorism. We argue that in addition to stopping committed terrorists from perpetrating additional attacks, it is of vital importance to understand the psychological forces that lead people to support such activities. Social movements require at least tacit support from the communities they represent to survive and spread.   In addition, supportive communities provide ready supplies of potential volunteers for future attacks. Thus undermining social support for terrorist violence seems a necessary part of any strategy to reduce the likelihood of future attacks. Policies that are not guided by consideration of their likely impact on popular support for terrorist violence seem highly unlikely to produce long-term success in curtailing terrorist activities. After considering the psychological forces that promote support of terrorism and other extremist ideologies, we focus on the implications of TMT for reducing the tensions and hostilities that give rise to violence on all sides of the current conflict in the Middle East, and close with a consideration of how experimental methods similar to those used in our research could be used to develop possible interventions to reduce support for violent solutions to international conflicts.

Terror Management Theory

TMT posits that human awareness of the inevitability and potential finality of death creates the potential for existential terror, which is controlled by: (a) faith in an internalized cultural worldview, and (b) self-esteem, which is attained by living up to the standards of value prescribed by one's worldview. Because cultural worldviews are symbolic psychological constructions and because people are aware that there are many different ways of construing reality, confidence in one's worldview, and the protection from anxiety that it provides, depends on consensual validation from others. Those who share one's worldview increase one's faith in it and it's effectiveness as a shield against anxiety. Unfortunately, the mere existence of others with divergent worldviews undermines this consensus and therefore threatens faith in the absolute

validity of one's worldviews and reduces its anxiety-buffering effectiveness. People defend against threats posed by alternative worldviews by disparaging them and those who subscribe to them, attempting to convert their adherents to one's own worldview, or simply killing them, which neatly eliminates the threatened consensus and asserts the superiority of one's own system of beliefs and values.

To date, over 300 experiments conducted in 15 different countries have provided support for TMT hypotheses [3]. Research has shown that: (a) increasing self-esteem makes people less prone to anxiety in response to threats, (b) subtle reminders of mortality increase positive reactions to those who support one's worldview and negative reactions to those who threaten it (and lead to increased striving for self-esteem), (c) threats to self-esteem or one's worldview increase the accessibility of death-related thoughts, and (d) boosts to self-esteem or faith in one's worldview reduce the accessibility of death-related thoughts. Of particular relevance to present concerns, research has shown that reminders of death lead people to conform more closely to the norms of their culture, punish violators of those norms more severely, show greater reverence for symbols of their culture, such as flags and crucifixes, and react with greater hostility and aggression toward those whose worldviews conflict with one's own [3]. For example, studies of American college students have shown that MS engenders more negative evaluations of those who criticize the U.S. and greater aggression toward those with divergent political orientations [4]. Similarly, following MS, German college students exhibit more negative evaluations of and physical distancing from foreigners [5], Israeli children have more negative impressions of Russian Jewish immigrants [6], and Japanese participants are more derogatory toward those who criticize Japan [7]. Control conditions in which participants are induced to think about failure, embarrassment, physical pain, uncertainty, social exclusion, paralysis, or meaninglessness do not produce these results, suggesting that MS effects are specific to thoughts of death [3].

Research has provided a detailed account of the conscious and non-conscious cognitive processes through which thoughts of death exert their effects on judgments and behavior [8]. Stimuli that lead to heightened death thought accessibility reliably increase commitment to one's worldview and such commitment to one's worldview reduces death thought accessibility to baseline levels after threats. Although the death reminders used in these studies typically do not arouse negative affect, research shows that they increase the potential to experience anxiety and it is this increased potential that motivates worldview defense [9]. Taken together, this body of research provides compelling evidence for the TMT proposition that cultural worldviews and self-esteem provide protection against the problem of death by reducing the potential for anxiety engendered by the heightened accessibility of death-related thoughts.

Terror Management Theory, Terrorism, and Political Extremism

What moves ordinary people to take up arms and willingly risk or give their lives in acts of violence directed toward an enemy? International, ethnic, and religious conflicts are highly complex and typically involve a diverse array of political, economic, and historical forces. However, TMT suggests that getting ordinary people to lay their lives on the line for their country or group requires that the "enemy" poses a grave threat to the psychological security provided by the cultural worldview. From

this perspective, the mere existence of those with different worldviews is threatening because it forces people to implicitly recognize that there are other ways of construing reality and living "the good life" than those which are espoused by their own culture. Protection from existential anxiety requires faith in the absolute validity of one's own worldview; the existence of alternate worldviews forces us to realize that at least some worldviews do not reflect reality or provide morally acceptable standards for living: if there is indeed a single truth, then the existence of multiple beliefs about what this truth is implies that most of these beliefs must be wrong. Rather than allowing for the possibility that our own worldview may not represent absolute truth and virtue, we strive to undermine the threat posed by different worldviews by construing their adherents as misguided, unenlightened, and evil. Even those of us who consciously acknowledge the impossibility of knowing absolute truth and virtue react negatively toward those with different beliefs and values on an implicit experiential or "gut" level. By viewing "the other" as wrong, we affirm our own rightness; by viewing the other as evil, we affirm our own virtue; by killing the other, we deny our own mortality.

American Reactions to the 9/11 Terrorist Attacks

Much has been written about the way Americans reacted to the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. Similar to what has been observed in TMT experiments in which people are reminded of their mortality and then exposed to threats to their cultural worldview, Americans searched for meaning, answers, and someone to blame; they became more nationalistic than ever, waving flags, displaying patriotic slogans, singing patriotic songs; showed an outpouring of charity and goodwill to the victims of the attacks; they admired and revered heroes, such as soldiers, police, and fire workers; and they sought solidarity within the group, to the point of stifling dissent and castigating those who didn't support the Bush administration's plans for combating the problem of terrorism. They also sought vengeance. On an individual level this led to attacks on people or Middle Eastern descent or darker than average-American skin, desecration of homes and mosques, and more than a few deaths; on a national level, the pursuit of vengeance led to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and a foreign policy that has alienated many of our allies and been used to justify further attacks by our enemies.

Although these reactions partly reflected rational attempts to cope with a national tragedy and prevent future attacks, we argue that other less conscious and rational factors were at work as well. The American reaction to the tragedy of 9/11 was, at least in part, a response of a people who were forcibly confronted with their vulnerability and mortality while simultaneously facing challenges to the protection from anxiety provided by their cultural worldview. Trauma researchers often point to the resilience of people, noting that in most cases approximately 8 to 15 percent of those exposed to traumatic events go on to develop post-traumatic stress disorder [10]. We argue, however, that most Americans were severely traumatized by the events of 9/11 and that, although most did not display diagnosable psychopathology, much of the nation was, and to this day remains, severely affected by these events. Some of the reactions to this trauma were relatively benign in nature, like heightened fears about air travel; others were more troublesome.

Death, 9/11, and support for George W. Bush

Prior to the terrorist attacks, President George W. Bush was enjoying modest popularity in the US, with approval ratings hovering around 50% [11], due to economic problems plaguing the first years of his administration and criticisms from both Republican and Democratic leaders. Within two days after the attacks, Bush's popularity soared to an unprecedented 88 – 90 % approval rating. Surveys also showed overwhelming support for Bush's handling of the terrorist crisis, the restriction of civil liberties in the interest of national security, the war against the Taliban in Afghanistan, and at least initially, the pre-emptive war in Iraq . Given this high level of support for Bush's 9/11-related policies, one might conclude that his high level of popularity and victory in the subsequent 2004 presidential election was the result of a rational consideration of his policies and the impact they were having on national security. However, terror management research suggests another possibility: that at least part of Bush's popularity reflects a defensive clinging to a charismatic leader who repeatedly asserted the superiority of the American people and promised quick retribution to the "evil-doers" who perpetrated the attack.

To examine this possibility, Landau et al [12] performed a series of experiments in which American college students were randomly assigned to be reminded of either 9/11, their own mortality, or aversive control topics (e.g., pain, uncertainty) prior to assessing their evaluations of and intention to vote for President Bush. An initial study showed that reminders of death increased agreement with an essay praising Bush and his policies in Iraq. This finding was replicated in another study that showed that reminders of the events of 9/11 produced the same increase in support for Bush and his policies produced by thoughts of one's own death. Another study showed that reminders of death increased support for Bush and decreased support for Senator John Kerry in the upcoming 2004 election, and that this effect occurred across the political spectrum, for both conservatives and liberals alike. Another study [13] showed that when asked who they intended to vote for, a sample of predominantly liberal college students chose Kerry over Bush by a four-to-one margin under neutral conditions, but when reminded of death, exhibited better than a two-to-one preference for Bush over Kerry.

The fact that reminders of both the events of 9/11 and one's own death produced the same effects on support for and likelihood of voting for GW Bush is of particular interest. An additional study reported by Landau et al [12] showed that presentations of the numbers 911 or the letters WTC (initials for World Trade Center) at speeds too rapid for conscious recognition produced an increase in the speed with which death-related thoughts came to mind; specifically, after such subliminal priming of 911 or WTC, participants were more likely to complete word-stems like COFF__ with the word COFFIN than COFFEE or SK__L with SKULL than SKILL. This shows that 9/11 quite clearly does increase the accessibility of death-related thoughts. The fact that thoughts of 9/11 and one's own death produced equivalent effects on support for President Bush suggests that a substantial part of the reason reminders of 9/11 increased his support was the reminder of death that this topic provided and the clinging to sources of security that reminders of this core fear produce.

But what is it about G.W. Bush that provided this much-needed security to those seeking respite from the horrors of the 9/11 terrorist attack? Of course Bush is a complex and multi-faceted leader, with many policies that might provide comfort to those facing existential anxiety. TMT, following from the work of Ernest Becker [4],

Erich Fromm [15], and Otto Rank [16] suggests that leaders who help their followers view themselves as part of special, superior, and unique group are especially valuable for managing deeply rooted fears. Bush clearly portrayed the American people as a special breed, virtuously working to bring freedom and democracy to the world and rid the planet of "evil-doers." He forcibly argued that those responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks "hate us because of our freedom" and he promised to wage war against the "axis of evil" that put the entire planet in dire jeopardy. To examine the possibility that support for such charismatic leaders derives, at least in part, from the terror management function they provide, Cohen and colleagues [17] investigated the effects of reminders of death on support for there hypothetical gubernatorial candidates: a charismatic candidate who promoted a grand vision of his people as special, a task-oriented leader, who emphasized competence and good decision-making, and a relationship-oriented leader, who emphasized his ability to work together with others to achieve worthy goals. Although the task-oriented leader was far preferred under neutral conditions, reminders of death led to significant increases in support for the charismatic leader. This suggests that at least part of the reason reminders of death or terrorism increase the appeal of the Bush presidency is the patriotic vision he portrays of the United States as pursuing a grand mission to vanquish evil.

Death, 9/11, and support for extreme military solutions to the problem of terrorism

In the weeks leading up to the American-led invasion of Iraq, the majority of Americans supported the war as a useful part of the struggle against terrorism [11]. To the extent that this war was portrayed to the American people and the world at large as a necessary part of the broader war on terrorism, as retribution for Saddam Hussein's alleged (and now discredited) ties to al Qaeda and the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and as pre-emptive strikes against Saddam's supposed (also now discredited) stockpile of weapons of mass destruction, it might seem that support for the war was largely the result of a rational weighing of evidence and arguments. However, the war in Iraq was also portrayed as an effort to topple an evil dictator and bring American style democracy to the beleaguered people of Iraq, and we think most importantly, as part of the United States' grand mission to defeat terrorism and evil-doers. This suggests that existential anxiety was also likely at work in promoting support for the war and other extreme military actions.

If support for extreme military policies is partly rooted in existential fear, then reminders of death and 9/11 should increase such support. To test this possibility, we randomly assigned American college students to answer questions about their own death, the 9/11 terrorist attacks, or an aversive control topic unrelated to death (extreme pain), and then assessed their level of support for a variety of extreme military solutions to the problem of terrorism, including pre-emptive war against any country who might threaten us in the future, thousands of civilian deaths being acceptable if it ensured the death of Osama bin Laden, and the use of nuclear and chemical weapons in the war on terrorism; we also assessed support for the Patriot Act, a law that restricted freedoms as a way of enabling government to better track terrorists [18]. Support for all of these policies was low among our American college student sample in the control condition. However, reminders of either death or 9/11 increased support for both extreme military solutions and the Patriot Act among politically conservative college students; neither thoughts of death nor 9/11 affected support for these measures among politically liberal students. Again, the effects of reminders of death and 9/11 were

virtually identical, suggesting that at least part of the reason thoughts of 9/11 produce enhanced support of such policies is the activation of death-related concerns.

The studies documenting the effect of thoughts of death and 9/11 on support for G.W. Bush, extreme military interventions, and the Patriot Act suggest that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 have had a lingering effect on the American people's approach to the current conflict in the Middle East. Some of these effects are specific to politically conservative individuals, others occur across the political spectrum. These findings suggest that the events of 9/11 and the existential fears that they activate lead to a harsher, more aggressive, and more militaristic orientation where less value is placed on the lives and well-being of civilians who reside in the regions where the "war on terror" is being fought. These findings support the general view that fear lies at the root of much human conflict, violence, and hatred.

The Role of Terror Management Process in Promoting Support for Terrorist Violence

Interestingly, it's not only George Bush who portrays his enemies as evil-doers intent on bringing about the downfall and eventual subjugation of his nation and the world at large. This is a common theme sounded by leaders in times of conflict throughout history. It is also commonly found in jihadist rhetoric among radical Islamic groups that promote terrorism. For example, Osama bin Laden has portrayed the United States and Americans as enemies of Allah, greedy for oil and money, responsible for the deaths of thousands of Arab children, with the primary goal of world domination [19]. Jihadist leaders also typically portray their own group as pursuing a righteous mission of liberation and enlightenment with the ultimate goal of bringing the world into line with God's wishes. It seems likely, then, that part of the appeal of radical Islam, and the terrorist violence that it sometimes advocates, is the protection from existential fear that their vision of their mission promotes.

If identification with jihadist groups and support for terrorist violence serves, at least in part, the function of providing protection from existential anxiety, then reminders of death should increase support for such policies. To examine this possibility, we conducted what to our knowledge is the first experiment to assess the causal impact of a psychological variable on support for martyrdom missions among young adults in a Middle Eastern country. In this study [18], Iranian college students were randomly assigned to answer questions about either death or dental pain (an aversive control topic that is not related to death). They then read and evaluated questionnaires ostensibly filled out by two fellow students, one supporting martyrdom missions against the US (e.g., "Yes, the United States represents the world power which Allah wants us to destroy") and the other opposing them (e.g., "No, universally speaking, human life is too precious to be used as a means of producing change"). In the control condition, participants showed a significant preference for the pacifist student who opposed martyrdom missions; however, when reminded of death, support for the martyrdom-promoting student increased to a point where he was preferred over the pacifist. Death reminders also increased participants' reported interest in "joining this student's cause." Thus the reminders of the same core human fear that increased conservative Americans' support for extreme military solutions that would necessarily entail the death of thousands of innocent civilians also increased support for martyr

missions among young Middle Eastern adults. The same thing that makes us want to kill them, makes them want to kill us, regardless of to whom one is referring by the terms "us" and "them."

Much more research is needed on the psychological forces that foster support for jihadist violence. The above study is just a first step toward exploring the role that existential fear and terror management processes play in promoting support for such extremist movements within the Arab world and elsewhere. The available research suggests, however, that the basic psychology of terror management generalizes very broadly across the world's cultures. Parallel effects of reminders of death have been found in at least 15 different countries. Research investigating other terror management phenomena among Muslim populations suggest that although Muslims express less open fears of death than most Westerners, and some even say they hope death comes soon, subtle reminders of death produce the same effects on people in the Middle East as they do in the rest of the world. For example, Abdollahi [20] has shown that, parallel to what has been found among Americans and other Westerners, subtle reminders of death lead Iranians to prescribe harsher punishments to a person who breaks cultural norms, donate more money to a beggar, and report greater affection for their mothers. Taken with the parallel findings on support for extreme military solutions among Americans and martyrdom attacks among Iranians, these findings suggest that, when it comes to the problems of death and anxiety, people are people, and that although the specifics of the cultural systems of meaning and value vary, they cope with these problems by pursuing the vision of heroism and meaning promoted by their cultures. Although the universal nature of the human tendency to respond to the problem of death with hatred and violence is discouraging, the generality of these basic psychological propensities may also provide at least a ray of hope.

Terror Management Theory and the Prospects for Peace

If support for terrorist violence and extreme military solutions to the conflict in the Middle East is rooted in basic human tendencies for coping with core human fears, what could be done to reduce this readiness to support violence? This is an extremely difficult and complex problem, but it may well be the most pressing one facing the world at the beginning of the new millennium. In this section, we consider some of the implications of TMT for reducing conflict and support for violence among all parties to the current conflict.

Cultural Values that Counter Hate

A large body of research converges on the conclusion that people cope with existential fear by clinging to and attempting to live up the cultural values to which they are committed. This tendency lies at the core of human conflict, in that affirming the validity of one's own worldview is often accomplished by derogating those who hold alternative conceptions of reality. Fortunately, many and perhaps most cultures value, at least to some extent, peaceful co-existence with others, tolerance for those who are different, and harmonious inter-group relations. All of the worlds' major religions include teachings about the value of love and the evils of hate. Of course these values

are often overlooked when people are faced with the threat of divergent worldviews and the hostility that members of other groups often exhibit. We suspect that most cultures came to value universal love and tolerance largely as an antidote to the very natural human tendency to react negatively toward those who are different. Nonetheless, one strategy for reducing violent tendencies of groups in conflict may be to emphasize the positive values of tolerance and peaceful co-existence that have receded into the background as a result of a pressing conflict.

Greenberg and colleagues [21] have shown that the value of tolerance can indeed disrupt the more common tendency to respond to reminders of mortality with increased hostility toward those with attitudes and values different from one's own. An initial study showed that although both political liberals and conservatives tend to dislike those with attitudes different from their own, reminders of death pushed conservatives toward even more negative attitudes toward liberals, but pushed liberals toward more positive attitudes toward conservatives. Greenberg et al. argued that this probably occurred because tolerance is a very central component of the liberal worldview; indeed, one of the dictionary definitions of the term "liberal" is "tolerant" [21]. Based on the notion that virtually all American's value tolerance of different others to at least some extent, Simon et al then attempted to prime the value of tolerance in a follow-up study by having half of the participants indicate their level of agreement with statements espousing tolerance, such as "Everyone has the right to their own opinion." Whereas in the absence of this affirmation of the value of tolerance, death reminders led to more negative evaluations of those with attitudes different from one's own, when tolerance was primed, the effect of death reminders was completely eliminated. These studies provide hope that emphasizing the value of tolerance could be one antidote to hostility toward those who are different. Of course this is far from an easy solution, in that although most people value tolerance to at least some extent, long-standing rivalries and legitimate grievances tend to overshadow these more lofty and idealistic values. Still, programs focused on building on existing cultural support for tolerance could be a useful step toward the goal of more peaceful co-existence.

Broadening the Conception of the Ingroup and Instilling a Sense of Common Humanity

A related approach to reducing inter-group conflict is to instill a sense of shared humanity in people, thereby reducing the rigidity of ingroup-outgroup boundaries. Again, the idea that we're all human and therefore are "in this together" can be found in the teaching of most cultures and religions. Social Identity Theory [22] suggests that the act of categorizing people into "us" and "them" is the starting point for prejudice. This implies that encouraging people to include the other as part of a broader ingroup, such as humankind, might be an effective way of reducing intergroup conflict. We have recently begun exploring the possibility that inductions that remind people of what they have in common with all humans might provide an effective antidote to the prejudice-inducing properties of existential fear. Toward this end, we conducted an experiment in which after being reminded of either death or another aversive topic, American participants made judgments of a series of photographs depicting families from a diverse array of countries, American families, or people in apparently random groupings. A subtle measure of unconscious prejudice toward Arabs, the Implicit Association Test (IAT, [23]) was then taken. Whereas reminders of death increased subtle indicators of anti-Arab prejudice among participants who viewed the random groupings of people or American families, it *reduced* anti-Arab

prejudice among those exposed to pictures of families from many different countries. Parallel studies are currently under way in the Middle East. Of course much additional research is needed, but these findings suggest that instilling a sense of common humanity, in which people are encouraged to recognize the many things they have in common with those with whom they are in conflict may be another way to reduce hostilities. We suspect that there may be something especially powerful about images of mothers, children, grandparents, couples in love, and other aspects of family life in reminding people of the things that they share with people the world over.

Shared Goals and Mutual Threats

Decades of research on intergroup conflict, starting with Muzafer Sherif's [24] famous "Robbers Cave Experiment"--in which dividing adolescents at a summer camp into arbitrary groups led to escalating hostility between the groups but bringing them together to work toward a mutual goal and against a common foe had the opposite effect--suggest that shared goals and mutual threats can be another way of reducing intergroup conflict. Although the various groups embroiled in the Middle Eastern conflict have vital interests that place them at conflict with each other, and this is probably the major impetus for the seemingly unending nature of this conflict, the world is facing many other daunting challenges that might provide opportunities for people from opposing factions to work together. For example, the recent earthquakes in Iran, the hurricanes that devastated much of the American South, and the Tsunami that ravaged much of the Southern Asia and Indonesia were large scale disasters that inspired empathy from people regardless of ethnic and religious groupings. Interestingly, offers by the Iranian government to provide aid to help with the hurricane recovery in the U.S., and by the American government to help with the Earthquake recover in Iran were both refused by the affected governments. This was unfortunate, because helping one's adversary can be a useful step toward reducing conflict. Today's world faces a continuous onslaught of threats and challenges, including the prospects of a global pandemic of deadly influenza and other diseases, frequent natural disasters, global warming, and of course, the Middle Eastern conflict itself. Anything that encourages cooperation across the dividing lines could be useful in reducing tensions to a point that compromise and reduced hostility could become a more realistic goal.

Addressing the Political Causes of the Ongoing Conflict

Contrary to what some have argued, the conflict in the Middle East is not an epic battle of good versus evil, and terrorist organizations do not mount suicide attacks against more powerful nations because they "hate their freedom." There are very real substantive issues that must be resolved for which the opposing parties have very different goals and interests. Western governments have pursued policies that suit their own interests with little attention paid to how these policies impact the people living in this region. The United States and other Western governments have supported corrupt dictatorships in Saudi Arabia, and even Iran and Iraq at one time, as ways of gaining access to oil and maintaining advantage in the region over the Soviet Union during the cold war era. Unfortunately, the denial of basic civil rights by these governments has led to a sense of oppression and rage, and, perhaps aided by the teachings of the radical

religious sects supported by some of these governments, they have turned this rage against the Western world. The ongoing problem of an autonomous homeland for the Palestinian people, US military policies in Iraq, and the continuing pursuit of cheap oil from governments who oppress their people are all used by radical leaders to justify attacks on Western interests. To really solve the problems in this region, Western governments need to consider the impact that their policies are likely to have on support for anti-Western sentiment and the violence that it breeds.

Research suggests that it is not poverty and lack of education, per se, that leads people to support jihadist violence [25]. For example, Mohammed Atta and most of the others who hijacked the planes and flew them into the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001 were from middle class families and had college educations. However, rampant poverty within one's community, scarcity of job opportunities, and repressive regimes that deny basic human rights can creates a feeling of oppression and relative deprivation, that motivates the better educated and relatively well-off members of communities to long for a better life for their people and seek ways of promoting change. Jihadist ideologies that encourage terrorist violence against the West, within the context of an over-arching religious worldview, are likely to be especially appealing to those who sense that their basic needs, or those of their countrymen, are not being met. Thus efforts to reduce poverty, increase employment, enhance civil rights, and generally improve the standard of living within the Middle East are likely to reduce the appeal of radical social movements that support violence.

Does Death Beget Violence?

Perhaps the most obvious implication of the terror management literature is that reminders of death increase hostility and violence toward outgroups [3, 4, 18]. Although it is obvious that violent acts from one group often lead to vengeful counterattacks from the target of those attacks, the TMT literature suggests that a more subtle process is also at work in armed conflicts: Mere reminders of death, independent of their source, also fuel the flames of hate. This suggests that the daily reports of casualties in Iraq and other conflict zones is probably increasing support for violent solutions on all sides of the current conflict. Obviously death is a fundamental fact of life that cannot be eliminated. But it is important to realize that the constant onslaught of death reminders created by military actions is increasing the allegiances to sources of meaning and psychological security in ways likely unanticipated by those who order them. Thus anything that can be done to stop the killing will also reduce the need for the protection provided by radical ideologies that promote terrorist violence.

Of course it's much easier to extrapolate ideas to reduce conflict from a theoretical system than it is to put these ideas into practice. The very nature of an ongoing conflict mitigates against the easy implementation of these ideas. Indeed, conflicts are self-perpetuating in that they pose powerful threats to the safety of all parties involved and simultaneously produce increased needs to cling to one's own side as the death count mounts. And, truth be told, we really don't know enough about how the theoretical factors that we study in the laboratory play out in the much more complex world that we seek to understand. Although we believe that TMT provides useful insights into the dynamics of the problem of terrorism and political extremism, we need to know much more about how these psychological forces play out in the milieu of this conflict. Thus we suggest that research examining these processes and how they interact with the real issues and events occurring in this conflict-ridden region is desperately needed.

The Potential of a Scientifically Informed Understanding of Terrorism

The social sciences have a long history of trying to understand the dynamics of human conflict and hatred. Much has been written over the past century about the underlying causes of human destructiveness and we believe that a general understanding of the dynamics of conflict now exists. However, most of this knowledge is abstract and general in nature. The challenge we now face is learning how to move from general theories of conflict to an understanding of how specific events and policies influence the specific events that are transpiring in the Middle East. To bridge this gap, we need research that takes the general theoretical principles and explores how specific events and ideas influence support for violence among all parties to this problem. Although a great deal of research has been conducted on these issues, and much has been learned from this work, we believe that the experimental methods typically employed within the field of social psychology have much to offer but have been underutilized to gain insights into these issues. Experimental methods are the only approach to research that offers the possibility of drawing causal inferences. Recent work within social psychology has shown that insights into the dynamics of conflict can be gleaned from the use of priming methods, in which people are exposed to reminders of events, ideas, and values of various sorts and their reactions observed. We hope that our initial studies of the role of reminders of death and 9/11 will stimulate further explorations of the effects of activating thoughts about other important forces that play a role in encouraging extremism. It may even be possible to pilot test potential new programs, interventions, and policies in this way, by exposing people to their core elements and seeing how they affect their support for violence and other more hopeful efforts to resolve this conflict. Thus we conclude with a plea to policy makers to consider the utility of a scientific approach to understanding the complex array of forces that fan the flames of conflict as an important step toward develop means of extinguishing these flames.

References

1. Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., & Pyszczynski, T. (1991a). A terror management theory of social behavior: The psychological functions of self-esteem and cultural worldviews. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology: Vol. 24. (pp. 93-159) New York: Academic Press.
2. Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., & Greenberg, J. (2003). *In the wake of 9/11: The psychology of terror*. New York: American Psychological Association.
3. Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., & Pyszczynski, T. (1997). Terror management theory of self-esteem and cultural worldviews: Empirical assessments and conceptual refinements. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 29, pp. 61-139) New York: Academic Press.
4. McGregor, H., Lieberman, J.D, Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Arndt, J., Simon, L, & Pyszczynski, T. (1998). Terror management and aggression: Evidence that mortality salience motivates aggression against worldview threatening others. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74, 590-605.
5. Ochsmann, R., & Mathey, M. (1994). *Depreciating of and distancing from foreigners: Effects of mortality salience*. Unpublished manuscript, Universitat Mainz, Mainz, Germany.
6. Florian, V., & Mikulincer, M. (1998). Terror management in childhood: Does death conceptualization moderate the effects of mortality salience on acceptance of similar and different others. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 24, 1104-1112.
7. Heine, S. J., Harihara, M., & Niiya, Y. (2002). Terror management in Japan. Asian Journal of Social

Psychology, 5, 187-196.

8. Pyszczynski, T., Greenberg, J., & Solomon, S. (1999). A dual-process model of defense against conscious and unconscious death-related thoughts: An extension of terror management theory. Psychological Review, 106, 835-845.

9. Greenberg, J., Martens, A., Jonas, E., Eisenstadt, D., Pyszczynski, T., & Solomon, S. (2003). Detoxifying thoughts of death: Eliminating the potential for anxiety eliminates the effects of mortality salience on worldview defense. *Psychological Science, 14,* 516-519.

10. National Center for PTSD (December 15, 2005). Epidemiological facts about PTSD. Retrieved from http://www. ncptsd.va.gov/facts/general/fs_epidemiological.html.

11. PollingReport.com (2004, May 7). *President Bush: Job Ratings.* Retrieved from http://www/PollingReport. com/BushJob/htm.

12. Landau, M. J., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Cohen, F., Pyszczynski, T., Arndt, J., et al. (2004a). Deliver us from evil: The effects of mortality salience and reminders of 9/11 on support for President George W. Bush. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*, 1136- 1150.

13. Cohen, F., Ogilvie, D.M., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., & Pyszczynski, T. (in press). American Roulette: The effect of reminders of death on support for George W. Bush in the 2004 Presidential Election. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy.*

14. Becker, E. (1973). *The denial of death*. New York: Free Press.

15. Fromm, E. (1941). *Escape from freedom*. New York: Henry Holt.

16. Rank, O. (1958). *Beyond psychology*. New York: Dover.

17. Cohen, F., Solomon, S., Maxfield, M., Pyszczynski, T., & Greenberg J. (2004). Fatal attraction: The effects of mortality salience on evaluations of charismatic, task-oriented, and relationship-oriented leaders*. Psychological Science*, *15*, 846-851.

18. Pyszczynski. T., Abdollahi, A., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Cohen, F., & Weise, D. (in press, 2006). Mortality salience, martyrdom, and military might: The Great Satan versus the Axis of Evil. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.*

19. Stern, J. (2003). *Terror in the name of God: Why religious militants kill.* Harper-Collins: NY.

20. Abdollahi, A. (2004). *Effects of mortality salience on judgment, choice, self-esteem and behavior.* Poster Symposium presented at the 18th International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development Meeting, Ghent, Belgium.

21. Greenberg, J., Simon, L., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S, & Chatel, D. (1992). Terror management and tolerance: Does mortality salience always intensify negative reactions to others who threaten one's worldview? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 63, 212-220.

22. Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of social contact. In W. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), The social psychology of intergroup relations (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

23. Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74,* 1464-1480.

24. Sherif, M., Harvey, O.J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R., & Sherif, C. W. (1954/1961). Intergroup conflict and cooperation: The Robbers Cave experiment.

25. Atran, S. (2003). Genesis of suicide terrorism. *Science, 299,* 1534-1539.

Chapter 7
Identifying Cross-National Global Terrorist Hot Spots

Gary LaFree, Nancy Morris, Laura Dugan, Susan Fahey
National Center for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START),
University of Maryland

Abstract

Criminologists have long argued that crime is concentrated into "hot spots" at various levels of spatial aggregation and that these hot spots tend to be relatively stable over time. In this paper, we ask if terrorism incidents are also concentrated in a relatively small number of cross-national hot spots and whether that concentration has remained stable over time. Using semi-parametric trajectory analysis, we examine a newly created Global Terrorism Database that includes more than 70,000 domestic and international terrorism incidents for all countries from 1970 to 1997. Based on this trajectory analysis, we divide the nations of the world into four terrorism trajectories. We find considerable evidence for concentration of terrorist events at the national level. For example, the two group trajectories in the data with the fewest cases included 88% of the world's countries but only 25% of all terrorist incidents. By contrast, the fourth trajectory included only 8% of all countries, but 67% of all incidents between 1970 and 1997. There was also considerable, but not total, support for the conclusion that terrorism levels in these countries remained stable over time. In support, three of the four trajectories changed relatively little over the 28 years spanned by the data. However, the fourth trajectory, which included by far the largest number of events, did show a fair amount of convergence with the other three trajectories during the second half of the period. Rapidly rising levels of terrorist strikes in a given country could indicate substantial and prolonged risk of high levels of terrorism in the future.

Key words: terrorism, criminology, database, risk

Introduction

The idea that violence is highly concentrated across spatial units is by no means new. Nearly eighty years ago, sociological pioneer Clifford Shaw observed that there was tremendous variation in the concentration of violent crime rates across Chicago neighborhoods with some areas producing a great deal of violent crime and others, virtually none [1]. More recently, criminologists Sherman, Gartin and Buerger examined emergency calls for the Minneapolis Police Department and found that crime reports were highly concentrated in a few locations—which they referred to as "hot spots" [2]. For example, they found that only 3.3% of the addresses and intersections accounted for 50.4% of all calls for police service. Similar patterns were observed in

Indianapolis where Sherman found that all of the calls for service relating to gun crimes came from just 3% of the addresses in the city [3, see also 4]. In a subsequent analysis, Sherman concluded that the concentration of crime for places was six times higher than it was for individuals, prompting him to ask: "Why aren't we thinking more about wheredunit, rather than just whodunit?" [3, pp. 36-37]. Cross-national investigations have also found evidence of considerable concentration of violence at the national level [5, 6].

We have also learned that these spatial concentrations of violence are relatively stable over time. Going back to the research conducted at the University of Chicago in the first half of the 20th Century, Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay demonstrated that high and low crime neighborhoods in Chicago exhibited considerable stability over time, even though, in many cases, their residential composition changed, as more recent immigrant groups replaced earlier ones [7]. In a follow-up of their Minneapolis study, Sherman and Weisburd found that only 4.4% of the addresses and intersections placed 3 or more calls for service about serious crime while only 0.3% phoned the police 20 or more times [8]. In a study of calls for police service in Boston from 1977 to 1980, Spelman (1995) found that 50% of all calls originated from 10% of locations throughout the three-year period, suggesting temporal stability [9]. Similarly, Taylor found that crime rates in a small proportion of 90 street blocks in Baltimore remained stable between the first evaluation point in 1981 and the second in 1994 [10]. Griffiths and Chavez reported that only 6% of Chicago census tracts accounted for 25.4% of all homicides in Chicago during the 15-year study period [11]. Finally, a recent study by Weisburd *et al.* examined the stability of crime at the street block level in Seattle and concluded that the crime rates in 84% of the street blocks were steady and stable over the entire 14 years spanned by the data [12].

At a more macro level, research has also shown that world wide patterns of violence vary greatly across regions. According to the 1994 *United Nations Crime and Justice Survey*, Latin America has the highest rates of homicide with over 20 per 100,000 persons [13]. The rankings follow with Africa (15 per 100,000), Eastern Europe and North America (each with about 10 per 100,000), South Asia (8 per 100,000), Western Europe (3 per 100,000), and finally the Arab states with only 2 homicides per 100,000 persons. Further analysis shows that within regions a large proportion of homicides are concentrated in only a few nations. Gartner found that countries in sub-Saharan African averaged 40 homicides per 100,000 population in 1990, whereas, many countries in Western Europe report homicide rates below 1 per 100,000 population [5]. Data from the World Health Organization (WHO) for Latin American and Caribbean countries show a median of 23 homicides per 100,000 persons. While there is substantial variation in region and country level rates, depending on the data source, there is agreement that homicide rates are highly concentrated, with sub-Saharan Africa reporting the highest rates, followed closely by Latin America and the Caribbean, and Arab and West European countries reporting the lowest rates.

There is also evidence that concentrations of violence at the country level persist over time. In a direct test of the stability of cross-national homicide rates in 34 countries, LaFree recently found that the substantial differences in homicide rates across countries remained from 1956 to 1998 [14]. Gartner examined the inertia of homicide rates in 18 industrialized nations in 1988, 1991, and 1995 and found that the rates were highly correlated over time [5]. Those countries with high homicide rates at

the first period of observation retained high rates at subsequent observational periods, and those with low homicide rates exhibited low rates over time as well.

In short, prior research in criminology consistently finds that violent crime is spatially concentrated and that concentration persists over time regardless of whether we examine neighborhoods or countries.

While most criminologists agree that ordinary criminal violence is spatially concentrated and relatively stable over time, we are aware of no prior research aimed at determining the extent to which terrorist violence is spatially concentrated and temporally stable. In this paper, we raise two fundamental questions drawn from the hot spots perspective in criminology and apply them to cross-national patterns of terrorism. First, to what extent are global terrorist strikes concentrated at the national level? And, second, to what extent are these cross-national patterns stable over time? We address these questions by applying trajectory analysis [15] to a newly developed global terrorism database. Trajectory analysis is a methodology that sorts observations into groups that reflect distinct patterns of activity over time. Our results show that, indeed, terrorist events have been highly concentrated in a relatively small number of countries since 1970. Furthermore, we find strong evidence of stability over time.

Data and methods

Data

To address these questions, we used an open source global terrorism data base recently compiled by a team lead by LaFree and Dugan, 2002 [15]. For the purposes of this study, we defined terrorism as, "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence to attain a political, economic, religious or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation" [16, p. 16]. Most of the information from this data base was originally collected by the Pinkerton Global Intelligence Service (PGIS) using detailed reports of international and domestic terrorist events from 1970 to 1997. During this period, PGIS trained researchers to record all terrorism incidents they could identify from wire services (including Reuters and the Foreign Broadcast Information Service), U.S. State Department reports, other U.S. and foreign government reporting, and U.S. and foreign newspapers (including the *New York Times*, the *British Financial Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*). Information was provided by PGIS offices throughout the world, with occasional input from such special interests as organized political opposition groups, and information furnished by PGIS clients and other individuals in both official and private capacities. More recently, PGIS staff also relied on the Internet. Most importantly, the same coding scheme was used during the entire 28 years of data collection. Our research team finished computerizing and validating the PGIS data in early 2005 and has been validating and updating the data base since that time. We refer to the updated data base constructed on the original PGIS platform as the Global Terrorism Database (GTD).[i]

While several organizations now maintain data bases on terrorist incidents,[ii] the GTD includes more incidents over a longer period of time. Most of the publicly available terrorism data bases are compiled from only international attacks despite the fact that domestic terrorism greatly outnumbers instances of international terrorism. [iii]

Schmid and Jongman note that since most open-source databases do not include domestic terrorism, research into terrorism is severely handicapped [17]. Falkenrath claims that the main reason that domestic terrorism is excluded from available data bases is that many governments have traditionally divided bureaucratic responsibility and legal authority according to a domestic-international distinction (e.g., U.S. Justice Department versus U.S. State Department) [18]. Falkenrath concludes that this practice is "an artifact of a simpler, less globally interconnected era" [18, p. 164]. Some terrorist groups (e.g., al-Qaeda, Mujahedin-E-Khalq) now have global operations that cut across domestic and international lines. Others (e.g., the Kurdistan Workers' Party and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) may have begun as strictly domestic terrorist organizations, but now operate in multiple countries and therefore simultaneously engage in both domestic and international terrorism. In short, maintaining an artificial separation between domestic and international terrorist events may impede a more complete understanding of terrorism and the persistence of terrorism activity. Ultimately such compartmentalized thinking is likely to weaken counterterrorism efforts. The GTD includes both international and domestic incidents—which is the main reason that it is approximately seven times larger than any other existing open source data base.

A second advantage of the GTD is that because it was originally collected by a private company, it faced fewer political pressures than data bases maintained by political entities. Thus, the U.S. State Department generally omitted terrorism attacks by the right-wing Contras in Nicaragua during the 1980s. By contrast, after the 1972 Munich Olympics massacre in which eleven Israeli athletes were killed, representatives from a group of Arab, African and Asian nations successfully derailed United Nations action by arguing that "people who struggle to liberate themselves from foreign oppression and exploitation have the right to use all methods at their disposal, including force" [19, p. 31]. These political issues explain in part why the United Nations has still not developed an official definition of terrorism.

However, the GTD also has important limitations, many of which are common to other open source terrorism data bases and more generally, to data collection based on secondary media reporting. Foremost is the fact that there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism. Certainly the definition originally adopted by PGIS and inherited *de facto* by our research team—which is closest to the one used by the U.S. military—has its own disadvantages. For example, the PGIS data include some cases in which members of the Sicilian Mafia attacked local magistrates ("threatened or actual use of illegal force or violence") in order to influence a court case ("to attain a political…goal through fear, coercion or intimidation"), even though many other data bases would classify such cases as organized crime and exclude them. Moreover, we found that PGIS data collectors did not always follow their own definition of terrorism. Thus, PGIS data collectors generally excluded state-based terrorism from their data collection efforts, even though there seems to be nothing in the PGIS definition of terrorism that would exclude such incidents. Other problems with the GTD are also found in other secondary, media generated data bases. These include the threat of media inaccuracies and false reporting, conflicting claims, multiple or no claims of responsibility for incidents, government censorship or disinformation, and "false flag" incidents (where one group incorrectly claims or fails to claim responsibility for an incident). However, note that many of these general problems (e.g., conflicting claims, multiple claims, no claims and false flags) are unlikely to bias the current analysis because we examine only the frequency of incidents in each country regardless of who

claimed responsibility. More generally, despite its limitations, the GTD uses one of the most inclusive terrorism definitions among the currently available open source data bases. Finally, the likelihood that decision rules were consistently applied in the GTD is heightened by the fact that only two individuals supervised data collection during the entire 30 years spanned by the data.

Our data set includes more countries than currently recognized by official sources such as the United Nations or the United States State Department because we include countries that either came into existence or dissolved during some point between 1970 and 1997. For example, we include the former Soviet Union, as well as the countries that emerged after the break up of the Soviet Union (e.g., Latvia and Lithuania). Our coding scheme also takes into account newly formed or independent countries as well as instances in which countries changed geographic boundaries over time. We coded countries that officially existed for only part of the observation period as having valid values for the time span in which they officially existed and missing values otherwise. Fifteen percent of the countries in the GTD have missing values for some portion of the observational period as a result of changes in political boundaries.[iv] Those countries in which there were no geographic changes in boundaries, but rather changes in political regime or official name, are represented as one country labeled with one of its official names for the entire time period. For example, the Democratic Republic of the Congo was formerly known as Zaire.

Analysis

We have two main purposes in the current chapter. First, we examine the extent to which terrorist events are concentrated in particular countries.   We do this by examining the distribution of terrorist activity by region and by country.

Second, we examine the extent to which country level concentration is stable over time. Broadly speaking then, this is a descriptive endeavor in which we focus on examining longitudinal patterns of terrorist activity and the extent to which these patterns change over the period spanned by the data. Because prior research on longitudinal patterns of aggregated crime trends has often produced more than one pattern of criminal offending over time [11, 12], we also allow for the emergence of distinctive patterns of country-level terrorist activity over time.

Semi-parametric trajectory analysis is a recent methodological innovation that was developed primarily for the purposes of describing the development of antisocial behavior among youth, and for identifying different patterns of antisocial development within populations of individuals [15, 20]. More recent studies have used the approach to examine longitudinal patterns of crime such as overall crime incidents and homicides at the aggregate level. For example, recent studies have used trajectory analysis to examine longitudinal patterns of criminal activity at the street segment level as well as the census tract level [11, 12]. Using these studies as a model, we apply the trajectory approach to the study of terrorism trends at a much higher level of aggregation—the country level.

Trajectory analysis is a group based modeling approach that models dynamic developmental processes by using groups to approximate an unknown, continuous distribution. It avoids making parametric assumptions about the distribution of the behavior under study and instead uses a mixture of suitably defined discrete probability

distributions [15].   The model assumes that the population consists of a discrete number of unobserved groups, each with its own distinct behavioral pattern. Through the use of maximum likelihood estimation, trajectory analysis can identify country level patterns of terrorist activity within the data that are similar and allows analysts to sort countries with similar patterns into groups that reflect the average terrorism patterns of the countries within each group [21]. Despite limitations, this approach is well suited for describing and summarizing complex longitudinal data in such a way that countries with similar patterns of terrorist activity are classified into groups that reflect an overall pattern. Trajectory groups are not constrained to the same pattern of behavior over time, and each trajectory group is free to have its own set of parameters and subsequently its own unique pattern of terrorist activity over time. For example, it may be that certain countries have increasing terrorist activity over time indicating a linear form, and other countries may have increasing terrorist activity that peaks and then decreases over time, indicating a quadratic form over time. In short, trajectory analysis provides insight into the complex processes underlying observable patterns of behavior by using groups to identify multiple behavioral trends such that countries with similar longitudinal patterns are classified into groups of similar others. This results in substantial homogeneity among countries within the same group, and heterogeneity in patterns between countries from different groups.

In this analysis, we use the trajectory procedure appropriate for censored normal data, a procedure that is similar to the tobit model for sample selected data, because inclusion in our sample depended on the presence of at least one recorded terrorist event between 1970 and 1997 [15, 22]. Following Nagin's suggestion to truncate the data at the 99th percentile to ease the computational process, we allowed each country to have a maximum of 300 events in any given year [15].[v] The unit of analysis is the country-year observation, which refers to each country at each year in which there is a valid observation, resulting in a total of 5,059 total valid observation points. We created several models which assigned different numbers of trajectory groups to the data and assessed the comparative fit of the various models using the Bayesian Information Criterion, a statistic that allows for comparison of how well a particular model specification represents the underlying data as compared to other model specifications. For a more detailed description of the methods, see [15].

Results

We examined 73,407 incidents for 201 countries from 1970 to 1997. Figure 1 presents both the percent of countries represented in the data and the percent of incidents by six world regions between 1970 and 1997.[vi] Figure 1 shows that although countries from Latin America represent a relatively small fraction of the countries in the data set (approximately 20%), more terrorist activity occurred in Latin America than in any other single region (nearly 40%). In fact, Latin America experienced more than twice as many terrorism attacks than any other region of the world, generally supporting the idea that terrorism events are concentrated at the regional level.   Europe and Asia were approximately tied as the second most common regions for terrorist strikes; each accounted for about 20 percent of the world's total terrorism events (20.11 and 18.49 percent, respectively). The Mid-East/North Africa region followed with 14.03 percent of the incidents and Sub-Saharan Africa and North America accounted for the fewest terrorism events (6.41 and 1.63 percent, respectively).
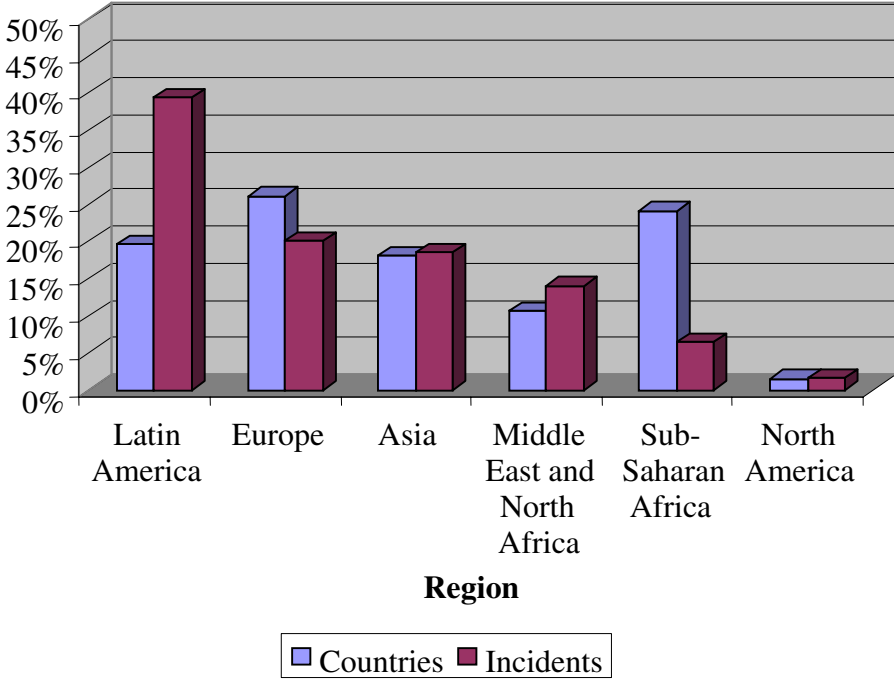
Figure 1. Percentage of Total Terrorist Events by Region, 1970 to 1997.

In Table 1 we show the 20 countries that were most likely to be targets for terrorist strikes during this period. Especially striking is the fact that the top three countries are from Latin America (Peru, Colombia and El Salvador); which together accounted for approximately 25 percent of all terrorist events in the data base over the 28-year period spanned by the data. Northern Ireland follows the Latin American countries and accounts for over 4 percent of all terrorist events in the data. Table 1 strongly confirms the assertion that terrorist events are highly concentrated at the national level.

Figure 2 presents annual incident counts of terrorist activity recorded in the GTD. The frequency of terrorist events increased dramatically during the late 1970s to the early 1990s, reaching a peak of 5,339 incidents in 1992. From this peak, it declines to the end of the series in 1997. The average number of annual terrorism incidents is 2,622 events. The average number of incidents per country per year is 13.8 and the median is 1.9, indicating that the distribution is highly skewed in a positive direction. The minimum average number of incidents per country year is .04 (Bermuda) and the

maximum is 228.54 (Peru). The average number of terrorism incidents per year for the U.S. is 40.89 incidents.

Table 1. Top 20 Countries Affected by Terrorism, 1970-1997

Country	Count of Events	Percent of GTD Incidents
Peru	6399	8.72
Colombia	6391	8.71
El Salvador	5587	7.61
India	3223	4.39
Northern Ireland	3180	4.33
Spain	2869	3.91
Turkey	2758	3.76
Chile	2391	3.26
France	2338	3.18
Sri Lanka	2327	3.17
Pakistan	2310	3.15
Guatemala	2201	3.00
Philippines	2200	3.00
Nicaragua	2075	2.83
South Africa	2038	2.78
Israel	2005	2.73
Lebanon	1890	2.57
Italy	1539	2.10
Algeria	1492	2.03
Bangladesh	1203	1.64
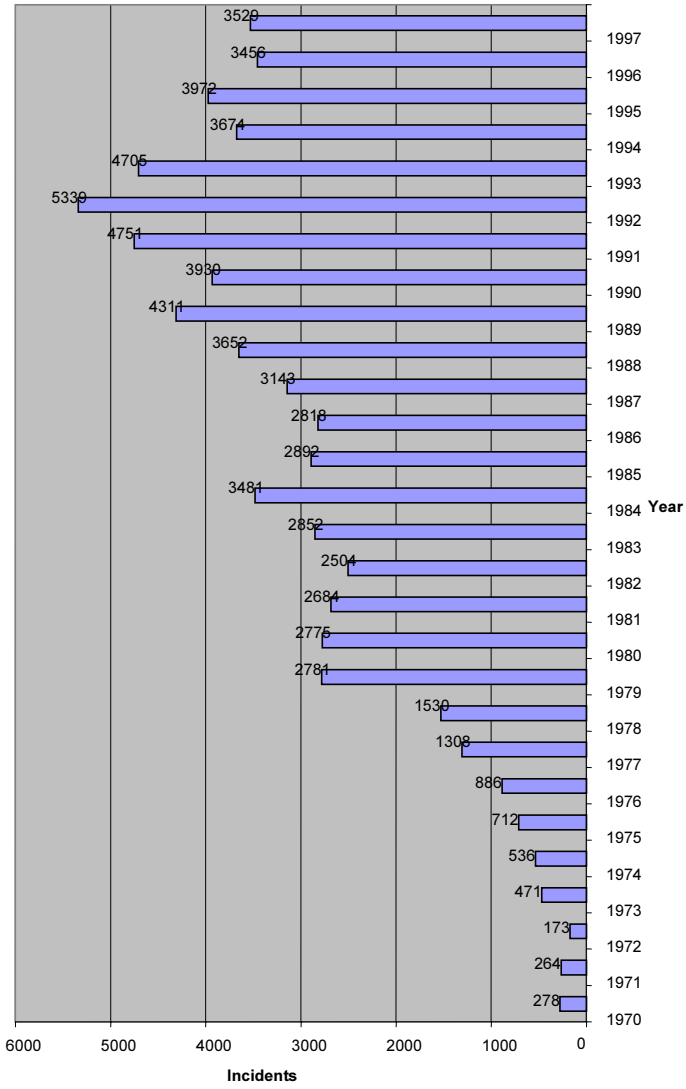
Figure 2. Annual Terrorist Incidents, 1970 to 1997

We present the results of our trajectory analysis in Figure 3. According to Figure 3, there are in fact several distinct long term terrorism event trends based on the countries in our sample. Figure 3 shows that the countries in our data exhibit four distinct patterns of terrorist activity between 1970 and 1997. These four trajectory groups were extracted from the data based on their annual rates of terrorist incidents. It is clear from Figure 3 that there is significant variation among country level trends of terrorist activity. For example, whereas three trajectory groups have comparatively low average levels of terrorist activity over time, one particular trajectory group has an average level of terrorism that greatly exceeds those of the others and generally remains substantially higher than the other groups throughout the time span covered by the data.
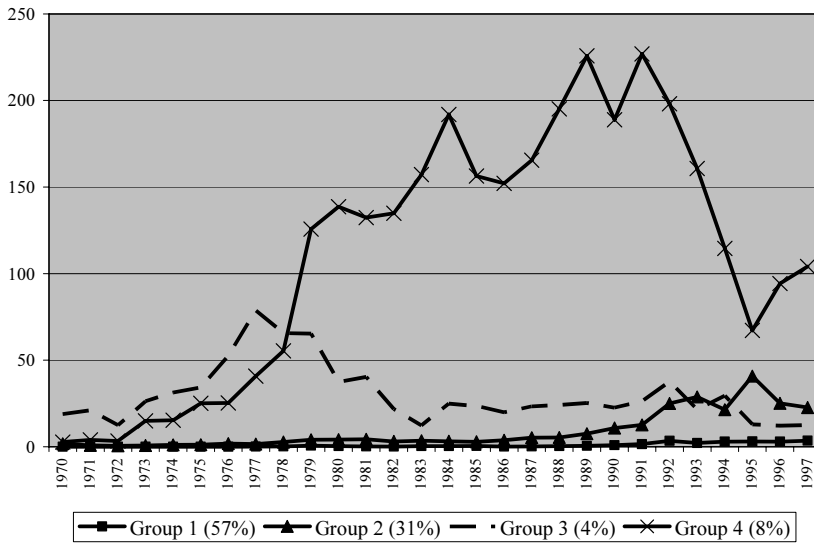
Figure 3. Average Terrorist Incidents by Four Trajectory Groups, 1970-1997

Table 2 shows the extent to which terrorist incidents are concentrated in particular country level trajectory groups over time. Countries within trajectory group 1 had a low and stable average level of offending over time, with annual averages hovering close to zero for most of the time span. The median number of total incidents for all countries within trajectory group 1 for the 28 year time period is 9 incidents. Although group 1 comprises 57% of the countries within our sample, the group accounts for only 4% of the 73,407 incidents in the data set. Thus, about three-fifths of the countries in the sample experienced few terrorism incidents annually, and for these countries, this low level of activity was fairly stable throughout the time period.

Table 2. Terrorist Incident Concentration within Trajectory Groups, 1970-1997

Trajectory Group	# of Countries	% of Countries	% of Total Incidents (N = 73,407)	Average Total Number of Incidents	Median Total Number of Incidents
Group One	116	57	4	23	9
Group Two	62	31	21	243	124
Group Three	7	4	8	834	708
Group Four	16	8	67	3117	2364

Table 3. Trajectory Group One, N = 116

Albania	Grenada	Rhodesia
Andorra	Guadeloupe	Senegal
Antigua and Barbuda	Guam	Seychelles
Armenia	Guinea	Sierra Leone
Bahamas	Guyana	Singapore
Bahrain	Hong Kong	Slovak Republic
Barbados	Hungary	Slovenia
Belize	Iceland	South Vietnam
Benin	Ivory Coast	South Yemen
Bermuda	Kazakhstan	Soviet Union
Botswana	Kyrgyzstan	St. Kitts and Nevis
Brunei	Laos	Swaziland
Bulgaria	Latvia	Taiwan
Burkina Faso	Lesotho	Tanzania
Burundi	Liberia	Togo
Byelarus	Libya	Tonga
Cameroon	Lithuania	Trinidad and Tobago
Cayman Islands	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Central African Republic	Macao	Ukraine
Chad	Macedonia	United Arab Emirates
China	Madagascar	Uzbekistan
Comoros	Malawi	Vanuatu
Congo	Mali	Vietnam
Cuba	Malta	Virgin Islands US
Czech Republic	Isle of Man	Wallis and Futuna
Czechoslovakia	Martinique	Western Samoa
Djibouti	Mauritania	
Dominica	Mauritius	
East Germany GDR	Moldova	
Equatorial Guinea	Namibia	
Eritrea	Nepal	
Estonia	New Caledonia	
Falkland Islands	New Zealand	
Fiji	Niger	
Finland	Nigeria	
French Guiana	North Korea	
French Polynesia	North Yemen	
Gabon	Norway	
Gambia	Palau	
Ghana	Republic of Cabinda	

Table 3 presents the countries that are classified into trajectory group 1. Note that many of the countries in Table 3 are islands or countries with relatively small total populations. China and the Soviet Union are prominent exceptions. The extremely low reported terrorist rates for China and the Soviet Union—as well as North Korea and East Germany—also raises the possibility that open source data bases seriously undercount terrorist events in countries that maintain strong centralized control over the media.

Trajectory group 2 has a similar average level of terrorist activity as trajectory group 1. According to Figure 3, countries within group 2 began the time series at an average level of activity that is close to zero, however unlike countries in trajectory group 1, those countries in group 2 experienced an increase in average levels of activity beginning in the early 1990s. According to Table 2, thirty-one percent of the countries

fall into trajectory group 2, and they account for approximately 21 percent of the total incidents. Table 4 lists the 62 countries that fall into trajectory group 2.

Table 4. Trajectory Group Two, N =62

Afghanistan	Kenya
Algeria	Kuwait
Angola	Malaysia
Australia	Mexico
Austria	Morocco
Azerbaijan	Mozambique
Bangladesh	Myanmar
Belgium	Netherlands
Bolivia	Pakistan
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Panama
Brazil	Paraguay
Cambodia	Portugal
Canada	Puerto Rico
Costa Rica	Russia
Croatia	Serbia-Montenegro
Cyprus	Somalia
Denmark	South Korea
Dominican Republic	Sudan
Ecuador	Suriname
Egypt	Sweden
Ethiopia	Switzerland
Georgia	Syria
Germany	Tajikistan
Haiti	Thailand
Honduras	Uganda
Indonesia	Uruguay
Iraq	Venezuela
Ireland	Yemen
Jamaica	Yugoslavia
Japan	Zambia
Jordan	Zimbabwe

Trajectory group 3 has a substantially different level and trend shape as compared to groups 1 and 2. According to Figure 3, countries in trajectory group 3 began the time span with an average value of 18.86 incidents. This is in stark contrast to groups 1 and 2, which have respective average starting values of 0 and 1.71 incidents. In addition, countries in trajectory group 3 exhibited a more variable pattern throughout the time period. The peak in average level of terrorist activity in 1977 for group 3 is 78 incidents. This rate then declines to only 12 incidents in 1983 and then increases again to 38 incidents in 1992. The median number of incidents for all group 3 countries across all years is 708.00 incidents. Despite the higher number of average incidents as compared to groups 1 and 2, countries in trajectory group 3 only account for 8 percent of the total incidents. In addition, only 7 countries fall within trajectory group 3—the smallest number of countries in any of the four trajectory groups identified in the data. Table 5 shows the countries that were classified into trajectory group 3.

Table 5. Trajectory Group Three, N = 7

Argentina
Greece
Iran
Italy
United Kingdom
United States
West Germany FRG

The long-term pattern of terrorist activity for countries that comprise trajectory group four indicates that the concentration of terrorism at the country level is relatively stable over the time period examined here. Countries in trajectory group 4 began the series at an average level that is lower than the average level of countries in trajectory group 3. However, they experienced a steady increase beginning around 1972, with an especially sharp rise in the late 1970s. Countries in trajectory group 4 have an average of 3,117.00 terrorist incidents for the entire time span, with a low annual average of 3 incidents in 1970 and a high of 227 incidents in 1991. The median number of total incidents for all countries in trajectory group 4 during 1970 to 1997 is 2,364.50. This again indicates that a high number of incidents occurred within these countries. Especially striking is the fact that while the countries in group 4 represent only 8 percent of the total sample of countries, these 16 countries account for 67 percent of the total terrorist incidents. This concentration strongly supports the idea that at least for the time period examined here, these countries constitute national "hot spots" for terrorism. Table 6 lists the countries in trajectory group 4.

Table 6. Trajectory Group Four, N = 16

Chile
Colombia
El Salvador
France
Guatemala
India
Israel
Lebanon
Nicaragua
Northern Ireland
Peru
Philippines
South Africa
Spain
Sri Lanka
Turkey

All of the trajectory groups exhibit some degree of change in levels throughout the time period. For example, countries in trajectory group 4 have very high levels of activity in the middle of the time period, but that activity decreases steadily beginning in the mid 1990s. Similarly, countries in trajectory group 3 have high levels of activity in the 1970s, then decrease in the early 1980s and remain fairly stable for the rest of the series. At certain points over the time period included in the analysis, countries in different trajectory groups share similar average values, such as during the early to mid 1970s when groups 3 and 4 overlap. Despite these changes and the occasional overlapping trends, there is substantial stability of levels between trajectory groups. For instance, although trajectory group 2 exceeds the average number of incidents of

trajectory group 3 towards the end of the time series, for most of the 28 years, countries in trajectory group 2 had a lower level of activity as compared to countries in trajectory group 3. Similarly, even though countries in trajectory group 4 experienced a substantial reduction in the level of terrorist activity during the mid 1990s, these countries have consistently higher average levels of activity as compared to others for most of the time span. We believe our results not only provide support for the conclusion that terrorist activity is highly concentrated at the national level, but also show considerable stability in levels of concentration over time.

Discussion and conclusions

We began this chapter by asking whether terrorist events are clustered by country over time. The evidence strongly supports the idea that terrorist incidents are highly concentrated at the cross-national level during the period analyzed here. The most striking evidence of this concentration from the trajectory analysis is the finding that group 1 in the analysis contains 118 countries (57% of the total) but accounts for only four percent of the total incidents, while group 4 includes only 16 countries (8 %) but accounts for 67% of the total incidents. It thus appears that terrorist violence, like criminal violence more generally, is highly concentrated at the national level.

The second question we explored in the analysis was the extent to which any concentration of terrorist events is persistent over time. Here there is perhaps more evidence of change than has been the case in the criminology research literature on cross-national homicide rates. Groups 1 and 2 in our analysis remain distinct throughout the period spanned by the data; resembling two parallel railroad tracks with a slight upward trajectory throughout much of the series. However, the results for groups 3 and 4 are more complex. Group 3 starts the series as the highest frequency group, but finishes considerably lower (even falling below group 2). On the other hand, group 4 exhibits a boom and bust cycle, beginning near zero, going through a rapid escalation, followed by an equally rapid decline.

More generally, the results permit several recommendations in terms of terrorism data, future research and policy. In terms of data, our research team plans to continue working to improve the quality and comprehensiveness of the GTD. Perhaps most importantly, we currently have a project under way that will eventually extend the data to the current time. We are also working on a number of projects that involve critically comparing the GTD to other open source data bases. These efforts will continue into the future.

While beyond the scope of the current paper, we also plan to extend the trajectory methods used in this study in several strategic directions. First, it will be important to examine the extent to which membership in these country-level groups is associated with time-stable and time varying characteristics of countries. While research on the so called "root causes" of terrorism has generally been inconclusive [23-26], using the trajectory methods applied in the current study may provide a useful new way of approaching the issues being raised. For example, we can link membership in these trajectories to a wide range of possible enabling variables, including economic inequality, unequal distribution of land, political discrimination, low educational opportunities, low caloric intake, rapid urbanization, high inflation rates, and unequal economic growth.

Second, we plan to extend similar methods to examine the trajectories of individual terrorist groups. A trajectory analysis of the GTD at the terrorist group level

is still problematic because our research team has not yet finished classifying missing or ambiguous data on groups. Once this task is complete, we will be able to do a much more comprehensive examination of the trends in terrorist strikes (as well as their lethality) by specific terrorist groups over time. And once we have divided groups into distinct trajectories, we will also be able to examine the time stable and time varying characteristics of groups that predict their specific terrorist strike trajectories.

Third, we are also interested in expanding our trajectory analysis to examine whether specific types of trajectories are related to specific types of terrorism, historical conditions, or enabling variables. For example, the patterns shown by group four in our results suggest a boom and bust cycle characterized by initially low rates, rapid acceleration to a peak and then a rapid decline. In recent criminology research, LaFree and Drass [6] show that these boom and bust cycles are relatively uncommon in terms of cross-national rates of violent crime. Based on the preliminary analysis we have undertaken here, we find only 16 of the world's 201 countries (8%) can be classified into this group. In looking through the list of these 16 countries, it appears that several represent countries (e.g., Northern Ireland, South Africa) where terrorism was specifically advanced in conjunction with fairly well defined grievances. One possibility that we would like to explore in future research is that terrorism that is more grievance based is more likely to exhibit a boom and bust cycle—assuming that the issues related to the grievance are eventually resolved. Thus, the shape of individual trajectories—both at the country and the group level—may yield important insights into the nature of terrorism.

And finally, the grouping of countries into specific trajectories suggests that strategic case studies might also be useful. In this regard the cases of Northern Ireland and South Africa, already mentioned, are strong candidates.

One of the critical policy issues connected to discovering hot spots in criminology is the realization that deploying police in a random manner across neighborhoods and cities makes little sense when crime is not randomly distributed. Similarly, our research shows that terrorist events are strongly concentrated at the national level and that they exhibit trend-like behavior. That is, terrorism rates in these countries generally do not behave erratically, like an electrocardiogram (EKG) or a seismograph, but rather exhibit relatively stable trends over time. These patterns suggest that once a country or group is identified as having a rising (or falling) trajectory, it is likely to continue in this path for some period of time. Understanding these resulting hot spots might eventually provide an important early warning system for identifying countries and groups that represent significant terrorist hot spots as they emerge.

Acknowledgments

References

1. Shaw, C.R. (1929).Delinquency Areas: A Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juvenile Delinquents, and Adult Offenders in Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
2. Sherman, L.W., Gartin, P.R., & Buerger, M.W. (1989). Hot spots of predatory crime: Routine activities and the criminology of place. Criminology, 27, 27-55.
3. Sherman, L.W. (1995). Hot Spots of Crime and Criminal Careers of Places. In Ronald V. Clarke (eds.), Crime and Place: Crime Prevention Studies 4. Monsey, NY: Willow Tree Press.
4. Eck, J.E., Gersh, J.S. & Taylor, C. (2000). Finding Crime Hot Spots Through Repeat Address Mapping. In Victor Goldsmith, Philip G. Maguire, John H. Mollenkopf and Timothy A. Ross (eds.), Analyzing Crime Patterns: Frontiers of Practice. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
5. Gartner, R. (2000). Cross-cultural aspects of interpersonal violence: A review of international empirical evidence. Paper prepared for Crime and Violence: Causes and Policy Responses. May 4-5, 2000.
6. LaFree, G. & Drass, K.A. (2002). Counting crime booms among nations: Evidence for homicide victimization rates, 1956-1998. Criminology, 40, 769-800.
7. Shaw, C.R. & McKay, H. (1942). Juvenile delinquency and Urban Areas; A Study of Rates of Delinquency in Relation to Differential Characteristics of Local Communities in American Cities. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
8. Sherman, L.W. & Weisburd, D. (1995). General deterrent effects of police patrol in crime "hot spots:" A randomized controlled trial. Justice Quarterly, 12, 625-648.
9. Spelman, W. (1995). Criminal Careers of Public Places. In Ronald V. Clarke (eds.), Crime and Place: Crime Prevention Studies 4. Monsey, NY: Willow Tree Press.
10. Taylor, R.B. (1999). Crime, Grime, Fear and Decline: A Longitudinal Look. Research in Brief. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice.
11. Griffiths, E. & Chavez, C. (2004). Communities, street guns and homicide trajectories in Chicago, 1980-1995: Merging methods for examining homicide trends across space and time. Criminology, 42, 941-977.
12. Weisburd, D., Bushway, S., Lum, C., & Yang, S.M. (2004). Trajectories of crime at places: A longitudinal study of street segments in the city of Seattle. Criminology, 42, 283-321.
13. Lewis, C. (1999). Police Records of Crime. In United Nations Office for Drug Control (eds.), Global Report on Crime and Justice. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
14. LaFree, G. (2005). Are National Crime Trends Converging? Evidence for Homicide Victimization Rates, 1956 to 1998. Sociological Quarterly, 46, 191-211.
15. Nagin, D.S. (2005). Group-Based Modeling of Development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
16. LaFree, G. & Dugan, L. (2002). The impact of economic, political, and social variables on the incidence of world terrorism, 1970-1997. NIJ Grant Proposal 1-41.
17. Schmid, A.P. & Jongman, A.J. (1988). Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Databases, Theories and Literature. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
18. Falkenrath, R. (2001). Analytic Models and Policy Prescription: Understanding Recent Innovation in U.S. Counterterrorism. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 24, 159-181.
19. Hoffman, B.R. (1998). Inside Terrorism. New York: Columbia University Press.
20. Sampson, Robert J., and John H. Laub. 2003. Life-course desisters? Trajectories of crime among delinquent boys followed to age 70. Criminology, 41, 301-339.
21. Morris, N., Dugan, L. & LaFree, G. (2005). Examining trajectories of terrorist activity: Long term patterns and trends, 1970 to 1997. Unpublished manuscript. University of Maryland.
22. Breen, R. (1996). Regression Models: Censored, Sample Selected, or Truncated Data. Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences Series, No. 111. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
23. Abadie, A. (2004). Poverty, political freedom, and the roots of terrorism. Paper prepared for the National Bureau of Economic Research, October.
24. Piazza, J.A. (2003). Rooted in poverty?: terrorism, poor economic development and social cleavages. Terrorism and Political Violence. Forthcoming.
25. Krueger, A.B. & Maleckova, J. (2003). Education, poverty and terrorism: Is there a causal connection? Journal of Economic Perspectives, 17, 119-144.
26. Krueger, A.B. & Laitin, D.D. (2003).   Kto Kogo?: A cross-country study of the origins and targets of terrorism. Website, accessed June 19, 2005. Available from http://www.krueger.princeton.edu/terrorism3.pdf.
27. Jongman, A.J. (1993). Trends in international and domestic terrorism in Western Europe. In Schmid, A.P. & R.D. Crelinsten (Eds.), Western Responses to Terrorism. Frank Cass Publishers, London, UK.
28. Mickolus, E.F. (1982). International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events, 1968-1977. (ITERATE 2). Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.

29. Mickolus, E..F.., T. Sandler, J.M. Murdock, and P. Fleming. (1993). International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events 1988-91 (ITERATE 4). Dunn Loring, VA: Vineyard Software.
30. Tucker, Jonathan B. (1999). "Historical Trends Related to Bioterrorism: An Empirical Analysis." Emerging Infectious Disease, 5,498-504.

---

[i] The GTD is continuously updated with new information about previously recorded incidents as well as the addition of incidents not initially captured by the original data collectors. The analysis in the current data set is based on the summer 2005 version of the GTD.

[ii] These include the U.S. State Department; the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv [18]; the RAND Corporation [27]; the ITERATE data base [28, 29]; and the Monterey Institute of International Studies [30].

[iii] We use the term "domestic terrorism" throughout to signify terrorism that is perpetrated within the boundaries of a given nation by nationals from that nation.

[iv] The following countries were coded to reflect their changing geographic boundaries, with the time span in parenthesis representing the period in which the country is coded as having had valid data values: USSR (1970-1991); Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan (1992-1997); Yugoslavia (1970-1991); Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, Serbia-Montenegro also known as Federal republic of Yugoslavia (1992-1997); Czechoslovakia (1970-1992); Czech Republic, Slovak Republic (1993-1997); Eritrea (1993-1997); Namibia (1990-1997); North Yemen, South Yemen (1970-1989); Yemen (1990-1997); and East Germany (1970-1989).

[v] Another modeling approach within the trajectory analysis framework that is appropriate in the current study is the use of the zero-inflated poisson (ZIP) model for count data [15]. We chose the cnorm model for several reasons. First, as stated in the text, there is justification for the use of the cnorm model based on the censoring that is inherent in our data set. Second, the cnorm model allowed for us to follow Nagin's suggestion of top-coding/truncating the distribution of the outcome variable to the 99th percentile for ease of computation. The ZIP model required a lower level of truncation for the model to successfully compute results. Whereas the results reported in the current paper are based on top coding the data to 300 events maximum each year (which impacts approximately 1% of the data), the ZIP model requires top coding to 80 (which impacts approximately 4% of the data). Thus, the cnorm model allows us to analyze a fuller spread of the right tail of the distribution of incidents, which we found compelling given that several countries have extremely high counts that exceed 80 terrorist events per year. Top-coding these countries to have counts of 80 events a year would yield results that indicate those countries were stable throughout the time period, when in fact they may have actually decreased or increased. Fourth, results from the poisson model should converge with results from the cnorm model when there are a large number of incident counts per year. And finally, results from an analysis which compared results from a ZIP model and cnorm model (both top-coded to 80 events) indicate that, overall, the results are similar and the substantive conclusions remain the same.

[vi] The original data for 1993 were lost by PGIS before we obtained the data base. However, we were able to obtain country-level terrorism estimates for 1993 from published PGIS reports for this analysis. We are in the process of recollecting the missing 1993 data.

Chapter 8
Economic Methods and the Study of Terrorism:
An Evaluation

Todd Sandler
School of International Relations
University of Southern California

Abstract

For almost three decades, economists have applied empirical and theoretical tools to investigate the effectiveness of antiterrorism actions – e.g., the installation of metal detectors and the launch of retaliatory raids. Economic methods have also been applied to gauge the economic consequences of terrorism on economic sectors and the economy as a whole. The current study explains how economic methods and the application of game theory have provided novel counterterrorism insights, not gleaned from other approaches. The study also speculates how neuroeconomics may further inform policymakers on thwarting terrorism.

Keywords: counterterrorism, economic methods, game theory neuroscience, substitution effect, rational-actor models.

Introduction

Economic methods were first applied to the study of terrorism by Landes [1], who investigated the effectiveness of government countermeasures (e.g., the presence of sky marshals, the installation of metal detectors, and the institution of longer jail sentences) on the frequency of and the interval between skyjackings. From its first application, economic methods have been used to inform public policy on managing the threat of terrorism. Subsequent analyses introduced game theory whereby antagonists' choices are conditioned on those of their counterpart [2-3]. For example, government countermeasures alter the campaign of a terrorist group, while the terrorist attacks influence the actions taken by the government. Early economic studies also investigated bargaining aspects associated with hostage incidents, including the determinants of the duration of a hostage incident and its outcome [4].

Economic methods achieved a number of insights, not garnered from other methodologies. For example, economic tools provided an evaluation of counter-terrorist policies (e.g., the institution of UN conventions and resolutions and the use of retaliatory raids against alleged state sponsors). Economic studies also identified a host of paradoxes – e.g., that terrorist groups cooperate, while targeted governments often

do not. In addition, economic methodology established the economic consequences of terrorism not only on specific economic sectors (e.g., tourism or financial markets), but also on the entire economy [5-12]. These methods also indicated the pitfalls of a declared no-negotiation policy in preventing hostage taking. Moreover, economic tools elucidated a government's decision with respect to proactive and defensive counterterrorism action when confronted with domestic and transnational terrorism.[1]

The economic approach has some deficiencies. Most notable, this methodology has not explained why some disaffected individuals resort to terrorism and others do not [13]. Nevertheless, economic methods indicated why some individuals become suicide bombers [14-15]. Economic-based studies are better able to explain the action of terrorist groups and targeted governments than the choice of individual terrorists. Combining psychological and economic methods may eventually rectify this shortcoming. Economic studies successfully identified cycles and trends in terrorist events, but did not predict notable incidents. For example, the September 11, 2001 hijackings (henceforth, 9/11) came as a surprise and the next such "spectacular" incident is anybody's guess. In addition, economic methods are not able to forecast tomorrow's innovations in terrorist techniques or organizational structure.

This study has a number of modest purposes. First, it identifies the essential features of the economic method as applied to the study of terrorism. Second, the paper indicates why game theory is such a crucial component of the economic method. Third, the paper evaluates past applications of the economic technique and highlights some interesting paradoxes. Fourth, the paper itemizes some insights gathered about the practice of counterterrorism. Fifth, the study speculates on how the neuroscientific approach affects the usefulness of the economic paradigm and may ultimately change the application of economic methods in their analysis of terrorism.

On economic methods

The economic notion of rationality is based on agents optimizing an objective (e.g., a payoff or utility function), subject to one or more constraints (e.g., a budget or resource constraint) that limit actions. In the terrorist scenario, the agent may include individual terrorists, a terrorist group, terrorist supporters, a targeted government, the media, or some other entity. For many applications, a unitary actor is represented as carrying out the decisions for a collective. Thus, the terrorist group is frequently depicted as a single player acting with a unity of purpose. Strong leadership or a similarity in preferences can legitimize this abstraction.

Economists do not judge the "appropriateness" of the objective when characterizing a rational-choice model; instead, they judge rationality based on the agent's ability to respond in a self-interested manner to changes in the constraint(s). As such, the agent's response to these alterations is predictable. When, say, confronted with a rise in the unit cost of one type of operation, the terrorist group is anticipated to substitute into a now relatively cheaper attack mode that provides similar payoffs. For example, the introduction of metal detectors in January 1973 is anticipated to reduce skyjacking as terrorists substitute into other types of hostage-taking incidents.

The economic method permits a host of complications. For instance, a terrorist may be motivated by anger or strong emotions, brought on by callous counter-terrorist measures of the government [16-17]. In addition, one agent may be more informed

than another so that information may be asymmetric; e.g., the government may not know the strength of the terrorists, while the terrorists may observe the government's resources allocated to counterterrorism. Economic-based models can also allow for learning as revelations in one period can permit an agent to update its priors over time. Arguments in an agent's objective function may include altruism, where an agent is interest in, say, the welfare of future generations (e.g., Azam's [14] characterization of suicide bombers). Even state-contingent preferences, consistent with neuroscientific findings, can be introduced into the analysis.

A recent criticism of rational-actor representations of terrorists by Crenshaw [18] is misplaced. Crenshaw indicated that terrorist rationality must be questioned because their overall goals are seldom accomplished. Should we classify most scientists as irrational because they will never make their intended breakthrough or win the Nobel Prize? Einstein's failure to formulate a unified field theory hardly makes him irrational. Although most terrorist organizations fail to obtain their ultimate goal, there are notable exceptions – e.g., the Zionist terrorists achieved a Jewish state, the Irish terrorists obtained Ireland's independence, and the Algerian terrorists gained the country's independence. In more instances, terrorists achieved some of their goals – e.g., Basque separatists gained some autonomy for the region, and the Hezbollah suicide bombers forced the United States to withdraw its peacekeepers from Lebanon in 1983. In fact, Pape [19] argued that suicide bombing campaigns against liberal democracies have obtained many goals and, as such, represent a rational response. Furthermore, the terrorist act itself may provide sufficient reward, which may be the case for fundamentalist terrorists who view killing nonbelievers as a sanctifying activity. If the terrorists are driven by sufficient hatred or anger, then the terrorist event may be an end in itself. Additionally, terrorist events provide publicity for the cause and private gains for the leaders.

Compelling evidence for terrorist rationality concerns the way in which they gain a strategic advantage over a stronger opponent. Terrorists exploit some fundamental asymmetries to their advantage. For example, nations must guard everywhere, while terrorists can identify and attack the softest targets. Thus, terrorists can economize on costs, while governments cannot. Nations are target-rich while terrorists are target-poor. By hiding in the general population, terrorists can maximize the collateral damage during government raids. Nations have to be fortunate on a daily basis to avoid attacks, while terrorists only have to be fortunate on occasions, as on 9/11. Unlike liberal democracies that are constrained in their response to the terrorist threats, terrorists can be unrestrained in their brutality as illustrated by attacks perpetrated by Islamist extremists since 1990. Nations are not well informed about terrorists' strength, whereas terrorists can easily observe government's commitment to counterterrorism. Another asymmetry involves the organizational structure of these adversaries. Governments are hierarchical, which can slow decision-making and compromise their organizational integrity if infiltrated. Terrorist organizations are often composed of loosely tied networks of cells and affiliated terrorist groups. Captured terrorists can do only limited damage to the integrity of the organization. Because of limited office terms, government officials are more myopic than terrorist groups, whose leaders have lifetime tenure. Table 1 provides a ready summary of the asymmetries between nations and terrorist groups.

Table 1. Asymmetries between nations and terrorists

Nations	Terrorists
• Must guard everywhere	• Identify and attack softest targets
• Target-rich	• Target-poor
• Fortunate on a daily basis	• Lucky on occasion
• Liberal democracies are restrained	• Fundamentalists are unrestrained
• Not well-informed about terrorists' strength or resources	• Can discover how governmental resources are allocated to counterterrorism
• Organized hierarchically	• Organized as loosely tied networks of cells and affiliated groups
• Relatively strong compared to adversary	• Relatively weak compared to adversary
• Interests limited to office period	• Interests are long term with lifetime tenure of leadership

Another key aspect in the economic method is to subject derived hypotheses to empirical tests. For instance, the theory-based prediction that tourists will respond to terrorist-enhanced risk by choosing less-risky vacation venues have been empirically tested in recent years [9, 11, 20]. These tests support the hypothesized response to terrorism and have quantified the lost tourist revenues for some terrorism-ridden countries. In another study, foreign direct investments were shown to be redirected from some terrorism-prone countries to safer countries in response to a terrorist campaign [10].

A wide range of issues has been investigated using economic methods, including public policy recommendations regarding insurance following the industry's withdrawal of coverage owing to its massive losses from 9/11 [21]. Additionally, economic methods have investigated how an agent responds to situations of interdependent risk, where its safety is determined not only by the agent's own precautions, but also by those of other at-risk agents [22]. For example, the safety of the passengers on a commercial flight depends on the screening of the baggage on all originating flights, because transferred bags are not re-screened. Poor screening on any feeder flight puts all passengers in jeopardy no matter how well the bags *originating* on the current flight were scrutinized. The presence of interdependent risk can reduce the care taken by any airline because its efforts are not the sole determinant of the level of risk. Policy recommendations have indicated which feeder flights to screen to provide greater incentives for all airlines to take greater care. Economic analysis has evaluated many counterterrorism policies, including those involving negotiations over hostages, deployment of defensive barriers, and the initiation of proactive measures.

Game-theoretic models and terrorism

Game theory is an important tool of economic analysis that concerns the study of *interactive* rational choice where agents' optimizing choices are conditioned by those

of an opponent or ally. The application of game theory to the study of terrorism is appropriate for a number of reasons [23]. First, game theory captures the strategic interplay between a terrorist group and targeted governments, where these agents' decisions are interdependent and, thus, cannot be analyzed as though one side is passive. For example, defensive measures deployed by one potential venue against an attack may transfer the attack elsewhere unless similar defenses are deployed. Defensive choices are thus dependent on those of other venues. Second, terrorism scenarios involve interactions among rational agents who are trying to act according to how they anticipate their counterparts will act and react – e.g., the United States must anticipate that homeland security updates following 9/11 make Americans more likely targets abroad, especially in those countries where the terrorists blend in [24]. Third, game theory allows adversaries to issue threats and promises for strategic advantage – e.g., a government may issue a pledge never to concede to hostage takers in the hopes of convincing terrorists that such actions will yield no payoff. Fourth, game-theoretic notions of bargaining may be applied to hostage situations to ascertain the likely outcome of negotiations once hostages are secured [4, 25]. The determinants of bargaining advantage and the lengths of negotiations inform policymakers of the likely consequences of alternative actions (e.g., bargaining over multiple dimensions and the sequential release of hostages). Fifth, uncertainty and learning can be incorporated into a game-theoretic scenario, where at least one side is not fully informed. Sixth, dynamic changes in the composition of the agents can be examined in an evolutionary game framework to ascertain the survival benefits of some types of policies or actions.

Game theory permits the interaction of a variety of parties. For counterterrorism, the parties may include targeted governments and the terrorist group. Targeted governments may act at cross-purposes when they ignore the impact that their policies may have on their counterparts. In an effort to secure the home front, a government may overspend (from the viewpoint of all targeted governments) on defense and divert attacks to countries, where its own citizens are targeted but it can do little to protect them or to bring the terrorists to justice. In recent years, 40 percent of all transnational terrorist attacks is against US people or property, but few attacks take place on US soil. Game players may involve an outside sponsor (e.g., al-Qaida, diaspora, or a state sponsor) that influences the confrontation between terrorists and a targeted government as both vie for the allegiance of potential supporters [26]. Within a terrorist organization, strategic interaction may ensue between a political and military wing in which each has its own agenda that may be competitive or complementary. The exercise of counterterrorism policy then hinges on the strategic interaction among the terrorist group's component parts [27]. In much of the game theory representation of terrorism, the players are collectives that are pursuing some common goal.

Normal or matrix games are used to represent two or more players that possess a *finite* number of choices or strategies. In the practice of counterterrorism, a variety of game forms have been associated with alternative actions. When taking defensive measures against a common terrorist threat, governments are seen as providing for their protection at their own expense while imposing costs on other governments as the attack is diverted to their soil. If the country's defensive gain exceeds its costs of protection, but does not exceed the costs incurred by all, then a Prisoners' Dilemma results, where defensive actions are taken by everyone to the disadvantage of all [28]. The outcome is analogous to a tragedy of the commons for which the pursuit of individual well-being harms everyone. Ironically, a Prisoners' Dilemma may also apply to proactive (offensive) measures where actions against a global terrorist threat

benefit all at-risk governments. If the costs from attacking the terrorists are greater than the provider's own benefits but not the total benefits derived by all countries, then a Prisoners' Dilemma again applies and too little is spent on attacking the terrorists. Thus, countries tend to overspend on defensive measures and under-spend on proactive policies, which implies an inefficient counterterrorism policy against a transnational terrorist group [29]. A message in this literature is that there are many collective action failures associated with counterterrorism, as targeted governments insist on acting on their own. The Prisoners' Dilemma is an excellent instance where individual rationality is not sufficient for collective rationality, because an undesirable equilibrium results as the players choose their dominant strategy.[2]

In some instances, effective counter-terrorist policy against a terrorist network may require uniform actions so that an *assurance* game applies [30]. A good example is freezing terrorist assets or eliminating safe havens, where even one nation that goes against the effort can undo much of the gain achieved by those that act in unison. The real concern arises when many nations must support the action because countries may require near certainty that others will adhere to the action if they are to go along with the policy. Even after 9/11, when many nations heeded the call to freeze terrorist assets, there were nations that did not abide by the freeze. If recalcitrant nations can profit from their protection of terrorist assets, then "spoilers" will be ever present. Collective action to punish the spoilers usually implies a Prisoners' Dilemma with no nation wanting to expend its resources for the well being of all others, insofar as the provider's share of the benefits does not warrant the costs. Another applicable game form is *coordination*, where one player must act and the other must not act, to achieve the high payoffs. Infiltrating a terrorist group is an example of a coordination game in which mutual action is wasteful and can jeopardize both countries' operatives. Low payoffs also follow if no one acts. The trick is then to coordinate a *single* response that may be easier to accomplish when one country faces a greater threat from the terrorist group so that it seizes the initiative.

Game theory forces us to think beyond an agent's passive reaction to the actions of others. With its myriad forms representing alternative strategic interactions, game theory allows policymakers to fathom the pitfalls behind some coordinated responses. Not only does game theory point to instances where collective failures occur, but it also identifies cases where the proper response is forthcoming. For example, a prime-target nation will bolster defenses in countries where its citizens are in danger. The US policy to train other countries' personnel in counterterrorism procedures is an example.

Game theory can be modified to permit different uncertainty foundations including prospect theory, where an agent responds differently to gains and losses. To date, game theory has modeled learning in terms of Bayesian updating, but other forms of learning could be introduced into the analysis [23]. Even the assumption of error-free decision making has been modified to permit some miscalculations by the players (e.g., the trembling-hand equilibrium). Insights and developments in psychology can be incorporated into the game-theoretic paradigm.

Paradoxes uncovered

The real test for the economic methodology and its underlying assumption of rational-choice agents is whether it has yielded insights that describe observed phenomena.

Additionally, this method needs to generate some surprising findings that are contrary to initial intuition. If all results are intuitively obvious, there is then no need for the formal analysis. Economic methods pass both criteria.

As mentioned earlier, recent game-theoretic analysis establishes that governments under-spend for proactive responses while they overspend for defensive measures against a common transnational terrorist threat, because governments do not account for the benefits or costs that their actions confer on others. The sole exception to this under-spending on proactive measures comes from a prime-target nation, such as the United States, that can derive a sufficient net benefit from acting alone. For domestic terrorism, governments *are* motivated to take offensive actions against the terrorists, because the benefit from doing so stays fully within the country. In Europe, countries mounted successful offensives against the Red Brigades, Direct Action, Combatant Communist Cells (CCC), and other left-wing groups. Ironically, nations faced with a potentially more harmful transnational terrorist threat are generally less able to take decisive actions as they hope that other targeted nations will act and their share of the resulting benefits is less than the associated costs.

Another paradox involves the collective responses of terrorists and targeted governments. Terrorists are more willing than governments to create cooperative arrangements. Terrorist groups form networks and cooperative arrangements with other groups for a number of reasons. Despite different political agendas, terrorist groups share similar opponents – e.g., the United States and Israel – that unite them. The left-wing terrorists in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s had a similar political orientation and an identical goal to overthrow capitalism [31]. Terrorist groups cooperate because of their relative weakness compared with the well-armed governments that they battle. Given their limited resources and significant vulnerability, terrorists have little choice but to cooperate to stretch resources and take advantage of their diverse abilities. Because terrorist leaders tend to be tenured for life, they view their interaction with other leaders as long term. Consequently, terrorist groups can successfully address Prisoners' Dilemma interactions through punishment-based tit-for-tat strategies. Any temptation to renege on a cooperative pledge with another group for a short-term gain is tempered by the long-run losses from the lack of future cooperative gains.

In contrast, governments have had limited success in mounting a unified offensive against transnational terrorism; this allows terrorists to probe for the weakest links that they can then exploit [28, 30]. Intergovernmental cooperation is hampered, in part, because governments do not agree on which groups are terrorists – e.g., until recently, the European Union did not view Hamas as a terrorist organization. Moreover, governments' relative strength over the terrorists lulls officials into discounting the need for cooperation. This orientation is bolstered by the great weight that governments place on their autonomy over security matters. In liberal democracies, leaders' long-term interests are limited by the length of their office period and their probability of reelection. Unlike terrorists, governments do not greatly value foregone future benefits from cooperation and, thus, fail to consummate long-term agreements. The bottom line is that terrorists display greater collective rationality than targeted governments.

Another paradox explained by the economic method concerns failed adherence to a pledge not to concede to the demands of hostage-taking terrorists. In principle, such a pledge, if believed, would stop all hostage taking, since the terrorists would gain no demands from securing hostages. In practice, we observe that hostages are

nevertheless taken – e.g., hostage taking in Iraq since 2004 – and governments, at times, concede to the terrorist demands, which encourages more hostage taking. Lapan and Sandler [32] investigated hostage taking as a multiperiod game where the government first takes steps to deter hostage taking (e.g., metal detectors in airports) and the terrorists next decides whether or not to try to secure hostages. If hostages are captured, then the two sides engage in negotiations where the government may or may not concede to the demands.

The adherence to the no-concession pledge requires the satisfaction of five unstated assumptions: (i) the government's defenses are sufficient to stop all hostage-taking attacks; (ii) the government's pledge is fully believed by all potential hostage takers; (iii) the terrorists only gain from fulfillment of their demands; (iv) there is no uncertainty concerning the costs to the government from having a hostage abducted; and (v) the government's costs from making concessions always exceed holding firm. Any of these assumptions may not hold in practice. If, for example, the "right" hostage is apprehended, then not conceding may be too costly for the government and it caves in. When, moreover, the terrorists do not believe the government's pledge, they will not stop taking hostages. A terrorist group bent on publicity may resort to hostage taking even if it does not anticipate any concessions. The game-theoretic analysis succeeds in explaining reality by identifying these unstated assumptions. The analysis also indicates policy steps – e.g., imposing prohibitively high penalties on administrations that concede – to make the pledge work.

Yet another paradox involves piecemeal policy for which cooperation with respect to one policy instrument and not another may make the participating governments worse off than not cooperating at all. Suppose that governments can share information about terrorists' preferences, so that targeted governments can better anticipate where the terrorists would like to strike. Further suppose that the governments do not coordinate their defensive measures. The acquired information better enables the threatened governments to deploy defenses to deflect strike. In the absence of any cooperation, the governments are anticipated to overspend on defense. The new information may exacerbate this excess spending, thereby creating an even greater inefficiency [2, 33]. The rational-choice approach informs policymakers that some general rules of thumb – e.g., any cooperation is better than none – may not be true.

Evaluation of effective counterterrorism policies

To date, the biggest achievement of the economic approach for the study of terrorism is its ability to inform policymakers about counter-terrorist policies. A terrorist group is viewed as allocating its scarce resources between terrorist and non-terrorist activities, based on the group's preferences and its resource constraint. The latter limits the group's expenditure on these two types of activities to its available income. If the price of terrorist activities were to rise relative to non-terrorist activities, then the terrorist group is anticipated to substitute to non-terrorist activities. Actions by the government to raise the cost or price of engaging in one type of terrorist attack would cause the terrorists to substitute to a relatively less costly activity. For instance, the installation of metal detectors in January 1973 caused a large drop in skyjackings. In Figure 1, the panel measures the quarterly number of such incidents on the vertical axis. Prior to the introduction of metal detectors, skyjackings averaged around 18 per quarter worldwide.

After their installation, the average number of skyjackings dropped to 6-7 per quarter. Since these metal detectors were later put into embassies and other government buildings, the bottom left-hand panel shows the quarterly number of attacks (measures on the vertical axis) against protected persons (i.e., diplomats, officials, and military personnel) fell over time after a small lag. The downside of these metal detectors was the substitution into other types of hostage incidents and other incidents in general, clearly shown in the two right-hand panels of Figure 1.

The fortification of US embassies and missions in 1976 and 1985 reduced attacks against these installations but resulted in more assassinations and incidents against protected persons when they left secured compounds [34-35]. In the protected-person panel of Figure 1, this increase is especially apparent after the 1985 efforts. Thus, some counterterrorism actions may have unintended consequences that may be worse than the benefits gained from reduced incidents. Prior to their fortification, most attacks against embassies resulted in modest property damage and little loss of life. The increase in assassinations that followed the fortification meant greater casualties, which was a highly undesirable outcome.

Next, consider the effectiveness of retaliatory raids. In April 1986, the United States retaliated against Libya for the suspected involvement in the bombing of the La Belle discothèque in West Berlin on April 4, 1986. The raid was associated with an immediate increase in terrorist attacks as terrorists expressed their outrage. In the lower right-hand panel of Figure 1, this is apparent by the spike in the time series for *other* incidents in the second quarter of 1986. This increase in terrorist attacks was followed by a lull as terrorists replenished depleted resources. Within a few quarters, terrorist attacks returned to their old mean, implying that the raid had no positive influence [34]. Apparently, the raid caused terrorists to *intertemporally* substitute attacks planned for the future into the present to protest the retaliation. A study of Israeli retaliatory raids found similar findings [36].

To determine the effectiveness UN conventions and resolutions that outlaw specific terrorist actions (e.g., sabotage against planes, skyjackings, hostage takings, and bombings), researchers have analyzed the pattern of these terrorist events before and after these treaties went into effect. For all conventions and resolutions, there was no measurable effect; i.e., the mean number of events is the same before and after the treaties [35, 37-38]. This result strongly suggests that multilateral treaties have not been effective, which should come as no surprise since most treaties reflect a Prisoners' Dilemma situation, where a country is better off if some *other* country enforces the treaties. In the final analysis, the treaties accomplish little because there is *no* enforcement. Game theory is predictive of this outcome.

US domestic laws in the mid-1980s aimed at curbing terrorism through the threat of capture and stiff penalties had no discernible influence on US-directed transnational terrorism [38]. Apparently, terrorists properly discounted the limited ability of the United States to apprehend them on foreign soil.[3] Given the US death penalty, most countries do not extradite terrorist suspects to the United States.

Table 2 provides a summary of some empirical findings on the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies. These rather negative outcomes are consistent with the rational-actor models that underlie similar theoretical predictions. In regards to transnational terrorism, the world must rely on the few prime-target nations to take offensive measures against the terrorists. These same nations must also shore up weakest-link countries where terrorists can act with impunity and attack prime-target nations' assets. The bright side of these disappointing results is that they inform

policymakers on more effective countermeasures, some of which are listed in Table 3. For example, since terrorists will substitute from more to less costly modes of attacks in reaction to countermeasures, the government must either target a host of attack modes or go after the terrorists' resources. The latter limits all forms of attacks. If government defensive efforts are directed to a single attack mode, then the government must ensure that the anticipated substitution is into a less harmful terrorist action. Most of the recommendations are self-explanatory and have been mentioned earlier. By making access to non-terrorist means of protest easier, grievance may be more often channeled into legitimate political action [35]. Cooperative countermeasures against transnational terrorism must not be piecemeal; this requires a level of security integration that nations have *resisted*. If subsequent terrorist acts ever rival that of 9/11 or incorporate weapons of mass destruction, then a higher level of international cooperation may ensue. As a first step, governments need to ensure that agreements made between current administrations apply to future administrations for long-term policy continuity. Without this provision, governments will have little ability to address the myriad Prisoners' Dilemmas associated with international counterterrorism measures. These international efforts must achieve a proper balance between proactive and defensive measures, shore up vulnerable venues, and make conceding to terrorists unattractive.

Table 2. Effectiveness of counterterrorism policies: Some empirical findings

- Metal detectors reduced skyjackings, but increased other kinds of hostage-taking incidents and decreased crimes against protected persons. These devices were also associated with the increase of other types of terrorist attacks [33-35].

- Fortifying US embassies and missions in 1976 and at other times reduced attacks against these installations, but resulted in more assassinations and other attacks against protected persons outside of secure compounds [34-35].

- The US retaliatory raid against Libya in April 1986 was associated with a short-term increase in US-directed terrorist attacks and a subsequent decline in these attacks as terrorists replenished resources [33-34]. There was no long-term influence on terrorism. Similar findings were associated with Israeli retaliatory raid [36].

- US domestic laws had no impact on transnational terrorism events directed at Americans [37-38].

- UN conventions and resolutions had no influence on outlawed terrorist acts or attacks [35, 37-38].

Table 3. Recommended antiterrorism policies

- Target terrorists' resource endowments.

- Simultaneously target a host of terrorist attack modes.

- Encourage substitution into less harmful modes of attack when focusing on one or a few modes of attack.

- Anticipate dynamic innovations and adjustment to static interventions.

- Make access to nonterrorist means of protest easier.

- Try to limit grievance-inducing policies when other actions do not have this anger-creating effect.

- Limit piecemeal cooperation where information is shared, but counterterrorism policies are not coordinated.

- Bolster international coordination of defensive measures to limit spending, and foster international action on proactive responses to terrorists posing a common threat.

- Coordinate efforts to shore up "weakest links" and to address interdependent risk.

- Make policy commitments more permanent despite changes in governments so that future administrations must abide by past treaties.

Institute costly consequences on reneging on a pledge not to concede to terrorist demands.

Neuroscience and economic methods

Neuroscience is the study of how the brain is organized and how it influences decision-making. Neuroscientific findings distinguish controlled from automatic processes, in which cognitive and affective components are present [39-40]. Economic methods are best at explaining controlled processes of a cognitive type. Thus, the response of terrorists to novel counter-terrorist policies *interrupts* automatic reactions to past government actions and requires the terrorists to rethink their allocation of resources and even their design of attack. Past empirical studies showed that terrorists do respond in a cognitive and predictable fashion to alterations in government actions. Counter-terrorist policy can also influence controlled processes in an affective way by increasing anger. This is apparent in the huge increase in terrorist attacks following the US retaliatory raid against Libya in April 1986 (see Figure 1). Clearly, terrorists' reaction to the Abu Ghraib prisoners abuse in Iraq were, in large part, affective as they sparked a wave of kidnappings of foreign workers and others in Iraq. Affective responses can also help explain recruitment.

Neuroscientific findings can inform and improve economic methods. Unlike economists who treat preferences as unitary and static, neuroscientists recognize that preferences may be state-dependent and conditioned on antecedent events [39]. This can be incorporated into economic models by depicting utility as state-dependent so that preferences can assume alternative forms depending on earlier events. To anticipate the reaction of terrorists to government countermeasures may require knowledge of how certain events can condition terrorist preferences. Thus, a counter-terrorist policy that raises the cost of some mode of attack may lead to more, rather than less, such attacks if the terrorists now gain additional pleasures from attacking the

government where it has taken the most precautions. After the failed attempt to topple the North Tower on 26 February 1993, hitting the World Trade Centers again on 9/11 has this character. This is also the case of the plethora of attacks specifically aimed at US interests following the US retaliation on Libya in 1986. The message for the practice of counterterrorism is to construct models that include cognitive and affective components. Recent economic analyses of counterterrorism have introduced an affective component to the terrorist group's utility function [16-17].

Neuroscience raises questions about an economists' representation of risk aversion, time preference, and altruism. I briefly consider how the latter two could be incorporated into economic models of counterterrorism. Governments are very much driven by immediate interests owing to elected officials' short time horizons, while terrorists demonstrate much greater patience since they have lifetime tenure. Thus, standard discounting procedures may be most appropriate for governments, while a nonstandard hyperbolic function may be best applied to the terrorists. The hyperbolic function puts more weight on the future than standard discounting procedures [41-42]. For altruism, terrorists' preferences may be augmented to incorporate a concern for future generations – this is true of a recent analysis of suicide bombers [14]. Unless things change, governments are best displayed as showing little altruism to other countries when counterterrorism choices are made. Governments will, however, bolster the defenses of countries where their own citizens are targets, but this action is hardly altruistic towards these host countries.

The application of neuroscientific findings is particularly important in modeling the *individual terrorist or supporter* and what drives his or her behavior. Consider a suicide bomber, who is isolated days before the mission and indoctrinated with martyrdom rhetoric. Videos are made of the would-be martyr to limit his or her ability to back down. The process for carrying out the attack and detonating the bomb is routinized, so that the bomber is *programmed* to operate on an automatic level. Any intervening or unexpected situation would interrupt the automatic guidance and switch on controlled cognitive processes that could make the individual reevaluate his or her sacrifice. Aware of this risk, group leaders release suicide bombers as close as possible to where the attack is planned. An understanding of neuroscience may explain the behavior of terrorist organizations with respect to their logistics for suicide missions, while it identifies means to limit the effectiveness of some of the organizations' procedures. For example, there is a need to vary protective measures to cause more "interruptions" or unanticipated actions around bus stops, nightclubs, and other likely suicide-bomber venues.

Neuroscience has less to offer to the economic approach when it is applied to modeling the behavior of the two primary agents – terrorist organizations and targeted governments. Terrorist groups or leaders adhere to long-term group norms and agendas that rely on controlled cognitive processes. As stated earlier, affective considerations can be used to augment their preference function. These leaders are very much in control. Empirical studies support the application of economic methods, because the underlying models are predictive of terrorists' responses to government policy. Moreover, the interface between a terrorist group and the targeted governments can be captured by the game-theoretic model owing to each agent's adherence to controlled cognitive processes. This is also true of the interaction between targeted governments as they choose defensive or proactive responses. Such agents are much less driven by emotions than are individuals. The main determinant of the interaction between some of these aggregate agents is the notion of collective action failure where

the individual's choice may not further collective well-being. This concern, and how to address it, is very much part of the economic approach.

Concluding remarks

To date, economic methods have added new dimensions to the study of terrorism and the measures for thwarting terrorism. The awareness that many counter-terrorist policies have unintended consequences has been derived from economic methods. These methods have also been used to calculate the economic consequences of terrorism and to inform public policy on a host of issues – e.g., insurance regarding terrorist risks. Additionally, game-theoretic models have addressed negotiation strategies in hostage-taking incidents. Economic analysis has derived insights regarding various aspects of counterterrorism and the pitfalls of international cooperation.

To best understand terrorism, policymakers need to draw on a wide range of methods, including those based on economics, psychology, sociology, and history. Some methods – neuroscientific – can inform the economic approach in fine-tuning its analysis. Terrorism is a complex phenomenon with many facets that require investigation.

Notes

1. Domestic terrorism is homegrown with consequences for just the host country, its institutions, citizens, property, and policies. In a domestic terrorist incident, the victim and perpetrators are from the host country. The Oklahoma City bombing on April 19, 1995 was a domestic terrorist event as was the kidnapping of members of Parliament by Colombian terrorists. In contrast, transnational terrorism involves more than one country. This international aspect can stem from the victims, targets, institutions, supporters, terrorists, or implications. For example, the four hijackings on September 11, 2001 were transnational terrorist events because the victims were from many different countries, the mission was financed and planned from abroad, the terrorists were foreigners, and the implications of the events were global.
2. A dominant strategy gives a player a greater payoff regardless of the strategy of the other player.
3. Obviously, this ability became much greater after 9/11.

References

1. Landes, W.M. (1978). An economic study of US aircraft hijackings, 1961-1976. *Journal of Law and Economics*, 21, 1-31.
2. Sandler, T., & Lapan, H.E. (1988). The calculus of dissent: an analysis of terrorists' choice of targets. *Synthéses*, 76, 245-261.
3. Sandler, T., Tschirhart, J., & Cauley, J. (1983). A theoretical analysis of transnational terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, 77, 36-54.
4. Atkinson, S.E., Sandler, T., & Tschirhart, J. (1987). Terrorism in a bargaining framework. *Journal of Law and Economics*, 30, 1-21.
5. Abadie, A., & Gardeazabal, J. (2003). The economic cost of conflict: a case study of the Basque country. *American Economic Review*, 93, 113-132.
6. Blomberg, S.B., Hess, G.D., & Orphanides, A. (2004). The macroeconomic consequences of terrorism. *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 51, 1007-1032.
7. Eckstein, Z., & Tsiddon, D. (2004). Macroeconomic consequences of terror: theory and the case of Israel. *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 51, 971-1002.
8. Eldor, R., & Melnick, R. (2004). Financial markets and terrorism. *European Journal of Political*

Economy, 20, 367-386.

9. Enders, W., & Sandler, T., (19910. Causality between transnational terrorism and tourism: the case of Spain. *Terrorism*, 14, 49-58.

10. Enders, W., & Sandler, T. (1996). Terrorism and foreign direct investment in Spain and Greece. *Kyklos*, 49, 331-352.

11. Enders, W., Sandler, T., & Parise, G.F. (1992). An economic analysis of the impact of terrorism on tourism. *Kyklos*, 45, 531-554.

12. Tavares, K (2004). The open society assesses its enemies: shocks, disasters, and terrorist attacks. *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 51, 1039-1070.

13. Victoroff, J. (2005). The mind of the terrorist: a review and critique of psychological approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49, 3-42.

14. Azam, J.-P. (2005). Suicide-bombing as inter-generational investment. *Public Choice*, 122,177-198.

15. Wintrobe, R. (2003). Can suicide bombers be rational? Unpublished manuscript, Department of Economics, University of Western Ontario, London Canada.

16. Bueno de Mesquita, E. (2005). Quality of terror. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49, 515-530.

17. Rosendorff, B.P., & Sandler, T. (2004). Too much of a good thing? The proactive response dilemma. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48, 657-671.

18. Crenshaw, M. (2000). The psychology of terrorism: an agenda for the 21st century. *Political Psychology*, 21, 405-420.

19. Pape, R.A. (2003). The strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, 97, 343-361.

20. Drakos, K., & Kutan, A.M. (2003). Regional effects of terrorism on tourism in three Mediterranean countries. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 47, 621-641.

21. Kunreuther, H., & Michel-Kerjan, E. (2004). Policy watch: challenge for terrorism risk insurance in the United States. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18, 201-214.

22. Heal, G., & Kunreuther, H. (2005). IDS models of airline security. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49, 201-217.

23. Sandler, T., & Arce, D.G. (2003). Terrorism and game theory. *Simulation & Gaming*, 34, 319-337.

24. Enders, W., & Sandler, T. (2006). Distribution of transnational terrorism among countries by income class and geography after 9/11. *International Studies Quarterly*, 50, forthcoming.

25. Sandler, T., & Scott, J. (1987). Terrorist success in hostage-taking incidents: an empirical study. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 31, 35-53.

26. Siqueira, K., & Sandler, T. (2005). Terrorists versus the government: strategic interaction, support, and sponsorship. Unpublished manuscript, School of International Relations, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA.

27. Siqueira, K. (2005). Political and militant wings with dissident movements and organizations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49, 218-236.

28. Sandler, T. (2003). Collective action and transnational terrorism. *World Economy*, 26, 779-802.

29. Arce, D.G., & Sandler, T. (2005). Counterterrorism: a game-theoretic analysis. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49, 183-200.

30. Sandler, T. (2005). Collective versus unilateral responses to terrorism. *Public Choice*, 124, 75-93.

31. Alexander, T., & Pluchinsky, D. (1992). *Europe's Red Terrorists*: *The Fighting Communist Organizations*. London: Frank Cass.

32. Lapan, H.E., & Sandler, T. (1988). To bargain or not to bargain: that is the question. *American Economic Review*, 78, 16-20.

33. Enders, W., & Sandler, T. (1995). Terrorism: theory and applications. In K. Hartley & T. Sandler (Eds.), *Handbook of Defense Economics*, Vol. 1. (pp. 213-249). Amsterdam: North-Holland.

34. Enders, W., & Sandler, T. (1993). The effectiveness of anti-terrorism policies: a vector-autoregression-intervention analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 87, 829-844.

35. Enders, W., & Sandler T. (2006). *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

36. Brophy-Baermann, B. & Conybeare, J.A.C. (1994). Retaliating against terrorism: rational expectations and the optimality of rules versus discretion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49, 515-530.

37. Enders, W., Sandler, T., & Cauley, J. (1990). UN conventions, technology, and retaliation in the fight against terrorism: an econometric evaluation. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2, 83-105.

38. Enders, W., Sandler, T., & Cauley, J. (1990). Assessing the impact of terrorist-thwarting policies: an intervention time series approach. *Defence Economics*, 2, 1-18.

39. Camerer, C., Lowenstein, G., & Prelec, D. (2005). Neuroeconomics: how neuroscience can inform economics. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 43, 9-64.

