

The background of the slide is a dark blue silhouette of a person wearing a hooded sweatshirt and holding a rifle. The person is positioned on the right side of the frame, facing left. The rifle is held vertically, with the barrel pointing upwards. The silhouette is set against a lighter blue background.

Joe Landry,  
PhD

October 16,  
2019

# Understanding Transnational Terrorism



A person in tactical gear, including a vest and a rifle, is shown in a dark, possibly outdoor setting. The person is holding the rifle with both hands, and the background is blurred, suggesting a focus on the individual.

# **Terrorism: deaths fall 44%, still widespread.**

Despite a global drop in fatalities in 2017, terrorism remains widespread with 67 countries experiencing at least one death.

**After peaking in 2014, deaths from terrorism have fallen for the third consecutive year.**

**The total number of deaths fell by 27 per cent between 2016 and 2017, with the largest falls occurring in Iraq and Syria.**

**Last year, 94 countries improved, compared to 46 that deteriorated.**

# Outline

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- 1** Definition of Terrorism
- 2** Terrorism: from transnational to global phenomenon
- 3** Terrorism: the impact of globalization
- 4** Terrorism: technology and globalization
- 5** Combating terrorism
- 5** Conclusion & Questions

A dark blue silhouette of a person holding a rifle, set against a light gray background. The person is shown from the chest up, facing right, with their hands on the rifle. The rifle is a modern assault rifle with a magazine and a scope. The overall image is a high-contrast silhouette.

# Terrorism Part I

What is terrorism and what are the objectives?

# What is Terrorism?



# Nature of the definition:

- Difficult to define. Where does crime or war end and terrorism begin?
- Broad coverage of many different types of violent acts with different political objectives.
- Innocent victims are targeted to produce fear, and eventually pressure to change policy. This is the drama, the fear of arbitrary and sudden death and trauma.
- Terrorist acts are particularly a tool used by the politically and militarily weak, whether it is countries or groups.

# 1

## Definition of Terrorism

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- No international consensus on the definition, legally or academically for the term “terrorist”.
- The U.S. government has more than 20 definitions for it.
- In 1996, the UN formed its own Ad Hoc Committee to draft an official explanation of the term, and that took 10 years.
- **Globalization is not responsible for terrorism**, but it allows terrorism to exist on a global level.
- Due to the increasing use of technology and over interconnectedness of the world.

So, what exactly constitutes terrorism?

# Defining Terrorism

**“A synthesis of war and theater; a dramatization of the most proscribed kind of violence – that which is perpetrated on innocent victims – played before an audience in the hope of creating a mood of fear, for political purposes.” (Combs p. 10)**





- Historically, the term terrorism described state violence against citizens during the French Revolution.
- Nowadays, a mix of those definitions results in something like this:
  - ✓ terrorism is the use of violence or the threat of violence,
  - ✓ against non-combatants or civilians,
  - ✓ usually motivated by political, religious, ethnical or ideological beliefs
  - ✓ aim to achieve political change.
- **Outside of that broad definition, terrorism is not organized crime or criminal violence.:**
  - ✓ motivation
  - ✓ media attention
  - ✓ government recognition



# Main components of Terrorism as definition

1. Act of violence
2. Political motive or goal
3. Perpetrated against innocent persons
4. Staged before an audience with goal of striking fear

# 1

## Definition of Terrorism

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- “Terrorist” has a **pejorative value** that is useful in delegitimizing those who commit such acts.
- Terrorist acts as **legitimate = if** meet the criteria associated with revisionist interpretations of “just war”.
- **Realists:** terrorist political violence is **illegitimate** because only states have legitimacy.
- Definition: **terrorism is not violence perpetrated by a government against another nation.**
- If a nation commits an act of violence, it’s referred to as an “act of war” or “act of self-defense”.
- Exception: **if a nation fund or covertly organize the terrorist act = a terrorist action.**



- Terrorism is designed to achieve political change and obtain power in order to **right a perceived wrong**.
- However, **terrorism is the weakest form** of irregular warfare, the reason is that terrorist groups often lack:
  - ✓ **broader support** of the population that characterizes insurgency and revolution
  - ✓ **broader support** for their objectives which are based on radical ideas
  - ✓ **widespread appeal**
- Terrorists **must provoke drastic responses** = a catalyst.
- **Acts of terrorism could attain its legitimacy:**
  - ✓ responses by states are disproportionate or heavy-handed
  - ✓ public or international opinions are disaffected
  - ✓ support for their cause are increased



Terrorism can be defined as

“the use of violence by sub-state groups to inspire fear,  
by attacking civilians and/or symbolic targets, for purposes such as  
drawing widespread attention to a grievance, provoking a severe response,  
or wearing down their opponent’s moral resolve, to effect political change”.

