# POLS 429: International Terrorism Lecture 6 (01.27.20): Explaining Terrorism - The Strategic Approach

Rotem Dvir

Texas A&M University rdvir@tamu.edu

Department of Political Science Spring 2020

## Overview

- Quick review
- Explaining Terrorism
- The Strategic Approach
- 4 Assumptions
- 6 Extra Material

## Review

#### WHAT WE COVERED LAST MEETING?

- Data increase in collection, main databases.
- Limitations of existing data.
- Data on individuals and terrorism: challenges.
- The need to enhance collaboration between scholars and the IC.

Questions??

## Theoretical Approaches: Introduction

#### Terrorism: A study guide

- What are the causes of terrorism?
- Multiple theoretical explanations.
- Each approach  $\rightarrow$  two lectures (textbook chapters 2-7).
- Part 1: Introduction, logic and assumptions.
- Part 2: Main implications, critique and limitations.

#### **DEFINITIONS**

- Descriptions:
  - The strategic approach.
  - ② The rational choice approach.
  - The rationalist or instrumental model.
- Every interaction between actors is a "game".
- Method: formal models to explore interactions. Game Tree

#### Why do we use it?

- Prevalent in most studies (explicitly or implicitly).
- Parsimony:
  - Simple assumptions.
  - Simple version of terrorist target relationship.
- Parsimony  $\rightarrow$  observable implications.
- Greater generalization of insight.

#### Main features

- Fundamentals rational choice, expected utility.
- Limitations bounded rationality.
- Updating preferences/views.
- Strategic evaluation of situation.
- Terrorism as a tool (tactic) to accomplish political goals.

#### The goals of terrorism

## Kydd and Walter (2006):

- Regime change.
- Territorial change.
- Policy change.
- Social control.
- Status-quo maintenance.
  - Variation is large and groups usually have multiple goals.



# Core Assumptions

#### Why discuss assumptions?

- Assumptions the 'building block' of the explanation.
- The implications of assumptions.

#### The strategic approach

- Simple more appealing for researchers and practitioners.
- An imprecise representation of a (complex) reality.
- Formal models assign value for each action. 

  GameTree
- Policymakers clearer policy options with their expected chances of success.

# The Strategic Approach - Assumptions

## 1) Outcomes result from strategic interactions

- Actions are a function of interactions among multiple actors.
- Actors also contemplate rivals (or supporters) preferences.
- Terrorism best method to achieve a political goal, considering others' preferences.

### 2) Agnosticism about preferences

- Preferences guide actors' behavior.
- No judgment of morality, ethics, "soundness" of preferences.
- Rational suicide terrorists??? (Pape 2005)



# The Strategic Approach - Assumptions

## 3) Preferences are ordered

- Objectives are ordered from most to least preferred.
- A sub-optimal choice is possible.
  - 4) Preferences are transitive
- $\bullet$   $A > B > C \rightarrow A > C$ 
  - 5) Preferences are stable over time
- Objectives remain stable even when situation changes.
- Rational updating? change means in order to accomplishing the same goal.



# The Strategic Approach - Assumptions

## 6) Unitary actor assumption

- Groups viewed as a single entity.
- Lone-wolf operative versus a group?
- Media reports of terror groups.
- Scholars recognize the internal features but do not view it as significant for the organization's operation.
- Makes analysis much simpler.

# Recommended readings

More studies on the topic of strategic approach to terrorism:

- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. "The strategies of terrorism." *International security* 31, no. 1 (2006): 49-80.
- Fromkin, David. "The strategy of terrorism." Foreign Affairs, 53, no. 4 (1975): 683-698.
- Feinstein, Jonathan S., and Edward H. Kaplan. "Analysis of a strategic terror organization." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 54, no. 2 (2010): 281-302.

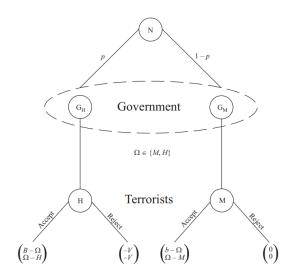


Figure: Formal Model: Game Tree



Name	Ultimate Goals	RC	TC	PC	SC	SQN
Abu Nidal Organization	Destroy Israel; establish Palestinian state	Х	Х			
Abu Sayyaf Group	Secede from Philippines		X			
Al-Agsa Martyrs' Brigade	Destroy Israel; establish Palestinian state	X	X			
Ansar al-Islam	Evict United States from Iraq; establish Islamic state	X		X		
Armed Islamic Group	Establish Islamic state in Algeria	X				
Asbat al-Ansar	Establish Islamic state in Lebanon	X				
Aum Shinrikyo	Seize power in Japan; hasten the Apocalypse	X				
Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)	Secede from Spain		X			
Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army	Establish Communist state in Philippines	X				
Continuity Irish Republican Army	Evict Britain from Northern Ireland; unite with Eire		X			
Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group)	Establish Islamic state in Egypt	Х				
Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement)	Destroy Israel; establish Palestinian Islamic state	X	X			
Harakat ul-Mujahidin	Evict India from Kashmir: unite with Pakistan		X			
Hezbollah (Party of God)	Originally: evict Israel from Lebanon; now: destroy	X	X			
Islamic Jihad Group	Establish Islamic state in Uzbekistan; reduce U.S. influence	X		X		
Name	Ultimate Goals		RC	TC	PC	SC
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	Destroy Israel; establish Palestinian state		Х	X		
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine— General Command	Destroy Israel; establish Palestinian state		X	X		
Al-Qaida	Establish Islamic states in Middle East; destroy Israel; reduce U.S. influence		X	X	X	
Al-Qaida in Irag (Zargawi group)	Evict United States from Irag; establish Islamic st	ate	X		×	
Real Irish Republican Army	Evict Britain from Northern Ireland: unite with Eir			×		
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia	Establish Marxist state in Colombia	-	Х			
Revolutionary Nuclei (formerly Revolutionary People's Struggle)	Establish Marxist state in Greece		X			
Revolutionary Organization 7 November	Establish Marxist state in Greece		X			
			x			

Figure: Terrorism Goals

#### The New York Times

#### ISIS, Eyeing Europe, Could Launch Attacks This Year, U.N. Warns





Figure: Terrorism in Newspapers