40. Glimcher, P.W., & Rustichini, A. (2004). Neuroeconomics: the consilence of brain decision. *Science*, 306, 447-452.

41. Ainslie, G., & Monterosso, J. (2004). A marketplace in the brain? *Science*, 306, 421-423.
42. McClure, S.M., Laibson, D.I., Lowenstein, G., & Cohen, J.D. (2004). Separate neutral systems value immediate and delayed monetary reward. *Science*, 306, 503-507.
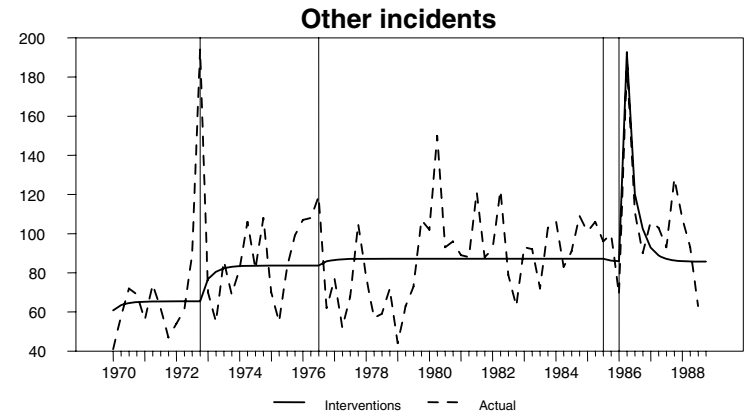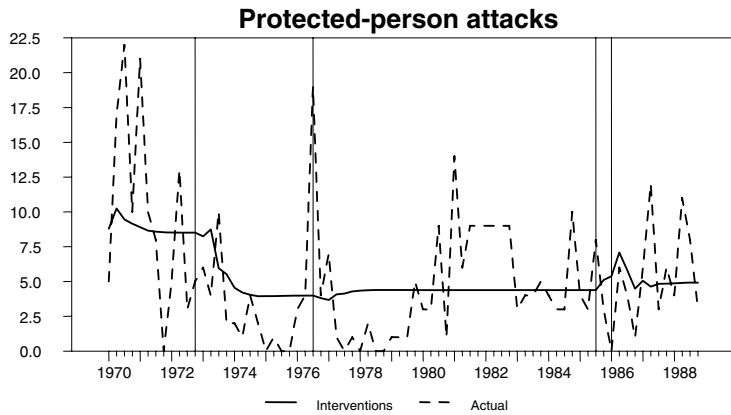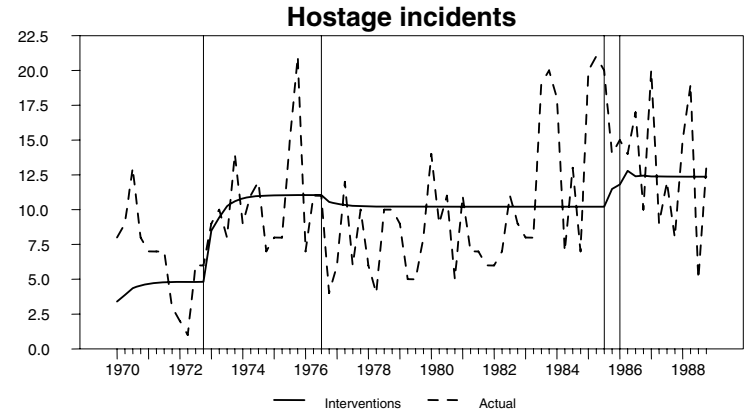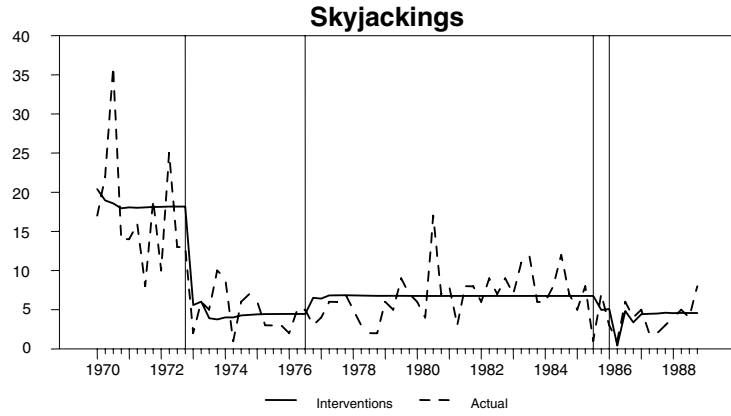
Figure 1. Substitutions between attack modes

Part 3

Who Supports Terrorism and Why?

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 9
The Radical Community:
A Comparative Analysis of the Social Background of ETA, IRA, and Hezbollah

Peter Waldmann
Department of Sociology, University of Augsburg, Germany

Abstract

Essentially what I will do is to analyze from a comparative perspective the social support of three terrorist/ guerrilla movements: The IRA, the ETA and the HESBOLLAH. I will use the concept of the radical community to show that under certain circumstances segments of the population in question are transforming themselves into traditional communities which develop a solidarity with the terrorists which it is very difficult do break up by force. The paper will study the conditions under which this kind of transformation is likely to occur, the specific traits of the radical communities and their relationship to the violent groups, and finally the up and downs of this relationship in time. A final section will treat the question what is to be done with this kind of tightly fixed unions between the terrorists and their social backing.

Keywords: terrorism, sociology, radicalization, community, IRA, ETA, Hezbollah.

Introduction

It is widely known that the dynamics and strategies of terrorist groups depend, among other factors, on the support of broader segments of the population [1]. However, there are few studies of these "positive reference groups" of the violent protagonists, which offer them shelter and assistance and among whom they recruit new members if necessary. From opinion polls we learn that the number of people backing the terrorists need not be very high: 5 to 10 per cent of the respective population can be a sufficient support base [2]. These quantitative studies can tell us why people sympathize with the armed groups, but they cannot tell us what sort of relationship exists between them.

In this paper, I present a special support base which I call the "radical community"' The concept is taken from a monograph on the IRA by Frank Burton, written in the late seventies, and the IRA will indeed be one of the cases I will analyze; the other two being the Basque ETA and Hezbollah in Lebanon [3]. My thesis is that under certain

conditions, which will be specified, a minority population or segments of it will, as it were, leap back in their development—in Freudian terms, we could say they 'regress'. They will transform themselves from a relatively open 'society' into a closed 'community', from *Gesellschaft* to *Gemeinschaft*, to employ the classic dichotomy coined by Ferdinand Tönnies [4]. This step backward, while it entails high costs, is functional for them as it helps them not only preserve their identity and social cohesion, but endure the sufferings and persecution awaiting them as they are labeled supporters of terrorism. By its transformation into a "community" the population becomes, up to a certain point, immune against pressures from the outside world.

My selection of cases follows pragmatic as well as systematic considerations. A structural comparison of the sort I am undertaking requires a thorough knowledge of the cases in question. Having written, some years ago, a major monograph on "ethnic radicalism" which focuses on the IRA and the ETA, among others, I am quite familiar with the Basque and Northern Irish situations [5]. I have included Hezbollah as an example for systematic reasons mostly: should my thesis be verified in spite of the great differences between ethnic terrorism on the one hand and religious terrorism on the other, in spite even of the cultural differences that separate Europe and the Near East, then it would cover a vast range of cases indeed. In the terminology of political scientists, who, I believe, are farthest advanced in the field of comparative methodology, my selection of cases combines elements from the "most similar systems design" with elements from the "most different systems design" [6]. The comparison of the social backgrounds of the IRA and the ETA can help to trace subtle differences in the constitution and development of radical communities, especially in the Western hemisphere, while the inclusion of Hezbollah into the sample is useful for drawing the rough lines of the argument.

My paper falls into three sections. First, I will go into the preconditions of the emergence of radical communities and briefly describe their formation. The following section considers the main structural traits of these communities and asks about their relationship with the armed groups. Finally, in the third section, I will analyze this relationship from a diachronic perspective.

Preconditions and Emergence of the Radical Community

Four factors favor the emergence of a radical community, in the sense that they contribute to its formation.

The first factor is an attack by a state or another collective actor against the religious or ethnic minority in question. It should not be forgotten in this context that in Northern Ireland, it was the Protestants and not the Catholics who first resorted to violence: they reacted violently to the claims for equal civil rights put forward by the Catholic middle classes in entirely peaceful demonstrations. Especially in Belfast, where the two confrontational groups are living close to one another, groups of the Protestant working class began to expel Catholics from their district and to set Catholic houses on fire [7].   At that moment, the Catholic population was practically defenseless because the IRA, after an ideological shift to Marxism, was no longer prepared to fight. That is why Catholics welcomed the British troops sent to Northern Ireland to get the conflict under control. Due to a series of incidents, however, the British relief corps

could not maintain their neutral stance for long and soon were considered just another enemy—another threat—by the Catholics [8]. In Lebanon the situation was quite similar with respect to the Shiite population. All experts agree that the starting point for the transformation of this religious minority into a defense community and for the rise of Hezbollah were Israel's military invasions of 1978 and, especially, of 1982 [9]. Before the Lebanese Civil War, Shiites had been a power factor of the second order only. Their "career" as a military force began when they had to defend themselves and their country against a foreign power. Ironically, the parallels between the Northern Irish situation and the situation in Lebanon even extend into detail: in Lebanon, too, the Israelis were welcomed at first because they promised to purge the country of the PLO, which had become a considerable burden for the local population. It was only when it became clear that the foreign soldiers would not leave soon but were about to establish themselves permanently that the liberators were perceived as occupying forces and provoked resistance [10]. Finally as far as the Spanish Basques are concerned, the attack did not come from an external enemy but from the Madrid-based Franco regime. When Franco and his allies had won the Civil War (1936-39), they subjected the entire country, but especially those regions that had fought on the other side, to a very harsh authoritarian rule. The Basque region, which had joined the Republican forces relatively late in the war, was treated as an occupied country: it lost all its traditional privileges; administrative posts in the Basque country were assigned exclusively to officials from Madrid; all symbols and manifestations of the Basque culture were banned from the public sphere; Basques were not even allowed to use their native language, Euskera, at school and in the streets [11].

A second important condition for the formation of a radical community is the lack of a force, such as the state or another institution, willing and able to help and protect the minority under attack in their difficult situation. In the case of the Basques this condition was obviously given, since the Spanish state not only declined to help but also was itself the aggressor that threatened to extinguish this ethnic group. In Northern Ireland, at least at the beginning, the situation was more complex. The Catholics were not surprised when the B-Specials, a branch of the police force that had been founded in the twenties for the explicit purpose of controlling the minority, immediately became an ally of the Protestants. But it was a bitter experience for them to learn that the British troops from which they had initially hoped for some relief soon abandoned their neutral position to become an opponent as well. As to Lebanon, the state was from the very beginning too weak to offer protection to the different religious and ethnic groups living in this small country. This weakness became evident during the Civil War (1975-1990), when each group created its own militia to protect themselves. What should be kept in mind is that in all three cases the community and its leaders were well aware of the fact that they could not expect protection from anyone but had to look after themselves. As the leading clerics in Lebanon expressed it: "If we had oil or any other natural resource in which the industrialized countries are interested, the whole West would come to assist us. But being a poor religious group, living in a region which is not very attractive, we can count on nobody and have to help ourselves" [12].

This was an exaggerated statement because the Shiites and Hezbollah, especially in its beginnings, received abundant organizational, personal, and financial help from Iran [13]. This leads to my third thesis, which has much to do with logistics and territory. It can be divided into two sub-theses. The first of them is the requirement that there be a minimum of spatial concentration, of compactness of settlements, for a radical

community to come into being. Dispersed ethnic or religious settlements and isolated groups within a larger geographical context dominated by another population render the emergence of a tightly knit community highly improbable. It is no accident that the Gaza strip, with its population of more than a million Palestinians, has always been much more explosive than the West-Jordan territories, which are subdivided and fragmented by roads and settlements controlled by the Israelis. Also, in Northern Ireland, those towns and regions have developed a particularly militant republican spirit in which Catholics do not represent an insignificant minority but the bulk of its population, as is the case in Londonderry, West Belfast, and South Armagh. In Lebanon, the fact that Shiite towns and villages form a belt in the South was an important requirement for the formation of a common conscience and a mentality of militant resistance. Generally, the issue of territory can hardly be overestimated; this holds true even where armed groups cannot defend their territory openly but have to operate underground. Territory lends continuity and stability to armed resistance and legitimates it much more than any ideology can [14].

But settlement clusters of a minimal size are by themselves no sufficient condition. Additionally, radical communities and especially their armed branch need to maintain an auxiliary space, a zone free from control to which its militant members and prosecuted activists can retreat, a zone for recreation and, at the same time, for planning and coordinating subversive activities. From this point of view, apart from the help they received from the Iranian government, it was of crucial importance for the survival of the Shiite communities of South Lebanon that part of them had migrated to Beirut, where Hezbollah had its headquarters; furthermore, they had a stronghold in the Beeka Valley. ETA members in danger of prosecution escaped by crossing the border to the French Basque country, where the organization's leading staff resided and from where most of the larger operations where started. IRA members on the run could always count on some safe house in the Southern part of the island.

A last condition for the formation of a radical community is a kind of basic solidarity, the acceptance of a common identity and destiny by the respective population. These feelings of a common bond and the will to stick together have their main foundation in a common past full of shared myths and memories. This is true particularly for Northern Ireland, where, when the topic of the "troubles" is touched upon, any Catholic family will at once come out with a story of the father, the grandfather, or an uncle who has been treated unjustly, killed, or victimized in some way, by the British [15]. In the case of the Basques, the historical point of reference is a mythical past, in which this little people were living peacefully and harmoniously together, all of its members equal and noble at the same time. It was the Spanish state that put an end to this Golden Age by subjecting the Basques to its authoritarian rule. Therefore, the main goal of what anthropologists call "Basque Millenarism." is to break the chain of dependence from Madrid and to return to the original state of heaven on earth [16]. As regards the Shiites of Lebanon, I am not sure whether they had a myth of their own, with the possible exception of the myth of the 12th Imam and his possible return, which is common to all Shiites, and of certain rituals such as the Ashura celebrations. In this case, I think, the common bond was established by the clerics of the group: by their charismatic leadership, their intrepidity, and their very readiness to sacrifice themselves, Musa Sadr, Harb, Fadallah, and others exercised a strong influence on the whole minority and lent it a sense of dignity, empowerment, and self-esteem [17].

This is not to imply that the three population groups treated here were still traditional societies when they turned into radical communities. Like many contemporary religious and ethnic groups in Africa, the Near East, South Asia, and Latin America, they had hybrid structures. On the one hand, strong tendencies toward modernization were on the advance, with the emergence of individualism, professionalization, pluralism, and secularization—in sum, the formation of a civic society. On the other hand, these societies were still deeply—and often latently—rooted in patterns of pre-modern values, structures, and modes of behavior [18].

I would suggest that the attack from the outside and the ensuing chaos were a serious blow to modernization and threw these societies back onto tribal or clan-like forms of life, which were still vividly present in the collective memory. As everyday routines were suddenly interrupted and those institutions that make modern life calculable and pleasant—such as health care, educational, and welfare institutions, or the police and the media—were no longer functioning, people began almost automatically to revitalize traditional informal habits and mechanisms of self-help [19]. The Basques were especially well-prepared for this kind of challenge, as there is a rich infrastructure of social organizations of all sorts in the region—of cooperatives, of associations devoted to dancing, sports, folklore, and mountaineering, of social clubs, and even of societies in which men cook exclusively for one another [20]. The Catholic communities in Northern Ireland did not have such a vast network of voluntary organizations, but to that purpose a number of informal councils, boards, self-help associations, and round tables emerged spontaneously. Many of them were created by the Catholic Church--the only institution that had not been afflicted by the troubles. In the case of Lebanon, as far as the Shiites were concerned, it was mainly the clerics' merit that public life did not completely break down and public services could be upheld to a certain point. This was the great chance for Islamic activists. They found a common platform in Hezbollah, whose career as an organization began at that time.

The point to be stressed here is that the sum of all these singular efforts and initiatives had a strong impact on the structure of the minority groups. They were transformed from relatively open, modernized "societies" into rather closed "communities" tied to their past.

Typical Traits of the Radical Community

Radical communities are a special case of traditional communities, which have been a classic object of sociological studies, from F. Tönnies' "*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*" to the "pattern variables" developed by Talcott Parsons [21]. It is not my intention to go into detail here, but I just want to mention three traits characteristic of them that are relevant in our context. First, in communities the collective group as such is accorded a high value that places it clearly above the well being and interest of its individual members. Sociologists have regularly emphasized a high degree of solidarity and of identification with the group as a typical trait of communities [22]. This solidarity cannot only be found in the ethnic or religious minority as a whole, but also in its subunits: the clan or family to which the individual belongs, the village or district where he lives, or the local religious congregation of which he forms a part. It results in a readiness to make great personal sacrifices for the community's sake.

It must not be deduced from the importance attributed to the collectivity that individuals do not count at all in communities. On the contrary, their second characteristic trait is that they are made up not of roles, structures, or similar abstract categories that sociologists usually apply to contemporaneous societies, but of real persons. Individuals are the basic unit and often the cornerstone of traditional societies. Whenever, as a foreigner who had done some fieldwork in the Basque country, I happened to meet a Basque at a conference or a symposium, he would not want to know if I had seen this building or that town of his country, but would usually ask about persons. And he would not finish questioning me until we had discovered an individual known to both of us, which served as a kind of credential that we had something in common and could trust each other. More generally speaking, the central role that persons, personal links, and personal (especially face-to-face) contacts play in traditional societies fulfills various functions. It opens channels of information and communication beside the official media (television, radio, press), a circumstance that may gain importance if the formalized media suddenly break down or are administered by people considered as enemies [23]. As just mentioned, personal contacts also generate trust; they create acknowledge that other people share one's beliefs and convictions which institutions cannot transmit. Finally, it should not be forgotten that personal relations are also the source of a special form of social control. Both trust and control are essential factors when it comes to explaining the capacity for resistance of radical communities.

A last trait of these communities worth mentioning is that "ascribed" role patterns dominate over "achieved" ones [24]. One is born as a member of a certain family and clan, belongs to a definite age group, is male or female, part of a neighborhood or village—all these attributes are extremely important in traditional societies and cannot be neglected or changed. That means, on the one hand, that individual liberties and the chances of individual development are severely hampered; but on the other hand, there is no doubt that these restrictions of personal freedom contribute to fortifying the group as a whole and help it guard its unity and defend itself when it is attacked or put under pressure.

Under attack or violent pressure, the traits just depicted tend to be reinforced. While mobilizing its traditional social and cultural resources, the community at the same time strengthens its borders and closes its ranks against external influences. As it is too weak to defend itself on a military plane, it resorts to isolating itself on a rather symbolic level by "closing its borders": people pay more attention to the question of who belongs to the community and who is a foreigner or just an outsider. Also, the community exerts a tighter control over flows of information with the outside world. Incoming information may turn out vital, as they may contain some message or warning as to when and where the next attack will take place and by whom it will be committed. At the same time, the community has a great interest in concealing to outsiders and foreigners what is going on within, what decisions are taken, and what measures of defense are being planned.

At the same time, the challenge from the outside world explains why in periods of crises and external threat, the internal pressure and control exercised by the community upon its members increases enormously [25]. This is a point that deserves special attention, as it qualifies the importance generally attributed to opinion polls. These polls, usually produced under conditions of anonymity and discretion, are supposed to give an idea of how many people support the radicals within the community and how

many oppose them. They may show, for example, that only 20 % of the population actually backs the extremists, while the vast majority are rather skeptical about their militancy or reject it outright. But social reality within the community may differ sharply from the picture drawn by the survey. In the concrete setting of a radicalized community, it is by no means impossible—indeed, it happens rather often—that a limited number of radicals skillfully manipulate the mechanisms of social control to dominate the numerically superior group of moderates by intimidating and marginalizing them. One of their main disciplinary instruments is a Manichean worldview: black and white, they or us, he who is not our friend must be our enemy. Thus is becomes rather difficult to express nonconformist opinions, as little space is left for compromise and intermediate solutions.

The tendency toward polarization inherent in such situations of crisis and pressure finds its sharpest expression in the figure of the traitor. By their very definition, traditional communities think of themselves as harmonious social entities that need no institutionalized opposition. Deviating opinions are silenced or suppressed. This general trend becomes accentuated even more clearly in times of challenge from the outside. Solidarity now becomes an absolute dictate. Anyone who expresses doubts about the predominating course—or openly opposes it—is easily denounced as a traitor. In all radical communities under consideration here, the traitor is a prominent figure. In Northern Ireland, his name is "informant"; the corresponding term in Spanish is "*chivato*" [26]. The person suspected of betraying his community—or actually doing so—is the object of much more fury and hate than are the enemies of the other side. Only in Lebanon are they treated with major indulgence: here, the role of the traitor has been institutionalized, as it were, in the form of the SLA, the South Lebanon Army, which consists of Lebanese who helped the Israelis control the southern part of the country. Still, most SLA members accompanied the Israelis when they gave up their security zone, because life there would have become very difficult for them [27].

Suspected or actual traitors are prosecuted and punished without pity by members of the armed branch of the community, whether they are guerilla fighters or terrorists. This raises questions about the relationship between the radical community and its armed vanguard. This relationship, I believe, can best be described as one of solidarity and symbiosis, neither of which, however, is without limits. The community and its armed branch need and help each other while at the same time guarding their mutual independence. This combination of cooperation and distance becomes understandable if we consider that neither side has been created by initiative of the other: a radical community cannot create a defense corps if there are no volunteers ready to take up their arms and fight without any pressure; but neither can an armed group mobilize out of the blue a group of followers to support it. Many vain efforts undertaken by Marxist guerilla and terrorist groups in the 1960s and 1970s (for example in Latin America) prove that this is impossible [28]. In the cases considered here a kind of co-constitution or co-establishment took place: the radical community and the armed group emerged at about the same time [29]. Both groups soon realized that they had goals and interests in common, but after some time, they also became aware of the fact that their aims were not always congruent.

The symbiotic aspect of their relationship is not too difficult to explain. Clearly, it prevails in times of external threat and siege. Since the community as a whole would easily be defeated if it rose to arms and fought the enemy openly, it delegates this task to a relatively small corps of volunteers. By attacking the invaders regularly from the

underground, these guerillas or terrorists can present a serious obstacle to the submission of the region and in the long run even induce the occupying army to abandon territories easily conquered in the early stages of the campaign [30]. On a more symbolic level, the rebels, by offering armed resistance against the occupation, contribute to saving the honor and collective dignity of the besieged minority—a merit that will not be forgotten [31]. In times of danger and trouble, the community regards those who fight for it with high esteem, with admiration even; if they are killed, they are considered martyrs. On the other hand, it is evident that those who take up arms and go underground need the support of the community. For one thing, they need moral support: it is much easier to withstand the strain of a clandestine life and the risk of eventually being imprisoned or killed if the cause for which one incurs that sacrifice is widely supported. But they also depend, on a very concrete level, on the community's assistance to procure food, shelter, money, and information; or to recruit new members to replace those who die, get imprisoned, or leave the organization. In the last resort, the symbiotic link of solidarity between the armed group and the community is based on the fact that they belong to the same ethnic or religious group and share basic convictions, especially the conviction that the group should not give in but offer passive or even active resistance [32].

But there are also points on which the armed vanguard and the community as a whole disagree. Usually, these latent or open divergences only come to the open if the conflict lasts for some time. For this reason, I now turn to a diachronic perspective on the relationship between the community and its armed vanguard.

The Relationship Between the Radical Community and the Terrorist Groups from a Diachronic Perspective

Terrorist groups, especially those with territorial claims, consider themselves as both the vanguard and the nucleus of a future state. As the would-be executive branch of this future state, they appoint a speaker, create departments of finances and public relations, raise taxes, and pretend to exercise the monopoly of physical violence over the members of the community. Their real aspiration is to see their informal authority transformed into formal authority. The IRA did not perceive its role primarily as that of a territorial defense corps. It was rather reluctant to target Protestants, who represented the main threat for the Catholics, but saw its main mission in expelling the British from the island to unite Ireland in a single state [33]. The ETA, too, is fighting for an independent Basque state, which is supposed to include Navarra and the Basque regions in Southern France. For a long time, Hezbollah's declared goal was the transformation of Lebanon into an Islamic state; only when the Civil War ended did it become more moderate and content itself provisionally with representing the Shiite community in the National Assembly [34].

The radical community that stands behind an armed group does not unconditionally follow it and its far-reaching plans and ambitions. While the community delegates to the armed group the tasks of defending the community and of waging a war of attrition against the enemy, this mandate is limited both politically and temporally. In Northern Ireland, there were many complaints about IRA volunteers abusing their power by punishing innocents within the community; also, they were

frequently accused of provoking troubles whose unpleasant consequences had to be endured by the population as a whole [35]. Similarly, in the Basque country, the ETA's assumed role of the ultimate arbiter gradually came to be contested. Many Basques had endorsed the ETA and its violent operations during the Franco regime, when they opposed government officials, but they saw no reason anymore to pursue political goals by violent means after Franco had died and Spain had become a parliamentary monarchy. One of the issues that stirred most indignation was the "revolutionary" tax the ETA collected from all Basques who had a modest fortune and the harsh punishment inflicted on those who were not willing to pay. (Often, they were shot in the knees)[36]. In the 1990s, a powerful victims' movement emerged in the Basque country—in fact, in all of Spain—that requested the ETA to stop its violent campaign once and for all. It is worth noting that for the main part, the ETA's bitterest opponents were now exactly those Basques who had initially supported it [37]. In the case of the Hezbollah, which differs in various aspects from the other two, it was not so much the organization's far-reaching agenda nor the multiple functions it assumed that irritated people, but orders to reform their lifestyle. In the 1980s, the Shiite clerics, inspired by the Iranian example, tried to persuade people to refrain from dancing and gambling and canceled traditional popular festivities. However, they soon had to learn that they had gone too far. Hezbollah became increasingly isolated until its leading staff changed its strategy and made concessions to local customs and rituals [38].

In a certain sense, a continuous, conflictive discourse on the legitimacy of armed resistance went on within the radical communities and in the surrounding social and political field. On the one side, there were those who emphasized the heroic aspect of the struggle, the high ideals it was serving, and the necessity to make sacrifices to realize these ideals. Less loudly, but with no less insistence, another position made itself heard: the position of those who complained about the perpetual pressure put on them by the war-like situation, the damage caused by the raids, and the disadvantages of living in a sort of enclave for the duration of the conflict [39]. As far as we know, people who live in these circumstances have, on the whole, a rather realistic view of the costs and benefits of armed resistance. They appreciate resistance in times when they are attacked and humiliated, as well as for purposes of revenge, but they become increasingly skeptical about it when violence does no longer serve a specific goal but seems to be an end in itself [40].

The problem lies in the fact that, up to a certain point, the situation can be manipulated by the armed groups to fit into their design. For example, they might start an operation in the hope that the enemy will strike back in an exaggerated manner, thus revitalizing the defense syndrome. But in many cases, the armed rebels did not even need to provoke the other side artificially, as the occupational forces were creating by their own initiative conditions which helped to consolidate the pact between the community and its armed vanguard. Raids against the community whose purpose was to create animosity against the armed group regularly backfired, as did attempts to kill or take hostage the leaders of the community or the armed organization. Instead of causing tensions between the two sides, they reinforced their solidarity [41].

Generally, this sort of clumsy maneuver aimed at driving a wedge between the community and its armed defenders was characteristic of the first years of the conflict. Later on, the security forces became more professional and did not commit tactical errors of this kind anymore. The longer a conflict lasts, the more difficult it becomes for the rebel forces to maintain the extraordinary power they have usurped and to

continue the struggle. What can they do in this situation to maintain a certain degree of mobilization and popular support?

As far as I can see, there were five mechanisms or factors they used to uphold the spirit of confrontation. The first factor is ideology: Republicanism in the case of Ireland, Separatism in that of the Basque conflict, Islamism in that of Hezbollah. As long as these ultimate goals had not been realized, there was no reason to abandon the struggle [42]. Two other mechanisms have to do with organization. All the militant movements under consideration here reduced the size of their forces after some time, transforming themselves into a small corps of highly trained, extremely effective terrorists or guerilla fighters. At the same time, they founded a political section, usually a party, which permitted them to participate in elections [43]. The last two mechanisms are primarily symbolic. In the three regions analyzed here, the funerals of those who died in the struggle have been transformed into major ritual celebrations that attract many people and a lot of publicity. The deceased is usually accorded martyr status; if he was a person of some importance, the day of his death is commemorated each year with considerable pomp [44]. Those members of the community who are in prison for having participated in the resistance movement play a similar role, though on a more concrete level. In most cases, the number of imprisoned rebels exceeds by far the number of those still active in the struggle. The way they are treated by the enemy, as well as the deprivations they suffer, are a matter of continual preoccupation and irritation in the radical community. These emotions help maintain the feeling of being in war. Those who participated in the famous Northern Irish hunger strikes of the early 1980s assumed both of these roles at the same time: that of a prisoner and that of a potential martyr, threatening as they were to starve themselves if the British government would not recognize that they were prisoners of war and not ordinary criminals [45].

Nevertheless, if the conflict lasts too long, even these mechanisms will be exhausted or at least cease to be a sufficient justification for the ongoing struggle. The pact between the radical community and its armed vanguard may be rather solid, but it is not exempt from erosion. At a certain point, the besieged people will rediscover the other aspect of their hybrid structure: they will become aware of the fact that they are not only a community looking backward, but also a society looking toward the future—open to change, modernization, and development. When this moment arrives, the armed group will have difficulties in recruiting followers and become rather isolated.

Apparently, the ETA, one of the oldest and most obstinate terrorist organizations on the continent, is not far from approaching this point, although it could count on its extremely loyal followers for decades. Recent opinion polls demonstrate that by now, it is mostly isolated: the number of Basques who back the ETA has decreased dramatically and now amounts to less than 1 % of the population. The overwhelming majority thinks that there is no place for violence in a democratic state that guarantees the freedom of speech and of association. While 25 % of the population still concedes that the organization's members are patriots and idealists—37 % even supporting the goal of an independent Basque country—only an insignificant minority affirms that this goal should be attained by violent means [46].

Does that mean that the Basque problem will soon be resolved once and for all? We should not be too optimistic. Even a terrorist organization deprived of the support of a radical community can be a source of trouble and cause much damage. Operating

without widespread support, however, it is not a strategic problem of political relevance anymore, but a minor problem that can be handled by the police and the intelligence services.

Conclusion

Today, the concept of community is often used in a very broad sense. By contrast, I propose a rather narrow definition of the term. I would limit it to territorially rooted ethnic or religious groups which share a common past and identity and are under attack without protection by a state or some other powerful entity. Maybe the Chechens or the Tamils of Sri Lanka form a radical community, but the followers of the Algerian GIA or of Al Qaeda certainly do not fall into this category.

My thesis is that radical communities do not emerge accidentally nor are they the result of deliberate planning. In general, their formation is prompted by an impulse of defense. Minorities with the characteristics I have mentioned, when put under pressure, tend to leap back structurally and transform themselves into pre-modern communities based on primary groups (such as the family, clan, or neighborhood), face-to-face contacts, strong feelings of solidarity, mutual trust, and informal control. Once this collective "regression" has taken place, the resulting structures are quite stable. They prevent modernization and development but have the decisive advantage of enabling the community to support much strain and pressure.

Within the radical community, a division of labor develops between the bulk of the people on the one side and a limited group of armed fighters—guerillas or terrorists—on the other. The armed vanguard attacks the enemy regularly from underground and makes life difficult for the occupational forces. They may even exhaust the strength of these forces, which may result in their retreat and the concomitant preservation of the collective honor and dignity of the besieged community. The community remunerates its fighters morally by attributing them a high rank in its informal prestige hierarchy, but also materialistically, by offering them logistic support, shelter, food, and other commodities. Both sides are closely attached to one another, by their mutual dependence as well as by their shared values.

Yet their solidarity has its limits. There are points on which they diverge, interests that are not identical. The armed groups, which exercise a state-like authority within the community, aspire to extend their responsibilities and eventually found a formal state; by contrast, the community would prefer to limit their task to its defense alone. The armed rebels' discourse is one of ambitious goals, of patriotic or religious ideals of sacrifice and martyrdom, while the community bemoans the hardship of a never-ending conflict and is willing make amends for peace. The longer the conflict lasts, the more difficult it is for the armed organization to justify its exceptional and unrestrained power. If it does not manage to put an end to the conflict, it risks almost complete isolation.

References

[1]. Cf. Juergensmeyer, Mark: *Terror in the Mind of God. The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, Berkeley/London 2001 (University of California Press) 2001, pp. 7 and 11; Crenshaw, Martha: "How Terrorism Declines," in: *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3.1 (1991), pp. 69-87.

[2]. As early as 1981, when the ETA was still a very powerful organization, only 8 % of the Basque population supported it unconditionally. Cf. Euskobarometro. Series Temporales. Mayo 2005, Seccion XX. On the support of Hezbollah, see Rosiny, Stephan: *Islamismus bei den Schiiten im Libanon. Religion im Übergang von Tradition zu Moderne*, Berlin (Das Arabische Buch) 1996, p. 159.

[3]. Burton, Frank: *The Politics of Legitimacy. Struggles in a Belfast Community*, London/Boston (Routledge and Kegan) 1978, p. 3. For the social background analysis undertaken here, research done by social anthropologists in the conflictive region is essential. My discussion of the Basque case is based on the valuable book by Joseba Zulaika: *Basque Violence. Metaphor and Sacrament*, Reno/Nevada (University of Nevada Press) 1988. I could not find an analogous study of Hezbollah and its stronghold in Lebanon, but I relied heavily on Jaber, Hala: *Hezbollah. Born with a Vengeance*, London (Fourth Estate) 1997, which evidently presents an "autochthonous" view. In this article, I will elaborate on some ideas I first developed in a comparative analysis between the Northern Irish and the Basque cases: Waldmann, Peter: "Der Terrorist und die radikale Gemeinschaft. Am Beispiel Nordirlands und des Baskenlandes," in: idem: *Terrorismus und Bürgerkrieg*, München (Gerling Akademie Verlag) 2003, pp. 109-135.

[4]. Cf. the entry " Gemeinschaft" in: Wilhelm Bernsdorf (ed.): *Wörterbuch der Soziologie*, Stuttgart (Enke Verlag) 1969, pp. 336ff.

[5]. Waldmann, Peter: *Ethnischer Radikalismus. Ursachen und Folgen gewaltsamer Minderheitenkonflikte*, Opladen (Westdeutscher Verlag) 1989. The book is also available in Spanish: Madrid (Ed. Akal) 1997.

[6]. Przeworski, Adam, and Teune, Henry: *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, New York 1970, p. 71; Nohlen, Dieter: "Vergleichende Methode," in: idem (ed.): *Lexikon der Politik*, vol. 2, München (Beck Verlag) 1994, pp. 507-517.

[7]. Cf. P. Waldmann, *Ethnischer Radikalismus*, pp. 38ff.; F. Burton, *The Politics of Legitimacy*, pp. 17f.

[8]. F. Burton, *The Politics of Legitimacy*, pp. 18f.

[9]. Reuter, Christian: *Mein Leben ist eine Waffe. Selbstmordattentäter, Psychogramm eines Phänomens*, München (Bertelsmann) 2002, pp. 101ff.; Kramer, Martin: "The Oracle of Hizbullah. Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadallah," in: R. Scott Appleby (ed.): *Spokesmen for the Despised. Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*, Chicago (University of Chicago Press) 1997, pp. 83-181, especially pp. 107ff.; H. Jaber, *Hezbollah*, pp. 7, 47ff.

[10]. M. Kramer, *The Oracle of Hizbullah*, p. 108.

[11]. P. Waldmann, *Ethnischer Radikalismus*, pp. 66ff.; Reinares, Fernando: *Patriotas de la muerte. Quiénes han militado en ETA y porqué*, Madrid (taurus) 2001, ch. 2.

[12]. H. Jaber, *Hezbollah*, pp. 58, 87.

[13]. This help was so substantial that without it, Hezbollah might not have become the powerful organization it is today. Cf. C. Reuter, *Mein Leben ist eine Waffe*, pp. 93ff.

[14]. Cf. P .Waldmann, *Ethnischer Radikalismus*, ch. 4 ("Das Territorialprinzip"). In the case of the Lebanese Shiites, the importance of the territorial factor is evident. Warned by what had happened to the Palestinians after they had abandoned their homes, clerics like Fadallah insisted over and over again that it was a national as well as a religious duty to defend the country against the invaders. Cf. M. Kramer, *The Oracle of Hizbullah*, pp. 125ff.

[15]. Von Buttlar, Madelaine: "Irland: Die Geschichte wiederholt sich," in: P. Waldmann (ed.): *Beruf Terrorist. Lebensläufe im Untergrund*, München (Beck Verlag) 1993, pp. 42-69.

[16]. Aranzadi, Juan: *Milenarismo Vasco. Edad de oro, etnia y nativismo*, Madrid 1981 ; Elorza, Antonio: "Vascos guerreros," in: idem (ed.): *La historia de ETA*, Madrid (Temas de hoy) 2000, pp. 13-76.

[17]. S. Rosiny, *Islamismus bei den Schiiten*, pp. 140ff.

[18]. The emergence of Hezbollah and Islamism among the Lebanese Shiites can be regarded as typical phenomena of a society on its way from tradition to modernity; this is emphasized by S. Rosiny, *Islamismus bei den Schiiten*, ch. 7.

[19]. F. Burton, *The Politics of Legitimacy*, pp. 15-36.

[20]. P. Waldmann, "Der Terrorist und die radikale Gemeinschaft," pp. 113f.

21. Tönnies, Ferdinand: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, 3rd ed., Darmstadt 1991; Parsons, Talcott: *The Social System*, London (Routledge and Kegan) 1964, pp. 47-67.

22. " Vergemeinschaftung soll eine soziale Beziehung heißen, wenn und soweit die Einstellung des sozialen Handelns auf subjektiv gefühlter (affektueller oder traditionaler) Zusammengehörigkeit der Beteiligten beruht." Weber, Max: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 5th ed., Tübingen (Mohr/Siebeck) 1972, p. 21.

23. P. Waldmann, "Der Terrorist und die radikale Gemeinschaft," pp. 112, 114, 116ff.

24. T. Parsons, *The Social System*, p. 64.

25. P. Waldmann, "Der Terrorist und die radikale Gemeinschaft," pp. 116ff.

26. Stevenson, Jonathan: *"We Wrecked the Place": Contemplating an End to the Northern Irish Troubles*, New York/London (The Free Press) 1996, p. 44; Zulaika, Joseba: "The Tragedy of Carlos," in: W. A. Douglas (ed.): *Basque Politics. A Case Study in Ethnic Nationalism*, Reno/Nevada (University of Nevada Press) 1985, pp. 309, 314ff.

27. H. Jaber, *Hezbollah*, p. 206.

28. This is demonstrated convincingly in the classic study of Latin American guerilla movements, Allemann, Fritz René: *Macht und Ohnmacht der Guerilla*, München (Piper) 1974.

29. As to the general formation and rise of the IRA and the ETA, see P. Waldmann, *Ethnischer Radikalismus*, pp. 86ff. The process is described with an eye to the local communities in F. Burton, *The Politics of Legitimacy*, pp. 17ff., 82ff., and J. Zulaika, *Basque Violence*, p. 56ff. For Hezbollah, see S. Rosiny, *Islamismus bei den Schiiten*, pp. 123-140.

30. A closer look at the development of the armed group reveals an interesting parallel between the IRA and Hezbollah. While, in the beginning, the armed branch consisted of relatively large units of volunteers, it was reduced to a limited number of cells whose members were highly trained, professional fighters. See John Morgan and Max Taylor: "The Provisional Irish Republican Army: Command and Functional Structure," in: *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9.3 (1997), pp. 1-32, especially p. 18ff. For Hezbollah, see Blanford, Nicholas: "Hizbullah Attacks Force Israel to Take a Hard Look," in: *Jane's Intelligence Review* 11.4 (1999).

31. On the Basques, see Perez- Agote, Alfonso: *La reproducción del Nacionalismo. El caso Vasco*, Madrid 1984, pp. 85ff.

32. Another link lies in that fact that the armed groups, too, essentially are 'communities' in the traditional sense of the term. Not only are their members often linked by ethnic origin or ties of friendship and relationship, but there are, in general, strong affective and ideological bonds between them. This trait has received special emphasis in a recent comparative study of the organizational structures of terrorist groups by Renate Mayntz: "Organizational Forms of Terrorism: Hierarchy, Network, or a Type sui generis?," *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies*, discussion paper 04/4, Cologne 2004.

33. Darby, John: "Legitimate Targets: A Control on Violence ?," in: Adrian Gwelke (ed.): *New Perspectives in the Northern Ireland Conflict*, Aldershot/Honkong (Avebury) 1994, pp. 46ff., 55ff.

34. S. Rosiny, *Islamismus bei den Schiiten*, pp. 208ff., 218ff.

35. Silke, Andrew: "Rebel's Dilemma: The Changing Relationship Between the IRA, Sinn Féin and Paramilitary Vigilantism in Northern Ireland," in: *Terrorism and Political Violence* 11.1 (1999), pp. 55-93, especially pp. 77ff., 81ff.; F. Burton: *The Politics of Legitimacy*, pp. 82ff.

36. Dominguez Iribarren, Florencio: *ETA: Estrategia organizativa y Actuaciones 1978-1992*, Zarautz (Ed. Universidad del Pais Vasco) 1998, pp. 256-258.

37. Funes Rivas, Maria Jesús: *La salida del silencio. Movilizaciones por la paz en Euskadi 1986-1998*, Madrid (Ed. Akal) 1998.

38. H. Jaber, *Hezbollah*, pp. 29ff; C. Reuter, *Mein Leben ist eine Waffe*, p. 99.

39. F. Burton, *The Politics of Legitimacy*, pp. 85f., 104ff.

40. Malthaner, Stefan: " Terroristische Bewegungen und ihre Bezugsgruppen: Anvisierte Sympathisanten und tatsächliche Unterstützer," in: P. Waldmann (ed.): *Determinanten des Terrorismus*, Weilerwist (Velbrück-Verlag) 2005, pp. 85-135, especially pp. 84f.

41. Murders of prestigious clerics or the raids undertaken in 1993 and 1996 against the Shiites of Southern Lebanon may be cited as examples of counterproductive efforts of this kind. See H. Jaber, *Hezbollah*, pp. 21ff., 171ff.

42. F. Burton, *The Politics of Legitimacy*, pp. 68ff.; Jáuregui, Gurutz: "ETA: Orígines y evolución ideológica y política," in: A. Elorza (ed.): *La Historia de ETA*, Madrid (Temas de hoy) 2000, pp. 171-277. On Hezbollah and its ideological development, see S. Rosiny, *Islamismus bei den Schiiten*, pp. 167f., 218ff.

43. For the downsizing of armed forces, see n. 30. In founding their own party, the radical movements in Northern Ireland ('Sinn Féin') and the Basque country ('Herri Batasuna') pursued several goals, not the least of which was the continual integration of those members of the movement who could not

participate in armed struggle anymore. For Fadallah's justification of Hezbollah's shift toward electoral politics, see M. Kramer, "The Oracle of Hizbullah," pp. 155ff.

[44]. P. Waldmann, " Der Terrorist und die radikale Gemeinschaft," pp. 127ff.; Metress, Eileen K ./Metress, Seamm: "The Communal Significance of Irish Republican Army Funeral Rituals," in: *National Journal of Sociology*, Winter 1993, pp. 193-207; H. Jaber, *Hezbollah*, pp. 25ff.

[45]. J. Stevenson, *We Wrecked the Place*, ch. 4.

[46]. Eurobarometro. Series temporales, Mayo 2005, tables XX, XIV, XI, XXI. For a comparison of the different milieus from which the ETA has recruited its members in the course of its history, see F. Reinares, *Patriotas de la muerte*, pp. 19ff. and the table on page 192.

Chapter 10
Terrorists and
the Societies From Which They Come

Jitka Malecková
Russell Sage Foundation, New York, U.S.

Abstract

The paper reviews recent literature on the social backgrounds of terrorists and on cross-country analyses of economic causes of terrorism and focuses on public opinion polls concerning support for political violence and suicide terrorism. The existing literature does not show any clear pattern regarding the connection between terrorism and poverty. Studies that refer to economic motivations of terrorists are mostly based on anecdotal evidence, while studies based on systematic quantitative or qualitative analyses, such as cross-country comparisons, analyses of the militant organizations' publications, or interviews, tend to show that terrorism is not correlated with poverty. Scholars find that public support for terrorism has an impact on the intensity of terrorist acts. Polls among Palestinians conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research between 2001 and 2005 and the results of the Pew Global Attitudes Survey from 2002 in five Muslim countries show no evidence that those who are impoverished and uneducated tend to support militant activities to a larger extent than their more affluent and better-educated compatriots. Systematic, comparative and evidence-based research is needed to explain the differences among individual Muslim countries and to understand who does and who does not support politically motivated violence and under what circumstances.

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, support, economics, poverty, education

Introduction

There is an increasing consensus among scholars that if it is at all possible to identify root causes of terrorism, poverty is not one of them. Politicians, however, continue to attribute terrorism to poverty: "Ultimately what we now know, if we didn't before, is that where there is extremism, fanaticism or acute and appalling forms of poverty in one continent, the consequences no longer stay fixed in that continent," Tony Blair declared after the London attacks, on July 9, 2005 [1].

Even among scholars, the consensus is far from unanimous and unqualified. The Executive Summary of the Economic Factors Working Group at the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security in Madrid in March 2005 is emblematic of the contradictory views of scholars on the economic causes of terrorism: "Poverty, per se, is not a direct cause of terrorism… Within countries, the groups that support and give rise to terrorist movements usually are relatively disadvantaged because of class, ethnic, or religious cleavages... Recruits are also drawn from among poorer and less-educated youth – those with a lack of opportunities to complete

secondary or higher education, or unable to find good jobs [2]." The Summary emphasizes structured inequalities both within and across countries as breeding grounds for violent political movements and especially for terrorism.

There are several reasons for this disunity. The claim that poverty does not cause terrorism is counterintuitive; it is hard to accept when we witness the suffering brought by poverty around the world, including areas affected by terrorism; and, given the heterogeneous forms terrorism takes in various parts of the world, empirical research conducted on this topic still seems insufficient.

While scholars disagree regarding the causes of terrorism, they increasingly emphasize that in order to prevent terrorism it is necessary to concentrate not only on terrorists themselves, but also on potential terrorists, those who support terrorist activities, and the societies from which militants are drawn. There is surely a large gap between carrying out terrorist acts and supporting, or claiming to support, politically motivated violence. Yet, it is important to understand who supports militant activities and who does not – and under what circumstances.

In this paper, I will review recent literature on the social backgrounds of terrorists and on cross country analyses of economic causes of terrorism, and then focus in more detail on public opinion polls concerning support for political violence and terrorism.

Social Backgrounds of Militants

In 2002, Alan Krueger and I investigated whether there is a causal link between poverty, education and terrorism [3,4]. Specifically, we looked at social backgrounds of activists as a potential reason for joining terrorist or militant movements, poverty and ignorance as a possible motivation for supporting such movements, and cross-country data on the broader societal conditions that could influence participation in terrorist acts.

While some studies have suggested that terrorists tend to come from the middle classes [5], others emphasize that this is only the case in the most affluent countries. In the Middle East, in particular, terrorists are claimed to be poor [6]. In our 2002 study, we analyzed the determinants of participation in militant activities of Hezbollah in Lebanon. We created a data set from the biographies of 129 members of Hezbollah's militant wing who died in action in the 1980s and early 1990s, originally compiled by Eli Hurvitz of Tel Aviv University [7]. These included the individuals' age at death, highest level of school attained, poverty status, region of residence, and marital status. We compared this information to individual-level data on a small subset of variables from the 1996 Lebanese Population and Housing Survey, including information on the poverty status and level of education attained of 120,796 individuals aged 15 to 38, i.e. the age range of the deceased Hezbollah fighters.

The comparison shows that the Hezbollah fighters were more likely to reside in South Lebanon and Beirut and to have attended secondary school than members of the general Lebanese population. Although the gap is not statistically significant, the poverty rate is lower (28 percent) for members of the Hezbollah military wing than for the rest of the population (33 percent). To partially control for differences across religious groups, we restricted the sample to the districts with a high proportion of Shiite Muslims from which Hezbollah fighters were disproportionately recruited. For

this more relevant sample, the results indicate that poverty has a larger negative effect on the likelihood that somebody will join Hezbollah: a 30 percentage point reduction in poverty is associated with a 15 percent increase in participation in Hezbollah. A 30 percentage point increase in secondary school enrollment is associated with an 8 percent increase in Hezbollah participation.

Participation in politically motivated and terrorist activities may be highly context-specific, and we only examined a distinct setting in the Middle East. Consequently, we suggested that our results should be considered tentative and exploratory.

Since the publication of our paper, a number of scholars have provided new data, based on studies of other terrorist groups, with particular focus on suicide bombings, or on other types of cross-country analysis. While most of this research supports our original findings, some scholars disagree.

Jessica Stern asserts that terrorists often act out of poverty and bases her claim on anecdotal evidence from various countries [8]. In the context of Indonesia, for example, she writes: "It stands to reason that unemployed or underemployed urban youth would be susceptible to the lure of extremism for several reasons. The opportunity cost of their time is low. The groups provide structure and a social network. And the paramilitary organizations provide a variety of financial incentives."

Mia Bloom suggests that suicide bombing is used when other terrorist or military tactics fail and when terrorist groups are in competition with each other for popular or financial support [9]. The bombers' motivation may include economic considerations and the general economic conditions in the region may also have an impact on recruitment, according to Bloom, but the prevailing reasons why individuals and groups select suicide terrorism are rather to be found in the dynamic of the individual conflicts.

In the study of the Kurdish question, Henri Barkey and Graham Fuller note that the PKK drew its membership heavily from the lowest social classes, the uprooted, half-educated village and small town youth. Since the state co-opted the wealthier, land-owning Kurds and the merchants, the only groups left to fill the ranks of the organization were members of the lowest socioeconomic strata [10]. It is true that the South East of Turkey, where many of the Kurds live, is the poorest region of the country. Unfortunately, little empirical research exists on the socioeconomic backgrounds of the PKK members in comparison with the general population or on many other terrorist groups.

In contrast, considerable attention has been paid to the Palestinian militants. Scholars tend to disagree on the socioeconomic status of Palestinian extremists and suicide attackers. Assaf Moghadam mentions, among the numerous motivations of suicide terrorists, the "benefits to the suicide bomber's family [11]." These include a significant improvement in the social status of the family after the attack, as well as material gains – "the family usually receives a cash payment of between $1,000 and several thousand dollars from Hamas, the PIJ, and sometimes from third parties, such as Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein." As evidence, Moghadam quotes an article by a journalist who describes the house of the family of a recent *shaheed* as spacious and newly equipped. Families of suicide bombers undoubtedly do get payments, and knowing this may ease some of the suicide bombers' conscience regarding their families. It is doubtful, however, that parents would choose the gain of even $10,000 over the life of a son or daughter, not to mention that the young *shaheeds* often had, or would have had a prospect of getting, decently paying jobs and thus could have

supported their families long after the one-time payment has been spent. It is hard to believe that the suicide bombers would not realize this as well.

Other scholars paint a somewhat different picture. Shaul Kimhi and Shemuel Even tried to establish the motives of Palestinian suicide bombers as well as the wider social factors that encourage them [12]. They used content analysis while identifying repeated patterns of behavior in both the suicide attackers and the societies in which they had grown up. Economic motivation is not among the major motives they found, though "financial support for the family of the deceased suicide terrorist" may be a supporting factor in one of the four types of suicide terrorism they distinguish - retribution for suffering. Interestingly, in all the types, they identify as the first supporting factor "sympathetic public atmosphere" that praises sacrifice and/or martyrdom.

Studies by psychologist Ariel Merari, who interviewed suicide bombers' families, surviving attackers and captured recruiters, show that Palestinian suicide bombers represent their population's normal distribution in terms of education, socioeconomic status, and personality type [13]. Likewise, between 1996 and 1999 Nasra Hassan interviewed close to 250 people involved in the Palestinian struggle: members of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, volunteers who failed to complete their suicide missions, the families of dead bombers, and the men who trained them. She concluded that first and foremost their mission is fulfilling the will of God, while other rewards are secondary: "None of them were uneducated, desperately poor, simple-minded, or depressed. Many were middle class and, unless they were fugitives, held paying jobs [14]."

Robert A. Pape compiled and analyzed a database of suicide bombings and attacks around the world from 1980 to 2003, in which at least one terrorist killed himself or herself [15]. He gathered information on the social, religious, educational, and other demographic characteristics of the attackers. According to Pape, "poverty is a rather poor explanation for suicide terrorism," which results instead from nationalism. Among those Arab attackers on whom he was able to find information, 54% had some post-secondary education, 76% had working-class or middle class jobs – such as technicians, mechanics, waiters, policemen, teachers, and only 17%, compared to one third of the general population in their societies, were unemployed or poor. Pape observes that suicide terrorists are rarely socially isolated or economically destitute, but most often educated, socially integrated, and highly capable people who could have been expected to have a good future.

Claude Berrebi attempted to verify whether the results of our study could be replicated using new data he gathered [16]. In order to do so, he compared data collected from biographies of members of Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) from the 1980s to the present to population survey data and examined the link between participation in militant organizations and individuals' income and education. He collected information on 335 Palestinian militants; from 284 observations that give a clear indication of rank in the organization, 68% were foot soldiers and 32% were leaders. Poverty status was inferred for 69% of the cases. Only 16% of the Hamas and PIJ members, compared to 31% of the Palestinians in general, were characterized as poor. Ninety six percent of the 208 activists for whom information was available had at least high school education and 65% had higher education, compared to 51% and 15% respectively among the general population of the same age, sex, and religion. Berrebi's analysis shows that both higher education and higher standard of living are positively associated with participation in Hamas or PIJ and with becoming a *shaheed*.

Marc Sageman's study of 172 members of al-Qaeda generally confirms this conclusion [17]. The study is interesting not only because it looks at the backgrounds of members of a different type of terrorist organization, but also because it suggests internal differences in the social economic characteristics of members even within one terrorist group. Within Sageman's sample, of 102 al-Qaeda members on whom he was able to gather socio-economic information, 18 were from the upper class, 56 were from the middle class, and 28 were from the lower class. The leadership, and what Sageman calls the Core Arab Cluster (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Yemen, and Kuwait) tend to over-represent upper and middle classes, while the Maghreb Arab cluster (including those of Maghrebian origin who grew up in France) is evenly divided between the middle and the lower classes. In terms of education levels, over 60% of the al-Qaeda members had at least some college education. Among the 134 terrorists on whom Sageman has occupational information, 57 were professionals (physicians, architects, preachers, teachers, etc.), 44 had semiskilled occupations (such as police, military, mechanics, civil service, and small business) and 33 were considered unskilled. The latter were concentrated in the Maghreb cluster.

The more systematic empirical studies thus find that members of the Middle Eastern militant organizations, and particularly those who carry out suicide operations, are not disproportionately drawn from among the poor, but more often from the middle classes, and tend to represent a cross-section of their societies' population.

Cross-country Comparisons

Even if those who carry out terrorist acts are not particularly impoverished or do not differ in this respect from their average countrymen, they may act out of concern for those who are less advantaged. In other words, would-be terrorists could be inspired by the poverty of their countrymen: "Well-off young people, particularly in the United States, West Europe, and Japan, have been attracted to political radicalism out of a profound sense of guilt over the plight of the world's largely poor population [6]."

Since this reason has been given by individual terrorists and terrorist groups and is often repeated by scholars, it is worth investigating. One way to study this hypothesis is to use cross-country data to find out whether terrorists prevailingly come from poor countries. While Todd Sandler and Walter Enders look at countries where international terrorist attacks occurred [18], Alan Krueger and I tried to infer the national origin of the events' perpetrators [3,4].

We have assembled a country-level data set on the origins of perpetrators of terrorist events drawn from the U.S. State Department's annual list of significant international terrorist incidents [19]. We related the number of terrorists coming from each country to characteristics of the country, including gross domestic product per capita, literacy rates, religious fractionalization, and political and civil freedoms. Apart from population—larger countries tend to have more terrorists —the only variable that was consistently associated with the number of terrorists was the Freedom House index of political rights and civil liberties, i.e. "freedom to develop views, institutions, and personal autonomy without interference from the state." Countries with more freedom are less likely to be the origin of international terrorists. Poverty and literacy are

unrelated to the number of terrorists from a country when we control for the extent of civil liberties in a country.

Interestingly, having a higher proportion of the population affiliated with any of the four major world religious faiths is positively associated with the incidence of terrorism, but there are no differential effects among the four major religious groups –Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam.

Other scholars have also examined the connection between poor economic development and terrorism by conducting cross-country comparisons. James Piazza, employing a series of multiple regression analyses on terrorist incidents and casualties in 96 countries from 1986 to 2002, considered the significance of a number of measures of economic development such as poverty, inequality, unemployment, inflation and poor economic growth as predictors of terrorism [20]. He found no significant relationship between any of these measures and the occurrence of terrorist events. Instead, predictors of terrorism include variables such as population, ethno-religious diversity, increased state repression and the stability of the party system. Piazza concludes that "social cleavage theory" is better equipped to explain terrorism than are theories that link terrorism to poor economic development.

Alberto Abadie studied the determinants of both domestic and transnational terrorism at the country level, using GDP per capita, the UN Human Development Index and country Gini Index [21]. His research shows that terrorist risk is not significantly higher for poorer countries once the effects of other country-specific characteristics such as the level of political freedom are taken into account. Abadie's conclusions are in contrast to a 1986 study in which Walter Laqueur suggested that the correlation between an oppressive regime and terrorism in our era is not at all clear, and evidence shows that the more oppression exists in a state, the less terrorism there is [22]. Abadie claims that lack of political freedom does explain terrorism, but in a non-monotonic way. Countries in an intermediate range of political freedom are more prone to terrorism than countries with high levels of political freedom or countries with highly authoritarian regimes. The standard explanation is that the repressive practices used by autocratic regimes to suppress political dissent help to prevent terrorism. Abadie suggests that intermediate levels of political freedom are often experienced during times of political transitions, when governments are weak, and political instability is elevated. Transitions from an authoritarian regime to a democracy thus may be accompanied by temporary increases in terrorism, as experienced in Spain, Russia and recently in Iraq.

In their cross-country study of the origins and targets of terrorism, Alan Krueger and David Laitin address the question of the "Robin Hood" motivation of terrorism: Individuals can become terrorists because of poverty in their country, even if they are themselves not impoverished [23]. The authors look at both data of origin and target country of the terrorist event. They find that a country's GDP per capita is unrelated to the number of terrorists originating from the country. Although compared to the world population, the results indicate that terrorists are more likely to come from low-income countries with low GDP growth between 1990 and 2000, the pattern is not monotonic in terms of income as terrorists are over-represented among the poorest quartile of countries and the third quartile of countries. Their analysis suggests that the origins of terrorism are in countries that suffer from political oppression, and the targets are countries that are economically successful and more democratic than average. The sources of international terrorism have more to do with repression than with poverty,

the authors observe, and the economic factors pertain to the target rather than to the perpetrator of terrorist acts: Those "who are repressed politically tend to terrorize the rich, giving international terrorist events the feel of economic warfare."

Support for Politically Motivated Violence and Terrorism

Experience in various parts of the world suggests that public support has a substantial impact on the intensity and even the continuation or termination of terrorist violence. Public support gives terrorism legitimacy and provides the support necessary for terrorist activities, as well as a pool from which future terrorists can be drawn. Terrorists often want to influence their own society as much as the enemy. Therefore, it is important to examine the support for terrorist and other militant activities among broader groups. If, as is sometimes claimed, terrorists act out of concern for their disadvantaged countrymen, it is possible to hypothesize that public support for terrorist attacks should be more widespread among the poor, unemployed and uneducated than among those with medium or higher income and levels of education.

In our study [4], Alan Krueger and I analyzed public opinion data collected by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PCPSR), an independent, nonprofit institution and think tank located in Ramallah that performs policy analysis and academic research in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. On December 19-24, 2001, the PCPSR conducted a public opinion poll of 1,357 Palestinians age 18 or older in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The survey, which was conducted by in-person interviews, covered topics including views on the September 11th attacks in the United States, support for an Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement, and opinions about armed attacks against Israel [24].

The poll shows that support for armed attacks against Israeli targets was widespread among the Palestinian population in December 2001. A majority of the Palestinians believed that armed attacks against Israeli civilians have helped to achieve Palestinian rights in a way that negotiations could not have achieved. Comparison of the responses broken down by education obtained and occupational status of the respondents provides no evidence that individuals with higher levels of education are less supportive of violent attacks against Israeli targets than are those who are illiterate or poorly educated. We found that both support for and disagreement with the attacks against Israeli targets increased with education, suggesting that Palestinians with lower education had less clear views on the issues of the survey. This was not the case of the unemployed though, who were as likely to have no opinion on these questions as employed Palestinians.

According to the December 2001 public opinion poll, support for armed attacks against Israeli targets was strongest among students, farmers, merchants and professionals. The same groups most intensively supported (95.7% of students and 94.2% of merchants, farmers and professionals) attacks against Israeli soldiers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and agreed that there were some circumstances under which they would justify the use of terrorism to achieve political goals.

In contrast, the unemployed were less likely to support armed attacks against Israeli targets (73.9%) and against Israeli soldiers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (89.9%). This indicates that the poor are no more likely to support politically motivated

violence and terrorism than those who are better off. It is noteworthy that housewives' responses were quite similar to those of the general public: 82% of housewives supported armed attacks against Israeli targets (compared to 73.9% of the unemployed and 80.8% of the laborers, craftsmen and employees) and 91.3% among the housewives supported the attacks against Israeli soldiers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (compared to 89.9% of the unemployed and 93.4% of the laborers, craftsmen and employees).

In a study of the correlates of media and education and hostile views on the Western world based on a Gallup survey of over 10,000 respondents in nine predominantly Muslim countries, Matthew Gentzkow and Jesse Shapiro also do not find any impact of education on support for or opposition to terrorism [25]. They conclude: "Our findings regarding both media and education suggest that increased exposure to information is not necessarily correlated with more accurate perceptions of world events. Instead, particular news outlets and education systems have very different relationships to these perceptions, with some appearing to exacerbate misinformation. Different information sources are also closely tied to both expressed support for terrorist activities and general attitudes toward the West."

Public Opinion Polls among Palestinians

It is possible to trace a relationship between the occurrence of extremism, support for politically motivated violence among the Palestinians, and political development or the peace process in the Middle East. During the Oslo peace process, opinion polls showed the majority of Palestinians opposing suicide operations, with as many as three quarters of the Palestinian population rejecting suicide missions by the end of 1998. After the outbreak of the Intifada with the decreasing hopes for peace, public opinion polls displayed an increase in support for suicide bombing, accompanying increasing numbers of suicide attacks. By December 2001, the support reached the high levels mentioned in the previous section.

A September 2004 PCPSR poll [26] shows similarly high support for suicide operations. Consider the following question: "With regard to the latest bombing attack in Beer Shiva in Israel early in this month which lead to the death of 16 Israelis, do you support or oppose this attack?" 77.4% of Palestinians answered that they supported or strongly supported the attack while only 17.5% opposed and 2.2% strongly opposed it. While support for the Beer Sheva attack was generally high, it was markedly higher in the Gaza strip (87.4%) than in the West Bank (71.3%).

It may be useful to note that prior to the September poll, the Israeli government had announced its intention to build over five hundred housing units in the West Bank settlements, despite its acceptance of the roadmap, which stipulates the freezing of settlement activities. The period before the polls also witnessed the continuing construction of a barrier in Jerusalem and the suicide bombing in Beer Sheva by Hamas – the first major suicide attack following a relatively quieter period. It is likely that these events had an impact on the results of the September survey.

Then, with Arafat's death in November 2004 and the renewal of political activity, expectations and support for reconciliation increased. A poll of 1319 adults in the West

Bank and Gaza Strip conducted by the PCPSR in March 2005 [27] showed that 81% of the Palestinians supported reconciliation, compared to 67% in June 2004.

Nearly 67% of the respondents believed that "armed confrontation so far has helped achieve Palestinian national and political rights in ways that negotiations could not achieve." This belief was stronger in the Gaza Strip (74.4%) than in the West Bank (62.2%). Nevertheless, 67.5% of the respondents (70.2% in Gaza and 65.8% in the West Bank) said that they would oppose continued armed attacks against Israelis from the Gaza Strip once the Israelis fully withdraw. 68.5% of the respondents believed that the United States should strongly increase its involvement in trying to solve the Israeli Palestinian conflict, and 10.3% were of the opinion that it should somewhat increase its involvement.

Most importantly, the poll shows a significant decrease of support for suicide attacks to its lowest level in seven years. Support for suicide attacks dropped from 77% in September 2004 to 29% in March 2005. Most indicative in this was the question concerning the bombing in a Tel Aviv nightclub in February 2005 leading to the death of four Israelis and the injury of 50 others. 6.5% of the Palestinians answered that they strongly supported and 22.6% that they supported this attack, while 67.1% opposed or strongly opposed it.

Unfortunately, the breakdown of this data by income and education is not available yet. The opposition to the Tel Aviv attack was particularly high in the Gaza Strip (70%) compared to the West Bank (65%), among supporters of Fatah (75%) compared to supporters of Hamas (53%), among holders of BA degree (71%), employees (75%) and retired individuals (86%), and among those willing to buy lottery tickets (74%). In the Gaza Strip alone, support for suicide attacks decreased from 87.4% in September 2004 to 27.1% in March 2005. This, among other things, does not suggest a connection between support for terrorism and poverty since the Gaza Strip is generally poorer than the West Bank.

In any event, the most significant change that occurred between September 2004 and March 2005 did not concern the economy, but political development in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict with rising hopes for mutual cessation of violence, the political changes after Arafat's death and the Israeli disengagement plan. Moreover, the decrease in support for terrorist attacks expressed in the poll was in fact accompanied by a decrease in the number of suicide attacks and other violent incidents.

Pew Global Attitudes Survey

The Pew Global Attitudes Survey of 44 countries from Summer 2002 [28] presents another interesting counterpart to the poll in the West Bank and Gaza Strip from December 2001. The Pew survey brought a number of interesting insights, including questions about attitudes in Muslim societies towards the West. When asked "What poses the greatest threat to Islam today?" the respondents in Muslim countries mentioned, among other threats such as terrorism, the threats posed to Islam by the United States and the West. The perception that their religion is threatened could suggest at least one of the reasons for the support for terrorism in many Muslim countries.

This section only focuses on a small subset of Muslim countries (Lebanon, Jordan, Indonesia, Pakistan and Turkey) that offer an interesting comparison with the Palestinian polls, and on the question that most directly asks about support for terrorism: "Some think suicide bombing and violence against civilian targets are justified to defend Islam from enemies. Others believe, no matter the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Which is closer to your view?"

According to the survey, support for suicide attacks in 2002 was particularly high in Lebanon, followed by Jordan, while in Pakistan, Indonesia and especially in Turkey, the support was considerably lower. The tabulation of the answers broken down by income indicates, first, that there is no clear pattern emerging from all five countries, second, that taken together, the data on these countries does not show more widespread support for terrorism among the poor, and third, that the differences among the countries are more significant than those among income categories within individual countries. For example, the number of those who say that suicide bombing is "never justified" ranges roughly from 10 to 23% for various income categories in Lebanon, from 14 to 34% in Jordan, from 38 to 41% in Pakistan, from 49 to 54% in Indonesia, and from 59 to 75% in Turkey. (See Table 1).

Generally, support for terrorism is not consistently correlated with income. In Indonesia, 49.7% of the poorest and 49.2% of the richest respondents agreed that suicide bombing is never justified, while the numbers were somewhat higher for those with intermediate incomes. Similarly, in Pakistan, the numbers are 40% for the lowest and 41% for the highest income groups. In Jordan, 34.3% of the poorest respondents said that suicide bombing is never justified, while only 21.4% of the richest respondents gave this answer. In Turkey, the poorer were less likely to reject suicide terrorism (58.8%) than those with the highest income (71.4%), but the differences among various income groups in these countries are not systematic.

Support for suicide attacks was quite high among the Lebanese Muslims, who were only asked this question, but decreased as income rose: 47.1% of the lowest income group believed that suicide bombing is often justified, compared to 35.4% of the richer tier. One should note, however, that the sample was considerably smaller in Lebanon than in the other countries, and that nearly 37% of the respondents did not give their income. The answers of these respondents seem to be more consistent with those of the poorest segment of the population; however, if they were from various income groups or belonged to the richer respondents, the general picture of the views of Lebanese Muslims could substantially change.

Education reveals similar variations. It is clear that support for violence against civilians does not decrease with higher levels of education. In Lebanon, approximately 14% of both those with the lowest and the highest levels of education believed that suicide bombing is never justified. In Indonesia 53.4% of those who are illiterate or have only primary education said that terrorism is never justified, while only 44.4% of those with higher education gave this answer. In Jordan, the numbers are 31.1% and 13.3%, respectively. In Turkey, in contrast, opposition to suicide bombing somewhat increases with education: 62% of those with less than primary education, 68.5% among those with secondary, and 69.8% of those with higher education rejected suicide terrorism. In Pakistan, the difference was larger: while 31.4% of the less educated said that suicide bombing is never justified, among those with higher than secondary education, the number is 52.4%. As with income, no clear pattern emerges from the breakdown of the survey data by education. An interesting comparative project could

examine the causes of these dissimilarities in support for politically motivated violence and suicide bombing among the five countries as well as the variations among other prevailingly Muslim societies included in the Pew survey. (See Table 2).

Table 1: Income and Support for Terrorism
"Suicide bombing and violence against civilian targets are justified to defend Islam from enemies."
[Author's tabulation of Summer 2002 Pew Research Center Survey]

Lebanon (N=588)

Income	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
< $10,000 (32.1%)	47.1%	26.5%	6.9%	**10.0%**
$10,001-15,000 (15.0)	47.7	26.1	8.0	**12.5**
> $15,000 (16.3)	35.4	24.0	13.5	**22.9**
Income not stated (36.6)	53.5	25.1	9.3	**8.8**

Jordan (N=957)

Income	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
< JD 200 (24.3%)	15.5%	20.6%	21.0%	**34.3%**
JD 201-400 (28.1)	13.0	29.0	16.7	**34.6**
JD 401-1000 (25.3)	17.4	34.3	27.3	**13.6**
> JD 1,000 (20.0)	11.5	26.0	27.1	**21.4**
Income not stated (2.0)				

Pakistan (N=1982)

Income	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
< Rs 4,000 (31.8%)	20.9%	14.3%	7.0%	**40.0%**
Rs 4,001-7,000 (18.2)	19.1	15.0	5.5	**37.7**
Rs 7,001-10,000 (8.3)	15.8	20.1	11.6	**41.5**
> Rs 10,000 (9.2)	20.2	19.1	7.7	**41.0**
Income not stated (32.4)				

Indonesia (N=935)

Income	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
< Rp500.000 (20.9%)	8.7%	21.0%	15.4%	**49.7%**
Rp500.001-1.000.000 (47.4)	6.1	19.4	18.3	**53.7**
Rp1.000.001-1.500.000 (17.6)	2.4	28.5	15.8	**51.5**
> Rp1.500.000 (14.1)	8.3	24.2	17.4	**49.2**

Turkey (N=990)

Income	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
DK< 150,000,000 TL(17.9%)	2.8%	15.3%	4.5%	**58.8%**
150,000,001-300,000,000 TL (31.6)	4.8	11.5	4.8	**60.4**
300,000,001-500,000,000 TL (19.5)	3.1	5.2	8.8	**74.6**
> 500,000,000 TL (22.2)	1.4	6.8	12.7	**71.4**
Income not stated (8.8)				

Table 2: Education and Support for Terrorism
"Suicide bombing and violence against civilian targets
are justified to defend Islam from enemies."
[Author's tabulation of Summer 2002 Pew Research Center Survey]

Lebanon (N=588)

Education	Never justified
< Primary school (20.0%)	14.4%
< Secondary school (51.5)	9.9
Higher education (27.4)	14.3
DK (1.0)	

Jordan (N=957)

Education	Never justified
< Primary school (39.6%)	31.1%
< Secondary school (43.9)	26.9
Higher education (16.5)	13.3

Pakistan (N=1982)

Education	Never justified
< Primary school (42.4%)	31.4%
< Secondary school (46.7)	47.2
Higher education (10.7)	52.4

Indonesia (N=935)

Education	Never justified
< Primary school (26.8%)	53.4%
< Secondary school (64.5)	52.2
Higher education (8.7)	44.4

Turkey (N=990)

Education	Never justified
< Primary school (55.9%)	62.0%
< Secondary school (31.4)	68.5
Higher education (12.7)	69.8

Pakistan, where the less educated population was more supportive of suicide attacks, stands out among the five countries. One may speculate whether it is possible to explain this support by gender differences: according to the survey, women in Pakistan are more supportive of suicide bombing than men. At the same time, women are over represented among those with little or no education, and this could have an impact on the survey results.

This, however, does not explain the differences by gender. The Pew survey indicates that women are not more peaceful than men: they oppose – or say that they oppose - suicide terrorism less often than men. Generally, the differences among men and women within a country tend to be small, like in Indonesia (where 52.4% of men and 51.4% of women rejected suicide attacks). Sometimes, women choose the "middle" categories: they answer that suicide bombing is "sometimes" or "rarely" justified, rather than that is "often" or "never" justified. Women thus appear not to hold strong opinions on this issue. This is most noticeable in Jordan, where women do not tend to support either of the two "extreme" positions. In Pakistan, the differences between men and women are most striking: women are somewhat over represented among those who believe that suicide bombing is often or sometimes justified. More strikingly, only 28.1% of women compared to 53.8% of men said that suicide bombing

is never justified. At the same time, a large number of women (31.2%) did not answer this question or said they did not know.

According to the Summary of the Economic Factors Working Group from Madrid, women in general "seldom support terrorism" and "the higher women's relative educational status and political participation, the less frequent are political violence and instability [2]." Particularly in light of this statement, based on the results of cross-country studies, the gender differences displayed in the Pew Global Attitudes Survey definitely deserve to be explored in more detail.

Conclusion

The existing literature on the causes of terrorism does not show any clear pattern regarding the connection between terrorism and poverty. While some scholars refer to economic motivations of terrorists, these studies are usually based on anecdotal evidence, on "common sense," or on a solid knowledge of the society from which terrorists are drawn, but not on a systematic analysis of data. In contrast, studies based on quantitative or qualitative analyses, such as cross-country comparisons, analyses of the militant organizations' publications, media information on terrorist events, and interviews, tend to show that terrorism is not correlated with poverty. Similarly, regarding support for terrorist or militant activities, available data provide no evidence that those who are impoverished and uneducated tend to support militant activities to a larger extent than their more affluent and better-educated compatriots.

The impact of poverty is clearly indirect and complicated. Based on the emerging data it seems useful to differentiate not only among countries, but also among groups within one country and among members of each group because statistical generalizations can hide nuances and even substantial differences.

Nevertheless, terrorism should be viewed as a violent political act, not a response to economic conditions. Interestingly, those who set out to study economic aspects of terrorism often end up analyzing political factors: this includes participants of the summit in Madrid as well as James Piazza, Alberto Abadie or Alan Krueger and David Laitin whose studies were mentioned in the literature overview.

Recent research [13, 9] suggests that public support has a substantial impact on the activities of terrorist groups, including the tactic they choose, such as suicide bombing. Also in this case, political development seems to have a more substantial impact on the public's views on terrorism than the economic situation. We need to learn more about attitudes toward terrorism and politically motivated violence in those societies from which terrorists are recruited, about who does and who does not support terrorism and under what (economic, social and especially political) conditions. Analyses of gender differences could bring interesting results. Systematic, comparative and evidence-based research should provide the most reliable answers. Ethnographic studies and research based on anecdotal evidence could enrich our knowledge if it focuses not only on terrorists, but also on those who do not become terrorists.

Support for politically motivated violence and terrorism as expressed in public opinion polls is often connected with the occurrence of terrorism and its continuation or cessation. This support often tends only to rise with military or violent interventions against terrorists. Instead, it is important to ensure that there are legitimate, nonviolent

ways to express dissident opinions and legitimate complains – and to achieve change by political means and within the boundaries of international law.

The fear of a perceived Western threat to Islam, expressed by the respondents in the Pew poll, deserves serious consideration. The U.S. occupation of Iraq, combined with the memory of the past Western domination of the majority of the Muslim world, persuaded many Muslims that the (Christian) West is (still) fighting Islam. Reacting to these feelings, the Western world could definitely do more to show that it is not an enemy of Islam. Helping the victims of natural disasters in the Muslim world – such as the earthquake in Pakistan - seems to be a particularly suitable chance to prove this. Observers' reports suggest that the help provided after the Tsunami had a positive impact on the image of the United States in the region.

References

1. Blair: Poverty, extremism cause terrorism. Retrieved August 10, 2005, from www.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2005/07/09/blair_poverty_extremism_cause_terrorism.
2. Gurr, T.R., & Bjorgo, T.. (2005) Economic factors that contribute to terrorism in social and political context. International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security, March 2005. Retrieved August 25, 2005 from www.iris-bg.org/WorkingGroup3FinalDraftMarch8.doc
3. Krueger, A.B., & Male_ková, J. (2002). Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? *NBER Working Paper 9074*.
4. Krueger, A.B., & Male_ková, J. (2003). Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 17, 119-144.
5. Russell, C.A., & Miller, B.H. (1978). Profile of a Terrorist. In J.D. Elliot, & L.K.Gibson (Eds.), *Contemporary Terrorism: Selected Readings* (pp. 81-95). Gaithersburg: International Association of Chiefs of Police.
6. Hudson, R.A. (1999). *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?* A Report Prepared under an Interagency Agreement by the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. Retrieved July 21, 2003 from www.loc.gov/rr/frd.
7]. Hurvitz, E. (1998). The Military Wing of Hezbollah: A Social Profile. A Masters Thesis submitted to the School of History, Tel Aviv University, and published by the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Tel Aviv University. Retrieved June 20, 2002 from www.dayan.org/frameres.htm.
8. Stern, J. (2003). *Terror in the Name of God, Why Religious Militants Kill*. New York: Harper Collins Publisher.
9. Bloom, M. (2005) *Dying to Kill. The Allure of Suicide Terror*. New York: Columbia UP.
10. Barkey, H.J. & Fuller, G.E. (1998). *Turkey's Kurdish Question*. Lanham:Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
11. Moghadam, A. (2003). Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects, *Studies in Conflict &Terrorism*, 26, 65-92.
12. Kimhi, S., & Even, S. (2004). Who Are the Palestinian Suicide Bombers? *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16, 815-840.
13. Merari, A. (2005). Social, Organizational and Psychological Factors in Suicide Terrorism. In T. Bjorgo (Ed.), *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Reality and Ways Forward.* (70-86). London & New York: Routledge.
14. Hassan, N. (2001). An Arsenal of Believers. *New Yorker*, November 19, 36-41.
15. Pape, R.A. (2005). *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House.
16. Berrebi, C. (2003). *Evidence about the Link between Education, Poverty and Terrorism Among Palestinians.* Princeton University Industrial Relations Section Working Paper 477.
17. Sageman, M. (2004). *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
18. Sandler, T., & Enders, W. (2004). An Economic Perspective on Transnational Terrorism. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 20, 301-316.
19. U.S. Department of State. (2002). *Patterns of Global Terrorism*. Retrieved June 10, 2002 from www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt.
20. Piazza, J.A. (2003). *Rooted in Poverty? Terrorism, Poor Economic Development and Social Change.* Mimeo, Meredith College, Raleigh, NC.

21. Abadie, A. (2004). *Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism*. NBER Working Paper 10859.
22. Laquer, W. (1986). Reflections on Terrorism. *Foreign Affairs*, 65, 86-100.
23. Krueger, A., & Laitin, D. (2004). *Kto kogo? A Cross-Country Study of the Origins and Targets of Terrorism*. Mimeo, Princeton University.
24. Palestine Center for Policy and Survey Research (2001). *Poll Number 3*. Retrieved May 20, 2002, from www.pcpsr.org/survey/polls/2001/p3a.html. Tabulations PCPSR.
25. Gentzkow, M.A., & Shapiro, J.M. (2004). Media, Education and Anti-Americanism in the Muslim World. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18, 117-133.
26. Palestine Center for Policy and Survey Research. (2004). *Poll Number 13*. 23-26 September 2004. Retrieved June 20, 2005, from www.pcpsr.org/survey/polls/2004/p14a.html
27. Palestine Center for Policy and Survey Research. (2005). *Poll Number 15*. 10-12 March 2005. Retrieved June 20, 2005, from www.pcpsr.org/survey/polls/2005/p15a.html.
28. Pew Research Center (2002). *What the World Thinks in 2002. Summer 2002 44-Nation Survey*. Retrieved August 5, 2005, from www.pewglobal.org/datasets.

Chapter 11
Research Note: Who Supports Terrorism? Evidence from Fourteen Muslim Countries

C. Christine Fair
United States Institute of Peace
Bryan Shepherd
University of Texas, Austin

Abstract

This research note explores aspects of the demand for terrorism using data from the Pew Institute. With these data from 7,849 adult respondents within 14 Muslim countries, we explore who supports for terrorism. We find that females, younger persons, and those who believe Islam is under threat are *more likely* to support terrorism. Very poor respondents are *less likely* to support terrorism and those who believe that religious leaders should play a larger role in politics are *more likely* to support terrorism, all else constant. Because these effects vary throughout the countries studies, we argue that interventions must be highly tailored, using detailed demographic and psychographic data.

Keywords: terrorism, counterterrorism, psychology, support, Muslim, policy

Introduction and Motivation for this Research

Since the spectacular terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001 (henceforth 9/11), quantitative analyses of terrorism and the subset suicide terrorism have proliferated. Much of these studies have focused on the supply of terrorist manpower and the attributes of terrorists. These findings have generally found that terrorists are generally male, better educated and less likely to be from economically deprived backgrounds, relative to the populations from which they are drawn. The findings of various studies have been mixed with respect to marital status and propensity to be a terrorist.[1]

While these supply-side studies continue to propagate, there have been no comparable quantitative efforts to examine the explanatory powers of demographic variables upon *demand* or support for terrorism generally or suicide terrorism in particular.[2] As a consequence, there have been few systemic efforts to exposit determinants of the support that terrorism and terrorists garner among the population on whose behalf terrorist organizations claim to act and from which terrorist cadre and commanders are drawn.[3] Yet, understanding the determinants of the demand for terrorism is a fundamental piece of the analytical puzzle.

This research note seeks to address in modest measure these empirical lacunae by exploring aspects of the demand (or support) for terrorism using data that have been recently made available by the Pew Institute. These data have not been extensively used for these purposes. These data are comprised of respondent level data for 7,849 adult persons across 14 countries with predominantly Muslim populations or large Muslim minorities within Africa, Southwest, South and Southeast Asia. We analyze these data to draw out who supports terrorism and what their characteristics are.

Consonant with the public and scholarly concern about suicide terrorism, in 2002 the Pew Institute fielded a survey in countries with predominantly Muslim populations or with large Muslim minorities. Pew's survey instrument collected several kinds of data about the respondent and included a question that Pew hoped would query support for suicide terrorism. Unfortunately, while the question used by Pew gives primary emphasis to suicide terrorism, the phrasing of the question pertains to *all* varieties of terrorism. Pew has used these data to explicitly address countrywide aggregate support for *suicide* terrorism in these countries despite the problematic phrasing of this key question.[4]

Our analysis (using summary statistics and regression analysis) finds that in many cases, females are more likely to support terrorism than males. We also found that younger persons are more likely to support terrorism than older people, but support for the tactic among older persons is still high in many countries. We find that those who are very poor are less likely to support terrorism, but those who are not poor are more likely to support it. Persons who believe that religious leaders should play a larger role in politics are more likely to support terrorism than those who don't hold this view.[5] Finally, we found that persons who believed that Islam was under threat were more likely to support terrorism than those who did not have such threat perceptions. Most importantly, we find that while these generalizations hold, the affect of these various variables vary throughout the fourteen countries in question. This makes the case that any intervention must be highly tailored to the target population in question, which in turn is highly specified using demographic and even psychographic data.[6]

The remainder of this research note will be organized in the following manner. The second section will describe the data and methodology employed here. The third section presents key findings from the descriptive analysis of these data. The fourth section details finding from the econometric modeling of support for terrorism. The fifth and final section concludes with a discussion of the results and their significance for counter-terrorism efforts.

Data and Methodology

Data

We employ the data from The Global Attitudes Survey 2002, conducted by the PEW Institute. While this dataset represents a very general survey of respondents in 44 countries across the globe, it specifically includes fourteen countries that are either predominantly Muslim or have large Muslim minorities (henceforth we will use the inelegant short-hand "Muslim countries" to reference these states). Most of the samples were nationally representative. However, there were several countries wherein the samples were predominantly urban. For purposes of this analysis of Muslim

countries, it should be noted that this caveat applies to samples for Egypt, Indonesia, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Pakistan, and Senegal.[7]

Fieldwork in all 44 countries, including those included in this analysis, was conducted between July and October 2002. Thus these national surveys were fielded well in advance of the U.S.-led operations against Iraq, which commenced in March of 2003. However, by the end of the summer of 2002 vigorous discussion had already taken prominent place in the media and within various multilateral forums, which intensified in the early months of 2003.

Within these countries with large Muslim populations, Muslim respondents were asked several questions related to their religious beliefs and their place in a modernizing and increasingly connected world. In addition, Muslims respondents in these Muslim countries were asked the following questions:

> Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified or never justified?

Responses to this question comprise the outcome variable in this analyses. Responses ranged from one through four (1= "Often Justified," 2= "Sometimes Justified," 3 = "Rarely Justified," and 4 = "Never Justified.") Note that this question was not asked in Egypt.[8] *For purposes of the descriptive statistics, we recoded this variable such that higher values indicate higher levels of support for the tactic.* Thus, upon recoding, this variable took the values: 4= "Often Justified," 3= "Sometimes Justified," 2 = "Rarely Justified," and 1 = "Never Justified." For purposes of the regression analysis only, we recoded this measure as dichotomous variable (0= Never Justified and 1= Ever Justified) and analyzed it using both descriptive statistics as well as logistic regression.

We are cognizant that this question is inherently framed within the context of Islam. Ideally, we would prefer a question devoid of religious verbiage; however, because the assumption of this religious connection to suicide bombing and other forms of violence is so ubiquitous in the countries included, the allusion to it in this question is likely to be irrelevant. (Obviously, if we were looking at countries such as Sri Lanka or India where non-Islamist groups have employed the tactic, this phraseology of the question would be utterly inappropriate.)

As noted above, the question also conflates suicide terrorism (a subset of terrorism) with terrorism (the superset). Pew, despite this limitation, has used these data to make claims about the support for *suicide terrorism*, which may not be warranted. It is possible that people may feel very differently about suicide terrorism than they do about terrorism in general. It is also possible that given the primary emphasis upon suicide terrorism, respondents may cue off this emphasis depending upon how the question was administered during the fielding of the survey. Obviously, it is preferable that this question be disaggregated into specific queries about support for terrorism generally and suicide terrorism in particular.

We recommend that these issues (reference to Islam and the conflation of suicide terrorism with terrorism generally) be considered in future surveys.

Empirical Methods

This analysis utilizes descriptive statistical measures to provide broad overviews of how support for terrorism varies within the respondent samples of the fourteen Muslim countries by specific groups, such as age groups, gender and marital status. (Because of the above-noted problem with the distribution of urban respondents, we were unable to provide cross tabulations of urban and non-urban respondents.) All summary statistics were derived using appropriate weights provided by Pew. Building upon these summary statistics, we next utilize logistical regression to explain with greater complexity the variation in support for terrorism across the respondents in our sample.

We estimate regression models evaluating support for terrorism, using the dichotomous variable (0=Never Justified, 1=Ever Justified) as our dependent variable. Below we provide a discussion of the independent variables employed in our models and the theoretical and empirical bases for their inclusion.

Demographic variables

Important demographic variables such as "sex" (female=1), "age" (continuous 18-94) and "marital status" (married=1, all other=0) were included in our models because their characterization will be important to any public diplomacy campaign or targeted intervention. These variables are also important because the conventional wisdom is that young, unmarried males are the most likely candidate for participating in or supporting a terrorist campaign.[9] This is true despite the growing literature on female terrorists.[10]

Proxies for Socio-economic status

Economic comparisons based on monetary units is difficult given the wide variety of currencies and their exchange rates and the complex and highly debated modeling techniques to control for purchasing power parity.[11] Instead, we used two proxy questions to instrument the effects of socio-economic variables on support for terrorism. These questions asked, "Have there been times in the past year when you did not have enough money to buy food your family needed?" and "Have there been times in the past year when you did not have enough money to buy clothes your family needed?" Both questions had "yes" and "no" (recoded to 1 and 0, respectively) as available responses.

These proxies for economic resources are important to our understanding of the linkages between poverty and support for terrorism. According to deprivation theory, we would expect one of two relationships between these economic variables. Individuals with neither food nor money to buy clothes would support violent behaviors as a result of frustration manifested in aggression or support for aggression. But relative deprivation theory also suggests that there may be a threshold point at which the relationships between poverty and support for terrorism change.[12]

On a similar conceptual note, use of these variables permit us to explore aspects of Maslow's hierarchy of needs.[13] According to this theory, when basic needs are unmet, their satiation is the primary focus of motivation. Extremely economically deprived persons do not have the "luxury" of expending efforts toward issues unrelated to day-to-day survival. Once basic needs are met, the needs of the next level can be addressed. These issues will be explored through the use of these socioeconomic proxies in our model.

We also explored the impact of ownership of a cell phone and a computer to instrument for variation in support for terrorism. These variables are difficult to interpret because they can reflect at least two different aspects about those who possess them. On the one hand, owners of these technologies are likely to have higher SES than those who do not have these items. In this sense these variables may behave like socioeconomic proxies and would comport with the above-noted predictions.

On the other hand, these variables also suggest a degree of connectivity and ability to access information in ways that non-owners would not have. Ownership of these items may also correlate to other means of accessing information or even suggest different ways of understanding information than non-owners. Clearly, this is not identical to socio-economic status.

If seen as measures of connectivity and accessibility to information, there is no explicit prediction as to how ownership of a cell phone and a computer would explain variation in support for terrorism. If these variables are seen as indexing greater access to information, their affect could be in either direction. If the information they receive is accurate and contributes to their threat perception, then greater access to information would produce an increase in the propensity to support terrorism. Access to information may dispel myths and misinformation, but the ownership of these technologies is likely to be less important than the content of the information they convey. But this too may suggest opportunities for public diplomacy interventions.

Religio-political sentiments

We also included an explanatory variable that characterized respondents' religio-political sentiments. Specifically, respondents were asked to give their level of agreement or disagreement with the following statement: "Religious leaders should play a larger role in politics." Four response categories ranging from "1= completely disagree" to "4=completely agree" were available. There is no theoretical prediction as to how this variable may behave. If individuals believe that terrorists and their organizations are not religious leaders and if individuals believe that religious leaders should be more involved in politics (a maximum value of 1), this may augur decreased support for terrorism. Alternatively, if respondents view terrorist outfits as forms of religious leaders and they believe that religious leaders should have greater role in politics, then lower numbers for this variable would suggest higher support for terrorism. Similarly if religious leaders support terrorist activities, then support for these leaders should suggest greater support for terrorism. While *a priori* ambiguous, this variable is important because it helps characterize the legitimacy and authority that religious leaders play within politics and therefore may identify potential partners in a public diplomacy campaign.

Threat perception variables

We also included two variables that represent two different kinds of threat perceptions as predictors for support of terrorism. First, we included a variable that indicated agreement with the statement "The influence of other religions is the greatest threat to Islam today." Individuals who agreed with this were given a value of '1;' all others received a value of '0.'

The second threat variable instruments the influence of nationalist threats that are not explicitly imbued with religious sentiment upon support for terrorism. We used

the individual's agreement or disagreement with the statement that "There are parts of neighboring countries that really belong to (respondent's country)." The four response categories ranged from "completely disagree" (a value of 1) to "completely agree" (a value of 4).   This variable is important because it often argued that pivotal conflicts (e.g. Palestine, Chechnya, Kashmir, etc.) animate the sentiments of those who support terrorism and even motivate those who perpetrate the tactic. Presumably, explicating the role of these threat perceptions on support for terrorism may identify potential opportunities for public diplomacy interventions. (We summarize the empirical hypotheses in Table 1.)

In addition, we included dummy variables for each country to control for state-specific effects that are not explicitly controlled for in the model. Each regression model is benchmarked to Mali, which is the excluded case. (We chose Mali as the benchmark case because support for terrorism in that country is nearly identical to the overall sample mean.) Thus all country coefficients and the corresponding analysis are relative to Mali. Because the effect of some variables upon support for terrorism may depend upon characteristics of the particular country, we permitted various interactions (e.g. between gender and the state in question) with these country-level dummy variables. However, most of these interactions proved to be statistically insignificant, as is apparent in the appropriate tables.   The first model we estimate contains no interaction variables while the second through the fifth examine various interactions effects.

Table 1.
Table of Empirical Hypothesis

Variable	Hypothesis
Female	There is no explicit prediction as to how gender would influence support for terrorism
Age	There is no explicit prediction as to how age would influence support for terrorism.
Married	Conventional wisdom holds that married persons would be less likely to support suicide terrorism although there is no explicit prediction as to how marital status would influence support for terrorism.
No money for food	The literature on terrorism suggests that extremely poor persons may be less interested in social events such as terrorism given their immediate preoccupation with survival.
No money for clothes	There is no explicit prediction as this variable. One could argue that if one has enough money for food but not enough for clothing, he/she may be more concerned with social events such as terrorism. If this is the case, affirmative answers would predict an increase in support for terrorism. However, if this variable indexes extreme poverty, it could decrease support for terrorism.
Religious leaders should play larger role in politics	There is no explicit prediction for this variable as it would depend upon the view of the respondent held of terrorist organizations.
Influence of other religions is a threat.	Agreement with this statement would increase the likelihood of supporting terrorism.
There are parts of neighboring countries that belong to us.	In countries with outstanding territorial disputes, agreement with this variable should increase likelihood of supporting terrorism.
Ownership of cell phone	There is no explicit predicted affect on support for terrorism.
Ownership of computer	There is no explicit predicted affect on support for terrorism.

Because our outcome variable is dichotomous, we have used the logistic regression method to estimate our five models. Because of the non-linear basis of logistic regression, we cannot directly use the regression results to predict the direct effect of various variables in the model.

Instead, we must calculate the marginal effects of each of the variables. In the case of a dichotomous variable (value of 1 or 0), the marginal effect indicates the change in probability when that dummy variable value is changed (e.g. from zero to one), while holding all other variables at their sample means. In one case (role of religious leaders), the variable is a polychotomous variable (values 1,2,3,4). To estimate the marginal affect of this variable, we calculated the change in predicted probability of support when that value is changed from 1 to 4, holding all other variables at their sample means. In estimating the effect of age, which is a continuous variable, we predicted the probability of supporting terrorism for various values of age holding all variables at the sample means and graphed these predicted values as a function of age.

In all analyses a generalized weight was applied, which was supplied by PEW. Sample sizes (which are affected by the application of the weights) are held constant within the regressions but vary in other areas, such as the presentation of the descriptive statistics. The number of valid respondents is presented in the relevant tables. We used SPSS version 11.0 for Windows for this analysis.

Descriptive Statistics

Across the fourteen countries studied, the support for terrorism had a sample mean of 2.05. (Recall that a value of 2 indicates that terrorism is "rarely justified.") The country with the highest support for terrorism was Lebanon with a mean of 3.15 out of a maximum value of 4. The country with the lowest support was Uzbekistan with a mean of 1.22. The overall summary statistics for terrorism support among respondents of these fourteen countries, as well the sample size and nation-wise composition of the sample is given in Table 2.

We next disaggregate support for terrorism within the fourteen countries by age (those younger than 40 and those 40 years and older), gender, and marital status. To do so, we performed pair-wise t-tests on the sample mean on the outcome variable (support for terrorism). These results are presented in Tables 3, 4 and 5. (We used the Levene's Test for Equality of Variances to determine whether we should assume equal or unequal variances.) On the main we found that there were relatively few statistically different group means (at the 0.1 significance level or lower). This was surprising given the large sample sizes in some of these countries. However, it must be kept in mind, that these comparisons are not fully controlled. For instance, while we control for marital status in one comparison, individuals vary in all other respects (age, gender, SES, etc.) In a more fully controlled analyses where similar individuals are compared (e.g. regression analyses), the impact of any one characteristic (e.g. age, gender, marital status, SES, etc.) may become prominent both in terms of magnitude and statistical significance.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Support for Terrorism
(Higher Mean Indicates Greater Support for Terrorism)

Country	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Min.	Max.	% of Total N
Lebanon	3.15	554	1.05	1	4	7.06
Ivory Coast	2.55	98	1.13	1	4	1.25
Bangladesh	2.47	476	1.13	1	4	6.07
Nigeria	2.44	318	1.13	1	4	4.05
Jordan	2.34	873	1.06	1	4	11.12
Pakistan	2.20	1522	1.29	1	4	19.39
Mali	2.06	602	1.02	1	4	7.66
Senegal	1.91	644	1.09	1	4	8.21
Ghana	1.91	85	1.01	1	4	1.08
Uganda	1.83	110	1.04	1	4	1.40
Indonesia	1.77	925	0.97	1	4	11.79
Tanzania	1.61	230	0.92	1	4	2.93
Turkey	1.44	847	0.85	1	4	10.79
Uzbekistan	1.22	566	0.60	1	4	7.21
Sample Mean	2.05	7849	1.16	1	4	100.00

Source: Author tabulations using data obtained from the Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2002.

Our descriptive analysis has produced the following general observations:

- **Variation within age groups**. Statistically significant between-group variation was found in only in five countries. In Pakistan, Senegal, Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan, respondents under forty years of age were more likely to support the tactic than those who were forty years or older. (See Table 3 for details).

- **Variation by Marital Status**. Statistically significant between-group variation was found in three countries. In Ghana married persons were more likely to support terrorism than unmarried persons. In Pakistan and Tanzania, unmarried persons were more likely to support terrorism. (See Table 4.)

- **Variation by Gender**. Statistically significant variation between groups was found in only four countries. In Bangladesh, Pakistan and Jordan females were more likely than males to support terrorism whereas females in Nigeria were less likely to do so. (See Table 5).

We next explore the impacts of these variables more rigorously in the below-given discussion of our regression analyses.

Table 3: Support for Terrorism Among Those 40 Years and Above and Those Below the Age of 40

Country Name	>= 40 Mean (N) (Std. Error)	< 40 Mean (N) (Std. Error)	T statistic
Bangladesh	0.67 (160) 0.037	0.71 (293) 0.027	-0.808
Ivory Coast	0.80 (11) 0.128	0.73 (87) 0.048	0.458
Ghana	0.64 (28) 0.092	0.45 (56) 0.067	1.707
Indonesia	0.46 (283) 0.030	0.43 (642) 0.020	0.897
Mali	0.62 (186) 0.036	0.60 (406) 0.024	0.560
Nigeria⁺	0.75 (115) 0.41	0.69 (203) 0.032	1.024
Pakistan⁺	**0.45 (419) 0.024**	**0.52 (1048) 0.015**	**2.378****
Senegal⁺	**0.40 (208) 0.034**	**0.53 (436) 0.024**	**-2.995******
Tanzania	0.39 (112) 0.046	0.33 (115) 0.044	0.977
Turkey⁺	**0.21 (295) 0.024**	**0.26 (550) 0.019**	**-1.655***
Uganda	0.46 (28) 0.096	0.39 (76) 0.056	0.634
Uzbekistan	0.12 (204) 0.023	0.15 (362) 0.019	-1.109
Lebanon⁺	**0.83 (178) 0.029**	**0.90 (367) 0.016**	**-2.163****
Jordan⁺	**0.63 (344) 0.026**	**0.76 (529) 0.019**	**-4.010******

Notes: ⁺ Indicates that equal variances were not assumed. **** Indicates significant at the 0.001 level, *** at the 0.01 level, ** at the 0.05 level and * at the 0.1 level. Derived from author tabulations of data from Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2002.

Table 4: Support for Terrorism Among Married and Unmarried Respondents

Country Name	Unmarried Mean (N) (Std. Error)	Married Mean (N) (Std. Error)	T statistic
Bangladesh	0.77 (107) 0.041	0.69 (369) 0.024	1.550
Ivory Coast⁺	0.78 (61) 0.054	0.67 (36) 0.079	1.121
Ghana	**0.33 (21) 0.105**	**0.57 (63) 0.063**	**1.909***
Indonesia	0.46 (193) 0.036	0.43 (732) 0.018	0.566
Mali⁺	0.58 (237) 0.032	0.62 (365) 0.025	1.051
Nigeria	0.68 (96) 0.048	0.73 (222) 0.030	-0.952
Pakistan⁺	**0.54 (410) 0.025**	**0.49 (1106) 0.015**	**1.844***
Senegal	0.51 (304) 0.029	0.47 (341) 0.027	0.969
Tanzania	**0.47 (62) 0.064**	**0.32 (168) 0.036**	**2.060****
Turkey	0.26 (260) 0.027	0.23 (585) 0.017	0.829
Uganda	0.32 (22) 0.102	0.47 (88) 0.053	-1.247
Uzbekistan	0.14 (164) 0.027	0.14 (402) 0.018	-0.171
Lebanon⁺	0.86 (282) 0.021	0.88 (269) 0.020	-0.933
Jordan	0.72 (229) 0.030	0.70 (637) 0.018	0.572

Notes: ⁺ Indicates that equal variances were not assumed**** Indicates significant at the 0.001 level, *** at the 0.01 level, ** at the 0.05 level and * at the 0.1 level. Derived from author tabulations of data from Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2002.

Table 5: Support for Terrorism Among Males and Females

Country Name	Male Mean (N) (Std. Error)	Female Mean (N) (Std. Error)	T statistic
Bangladesh⁺	**0.65** **(229)** **0.031**	**0.76** **(247)** **0.027**	**2.649***
Ivory Coast	0.78 (47) 0.062	0.70 (51) 0.065	0.822
Ghana	0.56 (54) 0.068	0.42 (31) 0.090	1.205
Indonesia	0.44 (446) 0.024	0.44 (479) 0.023	0.153
Mali⁺	0.58 (316) 0.028	0.64 (285) 0.029	1.456
Nigeria*	**0.76** **(174)** **0.032**	**0.65** **(144)** **0.040**	**2.178**
Pakistan	**0.43** **(922)** **0.016**	**0.62** **(600)** **0.020**	**7.300****
Senegal	0.51 (337) 0.027	0.47 (307) 0.029	1.115
Tanzania	0.35 (121) 0.043	0.38 (109) 0.047	-0.456
Turkey	0.23 (429) 0.020	0.25 (418) 0.021	-0.539
Uganda	0.47 (62) 0.064	0.40 (48) 0.071	0.749
Uzbekistan	0.15 (290) 0.021	0.14 (276) 0.021	0.204
Lebanon	0.87 (300) 0.020	0.88 (254) 0.021	-0.395
Jordan⁺	**0.65** **(462)** **0.022**	**0.78** **(411)** **0.020**	**-4.362****

Notes: ⁺ Indicates that equal variances were not assumed. **** Indicates significant at the 0.001 level, *** at the 0.01 level, ** at the 0.05 level and * at the 0.1 level. Derived from author tabulations of data from Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2002.

Regression Analyses

The first logistic regression model that we examine includes support for terrorism as the dependent variable.   Independent variables include the demographic, socioeconomic, political, religious and threat perception variables as well as the

dummy indicators for each country. (We present the regression results along with sample means in Table 10, below.) As described above, we calculated the marginal affects for those variables that were significant in the regression at least at 0.1 level of significance (these are presented in Table 6). We are using this higher cutoff threshold because in many of these models, cell sizes are small.

Among the demographic variables explored in this model (age, gender, marital status), only age and gender were significant. The marginal effect of being female (relative to being male) was 7.65 percent (See Table 6). Using data from this model, we also predicted the probability of supporting terrorism as a function of age. (This graph is given in Figure 1.) These data suggest that older respondents were less likely to support the tactic than those who are younger. What is notable is that even, at the highest age in our sample's range (62), predicted support for terrorism is still above 45 percent.

Our analyses of variables on SES yielded interesting and complex results. Individuals who reported having insufficient funds for food during the course of the past year were *less* likely to support suicide terrorism than those without such problems (marginal effect of –6.6 percent). However, those who reported having inadequate money for clothing were more likely to support terrorism with a marginal effect of 4.28 percent. Individuals who owned their own cellular phone and their own computers were also more likely to support terrorism than those without such technologies with marginal effects of 4.25 and 8.75 percent respectively. Thus whether one views these variables as denoting SES or informational access, both ownership of a cell phone and a computer indicate increased support for suicide terrorism, all else equal. (See data in Table 6.)

Respondent who felt that religious leaders should play a larger role in government were significantly *more* likely to support terrorism. The marginal effect of moving between complete disagreement (1) and complete disagreement (4) was 20.91 percent.[14]

Among the threat variables, in the un-interacted model (model 1), territorial disputes were not significant. (Note that in ongoing work, we are examining country specific models. In some of these within-country models, this variable *is* significant even though it is not significant in this model of across-country effects.) The variable indicating respondent perceptions that Islam is under threat was significant (at 0.05 level) with a marginal effect of 6.77 percent.

Table 6: Marginal Effects of Various Variables on Support for Suicide Terrorism

Country	Marginal Effect of Variable
Female	7.65% ****
Age	See figure 1.****
No money for food	-6.6%***
No money for clothes	4.28%**
Respondent owns a computer	8.75%***
Respondent owns cell phone	4.25%**
Religious leaders should play a larger role in politics (1-completely disagree, 4-completely agree)	20.91% (Difference between complete agreement (1) and complete disagreement (4)****
Influence of other religions is a threat to Islam	6.77%**

Note: **** Indicates significant at the 0.001 level, *** at the 0.01 level, ** at the 0.05 level and * at the 0.1 level. Derived from author tabulations of data from Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2002. Marginal affect calculated using estimates from Model 1, evaluated at the sample means.

Figure 1: Predicted Probability of Supporting Terrorism by Age, All Else Constant

   To allow the affect of key variables to vary within the specific states, we ran several models wherein we interacted select variables with the country-level indicator. This is done during the statistical programming process by forming new variables comprised of products, for example: female x Bangladesh. Specifically, we interacted country indicators with gender, threat perception, and the variable indicating the respondent owns computer. We selected these variables based on an examination of the t-test analyses, significance and magnitude of the variables in the un-interacted model, and upon our analysis of state-level models. The regression coefficients and the list of variables for these models are given in Table 10. Calculated marginal effects are given in Tables 7-9.

- In Model 2, we augmented the variables contained in Model 1 and added six interaction variables between gender and the state-level dummies. In general these interactions were not significant. Only four interactions were significant at the 0.1 significance level. Analysts who prefer a significance-level cutoff of 0.05 would not consider these interactions to be significant.
- In Model 3, we added to Model 1 six interaction variables between the threat (to Islam) perception variable and the country indicators, many of which were significant even at the rigorous 0.01 significance level.
- In Model 4, we augmented Model 1 with the interactions between the country indicators and computer ownership. (Note that in three countries, no respondent owned a computer.) Four interactions were significant at the 0.1 significance level.
- In Model 5, we included the variables in Model 1 and added all 16 interaction variables (e.g. dummy variables with threat, gender and computer ownership). Many of these interaction variables were significant.

   To examine the country-specific marginal effects of gender, threat and computer ownership within the 14 countries, we predicted the probability of supporting terrorism using the appropriate models. In the case of gender and its interaction with country-

level dummies, we built models to calculate the relative predicted probability of supporting terrorism for females and males in each state using results from Model 2. We were of mixed minds in performing this analysis and presenting results for all countries, as only four of the interactions were significant. Ultimately, we chose to present the estimated state-specific marginal effect in Table 7, with the appropriate significance indicators. What is notable is that, while the overall effect of gender predicted using Model 1 was positive, in three of the four statistically significant interactions women were less likely to support terrorism than males. In Uganda, Senegal and Turkey, females were less likely to support it, with marginal effects of –17.47, -7.89, -4.98 percent respectively. In Indonesia, females were slightly more likely to support terrorism with a marginal effect of 1.07 percent. These findings underscore the importance of understanding with great clarity the particular impact of particular demographic variables within specific target audiences.

We similarly calculated the marginal effect of threat perception on the predicted probability of supporting terrorism in countries examined using regression results from Model 3. These data are provided in Table 8. As these data illustrate, the impact of threat perception varies significantly within the states, but in all cases it is associated with increasing tendency to support terrorism. In Pakistan, Jordan, Nigeria, Indonesia and Lebanon the marginal effect of having this threat perception was over 70 percent. As noted earlier, many of the interaction variables were statistically significant.

Finally, we calculated the marginal effect of computer ownership upon predicted probability of supporting terrorism, using regression results from Model 4. These values are given in Table 9. (Note that several of the African countries had no respondents with computers and thus were not included.) In Model 1, the un-interacted model, computer ownership tended to suggest increased likelihood of supporting terrorism. However when we allow the effect to vary within states through the use of the interaction variables, a much more nuanced picture emerges. In the four countries for which interactions were statistically significant, computer ownership predicts a *decreased* likelihood of supporting terrorism, all else constant.

Table 7: Marginal Effects of Being Female Upon Support for Terrorism

Country	Marginal Effect of Gender
Uganda	-17.47%*
Ghana	-15.03%
Senegal	-7.89%**
Turkey	-4.98%*
Ivory Coast	-4.07%
Uzbekistan	-1.50%
Nigeria	-0.57%
Lebanon	-0.27%
Indonesia	1.07%*
Tanzania	8.14%
Jordan	8.79%
Pakistan	13.50%
Bangladesh	14.01%

Note: Country-wise marginal effects calculated using estimates from Model 2, evaluated at the sample means. All results are relative to the benchmark case of Mali **** Indicates significant at the 0.001 level, *** at the 0.01 level, ** at the 0.05 level, * at the 0.1 level.

Table 8: Marginal Effects of Threat Perception Upon Support for Terrorism

Country	Marginal Effect of Threat Perception
Ghana	2.03%
Bangladesh	4.21%**
Ivory Coast	25.57%
Uzbekistan	28.38%***
Turkey	33.97%***
Senegal	43.81%
Tanzania	55.38%**
Uganda	60.25%
Pakistan	70.62%****
Jordan	75.07%**
Nigeria	78.72%**
Indonesia	82.58%****
Lebanon	89.89%**

Note: Marginal effects calculated using estimates from Model 3, evaluated at the sample means. All results are relative to the benchmark case of Mali. **** Indicates significant at the 0.001 level, *** at the 0.01 level, ** at the 0.05 level, * at the 0.1 level.

Table 9: Marginal Effects of Computer Ownership Upon Support for Terrorism

Country	Marginal Effect of Threat Perception
Bangladesh	-29.57%*
Nigeria	-10.99%*
Pakistan	-9.11%*
Turkey	-7.95%*
Lebanon	-0.37%
Uzbekistan	-0.36%
Senegal	8.39%
Indonesia	22.79%
Ivory Coast	28.66%

Note: Marginal effects calculated using estimates from Model 4, evaluated at the sample means. All results are relative to the benchmark case of Mali. Countries where not respondents owned computers not included. **** Indicates significant at the 0.001 level, *** at the 0.01 level, ** at the 0.05 level, * at the 0.1 level.