# Typology of Terror:

- State Sponsored: Which states have sponsored terrorism?
  - Internal: Mass Terror as Repression
  - External: Against other states or foreign groups
- Objectives:
  - Internal: Terror of citizens prevents resistance or crush resistance
  - External: Undermine other states or alternative to conventional war for weak states.



## State sponsors of terrorism

Designation dates of countries determined to have repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism.



Source: US DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
STRAITS TIMES GRAPHICS



# Typology of Terror

- Revolutionary/insurgency movements
  - Dynastic assassination
  - Tactical Terror against government
  - May be related to cultural or religious conflict
    - Secular vs. religion or religion vs. religion
- Objectives
  - Change policy or remove current leaders
  - Destroy morale and will to fight resulting in more autonomy, freedom, or control of government

# Typology of Terror

- Transnational Networks
  - Focused Random Terror (USS Cole Bombing, Beirut 1983, US embassies in the late 90s)
  - “Random” Terror: (9/11; London 2007; Boston Marathon; Manchester; Brussels; Paris)
- Objectives
  - Change policy (fight “imperialism”)
  - Cultural-Religious revenge or war
  - Spread fear to reduce morale and confidence





# Terrorism Part II

The rise of transnational Terrorism



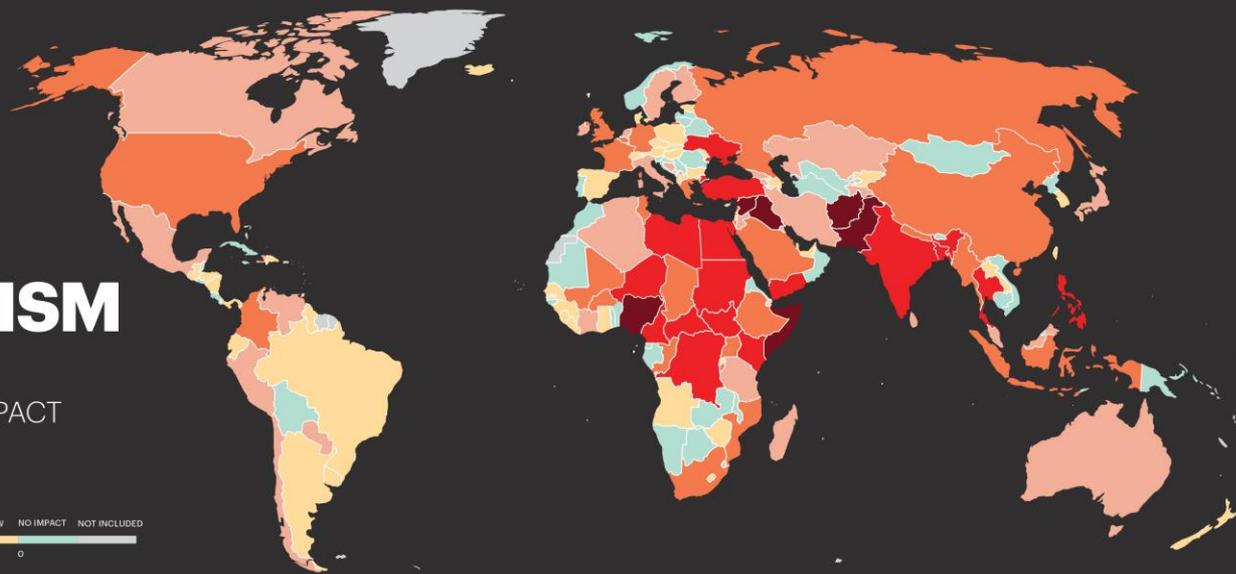
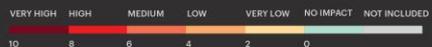
- Prior to 1968, terrorism was mainly a domestic/internal problem for a state, there was no impact beyond national borders
  - ✓ Means of weapons: revolvers and dynamite
  - ✓ Bombings and assassinations in Austria-Hungary 1898
  - ✓ Wall Street bombing in the US 1920