Table 10: Logistic Regression Results for Support for Terrorism (Models 1-5) and Weighted Sample Means

Variable	Model 1 (B)	Model 2 (B)	Model 3 (B)	Model 4 (B)	Model 5 (B)	Sample Mean (Weighted)
Female	0.308****	0.444**	0.314***	0.307****	0.458**	0.44
Age	-0.009****	-0.009****	-0.009***	-0.009****	-0.008***	35.127
Married	-0.018	-0.01	-0.023	-0.018	-0.014	0.68
No money for food	-0.247***	-0.251***	-0.257***	-0.253***	-0.27***	0.4
No money for clothes	0.172**	0.172**	0.182**	0.18**	0.191**	0.41
Respondent owns a computer	0.356***	0.365***	0.354***	3.144*	3.17*	0.12
Respondent owns cell phone	0.171**	0.143*	0.17**	0.1620*	0.132*	0.23
Religious leaders should play a larger role in politics (1-completely disagree; 4-completely agree)	0.283****	0.281****	0.283****	0.275****	0.273****	2.78
There are parts of neighboring countries that belong to X. (1-completely disagree; 4-completely agree)	-0.004	0.004	0.000	-0.015	-0.0020	2.96
Influence of other religions is a threat to Islam ((thrtrsn2) (1-yes, 0-no))	0.275**	0.285**	-1.472***	0.289**	-1.463***	0.05
Bangladesh	0.146	0.076	0.075	0.233	0.109	0.0533
Ivory Coast	0.482*	0.85**	0.366	0.43*	0.697*	0.0149
Ghana	-0.253	0.031	-0.254	-0.238	-0.016	0.0058
Indonesia	-0.633****	-0.431**	-0.733****	-0.632****	-0.532***	0.1422
Nigeria	0.336*	0.532**	0.248	0.404**	0.556**	0.0311
Pakistan	-0.621****	-0.707****	-0.724****	-0.519****	-0.711****	0.1696
Senegal	-0.333**	-0.085	-0.382***	-0.326**	-0.121	0.0919
Tanzania	-0.955****	-1.01***	-1.035****	-0.945****	-1.064***	0.0209
Turkey	-1.594****	-1.355****	-1.673****	-1.508****	-1.327****	0.1096
Uganda	-0.386	-0.035	-0.414	-0.364	-0.072	0.0086
Uzbekistan	-2.149****	-1.999****	-2.228****	-2.128****	-2.05****	0.0677
Lebanon	1.093****	1.205****	1.022****	1.128****	1.179****	0.0784
Jordan	0.184	0.104	0.125	0.076	-0.06	0.1374

Table 11: Continued: Logistic Regression Results for Support for Suicide Terrorism (Models 1-5) and Weighted Sample Means

Bangladesh*Threat	--	--	1.67**	--	1.554**	0.0032
Ivory Coast*Threat	--	--	4.927	--	6.169	0.0005
Ghana*Threat	--	--	-2.791	--	-3.472	0.0002
Indonesia*Threat	--	--	3.118****	--	3.108****	0.0034
Nigeria*Threat	--	--	1.89**	--	1.767**	0.003
Pakistan *Threat	--	--	2.124****	--	2.218***	0.0127
Senegal*Threat	--	--	0.962	--	0.955	0.0031
Tanzania*Threat	--	--	1.774**	--	1.732**	0.004
Turkey*Threat	--	--	1.837***	--	1.828***	0.0038
Uganda*Threat	--	--	1.353	--	1.606*	0.001
Uzbekistan*Threat	--	--	2.131**	--	2.052*	0.0005
Lebanon*Threat	--	--	1.69**	--	1.673**	0.0068
Jordan*Threat	--	--	1.501**	--	1.488**	0.008
Bangladesh*Female	--	0.198	--	--	0.175	0.0231
Ivory Coast*Female	--	-0.659	--	--	-0.693	0.0077
Ghana*Female	--	-0.83	--	--	-0.659	0.0018
Indonesia*Female	--	-0.401*	--	--	-0.396*	0.0733
Nigeria*Female	--	-0.471	--	--	-0.533	0.013
Pakistan*Female	--	0.334	--	--	0.33	0.0513
Senegal*Female	--	-0.536**	--	--	-0.546**	0.0415
Tanzania*Female	--	0.121	--	--	0.115	0.0088
Turkey*Female	--	-0.455*	--	--	-0.484*	0.0546
Uganda*Female	--	-0.923*	--	--	-0.913	0.0032
Uzbekistan*Female	--	-0.311	--	--	-0.321	0.0311
Lebanon*Female	--	-0.233	--	--	-0.244	0.0369
Jordan*Female	--	0.214	--	--	0.207	0.0648
Bangladesh*OwnComp	--	--	--	-4.365*	-4.369**	0.0016
Ivory Coast*OwnComp	--	--	--	1.165	1.073	0.0009
Ghana*OwnComp	--	--	--	NA	NA	0
Indonesia*OwnComp	--	--	--	-2.309	-2.317	0.0055
Nigeria*OwnComp	--	--	--	-3.605*	-3.736*	0.0013
Pakistan *OwnComp	--	--	--	-3.494*	-3.522*	0.016
Senegal*OwnComp	--	--	--	-2.311	-2.347	0.0032
Tanzania*OwnComp	--	--	--	NA	NA	0
Turkey*OwnComp	--	--	--	-3.173*	-3.213*	0.0157
Uganda*OwnComp	--	--	--	NA	NA	0
Uzbekistan*OwnComp	--	--	--	-2.833	-2.917	0.0007
Lebanon*OwnComp	--	--	--	-2.796	-2.818	0.0376
Jordan*OwnComp	--	--	--	-2.199	-2.208	0.0405
Constant	-0.105	-0.197	-0.053	-0.096	-0.139	
N (Weighted)	6,205	6,205	6,205	6,205	6,205	
Nagelkerke R-squared	0.238	0.244	0.243	0.245	0.256	

Note: **** Indicates significant at the 0.001 level, *** at the 0.01 level, ** at the 0.05 level, * at the 0.1 level. Derived from author tabulations of data from Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2002. Unweighted sample size was 6,019.

Conclusions

These analyses, at least modestly, contribute to understanding segments of the demand for terrorism (e.g. the supporters for this tactic). The descriptive and regression analyses suggests the following conclusions, holding all other considerations constant:

- In un-interacted models, females are more likely than males to support the tactic. However, interaction models suggest that the effect of gender may vary within the countries.
- Older people are less likely to support terrorism. However, the predicted probability of supporting terrorism for persons over 60 is still high at over 45 percent.
- Respondents who believe that religious leaders should play a larger role in politics are substantially *more likely* to support terrorism.
- In none of the models did the territorial threat variable appear significant. (This was not the case for individual state-level models, which comprise the subject of our forthcoming work).
- While persons who are low SES (indicated by inadequate funds for food) are less likely to support the tactic, those with somewhat higher SES are more likely to support it generally.
- Individuals with phones and/or computers (which dually code for higher SES and increased accessed to information) are more likely to support terrorism than those who do not own these items in general. Interaction models suggest that the effect of computer ownership may vary across states and in some cases computer ownership may predict decreased propensity to support terrorism.
- Those who believe that Islam is under threat are much more likely to support terrorism than those who do not share this view. While the intensity of this finding varied across the states in question, there were no statistically significant exceptions.

Implications for Future Data Collection

The results of these analyses cast limited light on the impact of SES considerations on demand for suicide terrorism. The first-order effects reported here mirror those of the above-noted studies of SES impacts on supply of terrorism. However, we caution that these data do not tell the entire story about SES. It is entirely possible that is not the level of SES, but change in SES in different time periods that matters. Unfortunately, as these data are not time series and represent only a cross section of respondents in these 14 countries at a particular time in 2002, we cannot assess this critical issue. It is also possible that such change in SES may have impacts upon other variables, such as the threat perceptions. This too is a consideration that remains beyond the scope of this work.

However this outstanding empirical concern underscores the need for time-series panel data to fully illuminate the impact of SES upon support for support for terrorism and specifically changes in SES across time periods.

Even though the standardized sample for our regression models contained over 6,000 observations, in many cases the cell sizes were still too small to estimate

coefficients accurately in many countries. This problem of "micronumerocity" was exacerbated in many of the models with interacted variables because of the large numbers of variables added to the analysis. More robust sample sizes are required to permit the kinds of analyses that will shed most light on the determinants of support for terrorism.

Given that many of these results appear to vary by country, it may be useful to include countries that are of specific concern to the U.S. and wider community. It is not obvious that the countries included in this Pew dataset are most appropriate or even the most interesting to U.S. policy makers because Pew included countries that are appropriate to its particular reporting mission. But the Pew data do demonstrate the "proof of concept" that such data collection is possible, if limited.

The vagaries of collecting survey data of this type necessarily increases the burden of the analyst to properly understand the limits of the data employed and to properly caveat the resultant findings. Reviewers of this research note were skeptical of the utility of such survey data. While the authors appreciate these concerns, we note that survey data are an important complement to other kinds of inquiries that are problematic in their own rights as well (small numbers of interviews with would-be, actual, or even purported militants, abstracting from press reports, reliance upon interview data with policy makers, and so forth).

Implications for Counterterrorism Activities

One of the first conclusions that can be drawn from this work is that the standard stereotypes are not altogether right. Females in general were more likely to support terrorism than males. It is possible that these effects vary substantially across states, but our sample sizes were still too small to estimate interaction effects accurately. In no model was marital status significant, suggesting that married person cannot be assumed to be less likely to support terrorism than unmarried persons. This was true even in Model 1, where sample size was ample to estimate accurately. Older persons do appear less likely to support terrorism, but the decline in probability was much less than popular stereotypes would suggest. In fact, even at 62 years of age, the predicted probability of supporting terrorism was near 45 percent.

The result of the role of religious leaders is important. Those respondents who support larger role for religious leaders in politics are more likely to support terrorism, all else constant.

Territorial threats did not appear significant in this across-country model. However, we caution that this not be dismissed. Our forthcoming analyses of country-specific models shows that, in some countries, this variable is significant.

Finally, the perception that Islam is threatened by other religions was associated with increases in likelihood of supporting terrorism. Many of these interactions were robust, illuminating the differential impact of this threat perception across the countries in question.

Because many of these characteristics do appear to vary by country and because several of the country-level indicators themselves were significant in many models, public diplomacy efforts and perception management campaigns need to be highly tailored to each of the key states in question. The findings of this analysis also suggest that observed country differences may reflect specific viewpoints that may be rooted in

local or historical experiences as well as the larger contexts within which these experiences are situated. If so, popular aphorisms such as the "Muslim Street" or "Arab Street" may have little analytical value and may obfuscate more than they clarify.

Based on these analyses, we argue that detailed understanding about specific populations within states are required to enable effective interventions. Such nuanced understanding of the demographic and psychographic breakdown of populations within specific countries may help the United States and allies prioritize its efforts not only by states but also by sub-groups within states.

In conclusion, it is also important to note that these data were collected *prior* to the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq. Given the significance and magnitude of the threat variable (particularly when looking at country-specific affects of this variable), one wonders whether, if the same individuals were to be re-surveyed in 2004, we would see an increase in the support for suicide terrorism in all or in a select subset of the countries in question. This question too underscores the need for robust time-series panel data.

Bibliography

Atran, Scott. "Mishandling Suicide Terrorism." *The Washington Quarterly,* Summer (2004).

Berman, Eli and David D Laitin. "Rational Martyrs vs. Hard Targets: Evidence on the Tactical Use of Suicide Attacks."(conference paper, University of Chicago, October 26, 2004). http://economics.uchicago.edu/download/RatMartyrs6.pdf

Berrebi, Claude. "Evidence About the Link Between Education, Poverty and Terrorism Among Palestinians." *Princeton University Industrial Relations Sections Working Paper #477* (2003).

Blinken, Antony J. "Now the US Needs to Win the Global War of Ideas." *International Herald Tribune Online* (December 8, 2001).

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. "The Quality of Terror," forthcoming in *American Journal of Political Science.* http://bdm.wustl.edu/PDF/terror_quality.pdf

Camarota, Steven A. "The Open Door: How Militant Islamic Terrorists Entered and Remained in the United States, 1993-2001." *Center for Immigration Studies Working Paper 21* (Washington DC: Center for Immigration Studies, 2002). http://www.cis.org/articles/2002/Paper21/terrorism2.html.

Clarke, Richard., et al. *Defeating the Jihadists: A Blueprint for Action* (Washington, DC: Century Foundation Press, 2004).

Clayton, Mark. "Probing the Roots of Terror." *The Christian Science Monitor* (September 2, 2003). http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0902/p18s01-lehl.htm

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *World Bank Policy Research Paper 2355* (May, 2000).

Collier, Paul. "Rebellion as a Quasi-Criminal Activity," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 44, No. 6 (December, 2000).

Cragin, Kim and Peter Chalk. *Terrorism and Development: Using Social and Economic Development to Inhibit a Resurgence of Terrorism* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2003).

Craigin, Kim and Scott Gerwehr. *Dissuading Terror: Strategic Influence and the Struggle Against Terrorism* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2005).

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. *Terrorists and Suicide Attacks* (Washington: Congressional Research Service RL32058, 2003). http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/RL32058.pdf

Cunningham, Karla J. "Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism,* Vol. 26 (2003).

Defense Technical Information Center, "Perception Mangement." http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/doddict/data/p/04007.html

Ganor, Bohaz. "Suicide Terrorism: An Overview" (paper, International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism. Countering Suicide Terrorism: An International Conference, Herzliya: Israel, 2000).

Gold, David. "Some Economic Considerations in the U.S. War on Terrorism," *The Quarterly Journal* Vol. III, No. 1, (March 2004): 1-14.

Harrison, Mark. "An Economist Looks at Suicide Terrorism," (working paper, January 20, 2004). http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/economics/staff/faculty/harrison/papers/terrorism.pdf

Heston, Alan and Robert Summers and Bettina Aten. "Penn World Table Version 6.1," *Center for International Comparisons at the University of Pennsylvania (CICUP)* (October 2002).

Heston, Alan and Robert Summers. *PPPs and Price Parities in Benchmark Studies and the Penn World Table: Uses*. (prepared remarks, Eurostat Conference on the Value of Real Exchange Rates, Brussels, Belgium, October 20-21, 1997). http://pwt.econ.upenn.edu/papers/paperev.html

Hoffman, Bruce. "All You Need is Love: How the Terrorists Stopped Terrorism," *The Atlantic Monthly* (December 2001).

Iannaccone, Laurence R. "Sacrifice and Stigma: Reducing Free-Riding in Cults, Communes, and Other Collectives," *Journal of Political Economy* (1992).

___. "Introduction to the Economics of Religion," *Journal of Economic Literature* XXXVI (1998).

Kivimäki, Timo., ed. *Development Cooperation as an Instrument in the Prevention of Terrorism −A Research Report for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs* (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2003).

Kleinberg, Mindy. *The National Commissionon Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, Public Hearing* (March 31, 2003). http://www.911independentcommission.org/pdf/MindyKleinberg_03_31_03.pdf

Konrad, Kai A. "The Investment Problem in Terrorism," *Economica* Vol. 71 (2004).

Krueger, Alan B. and Jitka Maleckova. "Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *NBER Working Paper #9074* (2002)

___. "The Economics and the Education of Suicide Bombers." *The New Republic* (June 2002).

Kulandaswamy, M.S. *Sri Lankan Crisis: Anatomy of Ethnicity, Peace, and Security* (New Delhi: Authorspress, 2000).

Maslow, Abraham. *Motivation and Personality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

Merari, Ariel. "The Readiness to Kill and Die: Suicidal Terrorism in the Middle East,*"* in Walter Reich, ed*., Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind.* Second edition (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center and Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Organisation For Economic Co-Operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, *A Development Co-operation Lens: Terrorism Prevention Key Entry Points for Action* (Paris: OECD, 2003).

Orvis, Bruce R. and Beth J. Asch. *Military Recruiting: Trends, Outlook, and Implications* (RAND: Santa Monica, 2001).

Pape, Robert A. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 20, No. 32, (July 14, 2003).

Paxson, Christina. "Comment on Alan Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?"" **(**Princeton: Research Program in Development Studies, May 8, 2002) http://www.wws.princeton.edu/~rpds/downloads/paxson_krueger_comment.pdf.

Paz, Reuven. "Programmed Terrorists: An Analysis of the Letter left behind by the September 11 Hijackers," *International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism* (December 13, 2001). http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=419

Post, Jerrold M. "Terrorist Psycho-logic: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Psychological Forces" in Walter Reich, ed*., Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind,.* Second edition (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center and Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Rubin, Elizabeth. ''The Most Wanted Palestinian.'' *The New York Times Magazine* (June 30, 2002).

Sageman, Marc. *Understanding Terror Networks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

Sambanis, Nicholas. "Poverty and the Organization of Political Violence: A Review and Some Conjectures," (Brookings Institution: July 12, 2004) http://www.brook.edu/es/commentary/journals/tradeforum/papers/200405_sambanis.pdf.

Stern, Jessica. *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003).

Taylor, P.M. Perception Management and the 'War' Against Terrorism," *Journal of Information Warfar*e, Vol. 1, No. 3 (2002).

"The Market for Martyrs,"(working paper, 2004 Meetings of the American Economic Association, San Diego, CA, December 2003). http://gunston.doit.gmu.edu/liannacc/ERel/S2-Archives/Iannaccone%20-%20Market%20for%20Martyrs.pdf

The Pew Research Center, *What the World Thinks in 2002: How Global Publics View Their Lives, Their Countries, The World, America* (Washington, DC: The Pew Research Center, December 4, 2002). http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=165

Princeton Survey Research Associates International, *Questionnaire Pew Global Attitudes Survey—2002* (Princeton: Princeton Survey Research Associates International, 2002).

United States Department of State, "Dictionary of International Relations Terms." (Washington, DC: United States Department of State, 1987).

___, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002* (Washington, DC: United States Department of State, 2002). http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/.

___, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003* (Washington, DC: United States Department of State, 2003). http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2003/

United States General Accounting Office, Report to the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, *U.S. Public Diplomacy: State Department Expands Efforts but Faces Significant Challenges* (Washington D.C.: GAO, September 2003). www.gao.gov/cgi-bin/getrpt?GAO-03-951

United States Information Agency Alumni Association (USIAA), "What is Public Diplomacy?" (Washington, DC: USIAA, September 2002). http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/1.htm.

Wolf, Charles and Brian Rosen. *Public Diplomacy: How to Think About and Improve It* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2004).

Young, Jock. *The Exclusive Society: Social Exclusion, Crime and Difference in Late Modernity* (London: Sage Publications, 1999).

---

[1] See Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 20, No. 32, (July 14, 2003): 1; Audrey Kurth Cronin, *Terrorists and Suicide Attacks¸* (Washington: Congressional Research Service RL32058, 2003): 5 http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/RL32058.pdf; Eli Berman and David D. Laitin, "Rational Martyrs vs. Hard Targets: Evidence on the Tactical Use of Suicide Attacks," (conference paper, University of Chicago, October 26, 2004) http://economics.uchicago.edu/download/RatMartyrs6.pdf; See Laurence R. Iannaccone, "Sacrifice and Stigma: Reducing Free-Riding in Cults, Communes, and Other Collectives," *Journal of Political Economy* (1992): 271-291; "Introduction to the Economics of Religion," *Journal of Economic Literature* XXXVI (1998)L 1465-1496; "The Market for Martyrs,", (working paper, 2004 Meetings of the American Economic Association, San Diego, CA, December 2003) http://gunston.doit.gmu.edu/liannacc/ERel/S2-Archives/Iannaccone%20-%20Market%20for%20Martyrs.pdf; Mark Harrison, "An Economist Looks at Suicide Terrorism," (working paper, January 20, 2004), http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/economics/staff/faculty/harrison/papers/terrorism.pdf; David Gold, "Some Economic Considerations in the U.S. War on Terrorism," *The Quarterly Journal* Vol. III, No. 1, (March 2004): 1-14; Kai A. Konrad, "The Investment Problem in Terrorism," *Economica* Vol. 71 (2004): 449-459.\; Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova. "Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *NBER Working Paper #9074* (2002); Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, "The Economics and the Education of Suicide Bombers." *The New Republic* (June 2002) Claude Berrebi, "Evidence About the Link Between Education, Poverty and Terrorism Among Palestinians." *Princeton University Industrial Relations Sections Working Paper #477* (2003); Paul Collier, "Rebellion as a Quasi-Criminal Activity," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 44, No. 6 (December, 2000): 838-852; Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *World Bank Policy Research Paper 2355* (May, 2000); Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, "The Quality of Terror," forthcoming in *American Journal of Political Science* http://bdm.wustl.edu/PDF/terror_quality.pdf.

[2] We use the term "demand" here to refer to the public support for terrorism, which in turn is treated as a "good" produced by terrorists and their groups and consumed by the population on whose behalf they claim to act. This is in distinction to other uses of the term "demand" which could refer to groups demand for terrorist labor. For a more thorough discussion of demand-side issues, see Paxson, "Comment on Alan Krueger" and Iannaccone, "Sacrifice and Stigma". We are also cognizant of the debate about defining terrorism as a "good." For instance some argue that terrorism is a "public

good." However, while this debate is very important to understanding terrorism and terrorist groups, this distinction is not germane to our query here. For more information about this and related analytical issues, see Iannaccone, "Sacrifice and Stigma" and Harrison, "An Economist Looks at Suicide Terrorism".

[3] For instance,

[4] See The Pew Research Center, *What the World Thinks in 2002: How Global Publics View Their Lives, Their Countries, The World, America* (Washington, DC: The Pew Research Center, December 4, 2002) http://people-press.org/reports/display. php3?ReportID=165

[5] Due an error made by the authors in re-coding this variable, earlier drafts of this paper found that those who believed that religious leaders should have a larger role to play were *less* likely to support terrorism. This has been corrected in this paper. The authors apologize for any confusion this may have generated.

[6] These findings also comport with those of R. Kim Craigin and Scott Gerwehr who argue that strategic influence campaigns require detailed psychographic and demographic intelligence about the target community. According to these authors, "Demographics include information, for example, on the age, sex, or occupation of potential audiences, whereas psychographic intelligence incorporates additional data on perceptions, interests, and opinions." See Craigin and Gerwehr, *Dissuading Terror*.

[7] For more information about the methodology of the survey design, sample construction, methods of fielding of the survey as well as local partners for doing so, see The Pew Global Attitudes Project, *What the World Thinks.* In particular see the chapter on "Methodology."

[8] See Princeton Survey Research Associates International, *Questionnaire Pew Global Attitudes Survey—2002* (Princeton: Princeton Survey Research Associates International, 2002).

[9] Testimony of Mindy Kleinberg, *The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, Public Hearing* (March 31, 2003) http://www.911independentcommission.org/pdf/MindyKleinberg_03_31_03.pdf; Bohaz Ganor, "Suicide Terrorism: An Overview" (paper, International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism: Countering Suicide Terrorism: An International Conference, Herzliya, Israel, 2000); Elizabeth Rubin, "The Most Wanted Palestinian" *The New York Times Magazine* (June 30, 2002): 26-31,42, 51-55. Bruce Hoffman, "All You Need is Love: How the Terrorists Stopped Terrorism," *The Atlantic Monthly* (December 2001); Reuven Paz, "Programmed Terrorists: An Analysis of the Letter left behind by the September 11 Hijackers," *International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism* (December 13, 2001) http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=419; Steven A. Camarota, "The Open Door: How Militant Islamic Terrorists Entered and Remained in the United States, 1993-2001" *Center for Immigration Studies Working Paper 21* (Washington D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, 2002). http://www.cis.org/articles/2002/Paper21/terrorism2.html.

[10] See Karla J. Cunningham, "Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Vol. 26 (2003): 171-195.

[11] This is a highly debated area in the literature. For example, see Alan Heston and Robert Summers, *PPPs and Price Parities in Benchmark Studies and the Penn World Table: Uses*. (prepared remarks, Eurostat Conference on the Value of Real Exchange Rates, Brussels, Belgium, October 20-21, 1997) http://pwt.econ.upenn.edu/papers/ paperev.html. See Alan Heston, Robert Summers and Bettina Aten, "Penn World Table Version 6.1," *Center for International Comparisons at the University of Pennsylvania (CICUP)* (October 2002)

[12] Jock Young, *The Exclusive Society: Social Exclusion, Crime and Difference in Late Modernity* (London: Sage Publications, 1999).

[13] Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

[14] Due to an error in recoding this variable, previous drafts of this paper reversed this interpretation. The authors apologize for this.

Chapter 12
Individual Motivations For Joining Terrorist Organizations:
A Comparative Qualitative Study On Members of ETA and IRA

Rogelio Alonso
Universidad Rey Juan Carlos,
Madrid

Abstract

Since the late 1960s terrorism perpetrated by ETA and the IRA has constantly targeted European liberal democracies such as Spain and the United Kingdom. Both organizations, which are part of what Professor David Rapoport has called the third wave of modern terrorism, have espoused an ethno-nationalist ideology on the basis of which they have justified indiscriminate and intense campaigns of killings for decades. This paper will analyze the motivations of those individuals who at same stage were part of these terrorist organizations, groups which have been responsible for the highest level of deaths in European liberal democracies in the last forty years. Based on extensive in-depth and taped semi-structured interviews of both ETA and IRA activists carried out by the authors, the presentation will analyse the importance that social, psychological, political and other factors had in their decisions to join. The authors will examine how those who joined ETA and the IRA shared some common characteristics while differing in others. Whereas most of those who joined ETA did regard themselves as nationalists when they entered the organization, such a strong feeling was not always present in the men and women who approached the IRA. Both organizations did recruit young activists who shared the common belief that violence was useful and would help them to advance their objectives. The fulfillment of social expectations and the reinforcement of a social identity, together with a marked hatred towards the targets of their violence, were also evident in both groups of terrorists. In short, the paper will look at why individuals joined the most prominent ethno-nationalist terrorist organizations in Europe and why they opted for the use of terrorism.

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, motivations, ETA, IRA

Introduction

Since the late 1960s terrorism perpetrated by ETA and the IRA has constantly targeted European liberal democracies such as Spain and the United Kingdom. Both organisations, which are part of what Professor David Rapoport has called the third wave of modern terrorism, have espoused an ethno-nationalist ideology on the basis of

which they have justified indiscriminate and intense campaigns of killings for decades. This paper will analyse the motivations of those individuals who at some stage in their lives were part of these terrorist organisations -groups that have been responsible for the highest levels of deaths in European liberal democracies in the last forty years.[1] Based on extensive in-depth and taped semi-structured interviews of both ETA and IRA former activists, the chapter will analyse the importance that social, psychological, political and other factors had in their decisions to join. The following pages will examine how those who joined ETA and the IRA shared some common characteristics while differing in others. Whereas most of those who joined ETA did regard themselves as nationalists when they entered the organisation, such a strong feeling was not always present in the men and women who approached the IRA. Nonetheless, both organisations did recruit young activists who shared the common belief that violence was useful and would help them to advance their objectives. The fulfilment of social expectations and the reinforcement of a collective identity, together with a marked hatred towards the targets of their violence, were also evident in both groups of terrorists. These issues will be analysed in order to shed light as to why individuals joined the most prominent ethno-nationalist terrorist organisations in Europe and why they opted for the use of terrorism.

A brief note on methodology

The vast literature on terrorism has always considered the motivations of terrorists as one of its most relevant issues. This is still the case today as international and suicide terrorism becomes more prominent. Nonetheless, empirical research on such a delicate matter is quite limited, partly because of the obvious difficulties involved in accessing primary sources such as individuals who at some point have been involved in violence. This chapter is based on unprecedented access to former activists of ETA and the IRA in the form of interviews with samples consisting of seventy members of each of these two groups. The in-depth and extensive interviews carried by the author, in the case of the IRA's activists, and by Professor Fernando Reinares, for those belonging to ETA, were all based on semi-structured scripts. This point appears of some importance given the relevance that academics attach today to understanding the causes of terrorism. Rigorous research must most certainly be devoted to improving such an understanding, although with the knowledge that very often the real causes are confused when the methodology used by researches distorts decisive features. This was probably the case of American sociologist Robert White who attempted in the past to explore the motivations of sympathisers of the Irish republican movement, which consists of the IRA and its political wing, Sinn Fein. As White himself admitted, he chose to act as "a non argumentative and supportive interviewer".[2] As a result of such an approach, the outcome was a purely descriptive account of self-serving explanations of how republicans saw themselves and the IRA, needless to say with a clear and natural inclination to indulge and justify their actions. Moreover, the uncritical methodology adopted by White rendered most of his analysis defective, particularly when he seemed to make quite clear from the beginning his own political ideology, as the ending remark at the preface of his book on the subject would suggest: "*Tiocfaidh ár lá.*" (This is a traditional republican slogan translated into English as "Our day will come")[3].

Contrary to that methodology, the interviews used for the preparation of this chapter were based on semi-structured scripts that did not preclude an argumentative approach when necessary in order to explore the real motivations of those who became members of ETA and the IRA. The narrative interpretations of terrorists do help to understand their motivations, yet, as Cordes has pointed out, when analysing them we must bear in mind that the real understanding of the terrorist mind requires a good knowledge of their rationale and also of their mechanisms of denial.[4] My own research into the IRA and ETA suggests the existence of a group mentality that results in the ideological convergence of its members and their adherence to an accepted "official explanation" of their conduct. In my view, this is logical given the nature of the social groups in question and appears to be consistent with the dynamics of other organizations, not just those that use violence and operate in a clandestine manner.

Determining which factors motivate members of terrorist organisations is undoubtedly complicated. One way of explaining the reasons that lead to joining a group that advocates violence consists in treating this as the result of a logical and rational decision that involves defining certain strategic objectives which such action attempts to achieve. On the other hand, instead of presenting violence as an intentional choice that has been selected from a series of alternatives, it is also possible to argue that purely psychological factors are much more relevant.[5] Another factor which should undoubtedly be taken into account is the socio-structural proximity of the individual to the movement in question and the interaction with other group members. Ultimately, through studying ethnonationalist organisations like the IRA and ETA, one realises that no single theory adequately explains why people joined them, a combination of causal factors providing a more accurate picture for such a decision. In doing so, three main variables provided the analytical framework used for the comparative and qualitative study reported in this chapter: nationalist ideology, utilitarian and emotional considerations, as well as the reinforcement of social and group identities.

Nationalism as a motivation

Although certain nationalist movements have opted for violence and terrorism as a means of pursuing their objectives, this has not been the case in all expressions of independentism that can be counted over the world. In other words, separatism does not always or necessarily lead to violence or terrorism. There are nationalist movements that over time have sought the separation of a certain territory or society by terrorist means, as well as nationalist organisations that have attempted to set up new states through violence, but also using exclusively political resources. It is true that whenever a nationalist movement emerges it is possible to talk about some legitimacy problem for the State, although the different level of support that nationalism may receive will determine the real extent of the challenge that separatism poses. The intensity of the separatist aims and the nationalist ideology--as well as the level of social and political support received--differs greatly across contemporary nationalist movements. The resort to violence by nationalist movements also varies to the extent that it is not that common for independentist movements to be associated with the use of terrorism despite the existence of very notorious examples in which such a connection has been maintained over considerable time, as the conflicts in Northern Ireland and the Basque

Country illustrate. Therefore, although there is no direct causal connection between nationalism as expression of political discontent, socioeconomic grievances or identity claims and terrorist violence, nationalist separatism as an ideology can facilitate mass mobilizations and ultimately political violence. Structural and situational variables which intervene in making the use of violence a choice by nationalist groups must be examined when assessing the passage from nationalism into terrorism. In fact there are major socioeconomic, cultural and political preconditions which increase the likelihood for terrorist organizations to be formed out of a broader nationalist sector.[6]

Nationalism was a very important variable and motivational factor for many of those who joined the Basque terrorist group ETA. In fact, as Reinares has demonstrated,[7] ETA's activists did regard themselves as Basque nationalists at the time when they were recruited by the terrorist organization. Those who became members of the Basque terrorist group had taken up the ideas of an ethnic nationalist ideology based on the exclusion of those who were not seen as nationalists. As opposed to other nationalist expressions of a civic type, Basque nationalism, as embraced by ETA's activists, was a strongly ethnic ideology that encouraged the exclusion of citizens who would not espouse certain fundamental values. The Basque culture and language were key elements of this ethnic identity championed by nationalists in the region and ETA's members, as one of them exposed during a personal interview: "We were very strongly in favour of independence. We were very much independentists. In those years we would have been prepared to set up fenced borders. Our mentality was such that there is no doubt about the extent of things we would have been prepared to do. In those years, generally speaking, we aimed at having an independent, reunified and Basque speaking Euskadi. We hardly used the term 'socialist' then".[8] A distinctive element of Basque nationalism as seen by those who joined ETA was the denial of dual identities to the extent that being a Basque precluded any ideology or identity other than a nationalist one. As a result of it, those individuals who would not espouse nationalism would be described as traitors as opposed to patriots like the ones who were going to resort to violence to achieve the nationalist goals. The preferred nationalist ideology was conveyed at a young age through family, schools, groups of friends, political activism and youth clubs. The socialisation of many young Basques in a political environment, which in the late sixties and early seventies was clearly one of a considerable democratic deficit, enabled a process of radicalisation that in some cases would lead to the terrorist organisation.

The importance of nationalism is also evident when exploring the recruitment process of some members of the IRA. Nonetheless, and contrary to some published opinions, many of those who joined the Irish terrorist group did not regard themselves as nationalists when they entered the organisation. The dominant academic and popular opinion has ignored that many of those activists who joined the IRA were not motivated by a coherent political ideology. Richard Bourke, for example, criticises authors such as McIntyre, Moloney and Patterson, because in his view they ignore that "the inescapable fact is that doctrine gave direction to popular responses on the ground, defining the objective and informing the strategies adopted by the movement as a military organisation".[9] In Bourke's opinion the "basic principle" at the core of that doctrine was that democracy would only come after the unification of the north and the south of Ireland.[10] However, the conditions in which the recruitment of IRA volunteers took place, and factors such as their socialisation at an early age that facilitated their indoctrination, seem absent from Bourke's analysis. Although it has been very often

overlooked, this process was essential in producing the fanatical attitudes that led republicans into killing and the justification of murder. The decisions made by the recruits were greatly influenced by peer pressure and personal immaturity, exposing their very precarious and in many cases non-existent ideology.

In my view White oversimplifies when he emphasizes youth motivations for joining the IRA based on a rational realization of injustice. My research shows that it's a more complex phenomenon, involving also a variety of emotional factors. As the following extracts from personal interviews with IRA members exemplify, and contrary to White's assertion, very often people did not turn to the terrorist group "when they realize that the social, political, and economic systems of Northern Ireland are unjust *and* when they realize that these systems are the direct product of British political policies that are designed to keep Irish people acquiescent": [11]

"You are young, it was a period of confusion and a lot of your actions were not completely rational, you followed your gut instincts."[12]

"(…) my entry into the struggle at that very young age would have been instinctive, it would not have been based on any sort of real understanding of the politics or the issues."[13]

"I was very pro republican without knowing what republicanism actually was. (…) I was very, very interested in all types of IRA activities and I was very anti-British, very anti-loyalist but it was a young youthful thing".[14]

"Actually the motivation [was that] I was young. When you are young there is an excitement to it. You are seeing guns, you had only ever seen them on the TV or in the comics, 'fuck, somebody has given me a gun, this is great' (…)".[15]

"So my reaction was not politically motivated at that time, as a youngster at fourteen, fifteen years of age, and the whole thing permeated right through into our lives, into our local communities and we started to see what was happening".[16]

"I remember when I was arrested in 1974 and the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] were transporting me from Donegal Pass to Town Hall Street to be charged. And an RUC man said to me 'why are you a republican?' I said: 'to unite Ireland'. I was growling at him. He said 'kid, why do you want to unite Ireland?' I just stopped talking and I realised then that I stopped talking because I didn't know why I wanted a united Ireland, but I was going to be stubborn with him. He took me round to the barrack or the court and a couple of weeks later in Crumlin Road jail, Friday night looking out the window from my cell, I was thinking of all my mates, Franky Rea, Mark McAllister all at the disco and me stuck in a cell, and I said 'well, Pearse would have done it'. And I thought about it for five minutes and I was no happier, and I says 'well I don't really give a fuck what Pearse would have done'. It didn't motivate me, Pearse did not motivate me. That sort of republicanism in 1916, traditional

republicanism did not motivate me. I was motivated by Provisional republicanism which was post 1969".[17]

In Richard English's opinion "it seems a more rounded interpretation to accept that both traditional republican thinking *and* immediate exigency played their part in producing the Provisionals".[18] Nonetheless, when the two variables are weighed it emerges that the former was not the pre-eminent motivational factor for many of the recruits but simply part of the rhetorical self-justification that activists acquired once they had become involved in the organisation. This is a very common pattern in other terrorist organisations, as demonstrated by Fetscher and Rohrmoser.[19] It also seems a normal way of behaving given the young age at which the activists approached the organisation and because of the Northern Ireland context. As demonstrated by Anthony McIntyre,[20] traditional republicanism was almost nonexistent in many parts of the north of Ireland at the outbreak of the Troubles. Republican ideology was more present in certain rural areas but was still restricted to a minority of the Catholic community. Authors who have explained IRA's violence as an inevitable response to historical and material conditions have ignored that only a minority of youngsters in both communities resorted to violence. In fact the majority of the nationalist community did opt for non-violent means that effectively achieved political concessions towards addressing the injustices of the system of government. The majority of seventy former IRA volunteers interviewed by the author for a research project did not experience any discrimination and neither did their families, although some of them can identify repressive responses by the security forces and loyalist violence as important motivational factors in their involvement. Nonetheless, their final decision to participate in violence is seen by many as an emotional and visceral rather than rational response.

It is often forgotten that those youngsters who joined the IRA in the post 1969 period were coming into an organisation where the more adult members were traditional republicans who had been isolated from mainstream politics in Northern Ireland at the time. Those veterans would influence the new younger recruits engaging them into a process of "education", as some of them put it.[21] A former IRA member from Derry refers to these conditions in the following terms: "And it was more like an adventure. Education sort of happened there because you'd have all these men sitting talking and you were listening to every word that they were saying. Some were talking a load of crap but there was others [who] made a lot of sense and they loved to educate you, and you'd have people like *Yellow Bird* O'Doherty who escaped from the Crumlin Road Jail in the 1940s and Neil Gillespie who were veteran republicans, and your education, republican education, was coming through them".[22]

The connection between separatist nationalism and violence is highly influenced by the type of nationalist ideology that feeds the movement. To this extent it is possible to differentiate between ethnic and civic nationalisms, the former being more likely to lead to terrorist expressions than the later. Ethnic nationalism is commonly associated with marked cleavages such as race, culture, language, religion, common historical experiences or kinship myths. These factors constitute attributes that will determine inclusion or exclusion from the nationalist community shaping the political aims of the group. By contrast, civic nationalism appeals to shared political loyalties and institutions as well as other differentiated values. For civic nationalists the sense of belonging to the in group will depend not so much on exclusionary attitudes but on the

birth or long-term residence in a given national entity or territory. As a result, ethnic nationalism has very often derived in a racist doctrine that has provided justification for the involvement of diverse groups in protracted terrorist campaigns within democratic regimes. To this extent it is interesting to confront the different trajectories of organisations that have espoused ideologies described as ethnic and civic nationalism and which have evolved in opposing directions. Whereas Basque and Irish nationalism are well known examples of ideologies behind long and intense terrorist campaigns perpetrated by groups such as ETA and the IRA, other nationalist ideologies with predominantly civic orientations, such as Quebecois or Catalan nationalism, provide different scenarios. This difference is also demonstrated by the opposition with which early terrorist actions were met by leaders and followers of moderate nationalist parties in Catalonia and Quebec, reactions that prevented terrorism from becoming normalized in these regions.[23]

Ethnic nationalism is very often sustained in traditions of violence that may become societal and cultural facilitators for terrorism. Historical myths and legends long held, as well as radical customs and habits, may endorse the use of violence against political adversaries in order to make those means appear morally and politically justifiable. The physical force tradition in Ireland dating from at least the nineteenth century offered historical inspiration and explanation for the terrorist campaign initiated by the Provisional IRA in Northern Ireland.[24] Basque nationalism has also portrayed its population of reference as brave men who fiercely resisted whatever attempts were made throughout centuries to invade or conquer the territories they inhabited. Basque separatist terrorists thus tended to see themselves as contemporary *gudaris* or, translated from the vernacular, indigenous or autochthonous warriors who continued the same rebellious and uncommitted disposition of their ancestors. This kind of legacy, as well as the perception of previous national liberation struggles successfully fought around the world, provides a good basis for the utilitarian motivations some young people may rely upon when deciding to join a terrorist organization such as ETA or the IRA.[25]

Utilitarian and emotional considerations

Separatist grievances manifested within an identifiable collectivity or minority part of a larger population are not in themselves necessary and sufficient causes for terrorism. Nonetheless, the probability of terrorism increases in those instances where ethnic nationalism is highly influential and political opportunity structures are initially permissive to disruptive violence. There are no clear links between economic indicators and nationalist separatist terrorism,[26] a proposition that has been confirmed in the case of terrorist groups like ETA and the IRA. Academics largely agree that the economic factors in themselves are insufficient to explain the Northern Ireland conflict. Some have even recognized that, in hindsight, the allegations of discrimination against Catholics in the allocation of housing at the end of the 1960s were overstated, since they were not sufficiently backed up by statistics. This problem led to erroneous conclusions being reached in a particularly complicated and delicate area. Although the economic status of the main Northern Irish communities did differ, the gap between them was "surprisingly narrow" to the extent that, as Rose showed, there were "many

poor Protestants" too.[27] Given this relevant matter, some authors consider that political rather than socio-economic factors were more important in causing the violence. For example, Thompson has shown that in Northern Ireland the escalations of violence did not have a direct relationship with increases in the level of unemployment, suggesting the need to look elsewhere for explanations for the outbreak and perpetuation of violence.[28] The fact that most terrorists were recruited from deprived areas does not in itself conclusively prove that deprivation motivated those who used violence. This is in spite of the fact that the absence of social expectations may lead certain individuals to join violent groups because of their perception that membership will provide them with a status which they would otherwise lack.

Although reforms were implemented in the late 1960s and most of the demands by the Civil Rights Movement had by then already been satisfied, the outbreak of intercommunal violence in that period facilitated the emergence of the IRA strengthening the appeal of independentist goals. The peaceful mobilizations that preceded the formation of the IRA were very often meet with a disproportionate response by the legal authorities, seriously undermining public confidence in the rule of law as a result of such an overreaction to conventional social protests. At the same time coercion against public expressions of Irish nationalism on the part of unofficial adversarial groups did stimulate retaliatory violence in the form of another type of terrorism. In other words, critical incidents became a major variable in providing emotional as well as rational motivations to engage in terrorist activities. Protestant vigilante violence that met the basically Catholic civil rights movement in Northern Ireland during the late sixties, as well as unexpected repression by the British armed forces and security agencies since the early seventies, prompted the Provisional IRA to terrorist retaliation and produced a transfer of legitimacy among the affected population. Republican and loyalist armed organizations engaged from then onwards in a process of sectarian terrorism lasting for three decades.

The resort to terrorism by some of those who joined ETA and the IRA is seen as both a strategic consideration based on the belief that violence was going to advance their objectives and an emotional response to the political circumstances, as the following comments from former activists of the Irish and Basque groups reveal:

> I suppose it was partly a reaction to the brutality of the state forces, the RUC at the time, they had not only facilitated loyalists in burning down nationalist streets and houses and putting people out of their homes, they had actually participated and had killed a number of people. It's something which is very often forgotten that it was actually the RUC, the police force, which killed the first people here in 1969, six nationalists, I think, were killed in August 1969 during the course of those pogroms, most of them had been shot by the RUC or their reserve force, the B-Specials. So there was a reaction to that and also I think anger at the complete point-blank refusal of the unionist government to even consider what we thought were reasonable reforms, in other words, a vote for every person over the age of eighteen because that hadn't been the case up until then, and then to gerrymandering, that was the tinkering with electoral boundaries to give them an unfair advantage, discrimination in housing and employment.[29]

You have approximately thirty or forty per cent of an ideology. You also have some twenty per cent of being young and, well, you don't think you are going to end up badly, you have that feeling of adventure. And there is also some percentage of revenge, at least in my case, and I don't have any problems in admitting it. Yes, I think there was an important factor which was revenge. What I mean is that I was coming from a family who had suffered political reprisals so the fact that I had the opportunity to take revenge…, and besides, I did think and I do consider that I was obliged to take revenge. Personally it was like expressing through my acts all the bad blood accumulated by my grandmother, my mother or my grandfather or whoever. Then, fuck, at that moment I saw that if I could kick, I would kick. It is not the case that I kick because somebody has forced me to, no; it was simply that I consciously did it, being aware of the fact that I was going to hurt and with great satisfaction for doing so.[30]

Hatred and frustration were important motivational factors for some of the recruits but also the search for selective incentives such as the social prestige and the reinforcement of an individual identity that would derive from membership to an organisation like ETA or the IRA at particular moments in time when they both enjoyed certain popular support. In this regard, the following response by a former member of ETA is most revealing:

At the end of the day you know that because of your own inertia and initiative, you know that you are going to end up at the vanguard of all that political movement. And what was the vanguard? At that time it was ETA. ETA was the vanguard at that time when the organisation used to punish hard. Not so much in 1975, but in 1977 or 1978, ETA used to punish hard. There was not a day when ETA didn't do something. That was the time when ETA was a strong organisation. Therefore, for me it was very attractive because you were talking about... , well, about something serious, not about doing crazy things. And it's then when you start thinking: well, this is what I like. Besides, this organisation is formidable, this is wonderful, this is great. I mean great in the sense that at that time the support, the warmth around the organisation was… , well, it was like signing for Athletic [Football Club] or something like that. In other words, it was something formidable. So in the end you make the decision.[31]

Social and group identities

A common pattern in both ETA and IRA former activists is their reluctance to openly admit how influential certain emotions were in their decision to join these organisations. It is reasonable to argue that their political motivation may appear less relevant if those emotions emerge as motivational factors which could in the end raise questions about their real commitment to their nationalist ideology, a core element in the organisations' constant process of demonstrating their legitimacy. In fact it is quite revealing that although the decision to join and kill for the IRA was made by many volunteers at a very early age and in conditions which favoured that those decisions

would be misguided, once inside the organisation their course of action was rationalised as being the right one despite many conflicting indications to the contrary. Conformity to the group was a very relevant variable in facilitating the acceptance of their activism. Consequently, it is possible to identify clear mechanisms of denial to which members of the IRA resorted in order to reduce cognitive dissonance. Group-thinking and group dynamics within the IRA, essential in producing the cohesiveness necessary for the survival of the organisation, favoured the subordination of individuality to a group identity as well as erroneous decision-making processes that, at some point in their activism, led to the continuation of armed struggle in the absence of the expectation of success. The following comments made by a Belfast IRA member show the personal difficulties resulting from the process described, with clear implications for the political context in which the republican movement has operated:

> See, I think if I was to turn round and say 'no, it wasn't worth it' I think it would be a massive impact on me. Don't get me wrong, I often sit and think: I'm forty-two years old, I have absolutely fuck all to show for my life. I could say 'no it wasn't worth it', and then your next step is, well what are you going to do? Kill yourself or something? Throw yourself into the doldrums that way. But it was worth it in some ways, it wasn't worth it in other ways, we got nothing out of it.[32]

This is one of the reasons why, in the words of another IRA man, "it had to be worth it". If the IRA campaign is not justified and legitimised, its political motivation is undermined resulting in devastating consequences. Therefore, as the following comment from an IRA member suggest, the IRA needs an ideology and needs a justification:

> Well, that's a question I ask myself on a regular basis. I ask myself that, I've asked myself that dozens of times to be quite honest with you, dozens of times, within my own mind, I've questioned my conscience and questioned everything and I've said 'was this worth it, was all these deaths, destruction, misery worth all this, all the imprisonment that you've done in jail, times you've been shot, people you've killed, the children you've left behind, the fucking misery that you've left behind and their families, was it all worth it?' and I can't really reach a conclusion there because, I can't find an answer to that, because I've said to myself, 'I wish to God that I never had to ever lift a gun and kill any human being in my life, politically in any, in this war, six county war'. And then I say to myself 'well, I had to do it cause I was defending my community and I was fighting for a legitimate cause, to get the oppressors and a foreign nation out of my country'. So the answer really is, yes, it was worth it, it has to be worth it, morally, principally, and ideologically and every way, of course, it was worth it, absolutely, but it, it hurts me deeply when I think about the tragedy it, that it entailed, the misery and the suffering. (…) I feel deeply sorry, I feel deeply sorry that anybody has to die, because if you didn't have feelings then you'd have no politics behind you, it would be immoral and you'd be just a pure psychopath, you'd be doing it for the kicks, there'd be no principles, no political principles or morality or

nothing, no, I, I feel deeply sorry that anybody died, from any side, all sides in this war, of course I do, yeah.[33]

Structural, motivational and facilitational factors merged in the process of radicalisation and recruitment of those youngsters who became members of ETA and the IRA. They were all part of closed communities of activists who were kept together by radical ideologies that strengthened the "culture of death" necessary to justify their violent behaviour. Their socialisation at a young age took place in environments which contributed to the endorsement of an influential "culture of death" through different events such as funerals and demonstrations that became almost rituals. The dehumanisation of the targets of their violence was also achieved through the strengthening of nationalist identities in which collective rights were given pre-eminence over those of the individual. The alleged rights of the Irish and Basque people became paramount to the extent that violence was seen as an absolutely necessary response in order to "save their people", as a former member of ETA put it.[34] Such a prominence meant in some cases that violence was devoid of any political meaning, as the following testimony from a former member of ETA suggests: "I never liked talking about politics. I didn't like it because I am hardly political. Therefore, if I started into all this, it was because of what I realised. And it was mainly because of the heart. Mainly because I thought that we are a people, we are a people. I don't know, I think it was that, the heart, what brought me into it. It was not politics."[35] Another ETA activist expressed a very similar view:

> Basically I don't really like politics. It is something that I don't really deal with. What I mean is that I have never regarded myself as a Marxist neither have I ever upheld any political views. First of all because I don't understand politics and I don't like them either. Therefore, I didn't really care whether those in the Basque government were from the left or from the right. Thus, what I cared about was Euskadi. And full stop.[36]

As it has been previously pointed out, many youngsters who ended up joining the IRA did not have at the time "any real understanding of the politics" either. As one of them summed it up: "I was so very young then that I didn't know the difference between right or wrong, or between Ireland or England; but I knew that my grandfather was violently opposed to British colonialism."[37] Many of them admitted that their entrance into the movement "was not politically motivated", but rather influenced by romantic ideas along the following lines:

> I was only a schoolboy and you'd have romantic ideas, you know, about things and all. There was a book called my, *My Fight for Irish Freedom* by Dan Breen, you know, and I would have read that and, you're thirteen, fourteen, you want to be a hero, you want to die for your country, you want to be, you know, and, you know, so I had this very romanticised view of Ireland, you know, and so I was involved quite young.[38]

The dynamics that influenced those individuals who became members of ETA and the IRA do not differ extensively from the experiences of other participants in violence who have been inspired by a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam.[39] As Snow and

Zurcher observed long ago when analysing recruitment into social movements, the network channel is the richest source of movement recruits,[40] constituting a key issue in the cases under study in which a social and family set of connections facilitated such a process. The genealogy of ethno-nationalist terrorism in Northern Ireland and the Basque Country is one of interpersonal links strengthened by kinship and friendship through which social and group cohesion has been fostered. As in the case of other terrorist expressions, those who have been sympathetic to extremism and terrorism in the name of Irish and Basque nationalism represent a small but a significant minority disaffected with the country in which they live. Their process of radicalisation was also influenced by individuals who advocated an extremist nationalist ideology that claimed as necessary "the liberation of the Basque people and the Irish people". Idealism, political immaturity and the absolutism that this led to, enabled the manipulation of youngsters in order to attract them into to the group. In fact the manipulation of young people and children at a very vulnerable age was described by sociologist Frank Burton when, at the beginning of the 1970s, he interviewed members of a Catholic community in Belfast. He concluded that "a frequently voiced criticism of the Provos concerned what people considered to be a cynical use of children and adolescents in their campaign".[41] The opinions given by former IRA members interviewed by the author corroborate this point, as the following testimony expose:

> At one time we would have put five hundred kids out there throwing petrol bombs and bricks at Brits and *peelers* [policemen] but they shot loads of them with plastic bullets. We actually stopped it when they were shooting them dead, not because we thought it was wrong to attack them with it but because tactically it was damaging our community.[42]

Fanaticism, together with the ideological manipulation through factors typical of groupthink, decisively affected the dynamics of terrorist groups like ETA and the IRA. Leaders of the terrorist movement and other relevant figures within the network of organisations around the group exerted decisive influence on some individuals who decided to take part in violent activities espousing a radical ideology. Once the recruitment process -of mostly young activists- was completed, social and group identities enabled the strengthening of solidarity bonds among those who were being radicalised. Dramatic events would serve as useful tools for that purpose, as exemplified by the hunger strikes in Northern Ireland. As a prominent former IRA leader stated "I have no doubt that the deaths of hunger strikers encouraged young people to join the IRA, no doubt about it. They joined for an emotional reason, but they had to fight for … you have to get them to fight for a principle reason, not just emotionalism".[43] These "principles" were inculcated and protected through cast-iron discipline, which facilitated the perpetuation of violence motivated to great extent by the interests of the group leaders in spite of the question marks that would gradually arise as to its true effectiveness.

Conclusion

As the threat of international terrorism confronts our societies, it should be emphasised that liberal democracies in Europe have suffered since the late 1960s protracted and intense campaigns of violence by resilient terrorist groups. For decades ethnonationalist terrorist organisations like ETA in Spain and the IRA in Northern Ireland have waged violent campaigns of killings challenging the authority of democratic governments. Although the threat of international terrorism inspired by Islamic fundamentalism is clearly different from the one posed by ETA and the IRA for so long, important similarities emerge when analysing certain characteristics of these terrorist phenomena. Therefore the lessons learned from the analysis of those groups should not be ignored when attempting to understand current terrorist expressions. This is particularly relevant when assessing the individual motivations of terrorists. As it has been acknowledge by European governments and the European Union, the process of radicalisation of individuals involved in terrorist activities requires careful and thorough analysis.[44] Therefore, research into this area should be encouraged and financially supported in order to improve our understanding of the motivations of those who resort to violence. The cooperation of policy makers and academics in this field can be of great benefit for those ultimately responsible for setting out counterterrorist and antiterrorist policies. Previous research experiences who have shed light on who becomes a terrorist and how, as well as on the reasons behind such a decision, have demonstrated the importance of accessing primary sources mostly restricted to security forces and the judiciary. If academics are to positively contribute to enhance the quality of threat assessments through a more active and close collaboration with other agencies, as experience recommends, access to key primary sources have to be guaranteed. A rigorous evaluation of the real factors that contribute to the radicalisation of individuals who end up joining terrorist organisations would considerably enrich the analysis of those in charge of preventing and confronting terrorist acts. Therefore, it is only reasonable that more serious efforts should be devoted to fulfil such a task.

The debate about the genesis of terrorism has very often led to misunderstandings about the real root causes of terrorism. Terrorists have often succeeded in getting both wide support and sympathy from public opinion by defining their violence as a direct response to alleged grievances. According to this logic, terrorism has frequently been seen as an unavoidable consequence of the States' injustices and also as a last resort to which terrorists would have been "forced" to resort to, supposedly in the absence of other peaceful alternatives, in order to achieve their objectives. These simplifications have contributed to the legitimization and justification of violence throughout the world. However, as the examples of the IRA and ETA highlight, other factors different from the alleged grievances publicly voiced by the terrorist organisations as part of their propaganda should also be taken into account when examining the reasons behind their violence. In other words, the study of the root causes of terrorism is most certainly an important requirement when it comes to designing anti terrorist measures, nonetheless these causes should be properly sought without confusing them with alleged grievances with none or little reflection in reality which so commonly conform the discourse of those who advocate violence. Social, psychological and political factors should be properly assessed when looking for the motivations of terrorists refusing to accept the simplistic explanations that sometimes are put forward obscuring the real factors that precipitate and facilitate the decision to use violence freely made by

some individuals. Therefore considerable efforts should also be devoted to informing and educating politicians and opinion formers of the dangers of wrongly addressing the very important debate about the causes of terrorism. Education programs should be directed to youngsters susceptible of engaging in radicalisation processes that could ultimately lead to violence but also towards civil society in order to avoid wrong interpretations about the genesis of terrorism.

Nonetheless, perceived grievances, even if they do not constitute a direct cause of terrorism, should also be considered and addressed. This issue is of great importance in the battle of hearts and minds that governments must wage when confronting terrorism. The ambivalent relationship between terrorists and their community has been a constant feature of ethno-nationalist terrorist campaigns in Europe, the support of a significant section of a population of reference being a key aim of successive terrorist organisations. Efforts should be made to encourage moderate voices within the communities of reference for terrorists. Sensitive counterterrorism should be a priority for governments and security agencies since certain anti terrorist measures do have a considerable potential to weaken the influence of more moderate members and leaders of the community.

The indiscriminate nature of violence perpetrated by Islamic terrorists in Europe and other of its characteristics indicates that this type of terrorism may require a different level of public support from the one aimed at by nationalist terrorist campaigns. This matter raises some important issues which need further analysis. Contrary to the experience of ETA and the IRA, violence perpetrated by Islamic terrorists in Europe hardly constitute a campaign in the traditional sense of the world as manifested in other conflict spots, as exposed by the frequency of attacks so far. Neither do Islamic radicals require the same amount of public support that terrorist organisations like the ones referred to have achieved or aimed at, the relationship between Islamic terrorists and their constituency being nonetheless of great relevance as anti terrorism is concerned given the basic solidarity bonds that are likely to develop. The ambivalent relationship between Islamic terrorists and their communities is one which still requires further analysis since it may prove decisive in reducing the spread of violent extremist ideologies.

---

[1] The IRA has been responsible for sixty percent of all the deaths in the Northern Ireland conflict since the late 1960s. While members of the security forces killed by the IRA amounted to 961, the IRA also managed to murder 704 civilians. The Irish terrorist group also killed 203 of its activists and 28 members of unionist terrorist organizations. See Fay, Marie Therese *et al* (1997), *The Cost of the Troubles Study. Mapping Troubles-Related Deaths in Northern Ireland 1969-1994*. Derry: INCORE, p. 49. In the same period ETA has murdered nine hundred people. For an analysis of the characteristics of the targets of ETA and the IRA, see Alonso, Rogelio (2005). El nuevo terrorismo: factores de cambio y permanencia. In Amalio Blanco and Rafael del Aguila (eds.), *Madrid 11 M. Un análisis del mal y sus consecuencias* (pp. 113-150). Madrid: Editorial Trotta.
[2] White, Robert (1993), *Provisional Irish Republicans. An Oral and Interpretative History*. London: Greenwood Press, page 186.
[3] Ibid., page xiv.
[4] Cordes, Bonnie (1988). When Terrorists do the Talking: Reflections on Terrorist Literature. In Rapoport, David (ed.). *Inside Terrorist Organizations*. (pp. 150-171). New York: Columbia University Press.
[5] For arguments supporting these different approaches see Reich, Walter (ed.) (1990). *Origins of Terrorism. Psychologies, ideologies, states of mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[6] Reinares, Fernando (2005). Nationalist separatism and terrorism in comparative perspective. In Tore Björgo (ed.), *Root Causes of Terrorism. Myths, reality and ways forward* (pp. 119-130). New York: Routledge.

[7] Reinares, Fernando (2001), *Patriotas de la muerte. Quienes han militado en ETA y por qué*. Madrid, Taurus.

[8] Ibid., p. 52.

[9] Bourke, Richard (2003), *Peace in Ireland. The War of Ideas*. Londres: Pimlico, p. 385.

[10] Ibid., p. 174.

[11] White (1993), p. 90.

[12] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[13] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[14] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[15] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[16] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[17] Interview by Rogelio Alonso. The interviewee is referring to the Provisional IRA which was born in 1969 following a split in the IRA which since 1962 was almost non existent as a result of the republican group's political and social isolation. The Official IRA and the Provisional IRA were the two groups that emerged out of the split, the latter being the one that would soon become the most prominent and violent republican organisation until the ceasefire declared in 1994. The political wing of the Provisional IRA is Sinn Fein, whose president has been Gerry Adams since 1983. Patrick Pearse was one of the men executed in 1916 when Irish republicans rebelled against the British power in Ireland.

[18] English, Richard (2003), *Armed Struggle. A History of the IRA*. London: Macmillan.

[19] Crenshaw, Martha (1988). The Subjective Reality of the Terrorist: Ideological and Psychological Factors in Terrorism. In Robert O. Slater and Michael Stohl (ed.), *Current Perspectives on International Terrorism* (pp. 12-46). London: Macmillan press.

[20] McIntyre, Anthony (1999), *A structural Analysis of Modern Irish Republicanism: 1969-1973*, PhD Thesis, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, The Queen's University of Belfast, April 1999, Unpublished.

[21] As White writes, republican ideals were also passed by parents and children "learned the litany of sins heaped upon Ireland by Britain: the invasion of 1169, the plantation of Ulster, the ruthless zeal of Cromwell, the penal laws, the Famine, the executions in 1916". White, Robert (1993), *Provisional Irish Republicans. An Oral and Interpretative History.* London: Greenwood Press, p. 41.

[22] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[23] Reinares (2005), p. 124.

[24] See for example Alter, Peter (1982). Traditions of violence in the Irish national movement. In Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld (eds.), *Social Protest, Violence and Terror in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe* (pp. 137-154). London: St. Martin's Press; Townshend, Charles (1983), *Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance since 1848*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; and Alonso, Rogelio (2001), *Irlanda del Norte. Una historia de Guerra y la búsqueda de la paz*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.

[25] Reinares (2001); and Alonso, Rogelio (2003), *Matar por Irlanda. El IRA y la lucha armada*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

[26] Hewitt, Christopher (2001). Separatism, irredentism and terrorism: a comparative survey, 1945-2000. In Schmid, Alex (ed.), *Countering Terrorism through International Cooperation* (pp. 25-37). Milano: International Scientific and Professional Advisory Board, United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Program.

[27] See for example Birrell, Derek (1972). Relative Deprivation as a Factor in conflict in Northern Ireland. *Sociological Review*, 20, 3, 317-344; and Lijphart, Arend (1975). Review Article: The Northern Ireland Problem; Cases, Theories, and Solutions. *British Journal of Political Science*, 5, 1, 83-106.

[28] Thompson, J.L.P. (1989). Deprivation and Political Violence in Northern Ireland, 1922-1985, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 33, 4, 676-699.

[29] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[30] Interview by Fernando Reinares quoted in Reinares (2001), pp. 135-136.

[31] Interview by Fernando Reinares quoted in Reinares (2001), p. 104.

[32] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[33] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[34] Interview by Fernando Reinares quoted in Reinares (2001), p. 157.

[35] Interview by Fernando Reinares quoted in Reinares (2001), p. 158.

[36] Ibid. Euskadi is the Basque name for the Basque Country.

[37] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[38] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[39] See Sageman, Marc (2004). *Understanding terror networks.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; and Alonso, Rogelio and Reinares, Fernando (2006). (Forthcoming). Maghreb immigrants becoming suicide terrorists: a case study on religious radicalization processes in Spain. In Pedahzur, Ami. *Suicide Terrorism. Root causes of the culture of death*. London: Routledge.

[40] Snow, David A. and Zurcher, Louis A. (1980). Social networks and social movements: a microstructural approach to differential recruitment, *American Sociological Review*, 45, 787-801.

[41] Burton, Frank (1978). *The politics of legitimacy. Struggles in a Belfast community*. London: Routledge, pp. 88-89.

[42] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[43] Interview by Rogelio Alonso.

[44] See for example Council of the European Union, *The European Union Strategy for Combating Radicalisation and Recruitment to Terrorism*, Brussels 24 November 2005.

Chapter 13
Adolescents' Willingness to Engage in Political Conflict:
Lessons from the Gaza Strip

Brian K. Barber
Center for the International Study of Youth and Political Violence,
University of Tennessee, U.S
Joseph A. Olsen
College of Family, Home, and Social Science
Brigham Young University, U.S.

Abstract

Since the late 1960s terrorism perpetrated by ETA and the IRA has constantly targeted European liberal democracies such as Spain and the United Kingdom. Both organizations, which are part of what Professor David Rapoport has called the third wave of modern terrorism, have espoused an ethno-nationalist ideology on the basis of which they have justified indiscriminate and intense campaigns of killings for decades. This paper will analyze the motivations of those individuals who at same stage were part of these terrorist organizations, groups which have been responsible for the highest level of deaths in European liberal democracies in the last forty years. Based on extensive in-depth and taped semi-structured interviews of both ETA and IRA activists carried out by the authors, the presentation will analyze the importance that social, psychological, political and other factors had in their decisions to join. The authors will examine how those who joined ETA and the IRA shared some common characteristics while differing in others. Whereas most of those who joined ETA did regard themselves as nationalists when they entered the organization, such a strong feeling was not always present in the men and women who approached the IRA. Both organizations did recruit young activists who shared the common belief that violence was useful and would help them to advance their objectives. The fulfillment of social expectations and the reinforcement of a social identity, together with a marked hatred towards the targets of their violence, were also evident in both groups of terrorists. In short, the paper will look at why individuals joined the most prominent ethno-nationalist terrorist organizations in Europe and why they opted for the use of terrorism.

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, motivation, ETA, IRA

Introduction

This chapter explores adolescents' willingness to engage in political conflict, using Palestinian adolescents of the first intifada (civil uprising) as a case study. The Palestinian case is useful for three reasons. First, Palestinian adolescents participated to an historically unprecedented degree in political conflict during the six-year long insurrection (1987-1993) against the Israeli Occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. Thus, their case has documented that adolescents can, and sometimes do, voluntarily engage in substantial and sustained, often violent, political activism. Second, their case is particularly useful because of the availability of data that (in addition to chronicling their types and levels of activism and the corresponding victimization they experienced) assessed their personal perspectives on those intifada experiences after the struggle had ended. Those data included assessments of their satisfaction with their participation, how it has affected them psychologically and socially, and, most relevant to the purposes of this chapter, their expressed willingness to engage in future political activism should the conflict be re-ignited, which, of course, it was in the second intifada (2000-2005). As will be discussed below, a focus on the cognitive, self-related orientations to political conflict in general, and to their own role in it in particular, is a timely advancement of the current understanding of adolescents and their engagement with political violence.

Third, although this cannot be a study of (willingness to engage in) "terrorism" as a form of political violence (e.g., the suicide bombings so commonly associated with more recent Palestinian activism) because youth activism during the first intifada was restricted mostly to relatively low-level, non-dramatic forms of violent activism (e.g., demonstrating, throwing stones, erecting barricades, etc.; the first Palestinian suicide bombing did not occur until 1993 as the first intifada was ending), it is nonetheless a study of the cohort of Palestinian youth from whose ranks most of the suicide bombers of the second intifada came. The study contributes, therefore, in establishing an unusually elaborated view into the personal experiences and orientations that a cohort of conflict-seasoned adolescents carried with them into a renewed phase of political conflict, during which some of them escalated their protest to dramatic and fatal levels.

Adolescents, Activism, and Political Violence

Adolescents have certainly always been involved in political conflict historically – whether as passive witnesses, voluntary fighters, or coerced soldiers. However, it is only relatively recently that specific attention has focused on them. Some of this increased attention to adolescents likely results simply from broader coverage afforded by technological advances of modern media. That is, the general world population has simply been made more regularly and thoroughly aware of the reality of adolescent involvement in political conflict through greater television coverage. However, the interest has also been inspired by "iconic events" [1] involving adolescents and violence (e.g., the Columbine shootings in the U.S.), but also, more directly related to this chapter, specific political conflicts recently in which adolescents were critically involved. In some of these, like the South African and Palestinian/Israeli conflicts as examples, adolescents have been major, front-line activists, often leading and

sustaining the resistance. In others, like the several examples in other regions of Africa (e.g., Angola, Mozambique, Sierre Leone), adolescents (and younger children) have been coerced in large numbers to fight their elders' battles.

The growing scientific understanding of adolescents and political violence can be sourced in at least two parallel, but as yet un-integrated, general areas of research. First, disregarding for the moment the specific enterprise of political violence, social scientists (particularly developmental psychologists) have over the last several decades quite explicitly formalized and expanded the study of the second decade of developmental lifespan. This can be seen clearly in the creation of scientific societies (e.g., the Society for Research on Adolescence) and numerous journals devoted specifically to the study of adolescents (e.g., *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *Journal of Adolescence*, *Journal of Early Adolescence*, *Adolescence*, etc.). Within this broad attention to adolescence, there are several more specific lines of inquiry that are relevant to approaching the subject of adolescents and political violence.

First is the large area of "youth development" in which scholars, practitioners, and policy makers have joined in a determined effort to move away from the traditional, negative characterization of the unruly, unreliable, and reckless adolescent to the recognition and support of the adolescents' competence in meeting the challenges of their transitional period in life [e.g., 2, 3]. Sub-foci of this movement are the relatively newer efforts to document "youth civic engagement" in the U.S. [e.g., 4] and throughout many parts of the world [e.g., 5] and "youth activism" in environmental, social, civic, and political issues [e.g., 6], both of which share with the broader youth development area a decidedly competence-oriented approach to adolescence, highlighting the many ways in which youth can and have committed themselves to social change throughout the world historically. Further, recent attention has been given to the various types of conflict adolescents are involved in, including political conflicts [e.g., 7], and, most directly, to specific political conflicts per se in the Middle East [e.g., 8, 9], Northern Ireland [e.g., 10, 11], the Balkans [12] and South Africa [e.g., 13]. In short, recent decades have witnessed a steady and increasing interest in both general and conflict-involved adolescents that in many cases has been coupled with an effort to recognize and support the potential competent functioning of adolescents.

The second general area of research relevant to adolescents and political violence is the empirical literature on the effects of war and political conflict. Much of this work (conducted largely by clinical psychologists and psychiatrists) has been guided predominantly by a focus on testing for correlations between violence exposure (and, more rarely, violence participation) and a variety of indexes of psychological difficulty (e.g., PTSD, anxiety, etc.). One relevant recent trend in refining the understanding of violence exposure/participation coincides with the competence focus of the youth research areas cited above (see [14 for a full discussion of current trends in the research). Specifically, this comes both from the recognition that the link between violence and psychological symptoms holds only for portions of the samples in the studies that have documented the linkage, as well as from other studies which, when measuring a broader array of outcomes, find that, despite heightened levels of psychological symptoms, adolescents can function quite well in their social and institutional interactions and responsibilities [e.g., 15, 16]. One of the valuable current pursuits in this area is the effort to more precisely discern which specific adolescents,

or groups of adolescents, are likely to experience extensive, debilitating distress, and which cope effectively and manage their futures responsibly. As will be seen below, the experience of Palestinian adolescents of the first intifada has been instrumental at bringing these issues of competence to the fore, particularly regarding the cognitions, motives, and meaning adolescents can employ in processing political violence. To be clear, there is no question that many adolescents suffer substantially from the ravages of war and political violence, just as do many younger children and adults. However, via evidence from many parts of the world, it is becoming clear that widespread social-psychological disability is neither the automatic consequence of exposure to or participation in political violence, nor is it the norm for adolescents (or individuals of other age-groups) [17].

Predicting Palestinian Political Activism

When it comes to predicting adolescent involvement in political conflict, there is a series of other scientific literatures (produced mostly by political scientists and sociologists) that, although far from conclusive, have provided useful suggestions or insights as to if and why a young person would engage in political activism. The lack of conclusiveness of these literatures has to do with the heavily theoretical nature of much of the work (i.e., without much empirical validation, particularly at the individual, rather than group, level; see [18] for a critique along these lines), but as well because of an imprecise focus in at least three areas. First, as is the case with the "youth" development, civic engagement, and activism literatures mentioned above, these literatures have not regularly differentiated adolescence from other age periods. Instead, much of the effort to understand "youth" social and/or political movements refers instead to college-aged young adults, who often differ meaningfully psychologically and socially from adolescents, even despite the widely varying salience of adolescence as an age period across cultures [19, 20]. The imprecision is reversed in the literatures testing the correlates of exposure to political violence, with much younger children often mixed with samples of adolescents, and, at times, with young adults as well. Second, the movement literatures speak only indirectly to youth involvement in durable and violent political conflict or wars, focusing, rather, mainly on social and political movements that may well include instances or strategies of violence, but much more episodically so. Thus, these literatures teach more about why--in a given society at a given historical time--younger elements of a population might advocate or protest for or against causes, ideologies, policies, or regimes, and less about to what degree adolescents might actively join national or transnational armed conflict. Third, not uncharacteristic of many approaches to evaluating adolescents, these literatures have not credited adolescents with much capacity to act rationally – that is, with choice – in extreme and demanding conditions. Rather, adolescents have either been viewed as drawn along by the prevailing social, political, and/or economic forces underlying the conflict or as propelled by various intra-psychic conditions or demands (e.g., impulsivity, novelty seeking, etc.) or by psychopathology.

These limitations notwithstanding, the relevant literatures produced by political scientists/sociologists and psychologists/psychiatrists have actually converged in at least two important ways, despite substantial differences in disciplinary background

and related theoretical approaches. First is the acknowledgement that both social (external) and psychological (internal) forces inform youth experiences with political violence (both engagement in and effects of violence) and, second, that the adolescents' identity is critical - particularly its social, cultural, political, and collective components - and that its structure may take diverse configurations in best meeting individual and cultural needs, values, and goals [21].

For their part, the "movement" literatures of sociology and political science have vacillated over the decades between internal and external explanations of collective action. In the mid-20th century, collective action was often explained theoretically by individual psychological catalysts such as frustration and aggression associated with perceived grievances (e.g., isolationist, marginalization, and relative deprivation theories, e.g., [22-24]. Later, explanations focused instead on the rational and strategic mobilization of resources at politically opportune times by organized networks and groups in responding to perceived deprivations (e.g., resource mobilization theory) [e.g., 25-28]. In the specific case of the Palestinian struggle against Israel, Khawaja [29, 30] has found some support for both the deprivationist and mobilization perspectives using macro level analyses not focused explicitly on youth, noting, moreover, that true tests (of the deprivationist perspective) need to be done with attitudinal and individual level data. In this regard, interview data with Palestinian youth from the first intifada [8, 31] has supported the relevance of both perspectives, given the adolescents' widespread perception of severe economic, political, and human rights deprivation at the hands of the Occupation, and the sophisticated networking and organization of resistance by multiple factions that characterized the first intifada.

While Braungardt's [32] "generational" hypothesis that youth movements arise out of natural conflict that occurs between the young and the old might have some minor bearing on the Palestinian experience - given anecdotal and occasional interview reports from youth that implicate their parents' failure to remove the Occupation as a motivation for their own involvement [8]--his finding that, historically, youth movements carry a clear theme of nationalism and self-determination is soundly supported in Palestinian adolescent involvement in the first intifada. Unequivocally, Palestinian adolescents of the first intifada cited the morality and urgency of replacing the Occupation with an integral Palestinian political entity as the prime motive for their involvement [8]. Consistent with Murphy's [33] examination of youth movements, then, the Palestinian adolescent experience might be less well explained by aggression and generational conflict as by attempting to meet psychological and emotional needs, but, importantly, those needs that are tied specifically to their perceptions of the inequities experienced by their collective people, by related moral and political ideologies, and by their belief that they could be active agents of change (see [32] for a review of similar perspectives explaining youth activism).

Consistent with this socio-emotional focus are suggestions from both sociologists and political scientists that protracted conflict is importantly informed by national or ethnic sourced emotions of alienation, resentment, and rage (e.g., [34-36]; see also psychologist Frijda, [37] for the emotion of revenge). Indeed, some see that in general social theories have moved away from looking at movements as "instrumental" responses to the availability of resources, organizations and politically opportune moments. Rather, movements are being re-evaluated for their "expressive" contributions, focusing on the idea of "cultural renewal" rather than the idea of political and economic gain [38, 39].

While it is not as clear if psychology-related theorizing has followed discernable trends as has the more sociological theorizing discussed above, it is nevertheless clear that there has been ample variety in attempts by psychologists to explain an individual's involvement in political activism. Victoroff [18] has carefully reviewed an array of theories that might bear on defining the profile of individuals who engage in political violence (in his case, "terrorism" per se). These include: psychoanalytically-driven theories that invoke explanations of narcissism (a pathologically exalted self resulting from deficits in maternal empathy) or paranoia (assigning intolerable internal feelings of damaged self-concept to an external object); non-psychoanalytic theories that, for example, implicate cognitive limitations; and more development-oriented theories that credit presumed adolescent affinity for risk and thrill seeking for engagement in violent behavior. Along this line, Stagner [40] focuses on adolescent age-specific "egocentrism" and equates it with the "ethnocentrism" that purportedly is at the root of nationalism and which facilitates group violence by attributing undesirable features to members of the out-groups.

These and other deficit or psychopathology approaches appear, however, to not be very helpful in explaining political violence, even for "terrorists", who, arguably, because of the extremity of their behavior would evidence most clearly this symptomatology [10, 18]. With specific regard to Palestinians, the same absence of a deficit or psychopathological profile is being consistently found in the rapidly accumulating writings on suicide bombings [see 41 for a review].

More relevant it seems – at least for adolescents or youth who voluntarily engage with other elements of their society in collective political activism, such as in South Africa and Palestine – is the identity component of social-psychological theories. Establishing a coherent identity was the primary task that Erikson [42] originally assigned to adolescence, and cases of conflicts involving the struggle for self-determination and nationalism appear to be exemplars of the socio-historical-political conflicts that Erikson and others always viewed as important to the achievement of this identity. Importantly, there is no clear distinction here between the formation of a personal identity and the collective identity that the solidarity and close social ties of critical movements generate [43, 44]. This might be particularly so, perhaps, for Palestinians whose existence has always been a question of both cultural and political identity [45]. That Palestinian adolescents quite consciously and authentically participate in these identity battles is clear from their own narratives [8, 31, 46]; indeed, some view the intifada as a renaissance of Palestinian identity [47] during which adolescents' identity was particularly enhanced given the respect, responsibility, and status they achieved through their active participation [48]. Thus, their willingness to engage in the political conflict of the first intifada was driven by a desire to contribute to the achievement of an overall Palestinian identity (culturally, geographically, politically), an engagement that appears to have, in dialectic turn, also substantially enhanced their sense of identity and competence [49-51].

Activism, Competence, and Willingness to Re-Engage in Conflict

Carmines [52] has taken the reasonable theoretical position that engagement in political violence can only adequately be explained by looking at both the external and

the internal factors that the preceding theories have identified rather than relying on either one exclusively (see [18] for a similar conclusion). Regarding internal factors, and consistent with the identify focus introduced above, Carmines [52] has noted particularly the growing recognition that an adolescent's sense of personal competence is critical to understanding engagement in political violence. For their part, students of youth social movements have regularly concluded that activism has long-term effects on social and civic competence (e.g., maintaining liberal beliefs, continued participation in movements, pursuit of lifestyles in concert with beliefs [e.g., 53-55]; active in politics, committed to needs of minorities, etc. [56]. There is relatively little evidence for competence effects in the literatures on adolescents and political violence, however, but this is largely because few have included measures of competence in study designs (in favor of a focus on negative, psychological outcomes). Nevertheless, elements of competence that have been noted or empirically found include: active and "courageous" coping skills [57-59], moral development [13, 60], and civic re-integration, employment, and family formation [e.g., 15].

In the case of Palestinian adolescents of the first intifada, there are two types of data that speak directly to the issue of competence during conflict and as an outcome of involvement in political activism. Narrative interview data with several dozen young adults who had spent at least three years of their adolescence in the intifada revealed that far beyond any stereotypic, bravado-driven risk-taking, their persistence in the struggle - which by their own report was complicated by a host of alternating emotions (e.g., fear, exhilaration, guilt, passion, loyalty, etc.) - appeared to have been driven singularly by the value and goal of self-determination for their people. Moreover, despite conflicting political views on the validity of the "peace agreement" that ended the struggle (temporarily) in 1993, the clear perceived impact of their activism was heightened maturity, self-awareness, and civic responsibility [8, 31].

Two large survey assessments of Palestinian adolescents appear to confirm these impressions. In a sample of 7,000 14 year-old Palestinian refugee adolescents from the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip who were surveyed in 1994 and 1995, Barber [49], using multivariate modeling, made the common finding that higher rates of intifada involvement (measured as a combination of both activism and victimization) were correlated with higher reported feelings of depression (particularly for females) and antisocial behaviors (particularly smoking tobacco), but that involvement had no negative impact on academic achievement, educational aspirations, or family values. The found link between intifada involvement and antisocial behavior was further specified to hold only for those adolescents who had poor relationships with their parents and/or had deviant peers [50]. In a 1998 survey of some 900 refugee and non-refugee young adults in Gaza who had spent at least 3 years of their adolescence during the movement (the same data set that was analyzed for this chapter; [51], multivariate modeling replicated the linkages to depressive feelings and antisocial behavior, but found positive associations between retrospectively-reported levels of intifada activism (17 forms of activist behavior, net of their covariance with victimization items) and contemporaneous (5 years later) reports of a broad array of competence indices, including: civic involvement, religious commitment, social competence, and maturity. Further, unlike the 1994-1995 survey data analyses, in this study the degree of both personal (e.g., beatings, bones broken, imprisonment, etc) and neighborhood/community (e.g., house raids, school raids, etc.) victimization were separated from the activism variables, and though less widely predictive of outcomes,

both types of victimization had the opposite results from activism (e.g., lower social competence, lower political involvement).

These data and findings for Palestinian adolescents of the first intifada allow for a unique test of adolescent willingness to engage in political conflict. First, there is the extensive assessment of unusually high rates of both activism and victimization in past political conflict. Second, there is the evidence of both higher and lower later psychosocial competence, depending on the particular element of competence in question. Any simplistic hypotheses about willingness to re-engage in political conflict (e.g., past activism leading to future activism; past victimization deterring willingness to re-engage) would have to be tempered by the knowledge that their original involvement was driven firmly by perceived injustices - grievances that by all accounts did not diminish after the first intifada during the experiment with the Oslo Declaration of Principles and were more acutely felt even by 1998 than ever before when these youth reported their level of willingness to re-engage in another intifada should it come [8]. The tendency to therefore hypothesize high willingness to re-engage because the original cause had not been met, must, however, be tempered itself with the complexity that much of the 1998 grievances were also directed to the Palestinian National Authority who were increasingly perceived to be either inept or corrupt, but certainly ineffective, in bringing economic and political security.

Third, in line with the emphasis on internal processing of personal and contextual concerns highlighted in the theoretical discussions above, the data also included detailed assessments by the youth of their past involvement, that is, any level of regret for too much or too little involvement, how their past activism affected them, their orientations to the value and likelihood of future peace with Israel, and so on, including their expressed willingness to engage in any future conflict. Thus, the analyses to follow extend the existing knowledge base on this unique cohort of conflict-seasoned adolescents by scrutinizing their own perceptions as to the role their extensive past involvement has played in their psychological and social development as potentially key to understanding their willingness to resume participation in political conflict.

Method

Sample

Data came from a 1998 survey of 20-27 year old men and women in the Gaza Strip. Since the intent of the study was to assess adolescents' (retrospective) experience in the intifada, this age range insured that the participants would have spent at least three years of their adolescence during the 1987-1993 uprising. The survey built on previous survey [49, 50] and interview [8, 31] work on Palestinian adolescents in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. It was written first in English and then back-translated into Arabic. Three evolving versions of the Arabic instrument were pilot-tested on groups of appropriate aged youth in the Gaza Strip. The final version was then administered to 917 youth from two sampling frames. First, 67% (N=614) of the sample were youth who were participants in the nine United Nations Development Program (UNDP) training programs operating throughout the Gaza Strip. Permission to conduct the survey was granted by the UNDP leadership in the Gaza Strip and

participation was solicited by the individual training center program leaders. The survey was completed at the training centers. Second, 33% of the sample (N=303) were students in randomly-selected classrooms at the two major universities in the Gaza Strip: Al Azhar University (N=193) and Islamic University (N=110). Permission to conduct the survey was granted by the respective university presidents. Palestinian project staff administered the survey in classrooms.

The absence of adequate census data prevented the collection of a more purely scientific random sample. Nevertheless, every effort was made to include adequate representation of the diversity that exists in the Gaza Strip, including sex, region of residence, type of residence (e.g., camp, village, town), political affiliation, education, employment, etc. Relevant sample characteristics are reported in Table 1.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics

Characteristics	Range	Average
Age	20-27	22.4
Family Size		
Brothers		4.3
Sisters		3.4
		Percent
Sex		
Male		59
Marital Status		
Single		82
Religious Affiliation		
Muslim		99
Geographic Distribution		
Gaza Strip North		16
Gaza Strip Central		47
Gaza Strip South		36
Residence		
Camp		55
Village		9
City/Town		36
Standard of Living		
"Poorer Than Most"		17
"Richer Than Most"		13
Father Employed 1997		42
Educational Attainment		
Finished Secondary School		98
Completed University		20
Currently Enrolled in University		61
Employment		
Employed "Never" in 1997		48
Employed "Very Often" in 1997		33
Political Affiliation		
No Political Affiliation		41
Fatah		33
Hamas		13
PFLP		7
Islamic Jihad		2
Other		4

Measures

Activism

The survey included a list of 17 specific forms of activism that had been identified in past literature on the intifada and in extensive interviews with youth in Gaza (see [8, 31, 61] for a discussion of the interview data). For each of four discrete time periods ("Before the intifada", "First 2 years of the intifada (1988-1989)", "Last 3 years of the intifada (1990-1993)", and "After the intifada"), respondents were asked to mark the appropriate level of participation in the 17 forms of activism according to the following 5-point response scale referring to "how often did you do the following things in the conflict with the Israelis": 1 *never*, 2 *once*, 3 *occasionally*, 4 *often*, 5 *regularly*. Responses for the second and third time periods were used for the present study. Although the full, continuous response scales were employed in all analyses, for insight into the relative levels of participation, percentages of males and females who "ever participated" (the aggregation of response categories 2-5) are presented here in Table 2. The proportions reveal remarkably high levels of involvement, with large majorities of males and, in many cases, substantial percentages of females, engaged in the variety of forms of activism across the course of the intifada.

Victimization

The survey included 19 specific forms of victimization from Israeli soldiers that, likewise, were identified in the past work with Palestinian adolescents. For the same four time periods, respondents were asked to mark the appropriate level of exposure to victimization according to the following 6-point response scale referring to "how often did Israeli soldiers do the following:": 1 *never*, 2 *once*, 3 *2-10 times*, 4 *11-20 times*, 5 *21-50 times*, 6 *more than 50 times*. Like for the activism variables, data reported for the second and third time period were used in the present study, employing the full, continuous response scale. Table 3 reports percentages of males and females who reported "ever" (the aggregation of response categories 2-6) being victimized. Like for Activism, very high proportions of males and females reported experiencing numerous personal and non-personal forms of victimization during the intifada.

Table 2: Percent of Males and Females Who Ever (one or more times) Participated During Time 2 (first two years of the intifada) and Time 3 (last three years of the intifada)

"How often did you do the following things in the conflict with the Israelis?"	Percentage	
	Male	Female
a. Demonstrate	88, 89	63, 57
b. Distribute Leaflets	57, 65	12, 12
c. Obey Leaflets	78, 81	65, 65
d. Protect someone from Israeli soldiers	60, 62	49, 50
e. Write slogans on a wall	57, 66	3, 4
f. Follow instructions from slogans	85, 88	77, 76
g. Burn tires	72, 71	8, 7
h. Erect barricades	78, 79	19,17
i. Throw stones	88, 88	50, 47
j. Erect a Palestinian flag	77, 77	40, 40
k. Throw Molotov cocktails	29, 36	4, 5
l. Wear a mask	57, 64	4, 5
m. Deliver supplies to participants	80, 85	56, 57
n. Care for the wounded	72, 78	40, 39
o. Try to distract soldiers away from the participants	70, 73	49, 49
p. Bring onions to help with tear gas	79, 79	71, 69
q. Visit the family of a martyr	84, 89	46, 49

Table 3: Percent of Males and Females Who Were Ever (one or more times) Victimized by IDF Soldiers During Time 2 (first two years of the intifada) and Time 3 (last three years of the intifada)

	Percentage	
"How often did Israeli soldiers do the following?"	Male	Female
a. Verbally abuse you	73, 82	38, 40
b. Hit or kick you	67, 70	19, 17
c. Break one or more of your bones	20, 20	4, 5
d. Shoot at you with bullets	62, 63	21, 19
e. Hit you with bullets	27, 32	6, 6
f. Shoot at you with tear gas	88, 87	70, 68
g. Imprison you	25, 34	2, 3
h. Torture you	47, 53	6, 7
i. Raid your home	89, 91	81, 85
j. Raid the home of a neighbor	93, 93	87, 88
k. Demolish your home	6, 7	3, 6
l. Demolish the home of your neighbor	30, 25	22, 21
m. Beat/humiliate your father in front of you	43, 38	34, 31
n. Beat/humiliate the father of a neighbor in front of you	66, 62	55, 50
o. Kill a family member	19, 22	18, 15
p. Kill a neighbor	66, 61	48, 44
q. Raid your school	87, 84	74, 71
r. Shoot tear gas into your school	92, 89	85, 81
s. Close your school	83, 79	69, 64

Perceived Effects of the Intifada on Self

The survey included 24 statements of personal feelings about the intifada that were designed to assess the youth's perspectives on how the intifada had affected them

personally and socially; and to assess their orientations toward their past involvement in the struggle, their views on the prospects for peace, and on any future participation in the conflict should it continue. Unlike previous analyses [51] that focused on correlating activism and victimization to post-intifada behaviors (e.g., social competence, conformity, civic activity, etc.), these questions tapped the youth's internal processing of their intifada experiences. Respondents were asked to rate their agreement with these statements on a 5-point response scale ranging from 1 *strongly disagree* to 5 *strongly agree*. Percentages of youth who marked *agree* or *strongly agree* to each item are reported in Table 4. The proportions reveal an interesting picture of youth, who, when reflecting on their own experiences in the intifada, report broad personal, social, and civic growth from that involvement. Despite majority endorsement for peace (see [62] for similar findings of well-being and hope for peace among South African youth), most reported being confused about the future and few were hopeful that the peace process would succeed. This pessimism notwithstanding, most valued their past participation in the intifada, wished they would have done more, and half expressed a readiness to participate again.

Table 4: Percent of Male and Female Adolescents Who Responded "Agree" or "Strongly Agree" to the Following Items about HOW THE INTIFADA AFFECTED THEM

Items 1-14: "How has the intifada affected you?" Items 15-24: "Between the end of the intifada in 1993 and now *(1998)*, how have you felt?"	Percentage	
	Male	Female
1. I am more mature.	77	71
2. I am more violent.	17	12
3. I am more concerned about social issues.	75	72
4. I am more likely to disrespect forms of authority.	17	20
5. My relationship with my father has improved.	69	58
6. My relationship with my mother has improved.	74	63
7. I feel more useful as a person.	84	73
8. I am more respected by my community.	81	64
9. I am more politically involved in my society.	61	35
10. I feel like I lost my childhood.	57	47
11. I regret that I lost my childhood.	40	39
12. I discovered my identity as a person.	77	66
13. I am happier.	56	48
14. I am more depressed.	19	19
15. I am more pessimistic about the future.	48	31
16. I am hopeful about the success of the peace process.	20	19
17. I want the peace process to succeed.	65	67
18. I am confused about the future.	62	62
19. The intifada was worth the struggle.	74	72
20. I regret having participated in the intifada.	16	7
21. If there will be another intifada, I will participate again.	55	61
22. I am disappointed with the results of the intifada.	48	37
23. I wish that I would have participated more during the intifada.	61	62
24. I was an important part of history.	54	30

Additional Variables

Several other variables pertaining to the respondents' demographic, political, religious, and personal orientations were also considered in these analyses. First, as to demographics, many have argued, for example, that politically violent conflicts result from social and economic inequalities (e.g., [24]). Given the possibility that the strain associated with the particular economic disadvantage and crowding of refugee camp life would increase willingness to continue the struggle, we re-coded a location of residence variable into a *Refugee Camp* variable by coding responses for residence in a refugee camp to 1 and other responses (town, village) to 0. As a further test of socio-economic standing, a single-item, continuous variable was used to assess relative *Economic well-being* (ranging from 1 *We are a lot poorer than most.* to 5 *We are a lot richer than most.*;[63]). It is important to note, however, that the role of economic well-being in political activism is quite ambiguous [64]. In the Palestinian case, while efforts were certainly made by political groups to mobilize the more isolated and marginal segments of the population [65], consistent with a common theme in resource mobilization literatures [28, 66], highly educated Palestinians also mobilized [67], driven perhaps by their comprehension of the socio-historical problem of occupation and dispossession.

Respondents were asked also to indicate for every time period what their political affiliation was. For these analyses, we used Time 4 ("after the intifada") presuming that political affiliation during the post-intifada "peace process" would be most likely related to any future willingness to fight again. Specifically, it could be argued, for example, that non-Fatah youth (i.e., those belonging to parties that did not support the Oslo Declaration of Principles that formally ended the intifada), might be less willing to participate in another intifada fearing that it might again end in an agreement that was offensive to them. One could argue the reverse also, however, in that members of non-Fatah parties - particularly the Islamic parties by virtue of their ideology that no-agreement with Israel will ever be acceptable - might be ever willing to fight on. In the survey, youth were asked to circle any and all of the following options that were applicable to their experience: 1 *I belonged to no political group*, 2 *Fatah*, 3 *PFLP*, 4 *DFLP*, 5 *Arab Liberation Front*, 6 *Palestine Liberation Front*, 7 *Hamas*, 8 *Islamic Jihad*, 9 *Palestine Communist Party*. Based on frequency counts, this variable was re-coded to 1 *No affiliation* (41%) 2 *Fatah* (35%), 3 *PFLP* (8%), and 4 *Islamic* (Hamas and Islamic Jihad; 16%).

Even though religion was rarely cited as a motivation for participation in the intifada [8], some have argued that severely deprived populations who feel that their own resources have been exhausted might search for meaning in religion, particularly in cases like Israel and Palestine where religious leaders often recommend political violence [68]. To test for this possibility, *Religious Commitment* was assessed via the average ratings over the second and third intifada time periods of youth responses (1 *not at all* to 5 *every day*) to two items assessing the personal salience of religion in their lives: ("How often do you . . .") "think seriously about religion?" and "talk about religion with friends?"

Finally, to capture a personal commitment to the intifada that may not be a function of the other variables under study in this analysis, we created a variable that we labeled *Fighter* that was constructed by averaging youth agreements (1 *strongly*

disagree to 5 *strongly agree*) to the statement, "I felt I could carry the struggle on forever.", over the first and second periods of the intifada.

Before proceeding, one comment relative to gender is important. Separate analyses by male and female youth were not run in the main model predicting willingness to re-engage in conflict. This was so because, despite the prevailing orthodox culture in Gaza that typically rigidly defines women's place to be in the private sphere, females were heavily involved in the first intifada. Although their rates of activism were, of course, lower than males' rates, substantial proportions of females did engage in many types of activism, and, correspondingly, experienced high rates of victimization (see below for proportions of female involvement; see also [69, 70] for commentaries on significant female involvement in conflicts in many other countries). Further, although it is not clear what degree of long-term change might have occurred to the rigidity of gender boundaries in Gaza since (and because of) the first intifada, some have noted that it became more acceptable for women to be a part of the public forum [71, 72]. Given the relative prominence of female involvement in the first intifada and the popular nature of the struggle, we would predict at least equally prominent participation by females in a subsequent conflict.

Results

Initial Analyses

Activism and Victimization

Activism:. Based on parallel exploratory factor analyses of the 17 activism items each at Time 2 and Time 3, three sets of items were identified which had high factor loadings on each of three primary factors for these two time periods. One set, labeled *Supportive Activism*, consisted of items: d, m, n, o, p, and q, all items that describe activities that were not direct protest behaviors but served important supportive functions such as protecting protestors, distracting soldiers from protestors, caring for wounded and delivering various supplies. Another set of items, labeled *Direct Activism*, consisted of items: a, b, e, g, h, i, j, k, l., all of which pertain to more direct forms of protest, such as demonstrating, throwing stones, erecting barricades, etc. A third set, labeled *Follow* consisted of just two items: c, and f, dealing with following instructions from slogans written on walls and obeying the directives contained in the leaflets that were often distributed by the intifada leadership. Scales were created by calculating the average for each of these sets of items at Time 2 and at Time 3. Reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) for each of the scales at each of the time periods were: *Supportive Activism:* .84, .85; *Direct Activism*: .88, .88; *Follow*: .82, .80. In the final structural equation model, we used the averages of the corresponding scales across both time periods.

Victimization: Based on parallel factor analyses of the 19 victimization items each at Time 2 and Time 3, four sets of items were identified which had high factor loadings on each of four primary factors for these two time periods. One set, labeled *Personal Victimization*, consisted of items a, b, c, d, e, g, h, mostly dealing with specific IDF actions experienced personally by the adolescents, e.g., being hit, kicked, shot at, etc.

Another set of items, labeled *School Victimization*, was comprised of items q, r, and s., all related to IDF activities conducted at schools (raiding and closing schools, shooting tear gas into schools). A third set of items, labeled *Intrusion*, consisted of items i. j, m, n, and p, and consisted mostly of IDF actions that were particularly intrusive, e.g., home raids, imprisonment, humiliation of fathers, etc. The fourth set of items, labeled *Destroy*, consisted of items: k, l, and o, representing house demolitions or killing of a family member. Scales were created by calculating the average for each of these sets of items at Time 2 and at Time 3. Reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) for each of the scales at each of the time periods were: *Personal Victimization* .83, .83; *School Victimization* .82, .84; *Intrusion* .78, .78; *Destroy* .58, .54. In the final structural equation model, we used the averages of the corresponding scales across both time periods.

Modeling Activism and Victimization.

Based on examination of the correlations among the activism and victimization scales and upon exploratory factor analyses of these scales, we developed a model to represent the basic constructs of Activism and Victimization. *Personal Victimization* was treated as separate construct while *School Victimization* and *Intrusion* were treated as indicators of more general neighborhood and community Victimization construct. *Direct Activism* and *Supportive Activism* were treated as indicators of a more general Activism construct. The *Follow* activism scale was less related to *Supportive Activism* and *Direct Activism* than those two forms of Activism were to each other, and, therefore, *Follow* was omitted from further consideration. A similar pattern was observed with respect to the *Destroy* victimization scale. It was less strongly related to community and neighborhood Victimization than that general measure's components were to each other. We think that part of the reason for this was its low reliability, given that it produced worsened fit when we attempted to include it as an indicator of Victimization. Eventually, we would like to build a more comprehensive model that would include both *Follow* and *Destroy*, but we felt that this model would be an adequate rendering of Activism and Victimization for the purposes of this chapter.

Each of the three major constructs – Activism, *Personal Victimization*, and neighborhood/community Victimization – were substantially intercorrelated. Activism and neighborhood/community Victimization were correlated at .77, and *Personal Victimization* was correlated at .75 with Activism and at .62 with neighborhood/community Victimization. In addition, the residuals for the *Direct Activism* and *Intrusion* indicators were strongly, negatively correlated (-.64). A residual for a factor means the degree to which that factor fails to account for the total construct. For example, the residual for *Direct Activism* shows us the degree to which responses on the Direct Activism items do <u>not</u> seem to contribute to the overall measure of political participation. In this case, we found that the residuals for the *Direct Activism* and *Intrusion* indicators were strongly, negatively correlated (-.64). This suggests that the part of participation in the intifada that is *not* part of general Activism (the "residual" for activism) is negatively related to the part of IDF behavior that was *not* part of general Victimization (the "residual" for victimization). In simpler terms, one might say that certain atypical aspects of activism are low when certain atypical aspects of victimization are high. This finding is difficult to interpret given that, generally, Activism and Victimization were <u>positively</u> correlated. One possibility: certain types of

IDF behavior–or victimization—effectively discouraged certain types of activism, perhaps due to intimidation. It will be instructive to pursue at a later time which specific behaviors are accounting for this interesting relationship.

Effects of the intifada

Exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the set of 24 items that tapped youth perceptions as to how the intifada had affected them. These analyses suggested a 7-factor solution, which, in factor order, were labeled: *Personal Growth* from involvement (items 1, 3, 9, 12, 13, 24), *Personal Loss* from involvement (items 10, 11, 14), likelihood that the youth would *Fight Again* (19, 20, 21, 22, 23), assessment of *Peace Potential* (items 16, 17), *Social Integration* from involvement (items 5, 6, 7, 8), *Violent/disrespectful* from involvement (items 2, 4), and *Pessimistic/confused* from involvement (items 15, 18). Subsequent confirmatory factor analyses resulted in two psychometrically-related changes relative to the composition of these scales: for *Personal Growth*, item 3 was removed; for *Fight Again*, items 19 and 22 were removed. Item 19 ("The intifada was worth the struggle.") was, instead, used as a single-item variable for *intifada Value* (see below). Scales were created by taking the average of the respective items for each of these variables. Reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) for these scales were: *Personal Growth* (.71), *Personal Loss* (.68), *Fight Again* (.78), *Peace Potential* (.65), *Social Integration* (.88), *Violent/disrespectful* (.29), *Pessimistic/confused* (.66).

Modeling the Predictors of *Fight Again*

Using the structural equation modeling program AMOS [73], a model was constructed to predict youth perceptions as to whether they would *Fight Again* should there be another intifada. To the far left in the model are the predictor variables, i.e., the complex of variables described above to measure Activism and Victimization (Activism, *Personal Victimization*, and community/neighborhood Victimization), *Religious Commitment*, and the single-item variable: *Fighter* ("I felt like I could carry on the struggle forever."). Inserted between this set of variables and the outcome variable *Fight Again* was a set of hypothesized mediator variables, namely: the remaining 6 variables from the set of perceived effects of the intifada variables (*Personal Growth, Personal Loss, Peace Potential, Social Integration, Violent/disrespectful, Pessimistic/confused*), and the single-item variable *Intifada Value(* "The intifada was worth the struggle.").

This initial model was then trimmed by removing all variables that did not have significant direct or indirect associations with *Fight Again*. Thus, for example, *Religious Commitment* was removed because, although it was significantly positively related to *Fighter*, it was not significantly associated directly with *Fight Again* or with any of the mediating variables. The mediating variable *Personal Loss* was removed, because although it was positively predicted by *Activism*, it had no association with *Fight Again*. Similarly, the mediating variable *Social Integration* was removed because neither did it predict *Fight Again*, even though it was positively predicted by *Fighter*.

The trimmed model is presented in Figure 1. It fit the data well (Chi-square (78) = 260.112; TLI = .933; RMSEA = .050).
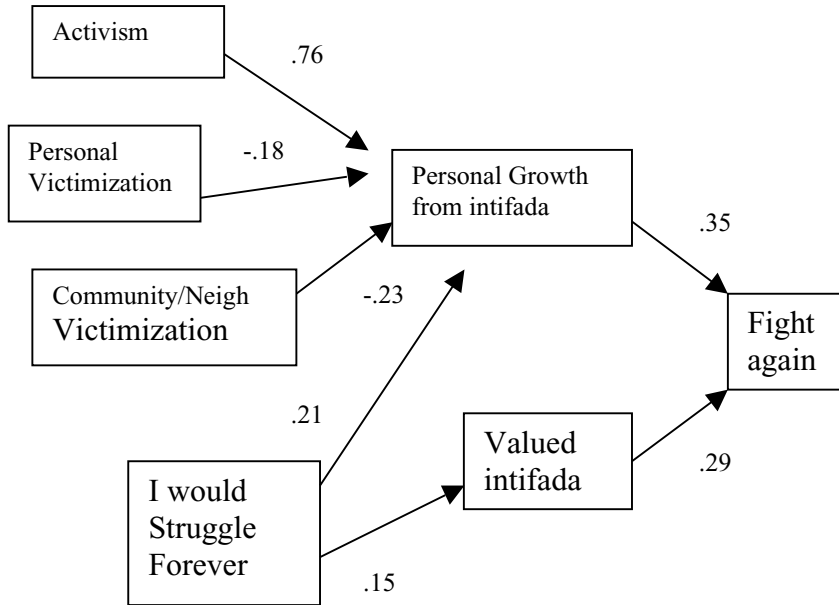
Figure 1: Pathways to *Fight Again*

As can be seen in Figure 1, there were two routes (i.e., mediating variables) via which experiences in the first intifada were associated with a willingness to participate again should another intifada ensue (R-square for *Fight Again*= 0.275). The primary mediator was *Personal Growth*, such that adolescents were likely to be willing to participate in a new intifada (.35) to the degree that they felt that their first intifada experiences had resulted in their own *Personal Growth* (i.e., more mature, more politically involved in society, lost childhood, discovered identity as a person, happier; R-square=.351). In turn, *Personal Growth* was predicted positively by intifada Activism and negatively by Victimization, and by the sense of being able to carry on the struggle forever during the first intifada (*Fighter*). Specifically, and mostly strongly, the more the adolescents reported having been activists, the more likely they felt they had grown personally (.76), and the more they felt that they could continue on forever, the higher their perceived sense of growth (.21). Conversely, the sense of *Personal Growth* was lower the more the adolescents recalled having been victimized, either personally (-.18) or generally (-.23).

The second pathway by which first intifada experiences were associated with willingness to fight again was *Intifada Value*, that is, the degree to which the adolescents felt that the intifada had been valuable ("The intifada was worth the struggle."). There was a positive association between *Fighter* (could carry on forever)

and *Intifada Value* (.15), which, in turn, was positively associated with *Fight Again* (.29). In summary, then, the degree to which youth expressed a willingness to engage in future political conflict was a function of how much they felt they had personally grown from their efforts during the preceding conflict, and this growth was itself highest for those who participated the most in that conflict and for those who felt that they could fight on forever.

Finally, in order to account for any salience of key demographic variables marking differences in adolescents' lives, we added to the above model the following variables: *Refugee Camp* (living in a refugee camp as opposed to a town or village), *Economic Well-being*, and *Political Party* (three dummy variables for each of the three main political parties: Fatah, PFLP, and Islamic (Hamas and Islamic Jihad), with *no affiliation* as the reference group). We performed a joint test of the significance of all of the paths from the demographic variables to each of the three main outcomes. This test was non-significant (chi-square (15) = 24.24, p=.061). Examination of the individual coefficients showed that only one of the 15 was statistically significant, namely the effect of PFLP membership on value of the intifada (z=1.99, p=.047), such that membership in PFLP was associated with a perception of greater value of the intifada. All of the other coefficients from the original model remained statistically significant at approximately their original values, as shown in Figure A. Thus, there was no meaningful variation by demographic status in the essence of the model defined above.

Discussion

This chapter investigated youth willingness to engage in political violence, using the Palestinian adolescents of the first intifada (1987-1993) as a case study – viewing with substantial empirical data their level of involvement in that movement, their later retrospection on the role and value of their activism to their personal lives, and their expressed willingness to engage in future conflict. Such detailed data on adolescents' experience with political activism and its related violence has not heretofore been available, and, thus, it affords a unique view into the capacity for activism and its effects as adolescents proceed with their lives.

At the outset, a main qualification needs to be made; that is, that engagement in future political conflict (the dependent variable of interest to this chapter) was measured merely as an expression of willingness. The data do not provide any confirmation as to whether or not those who expressed that willingness did re-engage in the conflict that did, in fact, resume two years after these data were collected. Therefore, no conclusion about actual future conflict involvement can be made. That said, the stated willingness to engage in future conflict has real value, especially given that that expression of commitment to future action followed substantial personal experience with a violent insurrection and several years of experience with a "peace process" that was designed (but failed) to resolve the grievances that underlay the original conflict. Far from being a whimsical pledge of some vague future behavior, therefore, the expression of willingness to engage in future conflict was made with rich information about self, self in the context of intense experience with conflict, and with

experience-hewn beliefs about if and how peace might or should be achieved between the conflicting parties.

This discussion will center around the three main components of the findings: (1) the unusually high rate of activism, much of it violent, that adolescents engaged in; (2) the personal and social growth they reported to have experienced as a result of their involvement; and (3) the role of this perceived growth in their willingness to re-engage in conflict.

The High Prevalence of Adolescent Activism

Two points can be made relative to the prevalence of activism among Palestinian adolescents of the first intifada. First, it is quite noteworthy that the levels of participation in the intifada (both viewed as activism and victimization) are far higher than any known conflict before or after. Typically, up to 25% of adolescents (even youth including young adults) participate in social or political movements [11]. The dramatically higher rates of involvement in the intifada set therefore that conflict and its participants off as quite unique. Why would rates of youth activism be so high in Gaza during the first intifada (and not much lower in the West Bank or East Jerusalem)?

It is difficult to know precisely, but several factors recommend themselves as partial explanations. Demographically, half the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip was 14 years old or younger during the first intifada. These youth were born during the Occupation and therefore had no personal recollection of the previous failed attempts in resistance. The Occupation therefore served as a model of aggressive behavior for them. In particular, they were firsthand witnesses to some of the most intrusive elements of the Occupation, such as house raids, home demolitions, and the humiliation of fathers. The detention and imprisonment of many fathers in the years leading up to the intifada also shifted extra responsibilities to young men.

Some religious and political groups also recruited heavily among the youth. Further, the prominence of schools as a location for violence inevitably involved young people in resistance. Finally, because during the occupation Israeli confiscation of prime agricultural land and restriction on water usage reoriented the structure of production in the Territories, many youth sought employment in Israel and the oil-producing Arabian Peninsula. However, with the end of the oil boom area in 1982, employment opportunities in the Gulf states and dried up, leaving many Palestinian youth frustrated in not being able to find employment [44, 65].

Perhaps more simply and importantly, the sheer concentration of conditions on the ground served as the immediate catalysts to protests. The combination of extremely dense living conditions (particularly in the camps) and its associated poverty, and the frequency and force of many of the IDF's operations in and around those population centers likely gave both immediate opportunity and motive for protest. In such conditions of much disadvantage coupled with high constraint it was not surprising to see high rates of participation among all sectors of the society, old and young, male and female [49].

The second point relative to the prevalence of adolescent involvement in the conflict is its commentary on adolescence per se. As noted above, often when youth movements are discussed, it is actually cohorts of young adults - college students - that

are of focus, who, in part because of emancipation from home, progress in identity development, and the free-thinking encouraged by university education, are not surprisingly motivated to act for change. The findings presented here indicate that also adolescents can be heavily involved. That adolescents would occasionally engage in risk-taking forays, or have idealistic episodes of conquering the enemy would fit common stereotypes of the precarious, undeveloped nature of adolescents. But these rather simplistic characterizations cannot explain the sustained, often highly organized activism that many youth engaged in, moreover, at substantial risk both to self and to cherished family members. Thus, it is apparent that under certain conditions, adolescents can manage the complexities and hardships of violent political conflict. Once again, the key conditions in the Palestinian formula that appeared to facilitate this competence were the urgency and moral legitimacy of resisting what adolescents perceived to be the enormity and unjustness of the Occupation [8].

The Linkage between Activism and Personal Growth

The findings presented in this chapter of the positive impact of political activism on the psychosocial well-being of Palestinian adolescents might seem unusual in that the majority of past findings on war populations have chronicled negative effects. That focus on negative, predominantly psychological, outcomes results, however, in part, because most studies have concentrated on <u>exposure</u> to the violence of political conflict (and not on <u>participation</u> in the conflict) and they have not typically included measures of positive functioning. As discussed in the introductory sections of this chapter, other literatures have noted long-term, positive effects that are apparent in the adult lives of youth political activists. This chapter's findings support and extend those results in two ways. First, unlike some of the past social movements that have been studied, under scrutiny here was an unusually intense, protracted conflict that involved frequent and dangerous activities that were often accompanied by severe treatment designed to punish and crush resistance. That most adolescents who experienced these conditions reported widespread personal growth – indeed, the more the activism, the higher the levels of growth – attests to the power of engagement in a highly valued social enterprise in promoting perceived growth even under the most intense of circumstances.

Second, the indexes of personal growth utilized in the analyses for this chapter are broader and more personal than the typical focus on politics-related, long-term outcomes of activists (e.g., voting behavior, liberal ideology, support of diversity, etc.). The rich narrative data from Gazan adolescent activists [8, 31] confirm the survey findings from the representative sample of Gazan activists analyzed here that - in addition to past conflict experiences being associated with later competent <u>behaviors</u> (e.g., conformity, civic service, etc; [51]) – youth made firm conclusions that, <u>subjectively</u>, their past engagement in political conflict – despite the frequent and severe harsh treatment – resulted in a cherished, accelerated achievement of a mature, aware, sensitive, and socially- and civically-responsible identity. Not only do these findings support classic identity formation theory (i.e., informed by history and context a la Erikson [42], but they provide a useful illustration of recent advances in capturing the complexity of identity formation, particularly in complex cultural and political conditions [e.g., [21]. Thus, instead of the traditional, simplistic expectations for

consistency and constancy as indicators of identity achievement, configurations of Palestinian adolescent identity formation had to include the complexities of competing emotions (e.g., fear and courage), commitments (e.g., defiance against the perceived enemy, yet continued deference to legitimate authority), and achievements (e.g., personal growth in the face of political failure).

Willingness to Fight Again

Despite the widespread commitment to the struggle during the first intifada and the perceived growth resulting from it, just half of the sample reported a willingness to re-engage in a resumption of the conflict. We did not explore in these analyses why half of the youth expressed little or no interest in future involvement in the conflict, except to determine that the degree of willingness to re-engage was unrelated to political affiliation, religious commitment, type of residence, or relative economic well-being (to the degree that we measured those accurately). Thus, there was no identifiable, demographic grouping of youth that were more or less likely to be willing to fight again. As to potential explanations for a lack of willingness, the narrative data from same-aged youth [8, 31], would suggest any of the following as potential explanations: they had taken up other life responsibilities (e.g., marriage, parenthood, higher education) that would take priority; they were so disappointed with the fruits of their past efforts that they concluded it would be fruitless to continue fighting; their ideology about solving the conflict with Israel had evolved to not include activism of the type they previously endorsed and engaged in; they were unconvinced of a competent leadership for a new intifada, and so on.

Beyond the demographic variables mentioned above, of the variety of different predictors we employed in the attempt to predict willingness to engage in conflict in the future (e.g., social integration stemming from past activism, attitudes toward peace potential, etc.), just those referencing an evaluation of the previous conflict were useful: having valued the first intifada, and, the degree of perceived personal growth from having engaged in it. That youth who valued and felt enhanced by their past experiences would express willingness to participate again is intuitively sensible. The picture that these findings paint becomes more interesting, however, when noting that that perceived growth was itself substantially predicted by levels of activism during the past movement – even after taking into account the negative effects of having been victimized. This underscores the potency of actively contributing to a cause in shaping an adolescent's self-assessment and envisioned future behavior.