# 2018 GLOBAL TERRORISM INDEX

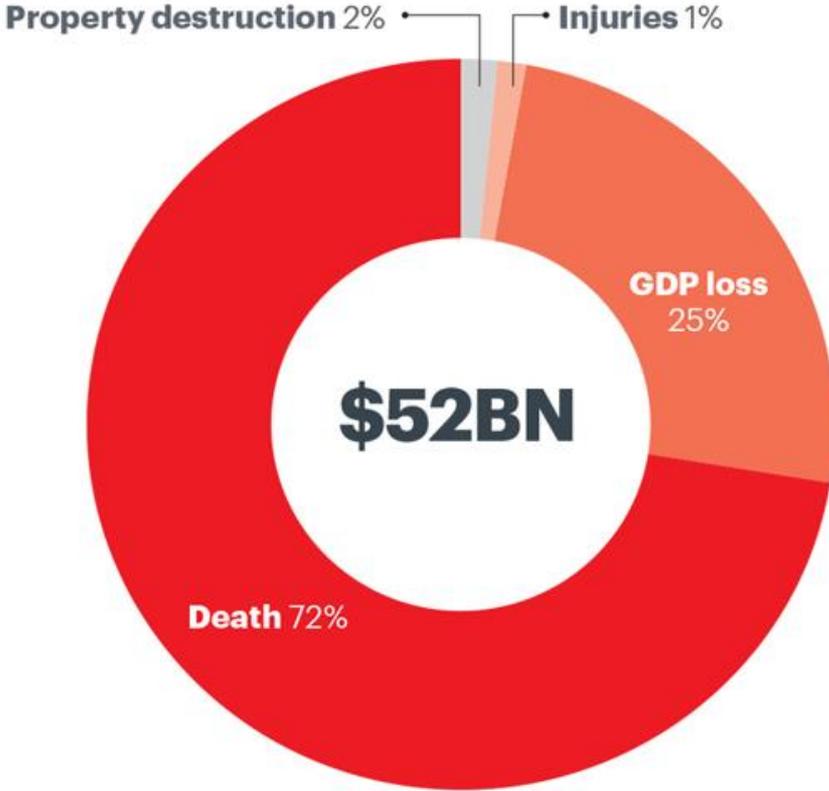
MEASURING THE IMPACT  
OF TERRORISM

## THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM



# Breakdown of the economic impact of terrorism, 2017

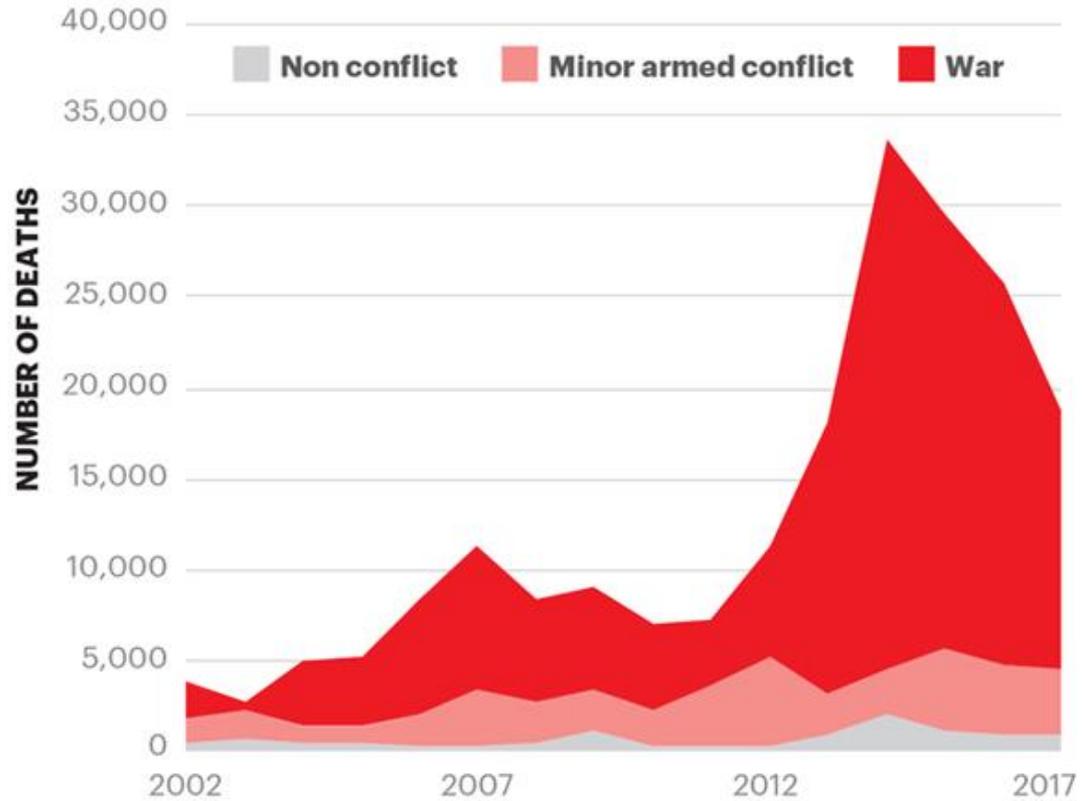
Deaths account for 72% of the economic impact of terrorism.