References

1. Kassimir, R. (2005). Youth activism: International and transnational. (2005). In Sherrod, L. R., Flanagan, C. A., & Kassimir, R. (Eds.) (2005). *Youth activism: An international encyclopedia. Volume 1*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
2. Eccles, J. S., & Gootman, J. (2002). *Community programs to promote youth development*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
3. Villarruel, F. A., Perkins, D. F., Borden, L. M., & Keith, J. G. (2003). *Community youth development: Programs, policies, and practices*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
4. Lerner, R. T. (2004). *Liberty: Thriving and civic engagement among America's youth*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
5. Yates, M., & Youniss, J. (Eds.) (1999). *Roots of civic identity: International perspectives on community service and activism in youth*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
6. Sherrod, L. R., Flanagan, C. A., & Kassimir, R. (Eds.) (2005). *Youth activism: An international encyclopedia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
7. Daiute, C., Beykont, Z. F., Higson-Smith, C., & Nucci, L. (2006) *International perspectives on youth conflict and development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
8. Barber, B. K. (in press-a). *One heart, so many stones: The story of the Palestinian youth*. NY: Palgrave/MacMillan.
9. Bucaille, L. (2004). *Growing up Palestinian: Israeli occupation and the intifada generation*. Newark, NJ: Princeton University Press.
10. Cairns, E. (1987). *Caught in the crossfire: Children and the Northern Ireland conflict*. New York: Syracuse.
11. Cairns, E. (1996). *Children and political violence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
12. Jones, L. (2004). *Then they started shooting: Growing up in a wartime Bosnia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
13. Straker, G., Mendelsohn, M., Moosa, F., & Tudin, P. (1996). Violent political contexts and the emotional concerns of township youth. *Child Development, 67*, 46-54.
14. Barber, B. K., Schluterman, J. M., Denny, E. S., & McCouch, R. M. (2005). Adolescents and political violence. In M. Fitzduff & C. Stout (Eds.), *The psychology of resolving global conflicts: From war to peace*. *Volume 2: Group and social factors*. Westport, CT: Praeger Press.
15. Boothby, N., Crawford, J., & Mamade, A. (in press). Mozambiquan child soldier outcome study. In B. K. Barber (Ed.), *Adolescents and war: How youth deal with political conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press.
16. Wessells, M., & Kostelny, K. (in press). Youth soldiering: An integrated framework to measure psychological impact. In B. K. Barber (Ed.), *Adolescents and war: How youth deal with political conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press.
17. Barber, B. K. (Ed.) (in press-b). *Adolescents and war: How youth deal with political violence*. New York: Oxford University Press.
18. Victoroff, J. (2005). The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 49*, 3-42.
19. Larson, R. W. (2002). Globalization, societal change, and new technologies: What they mean for the future of adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 12*, 1-30.
20. Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
21. Schachter, E. (2005). Context and identity formation: A theoretical analysis and a case study. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *20, 375-395*.
22. Brinton, C. 1956. *The Anatomy of Revolution*. NY: Vintage Books.
23. Davies, J. C. (1962). Toward a theory of revolution. *American Sociological Review, 27,*5-19.
24. Gurr, T. R. (1970). *Why men rebel*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
25. Oberschall, A. (1973). *Social conflict and social movements*. Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice Hall.
26. McCarthy, J., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements. *American Journal of Sociology, 82*, 1212-1241.
27. Tilly, C. (1978). *From mobilization to revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
28. McAdam, D. (1982). *Political process and the development of Black insurgency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
29. Khawaja, M. (1993). Repression and popular collective action: Evidence in the West Bank. *Sociological Forum, 8*, 47-71.
30. Khawaja, M. (1995). The dynamics of local collective action in the West Bank: A test of rival explanations. *Economic Development and Cultural Change, Volume 44,* pp. 146-79. Chicago*:* University of Chicago Press, vol. 44(1), pages 146-79.

31. Barber, B. K. (1999a). Youth experience in the Palestinian intifada: Intensity, complexity, paradox, and competence. In M. Yates and J. Youniss (Eds.), *Roots of civic identity: International perspectives on community service and activism in youth*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

32. Braungart, R. C. (1984). Historical generations and youth movements: A theoretical perspective. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, Vol. 6.

33. Murphy 1974

34. Petersen, R. (2003). *Explaining ethnic violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

35. Scheff, T. J. (1994). *Bloody revenge: Emotions, nationalism, and war.* Boulder. CO: Westview Press.

36. Scheff, T. J. (September, 1997). Alienation, nationalism, and inter-ethnic conflict. Unpublished manuscript. http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/scheff/5.html.

37. Frijda, N. (1987). *The Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

38. Epstein, B. (1991). *Political protest and cultural revolution: Non-Violent direct action in the 1970s and 1980s.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

39. Eyerman, R., & Jamison, A. (1991). *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

40. Stagner, R (1977). Egocentrism, ethnocentrism, and altrocentrism: Factors in individual and intergroup violence. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 1, 9-29.

41. Argo, T. N. (2006). The banality of the sacred: Religion and suicide terror. *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

42. Erikson, E. E. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton.

43. McAdam, D. and R. Paulsen. (1993). Specifying the relationship between social ties and activism. *American Journal of Sociology,* 99, 640-667.

44. Farsoun, S. K., & Landis, J. M. (1991). The sociology of the uprising: the roots of the intifada. In J. R. Nassar & R. Heacock (Eds.), *Intifada: Palestine at the crossroads*. Birzeit, West Bank: Birzeit University Press and Praeger Publishers.

45. Khalidi, R. (1997). *Palestinian identity: The construction of modern national consciousness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

46. Barber, B. K. (2002). Politics, politics, and more politics: Youth life experience in the Gaza Strip. In D. L. Bowen and E. Early (Eds.), Everyday life in the Muslim Middle East, Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.

47. Usher, G. (1991). Children of Palestine. *Race and Class, 32*, 1-18.

48. Darweish, M. (1989). The Intifada: Social Change. *Race and Class, 29, 47-56. .*

49. Barber, B. K. (1999b). Political violence, family relations, and Palestinian child functioning. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 14*, 206-230.

50. Barber, B. K. (2001). Political violence, social integration, and youth functioning: Palestinian youth from the intifada. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *29*, 259-280.

51. Barber, B. K., & Olsen, J. A. (in press). Palestinian adolescents' political activism and victimization: Assessing broad psychosocial effects. In B. K. Barber (Ed.), *Adolescents and war: How youth deal with political conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press.

52. Carmines, E.G. (1991). Psychological antecedents of adolescent political involvement: Personal competence and political behavior. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth, 3*, 79-98.

53. Fendrich, J. M. (1993). *Ideal citizens: The legacy of the civil rights movement*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

54. McAdam, D. (1989). The biographical consequences of activism. *American Sociological Review, 54,* 744–760.

55. Whalen, J., & Flacks, R. (1989). *Beyond the barricades: The sixties generation grows up*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

56. Flanagan, C., & Syvertsen, A. K. (2005). Youth as a social construct and social actor. In Sherrod, L. R., Flanagan, C. A., & Kassimir, R. (Eds.) (2005). *Youth activism: An international encyclopedia. Volume 1*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

57. Punamäki, R. L. (1989). Factors affecting the mental health of Palestinian children exposed to political violence. *International Journal of Mental Health, 18,* 63-79.

58. Punamäki, R. (1996). Can ideological commitment protect children's psychosocial well-being in situations of political violence? *Child Development, 67*, 55-69.

59. Punamäki, R.L. (2000). Personal and family resources promoting resiliency among children suffering from military violence. In L. van Willigen (Ed.). *Health hazards of organized violence in children, vol II.* Utrecht: Pharos.

60. Coles, R. (1987). *The political life of children.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

61. Barber, B. K. (in press-c). Meaning and political violence: An analysis of the narratives of Palestinian and Bosnian adolescents. In B. K. Barber (Ed.), *Adolescents and war: How youth deal with political conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press.

62. Braungart, R.G., & Braungart, M. M. (1995). Black and white South African university students' perceptions of self and country: an exploratory study. *South African Journal of Sociology, 1995,* 26(3).

63. Pearlin, L. I., Lieberman, M. A., Meneghan, E. G., & Mullan, J. T. (1981). The stress process. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 22,* 337-356.

64. Ragin, C. (1977). Class, status and 'reactive' ethnic cleavages: The social bases of political regionalism. *American Sociological Review, 44*, 619-635.

65. Tessler, M. (1994). *A history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

66. Jenkins, C. J. (1983). Resource mobilization theory and the study of social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology, 9*, 527-553.

67. Abu-Lughod, I. (1991). Introduction: On achieving independence. In J. R. Nassar & R. Heacock (Eds). *intifada: Palestine at the Crossroads*. Birzeit, West Bank: Birzeit University and Praeger Publishers.

68. Canetti-Nisim, D., Hobfoll, S. E., & Pedazhur A. (2005). Social deprivations as mediators of the effects of religion and religiosity on support for political violence: A structural analysis of Jews and Muslims in Israel. Manuscript under review for publication.

69. Summerfield, D. (1996). *The impact of war and atrocity on civilian populations: Basic Principles for NGO interventions and a critique of psychosocial trauma projects.* London: Overseas Development Institute.

70. Wessells, M. (1997, November/December). Child Soldiers. *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.

71. Moghadam, V. M. (1993). *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner Publishers.

72. Sharoni, S. (1995). *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

73. Arbuckle, J. L. (1994). AMOS: Analysis of moment structures. *Psychometrika*, *59*, 135-137.

Chapter 14
Sympathy for terrorism: Possible interaction between social, emotional, and neuroendocrine risk factors

Jeff Victoroff

University of Southern California Keck School of Medicine
Samir Qouta, Barbara Celinska, Rula Abu-Safieh
Gaza Community Mental Health Programme
Janice Adelman
Claremont Graduate University
Naftali Stern
Tel Aviv University

Abstract

Claims abound regarding the presumed motivations, temperaments, and cognitive patterns of terrorists and of those who support terrorism. Very few of these claims have been tested empirically. We attempted to test several previously proposed hypotheses using more rigorous methods. First, is sympathy for terrorism associated with emotional distress, and especially with conflict-trauma-related distress? Second, is sympathy for terrorism associated with perceived oppression? Third, does sympathy for terrorism correlate with the general trait of aggressivity? Fourth, recognizing the robust evidence that both aggression and chronic stress are associated with neuroendocrine changes, do individuals with different neuroendocrine status exhibit different degrees of sympathy for terrorism? Preliminary results will be discussed.

Keywords: Terrorism, psychology, depression, anxiety, stress, oppression, brain, hormones, testosterone, cortisol

Introduction

In Schmid and Jongman's classic book, *Political Terrorism*, [1] the authors cite Hamilton's 1978 Ph.D. dissertation, "Ecology of terrorism: A historical and statistical study" [2]. That document proposed five theories of terrorism; oppression is regarded as the root cause of terrorism in four of the five. Since then, a large number of theorists have offered opinions regarding the risk factors for substate terrorism, some focusing on individual psychology, some on social psychology or the dynamics of group movements, others on economic conditions, but many mentioning political oppression as an underlying provocation [3]. Walter Laqueur famously concluded that oppression and terrorism are *inversely* correlated [4]. Subsequent reassessments have

disagreed. Abadie, for instance, suggested a more complex relationship, such that terrorism is infrequent where there are very low (e.g., the U.S.) or very high (e.g., China, or the Soviet era Russian federation) levels of repression, but that terrorism becomes more frequent where there are intermediate levels of repression, especially as states are transitioning toward democracy (e.g., post-occupation Iraq) [5]. And Piazza, in the course of examining the claim that economic factors are important, instead discovered evidence that state repression strongly predicted terrorism [6].

Setting aside the extraordinary complexity of substate terrorism and the likelihood that both individual and group factors contribute to its genesis—and given the emphasis oppression in theories of many authorities--one should at least attempt to test the hypothesis that oppression plays a causal role in some–and perhaps in many—cases of support for terrorism.

Yet several obstacles block the way to testing this intuitively reasonable hypothesis. The first obstacle is the realization that no objective measure of oppression exists. By whose yardstick might a neutral observer compare the oppression of blacks by whites in the United States with the oppression of Kurds by Turks, or that of Muslims by Serbs? The real goal, in fact, is not some absolute measure of oppressive social dominance—perhaps a weighting that will forever remain the subject of debate—but instead a measure of the *perception* of such oppression by those affected. Yet despite centuries of discussion of this phenomenon by political theorists, an extensive review of the literature of oppression in the PsychInfo and Sociological Abstracts bibliographical data bases going back to 1960 fails to identify a single peer-reviewed normed and validated measure of perceived oppression. Therefore, the first task of this research project was to develop and translate a pilot instrument—the self-rated Oppression Questionnaire (OQ).

Another issue is how to measure the psychological impact of oppression. A population exposed to conflict may experience a variety of psychological responses, from anxiety to depression to withdrawal to aggression, to agitation to rage. It seems worthwhile to determine whether correlations exist between the perception of oppression and particular emotions. Indeed, measures of negative emotions would be required for external validation of any measure of perceived oppression.

The Israeli/Palestinian conflict represents one of the most difficult and violent of the world's unresolved problems—one that has frequently been cited as involving oppressive or repressive measures. Mental health experts recognize that this prolonged conflict has taken its toll on the emotions of young people on both sides. In particular, the politically and economically unstable environment of the West Bank and Gaza strip, the disadvantaged and subordinate position of the Palestinians in the face of Israeli dominance, and the high rate of exposure to political violence, are regarded risk factors for healthy human development. Anxiety among children and young adults in Gaza was high during the first intifada between 1987 and 1992 [7]. Anxiety declined somewhat following the Oslo Accords of 1993 [8, 9]. Yet even during that period of relative calm, school age children exhibited a high prevalence of attention deficit-hyperactivity disorder and post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and teachers reported that more than 43% of children had behavioral distress worthy of clinical referral [10, 11]. The second intifada began in mid-2000. Multiple studies have shown the impact on Palestinian youth: by the end of 2000, 71% of children in Gaza had witnessed bombardment by airplanes or helicopters [12]. The prevalence of moderate to severe PTSD among children and teens during the second intifada may have risen as high as 87.5%, with especially high rates among those who witnessed bombardments or home

demolitions [13, 14].

Substate terrorism (and, some would say, state terrorism) is one part of this conflict; it fluctuates in intensity but has persisted for decades. It has often been said that the Palestinians suffer from oppression and fight to escape the yolk of that oppression, but to what extent do they actually perceive themselves to be oppressed? How does perception of oppression relate to the emotional health of young Palestinians? Apart from PTSD, what is the prevalence and typology of psychological distress in this group? What is the relationship between emotional status, aggressivity, perceived oppression, and sympathy for terrorism?

In addition to the question of emotional responses to conflict, aggressivity, and possible sympathy for terrorism, it is know that biological factors are intimately involved in human behavior. The neuroendocrine system, in particular, works to coordinate the brain and body's adaptive response to life circumstances and contributes to emotions and behavior. Stress, for example, is strongly associated with changes in the steroid hormone, cortisol [15, 16]. Aggression is associated (albeit in complex ways) with testosterone [e.g., 17, 18]. Yet there has been very little scientific investigation of the biological correlates of stress in conflict zones, or of the relationship between neuroendocrine status and political attitudes. Does immersion in conflict measurably impact the stress response system of people living in a conflict zone? Are those with higher testosterone levels more likely to sympathize with or even participate in political violence? We undertook a pilot study in the hope of addressing some of these questions.

Methods

In 2004--during the 2nd intifada--members of the research team in Gaza recruited 52 fourteen-year old volunteers, all Palestinian boys at schools run by the United Nations in the al-Shati ("Beach") refugee camp outside Gaza City. This camp had had significant experience with Israeli military incursions during both intifadas. Approval for this project was obtained from the Research Committee of the Gaza Community Mental Health Programme (GCMHP), the Palestinian Ministry of Education, and the schools.

The boys' participation involved four meetings with a researcher to provide 9 a.m. samples of saliva. A 5 cc. saliva sample was obtained from each subject at each meeting. This sample was frozen until the samples were conveyed across the border to Tel Aviv University's endocrinology laboratory for analysis.

At the time of the second saliva collection we obtained demographic information about the boys and their families, including certain aspects of their exposure to political violence. The boys also completed five self-rating questionnaires that were translated into Arabic. These included 1) the Beck Depression Inventory [19], 2) the Beck Anxiety Inventory [20], 3) the Aggression Questionnaire [21], 4) our Oppression Questionnaire (OQ), and 5) the Islamic Attitudes Inventory (IAI), which is our adaptation of a questionnaire used by Schbley to measure religiosity and political attitudes among Hezbollah members [22]. "Sympathy for terrorism" was operationally defined as agreement with any of three statements in the IAI that explicitly expressed willingness to achieve political/religious goals by any means, including harming civilians.

The Oppression Questionnaire is an experimental instrument piloted in this project. It is based upon a review of the literature on oppression, especially political oppression exercised by a dominant ingroup over a subdominant outgroup. The questionnaire consists of 32 brief questions to which respondents register their degree of agreement on a four point Likert-like scale. Half of the questions address the outgroup members' perception of how they are treated by the ingroup, or *Felt Oppression*; the other half address the outgroup members' attribution of attitudes and intentions to the ingroup, or *Attributed Oppression*.

A child psychologist (SQ) remained with the boys to answer questions during the time it took to complete the questionnaires.

Results

Demographic findings

Families of the subjects had lived in the camp for an average of 12.3 years. While most of the boys' fathers were employed before the intifada, almost half had subsequently lost their jobs. 22 of the boys (43%) reported that a family member had been wounded or killed by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF).

Psychological findings

The mean BDI score was 19.5, at the lower end of the moderate range of clinical depression. Seven subjects had scores of 30 or greater, which is in the severe range of depression. Mean depression was higher among those who reported having had family members wounded or killed by the IDF. The mean BAI score was 17.5, in the moderate range, though 12 subjects reported anxiety in the severe range of 26-63. Anxiety and depression scores were significantly correlated. The mean of the subjects' standardized aggression scores (T-scores) on the AQ was 49.9. Anxiety and aggression scores were correlated. No significant correlation was found between depression and aggression scores.

The total measure of perceived oppression correlated with anxiety and was higher in the subgroup of subjects with severe depression. The subscale measure of Felt oppression correlated both with anxiety and with depression. There was no correlation between the measures of oppression and aggression.

Sympathy for terrorism was significantly correlated with reporting having had a family member wounded or killed by the IDF. Sympathy for terrorism was significantly correlated with both total depression scores and total anxiety scores. There was a trend ($p = 0.063$) for sympathy for terrorism to be associated with perceived oppression. Examining the subscales of the OQ, it was determined that 77% of those who felt treated unjustly expressed sympathy for terrorism. On the other hand, sympathy for terrorism was not associated with self-rated aggression.

Endocrine findings

Morning salivary cortisol was lower among subjects who exhibited depression scores

great than or equal to 20. There was a strong trend toward an inverse association between anxiety and morning cortisol levels. Felt Oppression was inversely correlated with morning cortisol. Testosterone levels were higher among those who expressed sympathy for terrorism, but this finding did not reach statistical significance.

Discussion

The primary empirical results from our preliminary analysis of this pilot study included the fact that depression and anxiety were quite prevalent among our subjects, with depression especially frequent among those who reported having had one or more family members wounded or killed by the IDF. This is perhaps predictable, and consistent with the past PTSD findings. The specific findings regarding depression and anxiety, however, help to extend and clarify the nature of psychological distress among Palestinian refugee boys: with or without a specific major family tragedy associated with the intifada, these boys are developing their identities under the gun, often sad and anxious, with the potential for long lasting consequences to their mental health, self -esteem, independence, and success in careers and family life. Setting aside the possible implications for political behavior, one would ordinarily predict a greater than usual challenge in adjustment to adult social life. Yet one must be open-minded regarding the ultimate developmental impact of exposure to and particularly of participation in political violence: as Barber (in this volume) explains, evidence exists that adolescent participation in such events may play a positive role in the emergence of identity, self esteem, and even civic mindedness.

It is worth noting that aggressivity was entirely age-appropriate among these boys. Contrary to the intuition of some that boys living in such grim and violent settings invariably express greater than usual aggression--and contrary to the impression given by media images of running battles with Israeli tanks and Hamas-run military summer camps, our result suggest that young adolescent boys in the most beleaguered of all Palestinians communities do not report excessive aggressivity. One must be cautious about these results. The Aggression Questionnaire is a self-rated instrument. It may or may not reflect actual observed aggression. More to the point, if an unusually elevated degree of aggression is accepted in a community, respondents perhaps rate themselves as within normal limits, while objective comparisons of their observed behavior with that of age-matched comparison groups might tell a different story. Due to the sensitivities of the community and the schools, we did not gather detailed information about these boys' actual aggressive behavior or participation in the intifada. Absent such information, we must be wary of concluding that the AQ provides an accurate or predictive measure of their behaviors. Perhaps our most useful finding in this regard was simply that anxiety correlated with self-rated aggression. This suggests the possibility that aggression increases among those who are most sensitive to environmentally provoked emotional turmoil.

The results from the Oppression Questionnaire must also be regarded with great caution. This is a novel instrument that has neither been validated against other measures of psychological distress nor normed across large populations living in different political circumstances. Nonetheless, the findings that perceived oppression correlated with both anxiety and severe depression give credence to the conclusion that this instrument is detecting negative feelings associated with a particular type of

political situation. Much work will be needed to further develop this instrument; yet one might tentatively conclude that, consistent with the intuitions of political psychology, perceived oppression is associated with emotional distress.

Another novel aspect of this pilot project was the incorporation of neuroendocrine measures. It is well know that stress provokes changes in the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis of mammals, including humans. The adrenal hormone cortisol rises in response to acute stress—an often-adaptive response [15]. In contrast, as stress becomes chronic, evidence suggests that there is a down-regulation of the body's stress response capacity, and cortisol levels become persistently depressed. [16, 23, 24]. Consistent with this understanding of the physiology of chronic stress, we found that boys with more anxiety and those with more depression both had lower cortisol levels. The stress of the intifada, and more generally, the stress of living in politically subdominant, economically disadvantaged, and physically dangerous circumstances may be overwhelming these boys' ability to mount a normal hormonal response. Again, the long-term consequences to health are somewhat unpredictable: Sapolsky, for example, has demonstrated that chronic stress may have permanent damaging effects on the developing brain [25]. However, one should bear in mind the possibility that some types of developmental stress confer benefits to some subgroups of individuals, such as enhanced adaptability, fortitude, or emotional resilience.

It is more difficult to predict the political psychological consequences of this apparent emotional distress, chronic stress and perceived oppression. In order to address this issue, we examined the relationship between the above measures and self-reported sympathy for several aspects of political violence. Although we operationalized "sympathy for terrorism" based upon responses to questions about support for violence against civilians for political/religious purposes, we must be wary of claiming that we accurately measured the type of sympathy for terrorism that would predict political or material support for such violence or actual commission of such violence. That having been said, the results are intriguing. Sympathy for terrorism appears to be associated with emotional distress, as well as with aspects of perceived oppression—in particular, unjust treatment. Although this trend did not reach statistical significance, teenaged boys with higher testosterone levels might be more likely to be sympathetic to terrorism.

Conclusion

When groups share territory (or dispute territory) but do not share power equally, one group often dominates the other. Sidanius, for one, has provided a vivid picture of such political dominance as the exercise of group-based social hierarchies, and describes the imposition of discrimination by one group against another as a "circle of oppression" [26]. The present research provides preliminary evidence that, indeed, perceived oppression plays a role in support for political violence directed against innocent civilians. This is not to make any judgment about the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. The oppressive behavior of Israelis toward Palestinians and the morality of terrorism as a response are subjects of painful and contentious debates that will not be addressed here. Nonetheless, this research may assist policy makers in recognizing the emotional and physiological roots of some very dangerous behaviors. Depression, anxiety, and a sense of injustice are strongly associated with support of terrorism.

Awareness of these factors in a vulnerable population, like the proverbial canary in the mine, should alert potential targets to reconsider their position. Kardiner and Ovessey said more than fifty years ago, "there is only one way that the products of oppression can be dissolved, and that is to stop the oppression [27]. While in no way denying the very real problems of oppression and injustice, we would offer a modern restatement more consistent with the maturing science of political psychology: there is only one way that the products of perceived oppression can be defused, and that is to stop that perception.

References

1. Schmid, A. & Jongman, A.J. (1983). *Political terrorism: a research guide to concepts, theories, data bases and literature*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.
2. Hamilton, L.C. (1978). Ecology of terrorism: A historical and statistical study. Boulder: University of Colorado Ph.D. thesis.
3. Victoroff, J. (2005). The "mind of the terrorist": a review and critique of psychological approaches. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 49*, 3-42.
4. Laquer, W. (1986). Reflections on terrorism. *Foreign Affairs, 65*, 86-100.
5. Abadie, A. (2004). Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism. *NBER Working Paper 10859*.
6. Piazza, J.A. (2003). Rooted in Poverty? Terrorism, Poor Economic Development and Social Change. *Mimeo, Meredith College, Raleigh, NC*.
7. Qouta, S., & E. El Sarraj. (1993). Level of anxiety in Gaza before and after the Intifada. *Psychological Studies, 3*, 1-11.
8. Qouta, S. Punamaki, R-L., & Eyad El-Sarraj, E. (1995). The impact of the peace treaty on psychological well-being: a follow-up study of Palestinian children. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 19*, 1197-1208.
9. Thabet, A.A., & Vostanis, P. (2000). Post traumatic stress disorder reactions in children of war: a longitudinal study. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 24*, 291-298.
10. Miller, T., el-Masri, M., Allodi, F., & Qouta, S. (1999). Emotional and behavioural problems and trauma exposure of school-age Palestinian children in Gaza: some preliminary findings. *Medicine, Conflict & Survival, 15,* 368-78.
11. Thabet, A.A.M., & Vostanis, P. (1998). Social adversities and anxiety disorders in the Gaza Strip. *Arch Dis Child, 78*, 439-442.
12. Thabet, A.A.M., Abed, Y., & Vostanis, P. (2004). Comorbidity of PTSD and depression among refugee children during war conflict. *J Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 45*, 533-542.
13. Thabet, A.A., Abed, Y., & Vostanis, P. (2002). Emotional problems in Palestinian children living in a war zone: a cross-sectional study. *Lancet, 359*, 1801-4.
14. Qouta S., El Sarraj E., and Punamaki, R., (2003). Prevalence and determinants of PTSD among Palestinian children exposed to military violence. *European Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 12*, 265-272.
15. Chrousos GP. (1998). Stressors, stress, and neuroendocrine integration of the adaptive response: The 1997 Hans Selye Memorial Lecture. *Ann NY Acad Sci, 851*, 311-335.
16. McEwen, B.S. (2002). The neurobiology and neuroendocrinology of stress: implications for post-traumatic stress disorder from a basic science perspective. *Psychiatric Clin N Am, 25*, 469-494.
17. Dabbs, J.M. & Dabbs M.G. (2000). *Heroes rogues and lovers: testosterone and behavior*. New York: McGraw Hill.
18. Niehoff (1999) *The biology of violence*. New York: The Free Press
19. Beck, A.T., Ward, C.H., Mendelson, M., Mock, J., & Erbaugh J. (1961). An inventory for measuring depression. *Arch Gen Psychiatry, 4*, 53-63.
20. Beck, A.T., Epstein, N., Brown, G., & Staer, R.A. (1988). An inventory for measuring clinical anxiety: psychometric properties. *J Consulting Clin Psychol, 56*, 893-897.
21. Buss, A.H., & Warren, W.L. (2000). *Aggression Questionnaire Manual*. Los Angeles: Western Psychological Services.
22. Schbley, A.H. (2000). Torn between God, family, and money: the changing profile of Lebanon's religious terrorists. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 23*, 175-196.

23. Yehuda, R., Kahana, B., Binder-Brynes, K., Southwick, S.M., Mason, J.W. , & Giller, E.L. (1995). Low urinary cortisol excretion in Holocaust survivors with posttraumatic stress disorder. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 152*, 982-6.

24. Yehuda, R. (2000). Biology of posttraumatic stress disorder. *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry, 61, Suppl 7*, 14-21.

25. Sapolsky-R-M. (1996). Why stress is bad for your brain. *Science, 273*, 749-50.

26. Sidanius, J. & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

27. Kardiner, A., Ovessey, L. (1951). *The mark of oppression*. Cleveland: World Publishing Company.

Chapter 15
Terrorist Behavior in Hostage Taking: Policy Issues and Research Directions

Margaret A. Wilson
Department of Psychology, University of Surrey, UK

Abstract

Work conducted on behaviour in terrorist hostage taking incidents is reviewed in order to highlight areas for future research. Both terrorist and hostage behaviour are highly structured and conform to predictable 'scripts' with role-rule consistencies. Areas where research has the potential to contribute to the peaceful resolution of hostage taking incidents are identified.

Keywords: terrorism, hostage taking, policy, review

Introduction

This paper draws on research aimed at understanding terrorist behaviour in hostage taking incidents, uncovering structures that allow for prediction of outcome, and understanding the interpersonal interactions that occur. The study of hostage taking behaviour has raised important issues with serious policy implications. The aim of this review is to highlight the directions for future research that emerged from that work and to reflect on how this knowledge may be directed toward the peaceful resolution of hostage taking incidents.

In the early 1990s, the notion that offender behaviour was patterned and predictable was very new. Although we now know that criminal behaviour occurs within a limited range of behavioural scripts, the early findings were revolutionary, and changed the way that psychology was applied to police investigation. The notion of "offender profiling," once associated with a small group of experts in the FBI, has become so commonplace as to have filtered through to popular culture, with frequent misrepresentation in the fictional media.

The first large scale scientific attempt to document behaviour was focussed on stranger rape [1], a richer source of data than other crimes, as rapists left victims who could tell us what happened. From these early studies, explorations developed into many other forms of criminal activity, including non-interactive crimes and those where the interactions between offender and victim were only implied by observables at the crime scene (e.g. homicide). All aspects of the criminal repertoire proved amenable to study, and in parallel with researchers in the US, major developments in

geographic profiling were made, allowing for the prediction of 'home range' from the distance travelled by rapists and burglars in the commission of their crimes [2, 3].

It was in this context then, that I started to consider whether the study of terrorist behaviour would prove so fruitful. Like rape, hostage taking incidents provide surviving victim accounts. But there were good reasons why hostage taking would not be as structured as other crimes. First, in rape and murder you are typically only dealing with the actions of one offender, whereas hostage taking incidents were frequently carried out by a team. We knew that the victim's reactions shaped the rapists' behaviour to a degree, so how much more unwieldy to have so many people influencing events, not just the hostages themselves, and large numbers of them too, but also the actions of the authorities on the outside [4].

This reflects three strands of research; study of terrorist behaviour, study of hostage behaviour, and study of the negotiation process. Both terrorist and hostage behaviour did prove to be guided by predictable scripts and role-rule based consistencies. These structures are important; once you have structure you have the basis for prediction, and with prediction you have a real chance to contribute to decision support.

However, these discoveries also threw up a variety of other issues with important implications for command and negotiation. This paper reviews those issues and highlights the areas where future attention might prove productive in terms in developing policy for intervention and negotiation.

Data Limitations

The data for these studies were extracted from published accounts of hostage taking incidents coded for the presence or absence of behaviours. A lot of information came from the ITERATE books [5, 6, 7, 8, 9], which were already proving to be a valuable data source for other academic research [e.g. 10, 11]. These accounts were supplemented by quality newspaper coverage where possible. As with all work based on these sources, it is important to stress that it is not possible to be certain that the accounts are accurate. And so the models produced were not intended to inform decision making as they stand, but to demonstrate that such structuring was possible.

Here then are the first and most obvious recommendations: that academic research needs access to as much detailed information on what occurs during hostage taking incidents as possible and that the earlier derived principles need to be tested with the fullest and most accurate data available.

Behavioural Consistency

One of the important aspects of the early work on serial rape was the notion that a rapist will, to a degree, remain consistent in the way in which he chooses to conduct his crimes. Without this assumption it is not possible to consider behavioural linking or to relate aspects of the offence to aspects of the offender, as offender profiling requires. Nonetheless, identifying these consistencies has proved to be one of the most elusive academic endeavours to date. There are so many influences on the offender's

behaviour, including the victim's reaction, the environmental context, and social learning effects as the offender responds to the successes and failures of the past.

As mentioned above, this problem applies more so to terrorist activity, where (most often) different hostage taking incidents are carried out by different personnel. So any consistency in the way a group conducts an event must be due to an over-riding organisational approach in terms of training, or to more global trends that distinguish not *that group per se* but *that type of group* in terms of psychological concepts such as access to resources, approach to control, and underlying motivations--all factors that are key to understanding group differences [e.g. 12, 13, 14]. Both forms of distinction are observable in terrorist hostage taking incidents [4].

Behavioural Prediction

Concrete observable features of behaviour can be used to distinguish hijacking incidents along a continuum from the most organised, resourced and planned incidents through to more spontaneous and disorganised incidents [4].

Some authors have suggested that the most well organised terrorist groups will resist injury and death to hostages as this is likely to have a negative impact on public sympathy for the cause [15, 16, 17]. Despite the high profile and memorable incidents in which hostages have been killed, this principle appears to be upheld with preliminary data [18]. The most sophisticated groups do not tend to engage in unnecessary abuse of the hostages. At the opposite end of the spectrum, poorly resourced hijackers with low-level weaponry and more personally oriented demands are an interesting case. Although they frequently surrender if taken to their chosen destination, interference with their plans is also associated with an increased likelihood of shots being fired and hostage injury [18]. The policy implications are clear, but must be tested on the fullest data possible.

There are very important issues around negotiation, for example, recruitment, selection, and training of negotiators, and the somewhat overlooked issues of debrief and welfare which are vital for retention. Future research in all of these areas will doubtless be of importance. However, what matters in terms of decision support is the policy adopted by command, and the value of behavioural prediction lies in an understanding of the behavioural cues that they can use to decide on intervention as opposed to continued negotiations.

Group Consistency

Wilson [4] demonstrates that certain groups have a relatively consistent *modus operandi* over a period of one to three years. For example, the PFLP were shown to have conducted a series of hijackings using very similar behavioural scripts during the 1970s. Further, that analysis demonstrated that cases which were thought to have been carried out by the PFLP but were not confirmed did indeed share similar approaches, and that those denied by the PLO were least similar in their behavioural repertoire. Whilst intelligence agencies would undoubtedly be considering the similarities in the approaches taken in the incidents, the analysis provides an empirical demonstration of

the extent of these similarities. This validation of intelligence information was also demonstrated through behavioural similarities in approach to barricade-siege between groups thought to have trained together [4].

Systematic behavioural analysis therefore has a valuable role in background research into the capabilities and expected activities of terrorist groups, as well as the potential to identify networks existing between groups with similar aims. Further, where consistencies can be identified in the activities of a named group, it is possible to have a better understanding of how they will react to negotiation and assess the possible risk to the hostages.

Organisational Development

Consistency and development are necessarily related, and it is not possible to consider one without the other. The results discussed above showed consistency over short periods of time; however, it is important to consider the way in which terrorist activity in general, and known groups' activities in particular, are changing over a longer time span. Recent work has started to address both.

The earlier work showed that some named terrorist groups did not conduct hostage taking at all and other groups did not maintain hostage taking as a strategy over long periods of time [18]. However, it is possible to examine the way that named groups switch between forms of terrorist activity and change the behavioral components of their attacks. Such analysis will help understand the organizational development in a terrorist group and the way in which their aims and means of achieving them may be changing.

A recent study has examined the changing nature of ETA's activities over a period of two decades [19]. This work highlights the necessity of modeling complex interactions. Analysts must take into consideration external factors that may be influencing a group's behaviour. For example, the widespread public condemnation of ETA in Spain and the resulting demonstrations may have affected their decision to alter the timing and locations of bombings that had previously targeted civilian populations indiscriminately.

Global Developments

Having considered changes that are due to group development and change in organisation strategy, it is also important to examine whether the nature of hostage taking is changing on a more global scale. It is certainly true that the type of political barricade-siege incidents that were prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s are all but extinct in the 1990s, possibility owing to target hardening at locations such as embassies [20].

It can be argued that kidnap is the biggest hostage taking threat we face now and it is harder to deal with for obvious reasons. Targets can be random, and unlike military and political targets, cannot be trained in protection strategies [21]. Kidnap incidents appear to have more bad outcomes, and are safer for the terrorists as fewer are caught; intervention is not an option when the location is unknown, and surrender is pointless [4, 15, 18]. Kidnap is also more difficult to study and is severely limited by the nature

of the data. Even given the caveats on published data, very little ever makes it to the public domain. Access to data on kidnapping incidents is vital to future research and the potential to inform policy and training.

There is evidence that hijacking has changed considerably from the 1970s and 1980s to the 1990s. Although hijacking incidents did not decrease in frequency during the 1990s, a different profile of demands and motivations is evident, carrying implications for management and negotiation [20].

The 1990's were characterised primarily by motivations for personal travel, and include a very high proportion of refugees and asylum seekers. These incidents also have very different profiles in terms of the way the hostage takers use deadlines and engage in the negotiated release of passengers [20]. They also issue fewer demands, which has important implications for negotiation [11].

Provided that future research can address the relationship between negotiation, the prediction of escalation and the likelihood of surrender, these types of incidents should see less loss of life. Authorities were always more likely to intervene with hijackers who were well armed and where hostages had already been harmed [10] but almost all the deaths that occur during hijacks occur at intervention [18].

The 1990s hijackings may have more in common with domestic/criminal/prison hostage taking incidents and we could learn a lot from further analysis of cases where desperate people in desperate situations resort to desperate measures. If these forms of hijacking were shown to be similar to their "land based" equivalents, the databases from which to draw conclusions would be considerably larger. The negotiations may be more akin to talking someone off a high building, but we should never underestimate the likelihood that they will "jump."

Geographic Profiling

The fact that geographic profiling turned out to be one of the most important practical inputs to police investigation might have alerted us to the potential for transferring the principles to terrorist incidents sooner. In fact, it has been criminologists who have been the first to take up this baton and demonstrate geographical consistency in the rate of terrorist incidents over time [see for example, 22, in this volume].

Nonetheless, there is much scope for psychologists to apply what we know about spatial behaviour in other crimes at a more local level, to examine whether the geographic choices of terrorist action are subject to the same types of predictability. The implications for target hardening are important ones.

Hostage Behaviour

While studying the behaviour of terrorists in hostage taking incidents was the primary aim of the first studies undertaken, it soon became obvious that hostages had a role to play in the outcome of incidents. Research has shown that hostages who behave outside of 'script' may destabilise a situation [14] and it is important to know the circumstances in which they are likely to do this.

Wilson and Smith [14] examine the roles associated with hostage taking incidents and suggest that it may be safer for all concerned if the hostages limited their behavioural repertoire to passive acceptance. The non-adherence to script and its relationship to both positive and negative outcomes requires empirical testing.

In relation to this I undertook a qualitative study on the occurrence of passenger resistance in hijacking incidents [23]. The types of action taken by the passengers and crew vary according to their apparent perception of the hijacker, whether right or wrong, and are largely determined by role structures: occupational role, social roles, gender roles, etc. Here again, data are required to test whether the forms of resistance identified are successful, and in particular with which types of hostage taker. The results have important implications for training airline staff and may transfer to more general hostage preparedness training for military, diplomatic and other relevant personnel.

Quite apart from the unpredictability of hostages getting involved, it is useful for negotiators to know what hostages are prepared to do. For example, in hijacking incidents it is rare that the pilots leave the plane, even where there's opportunity, when there are still passengers and/or flight attendants on board [23]. This may be a function of decisions made by the authorities, or it may be that this derives from their own perceived role in command and that they will not leave until the people they are responsible for are safe. Negotiators need to work with, rather than against, pre-existing behavioural scripts.

Previous work has also examined pro-social interactions during hostage taking, calling into question the widespread belief in the "Stockholm Syndrome" [14]. The unquestioning acceptance of this phenomenon, for which there is little theoretical and no empirical substantiation, may be rather dangerous, where real decisions are made on the assumption of its existence. However we choose to explain pro-social interactions, it is important to identify the role they have in outcome and whether there really is scope to capitalise on their occurrence, as both the hostage taking literature and negotiation training assume.

Conclusion

In summary, the study of behaviour in hostage taking has opened up a number of avenues for research that has obvious practical relevance for policy development and incident management. In the long term, this work may help obtain more peaceful resolutions to hostage taking incidents.

The models developed on data from the 1970s and 1980s have established principles that can be transferred to the present day, and incorporate changes in the nature of terrorist action. When data are available, it will be interesting to see whether the trends identified in the 1990s continue. I have previously suggested that hijacking incidents might change for all concerned after 9/11 [23]. With longer-term data, it will be possible to see whether those predictions come true.

References

1. Canter, D., & Heritage, R. (1990). A multivariate model of sexual offence behaviour: Developments in offender profiling. I. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*, 1 (2), 185-212.
2. Canter, D., & Larkin, P., (1993) The environmental range of serial rapists. Journal of Environmental Psychology. 13, 63-69.
3. Brantingham, P.J., & Brantingham, P.L., (1981) Environmental Criminology. Beverly Hill, CA: Sage.
4. Wilson, M.A., (2000) Toward a model of terrorist behavior in hostage taking incidents. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 44, 403-424.
5. Mickolus, E.F. (1980). *Transnational terrorism: A chronology of events. 1968-1979.* London, UK: Greenwood Press.
6. Mickolus, E.F., Sandler, T and Murdock, J.M., (1989) *International terrorism in the 1980s: A chronology of events 1-2.* Iowa, US: Iowa State University Press.
7. Mickolus, E.F. (1993). *Terrorism 1988-1991: A chronology of events and a selectively annotated bibliography*. London, UK: Greenwood Press.
8. Mickolus, E.F., and Simmons, S.L. (1997) *Terrorism, 1992-1995: A chronology of events and a selectively annotated bibliography*. London: Greenwood Press.
9. Mickolus, E.F., and Simmons, S.L. (2002). *Terrorism 1996-2001: A chronology*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
10. Friedland, N., and Merari, A., (1992) Hostage Events: Descriptive Profile and Analysis of Outcomes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*. 22 (2) 134-156.
11. Sandler, T., and Scott, J.L., (1987) Terrorist Success in Hostage Taking Incidents: An Empirical Study. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 31 (1) 35-53.
12. Crenshaw, M. (1990). The logic of terrorism: Terrorist behaviour as a product of strategic choice. In W. Reich (Ed.) *Origins of terrorism: Psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
13. Overgaard, P.B., (1994) The Scale of Terrorist Attacks as a Signal of Resources. *Journal of Conflict Resolution.* 38(3) 452-478.
14. Wilson, M.A., and Smith, A., (1999) Roles and rules in terrorist hostage taking. In D.Canter and L. Alison (Eds.) *The social psychology of crime: Groups, teams and networks.* Ashgate: Aldershot.
15. Corsi, J.R., (1981) Terrorism as a Desperate Game: Fear, Bargaining and Communication in the Terrorist Event. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 25 (1) 47-85
16. Lacquer, W. (1977). *Terrorism*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.
17. Rubin, J.Z., and Friedland, N., (1986) Theater of Terror. *Psychology Today*. 20 (3) 18-28
18. Wilson, M.A., Canter, D., and Smith, A., (1995) *Modelling Terrorist Behaviour*. Final Report to the U.S. Army Research Institute. ARI. Alexandra. VA
19. Wilson, M.A., and Brocklehurst, E., (forthcoming) Targeting of victims in assassinations and bombings: a temporal analysis.
20. Wilson, M.A., (forthcoming) The changing profile of terrorist hijacking.
21. Hillman, R.G., (1981) The psychopathology of being held hostage. *American Journal of Psychiatry*. 138 (9) 1193-1197
22. LaFree, G., Morris, N., Dugan, L., and Fahey, S., (2006) Identifying cross-national global terrorist hot spots. In this volume.
23. Wilson M. A., (2003) Hostage behaviour in aircraft hijacking: A script-based analysis of resistance strategies. In Bor, R. (Ed.) Passenger Behaviour Ashgate: Aldershot.

Chapter 16
The Empirical Study of the Terrorist Threat

Nadejda V. Tarabrina and Yulia V. Bykhovets
Institute of Psychology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Abstract

Up until recently the terrorist threat has not been a subject of serious psychological research. While a fair amount of work has recently been devoted to the psychological and psychiatric consequences of acts of terrorism among direct victims and their family members, much less attention has been given to the perception of the terrorist threat by indirect victims (those who may be exposed to acts of terrorism via the mass media). In the present study we dealt with perception of the radioactive threat. A special questionnaire was designed for this purpose--The Questionnaire of the Terrorist Threat (QTT). This instrument is based on the notion that the perception of terrorist threat can be analyzed from the point of view of three components, dissimilar in their psychological content: cognitive, emotional and behavioral. The QTT is intended to evaluate the content and structure of an individual's awareness of both objective and subjective stressful factors experienced after modern terrorist acts. The basic psychometric properties and factor structure of the QTT are reported in a sample of 387 subjects

Keywords: terrorism, victim, threat, questionnaire

Introduction

Terrorist actions target anyone without taking into consideration whether he or she has any connection with the actual enemies of terrorists, so this problem became universal.

At present, we have substantial data regarding the prevalence of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and its symptoms among victims and witnesses of terrorist acts. In a study of the consequences of September 11th attacks on World Trade Center, Schlenger at al. (2002) reported that the prevalence of full blown PTSD among New Yorkers reached 11.2 %, with symptoms PTSD persisting for several months after the attack [17]. Galea (2003) reported a gradual reduction of PTSD symptoms and their intensity since September 11 among residents of 110-th Street in Manhattan: after 1 month it was 7.5 %; after 4 months it was 1.7 %; after 6 months it was just 0.6% [4]. Similar tendencies of steady decline in the prevalence of PTSD after 4 and 6 months were observed and among New Yorkers, in general. The recent increase in the number of terrorist acts in the region of the Russian Federation is linked to the increase in the number of direct victims and witnesses of the acts, as well as the number of people

who were confronted with the events via mass media exposure, thus becoming indirect witnesses.

The prevalence of mental disorders among the general population of the Chechen republic is estimated to be 86.3 % [6]. This is more than double the prevalence reported in territories not exposed to the influence of extreme conflict. Regarding the structure of mental disorders of the examined participants: anxiety dominates on a background of high-level somatization and broken social functioning. The authors found that 69.5 % of those examined had experienced one or more traumatic events leading to the development of PTSD. The highest prevalence of PTSD, 61.2 %, was found in the capital city, Grozny.

In Russia, according to Levada Center's 2004 poll:

- 75.1 % of respondents believe that international terrorism represents a "very big threat" to Russia.
- 21.6 % of respondents name terrorism as one of the main problems the Russian government should pay the greatest attention to.
- 23.4 % of respondents state that the problem of terrorism stands second after corruption.
- Only 7.9 % of respondents consider either Chechnya or instability in the Northern Caucasus to be prime problems.

The majority of people feel that the way information about the terrorist attack in Beslan was provided was not satisfactory; moreover, the opinion regarding the truthfulness of the information provided is getting worse. In the recent poll:

- Only 7% of respondents believe that they were told the whole truth compared to 13% in September 2004.
- 52 % believe that they were provided with only partial truth (56% in September, 2004).
- 28% are convinced that "authorities hide the truth" (22 % in September 2004).
- 8% are of the opinion that "authorities lie and twist the truth".

North et al. (1999) have analyzed the literature comprising data on the frequency of PTSD development after various traumatic events. They found that a terrorist act is among the most serious of all threats to the mental health of a population. In comparison with natural disasters:

- After an eruption of a volcano PTSD developed in 2 % of the population [19];
- After a torrential rain PTSD developed in 4 % of the population [2];
- After a flood 4 - 8 % of the population suffered from PTSD [22];
- After a break of a dam PTSD was found in 44 % of the population [5];
- After a fire PTSD was found in 53 % of the population [10];
- After a plane wreck PTSD developed among 54 % of the affected population [20];
- As a result of terrorist bombing in a Oklahoma City, 33% of residents suffered from PTSD [14].

Perception of recently increasing threat of terrorist acts is a cause of psychological disorders. This tendency might get to the level of mental epidemic. Therefore, alongside other stress-related syndromes recognized by international mental health community—such as "Vietnamese," "Afghani" and "Chechen" syndromes--there is recently emerging set of psychological consequences of perception of the threat of a terrorist act which might be regarded as a syndrome called "threat of terrorist act."

Besides, one type of stress reaction to the information about actual or impending terrorist acts is a perception of diminishing safety of life, which, along with self-preservation, is considered to be one of the most basic and dominant concerns for an individual.

Up until now, the "terrorist threat" has been the specific subject of few psychological research projects. The majority of works are devoted to psychological and psychiatric *consequences* of acts of terrorism among direct victims of terrorist acts and their family members. By comparison, not enough attention has been given to the perception of terrorist threats by indirect victims (those who were confronted with acts of terrorism by means of mass media).

Study of the psychological consequences of "terrorist threat" for an individual should begin with a definition of the concept of "threat." The term "threat" is defined as a possible or probable real event or phenomenon capable of causing moral or a material damage [3]. In other words, the threat is a potential danger--e.g., the stated intention or demonstration of readiness of some subjects to cause damage to others--experienced as the probability of transition from a possibility to an actuality.

In the national research studying the perception of risk of recurrence of traumatic events various parameters of the risk were singled out. The estimation of existing threat depends on these parameters. The authors found that the estimation of risks is not a function of mid-annual death rate according to the data of the mass media, but instead depends to a greater extent on various risk attributions [13]. Thus, Slovic P. at al. (1979) has provided a list of the most significant modifying factors when people estimate "the risk of occurrence of traumatic event": opportunity of the personal control over a situation; potential danger; fear, horror; the degree of familiarity; understanding of a situation; influence on children; display of consequences; influence on the future generations; convertibility; the quantity of victims; trust in governmental institutions; mass-media coverage; the historical importance of a situation; premeditation of influence; validity; benefit; reasons [21].

Many research studies confirm that people estimate risk and threat based upon their feeling of control over the situation and their level of knowledge of the situation, as well as upon the familiarity of the event [11]. Interpersonal violence both between two individuals and groups (war, acts of terrorism) is probably the most terrible traumatic experience [24]. The main component of all traumatic events is the undermined feeling of security.

"Terrorist threat" differs from other stressors because the experienced threat to life is related to the one's future, formed, as a rule, after the person had been a victim or the witness (either direct or indirect) of terrorist acts and their consequences. Firstly, the analysis and forecasting of probability of becoming a victim of terrorism turn into the basis for development of emotional-cognitive structures that contain assumptions about terrorist threat. Individuals that directly or indirectly experience an act of terrorism may develop expectations and assumptions of undesirable consequences of terrorist acts that they are not capable of preventing. This personal and subjective assessment may be expressed either through increased anxiety or through complete indifference to a frightening perspective, or through other forms of attitudes to the actuality of threat. Distinctions in objectivity of the assessment of "terrorist threat" after an actual terrorist act may be considered as a result of experiencing that event. Afterward, even if it is not an objective basis to feel threat of a terrorist act, some individuals will nonetheless anticipate such an ominous prospect.

The second notion is complexity of forecasting terrorist acts, meaning that it is impossible to predict either the time, place or type of a future terrorist act. Unpredictability itself renders oppressing effect on the mentality of an individual. G. Sel'e in his researches demonstrated that unpredictable and unmanageable events are more dangerous than are expected and controllable events.

The third factor is the uncompromising character of terrorist acts. That is, the individual comes to realize that he or she does not have informational means to prevent the threat hanging over him or her.

And fourthly, an individual starts to realize his or her own personal vulnerability in the face of a terrorist act. There is a comprehension that a terrorist act is capable of disrupting the life of anyone. Ursano, R. J. at. al. [24] has noted distinctions and similarities between traumatic events such as acts of terrorism, natural accidents and technogenic accidents (see Table 1).

Table 1: Similarities and differences of terrorist acts, natural disasters, technogenic disasters

№	Characteristics	Act of terrorism		Natural disasters			Technogenic disasters	
		Bombing attack	Hostage taking	Hurricane	Tornado	Earthquake	Nuclear outflow	Toxic outflow
1	Undermined feeling of security	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	Premeditation of action	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
3	Uncertainty	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
4	Geographical restrictions of influence	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
5	Local fear	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6	National fear	+	+	+	-	-	-	-

The predominantly informational character of a terrorist threat as source of the stress might be compared with the psychological impact of exposure to a toxic or biological substance or radiation in that such threats belong to the group of "invisible

stressors," or threats to life that are not directly perceived by sensory organs. The "invisible stressors" do not visibly affect one's environment, therefore their perception and the estimation of possible harmful effects is based upon an individual's knowledge of their presence as well as on the unconscious or partly conscious fear of their detrimental impact on one's life and health [23].

In V.V. Nurkovoj's joint Russian-American work, D.M. Bernshtein and E.F. Loftus present a comparative analysis of recollections of Muscovites about the explosions of apartment houses in Moscow in 1999, and about the 9/11 attacks in New York. It was shown that, in the formation of subjective clarity and stability of memories of historical events, a significant role is played by the factor of visual crystallization and attribution via mass media [15]. It was confirmed that personal inclusion in an event brings about decrease of the "quality" of recollection. As a result, victims were more inclined to trust "socially generated" images of memory than their own recollections of direct experiences. In contrast to the mainly verbal form of presentation of information in pre-industrial societies, the contemporary world images produced by radio, TV and photojournalism do not require decoding and consequently have the ability to masquerade as "real" experiences. Subsequent pictures produced by the mass media and publications are capable of activating memories of traumatic material about threat of terrorist acts. Mass communication may trigger memories, and the methods of presentation of traumatic material via such visual and audio channels—the most powerful for the human beings--is the source of intensive psychological consequences: symptoms of intrusion and activation of traumatic material in the consciousness
Beliefs about imagined threats are accompanied by reactions similar to the perceptions of actual threats. However, previous data in the literature on the specifics of experiencing the threat of terrorism is inconsistent.

The pronounced emotional experiences of terrorist threats are both a consequence experienced stress and the source of a new stress. This is explained by the fact that that which matters for an individual is not only his or her subjective experience of terrorist *events*--which may or may not cause emotional distress--but also his or her subjective experience of the terrorist *threat* itself. Individual psychological characteristics of the particular person have thus determining importance, both for a modality of experiences and for their intensity.

The Laboratory of Psychology of Posttraumatic Stress at the Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences has conducted a complex investigation of the specifics of the perception of terrorist threat by indirect victims of acts of terrorism in Moscow. For this purpose we developed a Questionnaire of the Terrorist Threat (QTT) based on the notion that the perception of terrorist threat can be analyzed from the point of view of its three components, dissimilar in their psychological content. We hypothesized that the <u>intensity of experience of threat of an act of terrorism</u> plays the major role in the development of PTSD.

We also presupposed that intensity of perception of the threat would be different in different age and social groups.

The first component of the psychological structure of the terrorist threat is a *cognitive*, which implies degree of realization of an actuality of the threat, its probability, and its possible consequences. This cognitive component is expressed by the specifics of cognitive processing and understanding of the information about terrorist actions that are represented in emotional–cognitive structures, containing anticipations about threat and the emotions connected to them. Therefore, information

on acts of terrorism and probable consequences as to the number of victims and specific damages, coming through the mass media, as well as knowledge available to the subject about previous terrorist events and their consequences, work as the starting mechanism determining the final intensity of experience of terrorist threat.

The second component is *emotional*, or experience of threat, which can be both conscious and unconscious; (for the purpose of this analysis, only conscious emotions are described). The perception of the environment and degree of the subjective importance for the person of various components of a situation are directly associated with involvement of emotions. In our work, we define the attitudes toward the information about a terrorist threat in terms of the type of emotions elicited by the threat: anger, sadness, pleasure, fear, indifference, interest, and anxiety.

The third component is a *behavioral* component, which determines characteristics of behavior subjectively evaluated by the person as reactions to a terrorist act. These changes are considered as adaptive responses to the increasingly stressful conditions. A number of studies on behavioral changes after the events of September 11 presented data on increase in the consumption of narcotics, alcohol and cigarettes. For example, Vlahov et al. (2002) have shown, that after 9/11, 9.7 % of inhabitants of Manhattan reported increased consumption of cigarettes; 3.2 % reported increased use of marijuana; and 26.6 % of participants reported increased consumption of alcohol [25]. In addition, symptoms of PTSD had a positive connection with increase of consumption of cigarettes and marijuana, while symptoms of depression were positively connected to increase of consumption of cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana. These results lend support to the notion of possible links between the described forms of behavior and emotional distress caused by stress.

Other forms of behavior that are considered by the authors to be means of coping with the threat of terrorism include turning to religion and formation of public organizations to fight terrorism. There are other inactive forms of behavior which may also be means of coping with the stress: intensive information search in order to decrease uncertainty of a situation, development of a condition of constant alertness with its subsequent spontaneous decline. Authors associate these forms of behavior with hypervigilance, vigilance as reaction to received information about the threat of negative event. Therefore, according to all of the above, each person develops an individual cognitive-emotional-behavioral complex of conceptions, feelings and actions in variable ratios, which can be named a "syndrome of mental stability to terrorist threat" by analogy to the threat of radiation.

A similar structure for the analysis of perception of terrorist threats has been offered by Roetzer, L.M. at.al. [16]. Using the phenomenological analysis of descriptions of the experience of the events of September 11, 2001 by racially diverse sample, the authors identified five major categories of response: emotional reactions, cognitive perceptions, behavioral responses, interpersonal impact, and spiritual perspectives.

We now report a recent study utilizing the above conceptual framework:

Method

Sample

387 inhabitants of Moscow took part in the research. The sample included four groups. Three groups were identified on the basis of age criterion:

- "Students" (133 students enrolled in political science, economics and human resources management programs): 17-21 years old (male, n=74) and 16-20 years old (female, n =59).
- "Young adults" included 93 adult office workers: 22-35 years old (male, n=32) and 21-35 years old (female, n=61).
- "Middle-aged adults" included 131 office workers and retired military men: 36-60 years old (male, n = 49) and 36-55 years old (female, n = 82).

The fourth group has been included into the research to test the criterion-oriented validity:

"Psychiatric patients" included 30 patients at a psychiatric hospital with the diagnosis "anxiety disorder": 20 – 57 years old (male, n = 17) and 27-55 years old (female, n = 13). Clinical diagnostics of patients in accordance with ICD-10 criteria was conducted by the doctors of Moscow Psychiatric Hospital 13.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Groups

	n	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Std. Deviation	Variance
Psychiatric patients	30	39.2333	20.00	57.00	11.49718	132.185
Young adults	93	27.6237	21.00	35.00	3.98070	15.846
Middle aged adults	131	46.8321	36.00	60.00	6.68310	44.664
Students	133	19.3835	17.00	21.00	0.81391	0.662

All participants were volunteers and participated in the research study during February - May 2005.

Procedure

After preliminary oral instructions from the researcher, the psychiatric patients individually completed blank variants of the questionnaire (the psychologist was a detached onlooker).

The same work was carried out in groups of young adults and middle-aged adults. Students completed questionnaires collectively in educational groups after the preliminary oral instruction of the researcher.

The Questionnaire of Terrorist Threat (QTT) was used in the survey. Subjects were asked to estimate their degree of agreement with the offered statements. Parameters of the QTT are:

- **Sum** - the general index of terrorist threat experience;
- **Cogn** - index of cognitive scale of the questionnaire;
- **Emo** - index of emotional scale of the questionnaire;
- **Beh** - index of behavioral scale of the questionnaire;

The first variant of the questionnaire consisted of 120 questions. Three factors corresponding to postulated factors have been allocated on the basis of the factorial analysis (Principal Component Analysis; SPSS 11.0): cognitive, emotional and behavioral components. After testing the psychometric characteristics of the questionnaire--including reliability, validity, discrimination, and social desirability--the final variant of the questionnaire (50 questions) was developed.

The basic psychometric features of QTT

1. Reliability was calculated on the basis of synchronous reliability coefficient using Cronbach's alpha (Table 3).

Table 3: Values of Cronbach's alpha of QTT indexes (50 questions), (n = 358)

	Cogn	**Emo**	**Beh**	**Sum**
Alpha	0.762907510	0.870379142	0.881120453	0.940015453

2. Construct validity was found according to two parameters:

2.1. Correlations (R Spearman) of each item with all the three QTT indices allowed us to estimate the internal coordination of the QTT. We selected those items from each of the three scales that were, as far as possible, connected with the total index of the scale and least connected with others.

2.2. Correlations between factorial values and the 3 total indices allowed us to compare the empirical structure of factorial connections with the theoretically expected structure. The following results were received: factor 2 in a greater degree refers to the emotional scale, factor 3 - to the behavioral scale and factor 6 - to the cognitive scale.

3. Criterion–oriented validity was estimated by means of comparison of scores of each QTT indices between the group of psychiatric patients (N = 30) and other groups (N = 224). The group of psychiatric patients is taken in the research as a control group.

3.   The Basic normative data.

Results

The statistical data processing of four groups of respondents was carried out using nonparametric methods (Kruskal-Wallis, Mann-Whitney U Test and Kolmogorov). The results derived according to different methods turned out to be identical. We used statistical programs - Statistica 6.0, SPSS 11.0.

The average values of indices of all the surveyed groups were compared twice:

1. At the first stage, four QTT indices were compared (the general index of experience terrorist threat; the index of cognitive scale; the index of emotional scale; the index of behavioral scale).

2. At the second stage, every subject's scores of each scale (cognitive, emotional and behavioral) were divided by the Total Score of terrorist threat experience, allowing us to estimate the relative strength of each scale in that particular subject's answers.

Table 4: Coefficient of the correlation (R Spearman) of questionnaire items with indices

Items of cognitive scales				Items of emotional scales				Items of behavioral scales			
№ item	R Spearman	t (N-2)	p-level	№ item	R Spearman	t (N-2)	p-level	№ item	R Spearman	t (N-2)	p-level
2	0.5836	14.10	0.0000	3	0.6788	18.13	0.0000	1	0.6022	14.80	0.0000
7	0.4488	9.85	0.0000	5	0.4533	9.97	0.0000	4	0.5731	13.72	0.0000
10	0.4184	9.03	0.0000	8	0.5515	12.97	0.0000	6	0.6398	16.33	0.0000
12	0.5142	11.76	0.0000	11	0.4871	10.94	0.0000	9	0.4372	10.39	0.000
13	0.3845	8.17	0.0000	14	0.5618	13.32	0.0000	15	0.7064	19.58	0.0000
16	0.4307	9.36	0.0000	17	0.7345	21.24	0.0000	18	0.5878	14.63	0.0000
22	0.5545	13.07	0.0000	19	0.5238	12.06	0.0000	20	0.5737	13.74	0.0000
27	0.6619	17.32	0.0000	23	0.4749	10.58	0.0000	21	0.4073	8.75	0.0000
28	0.5193	11.92	0.0000	29	0.4495	9.87	0.0000	24	0.614	15.26	0.0000
39	0.4162	8.98	0.0000	32	0.7896	25.25	0.0000	25	0.4666	10.35	0.0000
43	0.5794	13.94	0.0000	34	0.6434	16.49	0.0000	26	0.5732	13.72	0.0000
46	0.3916	8.35	0.0000	36	0.5751	13.79	0.0000	30	0.4605	10.18	0.0000
48	0.239	4.83	0.0000	38	0.4912	11.06	0.0000	31	0.5541	13.06	0.0000
49	0.4368	9.52	0.0000	41	0.6187	15.45	0.0000	33	0.5629	13.36	0.0000
				42	0.4401	9.61	0.0000	35	0.6376	16.24	0.0000
				44	0.4926	11.1	0.0000	37	0.5334	12.37	0.0000
				47	0.6605	17.26	0.0000	40	0.432	9.4	0.0000
								45	0.4873	10.95	0.0000
								50	0.5865	14.2	0.0000

Table 5: Values of Mann-Whitney U Test

	Rank Sum The general group of participants: young adults & middle aged adults	Rank Sum Psychiatric patients	U	Z	p-level	Z	p-level	Valid N Group 1	Valid N Group 2
COGN	27836.00	4549.000	2636.000	-1.91591	0.055378	-1.91811	0.055098	224	30
EMO	27885.50	4499.500	2685.500	-1.78492	0.074276	-1.78605	0.074092	224	30
BEH	27684.00	4701.000	2484.000	**-2.31814**	**0.020442**	-2.31952	0.020368	224	30
SUM	27757.50	4627.500	2557.500	**-2.12364**	**0.033701**	-2.12391	0.033678	224	30

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics (N=387)

	Valid N	Mean	Median	Variance	Std.Dev.	Skewness	Std.Err.	Kurtosis	Std.Err.
COGN	387	37.8941	37.0000	48.7167	6.97974	0.425708	0.124036	0.064230	0.247444
EMO	387	50.1292	50.0000	99.7294	9.98646	0.129907	0.124036	0.141708	0.247444
BEH	387	49.8114	48.0000	125.5058	11.20294	0.533824	0.124036	0.249612	0.247444
SUM	387	137.8346	135.0000	681.2420	26.10061	0.357286	0.124036	0.087737	0.247444

According to the results of the statistical analysis of the First stage, the following data were obtained:

1.   All parameters differed significantly between the middle-aged adults and the young adult group: the value of answers in middle-aged adults was higher.
2.   The group of patients from the psychiatric hospital was compared with the joint group of young adults and middle-aged adults (excluding the student group because there was only one student among the psychiatric patients). All indices were higher among the psychiatric patients.

Table 7: Values of Mann-Whitney U Test

	Rank Sum Group of young adults age	Rank Sum Group of middle age adults	U	Z	p-level	Z adjusted	p-level	Valid N Group 1	Valid N Group 2
COGN	9187.500	16012.50	4816.500	**-2.66767**	**0.007638**	-2.67126	0.007557	93	131
EMO	8662.500	16537.50	4291.500	**-3.76613**	**0.000166**	-3.76868	0.000164	93	131
BEH	9059.500	16140.50	4688.500	**-2.93549**	**0.003331**	-2.93745	0.003310	93	131
SUM	8850.500	16349.50	4479.500	**-3.37277**	**0.000744**	-3.37326	0.000743	93	131

Marked tests are significant at p < .05

Table 8: Values of Mann-Whitney U Test

	Rank Sum The general group of participants young adults age & middle age adults	Rank Sum Psychiatric patients	U	Z	p-level	Z	p-level	Valid N Group 1	Valid N Group 2
COGN	27836.00	4549.000	2636.000	-1.91591	0.055378	-1.91811	0.055098	224	30
EMO	27885.50	4499.500	2685.500	-1.78492	0.074276	-1.78605	0.074092	224	30
BEH	27684.00	4701.000	2484.000	**-2.31814**	**0.020442**	-2.31952	0.020368	224	30
SUM	27757.50	4627.500	2557.500	**-2.12364**	**0.033701**	-2.12391	0.033678	224	30

Marked tests are significant at p < .05

3. The general index of terrorist threat experience and all the other QTT indices were higher in a female group than in a male group (throughout the whole sample).

Table 9: Values of Mann-Whitney U Test

	Rank Sum Male	Rank Sum Female	U	Z	p-level	Z adjusted	p-level	Valid N Group 1	Valid N Group 2
COGN	26432.50	48645.50	14029.50	**-3.72547**	**0.000195**	-3.72973	0.000192	157	230
EMO	23355.50	51722.50	10952.50	**-6.57313**	**0.000000**	-6.57677	0.000000	157	230
BEH	24176.50	50901.50	11773.50	**-5.81332**	**0.000000**	-5.81629	0.000000	157	230
SUM	23938.00	51140.00	11535.00	**-6.03405**	**0.000000**	-6.03473	0.000000	157	230

Marked tests are significant at p <.05

2. Analysis of the normalized data

1. The group of young adults had higher cognitive scores than the group of middle-aged adults.

Table 10: Values of Mann-Whitney U Test

	Rank Sum Young adults	Rank Sum Middle aged adults	U	Z	p-level	Z adjusted	p-level	Valid N Group 1	Valid N Group 2
COGN	11438.50	13761.50	5115.500	**2.04208**	**0.041145**	2.04214	0.041138	93	131
EMO	9748.50	15451.50	5377.500	-1.49390	0.135204	-1.49392	0.135198	93	131
BEH	10701.00	14499.00	5853.000	0.49901	0.617772	0.49902	0.617764	93	131
SUM	8850.50	16349.50	4479.500	**-3.37277**	**0.000744**	-3.37326	0.000743	93	131

Marked tests are significant at p <. 05

2. Behavioral features were expressed less in the student group than in the group of young adults**.**

Table 11: Values of Mann-Whitney U Test

	Rank Sum Students	Rank Sum Young Adults age	U	Z	p-level	Z	p-level	Valid N Group 1	Valid N Group 2
COGN	15239.00	10412.00	6041.000	0.29666	0.766725	0.29667	0.766717	133	93
EMO	15782.50	9868.50	5497.500	1.42026	0.155534	1.42027	0.155529	133	93
BEH	14051.50	11599.50	5140.500	**-0.15830**	**0.030906**	-2.15834	0.030902	133	93
SUM	15544.00	10107.00	5736.000	0.92720	0.353824	0.92734	0.353748	133	93

3. The student group showed a higher level of cognitive appraisals than did the young adult group. Students had less expressed behavioral features than either young adults or middle-age adults, but had a higher level of cognitive appraisals than did the middle-aged group.

Table 12: Values of Mann-Whitney U Test

	Rank Sum Student's group	Rank Sum Middle age adults	U	Z	p-level	Z	p-level	Valid N Group 1	Valid N Group 2
COGN	19093.00	15887.00	7241.000	**2.37067**	**0.017756**	2.37079	0.017751	133	131
EMO	17675.00	17305.00	8659.000	0.08464	0.932549	0.08464	0.932548	133	131
BEH	16302.50	18677.50	7391.500	**-2.12804**	**0.033334**	-2.12808	0.033331	133	131
SUM	16041.00	18939.00	7130.000	-2.54962	0.010785	-2.54996	0.010774	133	131

Marked tests are significant at p <.05

4.   Compared with healthy participants, psychiatric patients had a lower level of cognitive appraisals and a higher level of behavioral appraisals.

Table 13: Values of Mann-Whitney U Test

	Rank Sum Psychiatric patients	Rank Sum Young Adults age & middle age adults	U	Z	p-level	Z	p-level	Valid N Group 1	Valid N Group 2
COGN	3010.000	29375.00	2545.000	**-2.15672**	**0.031028**	-2.15677	0.031024	30	224
EMO	3376.500	29008.50	2911.500	-1.18686	0.235285	-1.18687	0.235280	30	224
BEH	4712.000	27673.00	2473.000	**2.34725**	**0.018913**	2.34730	0.018911	30	224
SUM	4627.500	27757.50	2557.500	**2.12364**	**0.033701**	2.12391	0.033678	30	224

5.   Men as a whole had a considerably higher level of cognitive appraisals and a lower level of emotional appraisals than did women.

Table 14: Values of Mann-Whitney U Test

	Rank Sum Male	Rank Sum Female	U	Z	p-level	Z	p-level	Valid N Group 1	Valid N Group 2
COGN	36523.50	38554.50	11989.50	**5.61342**	**0.000000**	5.61358	0.000000	157	230
EMO	27427.50	47650.50	15024.50	**-2.80463**	**0.005038**	-2.80465	0.005037	157	230
BEH	29183.50	45894.50	16780.50	-1.17951	0.238197	-1.17953	0.238189	157	230
SUM	23938.00	51140.00	11535.00	**-6.03405**	**0.000000**	-6.03473	0.000000	157	230

Marked tests are significant at p <. 05

Discussion

The anticipation of some killing influence is a potential stressor that may weaken and influence affective settings and behavior [24]. The analysis of differences in estimations of men and women (Mann-Whitney U Test criterion) on each questionnaire item of the emotional scale shows:

-   Women feel greater fear (due to the possibility of falling victim to terrorist acts), despair, helplessness due to a possibility of recurrence of acts of terrorism, anxiety in a crowd and in public places and anxiety provoked by unattended objects in public places.

- Women are less calm in situations connected with acts of terrorism. Both women and men specify that they lose self-control and "blow up" when they hear about terrorist threats and get angry that acts of terrorism can repeat.

Our data partially corresponds with the results of J.H. Mitchell at al. (1958), who carried out research with groups of military men before and after rescue operations in accidents [12]. According to his research, in military groups that had no experience working in place of accidents, the level of an anticipation of stressful events was higher among women than men. However, when the investigated groups had had similar traumatic experiences, distinctions in the level of an anticipation of a stressful event were not apparent [9].

The young adults and students had significantly higher values on the cognitive scale of the QTT than middle-aged subjects. Middle-aged adults reacted to unexpected loud sounds to a greater degree than young adults, considering them as potential threats of terrorist action. Also, subjects in this group reported increased vigilance when they saw policemen on duty in public places.

Young adults think about the threat of acts of terrorism more often than middle-aged adults. Middle-aged adults, more than students, think about the necessity to help the injured in act of terrorism; they also consider that it is better not to make plans for the future because of the threat of acts of terrorism. Students think more often than middle-aged adults about a possible place and time of an act of terrorism, and think about the behavior in a terrorist's action.

Psychiatric patients, to a greater degree than middle-aged and young adults, react to unexpected loud sounds as potentially threatening. Thinking about the possible threat of acts of terrorism, they imagine pain and mutilation inflicted upon the body and they also consider that because of the threat of terrorism it is better not to make plans for the future. Taken together, young and middle-age adults are more concerned with threat to the life and health of their relatives than are psychiatric patients.

In comparison with the middle-aged adults, the intensity values on the cognitive scale found among students and young adults imply a self-protective mechanism of "accustoming." According to the literature, "accustoming" is one of the most widespread strategies for coping with exposure to long-term and repeated violence. Subjects in these groups were focused to a greater degree on objective estimation of potential danger and on the choice of an adequate type of behavior. A. Klingman. (1992), studying stressful reactions of Israeli students, found a significant decrease in the level of psycho-emotional disorders [8]. The middle- aged adults exhibited more reflections about the totality and weight of the consequences of acts of terrorism. According to research by Arich at al., inhabitants of a suburb of Jerusalem exposed to sniper attack suffered from interfering ideas (symptoms of intrusion) about the traumatic event for a long time; they had hyperexcitability and feeling of finiteness of the future [24].

Young and middle-aged adults considerably exceeded students in the level of their answers to the behavioral block of questions. Young and middle-aged adults, to a greater degree than students, watch for neighbors who have recently rented an apartment in their building. Young adults, to a greater degree than students, feel the necessity of calling to their relatives. Janis calls such forms of behavior inactive forms of behavior that are associated with experiencing hypervigilance as a reaction to receiving information about the threat of a negative event [7]. Similar reactions can be seen in an intensive information search to decrease the uncertainty of a situation.

Students, in comparison with middle-aged adults, more often paid attention to behavior of people in public places. Moreover, students to a greater degree than young or middle-aged adults paid attention to suspicious persons who looked like possible terrorists. According to these data, we can suppose that students identify the threat of terrorism with public places, while young adults are more inclined to search for the threat in their own buildings. Thus, students consider their own buildings to be safer than public places.

Middle-aged subjects, more often than students, paid attention to doors of cellars and attics. They were also more in agreement that each person should protest against the existing threat of acts of terrorism. Such behavior is considered by foreign authors as a form of coping with the threat: in research of coping reactions to the threat terrorism among Americans, Schuster at. al. (2001) found that 90 % of respondents visited church as a coping strategy, 60% of respondents began to take part in public organizations struggling against terrorism, and 36% made monetary donations to funds helping victims of acts of terrorism [18].

Middle-aged adults, more often than students, felt the necessity to ask for psychological help because of experiences of threat terrorism. This corresponds with the data of Boscarino, et al. (2002) [1]. Authors have reported a statistically significant increase in the number of referrals for psychological help among the general population of Manhattan after the acts of terrorism of September 11th. However, this increase was not so significant as it was supposed by the authors. 10% of respondents specified that they began to seek mental health services more than 30 days after the attacks, in comparison with 5.3 % who sought psychological help 30 days prior to acts of terrorism. The authors noted that one risk factor for referral for psychological help was the age range of 45 to 64 years.

Reactions to the threat terrorism among middle-aged subjects group were expressed in changes of a physical condition (e.g., a headache, a muscular pressure, hyperhidrosis, tachycardia, a tremor in the hands).

Psychiatric patients, in comparison with the general group of young and middle-aged adults, specified the desire not to leave the house because of the threat of acts of terrorism in public places.

The general index of experience of terrorist threat was significantly higher among the middle-age adults compared with students or young adults.

The data we obtained data testify to the low tolerance to terrorist threats of middle-age adults. Young adults have the lowest values on the general index of experience of terrorist threat and accordingly seem to be the most tolerant of such threats.

Conclusion

The analysis of the presented data allows us to suggest that the above-described questionnaire can be used to assess the level of terrorist threat experienced by an individual. The result of this study suggests that the QTT is a reliable and sensitive measure of perception of the terrorist threat in Moscow citizens. This is ongoing research. The instrument is included among complex psychometric tools directed to the

measurement of PTSD. We hope to validate our belief that severity of PTSD depends, among other socio-cultural parameters, upon individual degrees of experience of the threat of terrorism.

Potential Policy Implications

Morally, psychologically, and psychophysiologically, the condition of the population that has become an indirect victim of acts of terrorism is a cause for serious concern. Steadfast attention by scientists throughout the world to the mental health of the general population now allows us to propose the practical importance of these research results.

Our research has established that, among individuals in the group from 36 to 60 years of age facing the threat of acts of terrorism, the most important concern is maintenance of their own safety within the limits of public organizations at a level of local self-management. Authorities should consider this factor. The age group up to 21 years is to the greatest degree prepared to be influenced by information about the prevention of acts of terrorism. For the notification of an existing threat it is preferable to use television and radio channels. Information regarding measures for prevention or increase in safety should proceed from a well-known, famous person or an expert highly competent in the field of negotiating with terrorists.

References

1. Boscarino, J.A., Galea, S., Ahern, J., Resnick, H. & Vlahov, D., (2002). Psychiatric medication use among Manhattan residents following the World Trade Center disaster. *International Journal of Emergency Mental Health*, 4, 143-155.
2. Canino, G., Bravo, M., Rubia, S.M. and Woodbury, M. (1990). The impact of disaster or mental health prospective and retrospective analyses. *International Journal of Mental Health*, 19, 51-69.
3. Dvorcina, V.Z. (2002). National and global safety. Terrorism in a megacity: an estimation of treats and securities. Moscow: "Human rights".
4. Galea, S., Vlahov, D., Resnick, H., Ahern, J., Boscarino, J.A., Susser, E., Bucuvalas, M., Kilpatrick, D. (2003). Trends of probable post-traumatic stress disorder in New York City after the September 11 terrorist attacks. *American Journal of Epidemiology,* 158, 514-524.
5. Green, B.L., Lindy, J.P., Grace, M.C. et al. (1990) Buffalo Greek survivors in the second decade: Stability of stress symptoms. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 60, 43-54.
6. Idrisov, K.A., Krasnov, V.N. Condition of mental health of the population of the Chechen republic in conditions of a long extreme situation *Social and clinical psychiatry*, 14, 2, 5-10.
7. Janis I.I. (1982). *Stress, attitudes and decisions*. New York: Praeger.
8. Klingman, A. (1992). Stress reactions of Israeli youth during the Gulf War: a quantitative study. *Professional Psychology. Research and Practice*, 23(6), 521-27.
9. Mac Carroll, J.E., Ursano, R.J., Fullerton, C.S., (1993). Symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder following recovery of war dead. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 150, 1875-1877.
10. Mac Farlane. (1996). Posttraumatic morbidity of a disaster: A study of cases presenting for psychiatric treatment. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 147, 4-13.
11. Mac Gregor, F. (1996). Risk perception and symptoms reporting. *Risk Analis*, 16, 773-783.
12. Mitchell, J.H., Sproule, B.J., Chapman, C.B. (1958). The psychological meaning of the maximal oxygen in take test. *Journal of Clincal Investigation*, 37, 538-547.
13. *National Research Council.* (1989). Improving Risk Communication. Washington. DC: National Academy Press.
14. North, C.S. et al. (1999). Psychiatric disorders among survivors of the Oklahome City bombing. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 282, 775-762).

15. Nurkov, V.V., Bernshtein, D.M., Loftus, E.F. (2003). The Echo of explosions: the comparative analysis of memoirs of Muscovites about acts of terrorism 1999 (Moscow) and 2000 (New York). *Psychological Journal*,1,24.

16. Roetzer, L.M., Walch, S.E. (2004). *Undergraduate Reactions to Terrorism: A Phenomenological Analysis.* The International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies 20th Annual Meeting. Final Program and Proceedings. War as a Universal Trauma.

17. Schlenger, W.E., Caddell, J.M., Ebert, L., Jordan, B.K., Wilson, D., Thalji,L., Dennis, J.M., Fairbank, J.A., Kulka, R.A. (2002). Psychological reactions to terrorist attacts: Findings from the National Study of Americans Reactions to September 11. *Journal of American Medical Association,* 288, 581-588.

18. Schuster, M.A., Stein, B.G., Jacox, L.H., Collins, R.L., Marshall, G.N., Elliot, M.N., Zhou, A.J., Kanouse, D.E., Morrison, J.L., & Berry, S.H., (2001). A national survey of stress reactions after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 345, 1507 - 1512.

19. Shore, J.H., Tatum, E.L.,Volhner, N.W. (1986). The mount St.Helens stress response syndrome. *In disaster stress studies: New Methods and Findings.* (pp.77-79). Washington, DC: American Psychiatry Press.

20. Sloan, P. (1988). PTSD in survivors of an airplane crash: A clinic and exploratory research intervention. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 1, 211-229.

21. Slovic, P. (1979). Images of disaster: Perception and acceptance of risk from nuclear power. In Goodman ,G., Rowe, W. (Eds.), *Energy risk Assessment* (pp.223-245), London: Academic Press.

22. Smith, E.M., Robins, L.M., Przybeck, T.R., Goldring, E. (1986). Psychological consequences of a disaster. *In Disaster Stress Studies: New Methods and Findings*, J.H. Shore (Eds.) (pp.49-76). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

23. Tarabrina, N.,V. (2005). Perception and Experiencing of "Invisible Stress" (in Relation to Radiation Incidents. In S.Wessely and V.N. Krasnov (Eds.), *Psychological Responses to the New Terrorism: A NATO – Russian Dialogue.* (p.130). IOS Press.

24. Ursano, R. J., Fullerton, C.S., Norwood, A.E. (2003). *Terrorism and Disaster.* Cambridge: University Press.

25. Vlahov, D., Galea, S., Resnick, H., Ahern, J., Boscarino, J.A., Bucuvalas, M., Gold, J., Kilpatrick, D. (2002). Increased use of cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana among Manhattan residents after the September 11 th terrorist attacks. *American Journal of Epidemiology,* 155, 988-996.

Chapter 17
Religion and Culture in the Arab World: Evidence of Links to Political Violence

Hassan Hanafi
Department of Philosophy,
Cairo University, Egypt

Abstract

1- Violence is not a monolithic phenomenon but a complex one, a dialectic between the victim and the victimizer.

2- Phenomenological analysis helps in describing this intersubjective experience in a given situation in the real world, namely the Muslim World.

3- The initiation of violence. Who is against whom? Can spiral violence be broken?

4- Repressive violence and liberating violence. Can violence be spared without changing the situation and the psychology of violence?

5- Is non-violent struggle a third term in the dialectics between violence and non-violence? The importance of Dialogue.

6- Religions and cultures as political ideologies in traditional societies, used as a double weapon for oppression or liberation.

7- A universal code of ethics combining human rights and peoples rights, a common agenda for the future, can be bring peace with honor in equal partnership and mutual recognition.

Keywords: violence, oppression, philosophy, Muslim

1. Introduction: The Relevance of the Research on Non-Violence

1-1

Any research in social science that begins in advance by a presupposition becomes more preaching than scientific research. The commitment to society does not mean taking a position in advance for one solution or the other. A research is essentially an open dialogue, first in the consciousness of the researcher, between himself and his phenomenon. If the researcher would know in advance the results of his research, then he becomes a preacher engaging himself in a mass-media campaign for one solution rather than for the other. Since the solution is not researched but previously adopted, it becomes a conviction. Science becomes an art of communication not a logic of discovery, a Dialectic or a Rhetoric rather than an analysis and a demonstration. The first is only conjecture, while the second offers certitude. The first ends by falling into dogmatism, while the second initiates an open inquiry. The option between different presuppositions expresses a struggle between two powers, a conflict between two wills. However, such a

result is an outcome of scientific research, not a presupposition adopted in advance. This is the difference between neutrality and "*partie-prie.*"

1-2

Social phenomena are not one-sided, but complex and diverse. They are very heterogeneous, so their analysis depends on the outlook, the motivation, the interest and the final goal of the researcher. This complexity in social phenomena is seen as dialectics, namely the internal contradiction carried within the social phenomenon itself. Yes and No answers are purely schematic, simplistic and pseudo-pedagogic. For instance, if the purpose is to explain non-violence and to re-educate the masses on a newly discovered value, the means to implement this goal is not to condemn violence or to deny its causes or its outcomes but to dig deeper into violence, to rediscover non-violence. The understanding of the self, namely non-violence, is possible by the understanding of the other and even the absolute other, namely violence. In dialectics the thesis already contains the anti-thesis and the anti-thesis is already contained in the thesis. It is only a matter of time-- in which phase of the process, in which stage of the course of events--that the dialectics appear.

1-3

The commitment to non-violence is a noble purpose which all humans share. Who likes bloodshed, killing, when innocent women and children are living in an atmosphere of terror? Professional soldiers in war have their moments of remorse as we saw in the American soldiers returning from Vietnam. Even mercenaries have their awakened consciousness. However, a noble cause is something and scientific research is something else. The attitude of the subject is a human expression of anxiety, not a perception of reality where the subject is completely identified with its object. It is much more preferable that the noble cause be served through scientific research, not outside or even against it. It is better to understand the causes of violence before preaching non-violence. As a philosopher put it, all theories, novels and literature on hunger will not prevent a hungry child from dying. Similarly, all theories, literature and meetings on non-violence will not prevent violent actions from occurring. Understanding the causes of violence and trying to change it is the only way to reach non-violence as a noble cause.

1-4

The timing of the research on non-violence is also important. During the two World wars when violence was practiced, during the Vietnam and Korean wars, the research on non-violence was nil. However, when violence is committed against the Big Powers controlling the mass media, by frustrated individuals or oppressed groups from small nations, as the only way to speak and to be heard, the research on non-violence appears. Is the research on non-violence a new indirect way to disarm the wretched of the Earth from the only weapon they still have at hand, namely suicide? When Big Powers were the aggressors, the research on non-violence was not a concentrated effort in Universities, Centres and Forums. Only when Big Powers became the victims of violence was the research on non-violence initiated, supported and hailed. From that

viewpoint, the flagrant examples of violence occurred since the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the take-over of the American Embassy, and the American hostages in Beirut. All were directed against Big Powers headed by the USA. It is only since the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the loss of hope of the Palestinians that violence emerged as an overwhelming presence in the mass media under the control of Big Powers. Therefore, the interest of Big Powers required knowledge and knowledge supported that interest.

1-5

Violence came to the headlines in the two decades of counter-revolution, namely, the 1970s and 1980s. During the two previous decades of decolonization, namely the 1950s and the 1960s, violence was channeled as a general movement of people's liberation, not individual acts of despair. Given the limits of decolonization, recolonization occurred from outside, by gradual loss of national sovereignty, more dependence on foreign powers and the absorption of national economies in the World economy, dominated by multinational corporations. A counter-revolution also proceeded from inside via the alliance of the new middle class with international capital and the loss of the previous socialist option with its State planned economy. Therefore, violence is a desperate reaction against the counter-revolutions. It is only a recent phenomenon, not a built-in structural feature of given societies or a specific belief and value system in specific cultures. Once a second wave of liberation begins, desperate and individual acts of dissent and anger would be channeled into the big movement of people's liberation [1]. During the People's revolution in Sudan against Numeiri and in the Philippines against Marcos, and after the adoption of people's form of struggle, namely civil disobedience, the potential for desperate individual and collective eruptions of violence was reintegrated into the general stream of popular struggle through civil disobedience.

1-6

Non-violence cannot be used in a very large and loose meaning, including violence. Clear concepts require logical definitions, which include and exclude. Violence and non-violence are two clear and opposite alternatives. The first is calling for bloodshed; the second is more humanitarian and peace loving. The first is assigned to the opposition and the dissident groups; the second is adopted by the State to discredit the opposition and to defend Law and Order. Violence is a crime while non-violence is Sainthood. Violent actions are criminal actions while non-violent actions are innocent and pure. Therefore, the concept of "Non-violent Struggle" may be a contradiction in terms, a definition of the general which is struggle by the particular which is Non-violent, a reduction of the universal to one of its individual cases.

1-7

The concept of non-violent struggle implies two means of achievement of goals, non-violence and struggle. Struggle is the general means, the recognition that nothing can be achieved without human effort. Struggle here is a general term that indicates a general fact. Non-violent is a particular way. In this case, violence would be another

way, another form of struggle. Linking "non-violent" to struggle is determining the general means by a particular means. That is why violence and non-violence are two ways of describing a dialectic of one process.

1-8

Research on non-violence sometimes has practical implications. It does not reveal only a desire for peace, but it also aims at implementation of pacification. It is not only a matter of understanding the fact, but also a matter of changing a situation. So pacification is an option that needs a justification based on scientific research. However, there are limitations for the implementation of the non-violent option through education. Reality imposes its own laws, so once the option of non-violence is void and formal, violence emerges. That is, a subjective option or wish is different from an objective process. More specifically, the external will of individuals, groups or even big powers is different from the internal dynamics of people's reality.

1-9

The Arab and Islamic world is not a special case where the dialectics of violence and non-violence occur. India, Sri Lanka, South Africa, East-Africa (Ethiopia and Somalia) Spain (Basque) and Latin-America (Nicaragua) are also regions where violence occurs. Are there any motivations behind linking violence to the Middle East and calling for non-violence in the Middle East? Who is the target of violence, the USA, the Zionistic State? Who is describing the desperate acts of the oppressed peoples in the Middle East as terrorism and who calls for non-violence? In fact, mutual violence is common between ethnic, religious and political groups, for example, the civil war in Lebanon, the Iraq-Iran war, the Kurds fighting for autonomy in Northern Iraq, the Southern-Sudan fighting the central government of the North, the Polizario fighting Morocco for the independence of the Sahara, the Muslims in Mindanao fighting the Central Government in Manila for their autonomy, Muslim-Hindu clashes in India, political wars between two opposite political factions in Southern Yemen. Such socio-political and ethnic religious unrest is not generally planned or intended, but violence is evoked when situations are created. Dialectics of violence and non-violence is a general description of processes that occur in several regions, not particularly in the Arab and Muslim World. If violence is connected to a special region, it is only because it contains oppressed groups or peoples and presents certain threats to the Big or small Oppressive Powers.

Therefore, the analysis of the case is not a substitute for the description of the law. Cases of violence cannot be dealt with individually, without describing the whole generating process. Analyzing in-depth the specificity of each case permits an accurate description of a general law for different forms of people's struggle.

2 - The Initiation of Violence: Who is Against Whom?

2-1

Many misunderstandings may occur because of lack of clarity in the concepts used. A primary clarification of these concepts would dissipate a lot of confusions. If passions, presuppositions and motivations were set aside momentarily, reason could begin its own analysis of violence as a social phenomenon. The whole process in social science is a theory of clarification, in which reason reflects on given data, clarifying concepts and motivations. Theory of clarification (*Klärungsme-thode*) is the heart of the phenomenological description, the third step after Reduction of material facts and the Constitution of the essences.

2-2

Violence is always considered as such by those against whom violence is committed. Violence is then an accusation made by the self against the other. The self is not violent while the other is. It is always an accusation against the other as evil and a defense of the self as good, since no one would like to be seen as violent, and reflections of the accused are ipso facto a self-defense. This research by the self, discrediting violence and calling for non-violence, may be a way to disarm the other. The research by the other, legitimizing violence and discrediting non-violence, is the maintenance of self-defense and preservation of its sharpest weapon as a legitimate means. Although it is difficult for the researcher to be a third party, a neutral person and an impartial spectator, at least he can describe the dialectics of violence and non-violence, once from the side of the self and once from the side of the other. He may finally find that the dialectics of violence and non-violence is indeed a power struggle in a historical moment between the oppressor and the oppressed, the eternal dialectics between the master and the slave. The truth to be discovered indeed creates a role to be taken by the researcher. The observation to be made is in fact a situation to be engaged in.

2-3

It is clear from the analysis of the dialectics of violence between the self and the other that the self is legitimizing its own violence committed on the others and outlawing the violence committed upon it by the others briefly, the invasion of Cuba and of Grenada, the embarkation of American troops in Santo Domingo and in Lebanon, the Vietnam War, the invasion of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and of Afghanistan, all forms of new Colonialism by the two Super-Powers after the era of recolonization was legitimized. Palestinians in the Middle East and Blacks in South Africa are also legitimizing their own violence against Zionism and Apartheid. The two Super-Powers are legitimizing their violence, whether in defense of the Free World against possible dictatorships, or in the defense of the socialist option against possible threats from bourgeois classes. Palestinians and Blacks make a distinction between oppressive violence, that of the other, and revolutionary violence, that of the self.

2-4

There is also a distinction to be made between individual violence and social violence. Violence is rarely committed by individuals. There is no such thing as violent persons by nature. Criminals are not born criminals. Violence is a social phenomenon, caused by the conflict of opposite wills in case of the absence of a social contract, that is, of a free delegation of parts of the individual powers to one individual freely elected to represent the collective power. It is only when individuals are the victims of violence that violence erupts as a discourse, but not when whole groups, whole societies and whole Nations are the subject of violence. An individual, especially a European, kidnapped or killed is considered as a victim, yet killing groups in a Palestinian camp, destruction of whole villages in Afghanistan, the use of chemical weapons against Iran or mass-murder in South Africa are not considered as violence. In Western mass media, carrying the discourse on violence, Human Rights prevail over People's Rights.

2-5

There is another distinction to be made between individual or group violence and State violence. If a frustrated individual or an oppressed group resorts to violence, it is greatly amplified by the media. If violence is committed by States, invasions, bombing or conspiring, it is not considered violence, but a legitimate defense of high principles and universal values of the free and democratic World. The invasion of Grenada, the bombing of Libya, the invasion of Afghanistan, the invasion of Lebanon are not often present to the mind in a discourse on violence. The discourse on violence is only addressed to the weak part in the struggle to win on behalf of the strong with minimum costs and maximum gains. So, while individuals and small groups may be desperate, States are portrayed as responsible and abiding by International Law.

2-6

Violence is considered as such when it is practiced by small nations such as Libya, Somalia, Nicaragua, or Cuba, but violence committed by Big Powers is not considered as violence but as a defense of the international law, free waters and free passageways. What determines the concept of violence and its application in a special case is the size of power. The greater the Power is, the stronger is the accusation of violence launched against the other, not against the self. The smaller the Power is, the weaker is the accusation of violence launched against the other, not against the self.

2-7

When violence is committed by political regimes allied to the West and the Big Powers, it is not considered as violence but as legitimate defense of law and order. Zionism is not seen as violent practice against Palestinians in the occupied Territories. Apartheid imprisonments and tortures of Black nationalists are not considered as acts of violence. Numeiri crimes against the Sudanese people, Marcos crimes against the Filipino people, the Shah's crimes against the Iranian people, none were considered as acts of violence. On the contrary, the internal or external opposition to such dictatorial

regimes is considered as violence because it goes against the interests of the Big Powers in tutoring allied political regimes. Even more, when violence is committed by unfriendly regimes to the West, it is considered as violence. Libya, Iran, Syria, Egypt during Nasser's time, Nicaragua, Cuba… all are persecuting the opposition and threatening the neighboring and peaceful countries. The opposition to such regimes is not considered as violence. On the contrary, it is supported, encouraged and hailed in defense of freedom and democracy.

2-8

In the Western mass media, violence is more or less connected to Islam, especially after the Islamic revolution in Iran, the taking over of the Haram in Mecca, the American hostages in Tehran, the Palestinian guerrilla movement, the Iraq-Iran war, the suicide missions against American, French and Zionist troops, and the civil war in Lebanon. Then violence is largely connected to Islam and to the Arabs and is always situated in the Middle East. Violence is even and specifically linked to contemporary Islamic Fundamentalism, with certain reminiscence of the Jihad in Islamic history and in Islamic Law, ever since the emergence of a Jihad group in Lebanon. Striking examples are always taken from the assassination of the Minister of Endowments in 1976, the assassination of Sadat in 1981, the take-over of the military academy in Egypt in 1973, or the take-over of the Haram in Mecca in 1979, etc. Sometimes, the violent image of the Middle East is extended to Asia, into the Philippines, to Muslims in Mindanao, to Africa in Southern Sudan and to America with the Black Muslims. By contrast, no reference is made to similar phenomena connected within Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism or Buddhism. Nor is the focus on Northern Ireland and the war between Catholics and Protestants, nor on the ultra-Zionism of Meier Kahana, advocating the genocide of all Palestinians, nor on the Tamils when Hinduism and Buddhism are in conflict, nor on modern religious groups in America and the communes where sex, violence and mysticism are intertwined. The "split" discourse on violence becomes more evident when it touches the very essence of belief-systems. Jihad in Islam comes forward as a legitimization of historical violence but Jabotinski's ideology "I fight, then I exist" is never mentioned.

2-9

It is considered violence when the object of violence is an individual from the West. Yet it is considered non-violence when the object of violence is a non-Westerner. The judgment that an action is violent or not is conditioned by the culture of the victim, since from the view of the West, there are two cultures, a Western and a non-Western. An act committed by non-Westerners (Palestinians, Black Africans, Asians and Latin Americans) against the West is considered violent. The accusation of violence here aims at maintaining the same cultural supremacy, the self against the challenge of the other. The world is seen and preserved as two worlds and humanity is two humanities. So it is not considered violence, if it is the violence of Western regimes or people against foreign labor and immigrants such as that of Great Britain against Asians. The amplification of violence as committed by Non-Westerners against the West is a part of the concentrated effort in modern times to distort the image of the non-Western World. The era of Modern Times in Europe is indeed a usurpation of the history of the

Non-Western World, a violation of the Islamic World dismantled, dismembered and colonized. It is a continuation of the old Crusades, first unsuccessful by land invasion of Palestine, but then successful by surrounding the Afro-Asian and Latin American World from the seas and oceans and called geographic discoveries!

2-10

It is not considered violence when violence is committed inside Europe by the Europeans themselves against each other, Protestants against Catholics in Ireland, the Basques against Spain, the crimes of youth, robberies, sex-crimes, assaults, mafia, organized crimes. It is not considered violence when we see the practice of violence in Western mass media, films making bank robbers and bandits heroic models of behavior. The impact of films hailing violence on the imagination and practice of youth is tremendous. The discourse of violence emerges when violence is politically motivated, not when it is socially originated. Although violence practiced by oppressed groups, forgotten nations and all the wretched of the Earth can be politically motivated; politics here means the desire for a self-identity, a legal entity, a self-rule, self-determination and Nationhood. Social violence can also be indirectly politically motivated, and politics here means social disloyalty and cultural dissent.

2-11

Violence occurs not only in the life of individuals, groups, societies and nations as material violence, but also against images, ideas and belief-systems as cultural violence. The material violence practiced by the weak against the strong may be an indirect revenge against cultural violence practiced by the strong against the weak. The images of the non-Western World in the West are distorted, deformed and stereotyped. These are images of ignorance, backwardness, fatalism, oriental despotism, totalitarianism, disorder, dirtiness, "*mentalité primitive*," "*Pensée Sauvage*," Black and Yellow races. From the beginning of philosophies of history in the West in the 18th century (Herder, Kant), until its peak in the 19th century (Vico, Turgot, Condorcet, A. Compte and even K. Marx), the non-Western World is represented as the early stages in human development, the pre-progress age, the pre-human era, the darkness that the light of Modern Times dissipated. Orientalism, Psychology of Peoples and Anthropology are the birthplace of such distorted images. Violence against the West is indeed violence against the distorted images the West has made for the non-West, seeking rectification of the image of the self in the minds and the cultures of the other. This cultural shock has been permanently imposed as a moment of despair in the non-Western World, creating a fear that it will never catch up with the progress in the Western World, since the rate of learning in the non-Western world is much slower then the rate of progress in the Western World. This is then converted into a shock treatment, to cure the self from despair, to destroy the idol and to declare the will of God.

2-12

Therefore, violence and non-violence are relative concepts. Relative does not mean relativistic, since the commitment to non-violence is a noble cause. Relative means in

relation to something else: the social class, the size of a nation, the oppressor, the oppressed, the culture, and so on. The thrust of the phenomenological analysis of the discourse on violence based on the effort of clarification is for the researcher to be more aware of the double standard and consequently the double-talk involved in the discourse on violence.

3 - Repressive Violence and Liberating Violence

3-1

The relation between non-violence and violence is indeed the famous relation between Logos and Praxis. Non-violence means speech, discourse, conviction, dialogue, persuasion and argumentation, culminating in negotiations. Since both non-violence and violence are two sides of the same coin, they are linked together in a certain internal dialectic, a law of opposition. If non-violence increases, violence decreases, if violence increases non-violence decreases. However, both violence and non-violence will be always and permanently present since both represent the thesis and the antithesis in the same dialectics. Gandhi's non-violence carried with it his own assassination. The balance of the dialectics can be seen either as a logic of preponderance or as two successive phases in the same historical process. The first is synchronic, the second diachronic. In both cases, the dialectics of violence and non-violence is maintained, once as structure and the other as development.

3-2

Grammatically, non-violence is an external negation by a "non" to violence giving the impression that violence comes first and non-violence comes after, that violence is an action and non-violence is a reaction. But it is an external negation by "non," not a full negation, an opposition. Peace is the opposite of war. Peaceful means are against violent means. "Violent" is an adjective, not a noun and is correlated to means, not a substantive noun standing alone. It is a mode of action in the absence of other modes, a modality of behavior in specific conditions.

3-3

Since negation is the origin of affirmation, violence is not a primary phenomenon and non-violence a secondary one, but violence is a secondary phenomenon and non-violence is a third one. The primary phenomenon is a double violence. Both are continuing, and by the force of continuation became habits or newly acquired facts. The first is the injustice committed against individuals, groups and peoples, continuing on and becoming normal facts in daily life like white domination in South Africa, Zionist occupation of Palestine, Indian Reservations, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Appalachians in North America. This is seen as the division of the World into Rich and Poor, those who have and those who have not, maldistribution of wealth, multinational corporations, exploitation, monopoly, and wars. The second is the lack of freedom of expression given to the wretched of the earth: The Blacks in Africa, Palestinians in

Palestine, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos in North America, poor nations, poor classes, exploited workers, and the deprived. Since the maintenance of such bipolarity is conditioned by preserving the status quo, all measures of oppression, declared or undeclared, are used to maintain law and order. Freedom of expression, cries of the oppressed and voices of the voiceless are considered disturbances of the public order.

3-4

In modern revolutionary literature in Latin America, there is already a distinction between oppressive violence and revolutionary violence. The first is a political means practiced by the State to maintain social injustice and to defend the status quo. The second is a self-defense practiced by the people against both social injustice and military oppression. If the first is a repressive violence, the second is a liberating violence. If the first is a voluntary action, the second is an involuntary reaction. If the first is portrayed as pre-meditated, freely chosen and consequently responsible, the second is portrayed as reflexive, spontaneous and consequently irresponsible. Yet the first is a clear aggression, the second is a legitimate self-defense. The first is practiced by oppressive and dictatorial political regimes allied to Big Powers; the second is practiced by the people mobilized by liberation movements, national fronts and revolutionary calls. These two kinds of violence are not equal in terms. The first is a repressive violence; the second is a liberating violence.

3-5

When does violence occur? Violence occurs in very special circumstances when violence becomes the only way left for human existence to express itself. Violence is only an external and an ultimate manifestation of long and deep-rooted causes. Violence begins in a situation of violence carrying three elements: first, a strong feeling of injustice and frustration by individuals, groups and nations; second, the incapacity of these individuals, groups and societies to change the situation of injustice using the non-violent means through speech; third, the absence of dialogue between the originator of injustice and the recipient of injustice, or the presence of a "dialogue of the deaf." In this moment, the dialectics of violence and non-violence reaches its paroxysm and the tension between the thesis and the antithesis reaches its peak. The eruption of violence from both sides becomes a historical necessity in search of a third term in the dialectical process.

3-6

Violence appears more if human existence is threatened. Social injustices are modes of existence, while annihilation is a negation of existence. In history, political institutions were the forms in which human entities were expressed. The strongest violent actions would occur if these institutional forms were destroyed and human groups became formless. This is what is called the diaspora. Since the State is the highest institutional form in which other primary and intermediary forms culminate, such as family, schools, ethical codes, police, army, tribunals, constitutions, the destruction of the

State, the negation of Nationhood, and the denial of self-determination would be the primary cause of violence in its strongest form, namely suicidal missions.

3-7

Violence emerged in the era of the counter-revolutions, in the 1970s and the 1980s, as a desperate, disorganized and unenlightened political action. During the 1960s, the heroic and romantic era of decolonization and socialist Nation-building, the so-called phenomenon of violence did not exist. Every nation had its own national project and was capable of mobilizing the masses, even bureaucratically. There was a participation of the whole nation in the national goals. There was a harmony between popular needs and national demands, on the one hand, and natural and human resources on the other hand. In spite of the weaknesses of political institutions, the one-party systems, the overwhelming presence of forces of security, and the preponderant place of the military establishment, violent eruptions were minimal. Dissident groups on the right or on the left were easily absorbed in the System or stayed inactive. Only when the State withdrew or collapsed, without a national project and dependence on foreign powers, the dissident groups were able to act independently, even without open and direct mass support. Violent acts were intended to mobilize the masses, to frighten the weak State and to gain strength and self-confidence.

3-8

Violence erupts when a political regime rules a country without a social contract to legitimize political power. Coup d'Etats by free officers, even transformed to Socio-political revolutions and popular gains, or hereditary regimes, even with enlightened kings cannot substitute for the social contract. The first is a military take-over, a usurpation of power; the second is a leftover patriarchal and matriarchal historical institution. In this case, the rule of the Divine Law and Divine Sovereignty is the only alternative left in the absence of other legitimacy. At least it is appealing to the masses, conforming to popular religious feelings and relevant to pious intellectuals. Theoretically, the Divine Law can be a rescue-boat. The challenge is how to apply it, maintaining national goals, popular demands and majority interests. The weaker a secular and dependent political regime become, the stronger religious fundamentalism appears, presenting itself as the only historical and legitimate heir.

3-9

This may lead to the conclusion that many researches and activities calling for non-violence may be politically motivated. The hidden intention may be first to maintain the counter-revolution, preventing any chance for a return to the revolutionary mood of the 1960s, without knowing that this may lead to a second revolutionary generation in the 1990s and 2000s. This has already begun in the Sudanese and Philippines revolutions through civil disobedience. Second, this hidden intention may be to consolidate the counter-revolutionary regimes by reducing to silence all voices of opposition and actions of dissent, accusing them of fundamentalism and radicalism,

religious or secular. In both cases, radicalism would go against the interests of the Big Powers and their allied political regimes.

4 - Is non-Violent Struggle a Third Term in the Dialectics between Violence and non-Violence?

4-1

As long as this Manichean situation persists, with its sociopolitical injustice, repressive violence of the ruling minority and liberating violence of the ruled majority, then the spiral of violence continues. In this continuing dialectic, the victory may be one time for repressive violence, a second time for liberating violence, a third time for repressive violence and so on indefinitely. Insofar as the situation generates that type of Manichean dialectics, there will never be an outcome, never a solution for the permanent opposition between the two opposite sides, never a synthesis between the thesis and the antithesis. No dialogue is possible between the master and the slave, between the oppressor and the oppressed.

4-2

Since any synthesis affirms and negates the thesis and the antithesis, will the outcome of the dialectics between violence and non-violence maintain both in a new elevated form? In fact, the synthesis is not an external, quantitative and composite amalgamation between thesis and antithesis but the reorientation of the course of the dialectic. This reorientation occurs by changing the situation from which the Manichean dialectics emerge and by building a bridge or at least narrowing the distance between repressive violence and liberating violence. Non-violent struggle as a possible third term in the dialectics between violence and non-violence is not a pastoral discourse, a human appeal, a brotherly advice or a religious exhortation. Rather, non-violent struggle is a legal struggle to change the situation that caused violence, a negation of violence by the abolition of its causes.

4-3

Putting an end to the persistence of the status quo of socio-political injustices done to the majority, lower classes, peoples, nations and cultures would extract one of the major sources of violence. Maldistribution of wealth inside every society, dictatorial political regimes, displaced peoples and distorted images of other cultures—all have to change for a more equitable distribution of national wealth, narrowing down the differences between social classes, democratization of political regimes and freedom of expression for all oppressed groups, the rights of peoples for self-determination and an equal share of all cultures in making human history. A social, political, cultural and historical rehabilitation of the wretched of the earth, the disinherited, the underprivileged and the rejected, would prevent a counter-action or reaction of violent self-assertion and self-existence.

4-4

Beginning the process of liberalization gives the silent majority the opportunity for recruitment of angry and dissident individuals and groups, the right to express itself, to expose its grievances and to affirm its existence through utterance. Once Logos (Reason) becomes identical to Ontos (Being), Violent Praxis will not intervene as the only means of expression of human existence as freedom. Violence is a dialogue of the sword, which emerges once the dialogue of the tongue and of the pen stops. Violence is a practical language made of acts to express as well as to communicate, once the verbal language of words is reduced to silence. Expressing the Right would prevent its transformation, in case of frustration, to Power. The Right is expressed according to the Law, while Power is practiced against the Law. Right is not only an alternative to Power, but the true alternative, given the value judgment included in the word Right or *Recht*.

4-5

Sharing power with the oppressed groups would make them legitimate social groups, rehabilitated within society, instead of considering them outlawed, on the fringes of society. Sharing power will minimize the antagonism of oppressed groups to the political power, since they are a part of it. Sharing power makes the dissident groups face reality, trying to find solutions for complex problems. Power is a painful burden, not a joyful splendour. Sharing power will satisfy the opposition groups since their major demand was fulfilled, namely having power to implement the law, to change society and to protect it against all evils. Opposition groups, whether from the radical right (religious), from the radical left (Marxist), or from the radical center (Nationalism, Liberalism, Socialism), have a historical legitimacy, even if it varies in depth according to each group. Religious opposition groups have a longer historical legitimacy than the Marxist groups. Nationalist opposition groups also have a larger historical legitimacy than the liberal or socialist groups. The weight of history has to be taken into consideration in the formation of the ruling elite and the constitution of political power.

4-6

Sharing power with all the dissident groups can take the form of a national front or a salvation front. Since all opposition groups are presenting themselves as substitutes for the actual ruling elite, presenting common alternative policies around national independence, social justice, freedom of expression for all, unification of the dismembered entities… etc, it is possible for all opposition groups to rally themselves around common policies regardless of their different ideological frameworks. The difference between secular progressivism and traditional conservatism may not be that great, if secular progressivism finds its grass roots in the Tradition and if traditional conservatism is modernized by facing reality, changing methods of analysis and even renewing its modes of expression. The differences between rival opposition groups are only external (language of expression, method of analysis) or internal, namely the latent power struggle which is a major factor in traditional societies.

4-7

Theology of liberation is one of the major outcomes of the dialectics of violence and non-violence as a form of nonviolent struggle, since one of the causes of violence is the dichotomy between traditional conservatism of the masses and secular progressivism of the ruling elite. Traditional conservatism, instead of being a source of fundamentalism, repressed by the secular ruling elite, can be a carrier of people's demands and National goals. Secular progressivism, instead of being a repressive political power of the secular minority to the religious majority, can be an enlightened tradition, the reason of revelation, and the agent of modernization. A national front cannot be built on the political level if it is not built in advance on the theoretical and intellectual level. Theology of liberation is indeed the national front on the ideological level, between all political ideologies, from within people's tradition or from without. It is not only a political ideology which needs a political party to implement it, but it is already implemented in the mass culture and in people's practices through religious texts, narratives, codes of behavior, mosques, imams, common prayers. It is not very constructive to leave people's tradition as form without content and to leave people's demands as content without form. Theology of liberation would fill the form of people's tradition by the content of people's demands. That is why it is very productive as a major factor in social change.

4-8

The relation of the center to the periphery in the relation between peoples and cultures has to come to an end. Cultures and civilizations follow a cyclic course in history from Ancient Egypt, China, Persia and India to the Mediterranean and around the Islamic World to Western Europe. Humanity was led by different Cultures in different phases. Only Modern Times are the era of European Culture, a specific phase and a very short period in the long history of human development. It is normal that the modern phase would carry all the accumulated experiences of the previous phases. As a result, modern human inventions will be greater, intensively and extensively. However, that does not give European Culture in its modern era any privilege or preference over previous cultures, since all cultures participated in the making of humanity. The conspiracy of silence around the sources of Western Culture has to come to an end. Putting all peoples and cultures on the same level as equal partners in making humanity would purify the hearts of several dissident individuals, groups, societies and cultures in the periphery, from their deep resentment against Western Culture being placed at the center.

4-9

Learning from history that the outcome of cultures is not only museums and archeological stocks but also peoples, socio-political movements and renaissance would convince Big Powers that reservations, demographic changes, migrations, ethnic minorities, exterminations and annihilations would never put an end to living peoples and cultures. Racism is not a human honour or a value to be proud of. The identity, of

an individual, of a people and of a culture is not in blood but in the universalism of the value-system adopted and implemented in history. Peoples and cultures in history swing between ebb and flow. If non-Western people and Culture are not in the ebb, and Western people and Culture are in the flow. Non-Western peoples and Culture were in the flow in the past, while Western people and Culture were then in the ebb. Given the power of history and the overwhelming paradigm of the golden age in traditional societies, the future may reflect another swing. Learning the lesson from history, and changing the practice accordingly, may finally give satisfaction to dissident individuals, groups, peoples and cultures. The complex of inferiority, deep in the self, can be finally resolved once the complex of superiority in the other comes to an end.[1]

References

1. Hassan Hanafi: From Decolonization to Cultural Liberation", International Sociological Association (XI), World Congress of Sociology, New-Delhi, 18-23 August 1986.

Endnotes

---

1 For more details, see Hassan Hanafi "On Coercion: The Origin of Violence in Contemporary Islam," Bali, Indonesia, March. 1986.

This page intentionally left blank

Part 4

Suicide Bombers: Why?

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 18
Defusing Human Bombs:
Understanding Suicide Terrorism

Anne Speckhard, Ph.D.
Georgetown University Medical Center, U.S.
and Vesalius College, Free University of Brussels

Abstract

Suicidal terrorism is fast becoming one of the most pestilent global afflictions of the 21rst century. As a terror tactic it is one of the most lethal. Strategically it functions as a relatively cheap and effective means of upsetting the political, economic and military situation of a region and has become one of the major threats to peacekeeping and peace-making efforts. Yet as prevalence rates and death tolls from suicidal attacks increase, policy makers are still working in the dark trying to find the most effective policy responses to the emergence of this new and poorly understood security threat. Currently there is an extremely small empirical research database on which policy-makers may base their understanding of the genesis of suicidal terrorism in order to work toward its prevention and eradication. Comprehending this growing threat and learning to combat it effectively on both the local and international level is extremely relevant to current public policies aimed at promoting peace and stability. This paper briefly discusses the background of modern day suicide terrorism, its migration around the world, and the tendency of modern day terror groups to embrace it as a tactic. Drawing from field research in four distinct world regions[1] the author gives an in-depth analysis of the social and psychological factors in the genesis of human bombing. Focusing on social and psychological factors within the sponsoring groups, the individual bombers and the societies in which they exist, the author has identified two main differing motivational sets on the level of the individual actors for the genesis of suicide terrorism. The first of these is trauma based, occurs within zones of active conflict and is often: nationalistic, viewed in terms of self and community defense, expressive regarding attempts to mete out justice to the perceived enemy occupier, and includes acts of revenge by actors who are often so traumatized that they have become deeply dissociative and even refer to themselves as "already dead." The second motivational set applies to actors outside of active zones of conflict but who are nevertheless influenced by them (through Internet, video footage, pictures and propaganda) and who frequently develop a deep sense of secondary traumatization. The actors in the second motivational set are generally: vulnerable to terrorists ideologies due to a sense of alienation, marginalization, lack of life meaning and lack of positive identity, and usually recruited through exposure via Internet or via close knit family and friendship networks. In both motivational sets it is important to recognize that individuals are generally not motivated to take part in suicide terrorism without an ideology that guides them, and they are also generally in need of an organization to equip and guide them to carry out their acts (although a rare few have acted on their own [1, 2] and they generally are more willing to take part in suicide terrorism when there is broad based support for suicide terrorism in the sector of the community in which they find their sense of belonging.
Keywords: terrorism, psychology, suicide, suicide bombing, trauma

The History of Suicide Bombing

Dying to kill is not new[1]. What is new is that it in modern times the tactic of suicide terrorism has been repackaged and reborn since the mid 1980s. It has suddenly taken off like a wildfire spreading from Lebanon to Palestine, Sri Lanka, Chechnya, Morocco, Indonesia, Turkey, Afghanistan, and Iraq (where there is on average one suicide bomber per day), and now sadly even originating in Europe (i.e. the infamous shoe bomber Richard Reid, the Mike's Place bombers in Israel, and Europeans going as bombers to Iraq and Afghanistan) and European bred bombers now even targeting Europe itself. What combination of factors and conditions have made this tactic suddenly so popular that citizens of countries that have no history of suicide terrorism are suddenly willing to go and even recruit themselves as human bombs making this a main tactic of choice for many terror groups worldwide?

The Success of Suicide Terrorism

Looking back in recent history we see that the current spate of modern day suicide terrorism began in Lebanon in the 1980s when terrorists used suicide truck bombers to attack first the U.S. Embassy and later the barracks of U.S. Marines and French troops, actions which led to the troops deciding to remove themselves from Beirut - positioning themselves offshore – this viewed as a huge strategic victory by the terrorists.

Indeed, the current epidemic of suicide terrorism is directly tied to this perception of its success by terror sponsoring groups. As its use migrated around the world, even many counter terrorism experts have credited suicide terrorism with: derailing the Oslo peace accords, disrupting the peacekeeping and rebuilding efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq, impacting the election results in Madrid[2], and drawing world attention and concern to political issues that may otherwise have been overlooked. Whether it is effective in achieving any real political gains outside of the community in which it originates – i.e. whether it creates any real power base for those who employ suicide terrorism – is still however debatable.

Terrorist organizations thrive because of failed political solutions between conflicting parties and their continued existence relies upon their ability to change

---

[1] I am indebted to Mia Bloom for coining this phrase that she also uses as the title for her book <u>Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror</u>, Columbia University Press, 2005. As far as the history of suicide terrorism, suicide bombing as a strategic tactic is not a new phenomenon. In recent history it appeared in the fifties in Vietnam in the form of bicycle bombers who exploded themselves in cafes killing enemy occupiers who frequented them. (This piece of history related from French counterterrorism expert Francois Gere, personal communication 2005). Looking back into the ancient past, many cite the scriptural account of Sampson as one of the first suicide terrorists who when blinded and chained to pillars decided to use his great strength to pull the columns down, collapsing the building upon himself and those surrounding him. Similarly some experts recall the Muslim Assassins and Jewish Sicari as the first suicide terrorists as both groups carried out assassination missions that were nearly always suicidal for the person carrying it out. Pakistani warriors in ancient times also were known to run underneath elephants carrying advancing troops to slit the bellies of the warring beast bringing them falling down upon themselves – killing both their enemy and themselves in the process.

[2] Some would argue that the Madrid bombings did not involve suicide terrorists as the attackers left their bombs and detonated them from afar; yet upon imminent arrest, the bombers did explode themselves.

perceptions and impact the political process in favor of their constituent groups. When a much weaker group is pitted against a larger more powerful, better financed and militarily equipped group, and suicide terrorism becomes the tactic of choice, it can undeniably be seen by the weaker group as strategically both efficient and more likely to lead to desired results than any other method of violence.

Suicide terrorism is a tactic that is:

- Inexpensive - it requires relatively simple, non-costly and easily accessible equipment. The 9-11 attacks of the World Trade Towers and Pentagon cost approximately $400,000, the Bali bombings about $20,000 [3];
- Highly effective – the human bomber is essentially a smart bomb going directly to his target and able to make adjustments even up to the last moments before detonation to avoid detection and to maximize the amount of damage done in the attack.
- Highly lethal– suicide terrorism operations are the most lethal of nearly all currently utilized terror operations and although they make up only a small fraction of the total of terrorist operations they kill and wound the greatest number of victims.
- Extremely horrifying – the carnage caused by human bombers almost always makes the news hence by targeting only a small group of civilians the terror sponsoring group can count on the media to amplify its effects causing horror and dread to spread throughout a much wider witnessing audience.
- Nearly impossible to prevent – once a bomber is equipped and on the way to his target he is virtually impossible to stop (unless he can be talked out of his mission which is rare) as he can always explode himself upon detection [4].
- Difficult to trace – the bomber if successful, is killed in the attack and unlike in other terror acts needs no resources or risk dedicated to an escape plan, and once killed he cannot be caught and interrogated later revealing who sent him.
- In endless supply *if* the terror group's constituent population supports the use of this tactic. The main cost of suicide terrorism is the human beings who agree to sacrifice themselves in behalf of the terrorist cause. If this pool of individuals is large the terror organization has a virtually endless supply of weaponry and can carry on a very strong war of attrition with a much more powerful enemy who may eventually make concessions to the terror sponsoring group simply to end the campaign of bombings.

The Lethal Cocktail of Suicide Terrorism

The lethal cocktail out of which suicide terrorism originates is the confluence of four main aspects of suicide terrorism: the sponsoring groups motivations, the ideology which supports it, the individual motivations for enacting it, and the societal support for suicide terrorism. Without this confluence of factors suicide terrorism would cease to exist [5-9]. When all of these factors are in support of suicide terrorism it becomes a tactic that can travel the world over as a spark igniting and reigniting a massive fire that we can only hope to be able to extinguish before it consumes us in its flames.

Sponsoring Groups Motivations

Organizations provide the means, methods and group dynamic underlying suicide terrorism operations and often the ideology as well. Although terrorist ideologies should not be thought of as simple constructs of terror sponsoring groups.   They arise in fact from a complex mix of social and political circumstances, psychological and religious context and interplay between the actions, sentiments and rhetoric of terror groups, their constituency and the perceived oppressor/enemy. When looking at the motivations on the organizational level we must acknowledge that terror-sponsoring organizations are largely political in their motivations and resort to terrorism when other political solutions have failed and to suicide terrorism when a specific set of circumstances exist. Researchers of suicide terrorism know that suicide terrorism is nearly always used strategically by organizations and generally resorted to only when the enemy is much stronger and better equipped militarily. Likewise it is often used in later stages of the conflict [10], sometimes reflects an outbidding process for power among competing groups and finds a receptive base of support in areas where occupation occurs, particularly if the foreign occupier is of another religion than those occupied and is perceived as oppressive and unjust [8, 9, 11,12]. When these circumstances exist, suicide terrorism may be deemed an effective choice by terror sponsoring organizations for forcing concessions from its stronger enemy and thereby achieving its political goals.

Ideologies of Suicide Terrorism – Religion and Cosmic Warfare

Currently, the strongest ideology supporting suicide terrorism makes use of distorted versions of Islam. As anyone who has studied the history of warfare knows, religion is often invoked to send warriors out to battle, as believing that one is dying for a higher cause is highly motivating. Nearly *all major faiths* have in the past been used in this way and still are. Just as nearly all nations going to war today still make use of religious rhetoric when looking for popular support and to motivate their warriors (consider the rhetoric of crusades and the just war debates carried on in the west prior to invading Afghanistan and Iraq) - so too do many of today's terror sponsor groups. While the loosely affiliated Al Qaeda/global Salafi terrorist groups do not represent legitimate nation states, they claim that they are acting on behalf of a group of beleaguered people, that they are in a war, and their ideology is aimed to motivate warriors for the battle. The difference is not so much in the use of religion to garner popular support for acts of war and to motivate warriors but in the distortions of mainline religion to justify the tactic these warriors are motivated to adopt and the targeting of innocent civilian that their ideology justifies. We see in these current jihadist ideologies promulgated over the Internet and through underground networks the promotion of suicide terrorism as the most effective way for these groups to triumph and the manipulation of treasured religious principles valuing martyrdom on behalf of Islam misused to motivate foot soldiers to recruit themselves for suicide missions against innocent civilian targets.

When one considers the suicide terror groups uses of religion to motivate individuals to sign up to die, it makes strategic sense. Any believer of *any faith* who is persuaded of the following will act in extraordinary ways:

• He is in a cosmic battle [13] involving apocalyptic forces which will eradicate either his side or the other, hence necessitating a war of defense;

• He should dehumanize and even demonize his enemies by seeing them as the enemies of God;

• In joining the group and taking on it's values and teachings, he has learned the mind of God is authorized to act in the battle by the will of God;

• The battle in which he is fighting is for sacred values [14]; and

• He must go to extraordinary means to eradicate and blot out those he sees as evildoers – even innocent civilians - who he believes are standing in the way of and offending God's will.

It is important to state, however, that even though groups that make use of distorted versions of Islam are currently highly effective in promoting this cosmic warfare ideology to endorse the tactic of suicide terrorism, this does not mean that Islam is the problem. If it were, we would not have seen the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), who are mainly Marxist atheists, making use of this same tactic.   In their cases they made no reference to Islam, nor religion at all, but relied upon charismatic leadership, deep-seated anger over nationalistic concerns and injustices, and the hope of becoming heroes for their cause to motivate human bombing recruits. Likewise many cults including the Aum Shinryko (the Japanese Hindu-related cult responsible for the sarin gas poisonings in the Tokyo metro), the Peoples Temple cult following Jim Jones (who made a suicide pact and killed themselves and their families resulting in over nine hundred deaths), the Army of God (Christian based abortion clinic bombers) and so on have made similar use of non-Islamic religions to induce an apocalyptic vision of the world in which the believers became willing to endorse violence and even kill and die in order to bring it about.

While Islam is currently being misused to promote suicide terrorism, it is not in itself the problem. The problem is powerful links terrorists groups are able to make between individual motivations to self-sacrifice, societal circumstances leading to despair and defiance, and a hijacked version of Islam that plays upon sacred scriptures promoting human sacrifice in behalf of the group. Any distorted mainstream religion can become an ideology used to motivate suicide terrorism. Currently, the main ideology in use among the most active suicide terrorist groups (i.e. the loosely affiliated Al Qaeda/global Salafi and other nationalistic jihadist linked groups) is a hijacked version of Islam calling for would be martyrs from around the world to sacrifice themselves on behalf of a worldwide or nationalist jihad.

Individual Motivations

But why would anyone answer the call? Why do most of the main terror groups in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechnya, and elsewhere state that they have an endless supply of recruits – like the Chechen female bomber who spoke on a prepared video broadcast during the Dubrovka/Nord Ost theater takeover in Moscow where eight hundred hostages where held for three days, stating, "Even if we are killed, thousands of our brothers and sisters will come after us ready to sacrifice themselves." [15].

Certainly there must be something much more powerful than simply an ideology that will make an individual cross the line from normal daily life to becoming a person who straps on a bomb, or gets into an airplane, car or truck intent on exploding himself among civilians.   What are the factors that cause these changes to occur within a human soul?

While the answer is multifaceted and impossible to answer in a short article, our research speaking to bombers, would be bombers, senders and the family members and close acquaintances of bombers and their hostages has pointed to two main motivational sets [2, 8, 9, 16-23][2]:

Trauma- Based Motivations

The first motivational set is a trauma based and occurs within zones of active conflict. It is often: nationalistic, viewed in terms of self and community defense, expressive regarding meting out justice to the perceived enemy occupier, and includes acts of revenge. The individuals motivated within this set have witnessed firsthand and over the television their neighbors, family members and loved ones killed by what they view as an occupying force. Many have grown up witnessing countless acts of violence and as a result have not developed normally and often suffer from posttraumatic stress and dissociative disorders.   Many have lost jobs, educational opportunities, been humiliated, and often struggle for basic daily needs and security. While the majority of traumatized individuals in conflict zones will not become suicide bombers even if invited to do so, an extremely small group will become vulnerable to terrorist ideologies that promote this tactic. Feeling constantly agitated by traumatic flashbacks, unable to avoid daily reminders of their traumatic losses, feeling in constant danger, bereaved, angry and impotent, these individuals ultimately become so dissociative (i.e. separated from normal thoughts, perceptions and emotions) and emotionally numb that they often refer to themselves as "already dead". Actually for them dying is no longer a feared outcome: they already have psychologically and emotionally numbed themselves to human suffering, yet it keeps mercilessly and painfully intruding into their thoughts, that death may seem as a welcome release. Embracing it and exerting some control over when and how it occurs is sadly welcomed by these traumatized individuals.

In response to threat a normal person moves between a fight or flight response and will only move into dissociative defenses (i.e. shutting down normal features of consciousness such as emotions, logic, and memory and sometimes physically freezing as well) when the threat becomes overwhelmingly horrific, terrifying and life-threatening. When this distinction was explained to him, Al Aqsa Martyr's Brigade sender of suicide bombers Zecharia Zubeidi explains the individuals he equips to become human bombs are, according to his observations, caught inflexibly over long periods of time in a dissociative mode. He states that while combatants are flexible in their responses to violent conflict these victims of the conflict are not.   "They are completely different than us (fighters). They have only one decision. We have many options. The thought of running away is always available. We can go and shoot." In contrast he describe the martyrs as locked into an inflexible dissociative mode caused by traumatic stress and the one decision that comes from it. He states "They get flashbacks all the time and for them death is a mercy…For the martyr all the cells in his mind are dead except for one." According to Zubeidi suicide bombers are in too

much pain to find another way to cope and become totally fixated on carrying out what they view as acts of community defense, expressions of pain and enacting justice in response to "all that they have seen." Explaining their psychological inflexibility in reference to his own dissociative states which occur from time to time (also in response to traumatic experience) he states, "When I feel this way I stay there one or two hours, but that one (a bomber), after all that he has observed there is only that one thing (i.e. to end his life in behalf of the community)."

Suicide bombers are often as well or better-educated and less poor than their peers[3] and in other circumstances might have been leaders in their communities. They are acutely sensitive to their own suffering and that of those around them and wish to make a difference, but much like normally depressed and suicidal persons, they don't see any other avenues of action. They want to escape their psychic pain but to do so honorably and to use their lives – even if it means dying - to help their communities. They are uniquely vulnerable to an ideology that promises that they will be heroes for the cause and that they can make a difference in the socio-political situation faced by their communities. They believe that their deaths are only a doorway to a better place and that by dying self sacrificially they can change things both now and in the afterlife, reuniting now with those gone before and later bringing with them relatives that they left behind. Vulnerable and in pain, they succumb to an ideology that seduces them into sacrificing themselves for what they believe is a greater cause. Just like us, they hope for a more just world in which human dignity and rights will be upheld; however, unlike us, they have been deluded into believing that their acts of killing even innocent civilians might bring this into being--and for this they sacrifice themselves.

Alienation, Marginalization, Loss of Identity, Secondary Traumatization and Desire for Life Meaningfulness and Heroism

The second motivational set involves actors not living in conflict zones and is more complex. While an individual who has seen his family member killed in front of his eyes and feels his country has been occupied might be understood for seeking revenge, one must ask about what can possibly motivate Europeans, Turks, Moroccans, Uzbekis, and others to join such groups to go and die to kill? In their cases the main motivational set appears to involve vulnerable actors who are exposed to other individuals within a terror network through kin and friendship groups[4] or through Internet and informal recruiting[3]. In their cases these individuals are often marginalized, frustrated and without hope in their societies. In Europe they are often first, second or third generation immigrants or converts to Islam who feel deep sympathy and even kinship (i.e. as "Muslim brothers") for those in conflict zones. Of the migrant community there is often a deep sense of feeling alienated and no secure sense of identity and belonging in either the country of origin and more importantly their host culture. Facing discrimination, often well educated but facing poor job prospects, lacking positive identity and sense of life meaning and having little else to make of themselves, once exposed to terrorist ideologies they are attracted to the appeal to become heroes for a cause.

---

[3] In Brussels we have found that there are Internet cafes where if one logs on for a half hour or so pop up adds appear inviting one to join the worldwide jihad.

In these cases nearly always the sponsoring organization makes use of five powerful motivators. The first two are the idea of belonging and identity – belonging to an important cause and group, and taking on a heroic identity. The third is the use of pictures and graphic video footage of conflict zones that are shown to the potential recruit and interpreted as atrocities against innocent victims – mainly featuring Chechen and Palestinian suffering. Just as relief organizations in our societies often uses pictures and video footage of human suffering to motivate us to give to worthy causes, these organizations do the same, playing upon the emotional reactions of their audiences to find the individuals vulnerable enough to respond to their calls to action.

In the European case where distorted Islamic ideologies are being used, often those individuals who become terrorist recruits are sensitive and care about the conflicts they learn about but are not able to read in Arabic and fall prey to teachers who tell them they know and can interpret the Koran better for them and teach them based on Islam the proper response to address such suffering. This is not to say they are simple minded, quite the contrary. Often it is the well-educated and sensitive individuals who read news and care about the world and who would be leaders if they felt they had a way of participating in their society and its political discourse. Frustrated by lack of opportunities to help others in need and needing a meaningful role and identity they find answers in terrorist groups.

Fourth and fifth are the ideas often taken from religion – that one ought to sacrifice on behalf of the brotherhood of the believers. In this manner the ideas of "fictive kin"[5] and martyrdom are instilled. The individuals who respond to such calls to action are appealed upon to depart from the frustrations of this life, reject the society that has marginalized or frustrated them and join a group following a path that promises eternal rewards. Suddenly the individual who was previously frustrated, feeling worthless, had little hope and so on feels a sense of belonging, a firm identity and purpose in what will soon turn out to be a foreshortened life.

The words of a disillusioned radical[6] living in Brussels, Belgium illustrate how he was radicalized and then found his way out of it. This young man (age 24) was adopted from Rwanda to white Belgium parents. Growing up as the only black in his community, he was alienated and confused about his identity. In search for his "African" roots, he found Islam, converted at age fifteen, and started attending a radical mosque where he fell under the influence of extremist militant Wahhabist teachers. "If you say to yourself this thing is God's will, you have to do it. It's simple. If you can't read in Arabic and people tell you that you cannot understand and you have to do it. I tried very sincerely to do so. I followed everything, the prayer schedule, eating and way of drinking all in the Sunnah. But there are also ideas about jihad. At age nineteen I was ready to go to Lebanon and fight for my brother Palestinian. I didn't know politics but I had an idea we had some Muslim community, our brothers that we must defend."

Speaking about how he became ready to become a martyr he explains,

> When I went to Morocco with my wife to her mother's house I saw Al Manar – Lebanon TV. They have a way to mix religion and politics. I can understand it because there is a true crisis in Palestine. . . . What I saw on the television was two Israeli soldiers taking big stones and breaking the bones of a Palestinian man, breaking his arm bones, his shoulders, all the bones in his hands, all the bones in his feet, his ribs, smashing them with a big rock. I'm

sure they killed him or left him to die. I couldn't understand all of the Arabic (he was beginning to learn Arabic at this time) but I didn't need language to understand – it was all there in the pictures. Imagine people see that in the morning, get breakfast and see that on their television. When you see that you feel there is a unity of Muslim people. I decided to go there. I was completely crazy. I had a wife and baby but I thought I would go anyway.

Thankfully this young man found his way out of the radical groups by studying Arabic and religion intensively until he found his own answers independent of the militant teachers he had fallen under. Looking back at how close he came to going to be a "martyr" he explains, "At that time I was a believing radical. For a radical you can die and kill for God no problem. I can die or be killed at anytime. I knew people who went to Afghanistan as bombers, the people who killed Mousad. To get the connections to go, here in Brussels, is no problem." Reflecting on how he got out he explains, "The problem is you see all the people, politics, everything – you see through the Koran and it's your perspective." Likewise he recalls that at that time, "I was completely lost" and reflects that it's difficult to question what is being taught if you don't learn Arabic: "The difference between me (having left the radical groups) and the others is my studies."

Adopting a Terrorist Ideology as Psychological First Aid

In both motivational sets the ideology of the terror-sponsoring group is acting as a psychological first aid for the victim of other grievances. This psychological first aid is of course short lived – as is its victim. Yet ones sees a powerful transformation take place in the human bomber who, seeing no way to change his circumstances, moves from a stance of a powerless victim of societal forces to becoming an actor in a worldwide or nationalistic drama that he has been persuaded might bring about a more just and dignified existence for those left behind. In this way a marriage occurs between a terror promoting ideology and individual psycho-social vulnerabilities emanating out of traumatic and bereaving experiences in conflict zones and marginalizing and frustrating circumstances in non-conflict zones. When this marriage occurs all that is left is for the individual to believe that there is some significant portion of society that supports his stepping out into this path (it may be the group that recruits him) that enables him to take the final steps to martyrdom. This is where societal support for suicide terrorism plays an important role in putting a martyr upon the path to becoming a human bomb.

Societal Support for Suicide Terrorism

When a society deplores violence as an answer to violence and terrorism as an answer to social problems its unlikely that ideologies supporting suicide terrorism will resonate strongly within more than extremely limited groups of vulnerable individuals. However when a society or significant elements of it begin to embrace an ideology in support of suicide terrorism then these groups of potential recruits will expand exponentially. We witnessed this when a "cult of martyrdom" sprung up among Palestinians during the second Intifada that made their pool of potential recruits seemingly endless.

How does this occur? Again it is a confluence of factors: when a society is so offended and even traumatized by daily living circumstances as a result of war, conflict, human rights violations, marginalization, frustrations and daily humiliations, and many individuals feel powerless to change these assaults to human dignity, the society can begin to support terrorist ideologies, especially those that espouse familiar and valued religious ideals, believing that terror acts may bring about change. In this case, the society begins to indoctrinate its children in support of suicide terror. Posters, songs and videos may become prevalent throughout the society in support of martyrdom (i.e. suicide terrorism) and the society as a whole may begin to resonate with the aims and ideology of the terror-sponsoring group.

This is most important to avoid when considering the fight against suicide terrorism. There will likely always be fringe groups that promote dying to kill. There will also always be individuals who are vulnerable to recruitment by these groups. However, we unwittingly create the circumstances in which the pool of recruits expands exponentially when we fail to address the societal factors leading to individual vulnerability and societal support that make these groups impossible to extinguish, and self replenishing faster than we can stop them. In these cases their pool of recruits becomes so large that the terror groups can go on forever. Likewise we must begin to address and take apart the rhetoric of terror sponsoring organizations – addressing their ideologies by engaging with them in a discourse that can perhaps lead to more, instead of less people believing that political solutions do exist and terror acts are neither necessary nor useful in bringing about a just, moral and dignified existence.

As far as the involvement of a hijacked version of Islam in the majority of the most current cases of suicide bombing, we must acknowledge two things. Firstly, Islam is a religion that has always valued the struggle for all three of these values – justice, morality and human dignity--and it is only natural that when a terror group is hoping to motivate recruits it can appeal through Islamic traditions to action on behalf of these fundamental values (especially if it can argue that one is acting in self and community defense). Indeed, this idea of self and community defense has been the basis of nearly all *fatwas* in support of martyrdom (i.e. suicide missions). Secondly, a majority of the world's Islamic populations live under corrupt and autocratic regimes, face numerous human rights violations, territorial occupations and/or discrimination, hence there are many *political* reasons that Islamic people might gravitate to a terrorist ideology that shares with them the *political* goals of fighting for freedom and human dignity. Religion is simply the vehicle for uniting them and giving them courage for fighting (in whatever mistaken or brutal ways they chose) for the *political* goals they share. When we mistakenly believe that Islam itself is the problem and begin to assault deeply valued religious traditions and beliefs we only fuel the fires of the currently "in vogue" terrorism ideologies.

There is also a contagion effect that we must consider that occurs even with normal suicide – those who are in the family and friendship network of a suicide bomber are often so deeply affected by the act that they too begin to consider acting similarly. We have found countless examples of radicalization proceeding through networks of close friends and relatives, as have other authors[7]. Thus radicalization can increase geometrically once it gets going.

The Fight Against Terrorism

The solutions to this problem are of course as multifaceted as the societal conditions that support individual and societal receptivity to terrorist's ideology and create a ready pool of recruits in many and varied areas of the world. The solutions are not simple and will be difficult to bring about. The most basic of our tasks is to work to end the conflicts which create the fodder for trauma-based recruitment both in the conflict zones themselves and through secondary traumatization. When photos and videos of conflict zones are fed through the Internet and other recruiting media to those living in alienated and marginalized circumstances, we find that they too may join the fight simply to find an identity and something worth living and dying for.

Recommendations to NATO – The Sponsoring Organization

In Cold War politics NATO was created to function as defensive bulwark against Soviet expansion to the West – a real and plausible threat until the fall of the Berlin Wall. NATO no longer faces a Cold War threat. The newest and largest security challenge to NATO nations today is global terrorism: an entirely new and different security challenge and a threat that does not come in the forms of conventional warfare. Instead of engaging military to military, the new global terrorism strikes civilian targets and aims to create anxiety and destruction to the masses.

Defense against terrorism takes three main forms,[8] all of which NATO should be actively engaged in. These are as follows: 1) hardening defenses by taking measures to secure populations and installations from attack, 2) military and intelligence operations for the penetration and destruction of terrorist sponsoring organizations, and 3) getting at and addressing the root causes of terrorism so as to reduce popular support for terrorism and terrorism recruitment. The first requires technological applications, the second military and intelligence and the third psycho-social and political understanding and solutions.

This paper addresses the third aspect, which to be undertaken well requires that one understand the political context, recruitment processes, motivations and indoctrination that are involved in constructing modern day terrorists. NATO's science programme has been instrumental in bringing NATO country scientists together in advanced research workshops to discuss these issues and work together towards solutions. This is an activity that should continue with a particular focus on how to understand global terrorism and thwart the growth in it.

Likewise in the realm of politics, NATO as a political organization can be on the forefront of this struggle against terrorism by committing to fight for human dignity and human rights by working to forge political solutions and offering alternatives to the ideology and methods put forth by terror sponsoring groups.

NATO countries, especially those that have large Muslim populations, must work to integrate their populations and give them a vibrant voice in the political discourse. The radicalization of disgruntled populations in Europe now puts many European nations on the frontline. Already, radicalized home-grown terrorists from Europe have participated in suicide attacks in Israel, Afghanistan, Iraq, attempted to down a airliner bound for the U.S., and attacked on their own soil in Madrid and London. And these attacks may only be the first in a series of attacks on European soil. As more and more European young men travel to Iraq to join the jihad we can expect that they may act

similarly to the former Afghani jihadists when they returned home from the war. Many who were trained in militant terrorist techniques turned these against their home countries – the same can happen in Europe. Already there are ethnic ghettos in Europe where disenfranchised, alienated individuals lacking any positive identity can fall prey to the terrorist messages brought to them over the Internet and through teachings of local teachers. European passport holders travel freely to the U.S. and can bring the jihad with them as well.[9] Europe in particular needs to work for political solutions to ending the alienation and disenfranchisement that exists especially among the Muslim first to third generation migrant communities.

The fodder that is usually fed to European recruits includes pictures and video footage of real and disturbing injustices in the Islamic world. NATO through its engagement with Mediterranean dialogue partner countries and with Russia must work to engage increased respect for human rights and increased participation of the citizens of these countries in the political process so that they do not resort to terrorism. Likewise NATO's own involvement as an organization and individually as country members in the so-called "war on terrorism" must follow the same respect for human rights. The current political debate in the U.S. and the UK in support of torture as well as the numerous scandals from Abu Ghraib to Guantanamo Bay to the burning and desecration of enemy corpses in Afghanistan provide the best terrorist recruitment. NATO and its member countries must be the beacon of light and respect for human dignity and liberty in dark times, not part of the darkness that it claims to be fighting.

The aim of terrorists is to create terror and their campaigns of striking civilian populations in unpredictable times and places puts everyone on alert. No place and no one feels safe. While suicide terrorism is the most lethal form of terrorism currently used and creates the most fatalities, we must keep in mind that terrorism generally wounds and kills a small number of individuals. It is the media amplification effect of the terrorist strikes that creates a much greater psychological impact in the wider witnessing audience - engendering widespread fear. While NATO as a political organization has in the past favored military strategies, in the case of terrorism, which is essentially a psychological weapon, it would be wise for NATO and its member countries to begin to work together to consider psychological strategies to counter terrorism. We must consider, as Jerrold Post advises, to use military might to counter military aggression and psychological strategies to counter psychological tactics. [10] On the one hand, this means increasing the resilience of civilian populations[11] – making them realize the relative risks of terrorism – that the annual toll of deaths by terrorism rarely come near the number killed in drunk driving incidents for example. Many strategies can be used to increase civil preparedness for terrorism that may decrease the intended impact of terror groups--spreading fear throughout societies. This also diminishes the knee jerk reaction to countering terrorism and allows for more carefully thought out approaches.

NATO must also work to counter terrorist ideologies that support martyrdom operations, making use of all disagreement on the issue and helping more moderate voices to be heard. Indeed, it may pay to consider educational programs for school children in Europe and NATO countries where migrant populations are likely to encounter and may potentially be radicalized by terrorist ideologies. If these populations are exposed in school to a moderated discussion regarding terrorist ideologies and taught correctly what all mainstream religions teach about the appropriate and inappropriate use of violence at a young age, they can learn and be prepared ahead of time to see how the logic and premises within many of these

ideologies is faulty and not supported by mainstream religious thought. This strategy is similar to how young school children are currently educated to prevent them from becoming victims of sexual predators on the Internet, to drug dealers, child molesters etc. This educational exposure could perhaps serve as an inoculation against being naively exposed with no preparation at a later age, to be educated to think critically about and to counter the appeal of such ideologies, especially when they are paired with compelling images and logic demonstrating either real or perceived social injustices. Children at young ages can be taught how effective nonviolent methods have been and can be used to fight injustice and the fruitlessness of terrorist violence, so that they are prepared ahead of time to reject such appeals.

Increasingly in recent years NATO has played a peacekeeping role in conflict zones, with this role has come an increased recognition of the deep traumatization that occurs to war inflicted populations, particularly children and adolescents who can grow up to be tomorrow's terrorists. NATO's science programme has and should continue to support programs that search for strategies to help prevent this transmission of violence into the next generation. Within conflict zones it is useful for NATO countries to work to fund and actively support programs that help those individuals who are psychologically disturbed by the traumas of war who fall easily prey to ideologies that encourage them to be heroic in the eyes of their communities by sacrificing themselves for the cause: a medicine they take like psychological first aid. Like normal suicide, it's a short-lived solution to their psychological pain.

NATO must also join the fight against terrorism financing. NATO's economic directorate and the NATO defense college has done a good job of bringing together experts to study this complex interplay between criminality, banking and terrorist networks. Without the funds to pay for their actions, terror groups can be considerably thwarted in recruiting, promulgating their messages and sending forth terrorists. Chechen terrorist leader Shamil Basayev admitted, when he claimed responsibility for Beslan, that the lack of finances had held him back from striking the heart of Russia: "We planned the operation in Moscow or Leningrad, and wanted if we could to carry it out even in two places simultaneously. But the lack of finances didn't allow us to plan that operation in the centre of Russia."[12] So certainly curtailing the finances available to terrorist organizations can make a difference.

As much as possible, it is useful for NATO countries to think less about military answers to the psychological warfare enacted by terrorists but instead to answer with two-pronged political and even psychological strategies that thwart the ability of terror groups to operate as terrorists, but open the space for group concerns to be heard and effective in reaching political solutions. It is also fruitful to enact programs that equip and encourage groups to be effective on a political level without resorting to violence – such as occurred in Ukraine during the Orange Revolution – and to teach political groups methods of nonviolent protest which have been highly effective in resolving deep social injustices such as the civil rights workers in the U.S. who battled racism, Nelson Mandela's group who ended apartheid and Gandhi who overthrew an empire.

Whether or not NATO or other security forces can overcome the new breed of terrorism is uncertain. Most counter-terrorism experts would agree, however, that the threat continues to grow and measures must be taken to contain the threat. The ideologies of terrorism, particularly those espousing suicide operations, spread like a virulent virus, particularly in the context of states weakened by corruption, conflicts, and ethnic and religious discrimination. The spread of global terrorism must be contained. NATO as a security organization should aim to form a better understanding

of terrorism -- the types of terrorism and methods used, recruitment strategies and the fit between ideology and individual vulnerabilities to fall prey to, or worse even to seek out, these ideologies, and this in order to have a better capability of combating the growing trend. Terrorist organizations are constantly evolving; NATO should do the same.

Conclusions

Unless we take the time to understand the threat we are dealing with and its origins on the organizational, ideological, societal and individual levels, we are unlikely to find good solutions. We must do all we can to defuse human bombs and offer them hope of a better solution. One can only trust that such efforts will succeed in creating a world in which potential bombers will find more for which they wish to live than that for which they wish to die – as those who die to kill point out our failures to make life worth living.

References

1. Argo, N. (2004). Personal Communication
2. Speckhard, A. (April 2005). Unpublished Palestinian militant interviews.
3. NATO Defence College, R. B. (2004). *Financial and Economic Aspects of the Fight Against Terrorism, Immediate Report*.
4. Ganor, B. (2005). The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide For Decision Makers.
5. Argo (2003). The banality of evil: Understanding and defusing today's human bombs. Unpublished research proposal
6. Hafez, M. (2004). Manufacturing Human Bombs: Strategy, Culture and Conflict in the Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers
7. Merari, A. (2003). Suicide Terrorism - unpublished manuscript.
8. Speckhard, A. (2005a). Understanding Suicide Terrorism: Countering Human Bombs and Their Senders. In J. S. Purcell & J. D. Weintraub (Eds.), *Topics in Terrorism: Toward a Transatlantic Consensus on the Nature of the Threat*. Washington, D.C.: Atlantic Council
9. Speckhard, A., & Ahkmedova, K. (2005). Talking to Terrorists. *Journal of Psychohistory, Fall*.
10. Bloom, M. (2005). *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*: Columbia University Press.
11. Pape, R. (2005). *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House.
12. Speckhard, A., & Akhmedova, K. (2006b). The New Chechen Jihad: Militant Wahhabism as a Radical Movement and a Source of Suicide Terrorism in Post-War Chechen Society. *International Studies Quarterly*.
13. Juergensmeyer, M. (2000). *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religion Violence.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
14. Atran, S. (2003). Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science, 299*.
15. Jazeera, A. (2002).
16. Speckhard, A. (2004). Soldiers for God: A Study of the Suicide Terrorists in the Moscow Hostage Taking Siege. In O. McTernan (Ed.), *The Roots of Terrorism: Contemporary Trends and Traditional Analysis*. Brussels: NATO Science Series.
17. Speckhard, A. (2005b). Unpublished Beslan interviews
18. Speckhard, A., & Ahkmedova, K. (2006). The Making of a Martyr: Chechen Suicide Terrorism. *Journal of Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 29*(5).
19. Speckhard, A., & Akhmedova, K. (2004). Mechanisms of Generating Suicide Terrorism: Trauma and Bereavement as Psychological Vulnerabilities in Human Security - The Chechen Case. In J. Donnelly (Ed.). Brussels: NATO Science Series.
20. Speckhard, A., & Akhmedova, K. (2006a). Black Widows: The Chechen Female Suicide Terrorists. In Y. Schweitzer (Ed.), *Female Suicide Terrorists*. Tel Aviv: Jaffe Center Publication.
21. Speckhard, A., Tarabrina, N., Krasnov, V., & Akhmedova, K. (2004). Research Note: Observations of Suicidal Terrorists in Action. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 16*(2), 305-327.

22. Speckhard, A., Tarabrina, N., Krasnov, V., & Mufel, N. (2005a). Posttraumatic and acute stress responses in hostages held by suicidal terrorists in the takeover of a Moscow theater. *Traumatology, 11*(1).

23. Speckhard, A., Tarabrina, N., Krasnov, V., & Mufel, N. (2005b). Stockholm Effects and Psychological Responses to Captivity in Hostages Held by Suicidal Terrorists. In S. Wessely & V. Krasnov (Eds.), *Psychological Responses to the new Terrorism: A NATO Russia Dialogue*: IOS Press.

---

[1] In recent years I have had the opportunity with my colleagues to interview incarcerated suicide terrorists; potential recruits for human bombers; senders of suicide terrorists; members of terrorists groups; and perhaps most importantly family members, hostages and close associates of accomplished bombers to ask about the bombers, the events and the influences that motivated these individuals to choose to die in this way and thereby to construct a psychological autopsy[1] of them. These interviews concerned Chechen, Palestinian and Moroccan suicide terrorism and radicalization of groups in Europe and took place in Chechnya, North Ossetia, Russia, Belarus, Morocco, Palestine, Israel, Holland, France, and Belgium. Special thanks to Khapta Akhmedova, Mokhtar Benabdallaoui, Valery Krasnov, Natalia Mufel, Yoram Schweitzer and Nadejda Tarabrina for helping me in making interviews and to my students Ken Reidy and Valentijn Vanrompay who accompanied me on trips to the Palestinian territories. I am also indebted to Scott Atran, Nichole Argo, Mia Bloom, John Esposito, Rohan Gunaratna, Bruce Hoffman, Mark Juergensmeyer, Assaf Moghadam, Cerwyn Moore, Jerrold Post, Marc Sageman, Jessica Stern, Andrew Silke, Michael Taarnby, Reuven Paz and many others who have contributed to this field of research and helped me refine my technique, theory and added to my understanding of this complex phenomena in many ways - through conversations, critique of my work, and correspondence.

[2] See Anne Speckhard & Khapta Ahkmedova (2006) The Making of a Martyr: Chechen Suicide Terrorism, Journal of Studies in Conflict and Terrorism Volume 29, Issue 5; Speckhard, Anne & Akhmedova, Khapta (2005) "Black Widows: The Chechen Female Suicide Terrorists, in Yoram Schweitzer ed. Female Suicide Terrorists Jaffe Center Publication, Tel Aviv, Israel; Speckhard, A., Tarabrina, N; Krasnov, V. & Mufel, N (2005). "Stockholm Effects and Psychological Responses to Captivity in Hostages Held by Suicidal Terrorists" Traumatology: Vol. 11, Issue 2.; Speckhard, A..& Ahkmedova, K. Talking to Terrorists" Journal of Psychohistory, Fall, 2005;

Speckhard, A. (2005) "Understanding Suicide Terrorism: Countering Human Bombs and Their Senders" in Topics in Terrorism: Toward a Transatlantic Consensus on the Nature of the Threat (Volume I) Eds. Jason S. Purcell & Joshua D. Weintraub Atlantic Council Publication 2005.;

Speckhard, A.,Tarabrina, N. Krasnov, V. & Mufel. N. Posttraumatic and Acute Stress Responses in Hostages Held by Suicidal Terrorists in the Takeover of a Moscow Theater Traumatology, Vol. 11, Issue 1 2005.; Speckhard, A. & Ahkmedova, K. Mechanisms of Generating Suicide Terrorism: Trauma and Bereavement as Psychological Vulnerabilities in Human Security – The Chechen Case, in Jill Donnelly Ed. NATO Science Series, 2005.;Speckhard, A. Soldiers for God: A Study of the Suicide Terrorists in the Moscow Hostage Taking Siege "The Roots of Terrorism: Contemporary Trends and Traditional Analysis" Edited by Oliver McTernan, NATO Science Series, Brussels, 2004.

[3] See Scott Atran, "Mishandling suicide terrorism" The Washington Quarterly 27:3 pp 67-90 Summer 2004 pg. 1; Ariel Merari, Suicide Terrorism, 2003.

[4] See Marc Sageman, Understanding Terror Networks University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004

[5] See Scott Atran, Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. Science, 7 March 2003, Vol 299. pg 534

[6] Anne Speckhard Unpublished interviews with Belgian radicals October 2005.

[7] For an excellent discussion and definition of the global Salafi jihad and of networks between friends and family see Marc Sageman *Understanding Terror Networks* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

[8] See Scott Atran, Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. Science, 7 March 2003, Vol 299. pg 534.

[9] Bob Leiken Europe's Angry Muslims, Foreign Policy Studies, 2005

[10] See Jerrold Post – chapter in this volume

[11] See Speckhard, Anne "Civil Society's Response to Mass Terrorism: Building Resilience" in Combating Terrorism – Military and Non Military Strategies, Rohan Gunaratna editor, Eastern Universities Press, Singapore, 2006; Speckhard, A. Inoculating Resilience to Terrorism: Acute and Posttraumatic Stress Responses in U.S. Military, Foreign & Civilian Services Serving Overseas After September 11th . Traumatology, 8 (2), June 2002 pp. 105-122.

[12] Jonathan Miller, Another Beslan? Channel 4 News Feb 3, 2005.

Chapter 19
Moral Agents, Immoral Violence: Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement in Palestinian Suicide Terrorism

Mohammed M Hafez
Department of Political Science
University of Missouri – Kansas City

Introduction

From the beginning of the Al-Aqsa uprising in September 2000 to September 2005, Palestinian factions executed 144 suicide bombings, killing 1,060 Israelis [1]. The overwhelming majority of suicide attacks targeted Israeli civilians in buses and bus stops, restaurants and cafes, malls and markets, discos and hotels. The bombers not only deployed explosives on their bodies, they surrounded their bombs with nails, bolts, and scrap metal that served as shrapnel at the point of detonation. The result was indiscriminate carnage that killed and maimed scores of victims, including women and children. It is not a mystery why organizations promote suicide attacks. Informed observers of this phenomenon recognize the strategic logic and tactical advantages offered by suicide terrorism [2-4]. Human bombs conduct their missions with greater versatility and accuracy, and are less likely to be captured and forced into informing on their recruiters. They are smart bombs that could make operational adjustments during an attack to increase the kill rate. Their psychological impact is much more potent on the target audience than conventional means because it highlights the determination of the terrorists and sends the message that they are not deterred by fear of death. Moreover, it is not difficult to understand why organizations choose to target civilians, especially in the Palestinian-Israeli struggle. Faced with a superior army that is guarded behind fortified positions and equipped with advanced armory, a militant group is likely to opt for attacking "soft" targets because they present better chances for success. This research, therefore, is not intended to explain *why* suicide bombings take place against civilians. Its intent is to explain *how* suicide bombers, who tend to see themselves as moral agents making the ultimate sacrifice for their people, justify killing civilians.

Rationalizing violence against non-combatants is especially necessary in the case of human bombs because of the nature of their tactic. To execute their missions successfully, suicide bombers must become intimate with their victims, even if for a

few seconds or minutes; they must look like them, dress like them, walk among them, hear their voices, smell their scents, feel their motion, look them in the face, and see them eye to eye. The bombers can distinguish between old and young, male or female, solider and civilian. Sometime they select the place of operation and they always select the time of detonation; they choose who will be targeted for death and injury. Contrast suicide bombings with conventional terrorism where a terrorist places a bomb or parks an explosive-laden car and walks away. He does not intermingle with his victims and this physical distance allows him to disassociate his feelings from his actions. Similarly, aerial bombers hurling bombs at civilian targets can detach their morality from their deeds because they do not see their victims. The feeling of pressing buttons to release deadly missiles is not significantly different from training simulations that are without consequence or even video games where the dead can be revived by pressing the restart key. Suicide bombers do not have this privilege of physical and emotional distance. In order to carry out their operations, they must cognitively construct these dissociative barriers between themselves and their victims.

Social psychologist Albert Bandura introduced the notion of moral disengagement to the study of terrorism. He begins with a premise that is widely accepted by experts on political violence: terrorists are not abnormal individuals or psychopaths that lack morality and are bent on bloodletting. Rather, terrorists are normal, ordinary people that, under certain circumstances or inducements, are capable of selectively disengaging their moral codes in the service of inhumane conduct. Just as soldiers can go to battle to fight and kill for their country, terrorists can engage in violence to promote a cause. To be sure, soldiers must be trained to overcome their inhibitions to kill others, but this behavior modification is not seen as immoral by most societies; indeed, it is rewarded with medals, venerated in public ceremonies, and idealized as heroic sacrifice when soldiers are killed in action. Similarly, terrorists can frame their violent deeds as moral acts in the service of their people, country, or God. Bandura identifies eight mechanisms of moral disengagement by which moral agents can justify cruel acts: moral justification, exonerating comparisons, blame attribution, euphemistic labeling, displacement of responsibility, diffusion of responsibility, disregard or distortion of consequences, and dehumanization [5-7]. Bandura correctly recognizes that these mechanisms are shaped by social, political, and cultural contexts that may facilitate or hinder their effectiveness in rationalizing violence. Therefore, moral disengagement is not sufficient to explain the rise of terrorism or its perpetuation over time. Rather, it points to important discursive and cognitive dimensions of terrorism that are necessary for motivating individuals to engage in inhumane conduct.

This study investigates how Palestinian suicide bombers deactivate self-sanctioning norms against the indiscriminate killing of civilians. It detects five of the eight mechanisms of moral disengagement in the statements of suicide bombers prior to their deadly missions. The most salient justifications for attacking civilians are *moral justification* of the violence, *advantageous comparisons* among Palestinian and Israeli violence, *attribution of blame* for the violence, *euphemistic labeling* of suicide bombings, and *dehumanization* of the victims of violence. To study the discursive practices of individual Palestinian suicide bombers, I conducted content analysis of their last will and testaments made before their operations. The written and videotaped statements of suicide bombers contain a wealth of information about their personal motivations as well as the religious and nationalist symbols that inspired them. I analyzed over one hundred statements of Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades militants. These statements are issued immediately after a suicide attack and

can be easily obtained from the web sites of Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. To corroborate the statements of militants, I relied on published interviews with their families, friends, and schoolmates, which can be found in news reports. I also relied on statements of their peers in militant groups as well as top leaders and commanders of Palestinian factions issued in the Arabic press, aired on television, and published in lengthy interviews in their political journals. These sources provided an insider's perspective on how the subjects justified targeting civilians.

What is moral disengagement?

Human beings are moral agents that evaluate their actions in terms of ethical conduct. Most often self-regulation is an unconscious process that stems from extensive socialization, but occasionally moral dilemmas force us to consciously reflect on our value systems and sense of personal identity. Engaging in conduct that is normally considered unethical can generate cognitive dissonance, which we associate with guilt feelings. However, as Bandura and his colleagues explain, there are many "psychological maneuvers by which moral self-reactions can be selectively disengaged" from unethical conduct [8]. Selective moral disengagement is not equivalent to setting aside one's values as if they are personal baggage that can be stored away to free ones hands temporarily. Rather, it is the cognitive reconstrual of unethical conduct as socially or morally acceptable.

Take, for instance, the hypothetical parable about the morality of turning people away from a small bomb shelter during a nuclear attack. The moral dilemma presented in this scenario involves the owner of a small, fortified shelter with limited space and supplies having to turn away his neighbors who are seeking a safe haven from nuclear fallout. He does not hesitate to threaten use of force to prevent people from storming the shelter. The decision maker recognizes that his conduct will ultimately result in many of his neighbors dying. Under these circumstances, the moral agent is able to construe his decision as ethical (and hence sleep soundly at night) by claiming that (a) he had no choice because the situation was foisted upon him by circumstances beyond his control (i.e. he lacks free will) and (b) while many people were killed as a result of his decision, *everyone* would have perished if he opened the shelter doors to all who sought entry (i.e. he chose the least morally objectionable solution). Thus, the capacity to rationalize behavior previously deemed inappropriate, unethical, or harmful to others is dependent of the ability of self-evaluative agents to frame their conduct as serving moral purposes, or, at a minimum, deny responsibility for the outcomes.

Violent militants are equally constrained by ethical considerations rooted in their family upbringing, societal expectations, and, in many instances, religious traditions. As David Apter aptly put it, "People do not commit political violence without discourse. They need to talk themselves into it" [9]. They do so through a gradual process of deactivating self-inhibitory moral codes against murder and mayhem by reconstructing immoral behavior as serving ethical ends. In the case of Palestinian suicide bombers, all of whom are Muslims, justifying attacks on civilians is particularly important because of Islam's strict prohibition against targeting non-combatants, especially the elderly, women, and children. Verse 2:190 of the Quran is generally cited as proof of this viewpoint: "Fight in the path of God those who fight you, but do not transgress limits, for God does not love transgressors." There are many

Prophetic traditions that strictly prohibit the killing of civilians. In one well-known and authentic tradition, the Prophet Muhammad "once passed by a woman who had been slain. The Messenger of God halted and said: 'She was not one who would have fought.' Then he said to one of [his companions]: 'Catch up with [commander] Khalid ibn al-Walid and tell him not to kill women, children and serfs'" [10]. He also commanded his detachments "Do not cheat or commit treachery, nor should you mutilate or kill children, women, or old men" [11]. According to Peters "All [four Islamic jurisprudence] schools agree that minors and women may not be killed, unless they actually fight against the Moslems" [12]. Given these clear prohibitions, how could Palestinian human bombs view their missions as moral acts by moral agents? Five of Bandura's mechanisms of moral disengagement can shed light on this paradox.

Moral Justification

The moral justification of violence is often achieved when individual terrorists frame their conduct as a necessary evil to end social injustices such as economic exploitation, foreign domination, or protection of ones religious community from deleterious influences. This form of moral disengagement does not deny that cruel violence is an aberration, but it is framed as a necessity to overcome a greater evil. For example, anti-abortion activists that blow up abortion clinics and kill abortion doctors justify their actions in terms of saving many lives (in this case of "unborn babies"). Left-wing terrorists in Germany, Italy, and Peru during the 1970s and 1980s portrayed their violence as a necessary phase in the revolutionary process that will ultimately usher in a non-exploitative, classless society characterized by equality and social harmony. In Egypt, the *Gama'a al-Islamiyya* (Islamic Group), which waged an armed insurgency against the secular ruling regime during the 1990s, justified its repeated attacks on tourists by claiming that it weakened the economic foundations of an "apostate" regime that tortures and executes Islamic activists. In Algeria, the Armed Islamic Group (known by its French acronym GIA) justified massacring government employees at fake checkpoints on the basis that these workers sustained an un-Islamic regime.

Governments also justify attacks on civilians in times of war by arguing that it is a necessary evil to prevent a greater one. The United States, for instance, justified the atomic attacks on Japan toward the end of World War II on the basis that is shortened the war and, consequently, saved more lives than were actually lost. In all these instances, the act of violence is not seen as moral in itself. Rather, the morality of violence stems from the objectives they are seeking to achieve. If the ends of violence are deemed righteous, the means for fulfilling them become moral.

Advantageous Comparison

The purveyors of violence rationalize their actions by framing their violent conduct as minor transgressions when compared to the cruelties inflicted upon them by the enemy. As Bandura explains, "Self-deplored acts can be made to appear righteous by contrasting them with flagrant inhumanities. The more outrageous the comparison practices, the more likely it is that one's own destructive conduct will appear trifling or even benevolent" [5, p. 171]. Exonerating comparison is one of the ways Osama Bin

Laden justifies killing thousands of American civilians. In an October 2001 interview with *al-Jazeera*, Bin Laden was asked about the appropriateness of targeting civilians, which is prohibited in Islam. He wards off the question by asking a series of his own: "Who said that our children and civilians are not innocent and that shedding their blood is justified? … Who has been getting killed in our countries for decades? More than one million children died in Iraq and others are still dying."

Similarly, Serbian war criminals often rationalized their atrocities against Croats by recalling the butchery committed by the Croatian Ustasha Movement against Serbs in concentration camps during the 1940s. As Neil Kressel points out, "No single factor contributed more to Serb war criminals' willingness to ignore moral prohibitions than their reactivated anger at how their people had suffered at the hands of Croats during World War II" [13]. Hutu extremists that promoted bloodletting against the Tutsis through the airwaves during the 1994 genocide constantly reminded the rank-and-file killers of how the Tutsis massacred tens of thousands of Hutus in neighboring Burundi in 1972 and that similar massacres were taking place in 1994 by the advancing Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF).

In each of the aforementioned instances the consequences of inhumane conduct is parried by highlighting – or even exaggerating – the cruelty and threat posed by one's enemies. Advantageous comparisons also set the foundations for the following mechanism of moral disengagement.

Attribution of Blame

Attribution of blame is perhaps the most common mechanism of moral disengagement employed by terrorists. It is closely connected to the mechanism of advantageous comparison because it shifts the culpability for the violence onto other groups or circumstances that "forced" militants to react in self-defense. In doing so, it minimizes in the terrorist mind the deleterious effects of his or her violence. Terrorism is not a matter of choice, but an inevitable backlash against the violations of others.

By insisting on the reactive nature of their violence, the perpetrators of inhumane conduct undercut the claim that they exercise free will. Donatella della Porta explains how left-wing terrorists in Italy framed violence as an objective – indeed inevitable – historical dynamic that naturally stems from a system of exploitation. She cites a militant who recalls how their terrorism was supported by "famous quotes from Marxist literature, where violence appeared as absolutely legitimate, as part of the history of the working class. Once it is decided that the historical conditions allow for that kind of [violent] organization, the rest is only a technical consequence" [14].

Martin Kramer points out that Hezbollah in Lebanon struggled to justify hostage-taking against Westerners during the 1980s, but it eventually did so by accusing them of being "spies" and "agents of imperialism" [15]. Hezbollah shifted the blame for the terrorist acts onto the victims. Al-Qaeda, in an August 12, 1998 communiqué issued a few days after the attacks on the American Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, attributed the blame for its international terrorism to the purported conditions imposed by the U.S. and its allies: "Given the American Crusader and Jewish Israeli occupation of the Al-Aqsa mosque, given what the Jews are doing in Palestine by killing our children and women; … given that more than a million Iraqis have died; given the imprisonment of Islamic preachers in America and in countries controlled by the

United States, and given the theft of Muslim fortunes through oil development, we are *compelled* to wage jihad throughout the world and at all times."

Hostage takers in Iraq responsible for beheading foreign contractors for purportedly supporting the American occupation directly blame the death of their victims on U.S. and British governments for failing to cede to the demands of the insurgents. In one incident involving the beheading of American hostage Jack Hensley, insurgents delivered the following message on a videotape: "We have demanded the release of our sisters in return for the two hostages, the Americans, and the British. But [George W.] Bush's intransigence and his disregard of the souls of his people and his refusal to save their lives will cost him a very high price…" [16]. In another video depicting the beheading of a Korean hostage, the executioner addresses the Korean government by declaring: "This is what your hands have committed" [17]. In each of these instances, terrorists vindicate themselves by refusing to take responsibility for their own actions.

Euphemistic Labeling

Moral disengagement can be facilitated by masking the harmful conduct through sanitizing euphemistic labels. A number of sardonic observers have commented on how the military in the United States uses terminology that turns civilian casualties into "collateral damage," the accidental shooting of one's soldiers into "friendly fire," and the aerial bombardment of people into "servicing" a target. Militaries around the world provide moralizing labels such as "enduring freedom" or "defensive shield" to aggressive war operations.

Euphemistic labels abound in the use of torture, where the exercise of cruelty can be as personal as a suicide attack. In the recent scandal involving American personnel in Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison, those accused of torture justified their actions by claiming they were told by their commanders to "soften-up" the detainees. Others use terms such as "eliciting cooperation" as if one is offering tortured detainees monetary compensation in order to talk.

The ultimate euphemisms arise during genocides. The Serbs engaged in "ethnic cleansing" as opposed to massacring people in cold blood; the Nazis gave the Jews "special treatment" when they butchered millions in concentration camps; Hutus in Rwanda were encouraged to indiscriminately murder Tutsis by Radio broadcasts that instructed them to "clear the bush;" and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia "purified" society when they killed over a million of their countrymen in less than four years.

In the case of terrorists, euphemistic labels suffuse their propaganda to the world. Rather than being violent militants that terrorize civilians, they are portrayed as freedom fighters, revolutionary vanguard, or, in the case of the Palestine Liberation Front, *fedayeen* (those who self-sacrifice). Acts of terror are described as "armed propaganda," "proletarian justice," or "holy struggle" in the service of humanity, the exploited, or God. Radical Islamists in Egypt referred to attacks on tourists and places of "sin" as "purging" (tat-hir) of society from western influences. Such palliative expressions sanitize immoral conduct and may even envelop it with ethical connotations.

Dehumanization of the Enemy

Recognizing the humanity of others, including our enemies, can obstruct the perpetuation of cruelties against them. Dehumanization, therefore, is one of the principle means by which violence against civilians can be rationalized. As Taylor and Ryan observed two decades ago, "'Pigs', 'Enemies of the People', 'Members of the War Machine' are all terms that serve to diminish and distance the terrorist from his victims. It is acceptable to kill 'pigs'; killing people is more difficult" [18].

By attributing sub-human qualities to others, they are regarded as falling outside of our "universe of moral obligation and, therefore, not deserving of compassionate treatment" [19]. American frontiersmen rendered the indigenous people of North America as savages and red devils; Nazi propaganda portrayed Jews as vermin and cancer on society; Hutus depicted Tutsis as cockroaches and snakes. Left-wing terrorists in Italy portrayed their victims as "tools of the system," "watch dogs," and "pigs." The victims, writes Della Porta, "were therefore considered not as human beings made of flesh and blood, but as symbols" [11, p. 149].

Dehumanization does not only entail rendering others as sub-humans or symbols of iniquity and malevolence, it could also work by erasing difference in the enemy camp. Others are seen as a monolithic bloc that possesses unredeemable characteristics, values, or habits. The other is a category – "class enemies" and "reactionaries," "apostates" and "infidels," "Crusaders" and "Zionists." Peter Merkl describes how West German left-wing terrorists used dichotomizing and extra-punitive descriptions of "enemies" that did not permit moral doubt about the perfidious nature of their targets: "Once an enemy had been declared and made into the absolute moral evil, the world became simple, and any means were justified for fighting this evil" [20].

The Serbs referred to Bosnians as "Turks" to conjure up the image of Muslim dominance over Christians during the Ottoman Empire. Islamic militants in Egypt, Algeria, and al-Qaeda depicted their victims as apostates, polytheists, or crusaders that constitute a religious affront and existential threat to Muslims. In either case, they are all deserving of death. Thus, rather than differentiate between doves and hawks, or peace activists and warmongers, the enemy is depicted as a monolith with a unified identity and hostile nature.

Essentializing the enemy involves combining immutability with heredity [21]. The "enemy" is not only incapable of change; it bequeaths its vile characteristics to its offspring. This mental construction of the enemy allows violent militants to attribute to him collective guilt. It removes one's capacity for empathy with the other by creating an emotional distance. In an al-Qaeda videotape depicting the beheading of Paul Johnson Jr., an American working in Saudi Arabia, the executer declares "the infidel got his fair treatment" [22]. In another video tape featuring the decapitation of an American contractor in Iraq, the killers directed the following message to President George W. Bush: "Now, you have people who love death just like you love life. Killing for the sake of God is their best wish, getting to your soldiers and allies are their happiest moments, and cutting the heads of the *criminal infidels* is implementing the orders of our lord" [23].

The sharp dividing lines between "us" and "them" exaggerate the inability of conflicting parties to reconcile differences. It is invariably accompanied by a devaluation of the other; we are separate, but we are not equal. The "us" is morally

superior even if temporarily weak and not in control; the "them" is morally corrupt even if they possess all the power and wealth in the world. Anthony Oberschall sees polarization as the key to ethnic carnage in former Yugoslavia. Part of this polarization is to recall all the actual and fabricated historical injustices against one's community, which forges a pattern of victimization that serves as "proof" that one cannot reconcile with the other; the enemy must be displaced [24].

Moral disengagement of Palestinian suicide bombers

In early 2005, the Israeli General Security Services presented the total number of Israelis killed since the beginning of Al-Aqsa uprising in September 2000. Of the 1,025 Israelis killed, approximately 70% were civilians [25]. Most of the victims were killed during suicide attacks in public places where civilians are likely to converge. This aspect of the violence has raised moral condemnations from around the world, and Palestinian factions deploying suicide bombers had to address these condemnations, especially after the suicide attacks of September 11, 2001 killed nearly 3,000 American civilians. So how do the bombers and their supporters justify targeting Israeli civilians? In a close reading of the last will and testaments of suicide bombers and statements of organizers of suicide attacks, one can easily detect all five mechanisms of moral disengagement.

Moral Justification

Moral justification is a primary mechanism for rationalizing Palestinian suicide attacks against Israeli civilians. Morality is constructed from three intertwined aspects of self-sacrifice: (1) adhering to the divine imperative to fight injustice against an oppressed people through jihad and martyrdom; (2) empowering individuals to work toward ending the occupation and ultimately lessening the suffering of the Palestinian people; (3) sending a message to the Arab and Muslim worlds to wake up and unfetter themselves from the chains of tyranny.

Palestinian suicide bombers see their actions not merely as an effective tactic to strike at a hated enemy, but as fulfilling a religious obligation. The Quran instructs Muslims in numerous verses to strive against oppression even if it entails tremendous loss of one's material wealth and hardships to one's physical being, including violent death. The last will and testaments of bombers are replete with the following verses in order of their salience:

> **9:14 -** Fight them; Allah will chastise them at your hands and bring them to disgrace, and assist you against them and relieve the hearts of a believing people.

> **8:17 -** So you slew them not but Allah slew them, and thou smotest not when thou didst smite (the enemy), but Allah smote (him), and that He might confer upon the believers a benefit from Himself. Surely Allah is Hearing, Knowing.

9:111 - Surely Allah has bought from the believers their persons and their property – theirs (in return) is the Garden. They fight in Allah's way, so they slay and are slain.

2:154 - And call not those who are slain in the way of Allah 'dead.' Nay, they are living, only ye perceive not.

2:216 - Fighting is commanded upon you even though it is disagreeable to you. But it is possible that you dislike something which is good for you and that you love something which is bad for you. God knows, but you know not.

Ismail al-M'asoubi, a suicide bomber that killed two Israelis and injured one in Gaza on June 22, 2001, begins his statement by focusing on the sad state of Islamic communities around the world, their perpetual state of weakness, and their subjugation by non-Islamic powers. His martyrdom is seen as an attempt to awaken the Muslim people into action. He writes: "Love for *jihad* and martyrdom has come to possess my life, my being, my feelings, my heart, and my senses. My heart ached when I heard the Quranic verses, and my soul was torn when I realized my shortcomings and the shortcomings of Muslims in fulfilling our duty toward fighting in the path of God almighty." He concludes: "I give myself, God knows, for nothing else but to be a spark of light to the people of Islam, and a flame of fire against the enemies of God…For the sake of Jerusalem and al-Aqsa mosque, and in the path of God in order to raise His word on earth, I choose to meet God over the company of people."

Mahmoud Sleyman Abu Hasanein, who was bent on achieving martyrdom and sought after his wish in March 2002, wrote to his father: "Dear Father: If I do not defend my religion, my land and holy sites, and another person does not, and another, then who will liberate the land and the holy places." Muhammad Hazza'a al-ghoul, who blew himself up on a bus on June 18, 2002, killing nineteen and injuring seventy-four Israelis, wrote in his last will and testament: "How beautiful for the splinters of my bones to be the response that blows up the enemy…not for the love of killing, but so we can live as other people live…We do not sing the songs of death, but recite the hymns of life…we die so that future generations may live." This theme of sacrifice for the sake of others is echoed in the eulogy given to two suicide bombers from Nablus by Qais Adwan, a Hamas organizer of suicide attacks killed by Israelis in April 2002: "It's marvelous that man sacrifices himself so as to enable his nation to live" [26].

The symbolism of martyrdom is seen as perhaps sufficient to awaken the consciousness of Arab nations to compel their governments to act in unison against Israel. Mahmoud Sleyman Abu Hasanein, who was spoken of earlier, concludes his last will and testament with words directed toward the entire Arab and Muslim nations of the world: "Why are you committed to this transient world? Why the fear? We only die once, so let it be for the sake of God." Ayat Akhras, a female suicide bomber who blew herself up in a Jerusalem supermarket in March 2002, killing a body guard and young women, declared in her video tape "I am going to fight instead of the sleeping Arab armies who are watching Palestinian girls fight alone." Abdullah Shallah, secretary general of Islamic Jihad, makes this point explicit in an interview on al-Jazeera television aired on August 9, 2001: "It is unreasonable for the Arabs to remain utterly silent while the Palestinian people have no choice but to turn themselves into

human bombs to defend the entire nation, and not only Palestine for the Palestinian people."

Perhaps the most eloquent reproach of the Arab and Muslim world for their failure to act comes from Shadi Sleyman al-Nabaheen, who carried out a suicide operation on May 19, 2003, injuring three Israelis. He declared in his last will and testament: "The tree of Islam is continuously nourished with the blood of martyrs so that it can provide shade to those who come after us…" He rhetorically asks fellow Muslims around the world "how long will the Muslim nation continue in its stupor and paralysis? … I say to you [Muslims] we are coming from the midst of the pile [of fallen martyrs], we will arise from our wounds and limbs, for a pure and virtuous Muslim youth have taken it upon themselves to carry the burden of their nation, to get rid of its oppression in order to raise high in the sky its banner 'There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Prophet'." Jihad Walid Hamada, who carried out an operation of August 4, 2002, killing ten and injuring forty Israelis, is less verbose, but equally eloquent, in his last will and testament: "May our blood become a lantern that lights up for those around us the path towards liberation, to raise the banner of truth, the banner of Islam."

All these statements reflect the underlying sense of moral righteousness derived from the act of self-sacrifice. Suicide bombers construe their missions as a fulfillment of God's imperative to fight persecution and a necessity to liberate Palestine and reinvigorate besieged Muslims around the world. The "righteous superiority" implied in the messages of the bombers eclipses the inherent immorality of killing civilians. The extensive focus on sacrifice and martyrdom is intended to drown out the potential objections of sympathetic observers concerning the harming of innocent people. After all, how could these "heroic" figures commit atrocious acts?

Violent groups often recognize that moral justification may not be sufficient to legitimate targeting civilians. In the Palestinian case, human bombs employ additional mechanisms of moral disengagement to justify their violence against non-combatants.

Advantageous Comparison and Attribution of blame

Palestinian bombers insist that their violence is in response to the overwhelming injustices perpetrated by Israeli forces. If Israelis did not kill old men, women, and children, the Palestinians would not be compelled to attack Israeli civilians in retaliation, they argue. Jamal Abdel-Ghani Nasser, a suicide bomber that carried out an operation on April 29, 2001, killing no one other than himself, wrote this message prior to his mission: "Who amongst us was not enraged and did not seek vengeance when witnessing the mothers, wives, and sons and daughters of the martyrs on television; who from among us did not feel as one of the homeowners that had their homes destroyed lately in Khan Yunis and Rafah; who amongst us did not feel rage when children were killed, trees uprooted, and towns bombarded."

Mahmoud Ahmed Marmush, who carried out a suicide attack on May 18, 2001, killing seven and injuring over 120 in Netanya, begins his last will and testaments with these words: "The Palestinian people are encountering the cruelest times, enduring daily killings, bombardment, displacement, and the most extreme forms of violence. Everyday its suffering increases. A group must arise to sacrifice itself and strive in the path of God to defend its honor and its people…"

Abdullah Shallah, when asked about targeting civilians in an interview on al-Jazeera television that aired on August 9, 2001, replies with a tirade that employs

advantageous comparison and blame attribution to defend the attacks on non-combatants: "We are neither murderers, nor butchers or blood suckers. In the first place, we are waging a war that was forced upon us. The war that we are waging is in self-defense…When the Israeli belligerency produces such a ferocious bloodletting against us, when the Israelis use their ground forces, their navy and their aircraft to bombard us while targeting unarmed Palestinian civilians, the enemy, nor anyone else for that matter, should expect us to respond to the Israelis with thank-you notes or with roses for shedding our blood in Nablus, Tulkarem, Jenin, Rafah, and Gaza." He concludes, "they must stop this continuous aggression, bloodbath and bloodshed…We will then consider not targeting the so-called civilians in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Netanya, Hadera and everywhere."

In an interview with Charles Sabine of NBC News on May 14, 2002, the assassinated leader of Hamas, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, justifies a suicide attack in Tel Aviv that took place in May 2002 in the following terms: "Of course our principles and our policy are not to hurt civilians and innocents. This operation came as a reaction to the Israeli Army crimes inflicted on the Palestinian towns and villages, where they killed civilians, old men, women and children." He later adds that the "martyrdom operations are used to defend ourselves…the ball is in the court of the Israeli; if [they] stop hurting the Palestinian civilians, our movement will not hurt civilians on the other side."

In a Frontline (PBS) interview on March 26, 2002, Jihad Ja'arie, a leader of the Al-Aqsa Brigades in Bethlehem, explains why Al-Aqsa began to adopt suicide attacks against civilians: "In the Beginning the National Liberation Movement [Fatah] did not use the martyrdom [suicide bomber] operations. But in our study of the enormous oppressive Israeli military might used against the Palestinian people and the Palestinian children, we had no choice but to take measures and appropriately respond to the large military operations. When the F-16 Air Force bombers bombard our areas and our people and families, what do the Israelis expect from us? That we answer them back with crude machine guns? Our view was that the appropriate response to such bombardment is to inflict heavy casualties on the Israeli street so that we can almost match what they inflict on us" [27]. Amira Hass, an Israeli journalist living in the West Bank, interviewed a relatively recent recruit to Hamas to probe his mindset. His remarks reflect how advantageous comparison is linked to justifications for anti-civilian violence: "I'm not happy to see a Jew killed simply because he is Jewish. But so long as Palestinians are being killed, I long for the killing of a Jew." He later adds, "Israelis don't respect the lives of our civilians; they kill civilians, so why should we respect the lives of their civilians?" [28]. This sentiment is echoed by Ibrahim Sarahne, a captured taxi driver that delivered suicide bombers to Israeli targets. He justifies his actions by blaming the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon: "If he [Sharon] made a mistake when he went into the territories and killed a lot of people, then I made a mistake by bringing [suicide bombers] in [Israel]" [29].

In interviews I conducted with Hamas supporters at al-Najah University in Nablus in December 2003, this theme of using extreme violence to defend oneself from oppression was put in religious terms. According to several sympathizers, in Islam it is permissible to fight the enemy in the same way as he fights you. The fact that Israel kills civilians, they argue, justifies targeting Israeli civilians. They support their viewpoint by reference to verse 16:126: "And if you take your turn, then punish with the like of that with which you were afflicted." Religious justification, however, was not necessary for Al-Aqsa Brigades to attack civilians. In interviews with members of

the Fatah movement, I was repeatedly told that excessive use of force by the Israelis in the first two months of the uprising created conditions for the militarization of the conflict. Palestinians felt that conventional protest was inadequate in the face of such brutality. Many policemen in the Palestinian authority were urged to "act like men" and shoot back at Israelis firing at stone-throwing protestors. As Israeli assassinations of Al-Aqsa members escalated, so did the desire of the latter to punish with suicide bombings [30].

Advantageous comparison needs not be time-bound. Many suicide bombers cited historic "crimes" and "massacres" by Israel, including the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacre in Lebanon, when Christian militias under the cover of Israeli protection entered Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila and massacred hundreds of innocent civilians. In recalling earlier Israeli transgressions, the bombers and their organizers were communicating two messages. First, the excesses of Palestinian terrorism pails in comparison to Israeli state terrorism. Second, these historic crimes reflect the essence of the Israeli "enemy," which is unrepentant and unwavering in its hostility toward Palestinians. As is to say, the adversary that has committed crimes in the past, is committing crimes today, and will continue to commit crimes in the future.

Euphemistic Labeling

Palestinians rarely, if ever, refer to suicide attacks at *'amiliyat intihariyya* (suicide operations).' Indeed, in conversations with supporters of human bombs, they angrily reject this terminology because it is, they say, an inaccurate description of these missions. Instead, almost everyone refers to them as *'amiliyat istishhadiyya* (martyrdom operations).' Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, when asked about the permissibility of committing suicide in an operation, replies "If there are individuals that claim these operations as suicide, there are hundreds that say they are martyrdom" [31]. On its surface, labeling human bombers as suicidal militants is rejected because in Islam, as in other Abrahamic traditions, there are strict prohibitions against suicide. Suicide in Islam is sinful, leading to eternal damnation; martyrdom in the path of God is an act of devotion, leading to eternal salvation. However, objections over the use of the term suicide run deeper than fear of religious sanction.

Suicide implies escapisms, deviation or weak minds, which is not the image organizations want to portray of their arsenal of human bombs. Martyrdom, on the other hand, connotes noble sacrifice and enshrines the act of self-immolation with righteousness and higher morality. Suicide implies a pathetic end to depression and despair; martyrdom connotes a new beginning and hope for deliverance. Suicide is shameful and something to be discouraged; martyrdom is honorable and worth emulating.

Acts of martyrdom bring families of bombers adulation and admiration for raising strong-willed, perhaps extra-ordinary, individuals worthy of monuments and national reverence. Acts of suicide bring families personal shame and humiliation. While they are consoled by relatives and neighbors, invariably the circumstances of their lives are minutely analyzed to determine "what went wrong?" Martyrs are venerated as heroes who face adversity with strong will and determination to prevail; suicides are perceived as feeble characters that cower in the face of hardship.

By putting the emphasis on self-sacrifice as opposed to suicide, it becomes very difficult to criticize the bombers directly. One may question the goals and tactics of

their organizations, just as one may question the policies of states at war, but one rarely questions the heroism of individual martyrs in the same way societies rarely question the gallantry of their fallen soldiers. Iyad Sarraj, a Palestinian psychiatrist, perhaps put it best: "You can say, 'I condemn terror, I condemn killing civilians,' but you can't say, 'I condemn martyrs,' because martyrs are prophets" [32].

The emphasis on martyrdom as opposed to suicide is also intended to conjure up the glory and benefits of self-sacrifice, which undoubtedly is necessary to motivate some bombers to make the ultimate leap to their death. In Islam, martyrs are rewarded nicely by God, including forgiveness for all sins, the pleasure of meeting the Prophets, saints, and other martyrs, and the ability to intercede with God on behalf of seventy family members. Thus, the choice of euphemistic labeling is not merely to obscure the undesirable nature of the military operation, it is also intended to summon thoughts of immortality and delightful living.

Dehumanization

Dehumanization is the fifth mechanism of moral disengagement prevalent in the discourse of Palestinian suicide bombers and their organizations. Israelis are occasionally referred to in sub-human terms such as apes or pigs. For example, the previously mentioned suicide bomber Ismail al-M'asoubi wrote in his last will and testament: "God has foisted upon our nation the relatives of apes and pigs." Another bomber, Kamal Abdel-Nasser Rajab, repeatedly speaks with pride about killing several "Zionist pigs." Said Ramadan, a suicide bomber from Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, begins his last will and testament by explaining his mission as vengeance for fallen comrades, but it is also a response to the "the Jewish pigs who are the enemies of God" and Sharon and "his criminal and murderous nation."

This form of dehumanization, however, is secondary to dehumanization by erasing differences among Israelis, transforming them into an unredeemable monolith, a symbol of enduring oppression and humiliation. In the mind of the bombers and their organizers, all Israelis are aggressors and soldiers because they live on conquered Palestinian lands and are conscripted into the military at the age of 18. In a communiqué announcing the March 27, 2002 suicide attack inside the Park Hotel in Netanya, which was carried out by Abdel-Baset Muhammad Qasim Auda, Hamas declares: "What the Zionist entity and its American ally call 'innocent civilians' are, in the dictionary of the Qassam Brigades and our Palestinian people, settlers pillaging our land and nation. They deserve nothing from us except death and displacement. If they want to rescue themselves, they should depart from our land before it is too late." Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, when asked about the permissibility of attacking civilians, replies "Are there civilians in Israel?" [31].

On August 19, 2003, Raed Abdel-Hamid Abdel-Razaq Misk, father of two children, killed twenty Israelis and wounded 120 others, including many children in a suicide attack on a bus full of ultra-orthodox worshipers. His cousin, Ayad Misk, justified his actions in the following terms: "When he got on the bus and saw all the children, he would think of his own children. But he would think, OK, today they are children but in 15 or 20 years they are going to be Israeli soldiers and they could be coming here to Hebron and killing his own son or daughter or other members of his family" [33]. Another cousin, Nabil Misk, when asked about the appropriateness of killing civilians, replied: "In Israel, people are soldiers from the age of one to 100"

[34]. The irony here is that the victims of this attack are exempt from military service because of their ultra-orthodox status.

In an interview with al-Jazeera television, Muhammad Nazzal, a member of Hamas's political bureau abroad, offers a standard reply that has come to be accepted by many Palestinians:

> In a war between two states, those who fight are combatants and those that do not are civilians. In the case of the Israeli occupation, this does not hold. It is not a struggle between two armies or two states. It is a struggle between a colonizing power with mighty forces and modernized armory, and a helpless people with modest arms. This colonial power is nothing more than an army that possesses a state, not a state that has an army. Israeli society is overwhelmingly militarized with few genuine civilians. We define civilians as those who do not carry arms and do not fight. In the case of Israel, this applies to those who are less than 18 years old and those who are elderly; the rest are combatants. We do not kill children. We could easily go to preschools or public places where children hang out or attack the elderly, but we do not. The rest, however, whether men or women, are forcefully conscripted into the army and once a year they are recalled for at least 40 days and in cases of war or emergency [35].

Israelis are portrayed as an arrogant people that are untrustworthy and inherently deceitful, as evinced by how they "persecuted" the Prophets of God. In interviews with Palestinian supporters of suicide bombers at Al-Najah University (Nablus, West Bank), I encountered numerous statements about the eternal treachery of the Jews and how they "turned the hairs of the Prophets grey" and how they are incapable of abiding by covenants, even with God Himself. Interestingly, the interviewees did not claim that it was the Likud party or even the settlers or the right-wing Zionists that were most untrustworthy, but the entire Jewish people were somehow tainted by this unscrupulous quality. Moreover, the "treachery" of the Jews did not develop during the rise of the Zionist movement in the late nineteenth century, but seems to have been passed down through the generations since the first tribes of Israel arose in biblical times. The conclusion they drew was that peace with the "Jews" was not possible; war was the only option.

Conclusion

This research has sought to fill a gap in the existing literature on suicide terrorism. Much of that literature focuses on organizational motivations for turning to suicide terrorism or the drivers behind individual volunteerism for suicide missions. It is assumed that terrorist organizations will seek to maximize enemy damage by striking at "soft targets" and this organizational logic is sufficient to explain why individual suicide bombers are willing to kill civilians. Hardly anyone asks how could suicide bombers, many of whom are normal human beings with moral upbringing and religious convictions, consciously target civilians. The assumption in extant literature is that once suicide terrorists take the decision to become human bombs, the choice of targets is unproblematic. I take issue with this assumption and argue that suicide

terrorists and their organizations spend a great deal of time "talking themselves" into striking at civilians. They do this by cognitive re-construal of violence as serving moral purposes. Rather than setting their morality aside, they frame acts of murderous violence as part and parcel of their moral commitments. Alternatively, they seek to rationalize their violence as proportional retribution to the injustices they or their nation endured, which in itself is an appeal to the values of equality and justice.

Albert Bandura's notion of moral disengagement is an appropriate heuristic concept to begin explaining how non-psychotic human beings can kill civilians. It squares the "humanity" of the terrorists with the "inhumane" nature of their acts. Through five mechanisms of moral disengagement – moral justification, advantageous comparison, attribution of blame, euphemistic labeling, and dehumanization – terrorists are able to deactivate empathy toward others and talk themselves into becoming killing machines.

It is important to make explicit the scope of the explanation presented here. I am not arguing that discursive practices are sufficient to explain suicide bombings. Mechanisms of moral disengagement do not explain why organizations engage in suicide terrorism or why they target civilians. Organizations are motivated by a variety of factors, including resources and capabilities; assessments of risks, costs, and benefits; and opportunities in the military and political fields. Organizational choices are not merely a product of ideology or discourse.

Nor am I claiming that discursive practices are sufficient to produce anti-civilian violence. Anti-civilian violence is intimately connected to larger social conflicts and violent struggles. In the case of the Palestinians, the realities of occupation, humiliation, and oppression undoubtedly facilitated the process of moral disengagement. The daily violence of the Al-Aqsa uprising, the stagnating peace process, the encroachment of the settlements and the wall of separation, all these elements lend credence to the radical discourse that frames all Jews as treacherous and all Israelis as soldiers. This is not to say that alternative discourses were not possible in this context. The failure of the Palestinian leadership lies in its inability to counter the rhetoric of polarization and dehumanization that prevailed during the uprising. Nonetheless, the dynamic of violence in the West Bank and Gaza created resonance fields in which claims about the other were readily accepted as true. Individual moral disengagement that made possible the targeting of civilians was, in part, facilitated by the realities of resistance.

Mechanisms of moral disengagement are important for understanding how ordinary individuals in the context of violent conflict and embedded in groups that deploy terrorist attacks can justify killing civilians. It focuses on discursive practices as opposed to terrorist personalities, pathologies, or profiles. Moral disengagement situates violent behavior not in the "mind of the terrorist," but in the process of framing "the enemy" through learning and talking about one's enemy. No matter how harsh the objective world becomes, the "objectivity" of reality must always be "narrated" in terms that suggest a specific course of action. Moral disengagement, therefore, is part of the process of turning moral agents into immoral killers.

References

1. *Yedioth Ahronoth*, September 29, 2005.
2. Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005).

3. Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

4. Ami Pedahzur, *Suicide Terrorism* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005).

5. Albert Bandura, "Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement" in Walter Reich, ed. *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1990), pp. 161-191.

6. Albert Bandura, Claudio Barbaranelli, Gian Vittorio Caprara, and Concetta Pastorelli, "Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement in the Exercise of Moral Agency," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 71, 2 (1996), pp. 364-374.

7. Albert Bandura, "Moral Disengagement in the Perpetration of Inhumanities," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 3, 3 (1999), pp. 193-209.

8. A. Bandura, G. V. Caprara, C. Barbaranelli, C. Pastorelli, C. Regalia, "Sociocognitive Self-Regulatory Mechanism Governing Transgressive Behavior," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 80 (2001), pp. 125-135.

9. David E. Apter, "Political Violence in Analytical Perspective" in David E. Apter, ed. *The Legitimization of Violence* (New York: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1997), p. 2

10. Quoted in Muhammad Shadid, *al-Jihad fi al-Islam* [Holy Struggle in Islam], (Cairo, Egypt: Dar al-Tawzi'a wal-Nashr al-Islamiyya, 1989), p. 149.

11. Quoted in John Kelsay, "Islam and the Distinction between Combatants and Noncombatants," James Turner Johnson and John Kelsay, eds. Cross, *Crescent, and Sword: The Justification and Limitation of War in Western and Islamic Tradition* (New York, NY: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1990), p. 199.

12. Rudolph Peters, *Islam and Colonialism: The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History* (Hague: Mouton, 1979), p. 21.

13. Neil J. Kressel, *Mass Hate: The Global Rise of Genocide and Terror* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002), p. 32.

14. Donatella Della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 149.

15. Martin Kramer, "The Moral Logic of Hizballah" in Walter Reich, ed. *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1990), p. 150.

16. *Associated Press*, September 22, 2004.

17. *Associated Press*, June 23, 2004.

18. Maxwell Taylor and Helen Ryan, "Fanaticism, Political Suicide and Terrorism," *Terrorism* 11 (1988), p. 95.

19. James Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 245.

20. Peter H. Merkl, "West German Left-Wing Terrorism" in Martha Crenshaw, ed. *Terrorism in Context* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1995), p. 206.

21. Clark McCauley, "The Psychology of Group Identification and the Power of Ethnic Nationalism" in Daniel Chirot and Martin E. P. Seligman, eds. *Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences, and Possible Solutions* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 2001), pp. 343-362.

22. *Associated Press*, June 18, 2004.

23. *Associated Press*, September 20, 2004. Emphasis added.

24. Anthony Oberschall, "From Ethnic Cooperation to Violence and War in Yugoslavia" in Daniel Chirot and Martin E. P. Seligman, eds. *Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences, and Possible Solutions* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 2001), pp. 127-128.

25.. Haim Shibi, "Toll of Blood: The Intifada in Numbers," *Yedioth Ahronoth*, January 5, 2005.

26. Elizabeth Rubin, "The Most Wanted Palestinian," *New York Times*, June 30, 2002.

27. Documentary, Battle for the Holy Land, *Frontline* (PBS), aired in May 2002.

28. Amira Hass, "Driven by Vengeance and a Desire to Defend the Homeland," *Ha'aretz*, July 16, 2002.

29. James Bennet, "In Suicide Bombings, the Taxi Man Got Away," *New York Times*, June 13, 2002.

30. Interviews were conducted with Tayseer Naserallah (Abu Basel), member of Fatah and Palestinian National Council, on December 16, 2003 in Nablus; Fayeq Qanan, Secretary General of Fatah Movement (Tulkarem), on December 19, 2003 in Tulkarem; and Hussein al-Sheikh, General Secretary of Fatah Movement in West Bank (Ramallah), on December 21, 2003 in Ramallah.

31. See his interview with *al-Hayat* (London), May 22, 2002.

32. James Bennet, "The Bombers," *New York Times*, June 21, 2002.

33. *The Times* (London), August 21, 2003.

34. *Jerusalem Post*, August 21, 2003.

35. *Al-Jazeera* television program "Opposite Direction," August 20, 2002.

Chapter 20
The Palestinian Human Bombers

Shaul Kimhi
Tel Hai Academic College and International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism
(ICT) at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel
Shemuel Even
Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel

Abstract

The current study focuses on identification of repeated patterns of behavior by suicide terrorists and the society within which they grow and develop, making use of the content analysis method. The research presents a typology, or in other words, a classification into categories, each represented by one main type of suicide terrorist in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It also details prerequisite factors and supporting factors for each of the suicide terrorist categories. A convenience sample composed of relevant and detailed information published in the literature describing suicide terrorists provides the basis for the suggested typology. The typology suggests four categories of suicide bombers: religious, exploited (by terrorist organizations), retribution for suffering, and social/nationalist. Categorization is based on the main motive of the perpetrator and the various trajectories that each suicide bomber follows from the point of recruitment to the moment of detonating the bomb. The salient differences between the four categories lie in the prerequisite factors and their relative importance in comparison to the supporting factors.

The research also presents the social support aspect of suicide terror: This can be described as a "culture of martyrdom." The salient components of this culture, as extracted from the material gathered, are diverse. The following are the most prominent: social support, education for suicide terror, financial support, great prestige, honor and commemoration following the act and resulting from it, media support for suicide attacks, support of political leaders for suicide terror, and religious interpretations which support the suicide attacks not only as legitimate weapons in the necessary struggle against Israel but also as an Islamic commandment.

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, suicide, Palestinian suicide terror, suicide bombers, typology, culture of martyrdom

Background

In April 16 1993, Tamam Nabulsi, a member of the Hamas organization (Islamic Resistance Movement) blew his car up beside an Israeli bus parked near the settlement of Mechola, in the Jordan Valley. Two passengers were killed and five wounded. This was the first suicide attack perpetrated within the borders of Israel by a Palestinian

organization. No one knew that this attack would mark a new era of brutal terror: suicide bombing.

According to current research, an act of suicide terror is defined as a planned act of terror employing individuals who take their own lives willingly in order to kill as many civilians as possible. This definition does not include, for example, a shooting attack where the perpetrator may have no chance of survival, termed a "no-escape attack," or an "act of sacrifice," according to Palestinian organizations. In other words, our definition refers only to those attacks in which the perpetrator, fully aware, deliberately takes his/her own life in order to kill his/her target (or has planned to but has been captured) [1-3]. Thus, the death of the perpetrator/s is necessary in order to define the act as a suicide attack. However, the use of suicide attacks against military targets is under dispute. For example, some approaches do not define suicide attacks against military forces as terror attacks, while attacks against non-combatant forces might be considered by some as legitimate acts and by others as acts of terror.

While suicide terrorism is one of many modes of terrorism, Martha Crenshaw [4] points out that the motivations that precede suicide terrorism may not be essentially different from common motivations for other forms of terrorism, including vengeance, reward, and the attempt to provoke excessive governmental reaction. What distinguishes suicide terror is the intention of the aggressor to die along with her/his victims. A suicide terrorist attack is, thus, defined as "a violent attack, politically motivated, which is executed with the initial and conscious intention of the person to blow up along with his or her chosen target." The presumption of the aggressor's certain death is a precondition for the attack's success [5, 6].

Suicide Terror in Israel

There is wide agreement on the part of experts that perpetrators of suicide attacks do not act independently, but are well organized by terrorist organizations [7]. These organizations have a political and military leadership and an infrastructure that facilitates the preparation of explosive belts [8]. The actual bombing act is the final one in a long organizational chain [9, 10] involving many people who must transform the decision made by the leadership into concrete action [11].

Suicide terror attacks in Israel can be divided into two sub-periods: preceding and following the al-Aksa Intifada [12].

(a) From April 1993 until the beginning of al-Aksa Intifada (September 29, 2000), there were 61 suicide terrorist acts carried out by the following organizations: 41 Hamas, 20 Islamic Jihad (that is, only by Islamic organizations). 43 (70%) of the 61 bombers actually blew themselves up; the rest were captured before they acted.

(b) The use of suicide bombers has accelerated since the beginning of the al-Aksa Intifada, which began in September of 2002. From the beginning of the al-Aksa Intifada up to the beginning of May 2004, there were 274 suicide terrorist acts carried out by the following organizations: 99 Hamas, 70 Fatah-Tanzim, 67 Islamic Jihad, 10 National Front, and 28 by other organizations. Of the 274 acts, only 142 (52%) actually blew themselves up (in 132 suicide attacks); the rest were captured before they acted. These figures indicate a very high rate of successful prevention by Israeli Security Forces. It is important to note that suicide attacks constituted less than 1% of the

overall terror attacks that took place against Israel during that time, but they resulted in the majority of casualties.

The data also shows the following: (a) Most of the suicide perpetrators are young (aged 17-23 = 81%). (b) Most of them came from Judea and Samaria (84%) and only 15% came from the Gaza Strip (one came from Israel). (c) Most of them were single (93%) and only 7% were married. (d) Most of them were educated: elementary- 14%, high school- 51%, and higher education- 32%. Thus, as many as one-third of the suicide terrorists had an academic education. This is a higher rate of education than that of the entire Palestinian population. (e) All suicide perpetrators have been Moslems, and so far, there have been no suicide bombings by Arab Christians [13]. (f) Another characteristic of suicide terror in Israel is the use of teenagers under the age of 18 [14-16].

Until December 2001, all of the perpetrators belonged to the Hamas and Islamic Jihad. In November 2001, the Fatah Tanzim and "National Resistance" joined the organizations using suicide terror. (Their first attack was on November 29, 2001 in Hadera). In addition, the variety of suicide perpetrators widened and women joined the list. By January 2004, there were 7 women who had actually exploded [17]. As of January 2003, there were 24 women who had been captured before committing suicide attacks [18]. An extreme example of a woman who tried to commit suicide terror is Patan Dragma, a mother of seven from the village of Loben A-Sharkia, who was captured while carrying a large bomb of 15-20 kilograms on her way to blow herself up in the city of Ariel [19].

On 29 October 2005, following five years of the al-Aksa Intifada, the Israeli Security Forces published [20] the following data: During these five years 26,159 acts of terror took place, 1,060 Israelis were killed, and 6,089 were wounded. Throughout that period, there were 144 (0.5% of all actions) suicide attacks (not including the many which were interrupted before they could be carried out), by 161 suicide terrorists, causing the following: 515 Israelis were killed (48%), and 3,428 were wounded (56%). See the distribution of the suicide attacks in Israel in Table 1.

Table 1: Suicide attacks during al-Aksa Intifada

Year	Number of suicide attacks
2000	4
2001	35
2002	60
2003	26
2004	13
2005	6

The transition to the second stage (al-Aksa Intifada) is characterized not only by an intensive increase in suicide attacks and higher numbers of casualties, but also by greater support for suicide attacks against Israeli civilians by Palestinian public opinion [21]. There also seems to have been a change in the Palestinian perception of terror: suicide attacks are now considered a legitimate answer to Israeli terror (see poll results on the Internet website of "The Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research:

www.pcpsr.org). It would appear that one of the factors leading to this change is the encouragement to become martyrs inherent in the present Palestinian education [22].

The present study has three main objectives: (a) To present a typology - a classification into categories of suicide terrorists, based on their salient motive and unique trajectory, as an alternative perspective to understanding this phenomenon. (b) To identify prerequisites and supporting factors that characterize each of the suicide terrorist categories, (c) To identify the various components of Palestinian social support for suicide terrorism.

Literature Review: The Major Approaches to Suicide Terror

Based on the literature, it is possible to classify the various explanations of suicide terrorism into three major approaches: Islamic/religious, Social/political, and psychological, with variations of explanations within each approach. This classification is somewhat artificial; there is a degree of overlap among the various explanations, and some writers point to more than one explanation. Yet the suggested classification is based on one major motive as an explanation for the act of terror.

(a) Islamic/Religious Approach – The Islamic religion and commentaries associated with its commandments (i.e., fulfilling Jihad in God's name, becoming a martyr) suggest one major explanation for suicide terrorism. Scholars have pointed out that religious commentaries which specify the rewards bestowed upon the suicide bomber, including seventy ("black-eyed") maidens waiting for the martyr (*shahid*), a place in heaven reserved for her/his entire family [23-29], or interpretations of the continuing quest for Islamic dominance [30], are an important factor leading to suicide bombing. In fact, for most writers, the Islamic religion plays a major role in promoting suicide attacks.

(b) Social/Political Approach – Some attribute the spread of suicide terrorism to its success in the political arena [31, 32], while other scholarly explanations refer to its origins in social and political variables, such as poverty, education, social oppression, the political struggle of minorities, and the absence of hope of social amelioration [33-36]. There is disagreement, however; many scholars argue that poverty and education do not have a direct link to terror [37, 38]. In particular, scholars who compare suicide terrorism with non-suicide terrorism in Israel [39, 40] often oppose the hypothesis that poverty and education levels explain terrorism. Still others link terrorism to problems emanating from globalization [41] or hatred toward the West and toward Western culture [42].

(c) Psychological Approach – A variety of psychological processes, states, and motivations have been implicated as factors in suicide terrorism. These theories point to the influence of social dynamics and group-polarization processes [43-45], childhood trauma resulting from exposure to the humiliation of parents, leading the child to fuse personal identity with national identity, the motivation of, or need for, revenge through the humiliation of the enemy [46-48], and the need to restore honor [49-53]. Mia Bloom [54] suggests that having been a victim of sexual violence may be a motive for the surprisingly large number of female bombers. Adding to the intensity of the psychological state is the prevalence of psychological symbolism. The individual who sacrifices himself – "the martyr" – is portrayed as a symbol of power. Responding to this mixture of psychological state and powerful symbolism, young children, when

asked what they want to be when they grow up, will often say that they want to be martyrs [55, 56]. The psychological need for revenge here manifests as a simultaneous blend of both personal and national vengeance [57]. It is important to note that while we theorize about societal pressures and psychological reactions, most authors concur that these psychological processes are separate from mental illness - neither the presence of mental disease, nor the affliction of the more advanced psychotic state, can explain suicide terrorism [58-63].

Subjects

This study is based on content analysis of information that has been published in the media concerning 60 suicide bombers (about 15% of whom are terrorists who have been captured on their way to suicide attacks and are presently incarcerated): interviews with captured terrorists, interviews with family members, reports of close friends, wills that were left by the suicide bomber etc. The current study focuses on identification of personal motives and repeated patterns of behavior by the society within which they have grown up [64]. Information regarding many other suicide terrorists has been excluded from the final analysis due to insufficient details to enable the researchers to identify main motives. This is not necessarily a representative sample, and therefore, we regard this research as exploratory and preliminary, intending to provide a theoretical framework for further research in this area.

Research Method

The methodology comprises three steps: collection, classification and construction.

1. Collection: The first step is based on collections of written texts dealing with suicide terrorism as reported in the literature, and including one or both of two main issues:

(a) The personal aspects - Any information which includes a description that enables the researchers to attempt to identify a main motive or motives behind the suicide attack, whether it has been indicated by the suicide terrorist himself (as in a will left behind) or by his/her close friends or family. This material includes information revealing background details, including the trajectory of recruitment leading to the actual suicide attack.

(b) The social/cultural aspects - Such information contains diverse material regarding Palestinian society and its support for suicide terrorism. Based on the material, we have identified the prerequisite and the supporting factors for each of the suicide bomber categories (i.e. reaction of the public towards the families of the suicide bombers, various ceremonies of commemoration, religious sermons supporting the act of suicide terror etc.).

2. Classification of information into content categories according to salient motives and/or prerequisites and supporting factors (including the information regarding the different aspects of social support for suicide terrorism). Such information (to be referred to as a "unit of information") may be one paragraph, a number of paragraphs, or even a full interview. In order that a unit of information be included in the analysis,

it was necessary to have an independent agreement between the two researchers that it was possible to identify a main motive.

3. Qualitative content analysis - included two steps: First, based on the main motives and different trajectories as they became evident from the material, a typology of suicide terrorists was constructed. Second, prerequisite and supporting factors for each category were identified. Our definition of a prerequisite was that, without this factor, there would have been little opportunity for a certain category to emerge, and prerequisites are usually unique to each category. Supporting factors may assist but are not essential. The limitation of material available only allowed us to present a hypothesis of these characteristics. However, content analysis did enable us to identify characteristics of "culture of martyrdom."

Results: Typology of suicide terrorists and culture of martyrdom

Content analysis of the material revealed four categories of suicide terrorists (see Table 2): religious fanatic, exploited, retribution for suffering, and social/nationalist. The term **category** suggested in this paper is defined as a representation of a theoretical group which includes various suicide bombers who have similar main motives, and, as a result--in most cases--a similar trajectory from their recruitment until the suicide attack. Each category represents a main motive and a different trajectory. As in every category classification, this is only **theoretical**, since, in reality, there are many coexisting factors. Therefore, even though some of the suicide terrorists included in the final analysis were motivated by more than one motive, their classification to one specific category was based on the more salient motive, as well as their specific trajectory.

The results suggest that, in any case of suicide attack, there are three conditions shared by all categories: (a) an individual who has at least one motive and is prepared to commit the act. (b) a technically based system enabling the preparation and execution of the suicide attack. (c) the decision of a leading political figure to confirm the use of suicide terrorism. The common supporting factors that were found are: (a) a sympathetic public atmosphere that praises the sacrifice, (b) media encouragement, ensuring wide coverage both in the Palestinian community and internationally [65], (c) spiritual leadership that praises martyrs, and (d) financial support of the family of the deceased suicide terrorist.

Table 2: Categories of suicide terrorists

Category	N
Religious Fanatic	27
Exploited	15
Retribution for suffering	13
Social/nationalist	5
Overall	60

The major difference between the various categories, in addition to the primary motivating factor and a different trajectory, lies in the unique prerequisite factors and the relative importance of the supporting factors.

1. Religious Fanatic

This category represents suicide terrorists whose main motive is religious: achieving an act of martyrdom, Jihad, a place in paradise (including places for the perpetrator's family). Those belonging to this category usually have a religious background and belong to Islamic organizations (Hamas, Islamic Jihad). They are generally young and single, and have received religious guidance and active training up until the recent Intifada (but not necessarily at present). It must be taken into consideration that the relatively high representation of suicide terrorists from this category is partially a result of the publication of interviews with family members and of the bombers' wills by the Islamic organizations. At the same time, it is reasonable to assume that this category would be the most frequent one.

For example, in an interview with a would-be suicide terrorist, he described his preparation: "In the spring of 1993, I began to pester our military leaders to let me carry out an operation. It was around the time of the Oslo accords, and it was quiet, too quiet. I wanted to carry out an operation that would incite others to do the same." He continued, "We were in a constant state of worship. We told each other that if the Israelis only knew how joyful we were, they would whip us to death! Those were the happiest days of my life." "The power of the spirit pulls us upward, while the power of material things pulls us downward," he said. "Someone bent on martyrdom becomes immune to the material pull" [66].

Prerequisite factors: (a) religious interpretations encouraging terror and (b) charismatic and influential leadership.

Supportive factors: (a) sympathetic atmosphere within the community that reveres Shahids, including commemoration and admiration, (b) membership in a group characterized by intensive groupthink, and (c) support by the community for the family of the deceased.

This category usually fits the explanations of the religious approach mentioned in the literature. Among the various religious motives, based upon these testimonies, the strongest support exists for the idea of the Shahid as powerful, [67, 68]. There was less support for the idea of rewards awaiting the Shahid in paradise. We did not find support for the explanation regarding an unlimited struggle between Islam and Judaism in the present sample [69]. However, we found support for the claim that group dynamics, in many cases, characterize the religious category [70-73].

2. Exploited by terrorist organizations

This category includes individuals exploited by terror organization leaders and recruited for suicide missions. Exploitation can be based on the candidate's young age (any youngster under 18 can belong to this category) or a situation that does not enable him to refuse. It is possible to identify a number of sub-categories within this category:

(a) Personal problems – Adults who have personal problems that cause a feeling of worthlessness and desperation (in some cases involving depression). An example might be a woman whose husband has left her for another woman because she remained childless. The recruitment of such persons (sometimes the person is the initiator; at other times the organization initiates) enables them to find "a solution" to their problems.

(b) Redemption from sins - Persons accused of collaborating with Israel or those who transgress the cultural code (e.g. homosexuality, prostitutions, drugs, a love affair outside the family) may receive an "irrefusable" offer from the organization to commit a suicide attack in order to get full forgiveness, to regain their honor, to receive help for their families, and to avoid embarrassing publicity bringing disgrace to their families. An example might be a homosexual who has gotten a threat that if he does not enlist, his sexual deviance will be publicized [74].

(c) Minors – According to our definition, every recruit whose is younger than 18 is considered a minor. In some cases described in the media, the would-be suicide bombers were less than 15 years old [75]. One of the latest examples: a 14-year-old boy was captured at the Hauvara Check Point (near Nablus) wearing an 8-kilogram explosive belt. The soldiers stopped him, asked him to take off his shirt, and discovered the belt. The soldiers told a reporter that the child had told them that he had gotten NIS100 to blow himself up [76].

Another example, Sharin Abu Raviaa, aged 15, from Bethlehem, completed her 9th grade studies and almost became a Shahida. She was apprehended by Israel Security Forces – ("Shabak") before she could act. While being interrogated, she admitted she was about to commit a suicide mission, but because of her young age, she was released from custody. "I love life and had I committed suicide, I would have ended up in pieces in a black garbage bag." Sharin, the youngest of 15 children, explained the reason she was chosen, "Why me?…Because I am young and unmarried." Sharin agreed to commit suicide without any ideological background and without belonging to any terror organization. "I agreed because a family member convinced me that I would reach a better place in Paradise" [77].

Prerequisite factors of the exploited category are: (a) Suicide terrorists who cannot refuse or cannot resist pressure by the organizations "volunteering" him/her for suicide missions, such as children and youth or adults under stress (collaborators, homosexuals, moral offenders). (b) Personal and/or family problems of all kinds which cause the person to feel worthless and depressed.

Supportive factors: (a) Sympathetic atmosphere within the community that reveres Shahids. (b) A promise that all his/her sins will be redeemed.

This category is mentioned in the literature as the actor having his/her loyalty to the group manipulated and exploited by recruiters [78], making use of problems in his/her individual identity [79], or exploitation of children and adults simply because they cannot refuse. Some of the explanations in the literature are in accord with the personal problem sub-category. However, we did not find reference in the literature to the use of minors, or people who cannot refuse to commit suicide attacks. The only reference to using manipulation in the literature is that of group processes, as described above [80].

3. Retribution for suffering

This category represents suicide terrorists whose motive is psychologically based: the desire for revenge. Revenge can take place on a personal level–for a family member or friend--or in general–against Israel and its actions towards the Palestinians. Based on some of the examples, it seems that the source for the desire for revenge is often personal trauma (resulting from personal injury or that of someone close), and in other cases, a result of publicized cases of people who were killed or wounded; (an example might be a baby who was killed and whose death was publicized in the media). In other

cases, there is a general intention to punish the Israeli occupiers for the occupation and humiliation and the many Palestinians casualties.

For example, four months before her attack, Hanadi Garidat had stood at her brother's fresh grave and had promised to avenge his death. "Your blood has not been shed in vain," the Jordanian newspaper, El Arab El Yom quoted her as saying. "The killer will pay the price…If our people cannot …live in freedom and dignity, then let all the world be destroyed." Hanadi fulfilled her promise and blew herself up in Maxim's, a popular Haifa restaurant, causing many casualties.

Relatives of Hanadi, interviewed in the Arab press, gave additional information. "She committed the operation in revenge for the killing of both her brother and her cousin by Israeli Security Forces, and in revenge for the crimes Israel commits in the West Bank, killing Palestinians and appropriating their land" [81].

Prerequisite factors: This category of suicide terrorist has a desire for revenge based on one or more of the following events: (a) Death or injury to a family member or to someone close (b) Difficult trauma related to the Israeli occupation (personal humiliation or witnessing humiliation of someone close). (c) Difficult experience (physical or mental) sustained for many years and related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Supportive factors: (a) Sympathetic atmosphere within the community that reveres Shahids, including commemoration and admiration. (b) Financial support for the family of the deceased.

This category fits the psychological approach presented in the literature as one of psychological damage resulting from trauma and despair [82-85]. In the present sample, there was no evidence for suicide attacks to maintain honor, or due to deviant behavior, or caused by the desire for excitement. Unlike some of the explanations in the literature, our analysis reveals that the desire for revenge can be both personal as well as general.

4. Social/nationalist

This category represents suicide terrorists whose main motive is national or political. Members of this group explain their actions, first and foremost, citing a desire for national liberation, the failure of the peace process, the Israeli occupation and the struggle for a Palestinian state. Usually individuals in this group belong to secular organizations (such as Fatah) and are "idealistic" politically, but less personally motivated.

For example, Teoria Hamori, aged 26, a single woman from the Jenin area, hoped to become Shahida and to blow herself up in Jerusalem and kill dozens of Israelis. She was captured and sentenced to 6 years in jail. In an interview she said: "Unfortunately I did not succeed in committing the attack. I am sorry that I did not die. I failed, and, for me, this is a significant failure. I did not dream of spending time in prison, I wanted to be a *Sha'hida*. I wanted to sacrifice myself for Palestine, for our land, and to kill many Jews. You use Apache helicopters, F-15 aircraft, and tanks against us, and you have all the weapons. For us, the only weapon available is people like me, who take explosives and commit suicide" [86].

Prerequisite factors of this category are: (a) a developed political awareness accompanied by a sense of uncompromising struggle for the liberation of Palestine and

(b) a definite feeling that armed struggle and suicide missions are valuable weapons, essential for the achievement of political gains.

Supportive factors are: (a) participation in suicide missions of the organization to which they belong, (b) sympathetic atmosphere within the community that reveres self-sacrifice, and (c) a media outlet ensuring that this action will occupy the international as well as the Palestinian arenas, to ensure that the Palestinian issue is not removed from the international agenda.

This category fits some of the sociological explanations (such as the national liberation struggle) presented in the literature, but it should be noted that little data–compared to other categories- was available, so caution is warranted.

Culture of Martyrdom

It is clear that no suicide bombers operate in a vacuum, and that they are influenced by the social environment in which they are living. The components of social support can be described as a "culture of martyrdom" [87, 88]. The salient components of this culture, as extracted from the material gathered for this research, are diverse and the following are the most prominent:

(a) Social support – It is possible to identify both social support directed by the terror organizations and spontaneous support of people in the street (although it is not always possible to differentiate between the two). Examples of social support for suicide terror are public assemblies, public funerals, posters in the street containing the photos of the suicide terrorists (Shahids), announcements from suicide bombers who explode, in the format of wedding announcements, mourning booths where people come to express condolences, joyful parades after a successful suicide attack, dressing very young children as suicide terrorists wearing explosive belts--and this is only a partial list. Such social support expresses a high degree of solidarity with the suicide perpetrators and their families, and, at the same time, creates clear encouragement for more people to join the circle of suicide perpetrators [89].

(b) Education for suicide terror – The culture of martyrdom finds many expressions in the formal education of children and youth, to support suicide attacks and, when day comes, to volunteer for them. Formal education includes supporting suicide attacks in textbooks, official Palestinian television broadcasts, ceremonies at school, and writing essays and poems in class. The common denominator of these activities is portraying the suicide attack as self-sacrifice for Allah and the Palestinian people. Other examples include media interviews with parents of suicide terrorists after attacks in which the parents praise their child's act and call for others to follow. It seems that these educational methods have influenced many Palestinian children who express their wish to become Shahids [90].