Source: START GTD, IEP Calculations

Conflict type  
versus  
deaths from  
terrorism  
(1998-2017)

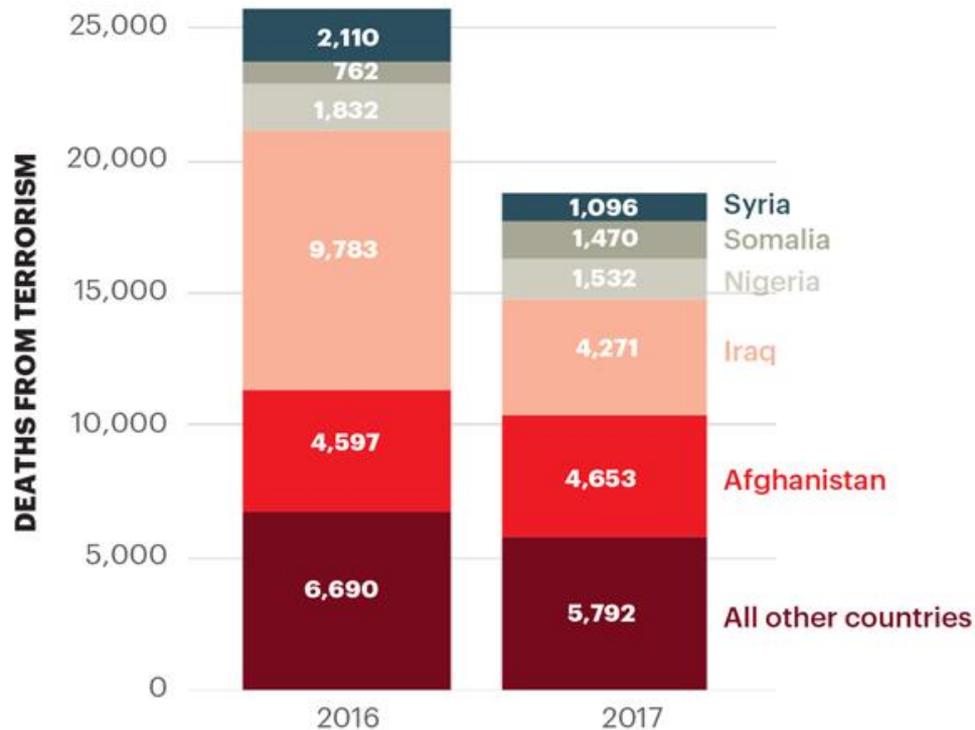
74% of deaths from terrorism occurred in countries in a state of war.



Source: START GTD, IEP Calculations

# Total terrorism deaths, country, 2016–2017

Total deaths from terrorism fell 27% from 2016 to 2017.



Source: START GTD, IEP Calculations

# Work of Al Qaeda before 9/11



**US Embassy bombing in Kenya**



**US Embassy in Tanzania**

# Terrorism: from transnational to global phenomenon



Since 1968, terrorism grew from a local to a transnational threat, the birth of transnational terrorism

- **Expansion of Commercial Air Travel:**
  - ✓ Unprecedented mobility
  - ✓ Degree of protection and security for the terrorists
- **Televised News Coverage:**
  - ✓ Expanding the audience by undertaking increasingly spectacular attacks
  - ✓ More dangerous weapons: chemical, biological agents; nuclear weapons or radioactive materials
  - ✓ 03 disturbing trends: more deadly & indiscriminate; more technological proficient; more willing to suicide
- **Broad political and ideological interest:**
  - ✓ Fall of Marx-Leninist terrorist groups decrease (transnational Marxist-Leninist) ,
  - ✓ while a rise in militant Islamic terrorist groups (Al Qaeda)