(c) Financial support to the suicide terrorist families, and sometimes re-building the family house in place of one that was destroyed by the Israelis (as punishment for the suicide attack), have become major ways of identification and support for families of suicide bombers. This financial support is but one element of creating a sense of solidarity with the families of bombers. In many cases, the source of money comes from abroad, such as Iraq during Sa'addam Hussein's regime, but it comes from various Palestinian organizations as well [91].

(d) Great honor and commemoration is another way that builds the Palestinian ethos and emphasizes the central role of the suicide terrorist in the "heroic struggle"

with Israel. Commemoration activity includes, for example, building monuments, naming a football tournament after suicide terrorist, public assemblies at schools in memory of suicide bombers, distribution of the cassette made by the suicide bombers before the attack, and this is only a partial list. These actions help to stabilize suicide terror in the Palestinian collective consciousness as a legitimate act of national liberation [92].

(e) Media support for suicide attacks by praising the perpetrators and their acts and strengthening their legitimacy as the preferred way to fight the Israelis. Some of the media that publicly support suicide attacks belong to Islamic organizations, but others are controlled by the Palestinian Authority. Media support comes in many ways; for example, descriptions of suicide attacks as acts of heroism and nobility, calling suicide attacks acts of sacrifice, broadcasting religious ceremonies from mosques where preachers encourage volunteering for suicide attacks, praising and glorifying these acts, and declarations of Chairman Yasir Arafat who called the terrible attack on a youth disco in Tel Aviv (in which 19 young people were killed) "an act of sacrifice for Allah and for the homeland." The messages that emanate from the Palestinian media reflect the prevailing mood of the leadership (political, religious and social) and their support for direct action by ordinary Palestinians [93].

(f) Political leaders supporting suicide terror are common. More than once, political leaders have praised suicide perpetrators as people who sacrifice themselves for the Palestinian nation. This support can be direct or indirect (for example, a eulogy after the death of a suicide bomber) [94].

(g) Religious interpretations that support the suicide attacks as not only legitimate weapons in the necessary struggle against Israel, but also as an Islamic commandment.
In general, it is possible to conclude that there are overlaps between the various elements contributing to the establishment of the culture of martyrdom; the result is a public atmosphere of support and sympathy for the use of suicide terror. This atmosphere intersects the various organizations and is directed toward the whole Palestinian population; it has become a major factor abetting the phenomenon of suicide terror [95].

Conclusions

The attempt to answer the disturbing question of what motivates suicide terrorists leaves the reader perplexed. Different approaches suggest different reasons but each reason seems to cover only part of the phenomenon and leaves many questions unanswered. This paper tries to classify suicide terrorists into different categories and proposes a new approach: not only is suicide terror a complex multi-factorial phenomenon, but it also seems to be a phenomenon of multiple trajectories. Four categories of suicide terrorists emerge from our research. Therefore, approaches that focus on one (or two) of them, but not others, offer only partial explanations.
Moreover, in contrast to the model of wide (or total) overlaps among the various motives, the current research suggests a different model (see figure 1) according to which there is a certain amount of overlap among the various motives, yet, at the same time, it is possible to see each category (including main motive and certain trajectory, and sometimes background variables) as standing alone and differing from the others. A relevant example might be a suicide terrorist whose parents stated that he had

committed the act in order to fulfill the commandment of Jihad and to avenge his cousin's death. Such information is not enough to determine whether he belongs to the religious or the retribution for suffering category. But background information helps to answer this question. For example, was he religious before the death of his cousin? Did he pray daily in a mosque before the incident? What was his life style? Did he have long-term goals, such as planning for higher studies? If background information reveals that his life style was not religious and he clearly intended to adjust to life, while a clear change took place after the death of his cousin, it is reasonable to assume that he belonged to the retribution for suffering type rather than to the religious. All this is true considering the assumption that some of the suicide terrorists do belong to more than one category.

In light of the difficulties of collecting data on suicide terrorists (by interviews or other common psychological tests), we suggest viewing the current typology as a primary theoretical proposal. It should be added that the data for this research is not sufficient to determine the relative frequency of each category, and that is why, in Figure 1, all the circles are the same size, unrepresentative of numbers of suicide terrorists. In reality, it may be assumed that the religious category is the most common one in the Israel-Palestinian conflict. The main limitations of the current study are rooted in the information gap regarding the population of Palestinian suicide terrorists (i.e. a convenience sample and not a representative one) and reliance on secondary sources (information given by other people regarding the suicide terrorist). Regarding these limitations, there is no doubt that there is need for additional research to support the typology, as well as the prerequisite and supportive factors we have proposed for each of the categories.
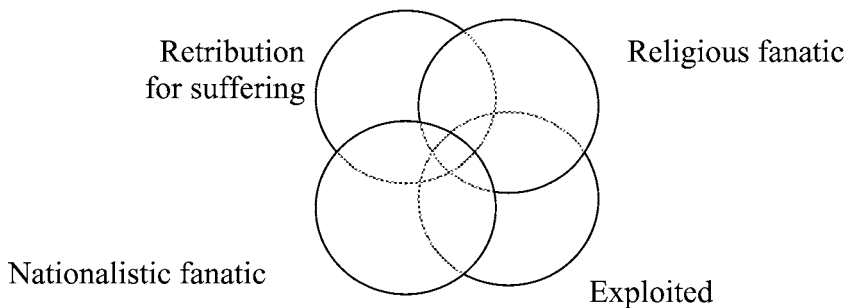
Figure 1: Suggested model for 4 categories of the suicide terrorist

Based on the prerequisite and supportive factors that are identified in this study, it is possible to suggest that both the social (culture of martyrdom) and the personal aspects of suicide terror require different non-military strategies (in addition to the military ones). The social aspect requires, first of all, a struggle against the legitimacy and encouragement given to suicide terror by the Palestinian Authority. Such legitimacy and encouragement are both formal (statements of encouragement by

political leaders, or video clips on Palestinian public television praising the martyrs) and informal (i.e. officially ignoring the preachers in the Mosques calling for suicide attacks as the way of jihad, or granting permission for Islamic organizations to organize gatherings of support for the suicide perpetrators in public schools).

The personal aspect requires different messages to be directed towards potential suicide candidates from the four categories (for example, publication and criticism of recruiting minors and children in order to strengthen parents to be able to resist such recruitment, or publication of religious experts who object to interpretations encouraging suicide terror). In addition, limiting or removing the checkpoints and any other causes of humiliation might affect the category of retribution for suffering. It is possible to conclude that the picture that emerges from this study indicates, as in other studies, that suicide terror is not only a military struggle, but also psychological warfare. In order to deal with such a struggle, there is an advantage in identifying different categories of suicide terrorist and their common as well as unique characteristics.

Potential Policy Implications

(a) The scope of suicide terror in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the possibility that there are different categories with different trajectories and various necessary factors and supporting factors, strengthen the perception that there is no single solution to this problem. It is possible to assume that stopping suicide terror depends on many factors, and what is good for one category is not necessarily good for other categories (e.g. ending the occupation will not necessarily stop suicide terror by the religious category). Further research is needed to determine whether these categories–or some of them-- characterize suicide terrorism seen in other parts of the world.

(b) It is possible to consider various steps to be directed towards specific categories that, in the long run, will decrease the number of potential candidates for suicide terror. Accordingly, developing strategies of psychological warfare directed to each of the suicide terrorist categories is recommended.

(c) It is possible to plan long range steps directed towards the supporting factors that are common to all four categories. The first steps should refer to the wide social support for suicide terror. Such steps obligate creation of conditions that will give the Palestinians hope that there is a future chance for a political solution, and, at the same time, that there is no chance for achievement by using suicide terror. We hypothesize that characteristics of the culture of martyrdom are not limited only to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but to other areas in the world as well. This hypothesis requires further research.

(d) Israel should be prepared, based on the assumption that suicide terror is not going to disappear soon, for a long struggle. The culture of martyrdom that has developed in Palestinian society is deep and wide-ranging. Therefore, there is need for action to reduce it, while preparing for the struggle--both psychologically and militarily.

References

1. Atran, S. (2003). Genesis of suicide terrorism. *Science*, Vol. 299, p. 1534-1539.

2 . Kondaki, C.D. (2001). Suicide terrorism, an age-old weapon, adds technology. *Defense & Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy,* Vol. 29, p. 8-10.

3. Merari, A. (2005). Suicide terrorism. In D. Lester, & R. Yufit (Eds.). *Assessment, treatment, and prevention of suicidal behavior.* (p. 431-453). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

4. Crenshaw, M. (2000). Suicide terrorism in comparative perspective. In *Countering suicide terrorism. An International Conference* (p. 21-30). The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya.

5. See reference 2.

6. Schweitzer, Y. (2000). Suicide terrorism: development and main characteristics. In *Countering suicide terrorism. An International Conference* (p. 75-84)*.* The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, the Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya.

7. Shay, S. (2003). *The Shahids: Islam and suicide attacks*. The International Institute for Anti Terrorist Policy, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzelia (Hebrew).

8. Dolnik, A. & Bhattacharjee, A. (2002). Hamas: suicide bombings, rockets, or WMD? *Terrorism & Political Violence*. Vol. 14(3), p. 109-128.

9. Sprinzak, E. (2000). Rational fanatics. *Foreign Policy*, September/October, Issue 120, p. 66-73.

10. Sprinzak, E. (October 10, 2000). Outsmarting suicide terrorists. *Christian Science Monitor*, Vol. 92, Issue 232. p. 4.

11. See reference 7. p. 42.

12. Kaplan, E.H., Mintz, A., Mishal, S. & Claudio, S. (2005). What Happened to Suicide Bombings in Israel? Insights from a Terror Stock Model. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 28 Issue 3, p. 225-235.

13**.** Margalit, A. (2003). The suicide bombers. *The New York Review of Books*, January, 16.

14. Bartholet, J. (1995). A granted trip to heaven. *Newsweek*. Vol. 125 (17), p. 42.

15 . Battersby, J. (April 14, 1995). A boy bomber changes his mind. *Christian Science Monitor*. V. 87(97), p. 1.

16. Dickey, C. (2002). Inside Suicide, Inc. *Newsweek,* Vol. 139(15), p. 26-33.

17. Victor, B. (2003). *Army of roses*: *Inside the world of Palestinian women suicide bombers*. Emmaus, Pa.: Rodale Inc.

18. Perry, S. (December 19, 2003). We lost the fear to die. *Yediot Aharonot,* p. 16-17 (Hebrew).

19. Meiri, A., Meital, G., & Shaked, R. (April 16, 2004). Mother is a suicide terrorist. *Yediot Aharonot,* p. 13 (Hebrew).

20*.* Shaked, R., & Yeoshua, I. (October 29, 2005). Five years of blood, *Yediot Aharonot*, p. 11 (Hebrew).

21. Bloom, M. (2004). Palestinian suicide bombing: Public support, market share and outbidding. Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 119(1), p. 61-68.

22. Burdman, D. (2003). Education, indoctrination, and incitement: Palestinian children on their way to martyrdom. *Terrorism & Political Violence*, Vol. 15(1), p. 96-123.

23. Andriolo, K. (2002). Murder by suicide: Episodes from Muslim history. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, Issue 3, p. 736-742.

24. Colberg, E. (1998). Death of martyrs and self-sacrifice in classic Islam. *Pa'amim*, Vol 75, p. 4-26 (Hebrew).

25. Paz, R. (2001). The Islamic legitimacy of suicide terrorism. In *Countering suicide terrorism. An International Conference* (p. 86-94)*.* The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, the Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya.

26. Hassan, N. (November 19, 2001). An arsenal of believers. *The New Yorker*, p. 36-41.

27. Kramer, M. (1991). Sacrifice and fratricide in Shiite Lebanon. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 3, p. 30-47.

28. Kushner, H.W. (1996). Suicide bombers: business as usual. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 19, p. 329-337.

29. Roxanne, E.L. (2002). Killing (for) politics: Jihad, martyrdom, and political action. *Political Theory*, Vol. 30, Issue 1, p. 4-36.

30. Pipes, D. (2001). God and mammon – does poverty cause militant Islam? *The National Interest*, Winter 2001/2002, p. 14-21.

31. Pape, R.A. (2005). *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House.

32. Pape, R.A. (2003). The strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 97(3), p. 343-361.

33. Blair, T. (March 2002). The Blair files - poverty causes terrorism? *Review*, p. 19-20.

34. Dale, F.S. (1988). Religious suicide in Islamic Asia. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 32, p. 37-59.

35. Telhami, S. (April 4, 2002). Why suicide terrorism takes root. *The New York Times*, p. 20.

36. Wikan, U. (2001). My son – a terrorist? He was such a gentle boy. *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 75, Issue 1, p. 17-128.

37**.** Krueger, A.B. & Maleckova, J. (2002). Does poverty cause terrorism? *New Republic*, Vol. 226, p. 27-34.

38. Laqueur, W. (1986). Reflections on terrorism. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 65, p. 86-100.
39. Moghadam, A. (2003). Palestinian suicide terrorism in the second Intifada: Motivations and organizational aspects. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 26, p. 65-92.
40. Pedahzur, A., Perliger, A., & Weinberg, L. (2003). Altruism and fatalism: the characteristics of Palestinian suicide terrorists. *Deviant Behavior*, Vol. 24, Part 4, p. 405-423.
41. Norberg-Hodge, H. (2001). Globalization and terror. *Ecologist*, Vol. 31, p. 36-40.
42. Esposito, J.L. (2002). *Unholy war: terror in the name of Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press.
43. See reference 1.
44. Sunstein, C.R. (2002). Why they hate us? The role of social dynamics. *Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy*, Vol. 25, p. 429-441.
45. Wintrobe, R.. *Can suicide bombers be rational*? Retrieved August 20, 2003 from http://cas.uchicago.edu/workshops/cpolit/suicide.pdf .
46. Sarraj, E. (April 8, 2002). Why blow ourselves up. *Time Atlantic*, p. 28.
47. Sarraj, E. (2002). Suicide bombers: dignity, despair, and the need for hope. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 31(4), p. 71-76.
48. Dabbagh, N.T. (2004). Narrative expressions of despair under occupation. *Anthropology & Medicine*, Vol. 11, Issue 2, p. 201-220.
49. Ateek, N. (July 1, 2002). Suicide bombers: a Palestinian Christian perspective. *Cornerstone*. p. 2.
50. Pryce-Jones, D. (April 22, 2002). Priests of killing. *National Review*, P. 19-20.
51. See reference 48.
52. See reference 46.
53. See reference 34.
54. Bloom, M. (2005). *Dying to kill: The allure of suicide terror*. New York: Columbia University Press.
55. Mirvish, A. (January 10, 2001). Suicide bombers, authoritarian minds, and the denial of others. *Judaism*, p. 387.
56. Vinkler, Y. (March 18, 1997). Exploding from Frustration. *Ha'aretz*, p. 4 (Hebrew).
57. Volkan, V. (2002). September 11 and societal regression. *Group-Analysis*, Vol. 35(4), p. 456-483.
58. Gordon, H. (2002). The suicide bomber: is it a psychiatric phenomenon? *Psychiatric Bulletin*, Vol. 26, p. 285-287.
59. Perina, K., (2002). Suicide terrorism - seeking motives beyond mental illness. *Psychology Today,* January 9, p. 15.
60. Post, J. (2005). The new face of terrorism: socio-cultural foundations of contemporary terrorism. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, Vol. 23 Issue 4, p. 451-465.
61. Post, J. (2002). *Killing in the name of God: Osama Bin Laden and radical Islam*. Paper presented at the International Society of Political Psychology, 25th Annual Scientific Meeting, July 16-19, Berlin, Germany.
62. Post, J. (2001). *Interview with Dr. Post*. Retrieved October 22 from http://gwis2.circ.gwu.edu/~jpost/jmpost.htm
63. See reference 56.
64. Kimhi, S., Even, S. (2002). *Yasir Arafat – psychological profile and strategic analysis*. The International Policy Institute for Counterterrorism, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya.
65. Marsden, P., & Attia, S. (2005). A deadly contagion? *Psychologist*, Vol. 18(3), p. 152-155.
66. See reference 25.
67. See reference 23.
68. See reference 27.
69. See reference 24.
70. See reference 1.
71. See reference 43.
72. See reference 56.
73. See reference 44.
74. Perry, S. (September 10, 2002). My son, the suicide terrorist. *Yediot Aharonot*, p. 7 (Hebrew).
75. See reference 21.
76. Weiss, A. *The boy who was captured with an explosive belt to the soldiers: I came to explode*. Retrieved March, 24, 2004 from http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-2893762,00.html (Hebrew).
77. Shaked, R. (October 7, 2002). Men get virgins – what do women get? *Yediot Aharonot*, p. 5 (Hebrew).
78. See reference 1.
79. See reference 56.
80. See reference 43.
81. Levi-Barzilai, V. (October 17, 2003). Ticking bomb. *Ha'aretz*, p. 28-32 (Hebrew).
82. See reference 15.
83. Miller, K. (January 7, 1996). Living with death. *Life*, p. 34.

84. See reference 45.

85. See reference 46.

86. Kuts-Bar, H. (January 21, 2004). I dreamed about killing more than a hundred. Ma'ariv, p. 15-20 (Hebrew).

87. Oliver, A.M. & Steinberg, P. F. (2005). *Road to martyrs' square: A journey into the world of the suicide bomber*. New York: Oxford University Press.

88. Brooks, D. (2002). The culture of Martyrdom. *The Atlantic Monthly*, June, Vol. 289, Part 6, p. 18.

89. See reference 15.

90. Zinger, Z. (March 10, 2002). 73% of Palestinian children wants to become Shahid, *Yediot Aharonot*, p. 2 (Hebrew).

91. See reference 27.

92. Middle East Media & Research Institute. *Inquiry and Analysis Series - No. 74*. Retrieved October 30, 2001 From http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=ia&ID=IA7401

93. Middle East Media & Research Institute. *Inquiry and Analysis Series - No. 25*, Retrieved February 24, 2000 From http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=ia&ID=IA2500.

94. Middle East Media & Research Institute. *The Joy of the Mothers of Palestinian Martyrs*. Inquiry and Analysis Series - No. 61, Retrieved June 25, 2001 From http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=ia&ID=IA6101.

95. Israeli, R. (2003). *Iskamikaze - Manifestations of Islamic martyrology*. London: Frank Cass Publishers. p. 155-168.

Chapter 21
A Multi-Causal Analysis of the Genesis of Suicide Terrorism: The Chechen Case

Khapta Akhmedova
Chechen State University, Russia
Anne Speckhard
Georgetown University Medical Center, U.S. and
Vesalius College, Free University of Brussels

Abstract

This paper reports findings of a two-year study of thirty-four Chechen suicide terrorists studied through semi-structured research interviews with family members and close associates.   The interviews were used to construct psychological autopsies of the bombers in order to understand the individual, organizational, societal and ideological factors that motivated them to become suicide terrorists.   Using both interview data and general data collected about Chechen suicide terror acts in total, the authors provide a comprehensive theoretical and empirical analysis of Chechen suicide terrorism. The results show that the volatile mix in Chechnya leading to suicide terrorism appears to involve (1) organizational responses following more than ten years of conflict over nationalistic concerns, (2) the importation of a militant jihadist ideology (militant Wahhabism) in favor of embracing "martyrdom" operations occurring concurrently with widespread deep personal traumatization among the societal pool of recruits, (3) numerous human rights violations and, (4) lack of hope on a society-wide level.   Political endeavors to end the conflict, bringing about the withdrawal of Russian troops from Chechnya as well as efforts to rein in heavy-handed counter-terrorism measures are very likely to lead to diminished terrorist activity from groups which remain nationalistic in their goals. However, in recent months the conflict has spread beyond the borders of Chechnya and is likely to continue to do so if remedial measures are not taken. Chechnya--along with Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan—is a key conflict zone that global terrorists use as a rallying point for the worldwide jihad.   The conflict in Chechnya will likely continue to fuel recruitment to the global jihad as long as it remains in its current state of heavy- handed Russian occupation – another important reason for the world to be concerned about it's fate

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, suicide, suicide bombing, trauma, Chechnya, Wahhabism, counterterrorism, policy

Studying Suicide Terrorism

Suicide terrorists are difficult to study. Unless they failed in their missions they have already died in their self-defining acts before one can gain access for an interview. In some arenas (the Palestinian/Israeli conflict for instance) there is a large pool of

incarcerated "would be" bombers and senders who can be interviewed. In the Chechen case there is only one and her case is dubious (as will be discussed further on). Since 2002 the authors have been finding creative ways to study Chechen suicide terrorism – constructing psychological autopsies of dead suicide terrorists through interviewing their family members and close associates and also the hostages that they held, conversed with and interacted with over a three-day period in their last moments of life, sometimes with bombs strapped to their bodies. Likewise the authors have constructed a database of all suicide actions attributed to Chechen terrorists and provide here an empirical and descriptive analysis from both the interview and hard data sets.

The important question in studying suicide terrorism is to learn what factors enable and even propel an individual to take the step of not only being willing to kill, but to deliberately die in order to kill others. The answer lies in analysis of a combination of four main factors interacting to create the psychosocial and political context for becoming a suicide terrorist. On the individual level there is a combination of personal, familial, community, sociological, political, economic, nationalistic, religious, and psychological motivations that interplay in choosing to become a "martyr." On the organizational level there is the political context in which organizations choose to embrace suicide terrorism as a tactic. On the society level there are the social dynamics that enable organizations to access a ready pool of recruits. Between all three levels there is an ideology that resonates. This paper looks at all four levels (individual, organizational, societal and ideological) providing a theoretical and empirical analysis of Chechen suicide terrorism based on thirty-two interviews with family members and close associates of thirty-four Chechen suicide terrorists collected in Chechnya over a two-year time period from March 2003 to March 2005, as well as an analysis of all suicide terrorism events attributed to Chechen terrorists.

Recent History of the Current Conflicts in Chechnya

During the fall of the Soviet Union, Chechnya declared independence like many of the other former Soviet republics. In 1992, a time while Russia was writing their own new constitution, Chechnya adopted a constitution defining it as an independent secular state governed by a president and parliament.[i] Unlike the former Soviet republics, Chechnya had also been a member state within the Russian federation and Yeltsin was not keen to lose control of the former federation.[ii] The Kremlin declared Chechen independence illegal[iii] and the first attempt to crush it occurred in 1994 when Yeltsin sent troops into Chechnya. Russian troops first entered Chechnya during the time period of November 27-December 10, 1994. Though the war was not officially declared at that time, there were airplane bombardments every day in Chechnya. Many civilians were killed and their homes were destroyed. The governments of western countries were loath to interfere as many saw the events unfolding in Chechnya as the internal concern of Russia. Bewildered civilians, understanding that the war had begun and no one could help them, took up arms to defend their homes and their lives. It was not until December 11, 1994 that the Russian government officially declared war and named it "The actions on restoration of legality, law and order in territory of Chechen republic". Yeltsin had actually signed this decree already on November 30, 1994, but it was only first published in the summer of 1995 [1]. Before signing such a decree the

Russian president should ask the Russian Federation Council (*Sovet Federazii*) to declare an extreme situation (*chrezvichainoe polojenie*) in Chechnya, but Yeltsin failed to do so. Hence, in order to rebuild the constitution and law in Chechnya, he broke the Russian Constitution. Likewise, the Russian government was trying hard to show the west that they did not want to use war actions in Chechnya and were participating in negotiations with president Dudaev, but at the same time there was already a war begun in Chechnya. The Russian Army came to Chechnya from three sides: Dagestan, Ingushetia and North Ossetia. Many civilians – women and elders without arms--stood across the roads trying to stop the tanks. For three months the Russian army bombed Grozny every day until it was totally destroyed. Warfare has continued in Chechnya since 1994. Officially during the past decade Chechnya suffered two wars of independence - the first in 1994-1996 and the second beginning in 1999 and ending "officially" in 2000; in reality warfare continues unofficially to the present.

Between the two wars Chechnya had defacto independence, although the peace was very fragile with corruption and crime running rampant and the Chechen national leaders unable to achieve a firm hold on government structures. Militant Wahhabist ideology[iv] was introduced into Chechnya during this time period and the secular leaders found themselves in competition with foreign funding and foreign fighters who funded militant Wahhabist mosques and schools and worked with local nationalist separatists, using militant religious ideology to organize and train fighters who had previously been part of a nationalist separatist movement, moving many of them to take a more religious militant jihadist approach to the conflict.

As the second war erupted, inflamed in part by aggressive actions of the militant Wahhabist groups (Basayev's raid into Dagestan)[v], the two forces – nationalist separatists and militant Wahhabi jihadists--were forced together to fight against a common enemy. The two have not since been totally disentangled. Following the official end of the second war the nationalist separatists went underground as did the militant Wahhabi groups which organize in terror cells and train recruits in a way similar to the loosely affiliated Al Qaeda structures in other areas of the world.

The nationalist separatist ideology carried forward in the first war has changed considerably following the two conflicts with an increasing religious overtone made by many of the groups which had turned to endorsing terrorism and "martyrdom" as the main tactics in the call for jihad against Russia, which itself increasingly favored tactics of terrorism as opposed to warfare. As those who study suicide terrorism often point out, organizations frequently move to suicide terrorism as a tactic when the conflict has moved into and beyond second and third iterations, when the opposing force is much stronger militarily, when there is an occupation particularly by a group of another religious orientation, and when the occupation is heavy-handed and includes numerous human rights violations [2,3,4,5]. All of these conditions existed at the "official" end of the Chechen conflict in 2000, along with a huge importation of militant Wahhabi funding and ideology that virtually flooded the country starting during the break between the two wars - a very vulnerable time in Chechen history [6,7].

The conflict is complicated as well by the widespread corruption in the Russian forces that has made underground fighter and terrorist activities much easier, as Russian forces frequently sell weapons to the underground groups, accept bribes for their safe passage, and allow them great leeway in their activities. Frequently, the Russian occupying forces are as brutal as the terrorists and consider themselves above any local laws as they pursue their own corrupt underground black market activities.

The toll from the wars in Chechnya has been horrific, with one in two Chechens having been killed or having fled as refugees in the past ten years [8]. Likewise the infrastructure of the country has been decimated and Chechnya's cities left in rubble. Everyone in Chechnya has suffered great losses; many witnessed deaths of loved ones. The majority of the population is deeply traumatized [9] by some aspect of the war and ongoing occupation: including the continuous bombardments, exposure to torture, disappearance and death of loved ones, destruction of material goods, and continued (to this day) heavy-handed counterterrorism operations. All of these things create the climate in which there exists support, at least in limited pockets of the population, for militant jihadist ideology. As a result, groups favoring martyrdom are able to find ready recruits for their suicide operations.

Suicide Terrorism in Chechnya

The first suicide operation[vi] in Chechnya began in the year 2000, using female bombers from the start. On June 7, 2000 Khava Barayeva (cousin of well-known Chechen field commander Arbi Barayev) and Luisa Magomadova crashed an explosive laden truck into the temporary headquarters of an elite OMON (Russian Special Forces) detachment in the village of Alkhan Yurt in Chechnya, resulting in two deaths and five wounded. Since that time Chechen terror groups have used suicide attacks in the form of truck bombs, car bombs, and suicide bombers on both commuter and subway trains and on planes. In its newest variant, the tactic of suicide bombing has been applied to mass hostage taking operations.

Summary of Suicide Operations Attributed to Chechen Terrorists

Since the first operation in 2000 the total number of Chechen suicide attacks includes twenty-eight suicide operations with one hundred and twelve bombers[vii] involved. Forty-three percent of the suicide terrorists were women (n=48) and fifty-seven percent men (n=64)). In these terrorist acts 939 people were killed and 2913 injured. In the combined martyrdom/mass hostage taking operations there were 2043 hostages involved. See Table 1 for a complete summary of Chechen suicide acts to date (November 2005).

Targets of Chechen Suicide Attacks

Chechen suicide attacks can be sorted according to intended target type with three main targets: military installations, government complexes, and purely civilian targets. The first category of suicide attacks, aimed at military installations, was carried out in Chechnya or in nearby regions. The second category of attacks intended for pro-Moscow government installations in and around Chechnya were primarily carried out inside Chechnya. While the target is clearly the Russian backed government occupation structures, the majority of victims of this second category of suicide terrorist attacks were civilian Chechen Muslims rather than Russian military. The introduction of militant Wahhabit ideology allows for this "collateral damage," as it claims the right to kill unrighteous civilians and even Muslims in order to achieve " holy" goals.

Table 1: Summary of Total Number of Suicide Terror Act Attributed to Chechens

	Date of terrorist act	Place of terrorist act	Total Terrorists	Women terrorists	Men terrorists	Killed victims	Injured victims	Hostages	Terrorists death
1	June 07, 2000	Chechnya, Alkhan-Yurt Military base (Khava Baraeva, Luiza Magomadova)	2	2	0	2	5	0	Dead
2	June, 2000	Chechnya, Military checkpoint	1	0	1	?	?	0	Dead
3	July 02, 2000	Chechnya, Military base (Movladi)	1	0	1	33	81	0	Dead
4	Dec. 2000	Chechnya, MVD building (Mareta Duduyeva)	1	1	0	?	?	0	Wounded, later dead
5	Nov. 29, 2001	Chechnya, Urus-Martan, Military office (Elza Gazueva)	1	1	0	1	3	0	Dead
6	Feb. 5, 2002	Chechnya, Grozny, Zavodskoy ROVD (Zarema Inarkaeva)	1	1	0	23	17	0	Wounded
7	Oct.23-26, 2002	Moscow theatre	40	19	21	129	644	<800	Dead
8	Dec. 27, 2002	Chechnya, Grozny, Governmental complex (Tumrievs family)	3	1	2	83	<200	0	Dead
9	May 12, 2003	Chechnya, Znamenskaya, Governmental complex	3	1	2	59	111	0	Dead
10	May 14, 2003	Chechnya, Iliskhan-Yurt, Religion festival (Shahidat Shahbulatova, Zulay Abdurzakova)	2	2	0	18	145	0	Dead
11	June 5, 2003	North Osetia, Mozdok Military bas (Lida Khildehoroeva)	1	1	0	17	16	0	Dead
12	June 20, 2003	Chechnya, Grozny, Governmental complex (Zakir Abdulazimov)	2	1	1	6	38	0	Dead
13	July 5, 2003	Moscow, Rock festival (Zulikhan Elihadjieva, Mariam Sharapova)	2	2	0	14	60	0	Dead

14	July 11, 2003	Moscow, Twerskaya str. (Zarema Mujikhoeva)	1	1	0	1	0	0	Lived
15	July 27, 2003	Chechnya, Grozny, Military building (Mariam Tashukhadjieva)	1	1	0	?	?	0	Dead
16	Aug. 1, 2003	North Osetia, Military hospital	1	0	1	35	300	0	Dead
17	Dec. 5, 2003	Southern Russian near Yessentuki, train (Khadijat Mangerieva)	4	3	1	41	<150	0	Dead
18	Sept. 15, 2003	Ingushetia, FSB office	2	1	1	2	31	0	Dead
19	Dec. 9, 2003	Moscow, National Hotel near Duma	1	1	0	6	14	0	Dead
20	Feb. 6, 2004	Moscow subway station Avtozavodskaya	1	0	1	41	<130	0	Dead
21	April 6, 2004	Ingushetia, president's car	1	0	1	2	25	0	Dead
22	Aug. 25, 2004	Airplane TU-134 Moscow-Volgograd (Sazita Jebirhanova)	1	1	0	43	0	0	Dead
23	Aug. 25, 2004	Airplane TU-154 Moscow-Sochi (Aminat Nogaeva)	1	1	0	42	0	0	Dead
24	Aug. 31, 2004	Moscow, subway station Rijskaya	1	1	0	10	33	0	Dead
25	Sept.1-3, 2004	North Osetia, Beslan school (Roza Nogaeva, Mariam Tuburova)	32	2	30	330	470	1120	Dead
26	May, 2005	Chechnya, Grozny	1	1	0	0	0	0	Dead
27	May, 2005	Chechnya, Assinovskaya	2	2	0	0	0	0	Dead
27	May, 2005	Chechnya, Assinovskaya	2	2	0	0	0	0	Dead
28	July, 2005	Chechnya, Grozny	1	0	1	0	0	0	Dead
			112 100%	48 43%	64 57%	939	2913	2043	

The third category of suicide attacks is directed at purely civilian targets and has aimed mainly for Russian civilians, although many Chechens have died in these attacks as well – especially the commuter train bombings. Likewise Ossetians were targeted in the recent Beslan school attack. The majority of attacks against civilians were carried out in Moscow and in regions neighboring Chechnya. The most terrible of these attacks includes a new variant of suicide terrorism so far only carried out by Chechen terrorists - combining mass hostage taking with suicide terrorism. These include the Moscow Dubrovka Theatre (Nord Ost)[viii] takeover on October of 2002 in which over eight-hundred hostages were taken and one hundred-thirty died in the storming of the

building [10,11,12,13], and the Beslan school takeover on September of 2004 in which over one thousand teachers, parents and children were held for three days, with a still contested number-- likely reaching over three hundred--killed in the ensuing storming of the school. See Table 2 for a summary of target type by region of Chechen suicide attacks.

Table 2: Target Type by Region of Chechen Suicide Attacks

	Target type	Chechnya	Southern Russia	Moscow	Total
1	Military	7	3	0	10
2	Governmental	3	1	0	4
3	Civilian	4	2	8	14
	Total	14	6	8	28

Trends in Targeting in Chechen Suicide Attacks and Organizational Motivations

The majority of Chechen suicide attacks began inside Chechnya and were at first mainly aimed at military targets, although as these were hardened the terrorists moved to pro-Moscow governmental structures. As these two were hardened the terrorists responded dynamically in response to their frustrated ability to succeed in hitting military and pro- Russian governmental targets. A combination of organizational motives including despair and anger at the continued occupation, corruption of Russian forces within Chechnya and heavy-handed counter terrorism operations, combined with the hardening of targets inside Chechnya, led in 2002 to organizational decisions to move to suicide attacks beyond the borders, striking Moscow and other soft civilian targets. Following a spate of attacks in Moscow in 2003-2004, access by Chechens to the capital has been increasingly controlled. Chechens now find it difficult to travel freely and to receive external passports and the terrorists responded again by moving operations closer to home, although recently spreading their militant ideology and training over the borders of Chechnya. Likewise, funding has limited the ability of the terrorists to operate far from their home base which led to the terrorists' decision to attack the Beslan school in Ossetia instead of their stated preferred targets of St. Petersburg and Moscow [14].

Looking at a summary of suicide attacks by year, one can see that the majority of attacks were carried out on 2003. (Table 3 shows a summary of Chechen suicide attacks by year.) The increase in suicide attacks in 2003 is argued by one author to be a direct result and in retaliation for the brutal and terrifying *"zachisti"* counterterrorism operations inside Chechnya that led to a backlash and greater reliance on the use of this method [8]. Certainly in situations of war, death and human rights violations, terror groups that resort strategically to suicide terror as a tactic often find increased social resonance in pockets of the population for their ideology. In the Chechen case the human rights violations create a shared goal with the population of ending such operations by driving the Russian forces out of Chechnya. There can be many more self-recruits when the population lives in fear and has had many traumatic experiences at the hands of Russian forces. Our data support this argument at least partially. All thirty-four of the suicide terrorists who were studied had self-recruited to the terror groups--all in direct response to traumatization. One even directly exacted revenge upon the same person who had tortured and killed her family members.

Table 3: Yearly Frequency of Chechen Suicide Attacks

Year	Frequency	Percent
2000	4	14%
2001	1	4%
2002	3	11%
2003	11	39%
2004	6	21%
2005	3	11%
Total	**28**	**= 100%**

Another argument for the increase in suicide terrorism operations particularly those taking place in Moscow may also be that the terror groups responded dynamically to the conditions of war and occupation, constantly shifting their tactics in response to the military and police tactics and in response to community responses both inside and outside of Chechnya. In the 2002 Dubrovka/Nord Ost takeover the terrorists made spectacular use of theater themselves, dressing the women in black hadjibs reminiscent of mourning clothes with clearly visible bomb belts strapped around their waists. These women were referred to by the Russian and world press as "Black Widows" with sympathetic stories circulating about them being wives and mothers of Chechen men killed and disappeared during the conflicts. As these stories circled the globe, the Chechen terrorists understood the joint utility of bringing their terror acts to the heart of Russia: to strike fear into their enemy and to gain the global press coverage that occurs when purely civilian targets outside Chechen borders are attacked [6]. 2003-2004 included many more such attacks inside Moscow, some of them occurring on symbolic dates such as to coincide with the Duma (parliamentary) elections. It is unclear if the increased attacks on Moscow were in direct response to the "*zachisti*" operations, due to increased despair and desire to make the enemy civilian population suffer as the Chechen civilians suffer, a desire for increased press coverage, desire to adversely affect the Russian civilian support for the war, due to changes in ability to hit targets at home, changes in finances, or a combination of all of these factors.

As Moscow became increasingly difficult to strike, Chechen terrorists once again backed down into operations inside Chechnya and the surrounding region and to attacks on commuter trains reaching just outside Moscow. In 2004 the Chechen terrorists carried off their second huge attack – again combining suicide terrorism with mass hostage taking–taking over a school in Beslan in nearby Ossetia. In this case the press coverage was again global, but, in terms of creating sympathy, backfired as the specific targeting of children was globally condemned, although the Chechen terrorists could claim success in that their cause was once again brought to world attention.

There were many reasons for the decision to target the school in Ossetia, one of the most important being that limited funding kept the terrorists from striking Moscow or St. Petersburg as terrorist leader Basayev clearly stated was their preference [14]. The terrorist leaders also had wanted to overtake the FSB (formerly known as KGB) headquarters in Vladikavkaz, Ossetia's capital but decided against it because the number of hostages was too low for their desire for media coverage and because they could not afford all the necessary bribes. Instead they focused on the school in Beslan where many of the elite leaders of Ossetia send their children. The choice of Ossetia was likely because Ossetia is perceived (by the terrorists) as the most pro-Russian of

all the nearby republics. Another extremely important reason, however, is that at this point in time the Chechen terror groups were firmly committed to spilling the Chechen conflict beyond the borders and igniting popular resistance to the Russian federation throughout the Caucuses. The fact that Ossetians were chosen as a target was also likely related to the fact that Ossestia had a brutal war history from the early nineties with the Ingush nationals – may of whom were represented in the hostage taking operation. Although it was not widely publicized within or outside of Russia, atrocities were broadcast in vividly graphic footage in both Ingushetia and Chechnya following the conflicts. These atrocities included pictures of Ossetians forcing men and boys in one town to watch their women being raped, after which the women's breasts were cut off (2005). The results of the broadcast of these stories and photos most likely left long lasting negative impressions of the Ossetians. This perhaps explains in part the mostly Ingush and Chechen hostage-takers willingness to target a school full of children and their brutality when the children started to escape.

In 2005 there were three suicide bombings inside Chechnya. Three female suicide terrorists exploded themselves in May. They prepared to carry out their mission on May 9th but they were recognized and they exploded themselves to avoid arrest. The date chosen for their act was a highly symbolic day, Victory Day, in which Russia and former Soviet states make a prominent display of their military might--a day in which a suicide bombing would have certainly diminished this display of military readiness. Indeed, on this same date in 2004 the pro-Russian backed Chechen President Kadyrov was killed with his entourage when the stand where he was viewing the display of Russian military might exploded under his feet. The most recent suicide bombing (as of this writing) was on July seventh in Grozny at the time of the terrorist acts in London. It is unknown and most unlikely that there is any connection to the acts. A young man exploded himself in car bomb near a military checkpoint.

The most recent change in attacks by Chechens has not been suicide attacks but incursions outside of Chechnya into nearby Kabardino-Balkaria by military/terrorists forces, although in this case the attacks were infused by an ideology of martyrdom. In October 2005 armed terrorists attacked Nalchik, the capital of Kabardino-Balkaria, an Islamic republic with high unemployment and unrest. The terrorists attacked knowing full well that the Russians had been tipped off and had increased their forces within the town. As reported on the www.kavkazcenter.com website – the official spokes piece of the Chechen terror groups – the militants went forward knowing that many would be "martyred," as was the case. In Nalchik, military, police and federal security bureau (FSB – previously known as the KGB) offices were the main targets likely targeted as an expression of the militants' courage, willingness to die which creates a balance in military power and disdain for the corrupt and heavy-handed tactics of all three security forces. Predictably, further heavy-handed retaliation occurred in Nalchik with claims by local inhabitants of arrests and tortures that may lead to further unrest in the region. The Chechen terrorists who claimed responsibility for the attack stated that it was an action of the new Caucuses Front, and claimed that militant groups were already planted throughout the Caucuses ready to attack again and the armed conflict was soon to ignite throughout the region. It is unclear if the seeded groups will also resort to suicide terrorism, but given the trend toward embracing martyrdom in battle it's likely to be the case.

Table 4: Trend By Year In Target Type and Location of Attacks

Year	Military bases	Government places	Civilian places	Total	Chechnya	Southern Russian region	Moscow	Total
2000	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	4
2001	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
2002	1	1	1	3	2	0	1	3
2003	4	2	5	11	4	4	3	11
2004	0	1	5	6	0	2	4	6
2005	1	0	2	2	3	0	0	2
Total	11 (39%)	4 (14%)	13 (47%)	28	14 (50%)	6 (21%)	8 (29%)	28 (100%)

Our Study of Chechen Suicide Terrorism

Methods

The Research Interview

We used semi-structured interviews and focused on open-ended questions regarding life events previous to becoming terrorists, personality and behavioral changes leading up to the terrorist act, and possible motivations for it. We also included questions regarding what was known about the suicide bomber's recruitment and interaction with the terror groups and how the family members and close associates viewed the acts of the terrorists and their views of societal support for this type of act, and questions about its contagion effect on those persons close to the bombers.

Recruitment of Research Subjects

It was difficult to make contact with the family members of suicide terrorists because nearly all had already been visited and interrogated by Russian special services and continued to fear retaliation. However they agreed after being told that the interviews would be anonymous and confidential and that the authors are trying to understand the psychological underpinnings of suicidal terrorism. No monetary compensation was offered, but those having psychological difficulties were offered immediate attention and an invitation to longer-term psychotherapy if so desired.

Sample

This study reports on sixty-one interviews (n=61) from sources inside and outside Chechnya including: thirty-two close family members or close associates who reported on thirty-four suicide terrorists and two would-be-suicide terrorists; four seriously radicalized individuals who appeared to us vulnerable to becoming suicide terrorists[ix] (two of these were additional interviews from within the group of thirty-two close family and associate interviews and two from the Chechen refugee camps in Ingushetia); and additional insights from the eleven hostage interviews from the Dubrovka hostage-taking siege and sixteen interviews from hostages held in the Beslan school takeover . The close family and associate interviews were given mainly by mothers, sisters and brothers, aunts and uncles, first cousins, childhood friends, long-

term neighbors, teachers, etc. and were collected in Chechnya over a two-year time period from March 2003 to March 2005. Table 5 gives a breakdown of this information. The Dubrovka/Nord Ost hostage interviews were collected from the first week of December 2002, five weeks after the terrorist takeover and into the first week of March 2003, four months after the takeover. The Beslan hostage interviews were collected in August of 2005 close to the one-year anniversary date of the attack, a time when emotions and traumatic memories were dramatically heightened.

All of the descriptive statistics that we report from our sample are based upon the thirty-four suicide terrorists that we were able to closely study (post-mortem) through the family member/close associate interviews we collected in Chechnya. We augment our descriptions of these specific terrorists by their family members and close associates with hostages' observations of the terrorists with whom they spent three days, many of them having ample opportunity to observe the suicide terrorists' behaviors and to seriously engage in discussions with them.

Table 5: Relationship of Respondents To the Suicide Terrorist

Relationship of respondents	Frequency	Percent
Mothers	2	6.7%
Sister/Brother	6	20%
Cousins, Aunts, Uncles	7	23.3%
Neighbors, Friends, Teachers	15	50%
Total	30	100.0%

Demographic characteristics of the Chechen Suicide Terrorists in our Sample

Age

The mean age of the suicide terrorists in our sample (at the time of their acts) was 24, and the age range was 15-45 (standard deviation of 6.57). There was not a significant age difference by gender.

Gender

 In our study females made up more than three quarters of the sample and males less than one quarter (see Table 6). Of all one-hundred and twelve suicide bombers to date, forty-three percent (n=48) have been female and fifty-seven percent (n=64) have been male, hence our study over-represents female bombers.

Table 6: Gender of Chechen Suicide Terrorists In Our Sample

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Female	26	76.5
Male	8	23.5
Total	34	100.0

Marital and familial status

Almost half of all suicides in our study were unmarried, but this does not necessarily mean that single persons are more willing to volunteer for suicide missions. Islamic-based Palestinian and Lebanese groups that make use of martyrdom operations (i.e. HAMAS, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah) have traditionally favored sending individuals who were not married or parents as bombers. Quite the opposite is true within the imported Wahhabi ideology. The Chechen terror groups favor martyrdom operations for those who are married and who have children, seeing them as having fulfilled their life duties of reproducing prior to sacrificing their lives. Indeed, half of the married, divorced and widowed individuals in the sample had children, but this fact was not an obstacle for their carrying out their suicide mission. Table 7 shows the marital status and gender breakdown of the sample.

Table 7: Marital Status & Gender Cross-tabulation

	Marital status	Females	Percent	Males	Percent	Total	Percent
1	Single	13	50.0	5	62.5	18	52.9
2	Married	3	11.5	2	25.0	5	14.7
3	Divorced	4	15.4	0	0	4	11.8
4	Widow	5	19.2	1	12.5	6	17.6
5	Second marriage	1	3.9	0	0	1	2.9
	Total	26	100	8	100	34	100,0

Education

The education level of the suicide terrorists was similar to the educational level of general Chechen society demonstrating once again that it is a myth to assume that suicide bombers are impoverished and illiterate sheep led to the slaughter by clever recruiters [15]. One woman (age 31) had two University diplomas: economical and juridical. Another woman had worked in the theatre faculty of a University. One third of the sample were either enrolled in or had graduated from college or university. This is especially noteworthy in the particular context of the war situation. Chechens traditionally push their young to achieve the highest education possible but the majority of youth in Chechnya today cannot achieve the education they wish because the education system has been destroyed during wartime. Also during the last ten years many schools worked badly or did not work in general. Yet only a small group of young people became terrorists despite the widespread frustration and lack of educational opportunities, and those that did were well educated. One can imagine, given their hard work demonstrated by their achievements under duress and self-sacrificial natures, that if these qualities found expression in another context and if they had not been exposed to trauma and violent ideologies, these young terrorists could have become future leaders and made noteworthy contributions to society. Table 8 shows the educational level of the bombers in our sample.

Table 8: Education of Chechen Suicide Terrorists In Our Sample

	Education level	Frequency	Percent
1	High school	23	67.6
2	College	2	5.9
3	University	6	17.6
4	Studying on University or college	3	8.8
	Total	34	100.0

Socio-economical status

It was very difficult in the war situation to find and utilize normal markers to categorize the economic status of the suicide bombers' families, thus the interviewer (Akhmedova) made a subjective analysis based upon the respondent's reports and her own analysis of their living situation which was often directly observed during the interview. The economic level of the majority of the suicide terrorists' families was middle class. Only two suicide terrorists were from the upper class and two were from the poor class. The majority of Chechen suicide terrorists that we studied were unemployed as are most Chechens living in the current war situation. Only four women in our sample had a legitimate means of making an income - they traded in the market. Table 9 shows a breakdown of the employment situation of the suicide terrorists in our sample and Table 10, a categorization by socio-economic status.

Table 9: Employment Of Chechen Suicide Terrorists In Our Sample

	Employment	Frequency	Percent
1	Unemployed	30	88.2
2	Own business	4	11.8
	Total	34	100

Table 10. Socio-Economic Status of Chechen Suicide Terrorists

	Socio-economical status	Frequency	Percent
1	Poor	2	5.9
2	Middle	20	58.8
3	Good	10	29.4
4	High	2	5.9
	Total	34	100.0

Results

The results of the study demonstrated ten main variables that appeared as clear links in the suicide bombers lives leading up to their suicide terror acts. Four of these variables we found were present in all cases and consider as the main underpinnings of individual motivations for suicide terrorism in Chechnya:

1) Living under conditions of a nationalistic conflict/occupation;
2) A serious personal trauma that in nearly every case involved the death, torture and/or disappearance of a close family member and often witnessing violence to family members;

3)   Exposure to and in nearly every case active seeking out of Wahhabi terror groups;

4)   The resonation of this terror message with a deep personal search for meaning, life purpose, certainty amidst chaos, brotherhood and lost family ties, and the means of enacting revenge.

Six additional variables that were also important and generally or often present:

5)   Fugitive status in which choosing when and how to end one's life by enacting a suicide act of vengeance became more attractive than risking falling into the hands of the enemy and dying by torture or facing a brutal imprisonment.

6)   Religiosity – previous adherence to Sufi Islam appears to have been a protective variable. The majority of our sample were Islamic in name only and thus more vulnerable to being swayed by militant interpretations of Islam that allow self-bombing. This group had no previous beliefs with which to counter militant religious ideologies.   ALL of the sample increased in religiosity, taking on the Wahhabi ideology in full before becoming martyrs, although we see this as less an issue of religion than one of searching for answers amidst traumatic conditions and finding an ideology that resonates with personal psychological pain.

7)   Nationalism was clearly a motive in many cases, as well as the fact of the wars having been lost and the nationalist fighter groups having been overtaken by terror groups that were now endorsing a nationalist jihad that included suicide operations as a form of fighting back. Hence some of those who would formerly have taken up arms as fighters were now organizationally funneled into other roles including suicide bombers. Nationalistic motives were difficult to separate out from individual motives of revenge as personal revenge appeared to be more important on the individual level than nationalistic motives, but these were clearly tied together.

8)   Networked recruitment occurred in some cases through family members and close ties, but again the first four variables were already present – networking alone did not appear key.

9)   Psychological contagion also was found in our sample among family members where the suicide action of one family member made a strong impact on another, influencing him to consider following the same role. But again trauma, exposure to jihadist ideology, and a desire to revenge were in our opinion the most active variables influencing the contagion effect.

10) Loss of other meaningful roles. There were a few cases of infertile women in our sample; the majority of the sample was unemployed; the effects of war blocked educational and employment opportunities, and a general feeling of hopelessness created vulnerabilities in certain individuals which likely could not have been exploited if the first four variables were not in operation.

Each of these categories is discussed in detail below.

Nationalism

The Chechen conflict began as a war of independence and two wars have occurred (1994-96 and 1999-2000). After two iterations of war it has transformed into an underground battle of guerrilla warfare and terrorist acts. While previously it was clear that the struggle was one hundred percent nationalistic, the militant Wahhabist ideology that was imported into Chechnya during the two wars now clouds the picture. The tactics of the conflict changed completely when the militant Wahhabist ideology was introduced. What began as a conflict of independence transformed in many groups into a Chechen jihad against Russia led by an extremely limited groups of militant Chechens making use of terrorism in continuing to carry out the national struggle for independence. Martyrdom operations became acceptable, along with targeting civilians, even Chechen Muslim civilians [6,7].

With the introduction of militant Wahhabism as the basis for carrying out martyrdom operations it becomes difficult to clearly distinguish religious and nationalist motives of Chechen suicide terrorists, just as it's difficult to label the struggle as one solely of national independence or as a Chechen jihad [6,7]. Nevertheless, in our interviews it was clear that at least twenty-one percent (7/34) of the suicide terrorists had clear nationalist motives which they had mentioned to family and close associates as important reasons for wanting to join the jihad - which they ultimately did. It is likely that far more of the terrorists in our sample had strong nationalist motives but because they did not spontaneously state them to their family members and close associates, we did not assume they did. Likewise the statements of Shamil Basayev and the demands made by Chechen groups while couched in religious rhetoric are always nationalistic. They are always the same – a demand to end the armed conflict and remove all Russian forces from Chechnya.

Previous Traumatization

More than ten years have passed in Chechnya during which there have been nearly continuous actions of war with many youth never knowing peace. The average age in our sample was twenty-four meaning that, on average, our suicide terrorists experienced the effects of war from age fourteen until their deaths. According to the research of the World Health Organization in 2002, sixty-nine percent of the Chechen population has been exposed to such traumatic events as: threat to life; a long period under bombardment; killing and wounding of family members; disappeared family members and torture. According to the World Health Organization thirty-one percent of the Chechen population is estimated to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). PTSD is a serious psychological illness that occurs in response to traumatic events and includes intrusive upsetting memories of the traumatic event(s), avoidance of reminders, strong bodily arousal states when memories occur and serious impairment in functioning lasting longer than a month [16].

Exposure to Trauma

In our study we found that a serious personal trauma that involved the death, torture and/or disappearance of a close family member had occurred in the lives of all but one case and the entire sample had been deeply affected after witnessing violence to family

and/or community members. Table Eleven gives a summary of the traumatic events that were experienced by the suicide terrorists in our sample.

Table 11. Traumatic Events Suffered By Chechen Suicide Terrorists In Our Sample

	Traumatic events	Frequency	Percent
1	More than 1 family member killed	16	47.1
2	Father or mother killed	5	14.7
3	Brother killed	8	23.5
4	Husband killed	1	2.9
5	Family member disappeared after arrest	3	8.8
6	Family member tortured	1	2.9
	Total	34	100.0

Posttraumatic Changes

Traumas can often become organizing events in the lives of those who experiences them. The trauma keeps intruding into consciousness in nightmares, flashbacks, and upsetting memories which causes the sufferer to either have to avoid all reminders of the event or somehow make an accommodation to deal with the bodily arousal that the memories engender (fear states, distress, crying, etc.). Oftentimes trauma victims change their lives dramatically in direct response to a traumatic event, sometimes without even realizing they are doing so.

According to the reports of family members and close associates of the terrorists in our sample, deep personality changes were observed in the suicide bombers following their traumatic experiences: ninety-four percent (32/34) showed social alienation and isolation; sixty two percent (21/34) had signs of depression; twenty-nine percent (10/34) were suspicious; twenty-six and a half percent (9/34) showed new indications of fanaticism and aggression; twenty percent (7/34) increased in conflicts within the family; and eight percent (3/34) felt strong guilt for not having done more to save a killed family member. All of these signs of posttraumatic stress created within the subjects a deep vulnerability to Wahhabi ideologies promoting revenge and self sacrifice. Table Twelve shows the posttraumatic changes that were directly observed in our sample.

Table 12. Post-Traumatic Changes In Suicide Terrorists In Our Sample

	Post-traumatic changes	Frequency	Percent
1	Social alienation & isolation	32	94.1
2	Depression	21	61.8
3	Suspiciousness	10	29.4
4	Fanaticism	9	26.5
5	Aggression	9	26.5
6	Conflicts	7	20.6
7	Guilt	3	8.8

Depression, Suicide and Jihadist Ideology

According to our respondents, all of the suicide terrorists in our sample endorsed the idea of militant jihad as their main value, this directly following their exposure to the

traumatic death of family members in all but one person in the sample. In that exception, she had directly witnessed a great deal of community and societal violence. Holding the main value of militant jihad and martyrdom was also expressed by suicide terrorists who spoke in depth to hostages in both the Dubrovka Theater takeover and in the Beslan school takeover [10-13, 17].

Respondents in our study reported that in sixty-two percent of the cases the suicide terrorists had fallen into a serious depression following their traumatic experiences. The wish to die by suicide is a major symptom of depression. Likewise it is a common desire often expressed by the traumatically bereaved in the time period after the death of a loved one. Traumatically bereaved individuals often wish to reunite with their loved one so much so that they are willing to die to reunite in the hereafter. But suicide is forbidden in Islam, similarly to the prohibition against suicide given by other religions. Therefore martyrdom can become a very attractive idea for traumatized people. Jihadist ideology proposes the idea of martyrdom and self-sacrifice in exchange for forgiveness of sins, salvation and instant entry to Paradise.

Exposure to and Seeking out Jihadist groups

The experiences of deep personal traumatization and bereavement create in some a vulnerability to seek out the ideological message of those promoting jihadist methods – and especially in youth this helps the sufferer to find a framework for dealing with their shattered world assumptions, to address their emotional suffering, survivor guilt and sense of a foreshortened future [5-7 18, 19]. In our sample we found all of the terrorists self recruited to the terror organizations in direct response to traumatic events, many of them expressing to family members that they wished to become martyrs. What actually happened once they made contact with the terror groups we don't know but it was clear from our respondents that all of the terrorists understood that the groups promoted militant jihad and suicide missions and that their family member or close associate went to the groups readily embracing their message.

Jihadist Ideology as Psychological First Aid for Traumatized Individuals

Depression, survival guilt, traumatic bereavement and a sense of a foreshortened future (i.e. feeling that one will not live long) are all symptoms of psychological trauma and all that can be treated by an ideology of self-sacrifice. To the traumatized individual that is troubled, bereaved and guilty, martyrdom can come to be seen as an honorable choice.

A lethal mix occurred when the traumatized individuals in our sample sought out the jihadist groups. Dramatically changed by their experiences of trauma and fanatically locked on to the desire for revenge, as well as having strong needs to address, they sought out a group that gave them at least short term answers to deeply felt needs which included:

1) The loss of family members and a need to belong – which the group offered in terms of fictive kin [15], i.e. Muslim brothers in replacement for lost loved ones
2) The need for positive identity, empowerment and a means of overcoming survivor guilt which the group offered in terms of offering purpose

3) The need for meaning amidst deep and violent chaos where everything had been thrown into question – the group offered solid answers

4) Overwhelming grief was met with the promise of reunion following "martyrdom"

5) Guilt and grief over leaving behind family members was met with the promise of being able to bring loved ones to paradise as a result of achieving martyrdom

6) A sense of a foreshortened future was met with the promise of greater glory achieved by giving up what might have been a short life anyway

7) A strong desire for revenge and even fanaticism in which revenge was generalized to the wider group and was strongly supported by the jihadist ideology and by the group that equipped the bomber for revenge.

8) Depression and the desire to die and remove himself from unbearable emotional pain (i.e. "psych-ache") [20] was replaced by working on all of the above vulnerabilities to transform the traumatized individual into one who not only wants to die himself for reasons he has come to believe are good but who also wants to use his death to kill those people upon whom he wishes to exact revenge.

It consoles the one who is giving up his or her life that in paradise they will be reunited with their loved ones who have gone before. Throughout the preparation for a suicide mission the candidate who is a member of a militant Wahhabi terror group is told only the positive value of suicide which is referred to only as self-sacrifice for the community and the greatest honor of "martyrdom."

Relationship with Wahhabits

All of the respondents in the sample reported that the suicide terrorists (n=34) increased in religiosity following their traumatic experiences and they become adherents to fanatical Wahhabit beliefs. Eighty percent of the sample (27/34) sought out the Wahhabit groups and their beliefs and practices in direct reaction to deep personal traumatization. They were fully aware in seeking out these groups that the Wahhabits embrace militant jihad and endorse suicide terrorism. Twenty percent (7/34) of the sample had been involved with Wahhabits at least peripherally prior to their transformations in response to traumas, but they changed dramatically in response to the trauma, much more deeply embracing the militant beliefs and lifestyle which previously had been only peripheral. Three of these terrorists were already married to spouses steeped in Wahhabit beliefs before their traumas, but in response to the traumatic events they changed dramatically in their appearance, embracing the Wahhabi style. The other three were sisters of Wahhabits. Their brothers were killed in two cases and one disappeared. According to their family members, the sisters were deeply personally traumatized by the death of their brothers and also changed dramatically in their emotions, appearance and behaviors. Even though not previously endorsing their brothers' Wahhabit beliefs and practices, their traumatic deaths swung them over to embracing the Wahhabit lifestyle and ideology. The last one was married to a Wahhabit instructor who was from an Arabian country. Her brother was also a Wahhabit Emir. Both her husband and brother were killed in war and she carried out a suicide bombing one year following her brother's death.

Table 13. Relationship of the Sample of Suicide Terrorists with Wahhabit Groups

	Relationship	Frequency	Percent
1	Before trauma	7	20.6
2	After trauma	27	79.4
	Total	34	100.0

Previous religiosity

The majority of all Chechens are Muslims, but they have different levels of religiosity. There are attributive believers who carry out some external attributes, but as a whole they do not know and do not fulfill religious instructions. As opposed to these there are deeply religious individuals who adhere to the basis of Sufi Islam and its practices as it has been traditionally practiced in Chechnya over the years. In our sample we found eight-two percent of the terrorists were from the first type of more secular representatives of the Muslim faith and eighteen percent were individuals whose faith life had already developed in traditional religious families. Given our observation that the militant religious ideology promoted by militant Wahhabi groups functions as a type of psychological first aid to assign meaning to chaotic and violent traumatic events, we see that it gives the traumatized individual a clear role and instructions on how to deal with traumatic bereavement, survival guilt, a desire for revenge, a sense of a foreshortened future and painful traumatic arousal states. In our opinion, secular or attributive believers are much more vulnerable to falling into and responding to the Wahhabi militant ideology since they have no prior belief system to help them in assigning meaning to deeply traumatic events and with which to help them to rebuild their shattered world assumptions [21], whereas the second group is able to draw upon already deeply held religious faith that could help them overcome traumatic bereavement, overcome survival guilt, keep them from generalizing revenge, encourage them in calming posttraumatic arousal states and help them to rebuild a sense of self within a chaotic, violent and unpredictable world [19].

The Arabic word "jihad" means "struggle." The Koran explains that the greater jihad is the striving of a servant against his low desires, meaning that jihad is an internal struggle to make oneself a better person [22] (Ali, 1997). But Wahhabits insist that militant-jihad is the true jihad. Wahhabism is alien to Chechen culture and traditional Chechen experiences of Islam, yet it found fertile ground especially among those who had been traumatized and bereaved in war. Wahhabism is very extreme movement and has brought a lot of harm to Chechen society. As result there have been many hundreds of both Russians and Chechens killed and wounded due to suicide terrorists.

Table 14. Prior Religiosity of Chechen Suicide Terrorists In Our Sample

	Religiosity	Frequency	Percent
1	Secular	28	82.4
2	Traditional religion	6	17.6
	Total	34	100.0

Revenge

Revenge for personal suffering

In Chechen society it is normal to feel an obligation to take revenge against someone who murders a family member. According to old Chechen traditions justice was traditionally dispensed within familial groups via a formalized system of rules of revenge. During the seventy years of Soviet rule government courts took precedence over these rules, but now with war disrupting the normal judicial system many families revert to the former system of revenge rather than allow their cases to be heard in courts that are unlikely to rule against Russian forces who have perpetrated crimes against their family members. These traditional rules of dispensing justice through revenge can be summarized as follows:

1. Murder should be punished with murder.
2. Only males may take revenge; a female may only take revenge if there are no males in her family or among her relatives to do so.
3. For the murder of a female two males should be killed: the murderer and a member of the murderer's family.
4. Revenge should be directed only to the murderer, not to others, even to his family members or close associates.
5. The revenge is not limited in time, it can be realized many years after a murder;
6. The revenge can be averted if respected elders intervene with the victim's family asking them to forgive the murderer and reach agreement to stop the revenge.
7. Revenge never calls for the avenger to kill himself in order to murder the other.

This ideology of revenge was present in Chechnya before Islam took root there in the sixteenth century. The duty to take revenge does not in normal practice spread beyond seeking out the originator of the harm or his close family to repay according to these regulated traditions. Unfortunately widespread societal exposure to psychological trauma and the ensuing illness of posttraumatic stress disorder has changed this traditional Chechen approach to revenge. Akhmedova (the lead author) found after studying 653 persons with PTSD that in thirty-nine percent of the cases PTSD was accompanied by the development of fanaticism centered around the desire for revenge. Their life values changed dramatically as a result and they became fanatical, socially estranged, suspicious, rigid and obsessed of revenge. Financial welfare, family and even their own health ceased to be important to them. Only revenge for their sufferings and humiliations, or self-sacrifice to achieve revenge became important for them. Moreover, chillingly, they were willing to generalize their revenge beyond simply finding the person who killed or harmed them but could generalize revenge to an entire ethnic group [23].

Thirty-eight percent (13/34) of the suicide terrorists in our sample stated spontaneously to our respondents before taking part in their terror act that they would seek revenge for the violent death of their family member at the hands of the Russian powers. Likewise in our study respondents described twenty-six percent (9/34) of the suicide terrorists as fanatical. These suicide terrorists repeatedly talked about jihad and

martyrdom as their main value and life meaning. They did not allow others to criticize their life views and were not open to discussion on this topic, trying instead to impose their views on friends and family. For instance, one male suicide terrorist (22 years old) participated on the Moscow theatre takeover. His cousin described him as, "an adolescent when his father and brother were killed. He became closed and gloomy. He said that he should revenge for them, that he hates the Russians who killed them. All his interests were reduced only to weapons, war and revenge. Then he began to be interested in religion though before he had not even the skills to pray. He started to read the Wahhabists' books that he took from his uncle. He changed externally, grew his hair long and a beard. Then he has gone to "Jamaat" to Khattab[x]. His mother was afraid very much of these change that occurred in him so quickly. But she had no real influence over him. She asked me to talk with him because I had good relations with him. When I tried to talk with him about his new beliefs, he told me that if I will criticize him he will quarrel with me."

Terrorist organizations understand that traumatized Chechens are likely to feel a duty to seek justice and in the absence of working courts of law will want to take revenge according to traditional mores. It is nearly impossible for the victim's relative, however, to identify who killed, tortured or abducted their relative – they know simply that some member of the Russian forces is responsible. Terrorists capitalize upon this fact as well as the fact that a great majority of the Russian forces are corrupt and that the Russian population is complacent in the face of numerous human rights violations occurring in Chechnya, continuing to elect hard line politicians who continue to carry out the heavy-handed and corrupt operations in Chechnya. By encouraging victims of traumatic bereavement to generalize their revenge they change the age-old tradition of "my revenge is to my enemy for killing my family member" to that of "our revenge is to our enemies for killing our community members" – the "we" being the Muslim brothers and the enemy generalized to mean the entire Russian ethnic group.

Delayed responses of revenge

Half of the suicide terrorists in our sample carried out their bombings six to eight years after the traumatic events. This time delay is likely due to many factors: their traumatic stress did not heal over time but instead additional societal traumatic events added to their psychological burden; the effects of two wars completely breaking the Chechen infrastructure left much of the population in a hopeless and frustrated state over long periods of time; the Wahhabist message was imported into Chechnya during the two wars and only then could individuals burdened with a desire for revenge be equipped ideologically and with bombs for revenge; and the traditional Chechen rules of revenge allow for considerable delays – revenge can occur many years after the offense. Table 15 shows the elapse of time in our sample between the trauma, which we saw as an organizing (or motivating) event and the terror act.

Table 15: Elapse of time between trauma and terror act in our sample

	Time between trauma and terror act	Frequency	Percent
1	Less 1 year	1	2.9
2	1 year	3	8.8
3	2-3 years	7	20.6
4	4-5 years	6	17.6
5	6-8 years	17	50.0
	Total	34	100.0

In only one case was a bombing accomplished nearly immediately in response to a trauma (only three months after the trauma). This case was Elza Gazueva whose husband and brother were tortured and killed by the Russian forces. District Commandant Geidar Gadzhiev had personally summoned Elza Gazueva to witness her husband's torture and execution. Shortly afterward, Gazueva, who had gone to the wahhabits asking for a means of revenge, went directly to the military headquarters and managed to get close enough to the commandant who was responsible - who had ordered her husband and brother's torture and deaths. Before exploding herself and killing him she asked Gadshiev, "Do you remember me?" Gadzhiev was well-known in Chechnya for personally heading up and participated in the torture of many civilians and this bombing unlike most of the rest met with strong social resonance.

Networked recruitment

In his study of al Qaeda type organizations Mark Sageman (2004) has found that global salafi jihadi groups make use of familial ties and relationships for recruitment. This is also true in the Chechen terrorist organizations. The following are cases of family members participation in suicide attacks: two pairs of sisters (Ganievs & Khadjievs) were present in the Moscow theater takeover; one young woman exploded herself on a plane in August of 2004 while her sister participated in the Beslan school takeover in September 2004 (Nogaevs); and a father, son and daughter (Tumrievs) exploded themselves in a governmental complex in Grozny on December 2002.

Psychological contagion

It is expected after a normal suicide that family members are at increased risk of suicide. In our sample it was evident that family members were "infected" as well by the act of suicide terrorism. Many were upset by the brutal counter-terrorism efforts directed against the family members of suicide terrorists include destroying the communal home, creating fear so that the family fled their home, and interrogations, but more were upset by viewing pictures of the killed terrorists – especially those who were shown on television some of them gassed but nevertheless shot dead during the Dubrovka Theater storming. Table 16 shows the counterterrorism actions experienced by family members of suicide terrorists in our sample.

Participation in war

Six of eight male bombers that we studied were former fighters and five of them (14%) were being hunted as fugitives by the Russian forces. Those who were known

Table 16: Counterterrorist actions to family members of suicide terrorists

	Repressions to family members	Frequency	Percent
1	Destroyed house	5	14.7
2	Fled home	9	26.5
3	Interrogation	20	58.8
	Total	34	100.0

fugitives had an additional reason to positively consider martyrdom – as fighters they were committed to causing damage to the enemy, as known fugitives they were likely to be caught eventually and would face certain torture and perhaps a brutal death. These five may have decided it was more attractive to take their death into their own hands – dying as heroes in the eyes of their group. Seven of the twenty-six women in our sample also worked with the fighters as medical nurses and couriers. Two sisters learned to shoot and place land mines. Another woman (age 33) learned to shoot and drive a car (privately owned cars are still very new to all the former Soviet Union republics, most families do not own cars and women still rarely learn to drive). This woman also worked with the fighters assisting them as a medical nurse. Table 17 shows the level of participation in war of the suicide terrorists in our sample.

Table 17: Participation in war of chechen suicide terrrorists in our sample

	Participation in war	Frequency	Percent
1	Fighters	6	17.6
2	Helpers of fighters	7	20.6
3	No participation in war	21	61.8
	Total	34	100.0

The lethal mix

Based on the data we have collected about Chechen suicide terrorists, it is our view that the persons who become involved as human bombers exhibit four key traits: (1) living under conditions of national conflict/occupation, (2) serious personal trauma, (3) exposure to a militant jihadist ideology and, (4) a resonance between the personal psychological needs arising out of trauma and living under occupation that is satisfied by militant ideology. When additional factors are present—such as no strong previous religious beliefs, strong nationalism, fugitive status, lack of meaningful roles and little hope for the future, networked recruitment and/or psychological contagion--the mix becomes even more potent.   In this study all of the subjects had suffered traumatic events: 47% of the sample (n=16) had experienced multiple traumas including the death and/or torture of more than one close family member (these included parents, brothers, husbands); 8% (n=3) had suffered the disappearance of a family member after arrest (which usually means torture and death); and one had suffered with a returned family member having been severely tortured while in detention. All had serious posttraumatic effects and embraced the wahhabist ideology as a means of coping with traumatic stress. Unfortunately, the psychological first aid they received was terribly short lived.

Atypical cases of Chechen suicide terrorism

Among all the cases in our sample, two deserve special mention. The first is Zarema Mujukhoeva who is well known in the Russian press as she is the only Chechen bomber in custody. Zarema Mujukhoeva was allowed interviews with Russian press in which she made many claims that later turned out to be untrue. Despite her admitting that she lied, her false claims continue to influence Russian views (and sometimes even international views) about the true basis of female involvement in suicide terrorism.

For one, she claimed that a woman named Black Fatima followed the female bombers and threatened to detonate them by remote if they failed to do so. This could hardly be true in Zarema Mujukhoeva's case as she had set her bomb filled rucksack down on the street near a café on Moscow's Tverskaya Street and walked away from it. Later the detective who tried to defuse her bomb was killed by it. If Black Fatima was not the fantasy that Zarema Mujukhoeva later admitted to having fabricated, Mujukhoeva would not have had time to walk away before being detonated by remote. Yet based on her claims Russian experts still claim that females are forced into suicide terrorism, rather than admitting the more horrifying truth – that they volunteer for these missions. Putin's senior advisor on Chechnya, Sergei Yastrzhembsly, for example, claimed that female bombers had been sexually coerced into becoming bombers saying "Chechens are turning these young girls into zombies using psychotropic drugs…I have heard that they rape them and record the rapes on video. After that, such Chechen girls have no chance at all of resuming normal life in Chechnya. They have only one option: to blow themselves up with a bomb full of nails and ball bearings." (Myers, 2003). This was not true of Mujukhoeva and not true of any of the women we studied, nor do we have any knowledge that this would be true of any of the women in the total sample of female bombers. Likewise where Chechen society would shun a woman who was raped after not behaving modestly, a woman who is raped in war is not likely to be shunned by her family or society.

Zarema Mujukhoeva was also not a typical case because she, unlike all the others in our sample, was not motivated by the wahhabist ideology and was not acting out of trauma and the desire for revenge through martyrdom. Instead, Zarema Mujukhoeva was a criminal fleeing arrest and she went willingly to the terror training camp hoping to find an escape. Mujukoeva also claimed that she was to be paid for her act, but we know of no payments for martyrdom operations received by her or anyone else. Mujukhoeva had backed out of an earlier suicide bombing attempt as well – the bombing in Mozdok of a military bus that was carried out later by Lida Khildekhoroeva, a more committed female bomber who wanted to revenge for the loss of her brother.

The second atypical case was Zarema Inarkaeva, a sixteen year old who had been raised in an orphanage. A vulnerable teen without family to protect her, Zarema Inarkaeva had fallen in with a boyfriend who took advantage of her to carry a bomb in February of 2002 to the chief of Zavodskoy district police (ROVD) where he worked in the pro-Russian Chechen police headquarters in Grozny. Her boyfriend devised this plan seeking revenge against his colleague with whom he had a conflict. Zarema Inarkaeva unknowingly carried the bomb-filled sack into police headquarters saying it was her boyfriend's bag while her boyfriend waited outside ready to detonate it upon delivery. He instructed Inarkaeva to deliver it to his colleague and leave the building immediately. Her boyfriend, who was probably nervous, did not wait for her to return and detonated it early while she was still present, a moment when she had put it on the floor to rest momentarily. Inarkaeva was wounded but not killed. In this case we cannot include Inarkaeva as a suicide bomber because she was not even aware of the bomb and had no motivation to carry it or to detonate herself.

We include both cases in our list of suicide bombers because they both carried bombs on themselves to detonate and are designated by Russians in this way, but exclude them from our sample and analysis (although we interviewed close associates of both) because the one was not a suicide act and both differ completely from the "real" Chechen suicide acts. The first Zarema differed completely in motivation as a

common criminal attempting to evade arrest and not at all committed to her mission. The second did not even know she was carrying a bomb. Each was not acting from nationalistic motives, personal trauma, ideas of revenge, or the desire to join the jihad as a martyr. They were indifferent to religion and nationalism.

We find as others do that recruitment of martyrs does not require appeals to irrationality or utter fanaticism. Instead the real task is to find a martyr who is unlikely to defect from his mission (Berman & Laitin, 1999; Laqueur, 1999). In our Chechen sample we found that traumatized and fanatical suicide terrorists who have committed to the militant wahhabist ideology of becoming martyrs are the most successful in carrying out their human bomber functions because through their experiences and convictions they have become completely ideologically committed to seeking revenge on a generalized enemy and giving their lives to do so. Those who do not have the same traumatic experiences, desire for revenge and ideological commitment to martyrdom act differently, abandoning and hesitating in their missions, as did Zarema Mujukoeva.

Societal Support for Suicide terrorism

Modern day suicide terrorism is a relatively new tactic that has migrated around the world since its use in Lebanon in the mid 1980's (Atran, 2003; Bloom, 2005; Hafez, 2004; Pape, 2005; Speckhard, 2005a). Before the wars of independence (1994-96 and 1999-2000) there was no suicide terrorism in Chechnya. However the introduction of militant wahhabi ideology to Chechen culture has made a deep negative intervention in Chechen society. In a sense Chechnya provides us an *in vivo* study of how a conflict can be deeply influenced by the introduction of the jihadist ideology embracing martyrdom and suicide terrorism. Thus far societal support is still low for suicide terror operations in Chechnya, although certain acts such as when Elza Gazueva bombed a commandant well known for his sadistic acts of torturing Chechen people and who was responsible for the torture and killing of her brother have been viewed with widespread support. The first suicide terror act of Khava Barayeva is commemorated in a song popular among youth. Similarly, the suicide act of the woman who detonated herself after approaching a commandant was well received in Chechen society.

Other than that, respondents in our sample did not enthusiastically endorse the acts of their family member or close associates and it is only in wahhabi terror networks that the suicide acts are celebrated. Most of Chechen society is exhausted from warfare and wants an end to the conflict and to restore normal living and, at this point, is willing to accept a solution that brings peace whether or not independence is attained.

The Fight Against Terrorism: Advice to NATO

In the fight against terrorism Russian leaders tend to believe and propagate the myth that suicide terrorists in Chechnya, particularly women are forced into their actions by rape, drugs, or other methods of coercion from their own people. Our sample shows completely the opposite: deep personal traumatization occurring as a direct result of the often inhumane acts of the Russian forces has driven some – including women - to complete desperation. These individuals harbor a fanatical wish for revenge as a result of a longstanding nationalistic conflict that has caused them deep personal trauma and,

when presented with a foreign ideology that legitimates dying to kill, they willingly volunteer to do so.

Militant wahhabi terrorists on the other hand promote a completely polarized view of terrorism that states that they are enacting political violence out of righteous indignation. According to them they are on the blameless path - answering violence with violence and that it is only because of the presence of corrupt and violent Russian forces acting illegitimately in their republic that they equip desperate individuals to die in order to kill innocent civilians. They view these acts of martyrdom as holy and glorify death and killing, even of innocent victims, on behalf of a jihad they claim against a corrupt "infidel" ruler.

In response to the terror tactics of the wahhabi groups, the Russian leadership endorses heavy-handed counterterrorist actions. While it could be debated whether these heavy-handed tactics could in theory be effective in cleaning out the terror groups, it is clear that these tactics miserably fail when carried out by corrupt soldiers who sell their weapons to terrorists, protect terrorists and allow safe passage to terrorists in exchange for money, trade black market goods, and even trade and profit in innocent hostages who are taken prisoners as "terrorism suspects" and often tortured before being sold back to their family members in exchange for the life savings of the family. There is no hope the Russian forces can win their "war on terrorism" by such heavy-handed actions. The war is unfortunately deeply corrupted on both sides. The one side profits illegally and commits the darkest of crimes with impunity while the other becomes more convinced of the righteousness of its cause even when targeting large groups of innocent civilians, including women, children and Chechen Muslims.

This results in the bizarre situation where recently killed terrorist leader Basayev was able to say in all seriousness that he did not judge himself guilty for having claimed leadership for the takeover of the Beslan school holding over one thousand mothers and children hostage – many who were killed when they fled their hostage takers when explosions occured. When asked by ABC correspondent Babitsky in July of 2005 almost one year later if he feels responsible for the children's deaths, Basayev answered by calling the Russians the terrorists and by asking his own rhetorical question about responsibility, "Why should I share it with Putin? Officially, over 40,000 of our children have been killed and tens of thousands mutilated . . . But in Beslan, the issue was either stop the war in Chechnya or have Putin resign. Just one of those two things. Carry out one, and all people are released, no questions asked. Get it? There wasn't more to it. Well, you can ask why I did it. To stop the killing of thousands and thousands of Chechen children, Chechen women, and the elderly. Look at the facts. They have been kidnapped, taken away, murdered." (Koppel, 2005)

Basayev argued that all Russians are guilty for the actions of the government they support and the actions in Chechnya that they remain blind to, while the Russians argue that they must join the American-led war on terrorism, claiming that foreign money and influences from the Middle East are threatening the security of Russia through terrorism and that they must stamp out these groups. But the Russians go about it using corrupt and illegitimate means that only worsen the situation. Neither side is right and both are rigidly locked into the view that their only choice is to continue on a path of brutally fighting the other.

Is there anything that can be done to end this deadlock? How can NATO countries help? The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was originally created as means to enhance military cooperation between the democratic nations of Europe, Canada, and the United States in order to establish a form of mutual defense against the

growing threat of the Soviet Union and NATO functioned in this capacity throughout the Cold War. Today NATO nations no longer face a Cold War threat. The new enemy is global terrorism. According to Article 5 which was invoked following 9-11 for the first and only time in the history of NATO, in the case that one NATO member is attacked, the others are obliged by treaty to join in its defense. NATO members working as an alliance must find a new and creative defense against global terrorism and the ideologies that support suicide terrorism in particular.

A series of historic moments occurred following the fall of the Soviet Union in which former Soviet bloc countries began to join NATO as partners or full members. Likewise, in 2002 another historic decision occurred in which Russia, which had already become a "partner" country, joined forces with NATO in the joint counterterrorism initiative of the NATO/Russia Council which involved political dialogue, information sharing, and working together on the joint goal of fighting terrorism.

Despite this initiative, both the Americans and the Russian leadership have however made use of the global "war on terrorism" to garner support or at least tacit approval for their own agendas: in the U.S. case, the "war on terrorism" has been used to justify a preemptive incursion into Iraq; in Russia's case the "war on terrorism" has been an excuse to avoid NATO nations' outcry over its heavy-handed approach to fighting Chechen terrorism.

NATO nations must be aware that, as long as the rigidly locked positions between the Russian government and the Chechen terrorists remains unaddressed by political solutions, the conflict is very likely to continue unabated and may even spill over into the surrounding region, which, as discussed below, may not only destabilize Russian internal politics but also fuel further global terrorism.

In October of 2005 the new Chechen jihad exploded beyond the borders of Chechnya into Khalbardino Bulkharia as mujahadeen directed by the newly announced "Caucasus Front" took over the capital city of Nalchik. Again the militant wahhabist ideology was present and a martyrdom philosophy pervaded the ranks of those who knew they were very likely going to their deaths. The militants invaded despite knowing that news of their attack had leaked and the Russians had fortified their forces. (Their rallying call was to the best of two – victory or paradise through martyrdom.) The militant groups again played upon local vulnerabilities – this time not trauma but the fact that the Muslim population of Khalbardino Bulkaria are in a state of unrest and dissatisfaction with high unemployment and poor living conditions. Likewise the militants knew that the Russian forces would likely respond with heavy-handed policies of arrest and torture of local Muslims and, when this predictably occurred, it would naturally fuel further unrest and provide further recruits. Thus the cycle repeats and threatens to spread throughout the region. Soon it may not only be the Chechen people but the entire Caucasus region caught between two pincers: the heavy-handed and corrupt Russian forces and the militant wahhabi terror groups.

NATO and its allies must find ways to fight this. Everything that can be done to bring a negotiated peace between the exiled and current Chechen government with Russia must be supported. In October of 2004, Ahkmed Zakaev announced on International Human Rights Day in London in behalf of exiled leader Aslan Maskadov (Chechnya's last democratically elected president) that Chechens would be willing to accept a negotiated peace with Russia, that they were willing to accept quasi independence and could co-exist with Russia within the federation. Zakaev stated that if Russians could agree to a peaceful settlement and withdraw forces from Chechnya,

terrorism and the continued guerilla warfare would be stopped. Likewise in 2004 in Russia the Mothers of Soldiers group, fed up with losing their sons in the Chechen conflict, announced their plans to start a political party and began plans to meet with representatives of Maskadov's exiled government in Brussels, stating that if the Russian government would not find partners to make peace in Chechnya they would find their own way to do it. For their part, the Russian government leaders have over the years refused to negotiate with Maskadov, calling him an enemy and terrorist. Russian forces killed Maskadov on March 8th of 2005. This now leaves the Russians to working with the pro-Russian Chechen government (also known for heavy-handed tactics, corruption and clan politics and no power over the terror groups) or talking to rebel leader Abdul-Khalim Sadullaevll, who succeeded Maskhadov. Sadullaevll continues Maskhadov's policy of denouncing terrorism against civilians, though he does not rule out targeting military targets (Radio Free Liberty, 2005). He also reverses Maskhadov's policy of containing the war within Chechnya, preferring to encourage its spillover into neighboring republics as it did in Nazran (capital of Ingushetia) in June 2004 and in Nalchik (capital of Kabardino-Balkariya) in October 2005.

While NATO peacekeepers are unlikely to ever be dispatched to the Chechen conflict, NATO countries can individually and collectively demand the Russian leadership to be accountable for human rights abuses, increased democracy, free press coverage from Chechnya, and a reigning in of corruption in Russian forces dispatched within Chechnya--although this can only be done with good conscience if NATO countries are themselves also refraining from human rights abuses, upholding treaties and conventions against torture and unfair imprisonment, etc. We must keep our own homes in order if we wish to contribute to world peace.

Already NATO and its partner countries carry out joint exercises and training. NATO countries can lend expertise to Russians in building democratic institutions both within Russia and Chechnya, in carrying out political dialogue to bring about the peace and help to organize cleaning up the Russian forces and carrying out criminal proceedings for those who continue in corruption. But the political will to do so must exist on the side of the Russian government.

Likewise the Chechens must work to address the vulnerabilities in their own society, to rebuild their educational and occupational opportunities, to clean corruption in their own governments and to rebuild civil society. During the Soviet period Chechen society functioned well and can do so again - although during Soviet times all head posts included Russian leadership. To succeed, Chechen leaders likely need an infusion of concern and help from the outside world following over ten years of destruction.

It also cannot be forgotten that one third of the Chechen population is estimated to have posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Psychological programs are sorely needed to address the vulnerabilities of individuals who continue to succumb to militant Wahhabist ideologies that promote jihad and martyrdom operations. Likewise the Chechen religious leaders must overcome their well-founded fears of speaking up against militant Wahhabism (due to numerous assassinations) and stand up for longstanding Sufi traditions that favor peaceful rather than militant expressions of Islam. School children must be taught at a young age to protect themselves from recruitment into militant ideologies and what the traditional principles of Chechen Sufi expressions of Islam teach. They must be given role models from history to emulate so Basayev, Osama bin Laden and other militant Islamic leaders do not become heroes in their eyes.

In conclusion, the results of our research show that all of the suicide bombers in our sample self-recruited to the terror organizations and that they did so out of deep personal traumatization. After exposure to militant Wahhabi ideas these individuals embraced a martyrdom ideology and accepted organizational backing that equipped them to take revenge on their nation's enemy. Absent that ideology and organizational support, these individuals would have been unlikely to have chosen suicide terrorism, nor would they have been able to justify to themselves generalizing their revenge by targeting civilians. However, when they themselves have suffered as civilians and continue to see themselves surrounded by corrupt forces that do little to enforce justice and they are exposed to an ideology that justifies acting violently and to terror groups that are ready to equip them for action, they can feel motivated from their own painful experiences to take matters into their own hands.

If NATO countries are truly interested in the global fight against terrorism they must also recognize that despite the fact that few people in the world can locate Chechnya on a world map it sadly plays a crucial role in world politics. The conflict in Chechnya--similar to those in Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan--fuels recruitment for the worldwide global jihad. The crushing of the independence movement in Chechnya, widespread corruption in the Russian forces and numerous human rights violations during the wars of independence and continued heavy-handed occupation with terrifying counter-terrorism measures in which corruption continue are key to fueling global indignation in the Muslim world to the situation in Chechnya. Likewise the many incidences of torture, murder and disappearances that continue to occur are all fodder for recruiting those who wish to fight against the perceived worldwide domination and humiliation of Muslim people. Video footage, pictures and stories coming out of the Chechen conflict energize recruits in Europe to join the global jihad – and these recruits not only travel to Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel or Chechnya but even become locally dangerous - acting in their home countries to fight against what they have come to believe (as Basayev does): that a corrupt and dirty government order must be brought down to bring freedom, dignity and human rights to Islamic peoples. As long as Chechens continue to be oppressed, the Chechen conflict can continue to fuel violence not only in Russia but also well beyond her borders. It is in the NATO alliance's and the world's best interest to work for peace in Chechnya.

References

1. Vremya, N. (1995). The actions on restoration of legality, law and order in territory of Chechen republic. *Novoye Vremya*.
2. Bloom, M. (2005). *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*: Columbia University Press.
3. Hafez, M. (2004). Manufacturing Human Bombs: Strategy, Culture and Conflict in the Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers.
4. Pape, R. (2005). *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House.
5. Speckhard, A. (2005a). Understanding Suicide Terrorism: Countering Human Bombs and Their Senders. In J. S. Purcell & J. D. Weintraub (Eds.), *Topics in Terrorism: Toward a Transatlantic Consensus on the Nature of the Threat*. Washington, D.C.: Atlantic Council.
6. Speckhard, A., & Akhmedova, K. (2006a). Black Widows: The Chechen Female Suicide Terrorists. In Y. Schweitzer (Ed.), *Female Suicide Terrorists*. Tel Aviv: Jaffe Center Publication.
7. Speckhard, A., & Akhmedova, K. (2006b). The New Chechen Jihad: Militant Wahhabism as a Radical Movement and a Source of Suicide Terrorism in Post-War Chechen Society. *International Studies Quarterly*.
8. Reuter, J. (2004). *Chechnya's Suicide Bombers: Desperate, Devout, or Deceived?*
9. WHO.

10. Speckhard, A. (2004). Soldiers for God: A Study of the Suicide Terrorists in the Moscow Hostage Taking Siege. In O. McTernan (Ed.), *The Roots of Terrorism: Contemporary Trends and Traditional Analysis*. Brussels: NATO Science Series.
11. Speckhard, A., Tarabrina, N., Krasnov, V., & Akhmedova, K. (2004). Research Note: Observations of Suicidal Terrorists in Action. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 16*(2), 305-327.
12. Speckhard, A., Tarabrina, N., Krasnov, V., & Mufel, N. (2005a). Posttraumatic and acute stress responses in hostages held by suicidal terrorists in the takeover of a Moscow theater. *Traumatology, 11*(1).
13. Speckhard, A., Tarabrina, N., Krasnov, V., & Mufel, N. (2005b). Stockholm Effects and Psychological Responses to Captivity in Hostages Held by Suicidal Terrorists. *Traumatology, 11*(2).
14. Miller, J. (2005, Feb 3, 2005). *Another Beslan? It's a byword for horror: Russia's 9/11*, from http://www.channel4.com/news/2005/02/week_1/03_basayev.html
15. Atran, S. (2003). Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science, 299.*
16. APA. (1994). *Diagnostic & Statistic Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV)*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association Press.
17. Speckhard, A. (2005b). Unpublished Beslan interviews.
18. Speckhard, A., & Ahkmedova, K. (2005). Talking to Terrorists. *Journal of Psychohistory, Fall*.
19. Speckhard, A., & Akhmedova, K. (2004). Mechanisms of Generating Suicide Terrorism: Trauma and Bereavement as Psychological Vulnerabilities in Human Security - The Chechen Case. In J. Donnelly (Ed.). Brussels: NATO Science Series.
20. Shneidman, E. S. (1996). *The Suicidal Mind*: Oxford University Press.
21. Janoff-Bulman, R. (1992). *Shattered Assumptions: Towards a New Psychology of Trauma*. New York: The Free Press.
22. Ali, M. M. (1997). *Svyashenni Koran. Dvuyazichnoe izdanie podgotovil. Perevod na russki yazik Aleksandr Sadezki. Izdatelstvo "Ahmadiya Anjuman Imaat Islam Chast 28, glava 66, sura 9, straniza 1102*: Lahor Ink.
23. Akhmedova, K. (2003). Fanatism and revenge idea of civilians who had PTSD. *Social and Clinical Psychiatry, 12*(3), 24-32.
24. Sageman, M. (2004). *Understanding Terror Networks*: University of Pennsylvania Press.
25. Myers, S. L. (2003, August 7, 2003). Female Suicide Bombers Unnerve Russians*. New York Times*.
26. Berman, E., & Laitin, D. D. (1999). *Rational Martyrs: Evidence from Data on Suicide Attacks. Ed. Suicide Bombing from an Interdisciplinary Perspective*: Princeton University Press.
27. Laqueur, W. (1999). *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction*: Oxford University Press.
28. Bloom, M. (2005). *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*: Columbia University Press.
29. Koppel, T. (Writer) (2005). Reign of Terror, *Nightline*: ABC News.
30. Radio Free Liberty, (June 3, 2005). from http://www.rferl.org/specials/chechnya/

---

[i] In Chechnya the two oppositional parties - communists and democrats declared the independence of Chechnya simultaneously. In November of 1990 the Supreme Soviet of Chechen-Ingush Republic (Verhovni Sovet Checheno-Ingushskoi Respubliki), which was communist in orientation, claimed their Declaration of Independence of the Chechen-Ingush Republic from the Russian Federation. Likewise the Vainah Democratic Party headed by Zelimkhan Yandarbiev organized the First National Congress of the Chechen Nation and they proclaimed the Declaration of Independence of the Chechen-Ingush Republic as well. Dudaev was invited to head that Congress. In September 1991 Ingushetia proclaimed itself as part of the Russian Federation, but Chechnya declined to join and continued the fight for Independence.

[ii] In April of 1990 the USSR government (Verhovni Sovet) proclaimed a new law that required all former Soviet Republics to sign a new federal agreement with Russia signifying their participation as part of the of Russian Federation. Accordingly any republic not signing the agreement could be understood as outside of Russian Federation. Even today some Chechen leaders and international scholars debate the current Russian legal position regarding Chechnya's inclusion in the Russian Federations arguing in terms of international law that when the Soviet Union fell and Russia rewrote their own constitution Chechnya was free as the other republics to chose its own destiny, and Chechens chose as Yeltsin had urged - freedom.

[iii] October 8, 1991 the Russian federation government claimed that the Declaration of Independence and other decisions of the Chechen National Congress were illegal and demanded the Chechen government to return all arms to Russia during two days. Seven days later Dudaev answered by claiming that the actions of the Russian government toward Chechnya are illegal and aimed at destroying Chechen independence. Dudaev is elected president on October 27, 1991 but the Russian government claimed the elections as illegal.

[iv] Wahhabism as a belief system, although not in itself necessarily militant is the subset of Islam that has been used to inform the terrorist ideology which is at the basis of the current worldwide salafi jihad. For an excellent discussion and definition of the global Salafi jihad see Marc Sageman *Understanding Terror Networks* University of Pennsylvannia Press, 2004.Wahhabism, interpreted in its most radical and militant type also forms the ideological underpinning of Chechen terror groups. While the label Wahhabism denotes a totally other and neutral meaning in the Gulf States and elsewhere in the world, it should be understood that in Russia, Chechnya, the Caucuses, and the other former Soviet Union republics this label denotes an ultra militant form of Islam and refers to militant religious groups that promote jihad and terrorism – so much so that in Russian the word Wahhabist has become synonymous with terrorist. For the purposes of this paper we adhere to the Russian meaning of the word, as it is understood in the Chechen context – we refer to Wahhabists in Chechnya as those groups that have formed according to a militant interpretation of Islam which promotes jihad and allows for and promotes terrorism.   By doing so we mean no offense to Wahhabists who practice Islam peacefully in other parts of the world (or in Chechnya for that matter) and we fully acknowledge that this term has an entirely other peaceful meaning outside of Chechnya

[v] Shamil Basayev Chechen leader along with Saudi born Khattab made a raid into Dagestan in 1999 claiming to reunite the former Islamic republic but in fact sparking the final acts leading to the next war. See the new Chechen jihad for a further elaboration of this history.

[vi] We have classified suicide bombers as anyone who goes so far as to strap on a bomb, drive a vehicle filled with explosives to a target or who otherwise attempts to detonate an explosive device on an airplane, in a subway or train car, or elsewhere with the aim of dying to kill - irrespective of whether or not the bomber actually died in the attack or was successful in detonating - as that is often not within the bomber's control. We take the fact of being to the point of willingly strapping on a bomb or other type of improvised explosive device or driving a vehicle loaded with explosives to a target as enough evidence of seriousness of the intent to suicide and see the end result which is often out of the hands of the bomber as less meaningful than the intent implied by these actions. There is some controversy as to whether or not the Dubrovka bombers were suicide bombers as they did not die by exploding themselves as their plan to do so was interrupted by the Russian special forces gassing and storming the building. Since we have strong confirmation from many family members, close associates and hostages of these terrorists to dies by self-explosion and the fact that the women were already in suicide belts we take their intent and behavior of strapping on bombs as strong enough evidence to classify them as suicide bombers for this analysis. To leave them out of the analysis would, in our opinion, be a mistake as clearly they were intending to carry out their suicide mission if the Russian Special Forces had not thwarted it. We consider this analogous to the many now incarcerated Palestinian bombers who have been thwarted in the last moments before their attempts but who are also closely studied to understand the psychology and psycho-social aspects of suicide bombers.

[vii] These numbers reflect the total number of Chechen suicide attacks we count in our database of attacks attributed to Chechens to date from news reports and intelligence sources as of the article's writing in November 2005. Quantifying the exact numbers of those killed and wounded in attacks, the gender of bombers and so on is difficult as reports vary by government and news source and specifics about the accomplished bombers are not always evident after an attack. We have in every case used the more conservative estimates, as our experience with journalists reporting in and about Chechnya is that they have difficulty getting reports and sometimes rely on rumors.

[viii] The takeover of the Dubrovka Theater is sometimes referred to as the "Nord Ost" takeover as that was the name of the well known musical about World War Two playing that night, which incidentally featured soldiers on stage at the moment the terrorists arrived on stage shooting guns and shouting to the stunned theatergoers, "You are hostages!"

[ix] Because the authors are both practicing psychologists we decided that upon coming across anyone seriously considering becoming a suicide terrorist that we would make every clinical effort to dissuade them. In our opinion we were generally successful in offering persuasive therapeutic effect in most of these cases to push the subject into reconsidering. In all of these cases Akhmedova offered free clinical services to help the subjects work through the traumatic experiences that appeared to be a driving motivation for considering enacting suicide terrorism. One subject who was highly traumatized in childhood and has not made a good recovery from it we continue to monitor.

[x] Khattab was a Saudi born foreign fighter that led a militant training camp and participated in many raids with Shamil Basayev until his death in 2002.

Part 5

What Should We Do? Psychologically Informed Approaches to Reducing the Threat of Substate Terrorism

This page intentionally left blank

357

Chapter 22
Possible Causes and Motives of Nuclear and Radiological Terrorism in the Light of Empirical Data on Smuggling Incidents of Nuclear Materials

Alex Schmid[1]
St. Andrews School of International Relations, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, U.K.

Robert Wesley[2]

"If I seek to acquire such weapons, this is a religious duty. How we use them is up to us".
– Osama Bin Laden [3]

"We have not reached parity with them [the US, its allies and Israel] in terms of Muslims allegedly killed, wounded, or exiled. We have the right to kill 4 million Americans – 2 million of them children – and to exile twice as many and wound and cripple hundreds of thousands"
- Abu Gheith. Al-Qa'ida Spokesman [4]

"Planting a bomb, especially a 'dirty' bomb contaminated with chemical or radiological elements, still represents the main aim of most "jihadi" terrorists".
– Michael Clarke, Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London (2005) [5]

---

[1] The views and opinions expressed in this article are solely those of the author and do not represent official positions of the United Nations where the author serves as Senior Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Officer in the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime in Vienna.
[2] Robert Wesley is a terrorism analyst currently located in Vienna, Austria.
[3] M.J. Gohel and S.M. Gohel. Al-Qa'ida and the WMD Threat. Asia-Pacific Foundation, London, 23 February 2004, p.3.
[4] Cit. Michael D. Intriligator. Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction, at < http://www.epsusa. org/publications/newsletter/june2005/intriligator.htm >, consulted on 25 August 2005.
[5] *Reuters.* Expect UK bomb attacks outside London, says expert. 23 August 2005, 07:13 PM BST.

Abstract

It is widely assumed that terrorism is moving towards high-casualty incidents. The paper addresses the question "Why would terrorists see the employment of radiological and nuclear (R & N) weapons as a preferable tactic selected from the wider repertoire of (less) destructive tools?" A series of possible motives are suggested and antecedents for several of them - revenge, demands, provocation, deterrence and defeat avoidance - are presented. The discussion then turns to the terrorist individuals and groups most likely to engage in radiological and nuclear terrorism. Subsequently, smuggling incidents of R & N materials are discussed and related to the attempts of some groups - notably Al Qaeda and Chechen groups - to acquire such materials. The paper ends with a discussion of UN measures to deal with the issue of proliferation of R & N materials to non-state actors.

Keywords: terrorism, motivation, nuclear, radiological, weapons of mass destruction

Introduction

One of the research findings frequently quoted is that terrorism is getting more lethal [1]. Building on this finding from Bruce Hoffman (RAND Corporation), a CIA report on *Global Trends 2015* written in 2000 noted:

> Between now and 2015 terrorist tactics will become increasingly sophisticated and designed to achieve mass casualties. We expect the trend toward greater lethality in terrorist attacks to continue. (…) Some potential adversaries will seek ways to threaten the US homeland. (…) Foreign governments and groups will seek to exploit such vulnerabilities, using conventional munitions, information operations, and even WMD [2].

It is said that the past is prologue. However, if we look back, there have been relatively few mass-casualty terrorist incidents by non-state actors. For the past quarter of a century we could find little more than a dozen incidents that caused some 200 deaths or more (see Table 1).

Table 1: High-Fatality (>184 deaths) Terrorist Incidents (Civilians only)

1979: Arson in a movie theatre in Abadan, Iran	477
1983 Derailing of train in India	> 200
1985: Bombing of Air India/747 over Atlantic	329
1988: Pan Am 103 in-flight bombing over Lockerbie	270
1992 Car bomb in Buenos Aires	242
1993 One hour bombing campaign (13 bombs) in Bombay	317
1997: GIA-attributed massacre in Algeria's Relizane province	412
1998: Bin Laden-attributed truck bombs in Kenya	212
2001 Attack on World Trade Center in New York	2,749
2001 Attack on Pentagon in Washington, D.C.	184+
2002 Attack on Bali nightclub by Islamic fundamentalists	202
2003 Attack on trains in Madrid	191
2003 Chechen terrorist attack on school children et al in Beslan	331

Sources: [3-5] and files of Alex P. Schmid

In terms of traditional weapons of mass destruction (WMD) attacks, there has been only one chemical (Sarin) attack in Japan (1995) and one biological (Anthrax) attack in United States (2001). These killed 12 and five people respectively. There has been no successful radiological or nuclear attack so far by non-state terrorist actors. Talking about the possible motives and causes of such attacks therefore is still largely a topic where facts are few while speculation is rife. When it comes to assessing potential terrorist use of radiological and nuclear weapons, one of the few possible sources of empirical material are smuggling incidents of such materials. This paper attempts to do so.

Before proceeding further, let us first define nuclear and radiological terrorism. Nuclear and radiological terrorism can be defined as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Definition of Nuclear and Radiological Terrorism

The use or credible threat of use, of destructive force against non-combatant/civilian targets for purposes of propaganda, blackmail/extortion or intimidation of a target audience, whereby:
a)   the perpetrator has managed to trigger a fission (or fission/fusion) of nuclear material, or
b)   is credibly held to be in possession of weapon-grade (U-235, Pu-239) nuclear material; or
c)   is attacking or sabotaging nuclear reactors or vital support systems (e.g. cooling system) at power stations or nuclear materials (e.g. reactor rods or high-radiation level waste) in transport or at storage sites in order to produce, then or later, an accident or a controlled release/explosion of radioactive substances, or
d)   disperses in water, soil or air radioactive waste or isotopes, etc. by conventional explosion or dispersion/diffusion [6].

However, while this definition covers both radiological and nuclear terrorism, it should be kept in mind that except for the fact that radiation is a major element of both nuclear and radiological weapons, they have little else in common. Nuclear weapons, even if they are not thermonuclear fusion-fission devices, are of a different order of magnitude altogether in their impact from merely "dirty bombs" or other radiological dispersal devices (RDD).[6] RDDs are not weapons of mass destruction but at best weapons of mass disruption due to the extensive decontamination measures required. The immediate health risk beyond the blast impact of the explosives is limited and the number of fatalities is unlikely to go into the thousands of deaths even in the long run. [7]. Yet in terms of psychological impact, a radiological weapon might, because of its association with atomic bombs and their radiation, have a disproportional effect on an ill-informed and panicky public.

Causes and Motives

If we wish to address the "Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism," the relevant question is: "Why would terrorism in a given context (at a given moment/juncture, under specific political, social, cultural, economic circumstances) be seen by a militant political movement, or a fraction thereof, as a preferable tactic/strategy and chosen rationally from other forms of conflict-waging such as non-violent campaigns, sabotage or guerrilla warfare?"

---

[6] While a primitive nuclear weapon might kill tens of thousands of people, and a more sophisticated one, depending on the location, even more than 100,000, a radiological weapon might cause at worst a few hundred dead in the short run and a few thousand in the long run due to the delayed effects of radiation.

In addressing the motives for terrorists using weapons of mass destruction or, in particular nuclear or radiological weapons, the question can be rephrased as: "Why would terrorists see the employment of radiological and nuclear weapons as a preferable tactic selected from the wider repertoire of (less) destructive tools?"

This question is different from the root causes of terrorism but may share some similar attributes. The question why a group turned to terrorism has already been settled, the conversion from normal forms of conflict waging to the extranormal tactic of terrorism has already taken place.[7] Bridging the two questions requires identifying the tactic of employing radiological and nuclear weapons (RNW) with the factors contributing to the decision to engage in terrorism and how the tactic contributes to the group satisfying its objectives.

In the following, we will look at various pertinent factors.

Terrorist Motives

When one looks at the root causes and motives of terrorism, it is useful to distinguish between "push factors" and "pull factors." The first are the circumstances which may give rise to terrorism in some contexts – oppression, occupation, marginalization, frustration, alienation, desperation, hopelessness, injustices, deprivation and humiliation - to mention some of the more frequently cited "root causes."[8]

In this paper we will focus more on the motives than on the causes that have been dealt with elsewhere [8, 9]. The "pull factors" are those factors that make terrorism an attractive tactic to achieve certain goals – coinciding more or less with "motives." In the following, we shall concentrate on the "motives" rather than the "root causes."

Are non-state terrorists motivated to use weapons of mass destruction? In the late 1970s Brian Jenkins (RAND organization), argued that "Nuclear terrorism is neither imminent nor inevitable...simply killing a lot of people is not an objective of terrorism" [10].

Today, many hold this to be no longer true.

Why should a terrorist group strive for possession of a nuclear weapon? Neil Livingston has argued:

> The possession of only one weapon ensures the possessor a place on the "first team." (...)The possession of a nuclear weapon by a terrorist group would dramatically alter the international balance of power, not to mention the internal balance of any particular nation, and could put the terrorists beyond the reach of authorities. Confronted with the threat of nuclear catastrophe, even a major power would have to seriously consider capitulating to the demands of the terrorist group [11].

---

[7] The assumption here is that militants leave a track record of small-scale violence before they escalate to more severe forms of violence. Despite appearances to the contrary, this is also true for Aum Shinrikyo although it is debatable whether that violence was "terroristic".

[8] Except for "humiliation", the factors cited are from the debate of the UN General Assembly following the events of 11 September 2001. – Defining Terrorism & Its Root Causes. References to the definition of terrorism and the root causes as discussed in the United Nations General Assembly debate "Measures to eliminate international terrorism", 1- 5 October 2001, United Nations, New York, at < http://www.rachingcriticalwill.org/political/1com/terror.html, consulted on 10 August 2005.

While making a valid point, Livingston is overstating his case. North Korea, while possessing a few nuclear weapons, is hardly on the "first team." While the non-territorial nature of the terrorist threat makes retaliation and deterrence difficult, the problems the terrorists face after the explosion of a nuclear weapon should not be underestimated.

A widely adhered to but dubious presupposition is that terrorists using WMD would strictly be motivated by the desire to inflict mass casualties. This is also the first assumption of the first Gilmore Report (see Table 3).

Table 3: Five Reasons Why Terrorists May Perpetrate a WMD-Attack

1. Simply the desire to kill as many people as possible
2. To exploit the classic weapon of the terrorist – fear
3. To negotiate from a position of unsurpassed strength
4. Because there are certain logistical and psychological advantages that such weapons might offer to terrorists
5. To cause economic and social damage by targeting a state's or region's agricultural sector [12].

The first option alone is overly simplistic as terrorists might wish to achieve multiple and overlapping objectives by employing WMD, or more precisely CBNR (Chemical, Biological, Nuclear and Radiological Weapons) in attacks without causing high casualties, e.g. by exploding their (first) nuclear device for the demonstration effect to establish a bargaining position – the third suggestion of the Gilmore Report. A more comprehensive set of potential motivations is needed for radiological and nuclear terrorism. Such a set will be a subset of the broader spectrum of possible terrorist motivations.

A multitude of motives are attributed to terrorists in the voluminous literature on the subject of terrorist motivation in general. Table 4 lists a selection of 14 motivating forces for engaging in terrorism.

From the present list, a number of factors might be pertinent for radiological and nuclear terrorists while others are less so. If one looks at the historical record of incidents involving unconventional substances, there are several antecedents. We found the following:

Motive 1 (Revenge): Jonathan Tucker, in one of the few works based on an empirical study of terrorist attempts to deploy weapons of mass destruction, cited exacting revenge against evil-doers or oppressors, as a form of "defensive aggression" against outsiders believed to be seeking the destruction of the group as one of four possible motives [13, p. 266]. In the Biafra war, in the late 1960s, which took near-genocidal proportions, Biafran exiles in Europe sought revenge for actions of Nigeria's central government. For this purpose they collected material for the construction of a radiological bomb that they planned to explode in the Nigerian capital Lagos. Nothing came in the end of this Ibo initiative, as the radiological substance they had collected got "lost" in Portugal on its way to Nigeria [9].

---

[9] Personal communication from associate of one of those involved.

Table 4: Motives Associated with the Use of Terrorist Tactics

1.   Revenge: historically, revenge and retaliation has been a powerful motive for terrorists. Mass arrests, massacres by government forces have led to assassination of those who were held responsible for them.
2.   Intimidation and disorientation: to break down the morale of an opponent
3.   Demands: a third purpose of terrorism is to establish a credible superior bargaining position for political blackmail and to gain concessions ("fulfill our demands, or…").
4.   Propaganda/Attention-/Recognition-Seeking: gaining publicity for the cause by high-profile acts of terrorism to make a political statement ("propaganda by the deed")
5.   Provocation of counter-measures: a fifth motive is the provocation of an over-reaction from the other side, e.g. triggering a war.
6.   Disruption and economic damage: a sixth motive is disruption, e.g. of a peace process or of economic activities in a critical infrastructure facility
7.   Fulfilling an apocalyptic prophecy
8.   Morale-building: demonstrating to one's own constituency an image of strength of the terrorist organization
9.   Elimination of opposing forces (by a surgical "strike at the heart of the state") to bring down a regime perceived to be corrupt or tyrannical
10.   Extortion of money for financial gain
11.   Deterrence: to restrain all-out counter-attack by enemy
12.   Defeat avoidance.
13.   Contamination of area to prevent further access or use.
14.   To produce mass casualties – killing an identified enemy [10]

Motive 2 (Intimidation): A nuclear weapon is by definition an intimidating weapon [14]. So far there has been no successful credible intimidation according to open source materials, except for criminal blackmail: After a death sentence was issued against an organized crime leader, their associates issued such credible threats of nuclear sabotage that two units of the Ignalina power station in Lithuania were closed down for a week on government orders [10].

Motive 3 (Demands): In late 1994, Dzokar Dudayev, a former Russian rocket force general, anxious to win the independence of Chechnya, claimed to have obtained two tactical nuclear warheads. Since he had paraded tactical missile launchers through the streets of Grozny in the summer of 1992, the threat had to be taken seriously. He threatened to offer them to President Ghaddafi of Libya unless the United States recognized the independence of Chechnya. It was an empty threat - he had no such weapons although the Soviets had deployed such warheads in the Caucasus [15].

Motive 4 (Propaganda): In November 1995 Chechen separatists placed a container with Cesium-137 near the entrance of Moscow's Izmailov Park and tipped NTV television about it. The 30-pound container was probably stolen from a hospital in Budyonnovsk, which the Chechens had briefly occupied in the mid-1990s [16]. They also threatened to detonate radiological devices in and around Moscow [17].

Motive 5 (Provocation): In the early 1980s, a group of Jewish fundamentalists around Rabbi Meir Kahane planned to destroy Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock, Islam's third holiest shrine. They hoped that this would infuriate the Muslim world to such an extent that Israel, in self-defense, would have to use its nuclear arsenal. The end result,

---

[10] Based on A.P. Schmid. Political Terrorism. Amsterdam, North Holland Publishing Company, 1984, pp. 97-99, where 20 motives are identified from the literature.

they hoped, would then be the complete annihilation of Israel's Arab enemies and the establishment of a new 'Kingdom of Israel' ruled by a divinely anointed Jewish king[12]. In a similar way, Aum Shinrikyo apparently hoped to trigger a nuclear war between Japan and the United States, notwithstanding the fact that they assumed that 90 percent of the Japanese population would die in such a war.[13]

Motive 11 (Deterrence): On 9 November 2002 Osama Bin Laden told the editor of a Pakistani newspaper, *Hamid Mir*, at an undisclosed location near Kabul: "we have chemical and nuclear weapons as a deterrent and if America used them against us we reserve the right to use them." Similarly, Al Qa'ida reportedly advised a Chechen delegation that WMD were needed to deter a second Russian invasion into Chechnya.[14]

Motive 12 (Defeat avoidance): When an abrupt regime change occurs, elements of the old regime might still hold on to some of the weapon systems while having lost political power. It has been claimed in this context that South Africa did not destroy all its nuclear weapons in 1993 but that some nuclear devices or raw materials to make them might have fallen into the hands of "white patriots" of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement.[15]

The examples given here have only an illustrative character. A more thorough search of the historical literature on political violence might reveal more and cover some other motivations as well.

An important element guiding motivation is the question: which audience(s) do the terrorists wish to impress, intimidate or coerce? The direct target experiencing the violence is not necessarily the primary target audience. In the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings of 1945, for instance, it has been suggested (rightly or wrongly) that the ultimate addressee was the Soviet Union rather than Japan, which was ready to capitulate anyway. It is important to keep in mind that the target of violence – the direct victims – is rarely the ultimate target – the target audience – of terrorists. There are several audiences that a terrorist might wish to reach with a catastrophic terrorism attack to impress them (see Table 5).

From this list some audiences (especially 1, 2, 7, 9, and 10) are more likely to be targeted (in the sense of being addressed, not necessarily in the sense of being directly victimized themselves) than others (5, 8) in the framework of launching a radiological or nuclear attack. However, we have to keep in mind that there might not only be several motives but also several target audiences and these might interfere with each other. In the worst case a terrorist group might lose its own constituency by going too far – something which is quite probable if a group would engage in BN (Biological or Nuclear) attacks, and less likely in the case of a radiological attack. Much will also depend on how the effectiveness of a radiological or nuclear act of terrorism is perceived by relevant audiences.

---

[12] Bruce Hoffman. Inside Terrorism. London, Gollancz, 1998, p. 103. For this 'Temple Mount'-operation, that was meant to trigger war, the Jewish terrorists had constructed 28 precision bombs to bring down the Islamic holy shrine.

[13] Ibid., p. 137.

[14] "The Arab-Afghans Part II" *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat,* May 2005.

[15] *FBIS Report*, 23 October 1995, based on Johannesburg SAPA. Allegations in this sense had been made by journalists Peter Hounam and Steve McQuillan.

Table 5: Twelve Terrorist Audiences

1.   The adversary/-ies of the terrorist organization
2.   The constituency/ society of the adversary/-ies
3.   The targeted direct victims and their families and friends
4.   Others who have reason to fear that they might be the next targets
5.   "Neutral" distant publics
6.   The core constituency of the terrorist organization whose support is needed to justify the struggle and to survive against vicissitudes
7.   Potential sympathetic sectors of domestic and foreign (diaspora) publics
8.   Other terrorist groups rivalling for prominence
9.   The terrorist and his underground organization
10. The ethereal audience of God
11. Other, tertiary audiences
12. ….and, last but not least, the media [18, 19]

Just as a "perfect murder" can attract admiration in some quarters, a stunning terrorist act can also generate appreciation among some of those who share the terrorists' goals and even beyond that. For example, the head of the Aryan Nations expressed admiration in al-Qa'ida by saying, "you say they're terrorists, I say they're freedom fighters. And I want to instill the same jihadic feeling in our peoples' heart, in the Aryan race, that they have for their father, who they call Allah," and that the message for Osama bin Laden is: "the cells are out here and they are already in place. They might not be cells of Islamic people, but they are here and they are ready to fight." [20]. A terrorist group is likely to estimate the effectiveness of a RNW attack before deciding to engage in one. The effectiveness is largely dependent of the reactions of the various audiences impacted by the attack. Table 6 lists the primary factors determining effectiveness.

Table 6: Six Factors Determining the Effectiveness of an Act of Terrorism

- Degree of publicity obtained
- Degree to which demands are met by third party
- Degree of approval by existing or envisaged constituency
- Degree of disruption and division created in opposite camp
- Degree of panic and terror created in target group
- Degree of damage inflicted

These factors are difficult to determine in advance. Five out of the six factors might be positive for the terrorists after a shocking attack of catastrophic terrorism but, if they lose the approval of their own constituency or reference group, the costs would be higher than the benefits.

Terrorism is often an unpredictable weapon and its use might backfire. When it comes to weapons of mass destruction, that uncertainly is even bigger. This is also recognized by some terrorists. Chechen warlord Salman Raduyev (who in 1996 took more than 1,000 hostages in Dagestan), when asked whether or not Chechens would attack Russian nuclear power plants during the 1999-2000 war, said they would not,

"....because the consequences of this cannot be predicted" [16] . Some of the considerations that have restrained states from using nuclear weapons might also apply to non-state terrorists - at least those who feel some responsibility towards their own core community – if they have one. While Asahara, the leader of the religious sect Aum Shinriryo could ask "….don't you think that the coming of World War III would be a great thing for us?"[17], those terrorists who have a human constituency are likely to be less extremist. As Daniel S. Gressang put it:

> Most terrorists, though, want a live audience paying attention to their message and this observation is no less applicable today than it was 30 years ago. Most terrorists maintain a reciprocal relationship, positive or negative, with society and are much less likely to seriously consider WMD-use due to that relationship." (…)Terror does not take place in a vacuum. It seeks to levy demands and, in return, seeks to generate a response. That on-going dynamic colors and shapes the actions and reactions of both sides, offering a continuing cycle of give and take, call and response dynamic …. [19, p. 98, 102].

In this sense, the response of the international community--especially those parts of it that are the intended core constituency of the Jihadists--matters very much. Although a RNW attack could jeopardize a group's core constituencies, an attack might also benefit a terrorist group. If a terrorist entity calculates that the effectiveness of a RNW attack on the impacted audiences will positively advance its objectives, then the terrorist group will be motivated to carry out such an attack.

After the terrorist group's decision-making apparatus develops its initial reasoning for engaging in a future RNW attack, it must then turn to implementing a strategy to procure the weapons and select appropriate targets.

Terrorist Targeting and Scenarios

Terrorist targeting is usually aimed at reaching a maximum psychological impact rather than merely creating a material damage. In a conventional attack, the target selection phase of the operation would be followed by the selection of the most appropriate weapon (individual suicide bomber, truck bomb, remote control roadside bomb, rocket attack, etc.). The order is likely to be reversed for instances in which RNW are involved. The terrorist outfit is likely to make a decision to acquire RNW and then, *after* procurement, select an appropriate target to achieve the desired results.

According to accounts, al-Qa'ida military commander Abu Hafs al-Masri was charged with developing al-Qa'ida's WMD programs, but he did not "make up his mind about the strategy of using these weapons, postponing this until they were actually acquired" [21]. In the case of a nuclear weapon, the demonstration of the

---

[16] Sergeyev: Troops Won't Stop at Terek'. *Moscow Times*, 13 October 1999; cit. N. Gurr and B. Cole, op. cit., p.121. - However, during the first Chechen war there were numerous threats. According to one Russian intelligence official, during the years 1995 - 1997, there were 50 instances of nuclear blackmail in Russia, most of them hoaxes. - Ely Karmon. Olympic Bomb Plot to Blow Up a Nuclear Reactor in Sydney Foiled. How Serious the Threat?. Paper, 29 August, 2000, p. 3.
[17] Asahara. World War III is Coming Soon! The Control of Plasma; cit. Daniel S. Gressang IV, Audience and Message: Assessing Terrorist WMD Potential. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* Vol. 13, No. 3 (Autumn 2001), p.102.

possession of such a weapon may be what matters more than the actual site of physical deployment. The symbolism of the nuclear mushroom would make such a political statement that the actual target hit might become secondary.

The deployment of a radiological weapon would have a far smaller impact, except perhaps when used for the very first time. An attack on a stationary nuclear facility would probably produce more damage than a dirty bomb but might not have the same "news value." It is likely that a radiological or nuclear weapon would first be used against a symbolic target rather than against a predominantly military or economic target. There are some obvious candidates for target selection (see Table 7).

Table 7: Possible Targets for Radiological and Nuclear Terrorism

1.   Symbolic place, e.g. Wall Street, Pentagon, Vatican, White House, Kremlin, World Bank, UN Headquarters
2.   Critical infrastructure, e.g. regional financial center, major money transfer or Internet server switch point, nuclear power plant, key elements of national electric power grids, major sea- or airport or other hub of transportation system[18]
3.   Mass assembly of people: e.g. political party rally, major sports events
4.   Political or military target, e.g. seat of government (like Green Zone in Baghdad), aircraft carrier, intercontinental rocket launching site
5.   Summit conference, e.g., G-8 or UN summit, funeral of statesman attended by other statesmen

Depending on the selected target, several generic scenarios are thinkable. In terms of likely magnitude of consequences, they can be graded from 1 to 6 (see Table 8).

Table 8: Generic Scenarios for Use of Radiological or Nuclear Weapons

1.   Release and dispersal of stolen or bought radiological materials by air, water, fire or explosives to pollute certain area
2.   Crashing a truck or a plane into a nuclear power reactor/research reactor or a storage site for spent nuclear fuel to create widespread pollution
3.   Occupation of a nuclear power plant or research facility for blackmail (e.g. "stop the occupation of country X immediately or we will blow up the place")
4.   Explosion of an improvised nuclear device made from highly enriched uranium stolen or obtained on the black market
5.   Theft of one or several intact military nuclear weapons (HEU or PU) and their use
6.   Explosion of a landmine type of nuclear weapon ("suitcase bomb") near nuclear weapon storage facility with intention to trigger chain explosions.

Since surprise is part of the terrorist modus operandi, other scenarios than those listed here might come into play. These are partly co-determined by the nature of the terrorists involved as well as by the nature of the adversary.

It is important to examine how certain terrorist groups or milieu fit into the before-mentioned motivational cadres in order to assess the potential for RNW attacks.

---

[18] Osama Bin Laden , in a message to his followers, reminded them: "America is in retreat by the grace of God Almighty and economic attrition is continuing up to today. But it needs further blows. The young men need to seek out the nodes of the American economy and strike the enemy's nodes". – Cit. Matthew Bunn and Anthony Wier. The Seven Myths of Nuclear Terrorism. *Current History*, April 2005, p. 154.

Terrorist Individuals and Groups Most Likely To Engage In Radiological and Nuclear Terrorism

Which are the groups interested in weapons of mass destruction? There are many types of terrorist groups and their ambitions are not equally far-reaching (see Table 9).

Table 9: Types of Terrorist Groups

1. Religious and millenarian/apocalyptic groups
2. Ethnic and nationalist groups
3. Racist and right-wing groups
4. Revolutionary left-wing groups
5. Vigilante death squads
6. Single-issue groups (e.g. eco-terrorists)
7. State-terrorists
8. Criminal organizations employing terror tactics
9. Crazies
10. Lone wolf terrorists

Millenarian, religious groups, far-right and racist groups as well as ethnic and national liberation groups have been associated with attempts to acquire CBRN weapons [10, p. 36]. In some cases individual politicians have threatened to use nuclear weapons. The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic and the Russian nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky have both threatened to use nuclear weapons against "The West." [22].

The U.S. State Department report *Global Terrorism Trends* identified for the late 1990s 130 international terrorist groups posing a potential unconventional weapons threat – 50 of them with a religious agenda, 20 left-wing ones, 5 right-wing ones and 55 groups with an ethnic agenda [23]. Yet that is a high estimate. According to George J. Tenet, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, there are "about a dozen terrorist groups that have expressed an interest in or have sought chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear agents."[19]

Groups that have claimed or are said to possess nuclear, biological or chemical weapons or have issued threats of CBRN use or have attempted to acquire such weapons, include some Middle East and North African groups, Caucasian rebels, ethnic separatists, and right-wing groups. One study on terrorists and weapons of mass destruction singled out religious extremists (both religious-fundamentalist terrorists and millenarian cults), and right-wing extremists as particularly dangerous.[20]

Groups lacking an outside human constituency which are at the same time imbued by a sense of paranoia/grandiosity must be considered especially dangerous. However, typically, such groups tend to lack both the resources and the know-how to obtain and deploy radiological and radiological materials. Groups with a territorial basis that can

---

[19] Testimony before the US Senate Armed Services Committee, 2 February 1999; cit. Simon Reeve. The New Jackals. Ramzi Yousef, Osama bin Laden and the Future of Terrorism. London, Andre Deutsch, 1999, p. 262.
[20] Jerrold M. Post. Psychological and Motivational Factors in Terrorist Decision-Making: Implications for CBW Terrorism. In: Jonathan Tucker. (Ed.). Toxic Terror. Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 2000, p.287. - The number of members of such groups can be quite large. As far as right-wing extremist groups are concerned, there were, for instance some 400 race hate groups in the United States, with between 20,000 and 40,000 supporters - Simon Wiesenthal, as quoted in N. Gurr and B. Cole, op. cit., p. 114.

be counter-attacked are probably also less likely to engage in radiological and nuclear attacks due to their own vulnerability. In that case, deterrence works. State terrorists share the same obstacle. On the other hand, a lone wolf terrorist does not have this problem. However, a nuclear weapon would be way beyond his capabilities while a radiological dispersal device might be well within the realm of his capabilities, especially if he is an insider in a nuclear power plant or research reactor or has access to illicit trafficking.[21]

If we now turn to concrete contemporary terrorist groups, we find only few among the most active groups that are likely candidates for radiological and nuclear terrorism. Looking at the twenty most lethal terrorist groups active in the last seven years (Table 10), we find the following casualty figures (however, we should keep in mind that mass casualties are not the only motivation for nuclear attacks and high casualty levels are not a primary objective for RDDs).

Table 10: Most Lethal Contemporary Groups, according to MIPT

Group	Incident	Injuries	Fatalities
Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigada	5	606	193
Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)	82	654	210
Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)	52	491	197
Al-Qa'ida	29	6537	3542
Ansar al-Sunnah Army	41	837	445
Ansar Allah	3	236	117
Armed Islamic Group	64	259	506
Aum Shinrikyo	1	5000	12
Dagestan Liberation Army	4	453	248
Hamas	465	2787	577
Hezbollah	176	1475	821
Jemaah Islamiya (JI)	3	540	227
Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)	13	270	136
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	72	2435	514
Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)	26	291	489
Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)	81	724	146
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia	460	1017	460
Riyad us-Saliheyn Martyrs' Brigade	11	1136	514
Taliban	151	220	295
Tanzim Qa'idat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn	136	1513	717
Tawhid and Jihad	24	219	191

---

[21] For a discussion of terrorist groups that might pursue nuclear terrorism, see Charles D. Ferguson & William C. Potter. The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism. Monterey, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, 2004, pp.18 – 25.

One group that stands out because it has actually employed an agent (Sarin) associated with weapons of mass destruction is Aum Shinrikyo. However, the often-quoted figure of 5,000 people wounded is misleading. That number refers to those who went or were brought to a hospital for a post-incident check. The actual number of severely wounded is closed to 40-50 [24]. Despite large human and financial resources Aum Shinrikyo ultimately failed to create biological or nuclear weapons and managed only to produce a very crude chemical one.

In terms of fatalities Al-Qa'ida stands out. However, we must keep in mind that its high-casualty toll was largely based on the fact that the two Towers of the World Trade Center collapsed totally – a result not anticipated by Bin Laden. If we look at the lethality of the twenty groups affiliated to Al-Qa'ida for the year 2004, we find that in the majority of cases fewer than ten people are killed. In only four cases more than one hundred people were killed and in no case more than 200 (see Table 11).

Table 11: Incidents and Magnitudes of Fatalities caused in 2004 by al-Qa'ida – Affiliated Groups [25]

Fatalities	Incidents	Percentage
0	50	28.2
1-10	98	55.3
11-40	18	10.2
41-99	7	4.0
100-199	4	2.3
+200	0	0
Total	177	(100)

While the actual bombing record of Al-Qa'ida so far is not indicative of a capability to deploy a nuclear weapon, the documents found at an Al-Qa'ida site in Afghanistan by CNN reporter Nic Robertson show more than just an interest in weapons of mass destruction. As one analyst put it:

….the manuals [which were found in November 2001] were thematically discrete and run the gamut of capabilities from high explosive manufacture to the atomic physics of nuclear weapons. CNN has invested not only in translating the texts, but vetting them with regard to scientific accuracy and authenticity. The verdict on the 'superbomb' volume of the collection demonstrates an acquaintance with nuclear physics and weaponization know-how which exceeds information solely available via open sources and declassified scientific texts [26].

There is thus a contradiction between actual present-day casualties of Al-Qa'ida and its affiliated groups and the efforts of Al-Qa'ida to obtain radiological and nuclear devices (see Appendix 1).

Next to Al-Qa'ida and its franchises, Chechen terrorists are, in our view, the most likely groups to engage in radiological and, less likely, nuclear attacks (see Appendix 2). The terrain on which they operate contains more nuclear waste and nuclear

---

[22] Angus M. Muir. Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Case of Aum Shinrikyo. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 22: 79-91, 1999.

materials than those territories where most other terrorist groups operate. The Chechen wars have killed 160,000 people (mostly civilians) and bitterness is great. The Chechen mujaheddin are in a desperate position due to the declining backing from their own constituency (as opposed to the continuing Islamic support they receive from abroad). While they and their more secular allies "won" the first Chechen war in 1996, they are in no position to expand their current commando type operations into a broader popular opposition. They have already tried (but failed) to detonate radiological materials near a railway in the neighborhood of Argun in 1998. They have also been spotted twice on reconnaissance missions near nuclear weapon sites.

The irony of history is that the two most likely targets of nuclear terrorists are the United States and the Russian Federation, the Cold War rivals who for more than forty years engaged in a nuclear arms race that produced close to 80,000 - 100,000 warheads of which 35,000 – 45,000 were still in place on the eve of the 21st century.[23]

While the number of strategic and tactical weapons has been reduced, the world is still awash with non-weaponized fissile nuclear materials. The Afghan intervention of the Soviet Union and the war-by-proxy waged against the invaders by the United States, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Pakistan during the 1980s produced a generation of radicalized mujaheddin fighters, many of whom were bent to continue the jihad after the withdrawal of the Soviet Union - the fall of which they interpreted as causally linked to their successful jihad against Marxist infidels in Afghanistan.

On the basis of a series of empirical case studies, the Table 12 offers a profile of the terrorist personality thought to be most likely to engage in the use of weapons of mass destruction.

Table 12: Profile of the Terrorist Personality Most Likely to engage in CBW attacks [13]

1.   Manifest personality traits of paranoia and grandiosity;
2.   Are innovative in their use of violence;
3.   Tend to escalate over time;
4.   Typically have no clearly defined base of political support and hence are unconcerned about adverse public opinion; and
5.   Are often convinced that they are fulfilling a divine command or prophecy that legitimizes murder.

Religious millenarian groups and brutalized terrorist groups seeking revenge or facing destruction are thought to be the most likely candidates [24]. However, these conclusions were reached on the basis of a rather small number of cases and should be regarded as very tentative. If these personality traits are compared with those of Osama bin Ladin and al-Qa'ida, we find that traits 1, 2, 3, and 5 are possibly present. A more comprehensive set of indicators, inclusive of the actual weapons used is needed.

The Missing Link

It is sometimes said that whether or not terrorists will utilize radiological and nuclear weapons is not a question of "if" but only of "when." In order to assess the validity of

---

[23] *The Economist*, 4 January 1997; *Financial Times*, 21 May 2000.
[24] Ehud Sprinzak. The Great Superterrorism Scare. *Foreign Policy*, No. 112, Fall 1999; cit. Steve Bowman and Helit Barel. Weapons of Mass Destruction – the Terrorist Threat. CRS Report for Congress. Washington, D.C., Congressional Research Service, 8 December 1999, p. 3.

this claim we have to recall what is needed to produce an improvised nuclear device (IND) or radioactive or nuclear weapon (RNW). For RNW terrorism to occur, eight steps need to be taken to effectuate a nuclear weapon or improvised nuclear device detonation (see Table 13).

Table 13: Chain of Events leading to Detonation of an Improvised Nuclear Device

1.   A terrorist group with extreme objectives and the necessary technical and financial resources must organize itself.
2.   The group must engage in a decision-making process to initiate a program to obtain a nuclear capability.
3.   A group must create or acquire a justification for obtaining or using nuclear weapons as a means of preparing the group and its constituencies (its potential supporting audiences) for the attack.
4.   The terrorist group must engage in research to determine the feasibility of acquiring nuclear material, knowledge, and fabrication capabilities.
5.   These terrorists must seize an intact nuclear weapon or acquire fissile material (either highly enriched uranium or plutonium) to make an IND [25]
6.   They must determine how to bypass or defeat any safeguards in an intact nuclear weapon or how to assemble an IND from the fissile material
7.   Then the terrorist group must be able to transport the IND (or its parts) or the intact nuclear weapon to a high-value target
8.   Finally, the terrorists must detonate the IND or intact nuclear weapon to complete their plan

Source: Steps 1,5,6,7 and 8 are from Charles D. Ferguson and William C. Potter. The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism. Monterey, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, 2004, p. 6. Steps 2, 3 and 4 are from the authors of this study, Robert Wesley and Alex Schmid.

When we compare these six steps against what is known about al-Qa'ida, the following can be said:

Step 1: The objectives of Al-Qa'ida are extreme by any standards – restoration of a Caliphate and defeat of the American empire; the financial resources of al-Qa'ida are formidable and have not been dried up; as far as technical know-how is concerned there have been close connections with Pakistani scientists and the "supermanual" found in November 2001 revealed considerable knowledge in the basic technical concepts and in bomb design

Step 2: Al-Qa'ida is reported to have engaged in lengthy internal deliberations concerning the need for WMD [27].

Step 3: Osama Bin Ladin has alluded to or explicitly addressed unconventional weapons in several interviews and statements, justifying the usage of WMD in

---

[25] – There are seven methods of acquisition of nuclear and radiological materials:
    1. Constructing a nuclear weapon from scratch;
    2. Stealing warhead or HEU or plutonium from a processing site, storage site or weapons facility;
    3. Intercepting, hijacking or diverting a warhead or HEU or Pu in transport;
    4. Attacking a civilian nuclear power plant from the outside;
    5. Occupying a nuclear power plant with the help of insiders;
    6. Obtaining a nuclear device from a state-sponsor;
    7. Buying a ready-made (strategic or tactical) warhead or nuclear materials from needy, greedy or dissatisfied insiders or on the black market. - Alex P. Schmid. Nuclear Terrorism: How Real is the Threat ? Keynote Address to an International Conference held in Stockholm, Sweden, 7- 11 May 2001 on Measures to Prevent, Intercept and Respond to Illicit Uses of Nuclear Material and Radioactive Sources. Vienna, IAEA, 2002, p.28.

retaliation for the West's atrocities and alleged desecration of Muslim lands. He has also has received a *fatwah* on the issue [28].

Step 4: Al-Qa'ida has engaged in considerable research of nuclear and radiological weapons compiling external and indigenously produced literature [29].

Step 5: Several attempts have been made by al-Qa'ida to obtain both nuclear materials and military nuclear weapons, but they have not been successful in acquiring ample material for an IND (see Appendix 1).

Step 6: Al Qai'da had developed some in-house research and development capacity prior to the US intervention in Afghanistan – probably enough to assemble an improvised nuclear device from fissile material (uranium, plutonium) or from radiological material (such as Cesium – 137; Cobalt – 60; Iridium – 192).

Step 7: Given the ability of al-Qa'ida to attack the Pentagon and the World Trade Centre as well as a US warship (Cole) and US embassies abroad, there can be little doubt that it is well within the capacity of al-Qa'ida to transport an IND to a selected target.

Step 8: The detonation of a radiological weapon is technically simple once the material required has been obtained. Creating an uncontrolled chain reaction of highly enriched uranium is, in the right quantity and quality, also no major problem (the Hiroshima uranium bomb was never tested for that reason before it was dropped – however it produced only a partial fission process). A plutonium bomb is a major technological challenge but if it fails to explode in a fission reaction it can still be successful as a radiological weapon.

If we look at the efforts of al-Qa'ida, we find that all steps except one– Step 5 in the previous table--are in place for engaging in radiological and nuclear terrorism. The "missing link," the weakest point in Al-Qa'ida's efforts, is the acquisition of enough, and good enough, nuclear and radiological materials.

This is why an analysis of smuggling incidents of radiological and nuclear material is crucial in contributing to our understanding as to where Al-Qa'ida is likely to stand in its efforts to obtain materials for RN weapons and whether or not an act of RN terrorism will occur. We therefore now turn to the issue of smuggling of radiological and nuclear materials.

Illicit Trafficking

Some of the motivations listed for terrorists groups obtaining and/or using RNW can be addressed by analyzing how individual groups or terrorist milieu apply to each motivation. Access to resources can be both a facilitating factor in terms of obtaining the requisite materials and expertise to assemble a RNW, as well as a motivational factor for engaging in a program to develop an RNW capability. Just as a group can be dissuaded from pursuing RNW due to a perceived negative reaction of target audiences, terrorists could find RNW impractical due to the inability to secure requisite materials.

The category of availability of resources is probably the single most important factor determining whether or not a terrorist group will engage in a RNW attack.

Illicit trafficking of nuclear and radiological materials is seen as the most plausible means for a terrorist group to obtain fissile nuclear material. It is also a likely strategy for obtaining radioisotopes for use in a RDD. The al-Qa'ida organization is reported to have attempted to acquire fissile material on the black market.[26] Chechen militants have also attempted on various occasions to acquire radioactive materials.[27] Although there is no credible evidence in open sources to suggest that a terrorist organization has acquired ample quantities of fissile material, their historical efforts point to illicit trafficking networks as likely candidates for exploitation.

A Look at the Data

To analyze the illicit nuclear trafficking market, a reliable set of data is needed in order to create a model from which judgments can be made. There are several illicit trafficking databases maintained by various organizations thought the world, each with a different emphasis. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), World Customs Organization (WCO), Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL), Los Alamos National Laboratory LANL), the University of Salzburg, the Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), and various others all maintain independent databases [3]. For this study the CNS database was used.[28]

There are essentially two parts to this analysis:

1. The human and logistical element relates to the actors in the market: the thieves, facilitators, middlemen, and buyers. This also includes the trafficking roots, methods of solicitation, market prices, and perceived supply and demand.
2. The second part of this analysis involves the fissile and radio isotopic materials.

Before proceeding to what mining of the CNS database did illuminate, it is important to view what information could not be mined from the data.

---

[26] See Appendix 1.

[27] See Appendix 2.

[28] A note on methodology: The CNS database is focused on incidents related to the countries of the former Soviet Union. These are states where most of the nuclear material has historically originated and where trafficking has been most prolific. The search and vetting criteria used in the data collection for the CNS database creates a comprehensive and consistent set of abstracts of trafficking incidents. After an incident has been identified, the researchers at CNS create an abstract or summery of the incident with all available data including further investigations. For this article, the authors have further vetted the abstracts, eliminating those containing irrelevant or inadequate information. The authors then created a database of the abstracts to include the following categories: date; place of discovery (local and country); type of material (Pu, HEU, LEU, depleted U, natural U, Cs, Am, Ra, Co, Sr, other radioactive isotopes, radioactive waste, and other/unknown); quantity/disposition of material; perpetrator information(those immediately involved in the incident relating to the seizure); buyer information; seller information; methods of transport; methods of discovery; response of authorities(legal, etc); and other comments. From this database, analysis was conducted to asses the state of the illicit nuclear trafficking black market for 1999 through March 2005, and its relationship to the causes and motivations of radiological and nuclear terrorism in respect to the availability of the relevant resources.

i)   One of the most important voids of information concerns the buyers or end users of the material. Little information is available on this back-end of the market. This is not a unique phenomenon in open-source research on illicit trafficking. The *Database on Nuclear Smuggling, Theft and Orphan Radiation Sources* (DSTO), operated currently by the University of Salzburg, also lacks this type of information. According to the assessment of its operators, "in the overwhelming majority of cases…there is neither proof of the final destination of the trafficked material, nor of the buyer" [30]. It is also not clear how much and what types of materials are reaching the end-users. There are several cases where the material has been resold several times. It is possible that much of the material never reaches the end-user, but rather is either stored or repeatedly resold to speculators. Due to this fact, a determination of the buyers, or what materials are actually reaching them, cannot be discerned.

ii)   Another issue involves information on the theft of the material. Most reporting does not explain how the material was obtained from its original location.

iii)   The last issue concerns what active measures are occurring to disrupt this market. There is plentiful data on sting operations targeting the sellers of the material, but there are no examples of entrapment operations targeting the potential buyers. There are obviously national legal restrictions on such operations but there are procedures that can be followed to conduct these activities without violating anti-entrapment laws. One difficulty is that such buyers are ostensibly "wired-in" to such black markets and would be able to recognize unfamiliar faces. This is not to say that such operations have not taken place or are not in the works. A law-enforcement officer with access to such knowledge has tacitly assured the authors that these operations are either ongoing or have happened in the past, yet the lack of publicity of such successes is conspicuous.

Although these are serious information gaps, the data that has been collected illuminates some categories that provide adequate information.

The information illustrated in Figure 1 shows the total number of incidents of illicit trafficking in the database created for this study. It contains 156 incidents occurring in 30 different countries, disaggregated by year.
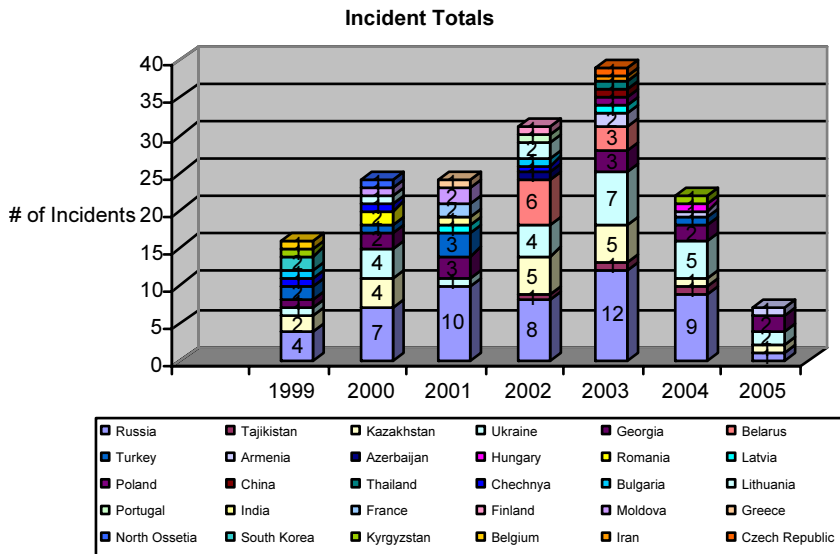
Figure 1: Total Number of Incidents, 1999 – 2005 from Our Database

Russia by far had the highest number of incidents with a total of 51 incidents followed by Ukraine (24), Kazakhstan (18), and Georgia (13). These figures indicate a widespread and persistent problem. When addressing the access to nuclear materials by terrorist groups, the geographic expanse of trafficking is another facilitating factor as more access nodes increase the options of groups actively seeking these materials.

Assessing the Complexity of the Supply-Side Human Element

How Organized?

One area of immense concern for those combating procurement of nuclear materials by terrorist organizations is the question of how organized the illicit traffickers of nuclear material are. The more organized illicit trafficking actors are, the higher the likelihood of successful transfers of material. In order to assess the vulnerability of illicit trafficking to exploitation by terrorist such as al-Qa'ida, it is essential to analyze not only how organized the market is, but also the trends. One of the purposes of using a dataset that covers the years from 1999 to March 2005 is that it can be compared with that of earlier evaluations and set against counter-trafficking initiatives of affected states. It was initially assumed in the mid-1990s that organized criminals had not established themselves in the illicit trafficking of nuclear material. Carol Fortin (then at Interpol) elaborated on this assertion, making five observations of trafficking during the mid-1990s (see Table 14).

Table 14: Black Market Characteristics for Nuclear and Other Radioactive Materials, mid-1990s [31]

- Traffickers of nuclear and radioactive materials were almost always amateur criminals;
- They often had connections through friends or relatives working in nuclear enterprises;
- They usually were arrested while carrying the materials or in their attempt to find a buyer for the material;
- Buyers and end-users could seldom be positively identified;
- In most of the cases the perpetrators did not appear to belong to a criminal organization.

Contradicting the above observations, Bernd Schmidbauer, head of German Intelligence, stated in 1996 that the organization of those trafficking radioactive materials had become "better and better" [32]. Further confusing the assessment, Bruce Hoffman and David Claridge (then at St. Andrews University) wrote in 1999 that "organized crime's role in illicit nuclear traffic is in fact very difficult to discern," pointing to only 18 cases out of 477 where organized criminal involvement was probable [33]. Organized criminal involvement is quite often difficult to establish, especially when using only open sources, regardless of type of crime. It is also difficult to overcome the bias view of traditional organized crime, in which organized criminal cartels dominated the illicit drug market. Illicit trafficking in nuclear and radiological material is different. Organized criminals do not yet dominate the market, but they are a part of it.

The database designed for this study recorded the number of perpetrators reported as involved in each of the incidents. Figure 2 illustrates the dominance of smaller groups and individual actors reported at the time of interdiction.

Perpetrator Suspects
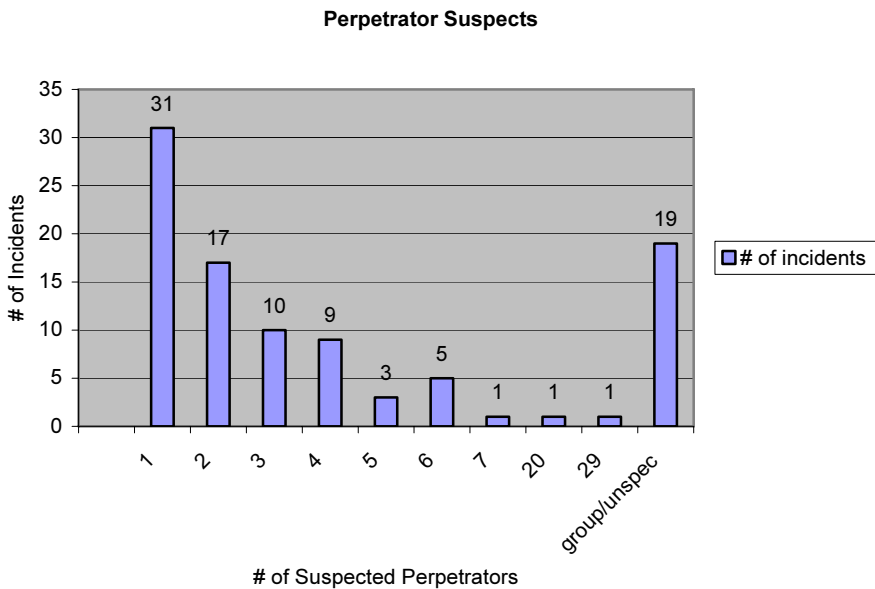
Figure 2: Number of Perpetrators Involved in Smuggling Incidents, 1999 – 2005

Note: "Perpetrator Suspects" refers to those individuals or groups indicated as directly related to the incident, usually those who were arrested in the interdiction or are suspected to be involved. The majority of these cases involve the middle-man and front-end stages of the market i.e. the thieves and the traffickers.

At first glance, this dataset would indicate that these incidents were perpetrated by unorganized, amateurish individuals with little knowledge of the material and how to move it. By this logic it is not difficult to see why they were not able to avoid detection.

A closer look at the data reveals that there were in fact between 20 and 39 incidents where four or more individuals were involved. With this basic information it is possible to speculate that these individuals either organized around the radioactive material or that they were already an organized group exploiting their access to the nuclear and radiological material. It is also possible that, in some of the cases where only one or two suspects were identified, the perpetrators had connections to organized groups. Obviously, more detailed analysis is needed to draw any conclusions.

Of the incidents covered in the database, at least 24 contained organized groups explicitly mentioned in the original reporting on the incident. These incidents were perpetrated by disparate groups of varying complexities, many engaged in additional criminal activities, or what are traditionally called organized criminal groups. Table 15 offers some examples of the groups involved.

Table 15: Examples of Involvement of (Organized) Criminals in Trafficking, 1999 - 2005

➢ On 14 November 2003, in Brno, Czech Republic, a sting operation uncovered a smuggling ring that included organized criminals and a former military officer attempting to traffic 2.88 kg of depleted uranium and 140g of natural uranium.
➢ On 28 August 2003, in Murmansk, Russia, the FSB uncovered a network of suspected weapons traffickers connected to the manager of a spent fuel facility, attempting to traffic a bundle of items amounting to 2 kg of U-235, U-235, and Ra-226, to buyers in the Baltics.
➢ On 1 July 2002, in Vilnius, Lithuania, six suspects were arrested for trafficking 1 kg of Cs-133 they had obtained from a former Soviet republic to a potential German buyer. Although Cs-133 is not radioactive, the trafficking operation was conducted as if it was.
➢ On 23 May 2002, in Poltava, Ukraine, a criminal group spanning multiple cities was arrested for attempting to traffic enriched uranium and cesium. The police identified suppliers, middlemen and foreign buyers of the materials.
➢ On 11 March 2002, in Makhtaaral, Kazakhstan, two Uzbek citizens were arrested for trafficking 1.2 kg of UO2. The suspects were in possession of heroin.
➢ On 30 January 2001, in Thessalonica, Greece, a cigarette smuggling group was suspected of trafficking 3g of plutonium.

This is only a sample of the cases of organized criminals that could possibly facilitate the transfer of material that could eventually end up in the arsenals of terrorist groups. Although organized criminal groups do not make up a majority of the incidents where information on the perpetrators is available, they constitute a significant percentage. Under the supposition that the more skilled criminals are evading detection and interdiction, the percentage of actual incidents, including successful transfers, is likely to be much higher for organized crime. If the trend in the mid-1990s was that criminal groups were not engaged in illicit nuclear trafficking, that trend no longer holds today.

It is also important to view the technical expertise of the individual perpetrators of the captured incidents. Technical expertise is broadly defined as having any of the following traits: scientific background; access or experience with the materials or the facilities associated with them; or law enforcement, military or intelligence background. The final category of background involves those individuals who are unemployed, or

who were identified as local to the area presumably without the before-mentioned technical expertise. Technical expertise is important for several reasons including the need to differentiate between actors as well as the severity of the incidents from a logistical perspective. It is also important to examine this category due to the fact that technical expertise can enhance the likelihood of materials reaching the end-users, i.e. terrorists. Figure 3 illustrates the backgrounds of individuals suspected of having a role in the trafficking incidents for which the relevant information was reported.
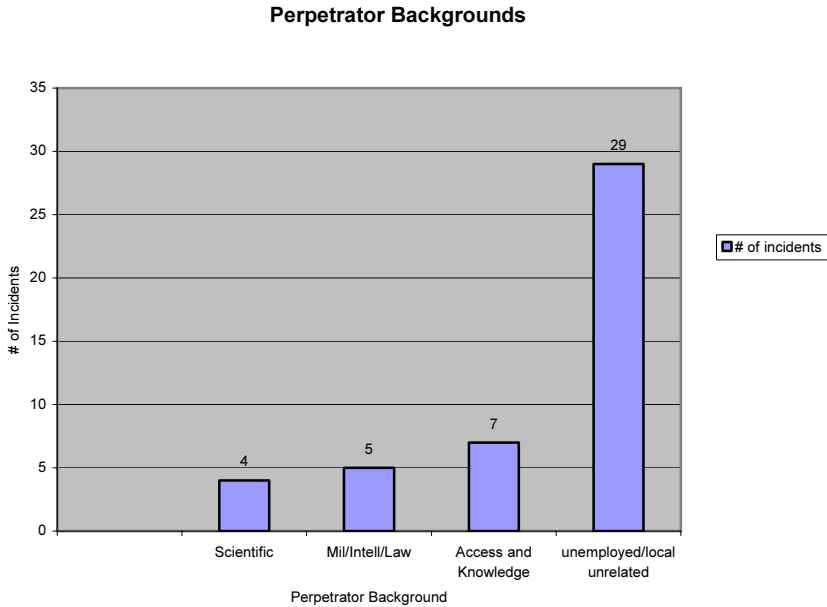
Figure 3: Background of Perpetrators in Database, 1999 - 2005
Note: these are the minimum number of incidents and more incidents are likely for all categories. Also note that this **does not** include the number of suspects with the above backgrounds, only the minimum number of incidents that contain individuals with these backgrounds.

The information presented in this graph shows that the majority of incidents (29) consisted of individuals who had no reported technical background. Included in this category were unemployed and local individuals. This information supports, although far from conclusively, the assertion that not only are local and unemployed individuals engaging in this activity, but that they are more likely to be detected.

Thirteen of the incidents involved individuals who had technical knowledge that would help their efforts in trafficking the material. Many incidents in the database, partially expressed by the "unemployed/local unrelated" category, exemplify cases where the traffickers or facilitators had little understanding of either what material they were dealing with or what to do with it. There are several instances where individuals attempt to smuggle the radioisotopes in unshielded containers, exposing themselves to radiation and detection. Others obtained material that they heard was valuable, bought the material, but then did not know what to do with it. These cases are of concern but

due to the propensity of such "amateurs" to be detected, they are of a lesser worry than incidents where technical expertise is present.

Technical expertise can facilitate the success of the trafficking operation. Access and knowledge facilitates the theft of the material.[29] Scientific background can ensure expertise in the selling or purchasing stages. Law enforcement, military and intelligence backgrounds can facilitate movement and provide expertise in connecting various criminal groups. Although there were only 13 incidents involving persons with technical expertise, this is quite significant considering that this only represents instances in which the perpetrators were apprehended and reporting exists. A successful trafficking of a significant quantity of HEU could very well have benefited from the presences of a combination of technical backgrounds.

Perceptions of Demand and Risk Calculus

Illicit profit from the trafficking of radioactive materials has contributed to the maintenance of the black market. If criminals did not perceive monetary gain from their trafficking exploits, they would forgo the significant risk of engaging in such activity. If the perception of the demand is high, the market is deemed lucrative, and the risk is calculated as acceptable, then the market is likely to continue to remain active. It is already known that al-Qa'ida is willing to pay enticing sums for such materials as al-Qa'ida operative Jamal Ahmed al-Fadl revealed that "I know people, they [are] very serious, and they want to buy it." Al-Fadl testified that al-Qa'ida was primarily concerned about the quality of the nuclear material and secondarily the price. He was instructed to pay $1.5 million for uranium, plus additional commissions for facilitators.[30]

Concerning risk factors of involvement in nuclear trafficking, 32 incidents in the database contain information regarding pending criminal prosecution. Most countries have laws in their penal codes to explicitly address illicit trafficking of radioactive materials. These penalties do not seem to be dissuasive enough to match monetary human greed. Although the data gathered cannot provide a complete picture of the various perceived market prices of radioactive materials, it does show an overwhelming perception of significant demand for these materials.

Table 16 presents a small sample of the various intended prices and actual sales.

From the data collected, it is not possible to determine black market prices for the various materials. In fact, based solely on the databases available, one could reason that there are no established prices for the various items. Regardless of the ambiguity in pricing, the selling of materials is seen as a lucrative trade by a variety of types of potential sellers.

It is important to assess the perceived demand of the market due to the absence of information relating to the end-user and buyer stages of the market. This is necessary to determine whether there continues to be an incentive for individuals to engage in risk-taking. There does not seem to be any change in the perception of the demand-side of the market by the potential traffickers from 1999-2005. The volume of illicit trafficking

---

[29] It is argued that since HEU is relatively well protected, technical expertise such as access and knowledge of storage facilities could be the determining factor in whether significant quantities of HEU will reach the market. The other areas of expertise can increase the chances of this material reaching the end-user.

[30] Based on testimony in United States District Court, Southern District of New York, United States v. Usama bin Laden *et al*. See: Kimberly McCloud and Matthew Osborne, "WMD Terrorism and Usama Bin Ladin," CNS Report, 2001 < http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/reports/binladen.htm>, accessed on 30 August 2005.

Table 16: Prices on the Nuclear Black Market

➢   On 2 September 2004 in Kiev, Ukraine, individuals attempted to sell a container of Am-241 for $2000.
➢   On 1 September 2004 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, local farmers attempted to market 60 Soviet-era smoke detectors containing insignificant quantities of Pu for $3000.
➢   On 19 July 2005 in Kirovo-Chepetsk, Russia, employees of a chemical combine were propositioned to steal 15 kg of LEU to be sold for $3,279.
➢   On 14 March 2004 in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, traffickers were looking to sell a 3g mixture of Pu isotopes for $21,000.
➢   On 14 November 2003, in Brno, Czech Republic, organized individuals attempted to sell 2.88 kg of depleted uranium and 140g of natural uranium for €600,000.
➢   On 1 September 2003, in Rzeszow, Poland, A group tried to sell 300g cans of Cs-137 for €140,000.
➢   On 31 July 2003, in Pavlodor, Kazakhstan, a group was arrested for successfully selling a small amount of Pu for $20,000.
➢   On 23 July 2003, in Primorskiy Kray, Russia, a local man was arrested for attempting to sell 3 containers of Cs-137 to an undercover officer for $1,500.
➢   On 13 Feb 2003, in Bobruysk, Belarus, a group attempted to sell 2 containers of Cs-137 for $500,000.
➢   On 10 June 2003, in Izhevsk, Russia, a truck driver was arrested possessing 2 kg of LEU. He had 300,000 rubles ($9700) in his car and was planning on selling the rest of his LEU for $50,000.
➢   On 17 January 2002, in Belarus, a group attempted to sell 1.5 kg of LEU to undercover KGB officers for $250,000.
➢   On 1 December 2001, in Balashikha, Russia, a local group tried to sell 3 kg of LEU for $450,000 but settled for the undercover officer's price of $30,000/kg (the same price listed on a website associated with al-Qa'ida).
➢   On 6 September 2001, in Nalchik, Russia, a local man intended to selling 10 g of Cs-137 for $10,000.
➢   On 6 March 2001, in Moscow, Russia, a highly organized group of middlemen with 200g of Cs-137 sold a sample of the Cs for $250,000 to undercover FSB agents. The total quantity was to be sold for $1,500,000.

is not likely to subside until this risk calculus undergoes change. Due to this fact, the market is forecasted to remain active. For a terrorist group assessing the viability of the market for exploitation, a robust market could be a motivating factor for pursuing RNW.

The Material Element of Trafficking

The second element of analysis concerns the raw ingredients for RNW. To better understand the implications of how the current state of illicit trafficking relates to the potential motivations and causes of terrorists using RNW, it is necessary to examine what exactly is being trafficked and to what extent. The human element points to a possible motivation and, indirectly, an eventual cause of terrorist acquiring and using RNWs; but without the requisite material elements, the threat could never be fully actualized.

What Makes a Workable Bomb?

Radiological Dispersal Device (RDD):

Material suitable for an RDD can come from practically any radioisotope source. Although this is true, there are certain isotopes identified in open-sources that are better suited for causing a higher level of disruption. Radioactive materials are found in a

variety of commercial sources associated with cancer treatment, industrial radiography, oil exploration, and other scientific research. Other radioactive material is found in spent nuclear fuel [34]. Most of these products are reactor or accelerator produced. According to several sources, the radioisotopes that pose the greatest security threat are shown in Table 17.

Table 17: The Nine Most Dangerous Radio Isotopes

Cobalt-60 (Co-60)
Americium-241 (Am-241);31
Cesium-137 (Cs-137)
Iradium-192 (Ir-192)
Plutonium-239 and 238 (Pu-239, Pu-238)
Strontium-90 (Sr-90)
Californium-252 (Cf-252)
Radium-226 (Ra-226)
Lead-103 (Pd-103)

Uranium is also a RDD candidate, although its actual physical damage is much less. It is a candidate due to its availability and the possibility that the terrorist group might not understand its limited physical impact. The psychological damage of an RDD regardless of its long-term effects might make uranium adequately suitable. Although there are various considerations of half-life; alpha, beta and gamma emissions, and the specific radioactivity of the various sources that are of relevance, this study will concentrate on the identity of the radioisotope due to insufficient data on the origins and radioactivity levels of the material.

Crude Nuclear Device:

The exact minimum quantity of fissile material needed for a nuclear weapon is not available in open sources. However, conservative estimates are readily available in multiple sources. Table 18 provides rough estimates of the quantities needed.

Table 18: Quantities of Nuclear Materials Required for Crude Improvised Nuclear Weapon

Plutonium (Pu-139):	7-8 kg
Plutonium Oxides (PuO2)	10 kg
Metallic Uranium (U-235)	5 kg
Highly Enriched Uranium Oxide (Uo2)	35 kg
Intermediately Enriched Uranium Oxides	around 200 kg

It is likely that a terrorist group would prefer to obtain larger quantities of nuclear materials than the stated minimums to ensure a proper reaction. A simple gun-type nuclear device consisting of HEU is probably the easiest to assemble, and would have the greatest chance of success. It would have a yield of approximately 10 kt TNT. [35]. Although uranium is considered highly enriched when its ratio of U-235 to U-238 is at least 20 percent, enrichment levels of over 80 percent are regarded as more conducive to success for a crude nuclear device.

---

[31] Americium is, like neptunium-237, also useable to create nuclear explosions. The same is true for thalium.

What Material is Being Trafficked?

After looking at the significance of the human element of illicit trafficking, it is appropriate to examine just what materials are being transferred. Since an improvised or crude nuclear device has the greatest appeal and thus destructive power for terrorists, it will be viewed first. The data in this section attempts to not only show the quantity of material being trafficked, but also trends over time.

HEU and Pu:

The materials of most concern for a terrorist-constructed nuclear devise are highly enriched uranium and plutonium-239. The database contained only 5 instances of HEU trafficking from 1999-2005, occurring in France, Portugal, Turkey and Georgia.

HEU incidents were of little concern in terms of the quantities involved. This is not to say that the presence of HEU in illicit trafficking is not there, only that in the volume and quantities involved it does not show an active market. It is known from other sources that significant quantities of HEU have been trafficked. For example, in 2000, 3.7 kg of 21% enriched HEU was seized at the Electrostal Production Association outside of Moscow, Russia.[32] In December of 1998, there was an attempt to steal 18.5 kg of HEU in Chelyabinsk, Russia. Most of the other major HEU incidents appeared in the early to mid-1900s, and are presented in Table 19 by way of historic comparison with more recent incidents.

Table 19: Major Incidents of Nuclear Theft, Smuggling and Trafficking

- 1. 5 kg of HEU enriched to 90% was diverted between May and September 1992 in Podolsk, Russia by a chemical engineer at the Luch Scientific Production Association. Police seized it at the train station on 9 Oct. 1992.

On 29 July 1993, 1.8 kg of HEU enriched to 36% in the form of two fuel rods was stolen at the northern fleet's naval base storage facility Andreeva Guba in the Murmansk region by two Russian naval enlisted personnel.

- 4. 5 kg of HEU enriched 20% was stolen on 27 Nov. 1993 in the Sevmorput Shipyard (Northern Fleet), Rosta District, Murmansk by two naval officers.

- In March 1994 Russian police arrested three men in St. Petersburg, Russia for trying to sell 2,972 kg of 90% enriched uranium stolen from the Electrostal Production Association in Moscow.

- On 14 December 1994, 2.73 kg of 86.7 % HEU was seized by police in Prague. It originated probably from the Russian Institute of Physics and Power Engineering in Obninsk. 3 persons--the Russian trader, a Czech physicist, and a citizen of Belarus--were arrested.

- 6 kg of 20% enriched uranium was seized by Ukrainian authorities in March 1995.

- In December 2001, 2 kg of HEU last counted by an inspection team in 1992 was found missing in December 1997 by a Russian inspection team to the I.V. Vekua Physics and Technology Institute in Sukhumi, Georgia.

- On April 19, 2000, four persons were arrested in Batumi, Georgia, for unauthorized possession of 920 grams of HEU fuel pellets of unknown source en route from Russia to Turkey [33].

---

[32] See Table 16.

[33] Sources: Status Report on Nuclear Weapons, Fissile Material, and Export Controls. Nuclear Successor States of the Soviet Union. A Cooperative Project of the Monterey Institute of International Studies and the

The database contains ten incidents of illicit trafficking of plutonium from eight countries illustrated in Figure 4.
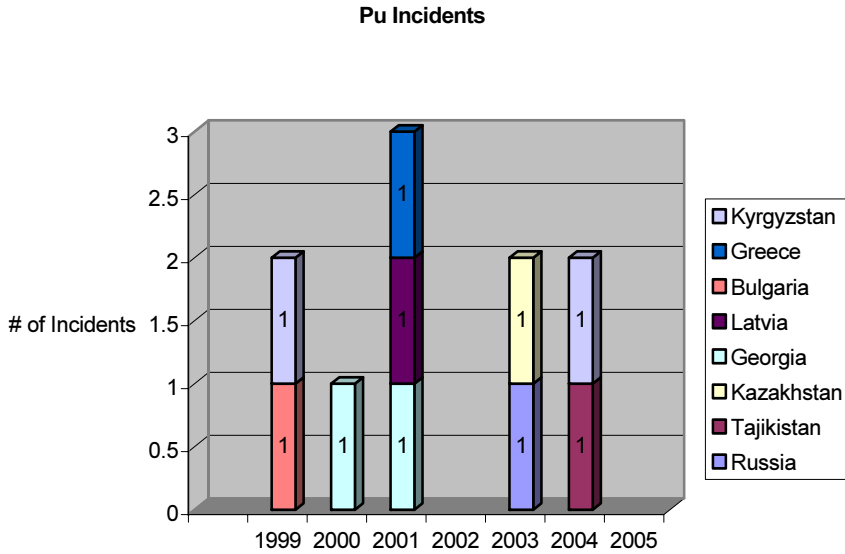
Pu Incidents

Figure 4: Plutonium Incidents, 1999 – 2005

None of these incidents involved significant quantities of Pu-239 as most were under 50g. It seems that significant quantities of Pu-239 are either not being seized and/or reported, or that traffickers are not able to gain access to the material. The other possibility is that the quantities seized might only be samples pointing to the possession of larger quantities. There are no significant historical examples of plutonium being trafficked prior to 1999.

From the data analyzed here, significant quantities of HEU and Pu are not currently available on the illicit trafficking market. Since this data only covers incidents of interdiction, there is always the possibility that successful transfers of HEU have occurred, but there is no verifiable evidence available. In relation to the trends of the market as a whole, including the before mentioned human elements, it is quite possible that since traffickers appear to be increasingly organized and that technical expertise is present, successful trafficking of significant quantities of HEU in the future may become a reality.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Washington, D.C., March 1998. (Number 4), pp.105-110; F. Steinhaeusler and L. Zaitseva. Illicit Trafficking in Nuclear and Other Radioactive Materials, with a focus on nuclear and radiological terrorism. Paper prepared for Courmayeur, ISPAC Conference, 6-8 December 2002, pp.4-5; US General Accounting Office. Nuclear Nonproliferation. U.S. Efforts to Help Other Countries Combat Nuclear Smuggling Need Strengthened Coordination and Planning. Washington, D.C., GAO, May 2002, pp. 33-39; Robert Hutchinson. The struggle for control of radioactive sources. Jane's Intelligence Review, 1 April 2003, at < www. Janes.com>., p. 2; Trafficking of nuclear material: significant incidents. In *Christian Science Monitor*, 4 Dec. 2001.

RDD Radioisotopes:

The overwhelming majority of incidents involved radioactive materials that are either of high security interest for employment in a RDD or were substances such as LEU that would not be as effective in terms of damage but might be used regardless.

Cesium-137 was the radioisotope most trafficked in the dataset. This is a trend consistent with the findings based on the Salzburg and IAEA databases. In our database there were a recorded 44 incidents of Cs-137 in 14 countries (see Figure 5).
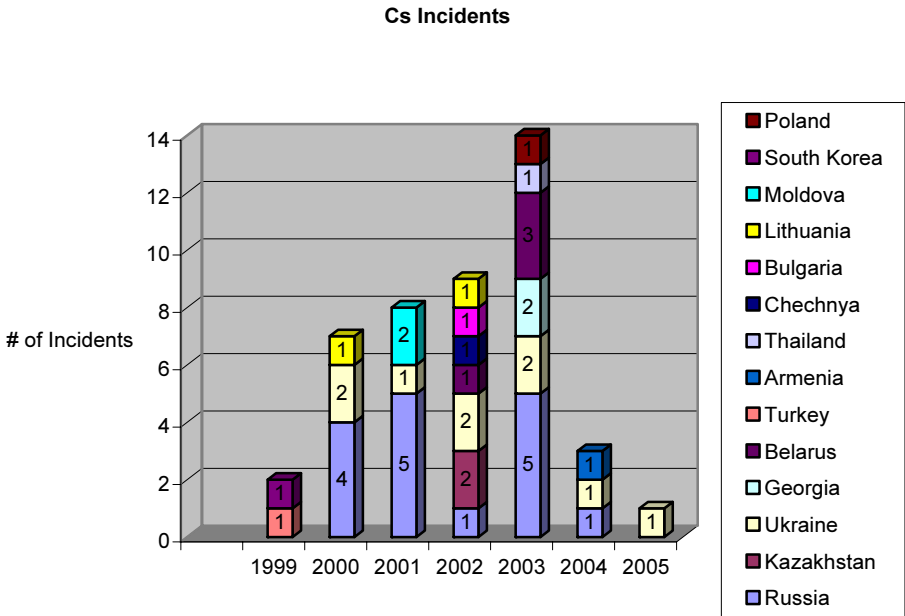
Figure 5: Cesium-related incidents, 1999 – 2005

Another category analyzed was incidents in which the material was identified as a radioisotope, but no specification was included. Twenty-four such incidents occurred in 9 countries. These incidents should be regarded with the same concern as the Cs-137 cases.

Other radioisotopes present included

> ➤ 10 incidents of Sr-90
> ➤ 6 incidents of Am-241
> ➤ 6 incidents of depleted uranium
> ➤ 4 incidents of Ra-226
> ➤ 3 incidents of Co-60

LEU, although less significant in terms of potential physical damage, was significantly trafficked from 1999 to March 2005 with 28 incidents in 12 countries.

Although it is not clear whether a terrorist group would prefer to obtain radioactive material for use in a RDD through an illicit trafficking channel due to the abundance of radioisotope sources in most countries, it might be a more attractive option than the theft of contaminated metals found in unguarded waste depots of the former Soviet Union such as those existing in Kyrgyzstan. If a terrorist group wishes to obtain radioactive sources for a RDD from the illicit trafficking black market, there seems to be a large selection of radioisotope categories as well as countries from which to access the market. Due to the technical simplicity of constructing a RDD, it is probable that a group such as al-Qa'ida would have little problem accessing this market and carrying out a successful RDD attack.

Conclusions

The data analyzed for this study focuses on several key elements of illicit trafficking that could facilitate the procurement of the raw materials necessary for nuclear and radiological weapons.

Here are our main findings:

Table 20: Some Tentative Conclusions on the Basis of Smuggling Incidents, 1999 – 2005

The Human Element:
1. Organization:
     Incidents show a continued mixture of organized and non-organized trafficking.
     Organized groups are present and increasingly prevalent.
2. Technical Expertise:
     A significant number of incidents occurred where technical expertise was present.
3. Perceived Demand:
     The perceived demand remains alarmingly high.
     Perceived prices are alarmingly high.
     Perceived risks are still acceptable.
     The market remains active.

The Material Element
1. Volume of Incidents and Location
     Still a rampant problem with 156 incidents in 51 countries
2. Nuclear:
     On the basis of the number of known incidents of HEU and Pu, the quantities involved are insufficient for production of an IND
3. Radiological
     High volume of likely RDD materials
     Significant risk of terrorist groups procuring radioisotopes via illicit trafficking

Al-Qa'ida, and to a lesser extent Chechen terrorist groups, have been attempting to acquire materials for nuclear and radiological weapons for over a decade with the only documented successes relating to RDD candidate materials. If al-Qa'ida is analyzing the current market for access to nuclear materials, it is likely to draw two conclusions:

1) The first is that there does not seem to be available HEU for use in an IND. This conclusion would be a disincentive for engaging in a resource-draining program to acquire a nuclear weapon.

2) However, the second conclusion would be that the overall market remains active with the potential for the right mixture of organized criminals with technical expertise to access and successfully traffic HEU. This might be enough of an incentive for a terrorist group such as al-Qa'ida to continue to be motivated to seek and acquire nuclear weapons.

As for the motivations for engaging in a RDD attack, the illicit trafficking market provides the missing link and thus the final incentive to procure and use radiological weapon for groups that have calculated its utility and passed the other motivational tests.

Any Signs of Improvement?

To end this survey on a more positive note, here is some good news: A majority of incidents included in the dataset contain information on the mode of interdiction or detection of the illicit activity. There has been a significant increase in the number of trafficking incidents detected through customs, trafficking checkpoints, and radiation detection equipment upgrades from various international initiatives (see Figure 6). This is a possible sign that the market can be influenced and disrupted with concerted international cooperation and a focused approach. [34]

Postscript: The Response of the United Nations

In the postscript of this paper, we briefly turn to the response of the United Nations as exemplified in Security Council Resolution 1540 and the revised Convention for the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials (1980, 2005) and the new Convention against Nuclear Terrorism (2005).

The problem of reducing the access of material and human resources requires a comprehensive set of initiatives, involving the cooperation of all states. Programs such as the US Nuclear Threat Reduction and the IAEA Action Plan against Nuclear Terrorism are essential for countering the threat of nuclear terrorism. The United Nations has also stepped in to support ongoing multilateral initiatives.

---

[34] However, for reasons of convenience existing detection equipment is not always used. At the Vienna airport of Schwechat, for instance, the custom authorities have a detector monitoring radiation. Since the detector goes on alarm each time a person receiving medical treatment with radioactive iodine passes through (among the 14.8 million passengers in 2004 not a small number) the airport authorities are reluctant to use this equipment. – Franz Resperger. "Dirty bombs – no checks". *Der Kurier*, 5 September 2005, as quoted in BBC Monitoring European BBC, 6 Sept, 2005, 13: 27 GMT.

Interdiction/Detection of Trafficking
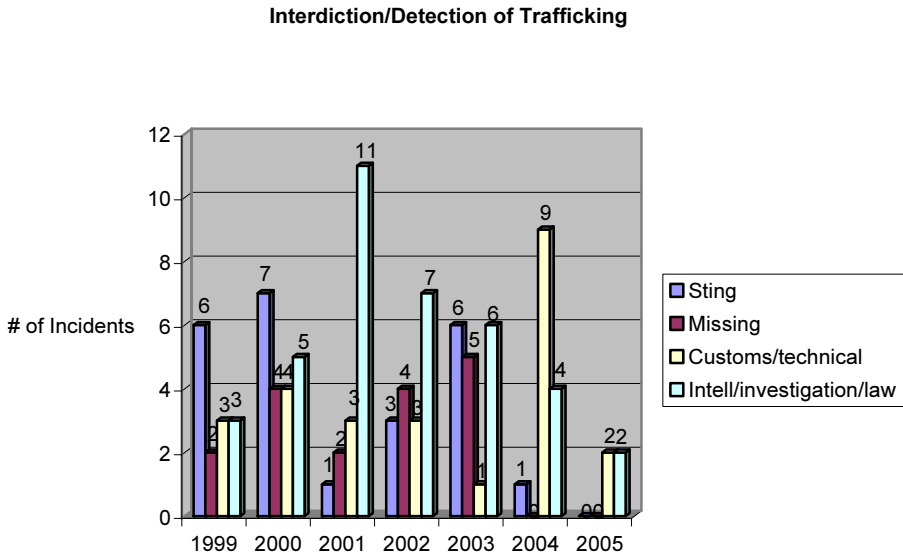
Figure 6: Interdiction/ Detection of Trafficking of R & N Materials

After the revelations of the A.Q. Khan proliferation network surfaced, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1540 on 28 April 2004. The Resolution affectively requires all States to "refrain from providing any form of support to non-State actors that attempt to develop, acquire, manufacture, possess, transport, transfer or use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and their means of delivery," and to "adopt and enforce appropriate effective laws which prohibit any non-State actor to manufacture, acquire, possess, develop, transport, transfer or use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and their means of delivery, in particular for terrorist purposes." This was an important step towards internationalizing the prevention of nuclear and radiological terrorism. The resolution also calls for States to submit reports on progress implementing 1540, thus ensuring that progress continues and the international effort can be systematically evaluated.

Addressing the physical protection of nuclear materials and facilities is a difficult but essential task for the international community. Recently the Convention for the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (1979) was amended in July 2005 to protect not only against nuclear material in international transport, but also against the sabotage of nuclear facilities. The Terrorism Prevention Branch of the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime is actively involved in promoting this convention and ensuring that States have the proper national legislation to effectively implement this treaty and respond to related criminal activities.

The United Nations also facilitated the negotiation of the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, which opened for signature on 14 September 2005. This Convention contributes to the development of a legal framework to criminalize nuclear terrorism-related offenses, investigate alleged offenses, and

arrest, prosecute, or extradite offenders. It also calls for cooperation concerning nuclear terrorism investigations, prosecutions, information sharing, extradition and the transfer of detainees.

The challenge is to move all Member States to implement the terms of Security Council resolution 1540 and the two conventions fully and universally. To assist Member States in the ratification and implementation of the conventions and protocols related to the prevention and suppression of international terrorism is the core activity of the United Nations Terrorism Prevention Branch in Vienna.

In a world where the total amount of plutonium created in nuclear reactors is increasing by 70 tons each year and where there are already 1,830 tons of plutonium in 35 countries to protect – which are good for 225,000 nuclear bombs (there are also 1,900 tons of uranium in more than 50 countries – good for over 75,000 bombs) – utmost vigilance is needed. If only one or two of these 300,000 potential atomic bombs get into the hands of the terrorists, the world will never be the same again.[35]

References

1. Bruce Hoffman et al.. What Can the Past Tell Us About the Future? Paper delivered at the 29-30 April 1999 conference "The 'New Terrorism'. Does it Exist? How Real Are the Risks of Mass Casualty Attacks?", at http://www.cbaci.org/Newterrorism.htm, consulted on 1 March 2001, p.4.
2. US Central Intelligence Agency. Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue About the Future With Non-government Experts. Langley, Virginia, CIA, December 2000, pp. 30-35.
3. Brian Jenkins. 'Future Trends in International Terrorism', in: Robert O.Slater and Michael Stohl (Eds.) Current Perspectives on International Terrorism. London, Macmillan, 1988, p. 254
4. Chris Quillen. Mass Casualty Bombings Chronology. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* Vol. 25, No. 5, 2002, pp. 293-302;
5. Wm. Robert Johnston, at http://www.johnstonarchive.net/terrorism/wrjp255i.html; and files of Alex P. Schmid.
6. A. P. Schmid. Nuclear Terrorism: How Real is the Threat? Keynote Address to International Conference held in Stockholm, Sweden, 7-11 May 2001. Proceedings published by IAEA as Measures to Prevent, Intercept and Respond to Illicit Uses of Nuclear Material and Radioactive Sources. Vienna, IAEA, 2002, p. 16.
7. John Gleeson. Managing the Dirty Bomb Threat. British American Security Information Council. Basic Papers. Occasional Papers on International Security Policy, February 2005, Number 47, pp. 1-2, as reproduced on < http://www.basicint.org/pubs/Papers/BP47.htm >, as consulted on 25 August 2005.
8 A.P. Schmid. Root Causes of Terrorism: Some Conceptual Notes, a Set of Indicators, and a Model. Paper prepared for Club de Madrid Working Group on Economic Explanations of Terrorism. March 2005
9. A.P. Schmid. Root Causes of Terrorism: Some Methodological and Theoretical Observations, Empirical Findings and Four Inventories of Root Causes. Washington, National Policy Forum, 6-7 September 2005.
10. Nadine Gurr and Benjamin Cole. The New Face of Terrorism. Threats from Weapons of Mass Destruction. London, I.B. Tauris, 2000, p.7.
11. N. Livingstone, Megadeath: Radioactive Terrorism. In Yonah Alexander and Charles K. Ebinger (Eds.). Political Terrorism and Energy. The Threat and Response. New York, Praeger, 1982, p.174.
12. Gilmore Report. First Annual Report to the President and the Congress of the Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction. Washington, D.C., 15 December 1999, pp. 9-11.
13. Jonathan B. Tucker (Ed.) Toxic Terror. Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 2000.
14. Roberta Wohlstetter, 'Terror on a Grand Scale'. *Survival*, XVIII/ No.3 (May-June 1976), p.98.
15. Andrew and Leslie Cockburn. One Point Safe. New York, Anchor Books, 1997, pp. 101, 55.

---

[35] "Theft of nuclear stockpiles could create catastrophe". *The Hindustan Times*, citing *The New Scientist*, which bases itself on an updated global nuclear inventory, published by the Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS), a Washington Think Tank.

16. Terrorism Prevention Branch. Database on Significant Nuclear and Radiological Incidents, Events, Threats and Hoaxes. Vienna, TPB, 2001, p.15.

17. Gilmore Report. First Annual Report to the President and the Congress of the Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction. Washington, 15 December 1999, p. 19.

18. *A.P. Schmid. Terrorism and Media. Vienna, U****NOV, Oct. 2003 (Unpubl. Paper);***

19. Daniel S. Gressand IV. Audience and Message: Assessing Terrorist WMD Potential. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* Vol. 13, No. 3 (Autumn 2001) pp. 83-116.

20. D. Gartenstein-Ross, "The Peculiar Alliance", *The Daily Standard*, 1 September 2005.

21. "The Story of the Arab Afghans From the Time of Arrival in Afghanistan Until Their Departure With the Taliban, Part 2," *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, 9 December 2004.

22. Karl Heinz Kamp. The Risk of Nuclear Terrorism is Overstated. In : Jennifer A. Hurley (Ed.). Weapons of Mass Destruction. Opposing Viewpoints. San Diego, Cal., Greenhaven Press. 1999, p. 37.

23. Dennis Pluchinsky et al. The Classic Politically-motivated Non-State Groups. Paper delivered on 29-30 April 1999 at a conference on "The 'New Terrorism': Does it Exist? How Real Are the Risks of Mass Casualty Attacks?, at http://www.cbaci.org/Newterrorism.htm, consulted on 1 March 2001, p. 6.

24. Angus M. Muir. Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Case of Aum Shinrikyo. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 22: 79-91, 1999.

25. Fernando Reinares, "Es el Terrorismo International Como Nos lo Imaginabamos?: Un Estudia Empirico Sobre la Yihad Neosalafista Global en 2004," DT No. 33/2005, 11 July 2005, <www.realinstitutoelcano.org/documentos/207.asp>.

26. S. Gorka. Al-Qa'ida's weapons of mass destruction. *Jane's Terrorism & Security Monitor,* 13 September 2002, p. 1.

27. The Story of the Arab Afghans From the Time of Arrival in Afghanistan until Their Departure With the Taliban, Part 2," Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 9 December 2004.

28. Reuven Paz, "YES to WMD: The first Islamist *Fatwah* on the use of Weapons of Mass Destruction," PRISM Series of Special Dispatches on Global Jihad, No. 1, http://www.e-prism.org/images/PRISM%20Special%20dispatch%20no%201.doc, accessed on 10 August 2005.

29. "Chapter 3 Case Study: Al-Qaida in Afghanistan," Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction, 31 March 2005.

30. Lyudmila Zaitseva and Friedrich Steinhaeusler, "Illicit Trafficking of Nuclear and Other Radioactive Material: The 'Net' Security Threat," Paper presented at the NSEC Conference, Salzburg, Austria, July 2005.

31. Carol Fortin. Interpol and Terrorism. In: Alex P. Schmid (Ed.) Countering Terrorism through International Cooperation. Milan, ISPAC, 2001, p.239.

32. B.Schmidbauerininterview; repr. In http://www.pbs/org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/nukes/interview/,consulted on 11/19/02.

33. Bruce Hoffman and David Claridge. Illicit Trafficking in Nuclear Materials. *Conflict Studies* 314/315., January/February 1999, p.17.

34. Charles D. Ferguson and William C. Potter. The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism. Monterey, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, 2004, p. 260.

35. Steinhausler, Friedrich. What it takes to become a nuclear terrorist*, American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 46, No. 6, February 2003, pp. 782-795.

Appendix I: Chechen Interest in Radiological and Nuclear Materials

1993, March / Chechnya / R/N: Chechens were reported to have obtained enriched Uranium from Kazakhstan and from Russian Army deports.

1994 / Russian Federation / Chechnya / N: Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev reportedly warned the US government in the summer of 1994 that it had two tactical nuclear weapons and that he would transfer them to Libya if the United States did not recognise Chechnya's independence. The USA allegedly sent, with Russian Federation acquiescence, a team to inspect the weapons, which, however, did not exist (Andrew Cockburn and Leslie Cockburn. One Point Safe. Washington, D.C. Doubleday, 1997, pp. 101-103; cit. Scott Parrish, op. cit, p.10).

1995, November 23 / Russian Federation / Chechnya / R: Chechen separatists were reported to have placed a 30-pound container of radioactive Cs-137 near the entrance of Moscow's Izmailov Park as a demonstration of their capabilities. Shamil Basayev tipped off NTV television reporters as to where to find the radioactive package under the snow. It allegedly emitted 300 times the normal background radiation. The idea behind this incident was, apparently to show the Chechen's ability to strike at the heart of Russian Federation. The material has possibly been stolen from the Budyonnovsk hospital, which Chechens had temporarily occupied in the spring of 1995. Shamil Basayev and other Chechen commanders also threatened to attack Russian nuclear power plants. Earlier S. Basayev had explicitly denied having nuclear weapons in a July 1995 interview with the Moscow daily *Segodnya*. The Izmailov incident remains contested (Rensselaer W. Lee, 'Smuggling Armageddon', New York, 1998, p. 135/136).

1995, November 29/ Russian Federation/R: Russian security officials have recovered four containers with radioactive cesium, stolen from an industrial plant in the Urals and arrested the thieves, according to press reports. Federal Security Service (FSB) officers found the 90 Kg containers in a shaft of an old mine, the ITAR-Tass news agency reported. One of the alleged thieves, the Bakal mining plant's electrical engineer, had initially kept them at his vegetable garden but moved them to a safer place after the theft had been discovered, claimed security officials. Two officials of a local penitentiary were his accomplices, they further alleged. Each container held a capsule with Cesium-137, a radioactive isotope used in geological research, as well as in medicine. The containers were similar to the one allegedly planted by Chechen rebels in a Moscow park (http://www.fas.org/irp/cia/product/go_appendixa_032796.html).

1995-1996 / Chechnya: Chechens had developed a detailed plan to hijack a Russian nuclear submarine from the Navy's Pacific Fleet with the help of a former commander on Russian submarines (M. Bunn, Anthony Wier, John P. Holdren, op. cit., pp 219-219).

1998 / Chechnya: A container emitting strong radioactivity attached to an explosive device was discovered near a rail line near the town of Argun in Chechnya. It was reportedly rigged with landmines – apparently a foiled act of sabotage by Chechen militants. (ITAR-TASS, 29 Dec. 1998. Cit. F Steinhaeussler and L Zaitseva. Illicit Trafficking in Nuclear and other Radioactive Materials, with a focus on nuclear and

radiological terrorism. Paper prepared for Courmayeur, ISPAC Conference, 6-8 December 2002, p.8; Le Tiemps, 30 Dec. 1998)

1999, June 28 / Chechnya / N/R: A British journalist reported that a Chechen mafia salesman offered him plutonium (The Express, London, June 28, 1999, IAEA Daily Press Review, June 29, 1999).

1999, October 13 / Russian Federation / N: Russian officials warned that Chechen terrorists were planning to attack Russian nuclear facilities. (CNN, Oct. 13, 1999) The Chechen rebel leader Basayev told AFP on Oct. 12, 1999, that he was prepared to launch a terrorist campaign inside Russian Federation (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Oct. 12, 1999).

2002, July 19 / Rostov Oblast, Russian Federation / R: A 19 July 2002 article in *The Guardian*, citing an anonymous US official, reported that Chechen rebels stole radioactive and nuclear materials from the Volgodonsk Nuclear Power Plant (NPP) in Rostov Oblast, Russia. The official claimed that the theft occurred within the last 12 months and the list of stolen materials allegedly included cesium, strontium, low-enriched uranium, and possibly plutonium. The same US official said that the theft was reported by Russian officials to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which in turn informed the US Department of Energy about the incident. IAEA, Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy, and Volgodonsk NPP officials deny the theft, however (The Guardian, http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe).

2002-2003 / Russian Federation / N: On 22 June 2005, Russia's Defence Ministry official Colonel-General Igor Valynkin stated that Russia has foiled two separate attempts to break into nuclear weapons installations. The two attempts were made in 2002 and 2003. The perpetrators were arrested and handed over to security services (Reuters, 22 June 2005).

Source: The Table was compiled from material collected by Alex Schmid prior to his assignment to the United Nations and was updated with the help of interns while at the TPB.

Appendix II: Al-Qa'ida Interest in Nuclear and Radiological Materials

Table was compiled primarily from material available on the Center for Nonproliferation website, < http://www.cns.miis.edu/pubs/other/sjm_cht.htm>

1997 – 1998	*(Afghanistan, former Soviet Union, Central Asia, Eastern Europe)*	Following various reports and allegations of about OBLs interest in nuclear weapons, intelligence agencies started to investigate links between terrorist groups and opium trade in Afghanistan that might have been used for funding. Arab security sources claimed that in 2000 OBL attempted to purchase enriched Uranium in several Eastern European countries. These efforts were reportedly not successful and were costly to the organization. It seemed to remain unclear whether OBL's main interest is in radiological material or more in ready-made weapons. The intelligence agency of an unnamed European country reportedly intercepted a shipment of approx. 20 nuclear warheads intended for OBL and the Taliban, originated from Kazakhstan, Russia, Turkmenistan and the Ukraine. [The Observer, London, 29.11.1998 and www.asharqalawsat.com, 24.12.2000]
1998 September 25	*Munich, Germany*	Bin Laden's aide Mamdouh Mahmud Salim was arrested in Munich and charged of obtaining nuclear material on behalf of OBL. In particular, he attempted to obtain HEU in the mid-1990s. [New York Times, 26.12.1998 and 19.10.2000]
1998 August 16	*Kazakhstan/ Israel*	According to the Israeli military Intelligence, OBL paid over two million British Pounds to a middle man in Kazakhstan, who promised to deliver a 'suitcase bomb'. Israel sent a cabinet member to Kazakhstan to persuade their government of preventive measures in this area. [Times, London, 16.8.1998]
1998 October 6	*London, UK*	Al-Hayat, a London-based, Saudi-owned newspaper declared that OBL had obtained nuclear weapons. [Times, London, 16.10.1998 and Al Hayat, Abu Dhabi]
1998 November 13	*(Central Asia, former Soviet Union)*	Arabic newsmagazine Al-Watan Al-Arabi subsequently reported about a comprehensive plan of OBL to acquire nuclear weapons. According to various (official and non-official) sources the paper claimed that OBL forged ties with organized crimes in the former Soviet Union (Caucasus, Central Asia), and especially in Chechnya. It was said that OBL purchased nuclear warheads in the Ukraine for 30 million $ and two tons of opium. The warheads are said to be transformed into smaller bombs by OBL's 'own team of scientists'. Also other sources claim that it was 'no longer a doubt' that OBL has nuclear weapons. Supposedly, he gave up acquiring weapon-grade Uranium in favor of ready-made warheads and bombs – continuing attempts to obtain and trafficking of Uranium is seen as a 'distraction' to confuse authorities. [www.muslimmag.org, Winter 1998; Al-Watan Al-Arabi, 13.11.1998; Interfax Russian News, 27.10.1998 and Al-Watan Al-Arabi, 5.3.1999]
1998 December 24	*(Time Magazine)*	In an interview with the magazine, OBL called that acquiring weapons of any type was a Muslim 'religious duty'. Al-Watan Al-Arabi claimed that OBL's scientific team comprised of Turkmeni nationals and a former employee of an Iraqi nuclear reactor. In addition, it was said that OBL hired over a hundred nuclear scientists and built his own reactor. [www.muslimmag.org, Winter 1998; Al-Watan Al-Arabi, 13.11.1998; The Scotsman, 4.1.1999 and www.abcnews.com, 24.12.1998]

2001 September 23	*(Russian Federation, Pakistan)*	It was reported that Russian intelligence blocked a 1998 deal in which a Pakistani company controlled by OBL attempted to purchase Soviet-originated Uranium. [Radio Free Europe/ Radio Library – n. d.]
2001 October 14	*(China)*	A Bulgarian businessman, Ivan Ivanov, claimed that OBL approached him as a possible supplier of radioactive material. During a meeting last April just over the Pakistani border in China, OBL and Ivanov discussed setting up an environmental company to buy nuclear waste. The day after, Ivanov was approached by a Pakistani chemical engineer who said he was interested in buying nuclear fuel rods from the Bulgarian Kozlodui reactor. He was offered $200,000 to set up an environmental front company to do so. Ivanov's story was backed-up by Bulgaria's former defence minister, Velizar Shalamanov. [www.dawn.com, 10.11.2001]
2001 November 12	*(Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan)*	Two former Pakistani nuclear scientists, Sultan Bashir-ud-Din Mehmood and Abdul Majid, acknowledged that they had met with OBL and Mullah Omar three times during the past year. However, Pakistani officials state that Mehmood did not possess all the knowledge necessary to build a weapon, since he did not work specifically on weapon construction. Mehmood was a staunch supporter of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and openly advocated large-scale development of weapons-grade material to assist other Islamic countries in building nuclear weapons. He paid frequent visits to Kandahar, where he met with OBL. In December of 2001 during questioning, the two admitted to sharing NBC- weapons information with OBL. During this meeting, OBL told them about radiological material given to him by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and asked them how he could make a weapon out of it. They apparently told him the material would be insufficient for use as a weapon. OBL was also interested in having these scientists find other Pakistani nuclear scientists who were more familiar with actually building nuclear weapons. [Daily Telegraph, London, 13.12.2001 and Washington Post Foreign Service, 3.4.2002]
2001 November 14		Reports surfaced in Pakistan that al-Qa'ida had acquired a Russian-made 'suitcase bomb' from Central Asian sources, weighting 8 kg and to possess at least 2 kg of fissionable uranium and plutonium. The report said the device, with a manufacturing date of October 1998, could be set off by a mobile phone signal. [Daily Telegraph, Sydney, 14.11.2001]
2001 November 25		The U.K. Defense Minister stated that he knew with certainty that OBL has radioactive material that could be used in an atomic bomb – however, he does not have the technical know-how. A French expert agreed and stated that the Italian anti-organized crime office, GICO, had discovered that OBL attained seven enriched Uranium rods from mafia connections. These rods, and containing 40 g of 80% enriched U-235 and 150 g of 20 % enriched U-138, were originally produced in San Diego in 1971. The rods were then transported to a U.S. military base near Kinshasa, Zaire. In 1997, directly after the collapse of Mobuto Sese-Seko, the 8 original rods disappeared from the reactor and fell into the hands of the Italian mafia. One rod was bought by an Italian undercover-agent. Then, in a mafia meeting between some heads of the Italian and Russian mafia, monitored by the Spanish police, officials learned that Mogilevich had purchased the rods on behalf of al-Qa'ida. Last October, western intelligence agencies monitored a meeting between Mogilevich and high-ranking al-Qa'ida members in Northern Afghanistan during which Mogilevich is

		believed to have supplied the nuclear material and other technological equipment to al-Qa'ida, which might be enough to manufacture RDDs. [Al-Majallah, London, 25.11.2001]
2001	*Afghanistan*	A so-called "Superbomb" manual, which discusses the advanced physics of nuclear weapons and dirty bombs, is found in Kabul in November 2001.
2002 January 31	*Afghanistan*	Numerous reports following President Bush's State of the Union speech have described that diagrams of US nuclear power plants have been found in Afghanistan. [Washington Times, 31.1.2002 and Associated Press, 30.1.2002]
2002 February 26		U.S. officials believe that al-Qa'ida was tricked into buying metal containers with phony nuclear symbols on them filled with worthless material. The containers had been dipped in medical waste to fool Geiger Counters, the report said. [New York Times, 26.2.2002]
2002 23 April	*United States*	Captured OBL aide, Abu Zubaydeh has told interrogators that al-Qa'ida is interested in building and has the know-how to build a RDD. He also stated that they knew how to smuggle such a device into the U.S. U.S. officials remain skeptical of the credibility of Zubaydeh's statements. [www.bbc.co.uk, 23.4.2002 and www.cnn.com, 22.4.2002]
2002	*Russia*	Al-Qa`ida allegedly attempts to acquire 11 lbs of radioactive thallium from measuring devices on decommissioned Russian submarines, but Russia's Federal Security Service claims to have blocked the attempt.
2002	*Luxemburg*	On 23 January 2005, German police announced the arrest of an Iraqi al-Qa'ida member who had allegedly attempted to purchase uranium in Luxembourg. In September 2002, Ibrahim Muhammad K. attempted to purchase 48 grams (1.5) ounces of uranium from an unnamed group in Luxembourg. Prosecutors claim that the amount of uranium was insufficient for the construction of a nuclear device.
2002-2003	*United States*	On 20 March 2003, the FBI announced that they were searching for Adnan al- Shukrijuma in connection with the Jose Padilla case. Padilla was arrested May 2002 for plotting to obtain materials in Canada for a dirty bomb. Shukrijuma was identified from documents obtained in connection with the 2002 arrest of Ramzi bin al-Shib, a key 9/11 architect.
2004	*Afghanistan*	Reports indicate that an al-Qa'ida affiliate named Midhat Mursi may have been constructing a "dirty bomb" in early 2004. Mursi is reportedly in contact with Ayman al-Zawahiri and was suspected of managing al-Qa'ida chemical labs in Afghanistan. Mursi allegedly uses the name "Abu Khabab". [Muhammad Wajdi Qandyl, "Searching for Weapons of Mass Destruction and Al-Qa'ida," Al-Akhbar (Cairo), 18 January 2004.]

Appendix 3: Graphs of Various Recorded Materials Trafficked

HEU Incidents

Unspecified Radioisotopes
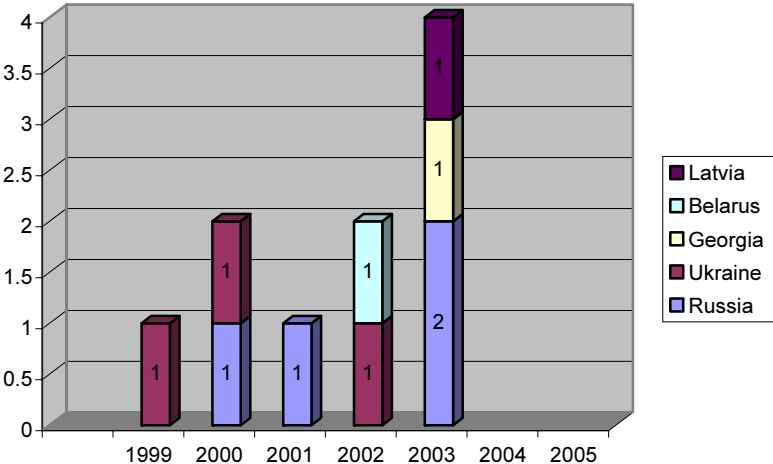
Sr Incidents

Am Incidents
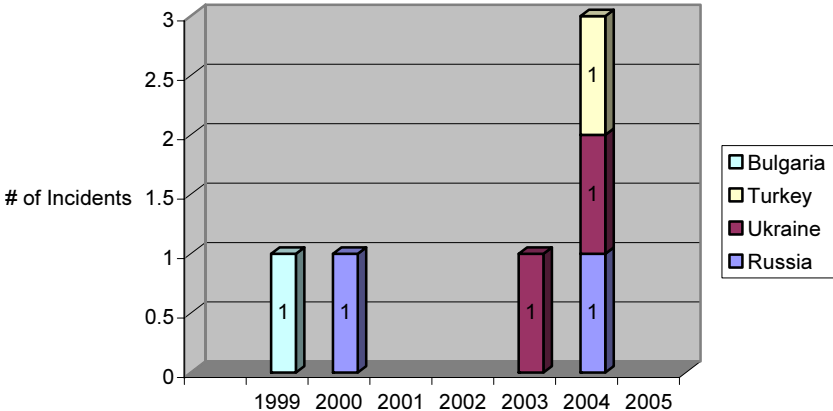
Ra Incidents
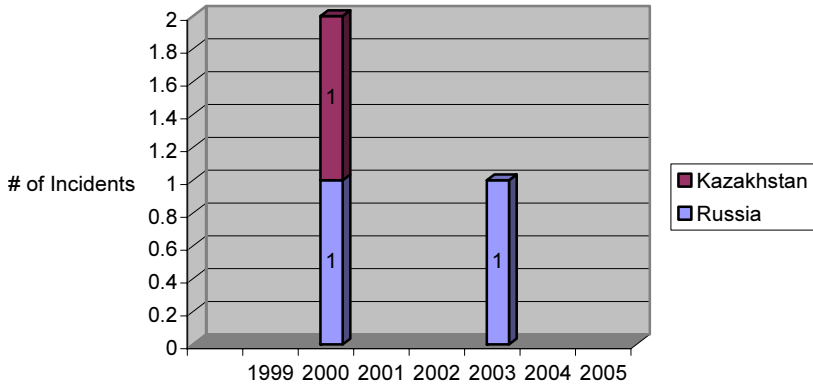
Co Incidents
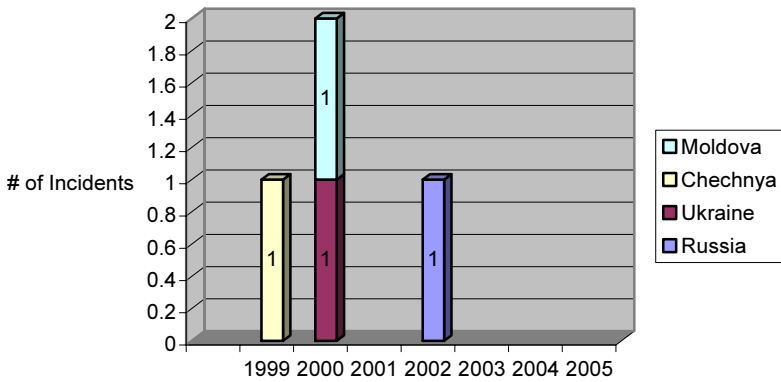
LEU/Unspecified Uranium Incidents
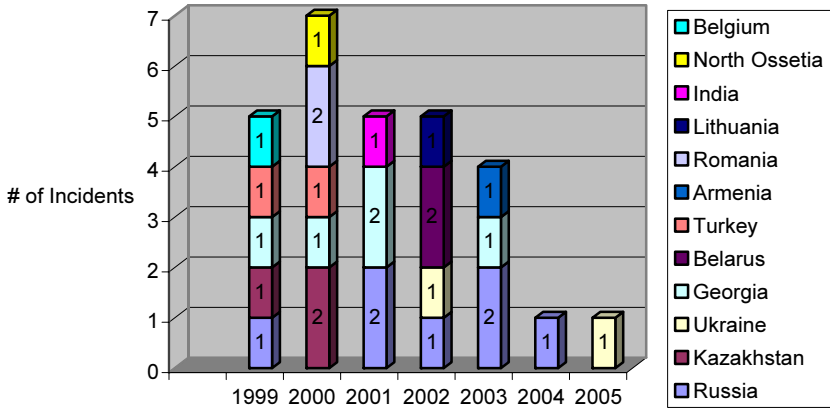
Chapter 23
Countering Islamist Militancy: An Epidemiologic Approach

Jerrold M. Post, M.D.
The Elliott School of International Affairs
The George Washington University

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, Islamist, suicide bombing, epidemiology

Introduction

A major challenge in attempting to counter Islamist fundamentalist terrorism is the context in which it is embedded. To join a social-revolutionary terrorist group requires going underground, a commitment to isolate oneself from the society one is striving to overthrow. It is a fundamental decision, which the German Red Army Faction terrorists called, "Der Sprung" (The Leap.) This is extremely different from both nationalist-separatist groups, whose members are often well known in the surrounding community, a community the values of which they are expressing, and for Islamist fundamentalist terrorists who have emerged from the culture of Islamist militancy.

It is that broader Islamist militancy culture that generates a continuing supply of recruits to the extremity of terrorism, including suicide terrorism, what Merari has called a "suicide bomber production line" [1]. To counter the growing threat of Islamist terrorism it is imperative to understand and address that broader socio-cultural context from which they emerge.

Understanding that it is only a metaphor, there are lessons to be drawn from epidemiology concerning the generation and spread of an epidemic, and the public health techniques for countering that epidemic. An Institute of Medicine committee report [2] fruitfully employed the Haddon matrix to give pointed emphasis to how to intervene in countering the psychological epidemic of terror resulting from mass casualty terrorist attacks, observing that there are steps to take before the epidemic, during it, and afterwards, and distinguishing the agent, the vectors, and the vulnerable population.

Malaria is a good example of the pubic health application of the Haddon matrix, in which the infectious agent, the vector, and the population at risk are distinguished. The malaria protozoan is the infectious agent, the Anopheles mosquito the vector, and the vulnerable population is unprotected individuals. Malaria itself was the single greatest hazard in the construction of the Panama Canal. Draining and spraying the swamps in which the mosquitoes bred was a major contribution to inhibiting the spread of this debilitating, disease. Mosquito netting was one common sense protection employed to protect the vulnerable Panama Canal construction workers from the being bitten by the

mosquitoes carrying the deadly Malaria agent. Currently, anti-malarial medication can be taken to eliminate the vulnerability of individuals traveling in malaria-infested areas.

Stares and Yacoubian of the United States Institute of Peace [3] recently applied this metaphor to Islamist militancy. What is the agent of Islamist militancy? The extremist anti-Western ideology calling for jihad against the destroyers of Islam. The vectors? The radical *madrassahs*, the radical mosques, the Internet, the 24/7 cable news channels such as al Jazeera. And the vulnerable population? Not all Muslims are "infected" with this pernicious agent. Some are much more vulnerable than others. Who is attracted to this extremist Islamist militancy pathway? It is important to emphasize that one can subscribe to this ideological framework without ever committing a terrorist act. But in being part of a supporting community, financially, with moral support, encourages the passage of alienated frustrated Islamic youth into this pathway of terrorism.

Assuredly my own research interviewing incarcerated Islamist terrorists [4] supports the notion that the broader social context is critical in shaping individuals very early in life to enter the pathway of terrorism.

The mosque was consistently cited as the place where most members were initially introduced to the Palestinian/Israeli conflict, including members of the secular groups. Many of the secular members report that while activism within the community was most influential in their decision to join, their first introduction to the cause was at the Mosque or in another religious setting. Authority figures from the mosque are prominent in all conversations with group members, and most dramatically for members of the Islamist organizations. The introduction to authority and unquestioning obedience to Allah is instilled at a young age and continues to be evident in the individual members' subservience to the larger organization. This preconditioning of unquestioning acceptance of authority seems to be most evident among the members of the Islamist groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Fusion of the Individual and the Group

Once recruited, there is a clear fusing of individual identity and group identity, particularly among the more radical elements of each organization. This is true both for the Islamist terrorists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad as well as those of al Qaeda. Many of the interviewees reported growing up or living in a repressed or limited socio-economic status. Their ability to work was regulated, the ability to travel freely was severely restricted and there was a general impression that they were denied the opportunity to advance economically. There was a common theme of having been "unjustly evicted" from their land, of being relegated to refugee status or living in refugee camps in a land that was once considered theirs. Many of the interviewees expressed an almost fatalistic view of the Palestinian/Israeli relationship and a sense of despair or bleakness about the future under Israeli rule. Few of the interviewees were able to identify personal goals that were separate from those of the organization to which they belonged. But the appeal of al Qaeda as well is to alienated youth, who often feel they are blocked in societies where there is no real possibility of advancement.

There is a heightened sense of the heroic associated with fallen group members and the community supports and rallies around families of the fallen or incarcerated. Most interviewees reported not only enhanced social status for the families of fallen or incarcerated members, but financial and material support from the organization and community for these families as well. "Success" within the community is defined as fighting for "the cause" – liberation and religious freedom are the values that define success, not necessarily academic or economic accomplishment. As the young men adopt this view of success, their own self-image then becomes more intimately intertwined with the success of the organization. With no other means to achieve status and "success," the organization's success become central to individual identity and provides a "reason for living." Again, while this dynamic emerged clearly for the youth of Islamic Jihad and Hamas, it is also probably a strong characteristic of those attracted to the path of radical Islam elsewhere.

This fusing of the individual to the group is found across all organizations regardless of ideological affiliation. As individual identity succumbs to the organization, there is no room for individuality--individual ideas, individual identity and individual decision-making--while at the same time self-perceived success becomes more and more linked to the organization. Individual self-worth is again intimately tied to the "value" or prominence of the group–therefore each individual has a vested interest in ensuring not only the success of the organization, but in increasing its prominence and exposure. The more prominent and more important (and often times the more violent) a group is, the greater the prestige that is then projected onto group members. This creates a cycle where group members have a direct need to increase the power and prestige of the group through increasingly dramatic and violent operations.

As the individuals and the group fuse, the more personal the struggle becomes for the group members. There is a symbiotic relationship created between the individual need to belong to a group, the need to ensure success of the group, and an enhanced desire to be an increasingly more active member of the group. There is thus a personalization of the struggle, with an inability to distinguish between personal goals and those of the organization – they were one and the same. In their discussion of armed action and other actions taken, the success or failure of the group's action was personal – if the group succeeded, then as an individual they succeeded, if the group failed, they failed. Pride and shame as expressed by the individual were reflections of group actions, not individual actions, feelings or experiences. There is an overarching sense of the collective that consumes the individual. This fusion with the group seems to provide the necessary justification for their actions and absolution, or loss of responsibility, to the individual – if the group says its OK, then its OK. If the authority figure orders an action, then the action is justified. Guilt or remorse by the individual is not tolerated because the organization does not express it. Again this is intensified among Islamist groups who feel they have a moral obligation to the cause and a religiously sanctioned justification for their actions.

It is not individual psychology, but group, organizational and social psychology, with a particular emphasis on "collective identity," that provides the most powerful lens to understand terrorist psychology and behavior [5]. For some groups, this collective identity is established extremely early, so that "hatred is bred in the bone" [6]. The importance of collective identity and the processes of forming and transforming collective identities cannot be overemphasized. This in turn emphasizes the socio-cultural context, which determines the balance between collective identity

and individual identity. A clear consensus exists that it is not understanding individual psychopathology but group and organizational psychology that provides the greatest analytic power in understanding this complex phenomenon, a phenomenon where collective identity is paramount. Terrorists have subordinated their individual identity to the collective identity, so that what serves the group, organization or network is of primary importance.

It is important to distinguish leaders from followers. The role of the leader is crucial in drawing together alienated, frustrated individuals into a coherent organization. They provide a "sense-making" unifying message that conveys a religious, political or ideological goal to their disparate followers. The crucial role of the leader is identifying the external enemy as the cause, as well as drawing together into a collective identity otherwise disparate individuals who may be discontented and aggrieved, but who, without the powerful presence of the leader, will remain isolated and individually aggrieved.

The political entrepreneur or hate mongering leader plays a crucial organizing role. Osama bin Laden has become a positive identification object for thousands of young Arab and Muslim youth, a major recruitment incentive. For them, he serves as the heroic avenger, with the courage to stand up against the superpower.

Most interestingly and illustrative of this concept of individual and group fusion is the perception or characterization of "the enemy." While there are slight differences between the secular and Islamist groups in the exact definition of the enemy, the overall experience in defining the enemy is remarkably similar. The Islamist groups are fighting for a pure Islamic State. Many interviewees cite Iran as an example of the type of state they would like to create. While the secular groups have a type of constraint by the nature of their view of the struggle, the Islamist groups have no such restraint. There is no concern about alienating any "earthly" population as the only "audience," for they are seeking to satisfy is Allah. With their direction coming in the form of *Fatwahs* (religious edicts) and sanctioned by religious clerics and other figures the identification of the enemy -whether Israel or the United States--is clear and simple for these Islamist groups; it is anyone who is opposed to their world view.

Consider the following quotations from interviews with incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists:

> I came from a religious family which used to observe all the Islamic traditions. My initial political awareness came during the prayers at the mosque. That's where I was also asked to join religious classes. In the context of these studies, the sheik used to inject some historical background in which he would tell us how we were effectively evicted from Palestine.

> The sheik also used to explain to us the significance of the fact that there was an IDF military outpost in the heart of the camp. He compared it to a cancer in the human body, which was threatening its very existence.

> At the age of 16 I developed an interest in religion. I was exposed to the Moslem Brotherhood and I began to pray in a mosque and to study Islam. The Koran and my religious studies were the tools that shaped my political consciousness. The mosque and the religious clerics in my village provided the focal point of my social life.

Moreover, the community was experienced as valuing those who pursued this path. Community support was important to the families of the fighters as well:

> Families of terrorists who were wounded, killed or captured enjoyed a great deal of economic aid and attention. And that strengthened popular support for the attacks.

> Perpetrators of armed attacks were seen as heroes, their families got a great deal of material assistance, including the construction of new homes to replace those destroyed by the Israeli authorities as punishment for terrorist acts.

The martyrs were awarded heroic stature within the mosques, leading to broad social approbation:

> Major actions become the subject of sermons in the mosque, glorifying the attack and the attackers.

Joining Hamas or Fatah increased social standing:

> Recruits were treated with great respect. A youngster who belonged to Hamas or Fatah was regarded more highly than one who didn't belong to a group, and got better treatment than unaffiliated kids.

> Anyone who didn't enlist during that period (*intifada*) would have been ostracized.

The hatred socialized towards the Israelis was remarkable, especially given that few reported any contact with Israelis.

> You Israelis are Nazis in your souls and in your conduct. In your occupation you never distinguish between men and women, or between old people and children. You adopted methods of collective punishment, you uprooted people from their homeland and from their homes and chased them into exile. You fired live ammunition at women and children. You smashed the skulls of defenseless civilians. You set up detention camps for thousands of people in sub-human conditions. You destroyed homes and turned children into orphans. You prevented people from making a living, you stole their property, you trampled on their honor. Given that kind of conduct, there is no choice but to strike at you without mercy in every possible way.

View of Armed Attacks

Armed attacks are viewed as essential to the operation of the organization. There is no question about the necessity of these types of attacks to the success of the cause.

You have to understand that armed attacks are an integral part of the organization's struggle against the Zionist occupier. There is no other way to redeem the land of Palestine and expel the occupier. Our goals can only be achieved through force, but force is the means, not the end. History shows that without force it will be impossible to achieve independence. Those who carry out the attacks are doing Allah's work …

The more an attack hurts the enemy, the more important it is. That is the measure. The mass killings, especially the martyrdom operations, were the biggest threat to the Israeli public and so most effort was devoted to these. The extent of the damage and the number of casualties are of primary importance.

In addition to causing as many casualties as possible, armed action provided a sense of control or power for Palestinians in a society that had stripped them of it. Inflicting pain on the enemy was paramount in the early days of the Fatah movement.

The various armed actions (stabbing, collaborators, martyrdom operations, attacks on Israeli soldiers) all had different ratings. An armed action that caused casualties was rated highly and seen to be of great important. An armed action without casualties was not rated. No distinction was made between armed actions on soldiers or on civilians; the main thing was the amount of blood. The aim was to cause as much carnage as possible.

I regarded armed actions to be essential, it is the very basis of my organization and I am sure that was the case in the other Palestinian organizations. ***An armed action proclaims that I am here, I exist, I am strong, I am in control, I am in the field, I am on the map.*** An armed action against soldiers was the most admired. …the armed actions and their results were a major tool for penetrating the public consciousness.

The highlighted sentence in the above quotation is particularly significant, for it calls attention to the value of militant violence for the perpetrator. It endows him with a sense of significance; it is a powerful compensation for a life otherwise experienced as insignificant and helpless.

Islamist Fundamentalist Terrorism

Interview with a Tanzanian Embassy Bomber

In the spring and summer of 2001, I had the opportunity of interviewing at length one of the defendants in the al Qaeda bombing of the US embassy in Tanzania [7]. Raised on Zanzibar off the coast of Tanzania, he was eight when his father died and then was educated in a *madrassa*, where he was taught to never question what you are told by learned authorities. When he was the equivalent of a junior in high school his brother directed him to leave school and help him in his grocery store in Dar es Salaan. There he was miserable-alone, friendless, isolated, except for this attendance at the Friday

prayer services as the mosque, where he learned from the imam that they were all members of the *uma*, the community of observant Muslims, and had an obligation to help Muslims wherever they were being persecuted. He was shown videos of Muslim mass graves in Bosnia and the Serbian military, of the bodies of Muslim women and children in Chechnya and the Russian military. He became inspired and vowed to become a soldier for Allah. But he was informed, I infer by a spotter from al Qaeda, that he could not do this without obtaining training. So, using his own funds, he went to Pakistan and then on to a bin Laden training camp in Afghanistan, where he was taught weapons and explosives handling in the mornings and had four hours of ideological training each afternoon. After seven months when he could not join the struggle in Bosnia or Chechnya, although offered the opportunity to fight in Kashmir, he returned to Dar es Salaan, where he again pursued his menial existence as a grocery clerk, frustrated at his inability to pursue jihad. Three years later he was called in he middle of the night and asked, "Do you want to do a jihad job?" and without further inquiry, he accepted. What had been a positive motivation to help suffering Muslims gradually was bent to his participating in this act of mass casualty terrorism.

The Justification of Suicide Bombings

A particularly challenging terrorist tactic is that of so-called suicide terrorism.
The culture of Islamist militancy in particular provided the religious basis for what the West has called suicide terrorism as the most valued technique of *jihad*, distinguishing this from suicide, which is proscribed in the Koran. One suicide bomb commander in fact became quite angry when the term was used in our question, angrily exclaiming

> This is not suicide. Suicide is selfish, it is weak, it is mentally disturbed. This
> is *istishad* (martyrdom or self sacrifice in the service of Allah.)

Several of the Islamist terrorist commanders interviewed called the suicide bomber holy warriors who were carrying out the highest level of jihad:

> A martyrdom operation is the highest level of jihad, and highlights the depth
> of our faith. The bombers are holy fighters who carry out one of the more
> important articles of faith. [1]

> It is attacks when their member gives his life that earn the most respect and
> elevate the bombers to the highest possible level of martyrdom.
> I am not a murderer. A murderer is someone with a psychological problem;
> armed actions have a goal. Even if civilians are killed, it is not because we
> like it or are bloodthirsty. It is a fact of life in a people's struggle-the group
> doesn't do it because it wants to kill civilians, but because the jihad must go
> on.

> I asked Halil what it was all about and he told me that he had been on the
> wanted list for a long time and did not want to get caught without realizing his

---

[1] Hassan Salame, responsible for the wave of suicide bombings in Israel in 1996, in which 46 were killed. He is now serving 46 consecutive life sentences.

dream of being a martyrdom operation bomber. He was completely calm and explained to the other two bombers, Yusuf and Beshar, how to detonate the bombs, exactly the way he had explained things to the bombers in the Mahane Yehuda attack. I remember that besides the tremendous respect I had for Halil and the fact that I was jealous of him, I also felt slighted that he had not asked me to be the third martyrdom operation bomber. I understood that my role in the movement had not come to an end and the fact that I was not on the wanted list and could operate relatively freely could be very advantageous to the movement in the future.[2]

A remarkable aspect of this quotation is the "normality" of the act. The respondent is insulted that he was not asked to be on the suicide bomb squad, as if he were not asked to be on a pick-up soccer team.

Contrast between Suicide Bombers in Israel and Suicidal Hijackers of 9/11

So-called psychological post-mortems, i.e. reconstructions of the lives of suicides, have been developed for some 93 suicide bombers of the suicide bombers in Israel. They were for the most part carried out by young men between the ages of 17 and 22, unmarried, uneducated, unemployed. (While these findings are undergoing change, and now the age range has broadened significantly and some women have joined the ranks of suicide bombers, they remain representative.) They were unformed youth, who, when they volunteered or were recruited, were told by the recruiters that their life prospects were bleak, that they could do something significant with their lives, that they would be enrolled in the hall of martyrs, and their parents would be proud of them and would gain financial rewards. From the moment they entered the safe house, they were never alone, including someone sleeping in the same room with them the night before the action to ensure that they did not backslide and physically escorting them to pizza parlor, disco or shopping mall to carry out their acts of suicide terrorism. Merari [1] has called attention to the suicide bombe production line, where first individuals volunteer to become a *shahid (*martyr), then they are identified publicly as living martyrs, and finally they make the pre-attack video which will then be used both to memorialize their name as well as for recruitment purposes. He observes it is very difficult to back down after passing through these stages, the shame that would attend such a reversal would be unbearable.

What a vivid contrast with the suicidal hijackers of 9/11! Older, their age range was 28-33, with the exception of a small group of younger terrorists, brought in late for "muscle," who probably were unaware that theirs was not as conventional hijacking. Mohammad Atta, the ringleader, was 33. A number had higher education; Atta and two of his colleagues were in masters degree programs in the technological university in Hamburg. And most came from comfortable, middle class homes in Saudi Arabia or Egypt. Unlike the Palestinian suicide bombers, these were fully formed adults, who had subordinated their individuality to the organization, as they responded uncritically to the siren song of hatred sung by the hate-mongering destructive charismatic leader, Osama bin Laden. And, interestingly and compellingly, in some cases they had been

---

[2] Quote from prisoner sentenced to 26 life terms for role in several suicide-bombing campaigns

on their own in the West for upwards of seven years, being exposed to the "buzzing, blooming, confusion of a democracy" we live in, simulating blending in, while carrying within them like a laser beam their mission to give of their lives while taking the lives of thousands. Accused of being hypocrites, they were unbearded, did not exchange Muslim greetings, were not seen in mosques, at prayer, or to be fasting.

In the al Qaeda terrorism manual, Declaration of Jihad Against the Country's Tyrants [8], which was introduced as an exhibit by the Department of Justice in the trial of the Tanzanian embassy bombers, it explains the rationale for their apparent hypocrisy. In lesson 11, it explains the answer to the question, "How can a Muslim spy live among enemies if he maintains his Islamic characteristics? How can he perform his duties to Allah and not want to appear Muslim?"

> Concerning the issue of clothing and appearance, (the appearance of true religion), Ibn Taimia—may Allah have mercy on him— said, "If a Muslim is in a combat or godless area, he is not obligated to have a different appearance from (those around him.) The (Muslim) man may prefer or even be obligated to look like then, provided his action brings a religious benefit…

> Resembling the polytheist in religious appearance is a kind of "necessity permits the forbidden" even though they (forbidden acts) are basically prohibited.

Mohammad Hafez has usefully identified three conditions that are requisite to support a campaign of suicide terrorism: a culture of martyrdom, an organizational decision to employ this strategy, and a supply of willing candidates [9]. He has also usefully observed that the suicide bomb commanders employ a strategy of moral disengagement in recruiting candidates, for there are three precepts of the Koran that are violated. Not only is suicide specifically prohibited by the Koran, but also the Koran prohibits the killing of innocents as well as the killing of Muslims. The militant Islamists have reframed these prohibitions to countenance and indeed reward these martyrdom operations.

Implications for Counter-terrorist Strategy

If these conclusions concerning the individual, group and organizational psychology of political terrorism, with particular reference to terrorism emerging from the culture of Islamist militancy, are valid, what are the implications for anti-terrorist policy?

Just as political terrorism is the product of generational forces, so too it is here for generations to come. When "hatred is bred in the bone," and passed from generation to generation, it does not yield easily to peace talks. There is no short-range solution to the problem of terrorism. Once an individual is in the pressure cooker of the terrorist group, it is extremely difficult to influence him. In the long run, the most effective antiterrorist policy is one that inhibits potential recruits from joining in the first place, for once an individual is in the grip of the terrorist group the power of the group and organizational psychology will increasingly dominate his psychology.