# Terrorism Part III

Globalization and Terror

# 3 Terrorism: the impact of globalization

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- September 11, 2001
  - ✓ A terrorist event in New York and Washington received **global recognition**
  - ✓ Who is Al Qaeda? Unknown group became a household name
- Debate
  - ✓ Multi-dimensional sub-state actor or extremist Islamic Militant group
  - ✓ Single group or global movement
- Three explanations for to the vitality of global terrorism
  - ✓ Cultural Explanation
  - ✓ Economic Explanation
  - ✓ Religion Explanation

# 3 Terrorism: the impact of globalization

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## ❖ Cultural Explanation

- Backlash to the increase of western products, values and materialism
- Regain or preserve one culture/identity
  - ✓ Social changes associated with globalization
  - ✓ The spread of free market capitalism challenging traditional views

# 3 Terrorism: the impact of globalization

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## ❖ Economic Explanation

- 9/11
- World Trade Center= attack on symbol of capitalism
- Western Economic Imperialism
- World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) dominated by west
  - ✓ Privatization and Interest Rates
  - ✓ North-South Gap = winners/losers of globalization
- **Wealth = security and violence**
  - ✓ Criminal v. Political violence
  - ✓ Economic alienation and lack of opportunity = youth suicide bombers

# 3 Terrorism: the impact of globalization

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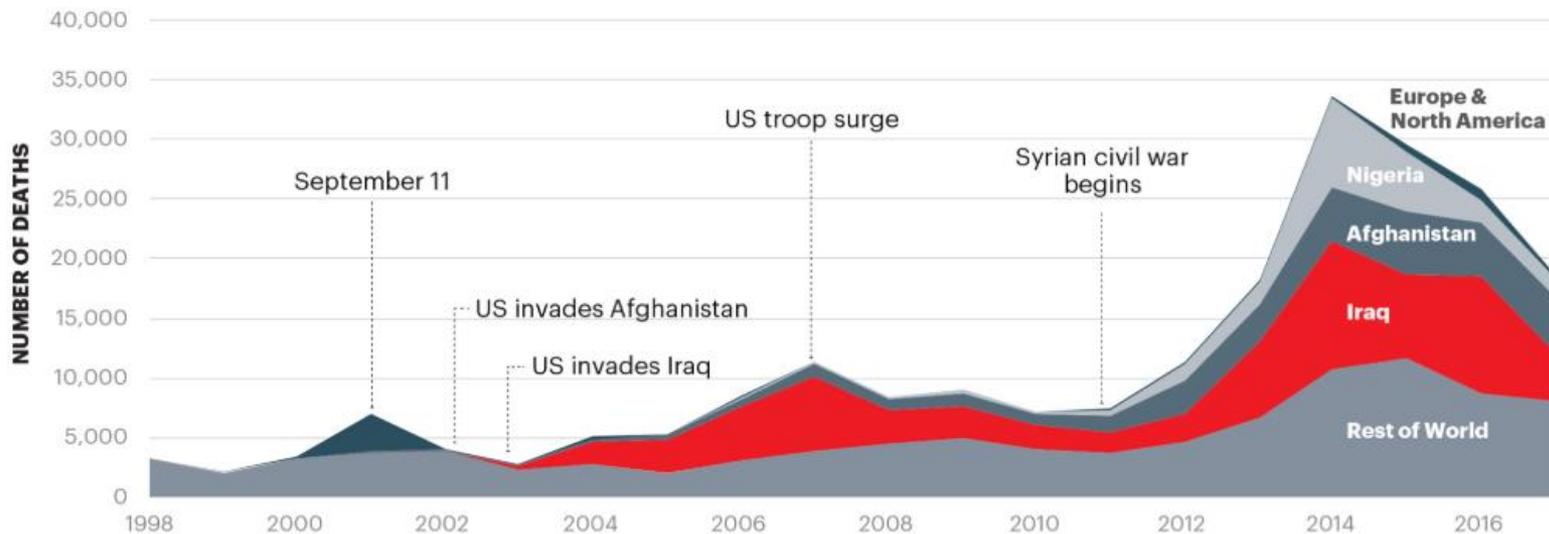
## ❖ Religion Explanation

- Postmodern or “New” Terrorism
- Religious motivation for terror
  - ✓ Promise of divine reward
  - ✓ Attack on non-believers
- Jihad = reaction to oppression of Muslims?
  - ✓ Extremist view of Jihad (No Compromise) differs from historical/religious meaning (Compromise)
  - ✓ More inclined to use suicide than economic/cultural terrorist
  - ✓ Few leaders, coordinators, planners make martyrs of themselves