Political terrorism is not only a product of psychological forces; its central strategy

is psychological. For political terrorism is, at base, a particularly vicious species of psychological warfare. It is violence as communication. Up until now, the terrorists have had a virtual monopoly on the weapon of the television camera as they manipulate their target audience through the reactive media. Terrorists perpetuate their organizations by shaping the perceptions of future generations of terrorists; they demonstrate their power and significance and define the legitimacy of their cause. Countering the terrorists' highly effective media-oriented strategy through effective dissemination of objective information and public education must be key elements of a pro-active program.

One does not counter psychological warfare with smart bombs and missiles, although they can certainly play a useful role in a military campaign against harboring states. One counters psychological warfare with psychological warfare (Post, 2004). In the long run, the most effective ways of countering terrorism are to:

1. **Inhibit potential terrorists from joining the group**

Security alone cannot accomplish this. Alienated youth must be able to envisage a future within the system that promises redress of long-standing economic and social inequity and come to believe that political activism can lead to their finding a pathway to these goals. Otherwise, striking out violently in despair will continue to seem like the only course available.

2. **Produce dissension within the group**

The groups are virtual hothouses of tensions and rivalries. Active measures are required to magnify these tensions and pressures.

3. **Facilitate exit from the group,**

Once a terrorist has become a member of a group and committed terrorist acts, he is a wanted criminal, and it can seem he has "no way out." As important as it is to inhibit potential terrorists from joining, so too it is important to facilitate terrorists leaving. The powerful hold of the group has been described in detail. By creating pathways out of terrorism, that grip can be reduced. Amnesty programs modeled after the highly effective *pentiti* program of the Italian government can usefully contribute to that goal. Not only may such programs facilitate exit from the group, but information derived from these defectors can be employed to produce dissension within the group as well.

4. **Reduce support for the group.**

Reducing support for the group-both in its immediate societal surroundings and in the nation at large-are further long-range programs to foster. This is particularly important, as important as inhibiting potential recruits from joining in the first place, indeed contributing to this goal. Thus the group or organization must be marginalized, its leader delegitimated. Osama bin Laden at the present is a romantic hero to many alienated youth in the Islamic world, his organization al Qaeda a highly attractive option to consider. An effective strategic communication program will increasingly marginalize al Qaeda as an aberrant extremist group that is contrary to mainstream Islam, and will depict bin Laden not as a heroic figure, but as a self-consumed individual whose extreme actions damage all of Islam and the future of aspiring Muslim youth. This will require active leadership by moderate Muslim clerics and moderate Muslim political leaders countering the extremists in their midst.

All of these goals are components of a strategic communication process that must

be a central component of our anti-terrorist policy. This is not a policy that will swiftly end terrorism, but a process that must be put in place. Just as many of the attitudes that have made the path of terrorism attractive to alienated youth have taken place over decades, it will require decades to reduce the attractiveness of terrorism for those who have been raised in a climate dominated by hopeless and despair, with "hatred bred in the bone," so that extremism and violence have increasingly come to be seen as the only course.

The above emphasizes that children are being socialized early into the positive values of terrorism and martyrdom and that "hatred is being bred in the bone." In epidemiological language, rather than immunizing children against this deadly infection, in fact the constant and early repetition of these themes incorporates this vicious agent organically as part of their emerging social psychology.

The current emphasis on counter-terrorism tends to be overly narrow, focusing on intelligence sharing and military responses. But to counter this spreading epidemic, one must:

1. Counter the agent, the ideology.
2. Eliminate, reduce or counter the vectors. Can moderate Muslim clerical leaders, who have been all too mute, challenge the extremist version of Islam being propagated in some *madrassahs* and in mosques? Can alternate counter-vectors, moderate Islamic web sites and satellite TV channels begin to erode the domination of the information space?
3. And what of immunizing against this deadly virus? If not immunizing, reducing the vulnerability of the target population, helping to promote more open societies where youth can succeed rather than feel driven to strike out in despair.

The epidemiological model/metaphor by broadening our focus and emphasizing more the infectious climate which propagates the deadly terrorism spawned within this extremist climate can assist us in broadening our approach to counter-terrorism to counter the ideology, to weaken and counter the vectors of propagation, and to reduce the vulnerability of the population.

References

1. Merari, Ariel (2004). Personal communication.
2. Institute of Medicine (2003). Preparing for the Psychological Consequences of Terrorism: A Public Health Strategy.
3. Stares, P. and Yacoubian, M. (2005).
4. Post, J. Sprinzak, E. and Denny, L. (2003). Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Spring, 2003, Vol. 15, #1 pp. 171-184.
5. Post, J. 2005a "Psychological Operations and Counterterrorism. *Joint Force Quarterly*, Spring, 2005.
6. Post, 2005b "Psychology" Chapter 1 in Addressing the Causes of Terrorism, Volume 1 of the Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism.
7. Post, J. (2000) "Murder in a Political Context: Profile of an Abu Nidal Terrorist" *Bulletin of the Academy of Psychiatry and the Law* (Spring, 2000).
8. Post, 2005c "When Hatred is Bred in the Bone": Psychocultural Foundations of Contemporary Terrorism," *Political Psychology*, August, 2005, Vol. 26, #4 pp. 615-636.
9. Hafez, Mohammad Manufacturing Human Bombs Washington, D.C. U. S Institute of Peace Press (forthcoming, 2006).

Chapter 24
Suicide Terrorism: Modeling Group Dynamics and Individual Behavior

Linda O. Valenty Shepherd, Ph.D.
Department of Public Policy and Political Science
Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA

Abstract. This study reviews a variety of techniques, tools, and strategies designed to increase predictive ability and enhance understanding of the behavior of terrorist groups. Approaches evaluated include game theory, behavioral game theory, epidemiological methods, agent-based modeling, and order theory. Results indicated that theoretic understanding of terrorist organizations as well as the ability to predict terrorist related phenomena benefit from dynamic combinations of existing methodologies. Further interdisciplinary work and the inclusion of psychological constructs is recommended with a view to the creation of realistic models capable of predicting behavior, evaluating strategies, and contributing to mitigation of the incidence of terrorism.

Keywords: terrorism, psychology, suicide terrorism, modeling, modeling terrorist group dynamics, game theory, behavioral game theory

Introduction

> If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle [Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, Part III - Attack by Stratagem].

Although much has been written on the motives and background of individual suicide bombers and many attempts have been made to profile those who participate in suicide terrorism, the wide variety of demographic backgrounds associated with this phenomenon makes the job of the profiler arduous, if not impossible [cf. 1-8]. Accordingly, scholars have discussed the importance of evaluating the manner by which the individual is influenced by the terrorist group. Among these, Bandura [9] emphasized the importance of the "evolutionary group psychology of terrorists," capable of converting members and influencing their perspective so that acts of atrocity are normalized and suicide and the sacrifice of civilians are considered grand and religious gestures, arguing that the behavior of individual terrorists "can best be explained by the psychology of the larger group" [p. 79]. Crenshaw [10] also noted that research in psychological motivations for terrorism should be founded upon models that acknowledge the interaction between individual, group, and society for "terrorism is primarily a group activity . . . [s]hared ideological commitment and group

solidarity are much more important determinants of terrorist behavior than individual characteristics" [10, p. 409].

Hence, it is critical to investigate group dynamics, including those mandates, goals, strategies, and decision-making processes that influence the psychological conditioning, manipulation, and indoctrination of individual terrorists. The complexity of these governmental, group, and individual interactions indicates the potential utility of formal modeling. Although some modeling of terrorist group behavior took place prior to the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, the use of these methods to predict and prepare for terrorist group behavior evolved very rapidly afterward. Flurries of research within scholarly circles and private industry have focused upon the search for terrorism applications among existing formal modeling techniques. What can formal modeling contribute to efforts to understand terrorist group dynamics and predict individual behavior? This paper reviews several attempts to model terrorist groups and terrorist behavior. It is also an investigation of the utility of formal modeling in this field, with suggestions from the field of political psychology designed to produce fuller models of terrorist group decision making and behavior by including psychological constructs within a political framework.

Although it is certainly true, as McGraw [11] notes, that many political psychologists have rejected formal modeling because of the association between positive political theory and the assumptions of rational choice theory, she is also correct in asserting that:

> [T]here is no necessary link between formal modeling and a rational choice theoretical framework. As scholars who adopt a formal approach have slowly but surely come to accept the implications of empirical evidence that has shown that rational choice assumptions such as full information, expected utility maximization, and hyper-rationality are unrealistic, formal models have relaxed many of the standard general equilibrium assumptions and instead incorporated several assumptions drawn from cognitive psychology [11; see also 12].

In order to investigate the utility of formal modeling this paper reviews several approaches to the prediction and understanding of terrorist group behavior including game theory, behavioral game theory, epidemiological approaches to modeling, agent-based modeling, and order theory, each capable of enhancing evaluations of asymmetric warfare. The roots of terrorism are religious, cultural, philosophical, and economic; acts of terrorism are usually violent confrontations, and due to the nature of terrorist demands, involve governmental negotiations and military responses. Accordingly, a working knowledge of social networks, organizational theory, human cognition, individual and group psychology, economics, religion, relevant cultures, relevant militaries, governmental actions and governmental constraints – as well as aspects of foreign policy and international law – will facilitate the development of potential policy solutions. The paper ends with commentary about the necessity of multidisciplinary approaches to terrorism research, as understanding the complexities of this phenomenon clearly requires efforts that draw from, and require training in, disparate fields. Contributions from game theorists will receive attention first.

Game Theory

"Conflict analysis" or "interactive decision theory" might be more descriptively accurate names for the subject, but the name "game theory" seems to be here to stay [13, p. 1].

One of the most intriguing ways to get inside the mind of a terrorist organization is through game theory . . . [G]ame theory suggests that the likelihood -- and targets -- of a future terrorist attack can be modeled by understanding the operational and behavioral characteristics of the terrorist organization [14].

Game theory has been used to mathematically model human conflict, strategic interactions and potential outcomes, using theories of economic and social organization and including incentive structures, preferences, and optimal strategies. Given information about preferences (or utilities) among strategic and rational players, game theory predicts probable strategies and likely outcomes. Although the basic concepts of game theory stretch back as far as Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* and Plato's *Republic,* it more formally moved into modern academia with the writings of Zermelo (1913), Borel (1921), and von Neumann (1928), and received widespread attention with the publication of von Neumann and Morgenstern's 1944 *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* [15] (for additional background see Myerson [13]). Popularized by the film 'A Beautiful Mind' which chronicled the life of economics Nobel laureate John Nash, winner of the 1994 prize (jointly with John C. Harsanyi and Reinhard Selten) for analyses of equilibria in non-cooperative games, game theory has experienced ebbs and flows in scholarly enthusiasm for its acceptability and use. Debates over the two primary assumptions of game theory – the rationality[1] and intelligence[2] of participants in a conflict – as well as the various theories of rationality as they relate to games were at the heart of many of these disagreements. The debate continues, but has been accompanied by a relaxation of requirements for "hyperrationality" among players, along with increased emphasis on the importance of historical, institutional, and cultural factors that affect the process of decision making [16]. From simple payoff matrices (e.g., the well-known Prisoner's Dilemma[3]) to more highly complex games

---

[1] In game theory, rationality is said to exist if the player makes decisions that are consistently directed at achieving her/his own objectives, *and* if the player's objective is to maximize the expected value of their own payoff. This assumes that the player has some method of assigning utility to the potential outcomes and has consistent maximizing behavior, that is, he or she will choose the outcome that maximizes that expected utility [see 13, pp. 2-5].

[2] A player in game theoretic terms is "intelligent" if they know as much about the game as we know, and can make the same inferences about the game that we can make [13].

[3] The Classic Prisoner's Dilemma game is described by the following matrix wherein two suspects are arrested and held for questioning without a means of communicating with each other. The police tell each that they can avoid a prison sentence by betraying their partner and confessing the crime. If both confess they will each serve 2 years, if neither confesses, they will each serve six months on a lesser charge. However, if one confesses and the other doesn't, the individual that confesses will serve zero time, while the partner will serve ten years. Although the best outcome from the prisoners' point of view would be to cooperate and thereby only serve six months each, the rational choice would be to assume that your partner will betray you in the attempt to avoid any jail time, and so you should also betray him/her. The outcome is to serve 2 years apiece. It should be noted that the Prisoner's Dilemma is non-zero sum as both *can* benefit together. It should also be noted that cooperation tends to arise over iterated Prisoner's Dilemma games where punishment for non-cooperation becomes obvious [see 13, 17].

with multiple equilibria and iterated sequences, game theory has become one of the standard methods for understanding decision making in situations of conflict.

The asymmetric nature of the war on terrorism and the asymmetric nature of information in the war on terrorism are assumed to be the norm in terrorist negotiations. This fact alone would make terrorism a unique application for game theory. In addition, the enormity of the September 11th, 2001 attack, and the significant increase in lives lost and damages sustained in that act of terrorism, signaled a change in terrorist group intent and capability that was met by an increased interest in techniques capable of modeling terrorist group behavior – this in the interest of theoretic understanding as well as governmental defense.

Game Theory and Terrorism

[S]uicide terrorism follows a strategic logic. Even if many suicide attackers are irrational or fanatical, the leadership groups that recruit and direct them are not [18, p. 344].

By simulating randomness, terrorists create an atmosphere of fear where everyone feels vulnerable, thereby extending their sphere of influence as far as possible [19, p. 183].

The literature of economics and political science are replete with applications of game theory to terrorism. These include analyses of the terrorists' choice of targets, governmental decision making as to general policies (proactive, reactive, or some combination of the two), and more specific responses to particular terrorist crises [cf. 20-25]. Game theory has been deemed appropriate for analysis of the phenomena of terrorism for many reasons. These include the strategic interdependence of decision making, the fact that analysts who conduct this research perceive the players – terrorist groups and governments – to be rational actors that are "trying to act according to how they think their counterparts will act and react;" the exchange of threats that characterizes communications and attempts to gain "strategic advantage;" the bargaining, negotiation, uncertainty, learning, and absence of complete information that occur in these interactions; as well as the fact that the players often appear to be obeying the assumptions of game theory including "maximizing their goals subject to constraints" [26, pp. 319-321].

According to game theorists, the process of analysis as informed by game theory is capable of providing insights that non-strategic analyses cannot. Game theory can assist in understanding terrorist strategy, government policies, and government responses. As a result, counterterrorism analyses have been accomplished using game theoretic processes [19]. The utility of game theory at clarifying choices and enhancing understanding of resulting decisions is illustrated by a distinct confluence of interests in this approach; researchers from academic institutions, think tanks, industry, and government have used game theory to increase their ability to predict behavior and to evaluate strategies.

Prisoner 1/Prisoner 2	Prisoner 1 Stays Silent	Prisoner 1 Betrays
Prisoner 2 Stays Silent	Both Serve Six Months	Prisoner 1 Serves Zero, Prisoner 2 serves Ten Years
Prisoner 2 Betrays	Prisoner 1 Serves Ten Years, Prisoner 2 serves Zero	Both Serve Two Years

Traditional game theory, which may be applied to suicide terrorism with slight modifications, provides for useful illustrations. Woo [27] supplies two examples. The first is the grenade game:

> This game involves two players A and B. First, player A chooses between giving player B $1000 or nothing. Secondly, player B observes player A's move, and then chooses whether or not to explode a grenade that will kill both players. Suppose that player B threatens to explode the grenade unless player A pays the $1000. In the conventional analysis of this game, if player A believed the threat, his best response is to pay the $1000. However, since this threat involves an act of suicide, the threat by player B is regarded as not credible [27].

Probabilities associated with this game, if it is used to model negotiations with a suicide terrorist, will change considerably. The incentives that take on relevance for the suicide terrorist include martyrdom and paradise with attendant benefits, combined with the increased visibility of their ideological cause and the enhanced recruitment of new adherents which could result from actually implementing the threat and exploding the grenade. Under these changed circumstances, player A will be more likely to believe the threat, and also to consider whether player B may intend to explode the grenade regardless of player A's behavior.

A second classic game theory example involves the mutual decisions that take place regarding the timing of firing during a duel. There are two participants. Each has a pistol loaded with a single bullet, they approach each other and must decide the strategic moment at which to fire. Delaying the decision will increase accuracy, however, it will also increase the chance of being hit by the opponent's bullet. If this were the classic version of the duel game, the payoff is +1 if the protagonist hits the opponent, and –1 if the protagonist is hit by the opponent [27].

It must again be noted that in traditional game theory, the assumption is that each protagonist will want to preserve their own life, however if the opponent is an Islamic militant who believes that paradise will await death as a martyr, both players' strategies must evolve accordingly. The protagonist who is not an Islamic militant must account for the probability that the opponent does not fear death, that the opponent may in fact embrace a martyr's death and look forward to it. This would increase the related probability that the Islamic militant would fire later in the effort to ensure that his or her own death will be accompanied by the death of the non-Islamic. Patience, detailed planning, and a welcomed death are features of predictable group strategies in suicide terrorism and represent a form of rational planning, albeit an altered form [ibid.]. Indications of rational planning by terrorist groups are not difficult to find; the synchronization of the September 11th attacks on Western symbols of wealth and power were evidence of highly detailed anticipatory planning and a "swarm" strategy designed and implemented by al-Qaeda. Swarm strategies indicate the anticipation that security will be tightened after the attack and that subsequent similar attacks will be increasingly difficult.

Arce and Sandler [28] provide some additional applications of game theory to terrorism. In the following two examples private benefit = *b,* public benefit = *B*, private cost = *c*, and public cost = *C.* The first example is what is commonly called the "provision" game:

> The *provision* or contribution game . . . is the classic pure public good
> scenario where action is to contribute a unit of the public good. Each unit
> contributed gives a public benefit of *B* to both players at a private cost of *c* to
> just the contributor. If both players provide a unit of the public good, then
> each player nets a payoff of 2*B* - *c* as provision cost is deducted from
> aggregate benefit of 2*B*, received from one's own provision and that of the
> other provider. When only one player contributes, the contributor gains *B* - *c*
> and the other player free rides for a payoff of *B*. Mutual inaction results in
> payoffs of 0. The inequality 2*B* > *c* > *B* ensures that this is a PD [Prisoner's
> Dilemma] game with a dominant strategy of inaction and a Nash equilibrium
> of mutual inaction [28].[4]

The provision game assists in understanding terrorism issues by modeling
nation/states' contributions to peacekeeping. There is a public benefit (*B*) to
contributing, but there is also a private cost (*c*). Public benefits, by definition, cannot
be restricted to those that contribute, and so create incentives for non-contribution and
a proclivity to "ride free." Some (or many) of those countries that will benefit from the
positive externalities of peacekeeping expenditures may decide to do so without
contribution since they realize that that the country that has invested in peacekeeping
cannot restrict the public benefits to itself and further know that their own contribution
will be difficult to coerce. Because the provision game has a dominant strategy that
results in players deciding not to play, one must rely on other motives (e.g., altruism)
to induce expenditures that will result in keeping the peace. According to Arce M. and
Sandler [28], we were witness to an example of the provision game when the U.S.
decided to expend funds to preempt terrorist threats by invading Afghanistan; while
some countries may agree to participate in preemption, "too little of the public good is
the outcome" due to the incentive to ride free and receive the benefit without the price
of participation [pp. 3-4].

The second example, called the "commons" game, is traditionally used to
demonstrate the consequences of grazing on common land or over-fishing common
waters – the model demonstrates an interaction that is a private benefit (*b*) for one
player, but results in a public cost (*C*) for both players. As the authors explain:

> The commons game can also serve as a generic for a "public bad" where
> individual action has a negative consequence for everyone, but a net positive
> payoff for the individual if acting alone, so that *b* > *C*. Mutual action yields *b*
> - 2*C* for both players as the public cost, 2*C*, of two units of action is deducted
> from the private benefit. If one player exploits the commons alone, then the
> exploiter nets *b* - *C* and the passive player loses -*C* from the associated public
> cost. Mutual inaction gives 0. The inequality 2*C* > *b* > *C* ensures that the
> game is a PD. The dominant strategy is now action, since *b* -2*C* > - *C* and *b* -
> *C* > 0, so that a Nash equilibrium of mutual action follows. Unlike the
> provision game, there is too much action [28, p. 4].

---

[4] The Nash Equilibrium is John Nash's solution when rational players are taken into account. The argument
is that in the Nash Equilibrium "players would adjust their strategies until no player could benefit from
changing… all players are then choosing strategies that are best (utility-maximizing) responses to all the
other players' strategies" [29, p. 2].

In the present (terrorism) context, the commons game is used to demonstrate the consequences of decisions that may result in a dominant strategy of "oversupply" that would then have negative consequences for the public [ibid.]. According to Arce M. & Sandler [28], the commons game models counterterrorism actions that succeed in "hardening" targets by providing enhanced security. The commons game applies because it will be these same counterterrorism measures, designed to prevent attacks to particular targets, that will have the effect of diverting terrorist attacks to other targets, including other countries where the original country's citizens may still be the intended victims, but now without the benefit of the added security [see also 19]. In this case the security enhancements have the negative consequence of *shifting* terrorist action rather than eliminating it, and therefore creating a "public bad."

Game theory has a clarity that enhances its appeal and its ability to predict outcomes at a fairly general level. However, the clarity of this broad approach also indicates some of its more problematic features. The first problem that arises in terrorism research is the difficulty that game theory encounters in attempting to deal with the inevitable details of public policy. For example, there are many types of preemption and deterrence. Which types of preemption will prevent terrorism, and which types will increase the frequency and therefore the probability of responsive terrorist acts? Preemption defined as the invasion of Afghanistan may be an intervention which will succeed in reducing acts of terrorism, however preemption which is not clearly connected to the acts of terrorism, e.g. the war in Iraq, is more likely to be and has been associated with higher frequencies of suicide bombings mobilized in response to that invasion and subsequent occupation.

The second problem that occurs with game theory models is the difficulty in demonstrating complex changes over time. In the present context, these would include rates of change in governmental constraints and terrorist resources. Although these may theoretically be modeled with differential game frameworks, they have not yet been adequately dealt with [see 26]. Finally, as previously mentioned, game theory encounters difficulties when the players are dealing with incomplete or imperfect information, and has been criticized for its adherence to rationality as an underlying and key assumption.

The Assumptions of Rationality and Intelligence

Almost all significant terrorist attacks are motivated by an agenda for political change, (which may have religious inspiration), and hence may be classified as 'Acts of Political Violence'. Furthermore, although Osama bin Laden may be vilified in public as the epitome of evil, and terrorists may be branded in the media as homicidal psychopaths, they could never sustain success in combating a far superior law enforcement, security and military force if they were not rational and intelligent [30].

A mathematical theory of interaction under circumstances of conflicting goals, game theory models a process wherein adversaries make decisions based upon strategy. As game theory grew out of economic assumptions of intelligence and rationality, early approaches often had to deal with the issues of whether players were in fact, or could be assumed to be, rational. In game theory as it is applied to terrorists, suicide terrorists, and terrorist organizations, one comes up against the same issues. Are the participants acting in a rational manner, or are they, by virtue of their intent to kill and maim and commit suicide in so doing, acting irrationally?

Pape has argued convincingly for a "strategic logic" that pervades the tactics of suicide terrorism, including the intent to "coerce modern democracies to make significant concessions to national self determination" [18, p. 344]. He points out that "[v]iewed from the perspective of the terrorist organization, suicide attacks are designed to achieve specific political purposes: to coerce a target government to change policy, to mobilize additional recruits and financial support, or both" [ibid.], and asserts that these attacks are not simply irrational but are in fact designed to advance an agenda "especially to cause democratic states to withdraw forces from territory terrorists view as their homeland" [p. 345]. Pape maintains that suicide terrorism has increased because it has utility for the terrorist groups – it has paid off.

According to Woo [27, 30, 31] terrorists exhibit rationality if their behavior is "endowed with reason;" he further argues that their reasoning, the reasoning behind martyrdom, was specifically spelled out in a book entitled *Milestones* by Sayyid Qutb (an Egyptian member of the Muslim Brotherhood) and published in 1964. The book was banned and the author eventually executed by the Nasser government (in 1966), but it has influenced key Islamic radicals today, including Osama Bin Laden [see 32]. Is a reference that lists reasons for martyrdom sufficient to claim that adherents are behaving rationally? Does an absolute belief in the paradise that awaits martyrs create a framework for decisions which, if not rational by some definitions, is enough to establish the specific preferences necessary to predict strategy and behavior, therefore making it possible to use game theory to predict the behavior of groups intent on exercising suicidal terrorism? As further evidence of rationality and intelligence, al-Qaeda's patience, their choice of target, methods of attack, reconnaissance, surveillance, and rehearsals, combine to indicate that this organization weighs alternatives and learns from experience [30, p. 7]. Scholars also note that the actions of terrorists are characterized by strategic choices about their communication with governments, their attempts to gain advantage with threats, and their responses to changes in security; each indicating a level of rationality that may be modeled in game theoretic applications [26, see also 23, 24].

Because the goals of terrorists include the willingness to cause the most fearsome destruction and highest numbers of casualties as well as the determination to sacrifice self and civilians to do so; and further since the assumptions of many terrorists include the never ending nature of the battle, they appear to belie conventional estimations of rationality. Since game theory assumes rationality, intelligence, and ordered preferences, understanding the unique applications of these concepts to the terrorists' mentality are keys to the success of game theoretic modeling of terrorist behavior.

A further answer to the potential problems that arise with assumptions of rationality and intelligence comes from the literature of behavioral game theory, which expands upon the foundations of game theory modeling by including concepts from the social sciences, particularly psychology, in its framework.

Game Theory, Psychology, and Behavioral Economics

> Our hope is that behavioral models will gradually replace simplified models based on stricter rationality, as the behavioral models prove to be tractable and useful in explaining anomalies and making surprising predictions. Then strict rationality assumptions now considered indispensable in economics will be seen as useful special cases . . . namely, they help illustrate a point which is truly established only by more general, behaviorally-grounded theory [33].

Behavioral game theory is capable of including social preferences, moral obligations, vengeance, learning from experience, cognition, cognitive limitations, and other constructs from the behavioral and social science literature in its models, and does so specifically to enhance the relevance and validity of game theory to the study of human motivation and decision making. Traditional concepts of rationality and maximizing behavior are integrated with psychological, political, and sociological theories of human behavior, thereby strengthening the foundation for relaxation of the assumptions of perfect (unlimited) rationality and perfect information. Behavioral game theory acknowledges and includes the complexity of cognitive dynamics and the importance of cognitive limitations in its predictions for how individuals will interact, bargain, and trust [29]. It draws from the "comparative empirical advantages" of relevant social sciences and "constructs carefully explored" by these fields to expand economic theories, which although mathematically elegant, may have little empirical motivation [34].

For example, drawing from evolutionary psychology, behavioral game theorists have speculated about group formation and whether some groups are in fact "essential" in that there is some common, shared, immutable essence [34]; extrapolating from this concept, Camerer and Malmendier hypothesized that if any organization can "create a sense among workers that they are like a species—with immutable special properties that are inheritable -- it might be able to hijack neural circuitry which is highly evolved to distinguish friend from foe on the basic of species and species-like ethnic characteristics, to create a deep sense of group membership and helping" (p. 20). Camerer and Malmendier further argued that "[o]rganizational relationships are typically repeated games… When there are many equilibria, social considerations like historical traditions and norms, and credibility of leaders who make announcements intended to focus attention on good equilibria, will make a difference" [ibid.].

Behavioral game theory is often based upon experimental studies. Because this is so, it is easier to account for organizational culture and cognitive principles. For example, the notion that an organizational culture can engrain certain metaprinciples that are capable of guiding members when leadership is not present and in contingent situations, has been tested by Kreps [35]; the development of codes within organizations has been empirically tested by Weber, Rick, and Camerer [36, as quoted in 34]; and the overconfidence of organizational leaders as it is related to underestimation of risk has been tested by Larwood and Whittaker [37]. Accordingly, although behavioral game theory increases the complexity of models, it is capable of building in enhanced psychological realism, human limitations, human will, and other behavioral and psychological assumptions [34].

Indeed, some of the most widely read authors in behavioral game theory are Kahneman and Tversky [38], whose prospect theory evaluated decision making under circumstances of risk and found that the traditional utility expectations were violated. While traditional expected utility would argue that players seek absolute gains and are risk-averse, prospect theory found differences based upon evaluations of change as they relate to a personal reference point. As McDermott [39, 40] explains "[d]esperate people have nothing to lose, so they are more likely to risk what little they might have for a chance to recoup past losses or to gain new ground" [39, p. 150]. And this brings us back to the relevance of game theory, particularly behavioral game theory, to terrorism. Those that either have, or perceive that they have, very little to lose, are often willing to risk it all on the potential for political or social gain. Behavioral game

theory is capable of including issues of perception, emotion, and motivation in experimental analyses of strategic interactions.

Accordingly, in "anonymous one-shot take-it-or-leave-it 'ultimatum' bargaining experiments" Camerer and Thaler [41] and Camerer [29] report that players, under certain circumstances, will reject lucrative financial offers, even if it meant the possibility of ending the game (or negotiation) with nothing. Camerer and Loewenstein [33] expanded upon this finding:

> Suppose we observed this phenomenon in the field, in the form of failures of legal cases to settle before trial, costly divorce proceedings, and labor strikes. It would be difficult to tell whether rejection of offers was the result of reputation-building in repeated games, agency problems (between clients and lawyers), confusion, or an expression of distaste for being treated unfairly. In ultimatum game experiments, the first three of these explanations are ruled out because the experiments are played once anonymously, have no agents, and are simple enough to rule out confusion. Thus, the experimental data clearly establish that subjects are expressing concern for fairness (p. 7).

Experimental studies such as these demonstrate the powerful effects of context and perception on human strategy and decision-making [ibid.]. Cognitive processes, estimations of probabilities, sequential choices, filters, ill-defined preferences, and learning, are all components of behavioral game theory, and each have been evaluated with experimental data.

Practical Application: Terrorism and Game Theory in the Insurance Industry

> [W]hat mathematics can be used to fight terrorism? Even if acts of terrorism are not governed by physical laws, they are governed by strategies [27].

The need to understand the phenomena of terrorism and the popularity of game theory as a methodology has led to public/private interactions between academics, industry, and government. Attempts to harness game theoretic applications in industry surged in the months after September 11th, 2001 and received yet another stimulus in the wake of the Terrorism Risk Insurance Act (TRIA), signed by George W. Bush in November of 2002 [42]. In the months between September 11th and the passage of TRIA, the insurance industry had set about the business of protecting itself from financial exposure by attempting to reduce, exclude, and discontinue coverage for terrorist acts. TRIA mandated that insurance companies provide coverage "across all property/casualty lines" for acts of foreign terrorism and that they notify policy holders of their premium rates for this coverage. Although TRIA does not apply to domestic terrorism, it does provide government funds for partial coverage of losses resulting from acts of foreign terrorism. The act mandated that "if a carrier loses more than 7 percent of premium from the previous year in any terrorism incident, it is eligible to recover 93 percent of those losses from the government" [quoted in 14, p. 30]. In 2004, that deductible rose to 10 percent and in 2005 it became 12 percent [ibid.]. Since the legislative act mandated terrorism coverage, despite the existence of the governmental subsidy, the knowledge that even seven percent of a year's premium could be upwards

of a billion dollars caused insurance companies and consultant firms to move quickly to investigate methods for making pricing decisions that would provide some protection against property losses, worker's compensation claims, loss of life claims, accident, health, and disability claims arising from a terrorist act. This need to underwrite risk from terrorist attacks stimulated a search for methodologies that were capable of generating accurate predictions and assigning useful probabilities for terrorist activities. Traditional probability theory, such as that used to determine the likelihood of natural catastrophes, was deemed not sufficiently complex to account for interactions between the multiple conflicting strategies and goals that characterize terrorist group decision making and behavior, particularly in the wake of post-September 11th enhanced security. As noted in an influential industry journal:

> On one hand, we have al-Qaeda's desire to maximize the utility of their attacks, and on the other hand, we have to consider their rational response to stepped-up security and counter-intelligence efforts, and the constraints of their technological and logistical capacities. A traditional probabilistic approach . . . is simply not up to the challenge [43].

Academics, including Rohan Gunaratna, (research fellow at University of St. Andrews Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence and author of *Inside Al Qaeda* [44]), public safety and justice experts from the RAND Corporation, and terrorism experts from Jane's Consultancy, have all been tapped by the private insurance industry to assist in the quantification of terrorism risk and the effort to establish premiums that would mitigate that risk for insurance firms [14].

RMS, a corporation that specializes in risk modeling, has developed a predictive game theoretic model entitled *U.S. Terrorism Risk* and explained their preference for game theory by noting that, unlike the traditional probabilistic models that insurance companies had used to predict catastrophes, game theory allows for consideration of the implications of one or more changes in conflicting factors. For example, terrorist responses to international changes in security and counter-intelligence can be weighed against their desire to maximize the impact of terrorist attacks. RMS claimed that the final *U.S. Terrorism Risk* model was capable of estimating likely targets as well as modes of terrorist attack (conventional, chemical, radiological, biological, nuclear) and resulting damage, loss, casualties, and injuries [14].

From a more theoretical perspective, the field of epidemiology has contributed alternative, but complementary, approaches to modeling terrorist group strategies and behavior and present their own practical applications for these models.

Contributions from Epidemiology: Modeling Fanatic Behavior

> The war on terrorism cannot be won just by arresting these leaders and other militants, but by draining the global swamp of popular Muslim support for Al Qaeda. For as long as there is residual popular support for militant Islamists within Muslim communities, the terrorist threat from Al Qaeda will persevere [30].

Epidemiological models have been shown to be applicable "to an indefinite variety of pathogens and social structures" [45, p. 3]. Given that epidemiology has a proven track record for modeling the spread of disease, what contribution can epidemiologists make

to the study of terrorist groups? One of the relevant contagions in the study of terrorist groups is the contagion of ideology. If epidemiology is to facilitate modeling for terrorist groups it would need to assist in predicting the spread of ideas. What facilitates the spread of ideology; what is the transmission mechanism for ideas? And further, what is the relationship between accepted cultural practices and the susceptibility to, or attraction of, ideas and behaviors associated with suicide terrorism? Can epidemiological modeling assist in explanations of group attraction, and thereby enhance efforts at intervention?

The dynamic nature of social networks is related to and determines the rate and success of the spread of disease. The structure and nature of social networks is also related to the spread of opinions through a social network. Due to the increasing potential for bioterrorism, many of the epidemiological studies in terrorism research have focused upon the intentional spread of diseases through contamination of food or water supplies, and through the deliberate use of humans as vectors of transmission. These studies have produced useful data and predictive models. However, epidemiological tools have also been used to study the transmission of ideas through social networks.

Immunity in these models has a unique interpretation: while degree of immunity to disease is calculated and entered into models that predict spread of that disease through social networks and contacts within those networks, when modeling the transmission of ideas rather than disease, degree of immunity is interpreted as confidence in one's own opinions. Relevant confidence intervals then represent the existing immunity in the population, or in this case, a range of confidence in prior opinions. Threshold models for the transmission of ideas would hold that it is the proportion of the population that are already convinced of a particular ideology who would be immune or somewhat immune to transmission of new opinions or ideas. In addition, the size of the social network, the number of contacts, and the stability of the prior ideology, are capable of predicting both the spread of ideas among contacts in the network as well as any potential for recovery [for more on these topics see 46-50].

The transmission and spread of extremist ideology is necessary to achieve terrorist group goals, and is also necessary if the group is to continually re-supply and build the numbers of those willing to commit the final act of martyrdom: suicide terrorism. Terrorist groups must recruit adherents *and* they must continually re-supply their population of suicide terrorists. The identification of the susceptible recruitment population and the dynamics of the transmission of ideology are key to understanding and intervention in this process. Issues that must be addressed in epidemiological approaches to the study of terrorism include identifying the structural, social, and psychological characteristics of the underlying system that facilitates the spread of ideology and terrorist behavior, the characteristics of vulnerability for those that are susceptible, the process and influences of recruitment, the impact of the extreme behavior of terrorist groups upon the norms and values of the susceptible population, and the role of group pressure – including that of key adherents to the ideology of the group – on the rapidity and success of the spread of fanaticism [50, 51].

In a recent article entitled "Models for the Transmission Dynamics of Fanatic Behaviors" Castillo-Chavez and Song identify fanaticism as "the *force* behind acts of terrorism" [51, p. 155], and state that they "believe that epidemiological models . . . represent a reasonable starting point for the study of the spread and growth of behaviors that are the engine behind most acts of terrorism" [p. 156]. They focus on the spread of extreme behaviors as an expansion of the epidemiological contact process.

The process of conversion takes place via recruitment from contacts in the general population; however, contacts are not required to be physical, they may take place through telephone or the Internet. The strength of the message is measured in "recruitment force" and the sheer number of contacts, each of which influence change in certain members of the general population. Once individuals have received the message(s), some proportion will proceed to move sequentially through the ideological stages of vulnerability and semi-fanaticism, ending with full fanaticism [pp. 156-158].

In the stages of any contagious process, whether disease or ideology, evolution begins with susceptibility and then proceeds at a rate that is determined by the individual's immune system and the strength of the viral, bacterial, or in this case, ideological agent. As the general population will always be a potential source of converts to fanaticism, the Castillo-Chavez and Song model mathematically supports the proposition that resistance to vulnerability, or general population immunity, as well as efforts at reducing exposure time, are the most effective ways to reduce the level of fanatic behavior. Although the authors state that the "development of ideologies is an extremely complex social process," they also are able to demonstrate mathematically that it is virtually impossible to successfully use group intervention strategies to eliminate extreme groups, that interventions at the level of recruitment capability are potentially effective, and that decreasing vulnerability is a key to success.

These findings have utility in that they stimulate further research, including quantitative, qualitative, experimental, and field applications, to investigate those conditions that lead to a population's vulnerability to fanatic ideologies. Findings also serve to warn researchers and policy advisors to proceed with caution when embarking upon investigations of group intervention and/or group resource reduction in attempts to eliminate extreme ideological groups and resulting fanatic behaviors.

Epidemiology has benefited from computer simulations, as will be seen in the following discussion of agent based modeling. Separately as well as together, epidemiology and agent based modeling have demonstrated utility in the field of terrorism research.

Agent Based Modeling

> In the social sciences, simulation may allow more aggressive exploration of the implications of, for example, imperfect rationality, the effects of learning and information, and social and institutional structure [52, p. 7199].

Agent-based modeling has been met with particular interest as it has evolved in the social sciences. This interest has been generated primarily because agent based modeling using computer simulations is capable of resolving some of the constraints and relaxing the often unrealistic assumptions underlying other modeling efforts, including game theoretic models, differential equation systems, and statistical methodologies [52, 53]. Agent-based modeling (ABM) provides for a formal specification or ontology that expresses detailed information including relationships between social agents (humans and/or organizations), motivations, and behavior through simulations. Rather than lose important individual details, as occurs when data are aggregated, ABM can express these details. As a result, ABM is capable, with carefully programmed assumptions, of building in bounded rationality [54]. ABM's importance has also been said to be its ability to use knowledge about the behavior,

motives, and interaction of agents to model thresholds which denote the emergence of change in norms and institutions, including the manner by which they begin, are maintained, and dissolve [53]. One of the limits of ABM using computer simulations is its reliance on representation rather than prediction; prediction may require more work in methodologies that will allow the simulations to answer precise questions. To support the development of this process, data will need to be more specifically calibrated to the simulations [52].

Agent based modeling has specific application to the analysis of public policies generated to prepare for potential terrorist acts; its capabilities extend to include modeling of human behavior, organizational behavior, the spread of ideas, and the spread of terrorist induced disease, among other applications. With regard to organizational behavior:

> To see the revolutionary sweep of this idea, it is important to recognize that traditional organizational theory was concerned with manufacturing firms, traditional policy analysis with rational actors, and traditional social science with collectives of independent actors. Yet, we know that many modern organizations trade in knowledge, not just goods, in producing services and information and not just physical devices… we know that humans and the systems in which they are embedded are not rational—in the traditional economic sense; rather, they sacrifice, are cognitively limited, act emotionally, and so on… we know that actors interact and have affiliations that form a network constraining and enabling behavior [55, p. 7257].

Because terrorist organizations (as any human organization) have underlying social dynamics, are adaptive, are based on human cognitive and physical capabilities, interact with cultural norms, depend upon communication strategies, and build from existing information/knowledge systems, these organizations are susceptible to agent-based modeling. Agent-based modeling has been shown to effectively model societies "where decision making is distributed and global order self-organizes out of multiple local interactions among autonomous interdependent actors" [56, p. 7229] and so is potentially a powerful application for modeling behavior in terrorist organizations. Unlike game theoretic predictions, agent-based modeling can investigate the dynamics which influence retrospective adaptive behavior based on learning and path-dependent strategies in a more detailed manner via learning algorithms that allow for both the negative and positive consequences of decisions, and can continually update the probability of particular decisions being repeated.

The dynamic quality of this modeling technique allows for enhanced understanding of the detailed dynamics of human as well as group decision-making [56]. As organizations are composed of humans (agents) who are also adaptive, intelligent, and interactive, modeling works at the level of the members, as well as at the level of the organization itself – both have predictable behaviors that are subject to modeling [57, pp. 8-10]. Accordingly, an understanding of individual cooperation, trust, and reciprocity as it influences individual and group behavior is possible with agent-based modeling. It is also important to note that an understanding of organizational behavior (particularly terrorist organizational behavior) requires knowledge of the interaction of group ideology with the relevant doctrines, norms, values, religion, and symbols that underlie group formation. As Conte [58] notes:

[F]ormal and even computational modeling is insufficient unless cognitive representations and operations are described and reproduced. It is important to perceive that cognition is not necessarily a property of individual agents. Symbols act on the agents, under the form of cultural and institutional artifacts, whether norms, institutions, values, civilizations, ideologies, doctrines, or religions. Indeed, adaptability required that agents evolved a capacity to undergo the influence of symbols [p. 7190].

Given these requirements, there have been multiple examples of the use of agent-based modeling to evaluate the behavior of humans as well as the processes of disease [see 45, 54-55, 57, 59-61, among several others].

Indeed, the French magistrate, Jean-Louis Bruguière, a leading counter-terrorist who has investigated Al Qaeda for many years, described Al Qaeda as a virus, capable of rapid adaptation, adapting "more rapidly than its environment, just as viruses do in order to survive;" in the case of Al Qaeda, transforming itself to become "the ultimate flexible Non-Governmental Organization, able to exert political influence worldwide, not least in Iraq" [quoted in 30, p. 13]. In yet another acknowledgement of this virus-like ability to adapt, Atran recently noted that "[s]uicide attacks in Baghdad, Karbala and Quetta on the Shi'ite holy day of Ashura suggest that the transnational jihadist terrorist network is mutating into an acephalous structure" [62].

Epstein et al.'s [45] research provides an example of agent-based modeling as applied to terrorism research – although here the approach is utilized in understanding the intentional spread of disease through bioterrorism – with modification, it could also prove useful in modeling the spread of fanatic ideas. Using the example of bioterrorism in general and smallpox bioterror in particular, Epstein and his colleagues constructed a containment model using a form of agent-based modeling termed individual-based modeling (so as not to confuse human agents and disease agents). As an epidemic is both nonlinear and stochastic, it is uniquely suited to the agent-based modeling methodology. The authors explained that they chose smallpox, as the introduction of smallpox into the population through bioterror is currently of great concern to policymakers. Unlike anthrax (which does not spread from host to host, but rather must result from inhalation, ingestion, or cutaneous (skin) contact with spores from *bacillus anthracis*), smallpox is highly communicable, has an incubation period that averages 12-14 days, is not affected by vaccines unless they are administered within 4 days of exposure, and results in fatality rates of approximately 30 percent. Further, one case of smallpox results on average in 10-20 new cases and can generate multiple new cases exponentially as it is passed in iterated infected waves. Contagion can begin as early as the onset of fever, prior to any of the more obvious indicators of smallpox (i.e., the incidence of blisters and rash) and before accurate diagnosis [63]. While variola major is the most common form of smallpox (approximately 90% of cases have been of the variola major type), there are three other forms including flat smallpox and hemorrhagic smallpox, both of which have a far greater fatality rate than variola major [ibid.]. As a result of worldwide vaccination efforts, the last case of the disease in the United States occurred in 1949, and the last naturally occurring case in the world was in 1977. For these reasons and because vaccinations have not been given routinely to the American population since 1972, smallpox resistance in the general population is assumed to have degraded substantially [63, 45].

Bioterrorism using human beings as the vector from which the biological "bomb" would ensue is a subset of suicide terrorism. As a method of delivery, bioterror is

particularly insidious; the original "explosion" continues to wreak havoc in waves of contagion that are no longer spread by the host, but by those who have been unwittingly exposed. National strategies often lend themselves to a form of agent-based modeling predicated upon projections of what terrorists may do and how populations may respond given those constraints inherent to the terrorists, the virus, the hosts, and the government's vaccination and response policies. The construction of the epidemiological model allows for the estimation of uncertainty and the evaluation of competing approaches and strategies [45].

Responding to public concern and calls for policy response options, individual-based modeling (as a form of agent-based modeling) has been used to predict the spatial spread of smallpox in a typical setting for release. The investigators argue that uncertainty requires this form of modeling so as to compare intervention strategies [45]. Although, in this case, the model was built to evaluate a smallpox epidemic, it is capable of adaptation for use with any pathogen and/or social structure. The model was created with heterogeneity of health status and resultant mixing, and so is capable of tracking the disease as it progresses in stages and through precise contagion contacts with family, fellow workers, schoolmates, and within a hospital. The model also tracks the success of vaccination and isolation strategies within these social units. The authors chose contact and transmission probabilities in the model with reference to historical data gathered from 49 smallpox outbreaks in Europe from 1950 to 1971, thereby simulating the transmission of cases in similar epidemics. Accompanied by the assumption that all individuals are susceptible, the first index case was released.

Findings indicated that even a partial vaccination strategy (focused upon preemptive vaccination of hospital workers, reactive vaccination for family members of victims, and reactive vaccinations for volunteers who have been successfully vaccinated for smallpox in the past) when combined with isolation of confirmed cases would succeed in confining the disease and limiting the outbreak significantly [45, p. 25].

As mentioned above, ABM is limited in its ability to predict, however enhancements in programming and data calibration will allow the simulations to answer more precise questions [52]. The continued and expanded use of data associated with historical trends and patterns to inform probabilities and assumptions will extend the benefits of this approach from the acknowledged ability to model "heterogeneous social units with distinctive internal dynamics" [45, p. 24] to include even more precise predictive capabilities.

Destabilizing Terrorist Groups: Order Theory

> Organizations are composed of intelligent adaptive agents constrained and enabled by their positions in networks linking agents and knowledge. Consequently, organizations are themselves synthetic agents in which knowledge and learning reside in the minds of the participant agents and in the connections among them [64, p. 63].

Order theory, a branch of mathematics dealing with hierarchical relationships, has also been tapped to contribute to efforts to understand terrorism through formal modeling. As recently as September of 2004, specialists in discrete mathematics and theoretical computer science at Rutgers University held a "Workshop on Applications of Order Theory to Homeland Defense and Computer Security." Given that it is difficult and

costly to attempt to capture or kill all members of a particular terrorist organization, one practical use of order theory is in the attempt to quantify the effectiveness of attempts at disruption of terrorist organizations and individual cells. This quantification allows for answers to questions about terrorist organizations such as "How can you tell if enough members of a terrorist cell have been captured or killed so there's a high probability that the cell can no longer carry out an attack?" [65] or alternatively, "How many . . . lieutenants would you have to remove in order to disrupt communication between the top dogs and the field operatives?" [66]. Given that recent research asserts that terrorist organizations are at their most vulnerable when in transition – a time of difficult choices about strategy, tactics, and even structure – investigations such as these may have particular utility [67].

The application of order theory to terrorism generally takes place via graphs or networks of ordered sets of relationships or communication lines between terrorists within an organization.[5] Methods of graphing vary from a simple graph to extremely complex lattices. According to Farley [69] the latter is more effective as it can more clearly reflect lines of communication between leaders and foot soldiers (followers) in the group. Understanding and graphing these lines of communication (termed maximal chains) between leaders and foot soldiers is critical if the goal is effective disruption of communications between terrorist leaders and foot soldiers, and especially if the assumption is that this type of disruption would end or severely limit the group's efficacy as a unit. Farley's method results in an equation that calculates "the probability that a terrorist cell has been disrupted" based upon a) the number of individuals in the group, b) the number of operatives that have been removed, and c) the number of "cutsets"[6] in the group that contain exactly the same number of operatives as the number of operatives that have been removed from the group [for the full equation see 69, pp. 405-406]. The equation also assumes that the likelihood of removing any one member is static, whether the member is a leader or a follower.

Order theory may have practical utility, however its limitations include the reality that individuals can still carry out orders, even without the presence of their leaders,[7] as well as the fact that this theory is predicated upon the assumption that the terrorist group will remain consistently connected to its relevant cells. It is not only possible but probable that, "participants may operate essentially individually, and may not be stationed together in any one locality… they may form emergent virtual cells, the members of which would be dispersed over the world, communicating via the Internet to plan an attack" [27, see also 70].

These limitations have led to the inclusion of human cognition in other similar models, which further assume that human networks are dynamic and changing. In their article "Destabilizing Networks," Carley, Lee, and Krackhardt [71] note that "to determine how to change or destabilize a network . . . it is important to consider the further webs in which a social network is situated and the way in which human cognition operates" [p. 83]. Carley and her colleagues at Carnegie Mellon have used their expanded computer simulations to achieve significant predictive success. One example would be the correct prediction, after the assassination of Hamas founder

---

[5] For more detailed information on order theory see Davey & Priestley [68].

[6] Collections of individuals that "cut" or intersect every maximal chain of command (connection between leader and foot soldier) in a particular terrorist group.

[7] As mentioned earlier, many organizations are capable of ingraining metaprinciples that can assist in guiding members in the absence of their leaders and in contingent situations [see 35].

Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, that hard-liner Abdel Azziz Rantisi would take his place, *and* after the assassination of Rantisi, the accurate prediction that political director Khaled Mashaal would replace him [66, also see 72, 64].

Despite the success of Carley and associates, there are challenges to order theory that analysts need to be sensitive to and deal with. In particular, the proclivity of terrorist organizations to evolve and change, and to do so in great secrecy, makes accurate order theory predictions contingent upon specific, continually updated, and detailed information. This issue leads to the further problem of leader and followership. It may not always be possible for the modeler to accurately pinpoint the leaders in a particular cells of the terrorist organization, if inaccuracy occurs at this stage later predictions may also suffer.

Concluding Remarks: The Role of Psychology

> He will win who, prepared himself, waits to take the enemy unprepared (Sun Tzu, *The Art of War)*.

This study has synthesized several modeling approaches capable of increasing predictive accuracy and enhancing our understanding of the behavior of terrorist groups. However, each of these techniques may be improved by asking questions that are unique to psychology in particular and to political psychology in general. Theoretic understanding of terrorist organizations as well as success in the ability to predict terrorist related phenomena appear to be related to and growing from dynamic combinations of existing methodologies. It appears that it is the ability to combine relevant fields, including economics, mathematics, political science, psychology, sociology, theology, computer science, epidemiology, as well as others, that has lead to the creation of more realistic models with better predictive ability. As a result, the future of effective modeling for terrorist group decisions and behavior, and the influence and effect of governmental responses to acts of terrorism, will depend upon the inclusion of trained interdisciplinarians in this important research. Many fields have individually responded to the disparate phenomena of terrorism; it is increasingly critical that these researchers work in multidisciplinary teams and contexts to facilitate understanding and to augment models that at once mirror the complexity and create the simplicity necessary for accurate prediction and concomitant public policy development.

The models here reviewed often limit references to the psychology of groups and individuals in their rush to model the behavior and decision-making processes of terrorist organizations. The psychological dimensions of the organization and of the terrorist within the organization are key determinants of behavior. Neither these nor the psychological impact of terrorism on its victimized populations can be underestimated; suicide terrorism in particular is designed to shock our sensibilities – in addition to the murder of civilians and the destruction of property. The response of governments and mass publics after September 11th, 2001 was in no small way affected by psychological reactions to the enormity of the destruction and the horror of the human cost of the near-simultaneous hijacked jetliners crashing into the twin Trade Towers in New York, the Pentagon in Washington, DC, and a rural field in Pennsylvania – followed closely by biological terrorism in the form of anthrax laced envelopes in the public mail. Fear

imbued the responses of individuals and governments. The erosion of civil liberties quickly followed, impelled by fear and supported by outrage and shock. Terrorism depends upon fear as a primary motivator for government capitulation to terrorist demands.

Increasing the validity of predictive models requires the addition of constructs and insights from the psychology of groups, including a detailed understanding of the dynamics of group recruitment and individual needs and motives. Any attempts to promote resilience in populations or "immunity" to ideological pressure, will require full comprehension of the psychological traumas that increase vulnerability, as well as the motivations that impel group membership and participation in group violence. If we are to do more than exterminate terrorists, if we are to grasp the root causes and dynamics of the phenomenon, then the psychology of interaction and the motives underlying those interactions must enter into these models. As terrorist groups adapt over time, our models must build in the capacity to adapt as well; this requires knowledge of the psychological processes, cognitive limitations, and motivational configurations of human beings.

Lowenberg and Mathews [73] stated that "if terrorism is indeed rational or strategic in nature, then a clear implication is that counterterrorism policy can be made more effective by designing measures to alter the incentives or opportunities confronting potential terrorists" [p. 10]. The construction of incentives and opportunities requires an apprehension of the psychological dimensions of incentives and the appeal of unique incentives and/or opportunities to individuals whose views of what is appealing and what should be considered as an opportunity are based upon specific cultural and religious precepts.

In a recent article, Campbell argued that the most important asset in overcoming terrorism is the human mind, and that out-thinking the terrorists will include:

(1) the ability to formulate complex relational models, (2) an awareness and recognition of the critical level variables, (3) an understanding of their influence and interrelation, (4) a determination of the controllable and non-controllable aspects of each variable, (5) the implicational value of such factors as applied to potential terrorist scenarios, and (6) an assessment of the potential consequences of shifts in each variable's valuation to the overall model [74, p. 2].

However, treating terrorism as a problem of "variables" is too limiting; adding psychological constructs and insights to this call to arms would increase the likelihood of effectiveness. The unpredictability of the phenomenon of terrorism, and particularly of suicide terrorism, when combined with the fact that these individuals seemingly exist in a world that does not recognize earthly rules, laws, or justice, has a significant psychological influence on all that are involved – even peripherally – including the victims and witnesses and their families, populations who continue to be at risk, and the network of relatives and friends that the terrorists themselves move within [75]. The inclusion of psychological dynamics, both group and individual, within our predictive models, will expand our ability to "out-think" the opponent.

References

1. Atran S. (2003). Who wants to be a martyr? *Policy Matters*. May 3-12. Retrieved 6/14/04 from: http://www.aei.brookings.org/policy/page.php?id=137

2. Gordon, H. (2002). The suicide bomber: is it a psychiatric phenomenon? *Psychiatric Bulletin.* 26, 285-287.

3. Laqueur, W. (1999). *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction.* New York, Oxford University Press.

4. Perina, K. (2002). Suicide terrorism - seeking motives beyond mental illness. *Psychology Today,* January 9, 15.

5. Post, J. (2001). Interview for documentary *A Mission to Die For.* 10/22/01. Retrieved 6/14/04 from: http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/atta/interviews/post.htm

6. Post, J. (2003). Killing in the name of God: Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda. In B. R. Schneider and J.M. Post (Eds). *Profiles of Adversary Leaders and Their Strategic Cultures.* Alabama: USAF Counterproliferation Center.

7. Taarnby, M. (2003). *Profiling Islamic Suicide Terrorists: A Research Report for the Danish Ministry of Justice.* Centre for Cultural Research: University of Aarhus, Denmark.

8. Volkan, V. (2002). September 11 and societal regression. *Group-Analysis,* 35, 4, 456-483.

9. Bandura, A. (1990). Mechanisms of moral disengagement. In W. Reich (Ed.) *Origins of terrorism: Psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind* (pp. 161-191). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

10. Crenshaw, M. (2000). The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21st Century. *Political Psychology*, 21, 2, 405-420.

11. McGraw, K.M. (In Press). The Infrastructure of Political Psychology. In L.O. Valenty Shepherd (Ed). Political Psychology. Germany: VS Verlag.

12. McGraw, K.M. (2000). Contributions of the Cognitive Approach to Political Psychology. Political Psychology 21: 805-832.

13. Myerson, R.B. (1991). Game Theory: Analysis of Conflict. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

14. Starner, T. (2003). Modeling for terrorism: companies look for an edge using game theory, details and "silent vectors" (Reinsurance). *Risk & Insurance.* 14, 5, 30.

15. von Neumann, J., & O. Morgenstern. 1944. *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

16. Binmore, K. (1995). Foreword. In J. Weibull *Evolutionary Game Theory.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

17. Tucker, A. (1950). Prisoner's Dilemma: A two person dilemma. In E. Rasmussen (Ed.), *Readings in games and economics* (pp. 7–8). Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001.

18. Pape, R.A. (2003). The strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review,* 97, 3, 343-361.

19. Arce M., D.G. & T. Sandler (2005). Counterterrorism: A Game-Theoretic Analysis. *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 49, 2, 183-200.

20. Lapan, H.E., & Sandler, T. (1993). Terrorism and signalling. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 9, 3, 383–397.

21. Lee, D.R. (1988). Free riding and paid riding in the fight against terrorism. *American Economic Review*, 78, 2, 22–26.

22. Overgaard, P. B. (1994). Terrorist attacks as a signal of resources. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38, 3, 452–478.

23. Sandler, T. & W. Enders. (2004). An economic perspective on transnational terrorism. *European Journal of Political Economy,* 20, 1.

24. Sandler, T., Tschirhart, J.T., & J. Cauley. (1983). A theoretical analysis of transnational terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, 77, 4, 36–54.

25. Scott, J. L. (1991). Reputation building in hostage incidents. *Defence Economics*, 2, 2, 209–218.

26. Sandler, T. & D. G. Arce M. (2003). Terrorism and Game Theory. *Simulation & Gaming*, 34, 3.

27. Woo, G. (2002). Mathematical Aspects of Terrorism Hazard. *Catastrophe Risk Management*. April.

28. Arce M., D.G. & T. Sandler (2005). The Dilemma of the Prisoners' Dilemmas. *KYKLOS*, 1. Retrieved on June 1, 2005 from: http://irving.vassar.edu/MIEC/arce.pdf

29. Camerer, C.F. (2003). *Behavioral Game Theory: Experiments in Strategic Interaction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

30. Woo, G. (2004). *Understanding Terrorism Risk*. RMS Report retrieved 6/14/05 from: http://www.rms.com/Publications/UnderstandTerRisk_Woo_RiskReport04.pdf

31. Woo, G. (2002). The Art of Terror. Risk Transfer: *The Global Publication for Risk Professionals*, September 2.

32. Irwin, R. (2001). Is this the man who inspired Bin Laden? Robert Irwin on Sayyid Qutb, the father of modern Islamist fundamentalism *The Guardian.* November 1. Retrieved on June 5, 2005 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/g2/story/0,3604,584478,00.html

33. Camerer, C.F., & G. Loewenstein. (2003). Behavioral Economics, Past, Present, and Future. In G. Camerer, C.F., Loewenstein, G. & M. Rabin (Eds.). *Advances in Behavioral Economics.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

34. Camerer, C.F., & U. Malmendier. (2005). *Behavioral Organizational Economics.* Paper presented at the Yrjö Jahnsson Foundation Conference on Economic Institutions and Behavioral Economics.

35. Kreps, D. (1990). Corporate Culture and Economic Theory. In J. Alt and K. Shepsle (Eds.) *Perspectives on Positive Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

36. Weber, R. S. Rick, & C.F. Camerer. (2004). The effects of organizational structure and codes on the performance of laboratory firms. *Carnegie working paper*, May.

37. Larwood, L. & W. Whittaker. (1977). Managerial Myopia: Self-Serving Biases in Organizational Planning. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 62, 2, 194-199.

38. Kahneman, D. & A. Tversky. (1979). Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica,* 47, 263-91.

39. McDermott, R. (2004). Editor's Introduction. *Political Psychology,* 25, 2, 147-162.

40. McDermott, R. (2004). Prospect Theory in Political Science: Gains and Losses From the First Decade. *Political Psychology*, 25, 2, 289-312.

41. Camerer, C. F. & Thaler, R.H. (1995). Anomalies: Ultimatums, Dictators and Manners. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 9, 2, 209–19.

42. AIR Worldwide Corporation. (2005). *Quantifying The Risk from Terrorist Attacks.* Retrieved June 1, 2005 from: http://www.air-worldwide.com/_public/html/terrorism.asp

43. *Insurance Journal.* (2002). RMS Unveils Game Theory-Based Terrorism Risk Model. Wells Publishing, Inc. September 19.

44. Gunaratna, R. (2002). *Inside Al Qaeda, Global Network of Terror.* New York: Columbia University Press.

45. Epstein, J.M., Cummings, D.A.T., Chakravarty, S., Singha, R.M. & D.S. Burke. (2004). *Toward a containment strategy for smallpox bioterror: an individual-based computational approach.* Washington DC: Brookings Institution.

46. Latane, B. (1996). The emergence of clustering and correlation from social interaction. In R. Hegelmann and H.O. Peitgen (Eds.) *Models of Social Dynamics: Order, Chaos, and Complexity*. Vienna: Holder, Picker, Tempsky.

47. Latane, B. & E. Fink. (1996). Symposium: Dynamical social impact theory and communication. *J. Communication,* 46, 4-77.

48. Latane, B. & A. Nowak. (1994). Attitudes as catastrophes: From dimensions to categories with increasing involvement. In R. R. Vallacher and A. Nowak (Eds.), *Dynamical Systems in Social Psychology.* New York: Academic Press.

49. Merrill III, S. (1999). *A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity Spatial Models.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

50. Roberts, F.S. (2003). Challenges for Discrete Mathematics and Theoretical Computer Science in the Defense against Bioterrorism. In H.T. Banks and C. Castillo-Chavez (Eds). *Bioterrorism: Mathematical Modeling Applications in Homeland Security.* Philadelphia: Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics.

51. Castillo-Chavez, C. & B. Song. (2003). Models for the Transmission Dynamics of Fanatic Behaviors. In H.T. Banks and C. Castillo-Chavez (Eds). *Bioterrorism: Mathematical Modeling Applications in Homeland Security.* Philadelphia: Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics.

52. Bankes, S.C. (2002). Agent-based modeling: A revolution? *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.* Vol. 99, Suppl. 3: 7199-7200. May 14.

53. Brian, J.L., Berry, L. Kiel, D., & E. Elliott (2002). Adaptive Agents, Intelligence, and Emergent Human Organization: Capturing Complexity through Agent-Based Modeling. *PNAS*, 99, 7187. May 14.

Working Group 1
Reducing the Threat of Substate Terrorism:
Interventions to Reduce the Efficacy of Committed Terrorists

Working Group Members: Linda O. Valenty (Chair), Dipak
Gupta, Shaul Kimhi, Gary LaFree, Tom Pyszczynski, Cindy Storer

Introduction

Our working group provides policy recommendations for specific interventions that
may be taken to reduce the efficacy of committed terrorists. Our recommendations take
place within four general categories. These include methods for reducing the spread of
violent extremist ideologies, the necessity of opening pathways for discourse, the
utility of practical counterterrorism interventions, and the importance of governmental
support for specific practical and theoretical research endeavors.

**Reducing the Spread of Violent Extremist Ideologies: Competing Political Values
and Social Values**

Attempts to reduce the efficacy of committed terrorists will be benefited by efforts to
support those individuals and groups who are voices for moderation within
communities from which terrorist groups recruit. Such support promotes the more
peaceful and tolerant values that exist as components of the worldviews of most
cultures. Acknowledging that the vast majority of people in most cultures are peaceable
and abhor the violence perpetrated by terrorist groups, the importance of identifying
and supporting respected, charismatic, and peaceful leaders from within the cultures
and religions that are used by extremists to promote terrorism is an important step
toward reducing support for violence within these communities. Supporting these
leaders and groups will promulgate the message of peace. This support will in turn
allow for a more dynamic dissemination of information to people within terrorism-
prone communities and to the general public, about the core values that are the
foundation of their cultures and religions.

Efforts to encourage voices for moderation will be enhanced by concomitant
activities to support those who are the intelligentsia within these communities. These

individuals will serve as opinion leaders, will assist in reaching the moderate majority, and will work with us to promote tolerance in the hearts and minds of the next generation.

It is generally agreed that one important factor in breeding terrorism is real or perceived oppression. People who feel oppressed need peaceful leaders in the manner of a Gandhi or a Martin Luther King, Jr. – educated and powerful voices who became world-renowned spiritual leaders. Beleaguered people need leaders who will assertively promote the message of peace and the power of nonviolent protest and demonstration to foster dialogue and ultimately address and resolve grievances. Terrorist group leaders that promote violence and disruption must be countered with leaders that counsel nonviolence and peaceful stability between adherents of differing faiths and political persuasions.

Reducing the Spread of Violent Extremist Ideologies: Developing Intelligence

The development of strategies to counter the spread of violent extremist ideologies requires better, more precise information about what is occurring at the heart of terrorist organizations. To assist in understanding terrorist group strategies, objectives, and the process of indoctrinating new adherents, more effort must be expended to develop ground-level human sources of intelligence. It is these informants who will provide the necessary information from within terrorist groups. It is on the basis of these types of information that we will be able to counter the exact strategies, processes, and methods that terrorist groups are utilizing to spread disinformation about their culture and/or religion in a way that promotes violence as a religious or heroic act.

In order to understand the spread of violent extremist ideology, we need to know not only about groups that adopt it, but also about groups that do not. A non-violent group promulgating a new Islamic caliphate is as important as a violent group that does so. Further understanding of how groups cope with perceived oppression and other problems in a peaceful way is needed so that these groups might be used as models for more constructive methods of promoting social change among those committed to such change.

Reducing the Spread of Violent Extremist Ideologies: Communication/Dissemination of Information

It is increasingly important to determine when and how media coverage of terrorism has increased support and assisted in generating recruits for terrorist groups. If there are indeed divergent responses to terrorist attacks among members of those groups supposedly represented by the terrorists, we need to understand which factors increase support and which factors reduce support for terrorists' actions. This should be a high priority for research, with the ultimate goal of using this knowledge to frame communications in the mass media and elsewhere to promote disapproval of such tactics. One such approach might be messages that humanize the victims of terrorist attacks.

Terrorist groups have harnessed the Internet and used it to send brutal images of executions and other violence around the world, thereby at once attempting to generate support and send the message that their subterranean grid of violence, violent images, and information cannot be stopped. Concerted efforts to shut down the servers that host these images and messages should be continued, with determined efforts to uncover the identity of their clients.

Additionally, the Internet has become one of the easiest methods of modern communication between terrorists. As a communications device, when combined with the use of coded language, the Internet has been fairly effective for terrorist groups. Efforts to use computer tracking technologies and human intelligence to intercept email proxies should continue and should receive strong logistic and financial support. In addition, it is increasingly important to support research and research institutes that conduct web-based studies of communications between terrorists.

Dialogue: Opening Paths for Discourse

The path that led away from the protracted violence and terrorism that characterized the struggle in Northern Ireland included constructive communication with group leaders. Accordingly, we recommend that it is time to begin this process and work toward opening dialogue with leaders of terrorist organizations – particularly al-Qaeda. To facilitate discourse, we will need to build a foundation from which to communicate with these leaders. Research that evaluates past successes at dialogue with terrorist organizations will assist in developing those conditions necessary for effective discourse.

Discourse will begin unofficially. In order to facilitate communication it will be key that we establish which of the individuals in particular terrorist organizations must be involved in any successful dialogue. To this end it will be effective to identify those individuals within terrorist groups who serve as links to the media and begin the discourse at those points.

One clear and obvious avenue for opening discourse with terrorist groups is movement toward stability in Iraq. Effective methods for reducing violence, rebuilding communities, developing trust in those communities, creating infrastructure, and implementing a system of fair, representative governmental institutions, must be identified immediately and pursued relentlessly.

Counterterrorism

We must continue to heighten security for targets throughout the world. As we know, transportation venues are particularly at risk. Surface transportation locations (as the world recently witnessed in London) are extremely vulnerable. Focused efforts are needed to "harden" targets where potential victims consistently gather. Both the intensification of intelligence gathering activities and the dispersion of recent and advanced technological innovations to detect potential terrorist activities should continue to be evaluated, funded, and receive rapid implementation (including biometric identification systems, remote sensing and detection of conventional

explosives, biological, and chemical weapons; enhanced communications technology; vehicle locator and global positioning systems; improved vehicle design/material as well as improved airport/seaport/train and bus station designs with the objective of deterring terrorism and minimizing the impact of the deployment of chemical, biological, and/or explosive devices). Although deterrence is of the highest priority, detection, rapid response, and intervention are also critical. Efforts to enhance these interventions should receive continued and additional support.

It is clear that efforts to reduce the flow of money between and within terrorist organizations have, although effective, not been completely successful and so must be escalated. Research to determine effective methods for reducing the flow of funds should be supported by NATO and recommendations following from such research should be implemented.

Continued efforts to reduce the travel of terrorists should also receive complete funding. Funding should be allocated for intelligence efforts, for the development of multiple strategies to track and prevent travel (including by air, sea, rail, bus, and car), and for the implementation of interventions in the purposed movement of terrorists.

It is also imperative that we negotiate stronger extradition treaties. Along these lines, the definition of terrorism that we use is critical in determining whether we treat terrorism as a criminal offense and terrorist organizations as criminal groups, or terrorism as a political act and terrorist organizations as political groups. The truth is somewhere in the middle. It is therefore critical to determine relevant international and national law and implement it rigorously.

Additional Research:

Origins of Terrorism

NATO would be well served to support additional research into the origins of terrorism and to fund thorough and valid assessments of the political, social, and psychological processes of terrorism. Practically speaking, we need to know who the insurgents are, where they are coming from, and how they have developed socially, politically, and psychologically. We need to understand the motivations, recruitment mechanisms, indoctrination process, and the impact of specific world events (e.g., government policies, like the occupation of Iraq) that encourage support for terrorism. Additionally we need to fully comprehend the social and governmental patterns within the terrorist home nations that support escalation of terrorism as well as those that undergird the sudden desistance of terrorism. We need to know why and when terrorism does not occur, and we need to understand how and when those with significant grievances are able to resolve them without resorting to terrorism.

Diaspora Communities

It is increasingly important to support research on diaspora communities. Clearly, terrorist groups have a difficult time remaining effective without the support of sympathetic followers. These followers are very often part of diaspora communities. Hence, knowing what leads these communities to cut off funds to terrorist groups and

reject their activities is a very significant issue. This is likely to become especially important in Europe in the wake of the bombings of London's public transport system on July 7th, 2005. Those who are trained in "jihads" around the world and return to diaspora communities represent a closely related and increasingly significant problem in Europe.

The Role of Grievance

Empirical research that evaluates the roles played by grievance, perceptions of grievance, and responses to grievance will clarify significant patterns in the development of terrorism. Terrorism has been dramatically affected by disagreements about the nature of grievances, group representation, group treatment, responsible parties, and by proposed solutions to grievances. These relationships require additional research.

Terrorist Operations

In practical terms we need to better understand funding mechanisms, transfers of money, travel patterns, use of technology, and choice of timing and target.

Predictive Modeling

Methods designed to understand and predict the behavior of individual suicide terrorists and terrorist groups should be informed by both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Increasing the validity of predictive models requires the addition of constructs and insights from the psychology of culture and groups, including a detailed understanding of the dynamics of group recruitment and individual needs and motives. Any attempts to promote resilience in populations or "immunity" to ideological pressure, will require full comprehension of the psychological traumas that increase vulnerability, as well as the motivations that impel group membership and participation in group violence. The psychological dimensions of the organization and of the terrorist within the organization are key determinants of behavior. Neither these nor the psychological impact of terrorism on its victimized populations can be underestimated.

Need for Interdisciplinary Approaches

Theoretic understanding of terrorist organizations as well our ability to predict terrorist related phenomena appear to be related to and growing from dynamic combinations of existing methodologies. The ability to combine relevant fields, thereby melding political and military strategies with knowledge from social and behavioral sciences, international economics, quantitative methodology, theology, computer science, and epidemiology (to name but a few of the contributing academic disciplines) will lead to the creation of more realistic models with better predictive ability. The future of effective modeling and successful governmental responses to acts of terrorism will depend upon the inclusion of trained interdisciplinarians in this important research. Many fields have individually responded to the disparate phenomena of terrorism; it is

increasingly critical that these researchers work in multidisciplinary teams and contexts to facilitate understanding and to augment models that at once mirror the complexity and create the simplicity necessary for accurate prediction and concomitant public policy development.

Research Support

To support additional and ongoing research, we recommend that NATO and others in a position to do so:

--Provide immediate investment in the infrastructure required to support updated, validated, openly available global terrorism data. The accumulation of accurate data along with a sustained effort to continually update information on terrorism events *and* on counterterrorism efforts is critical.

--Expand datasets on the influence of counterterrorism. Data on counterterrorism responses is extremely limited at present. Policymakers need to know more about how the variety of counterterrorism responses affects terrorism and terrorist events.

--Support the development of these datasets by allowing researchers more rapid access to relevant data. To this end, we recommend that NATO develop an efficient scheme for declassification of those materials that are not highly sensitive. Researchers need recent and accurate information to use their skills effectively and provide valuable data to policy makers. Our ability to move toward a resolution of the dilemma of terrorism requires that researchers be empowered in this way to provide specific and realistic recommendations.

--Promote analysis that proceeds from methodological triangulation. We must do much more to support research that relies upon unique but complementary methodologies (e.g., combining mathematical modeling with the use of surveys and qualitative analysis of case studies). As emphasized above, it is through dynamic combinations of existing methodologies that we are most likely to accomplish theoretic breakthroughs in understanding and predicting the phenomena of terrorism. Accordingly, we recommend a focused funding effort to support interdisciplinary teams and research institutes, prepared and able to develop integrated analytic approaches to developing terrorism policies.

--Support the development and maintenance of a web site that presents a compendium of the major works on terrorism, cross-listed and continually updated for future reference.

Support for Universal Human Rights

Finally, we recommend that NATO join with the United Nations, other international organizations, and individual nations, to provide greater support for universal human

rights. Just as international pressure played a role in defeating Apartheid in South Africa, international pressure and sanctions should now be considered against oppressive regimes that deny basic human rights to their citizens. In addition to pressure from international organizations and individual nations, widely respected representatives of morality – such as religious and human rights organizations – should be encouraged to lobby for increased human rights and respect for the dignity of diverse peoples throughout the world. The potential long-term consequences of failing to serve as strong advocates for universal human rights should inform interactions with oppressive regimes.

Working Group 2
Preventing Substate Terrorist Groups from Recruiting and Retaining Young Members

Members: Jeff Victoroff, Mohammed Hafez, Jerrold Post, Arie Kruglanski , Brian Barber, Anne Speckhard, Khapta Akhmedova, Barbara Celinska, Catherine Ahmad, Sarnoff Mednick

Introduction

Working Group 2 of NATO's ARW on Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism deliberated, both during and after our meeting in Tuscany, regarding the best policies to reduce the recruitment and retention of young people into terrorist groups. We identified multiple opportunities for intervention as well as limits to our own recommendations. The opportunities are a number of likely modifiable influences on participation in political terrorism. The limitations are (1) the essential diversity of terrorism, (2) the early stage of research in this field, (3) the differences in the real-world practicality of various recommendations, and (4) the uncertainty (again related to a lack of empirical research) regarding which recommendations are most likely to be truly effective.

It is vital to recognize that subnational terrorist groups and those who join them are highly heterogeneous. What makes one youth heed the siren song of hatred, ready to strike out in despair at the perceived cause of his difficulties while another, sharing the same difficulties, refrains? What makes some groups adopt peaceful protest or nonviolent civil disobedience while others adopt vicious violence? Even among violent groups, each may exhibit its own unique historical context, political orientation, cultural and religious influences, ontogeny, hierarchical organization, and explicit and implicit goals.

Culture and historical heterogeneity, in particular, plays a powerful role in the structure and function of terrorist groups and in the support they enjoy within larger populations. In some societies terrorists are expressing broadly held feelings, whereas in others they represent a distinctly minority sentiment. For instance, when a culture exhibits very strong ethnic, religious, or regional biases, especially when supported by long-standing historical rivalries, terrorist groups may be able to capitalize on such biases in the process of formation, recruitment, and commission of otherwise prohibited acts of violence. When a culture is less preoccupied with and more tolerant of such differences, it seems likely that recruitment to acts of terrible aggression against innocents will be more difficult.

These types of heterogeneity oblige us to deal with each terrorism in its own cultural, political and economic context. Our panel wishes to make clear that there is no "one size fits all" solution. Any psychologically informed recommendation for

preventing terrorist groups from recruiting and retaining young members will invariably apply somewhat differently to different groups, and work more or less effectively for different individuals.

General Framework

That having been said, our group tended to agree that a general framework for understanding terrorist recruitment and retention involves four inter-related components:

1. Inhibiting potential members (usually youth) from turning to terrorism,
2. Producing dissension in the group
3. Facilitating exit from the group
4. Reducing support for the group/organization and its leader(s)

I. Inhibiting potential members (usually youth) from turning to terrorism

The majority of the group's deliberations focused on how best to inhibit potential young people from turning to terrorism. It seems likely that both general conditions of youth and terrorism-specific influences are motivating factors.

General conditions related to the risk of political violence may include: (a) access to universal education, (b) economic instability and lack of opportunity, and (c) few if any opportunities for expression and personal growth

Terrorism-specific influences probably include: (a) exposure to political conflict, especially with direct exposure to political violence, (b) ethnic or religious bias, (c) community support for political violence as normative behavior, (d) networks of contact with existing terrorist leaders/members, (e) messages of hate delivered via early education, direct public incitement, or media sources, including the Internet.

NATO Working Group 2 predicts that success in disseminating specific, non-violent norms and messages will depend upon appropriately considering

(a) the *source* – who delivers the message?

(b) The *content* – What does the message say?

(c) The *timing* – When and in which developmental or historical stage is the message delivered? and

(d) *stratification* – To whom is the message targeted? (e.g., age, gender, culture).

Interventions aimed at reducing youth motivation for joining might therefore involve a broad spectrum of actions by a broad spectrum of agencies. The overall agenda should be to facilitate non-violent norms and alternatives to terrorist behavior.

Types of Interventions

At least five nodes of intervention and domains of action might be defined:

1. Conflict related

We recognize that political, ethnic, or religious conflicts in specific historical contexts, sometimes within national borders and sometimes across national borders, are at the heart of most terrorist movements. We acknowledge that the identification of right and wrong, just and unjust in such conflicts is extremely difficult and controversial--more in the domain of conflict resolution and international diplomacy than counter-terrorism efforts.   Nonetheless, we recognize that one of the most effective strategies for undermining support for recruitment by terrorist groups may simply be prompt, publicly overt, and manifestly earnest efforts to address legitimate grievances.

2. Educational

Educational level in and of itself does not seem to predict membership in terrorist groups. However, it is an open question whether *societies* or subgroups that offer either limited education or biased education may be more likely to exhibit elevated prevalence of sympathy for political violence. It is possible (and worthy of study) that access to universal secondary education in and of itself may somewhat reduce the risk.
     The *content* of the education also probably matters. Efforts must be made to provide access to education that promotes tolerance, helps to reduce ethno-religious bias, and inoculates young people against extremist messages promoting violence. Teaching young children that violence against civilians is acceptable must not be countenanced. On the one hand, we must be respectful of every group's right to free speech. On the other hand, every effort compatible with respect for religious and cultural priorities should be made to provide children and adolescents with educational experiences free from incitement to hurt members of other cultures. We must do our utmost to offer alternative sources of information, for example, supporting programs that challenge terrorist ideology, that help children appreciate the shared humanity of out-groups, and that encourage tolerance.

3. Economic

Poverty per se does not cause terrorism. But hopelessness, despair, and unemployment in the face of large discrepancies in economic opportunity may feed political rage. Efforts must be made to assure, in so far as possible, equitable employment and advancement opportunities for young people, especially those living in zones of conflict or marginalized subgroups.

4. Expression and personal growth

Some evidence suggests that membership in terrorist groups provides identity and purpose. Competing organizations and opportunities for personal expression-- from sports clubs to after school programs to travel opportunities--might reduce the allure of membership in politically violent groups. Again, this recommendation is offered with the caveat that empirical research is necessary to determine its efficacy.

Evidence also suggests that contact and equal participation in projects with mutual goals tends to reduce prejudice. NATO should promote programs that utilize this finding to build a sense of shared humanity between groups in actual or potential conflict—including between the youth of the Muslim diaspora community and the youth of European host nations. Research is urgently need to identify the most effective such interventions.

5. Media-related

Evidence suggests that multiple forms of modern media, from distribution of cassettes of hate speech to DVDs of beheadings to internet chat rooms devoted to incitement, represent potent and dangerous tools for recruitment and retention. Efforts must be made to interrupt, counter, and provide alternatives to this stream of vicious communication.

II. Producing dissension in the group

NATO Working Group 2 agreed that efforts must be made to reduce the structural integrity, coherence, morale, communication and cooperation within subnational terrorist groups. Strategies and agents might range from those involving little intrusion (e.g., simply providing easy access to alternative messages via web sites provided by non-partisan sources), to those involving more intrusion (e.g., electronic interruption of communications, or deliberate creation of psychologically designed content delivered by multiple pathways, including misinformation), to the most intrusive (infiltration and betrayal conducted by intelligence agencies). But interventions that may appear promising (e.g., killing a leader) may sometimes be counterproductive.

While our panel did not develop specific recommendations regarding the best emphasis for these efforts, we agreed that such interventions must be consistent with international law and the accords of the North Atlantic Council. And again, Group 2 cautions that further research is essential to determine the most effective strategies.

III. Facilitating exit from the group

NATO Working Group 2 agreed that efforts must be made to facilitate members' abandoning their terrorist careers. Interviews with former terrorists have begun to provide an empirical basis for understanding the factors that motivate exit. Factors from internecine dissension to disillusionment with ideology to loss of faith in corrupt leaders to aging/maturity appear to be pertinent. Clearly, the goals discussed in our Sections II (promoting dissension) and IV (reducing support) should facilitate group exit. However, without considerable further research, it is premature to offer specific advice regarding the best psychologically informed interventions.

IV. Reducing support for the group/organization and its leader(s)

NATO Working Group 2 agreed that sophisticated efforts must be made to reduce community support for terrorist groups. We also agreed that support from specific individual leaders must be eroded, in so far as possible, both among the larger community and among the members of the terrorist group whose interests the leader claims to represent. Several panel members emphasized that unsophisticated, culturally tone-deaf psychological warfare efforts may be counterproductive.

While we did not develop specific policy recommendations in this area, we agreed that diverse agencies and strategies might work to undercut community support for terrorist groups, from efforts to promote early childhood education for tolerance, to countering messages of hate, to democratic reforms and enfranchisement, to providing alternative outlets for adolescent energy and emotional turmoil, to dissemination of compromising information about corrupt behaviors by groups and their leaders. Psychologically sophisticated, culturally appropriate, multiple resource efforts must be made to deprive terrorist groups and networks of a sympathetic audience.

Conclusion

A great gap exists between what we know and what we need to know in order to reduce the likelihood that young people will turn to terrorism. When terrorism represented a lower level threat, there was perhaps little incentive to fund or investigate potential best practices in a rigorous way. Today, not only is there a global awareness of terrorism as an option and a new global system of recruitment, but also smaller and smaller groups can potentially wreak havoc with increasingly lethal weapons. This dangerous era requires that a concerted international effort be made to determine how best to reduce the allure of terrorist ideologies. Collaborative interdisciplinary research is urgently needed to develop policies and practices that are most likely to prevent impressionable young people, especially those who perceive themselves to be part of simmering or active conflicts, from becoming and remaining committed terrorists.

Working Group 3
Conflict Prevention And Conflict Resolution:
Recommendations For Diplomatic, Political, Military, Economic, Legal And Human Rights Policies Likely To Prevent Or Resolve Tension Provoking Conflict

Group Members: Roger Sambrook (Chair), Jitka Maleckova, Tamas Pick, Todd Sandler, Alex Schmid, Michael Stohl*

Our group (3) focused on actions that would reduce the threat of terrorism.

1. Greater collaboration in the development of open source data sets is needed
    a. Current databases are mostly transnational – there is a need to bring in a local component to account for regional diversity.
    b. Effort should be put into identifying what data needs to be shared and what partnerships / initiatives are needed to ensure that policy makers get the most accurate (rather than most secret) information.
    c. Research efforts such as ITERATE, START etc. need broader collaboration and support both inside and outside the academic community.

2. Studies of the effectiveness of past counter-terrorism responses are needed.
    a. Short term and long term activities and outcomes must be examined.
    b. Analysis is necessary at local, regional and global scales, especially with regards to differences between national and trans-national terrorism.
    c. The relative accuracy, benefits and utility of scientific vs. intelligence gathering approaches need to be more thoroughly examined.

3. Better communication and coordination of research questions and findings is needed. Attempts must be made to facilitate the cross-over between theoretical research and applied / operational areas.
    a. A multidisciplinary approach to terrorism research should be promoted by NATO with the development of clearly defined, and specifically funded research goals and objectives.
    b. Greater information sharing initiatives between academic, government, military and corporate sectors.

c. A mixture and synthesis of qualitative and quantitative approaches is needed, which may involve developing models for "best practices" in terrorism and counter-terrorism research.

4. Research questions should be information / data driven. Specific research questions and areas may include:

a. What viable organizations could be created to 'rival' terrorism, that emphasize building on commonalities between people?

b. What motivations can be provided to prevent hate-mongering?

c. What (if any) are the common root causes of terrorism?

*See additional separate recommendations in the Minority Reports submitted by Alex Schmid and Anna-Lena Svensson-McCarthy.

Minority Report from Working Group 3 Perspectives, Comments and Recommendations

Anna-Lena Svensson-McCarthy
Attorney and Human Rights Consultant
Swizerland
Felicia Pratto
Department of Psychology
University of Connecticut

Preliminary Remarks

The *NATO Advanced Research Workshop on Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism* provided a unique opportunity for inter-disciplinary discourse and communication on a timely and important topic. However, the factors that are or may be relevant in the genesis of terrorism, are clearly so complex, that several workshops would be required to adequately cover them. NATO is therefore encouraged to continue promoting these exchanges, which should, however, be extended also to comprise international law experts. Law has the intrinsic potential to stimulate peaceful change conducive to justice, peace and security, be that at the internal or international level. Some of the research projects that were discussed in this workshop, could also have been enriched – and been more convincing - had some legal components been included in the analyses concerned.

Together with a number of other participants, I joined Working Group 3, which was to draft recommendations for purposes of conflict prevention and conflict resolution. Given the fact that I am a lawyer, I will primarily focus on a few selected aspects that fall within my particular field of specialization, which is international law, including international human rights law. In this report, I will thus provide a list of some of the *basic* recommendations that would strengthen the 26 NATO countries – and other countries as well - in their fight against terrorism. Other, more precise recommendations could be made, but for the purpose of this report, it has been considered preferable to remain relatively general.

My recommendations should be seen in the light of the following six comments:

Firstly, the Preamble to the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty provides that the Parties thereto "are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilizations of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic Area". The first undertaking of the Parties found in the operational part of the Treaty – article 1 – is then "as set forth in the <u>Charter of the United Nations,</u> to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that

international *peace* and *security* and *justice* are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" (italics added).

Secondly, according to article 2 of the Treaty, "[t]he Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them."

Thirdly, on the 19th and 20th September 2005, NATO Secretary General, Mr. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, visited the United Nations in New York and discussed with the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, "current operations and ideas for enhancing NATO-UN cooperation".[1] Such cooperation must, of course, respect the terms of the United Nations Charter, including the purposes and principles contained in articles 1 and 2 thereof.

Fourthly, NATO is increasingly involved not only in crisis management but also in peacekeeping operations. In the NATO briefing paper of September 2005, it is explained, *inter alia*, that "[t]oday, the classical task of serving as a 'neutral buffer' between consenting parties has evolved into operations geared towards managing political, economic and social change, often under difficult circumstances", and further, that "[o]nly a careful, well-planned and coordinated combination of civilian and military measures can create the conditions for long-term, self-sustaining stability and peace".[2] In these operations, law has a fundamentally important role to play for purposes of ensuring sustainability of the peace process. It thus happens that the international community, including NATO, may be called upon to reform a state's legal system.[3]

Fifthly, during the Workshop there appeared to be agreement among researchers that poverty is not a root cause of terrorism. While this may be true if we look at specific suicide bombers, for instance, I suggest that we need to take a much closer look at the link between, *inter alia*, poverty, inequality and violence, including terrorism. I am certainly not suggesting that poverty *per se* creates violent behavior or terrorism, but I want to draw attention to the fact that studies show that poverty, uneven development and exclusion, or the perception thereof, and human rights violations committed by states - are factors that not only may be but in some situations *are being* exploited to foment violence and terrorism. As one example, I would in this respect refer to the United Nations 2003 Common Country Assessment (CCA) of Uzbekistan[4], where it is stated:

---

[1] See http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2005/09-september/e0919b.htm .
[2] For more information on this issue see http://www.nato.int/docu/briefing/crisis-management2-e.pdf, p. 3
[3] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
[4] For more information, see http://www.undg.org/documents/5479-Uzbekistan_CCA.pdf.

The problems related to uneven development are more pronounced in health than in the education system, as national school attendance is still high, both for boys and girls. When social disparities become more pronounced, opportunities potentially exist for extremist groups to capitalize on the perception of growing inequality, as resentment about perceived social injustice blinds some to the shortcomings of alternatives. For example, Namangan province is often cited for its high number of sympathizers for radical Islamic movements, but support in this region may be rather the result of disappointment over socio-economic disenfranchisement than true passion for radical Islam. Thus, there is a potential threat posed by growing numbers of young unemployed men to stability and security, which if not counteracted may directly impinge upon human development.[5]

In this report it is further stated with regard to religious extremism and religious groups:

The Constitution guarantees freedom of religion. However, since 1997, there has been a well-documented series of arrests, some of which appear to be targeted rather loosely. The Government of Uzbekistan regards militant Islamic fundamentalism as the main threat to state security and consequently, three particular groups have been singled out: the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, independent Muslims, who meet outside the state-controlled system of Mosques, and the Hizb-ut-Tahrir. It has already been noted that sympathy for radical Islamic movements in Uzbekistan is often fuelled by discontent with the disappointments of the post-Soviet era rather than by deeply felt attachment to radical Islamic ideology. Sympathy for militants seems to be linked to the lack of possibilities to express discontent within the current institutional framework. The heavy-handed response of the Government has 'also served to radicalize some young men and women who otherwise might practice their religion in a politically neutral manner'.[6]

According to the CCA report, finally,

Disillusionment with the reform process, rising inequalities, citizens' alienation from the state and human rights violations can give rise to an unstable social, economic and political environment and create a threat to security.[7]

It is a sad fact that in May 2004, that is about one year after the publication of the CCA report, an uprising did take place in the Uzbek city of Andijan. It was violently suppressed by the state security forces and numerous people were killed.[8] The United Nation's report clearly foresaw the possibility of such tragic event.

---

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44; footnotes omitted.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 45; footnotes omitted.
[7] *Ibid., loc. cit.*
[8] See http://www.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/europe/10/02/uzbekistan.arms.ap/index.html

Lastly, *all* NATO states are Member States of the United Nations, *all* NATO states have also ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, *and all* of them, except, for good reason, Canada and the United States, are parties to the European Convention on Human Rights. The Charter of the United Nations, as well as the two preceding human rights treaties, are legally binding on the States Parties concerned.

Recommended Short Term and Long Term Actions to Prevent and Respond to Terrorism

While it is ultimately for NATO itself to decide what kind of action would be both consistent with its mandate as defined in the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 and conducive to eliminating extreme violence and terrorism, I believe that the following recommendations are essential as a first step in the prevention of, and response to, terrorism, and that they fall squarely within NATO's changing role that gives increased emphasis to peace-building measures. Indeed, they can be seen as, on the one hand, basically confirming past policies, and on the other hand, emphasizing the importance of present moves towards the conclusion of new partnerships for purposes of enhancing the peace-building activities, thereby hopefully making them more effective.

1. NATO as an organization, as well its States Parties when acting in their individual capacity, should design and pursue their diplomatic actions/foreign policy consistently with the highest moral and legal values of the United Nations Charter and the Preamble of the North Atlantic Treaty. Governments are judged by what they do, not by what they say.

2. NATO should further strengthen its cooperation with the United Nations for purposes of preventing violence, including terrorism, in countries where there is a clear potential for violent crisis to erupt. Potential crisis situations should be systematically analyzed for purposes of designing adequate preventive action.

3. NATO should also strengthen its cooperation with the United Nations for purposes of enhancing its peace-building role in post-conflict societies.

4. In order to enable NATO to design the most adequate and efficient responses to terrorism within the framework of its mandate, it should investigate the effectiveness of existing techniques of conflict prevention and conflict resolution; much research has already been done on these issues and many lessons can be drawn from this work.

5. NATO, either alone or in cooperation with other organizations, such as the United Nations and the European Union, should intensify the promotion of the development of democracy in countries emerging from authoritarianism; while this is a process that requires time, a spirit of democracy should be fostered by encouraging effective popular participation in the conduct of public affairs at the local, regional and central levels of the countries concerned.

6. For purposes of both preventing and resolving conflicts, NATO should foster a spirit of justice and equality in the widest sense; the universally recognized civil, cultural, economic, social and political human rights provide an important tool to help ensure that all peoples, including minorities, be treated with due respect for their human dignity. Mutual understanding and respect for peoples' needs, rights and humanity is a precondition for lasting peace. To this end, NATO should, *inter alia*, provide support for teaching and training of human rights to large sectors of society, in particular at the grass-root level, and should also give active support to organizations, associations and other kinds of activities for purposes of enhancing respect and understanding between various communities.

7. In its undertakings to eliminate threats of violence and terrorism in countries of actual or potential conflict, including in its Member States, NATO should urgently begin promoting social justice by encouraging the relevant states to undertake structural, fiscal and other reforms to reduce economic inequality and social exclusion.

8. NATO should ensure that Governments afford one another the greatest measures of assistance in connection with terrorism and related criminal investigations and proceedings.

9. NATO should closely control the sale of weapons and should ensure that weapons of mass destruction--in particular biological, chemical and nuclear weapons--are not sold or otherwise transferred to terrorists or other extremist groups.

10. In their fight against terrorism, NATO Governments should in all circumstances respect international law, including international human rights law and international humanitarian law. Derogations from obligations under international human rights law must only be resorted to on the strict conditions laid down *inter alia* in article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

11. Recourse to military action should be consistent with the United Nations Charter. Military action that is not, or is not perceived to be, lawful and legitimate, is likely to provoke further violence, including terrorist attacks.

Minority Report from Working Group 3 Ten Rules for Preventing and Combating Terrorism

Alex P. Schmid[1]
Former Senior Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Officer,
United Nations' Terrorism Prevention Branch
Presently at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence,
St. Andrews, Scotland

1. Prevent radical individuals and groups from becoming terrorist extremists, by confronting them with a mix of "carrot and stick" – tactics and search for effective counter-motivation measures.

2. Stimulate and encourage defection and conversion of free and imprisoned terrorists and find ways to alienate the terrorists' constituency from the terrorist organization.

3. Maintain the moral high ground in the struggle with terrorists by defending and strengthening the rule of law, good governance, democracy and social justice.

4. Try to address the underlying conflict issues exploited by the terrorists and work toward a peaceful solution while not making any substantive concession to the terrorists themselves.

5. Establish an Early Detection and Early Warning system against terrorism by developing forecasting indicators based on related preparatory activities on the interface between organized crime and political conflict.

6. Deny terrorists access to arms, explosives, travel and identification documents, safe communication, safe travel and sanctuaries; disrupt their preparations and operations through infiltration, communication intercept, and espionage and by limiting their criminal- and fund-raising potential.

7. Reduce low-risk/high-gain opportunities for terrorists to strike by enhancing transportation and communication security and by hardening critical infrastructures and potential sites where mass casualties could occur.

---

[1] The views and opinions expressed here are those of the author and do not represent official positions of the United Nations. The latter are expressed in the Outcome Document of the World Summit of mid-September 2005 and include the five "D"s proposed by the Secretary-General Kofi Annan on 10 March 2005 before the Club de Madrid conference.

8. Prepare for crisis- and consequence-management for both "regular" and "catastrophic" acts of terrorism in coordinated simulation exercises and educate the public to cope with terrorism. Show solidarity with all victims of terrorism.

9. Enhance international technical assistance against terrorism by strengthening the capacity of law enforcement, intelligence and the military of states that lack sufficient capacities while also enhancing internal and external coordination within and between states to deal more effectively with terrorist threats.

10. Last but not least: counter the ideologies, propaganda and indoctrination of secular and non-secular terrorists and try to get the upper hand in the war of ideas – the battle for the hearts and minds of those the terrorists claim to speak and fight for.

This page intentionally left blank

Executive Summary

This page intentionally left blank

Executive Summary

Jeff Victoroff
University of Southern California
Keck School of Medicine

Introduction

NATO's Advanced Research Workshop on Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism gathered a group of world-renowned authorities with the following specific goals:

> 1. To share the findings and insights of world authorities regarding individual psychological factors known or suspected to drive that very small number of people who join terrorist groups or engage in terrorism.
> 2. To share findings and insights regarding social and economic factors known or suspected to increase the risk of terrorism
> 3. To share experience in overcoming the challenges to scientifically based empirical research on the psychosocial causes of terrorism.
> 4. To develop a plan of action to determine the highest priorities for prompt research efforts.

The overarching goal of this Advanced Research Workshop, however, went beyond the usual boundaries of academic scholarship. We set ourselves the goal of determining, in so far as the current state of knowledge allows, how NATO can apply psychosocial research to the development of a long-term plan to reduce the risk of terrorism.

Conclusions from the Workshop Regarding the Social Psychology of Terrorism

1. No single definition of terrorism has been universally accepted. Some authorities emphasize terrorism as a *strategy*, others as a *behavior syndrome*. Nonetheless, three characteristics are widely recognized: (a) terrorism is politically motivated aggression; (b) the victims of this aggression are noncombatants; (c) the primary goal of terrorism is to communicate in order to influence a target audience to change its political or military behavior.

2. Legitimate grievances, oppression, and/or social injustice may represent factors in the genesis of terrorism. However, (a) the precise elements of inter-group conflict that predict the emergence of terrorism--and the degree to which they are modifiable-- urgently require further study, and (b) terrorism is never a justifiable form of political action.

3. While nation-states may engage in or promote terrorism, this ARW focused on substate terrorism.

4. A remarkable gap exists between what is claimed to be known about the roots of terrorism and what is genuinely known based on high quality research. Multiple barriers have frustrated efforts to investigate the cause of terrorism, including a lack of research funding, a lack of access by scholars to research subjects, and limited dialogue between scholars and practitioners. While crediting a rapid pace of progress in the field, it is essential to acknowledge that terrorism studies are in their infancy, and important to beware of premature conclusions based on limited empirical evidence.

5. Terrorism is highly heterogeneous. It is more fruitful to examine the multiple types and instances of terrorism than to regard terrorism as a unitary phenomenon.

6. There is no single explanation for terrorism. That is, given a conflict between peoples, the genesis of terrorism probably depends on the *interaction and combination* between (a) individual factors (including innate and acquired personal traits), (b) social factors (including cultural, ethnic, and religious identities and prejudices, educational influences, charismatic leadership, and the emergence of networks), (c) political factors (including historical enmities, modes of governance, oppression and power disparities), and (d) economic factors (including perceived relative deprivation, but understanding that poverty does not, by itself, explain terrorism).

7. Some scholars champion the view that there are "old" and "new" terrorisms. This claim has some support in the observation of increased transnational Islamist fundamentalist terror and decreased intrastate left wing or anarchist terror. However, dichotomizing terror into old and new may be a fruitless argument, inconsistent with the evidence that substate terrorists exhibit similar underlying motivations. The single most salient phenomenon that can be regarded as "new," and newly threatening, is the movement by some terrorist groups to acquire and use weapons of mass destruction.

8. All other factors being equal, some individuals who share a grievance are more likely than others to support or participate in terrorism. While there is no "terrorist personality," per se, quality psychological research has yet to rule out the possibility that certain behavioral or cognitive traits are indeed more common among terrorists. Equally, while most forms of major mental illness are *not* typical of terrorists, contrary to previous claims, individual psychopathology such as mood disorder may influence participation in terrorism by some individuals. New evidence exists that emotional depression, harm to loved ones in conflict, perceived oppression, perceived injustice, observance of group rituals, and possibly humiliation are predisposing factors to sympathy for terrorism. Evidence was also reported that females, younger persons, and those who believe Islam to be threatened are more likely to support terrorism.

9. Contrary to popular belief, terrorism may often be pro-social behavior. That is, many conflicts inspire individuals to risk all on behalf of their group, and terrorism is not excluded from this generalization. Young people, in particular, may be drawn to political violence at least partly out of a sense of duty to their societies. Simplistic

attribution of antisocial intentions will lead to serious misunderstanding of the challenge of modern counter-terrorism.

10. Evidence exists that participation in militant action provides a valuable developmental experience for young people in conflict zones. Identity formation, a key part of adolescence, is enhanced by group membership and a sense of purpose. Research is urgently needed to determine whether initiatives to provide young people with attractive *alternatives* to such group membership might serve that same urge for identity consolidation and reduce the allure of political violence.

11. Despite the likelihood that individual risk factors increase participation in terrorism, many of these factors are inaccessible to interventions by state or international policies. For example, innate predispositions to mood disorder, novelty seeking, or authoritarian personality may play a role in terrorism, yet such factors are common in any society. In so far as social science research can help guide comprehensive counter-terrorism policy, the emphasis should be on interventions at the group level.

12. Poverty per se does not explain terrorism. Research in Muslim countries reveals no evidence that those who are impoverished and uneducated tend to support militant activities to a larger extent than do their more affluent and better-educated compatriots. Nonetheless, perception of relative deprivation and lost economic prospects, whether by its victims or their sympathizers (the Robin Hood Syndrome) is a source of social friction that may enhance the appeal of radical solutions. Further research is needed to determine if and when a reduction of economic desperation might reduce the risk of terrorism.

13. Economic analyses and game-theoretical approaches have yielded insights into terrorist group behavior not revealed by other approaches. While prediction of individual behaviors remains very difficult, prediction of collective behaviors by terrorists groups (and by their government targets) may be enhanced by such modeling. Given that this approach has uncovered surprising *pitfalls* to international cooperation against terrorism, NATO may wish to consult these models before launching cooperative counter-terrorism ventures.

14. Hatred is an important factor in some but not all instances of terrorism. Hatred between groups, sometimes nurtured since early childhood and incited by leaders, is obdurate but not immutable. New research suggests the efficacy of selected methods of prejudice reduction. Prejudice reduction initiatives in conflict areas may represent a promising new approach to reducing the risk of terrorism.

15. Network theory has become popular among some scholars of terrorism. This theory posits that personal contact with influential individuals ("network hubs") is essential to the emergence of terrorism. Analysis of network connectivity may indeed yield valuable insights into terrorist groups' evolution. Some have concluded that network theory advises counter-terrorism efforts should be focused against the "head of the snake." However, evidence exists that targeted assassinations actually increase terrorist recruitment.

16. Comparative sociological studies suggest that terrorism is more likely to emerge and persist when populations are transformed into radical communities that support or tolerate political violence by a minority. Such community radicalization (as, for instance, in Northern Ireland or the Basque region) acts as a kind of mental contagion, blocking the visibility of non-violent alternatives, excusing and diffusing responsibility for otherwise proscribed violence. Psychological research in Israel complements and extends these findings: suicide bombers are more likely to be recruited when their families and larger communities support a culture of martyrdom. The challenge is to intervene in this contagion in order to undermine community support for terrorists. Insiders are the ones with the power to discourage radicalization either from the top down (non-violent charismatic leadership) or the bottom up (popular sentiment developing faith in non-violent approaches to conflict resolution). While outsiders are in a weaker position to do this, leverage can be exerted upon leaders and communications can be directed at parents to reduce the appeal of playing a supportive role.

17. The combination of terrorist intent with weapons of mass destruction is one of the major security challenges to civil society. Since terrorist groups are often geographically dispersed and do not usually defend territory, the restraining effect of mutually assured destruction does not apply. Revenge, provocation, and avoidance of defeat are several motives that might drive a WMD attack. Since discouraging terrorists with WMDs from using them is likely to be ineffective, preventing terrorist groups from acquiring WMDs in the first place is of the utmost importance.

Policy Recommendations for the North Atlantic Council, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, and the Partnership for Peace

I. Interventions to Prevent Substate Terrorist Groups from Recruiting and Retaining Young Members

1. One of the most effective strategies for undermining support for recruitment by terrorist groups may simply be overt and manifestly earnest **effort to address legitimate grievances.** NATO should be recognized as a beacon of social justice by encouraging states to undertake structural, fiscal and other reforms to reduce political disenfranchisement, economic inequality and social exclusion.

In this regard, one of the most intractable terrorism-promoting conflicts in the world is that between Israel and the Palestinians. We recognize that NATO is not a party to the Middle East Peace Process. However, it seems possible that, via the mechanism of the Mediterranean Dialogue and the Istanbul Cooperative Initiative, NATO might wield increased influence as a voice giving young Palestinians and Israelis hope of a just, lasting, and comprehensive settlement.

2. **Efforts must be made to provide access to education that promotes tolerance**, helps to reduce ethno-religious bias, and inoculates young people against extremist messages promoting violence. NATO should specifically support the widespread teaching of human rights and shared humanity.

3. **Efforts must be made to assure, in so far as possible, equitable employment** and advancement opportunities for young people, especially those living in zones of conflict or marginalized subgroups.

4. Membership in terrorist groups provides identity and purpose. **Competing organizations and opportunities for personal expression**--from sports clubs to after school programs to travel opportunities--might reduce the allure of membership in politically violent groups

5. **Direct contact and shared participation in projects tends to reduce prejudice**. NATO should promote programs that utilize this finding to build a sense of shared humanity between groups in conflict—including initiatives connecting the at-risk youth of the Muslim diaspora community with the youth of European host nations. **Research is urgently needed to identify the most effective such interventions, and to confirm the hypothesis that they reduce terrorism**

6. The Internet that has become one tool of terrorist recruitment. **Efforts must be made to interrupt, counter, and provide alternatives to the stream of vicious communication**.

7. **Efforts must be made to reduce the structural integrity, coherence, morale, communication and cooperation within and between substate terrorist groups**. But interventions that may appear promising (e.g., killing a leader) may be counterproductive. **Further research is essential to determine the most effective strategies before investing heavily in one program**.

8. **Efforts must be made to facilitate members' abandoning their terrorist careers.** Research based on interviews with former terrorists is needed to discover effective group level interventions serving this goal.

9. **Sophisticated efforts must be made to reduce community support for terrorist groups and terrorist leaders**. However, unsophisticated, culturally tone-deaf psychological warfare efforts may be counterproductive. **Research with empirical measurement of attitudes toward terrorism before and after and intervention is needed** to uncover the type of intervention most likely to produce the desired outcome.

II. Interventions to Reduce the Efficacy of Committed Terrorists

1. **Efforts must be made to support those individuals and groups who are voices for moderation** within communities from which terrorist groups recruit. Terrorist leaders must be countered with leaders that counsel nonviolence and peaceful conflict resolution.

2. **More effort must be expended to develop ground-level human sources of intelligence** to assist in understanding terrorist groups.

3. Data on counterterrorism responses is extremely limited at present. Policymakers need to know more about how the variety of counterterrorism responses affects

terrorism and terrorist events. **Datasets on the efficacy of counterterrorism must be expanded**.

4. **Coordinated international efforts to identify the locations of WMDs and their precursor materials and to secure these weapons against terrorist control is obviously an extremely high priority.**

III. Recommendations for diplomatic, political, military, economic, legal and human rights policies likely to prevent or resolve tension provoking conflict

1. Greater collaboration in the development of open source data sets is needed. That is, NATO should make efforts to identifying what data needs to be shared and what partnerships / initiatives are needed to ensure that policy makers get the most accurate (rather than most secret) information. **Greater information sharing must occur between academic, government, military and corporate sectors**.

2. NATO should investigate the effectiveness of existing techniques of conflict prevention and conflict resolution. **A multidisciplinary approach to terrorism research should be promoted with the development of clearly defined and specifically funded research goals.** Studies of the effectiveness of past counter-terrorism responses are needed. The relative accuracy, benefits and utility of scientific vs. intelligence gathering approaches need to be more thoroughly examined. Attempts must be made to facilitate the cross-over between theoretical research and applied / operational areas.

3. **NATO should design and pursue their diplomatic actions/foreign policy consistently with the highest moral and legal values of the United Nations Charter and the Preamble of the North Atlantic Treaty**. In their fight against terrorism, NATO Governments should in all circumstances respect international law, including international human rights law and international humanitarian law.

4. **NATO should further strengthen its cooperation with the United Nations** for purposes of preventing terrorism, and for purposes of enhancing its peace-building role in post-conflict societies.

Final Conclusions

A '"war on terrorism" is an inaccurate and misleading label for the great task at hand. The complete elimination of terrorism is impossible without eliminating human freedom. The goal of civil societies and the NATO Alliance should be to reduce terrorism and promote human security in so far as possible consistent with the maintenance of freedom, democratic values, and human rights.

NATO's Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism (Prague 2002) emphasizes combating terrorism. It discusses information sharing, enhanced combat preparedness, impeding support for terrorist groups, enhanced consequence management, and assisting partners in the fight. We would respectfully urge a modest revision of this vital action plan. A long-term reduction in the risk of catastrophic terrorist attacks also

depends on enhanced *understanding of why terrorism occurs*--and what modifiable psychological, social, and economic factors are most likely to affect that occurrence. Advancing this knowledge should be part of the Action Plan against Terrorism.

NATO's Military Concept, also adopted at the Prague Summit of 2002, explicitly states that the Alliance should "Work on the assumption that it is preferable to deter terrorist attacks or to prevent their occurrence rather than deal with their consequences…." We strongly agree. However, given the severe limitations of current knowledge, many theories of deterrence are flying blind. NATO can expand and enhance its central role in international security by a bold initiative to transcend such assumptions and develop scientifically based approaches for the <u>long-term primary prevention of terrorism</u>.

To that end:

1. NATO should consider revising the Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism to include efforts to investigate the modifiable causes of terrorism.

2. NATO should establish a robust initiative to support rigorous empirical research into the deep social roots of terrorism. The project should be focused on finding plausible nodes of intervention, testing pilot interventions, and critically assessing outcomes. Support for research would include:

(a) Grants for the best proposals,

(b) Opening a strong and well-maintained channel of dialogue between researchers and practitioners,

(c) Improving access to information (understanding that balance is required between the need for useful discoveries and the need to classify sensitive information),

(d) Compiling a database that would permit nations to compare the outcomes of experimental interventions to reduce conflict,

(e) Consideration of improving access to incarcerated subjects willing to voluntarily participate in international research on the causes of terrorism, in so far as these steps are consistent with the Geneva Accords, and

(f) An emphasis on support for research initiatives that might address the potentially modifiable causes of terrorism, such as inter-group prejudice, educational influences, and perceived oppression—especially where research results might lead to actionable changes in NATO's policies and procedures.

3. NATO should consider consolidating and optimizing its use of expertise on the psychosocial causes of terrorism. NATO's Research and Technology Agency already convenes an "Exploratory Team on Psychosocial, Organisational and Cultural Aspects of Terrorism" (HFM-ET-061). It is unclear to what extent those exploratory deliberations have been incorporated in the Councils' critical work of policy development. The Councils may wish to create a new unified **Consultant Team on the Causes of Terrorism**, consisting of authoritative experts from ET-061 and NATO ARW 981351. The North Atlantic Council, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, and the Partnership for Peace might choose to call upon The Team at any time to provide research-based analysis of the deep social bases of new threats and to help devise scientifically based responses most likely to reduce the long-term threat of terrorism.

This page intentionally left blank

463

Subject Index

This page intentionally left blank

477

Author Index

This page intentionally left blank

This page intentionally left blank

This page intentionally left blank

This page intentionally left blank

This page intentionally left blank