# Global trends in terrorism

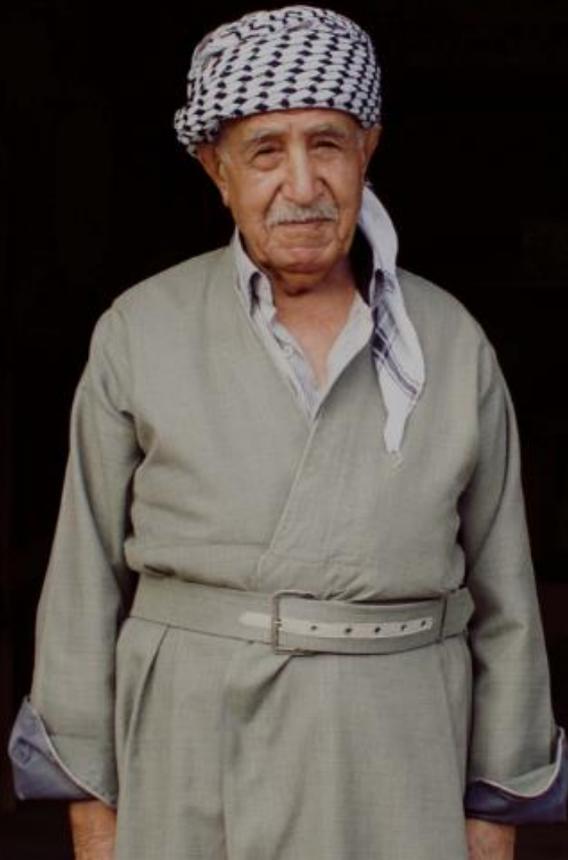
**44%** Since peaking in 2014, deaths from terrorism have fallen 44%.

**60** Since 2012, more than 60 countries experience at least one fatal terrorist attack each year.



Source: START GTD, IEP Calculations

# Iraq remains the country most impacted by terrorism.



Despite a significant drop in deaths from 2016 to 2017, Iraq remains the country most impacted by terrorism, a position it has held since 2014. The total number of deaths from terrorism in Iraq fell from 9,783 to 4,271 between 2016 and 2017, a 56 per cent decline and the country's lowest number of deaths since 2012. There was also a fall in the number of incidents, dropping to 1,956 from 2,969 in 2016. There was also a substantial drop in the lethality of attacks with 2.2 deaths per attack compared to 3.3 in 2016.

# Total deaths from terrorism in Nigeria fall to 1,532.

Total deaths from terrorism in Nigeria fell to 1,532 in 2017, a decrease of 16 per cent from the prior year. The decline follows the 63 per cent drop in deaths in Nigeria in the preceding year, and a 34 per cent drop in 2015. This highlights the effectiveness of the counter-insurgency operations undertaken in Nigeria and its neighbours, Cameroon, Niger and Chad.

A man wearing a green jacket and a patterned headscarf is bent over, working on a red motorcycle in a desert environment. The motorcycle is lying on its side on the sandy ground. The background shows a simple metal structure and a clear sky.

# Afghanistan records the most deaths from terrorism.

In 2017, Afghanistan was the country that recorded the highest number of deaths from terrorism, replacing Iraq which had held the position since 2013.



# Questions

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- 1. Why does terrorism emerge and exist in your opinion? What's your attitude towards terrorism?**
- 2. Do you think governments should sacrifice civil citizens' rights of privacy to some extent in order to prevent terrorism?**



# What are the roots of Terrorism?

- Oppression or perception thereof
- Limited ability to fight back using conventional and/or peaceful methods
- Conflict seen as moral and necessary, even at the expense of innocent victims – how is this justified?
- Religious or ideological motivation



# Who becomes an ideological terrorist?

- Professional and systematic
- Daring, dedicated, and brave
- Acts without remorse or pity
- Education, gender, and age?
- Religious or ideological
- Background of poverty, hardship, or violence
- Usually from an oppressed land
- Socialized into violence (group dynamics)

Group dynamics are particularly important.

The most “effective” terrorists work in groups.

Groups provide:

1. A world view (ideology)
2. Recruitment of members
3. Leadership and planning
4. Resources (weapons, money)
5. Socialization and training



**In general today, the most intelligent, educated, or experienced members (usually older) lead the organization and enlist younger more daring and less questioning members to do the dirty work of carrying out attacks.**

# Assessing the Threat



**Transnational terrorism on a global scale is easier today and thus harder to stamp out.**



**A real threat that makes it more than a nuisance is WMDs:**

Nukes? Not easy to do but Dirty bomb is possible

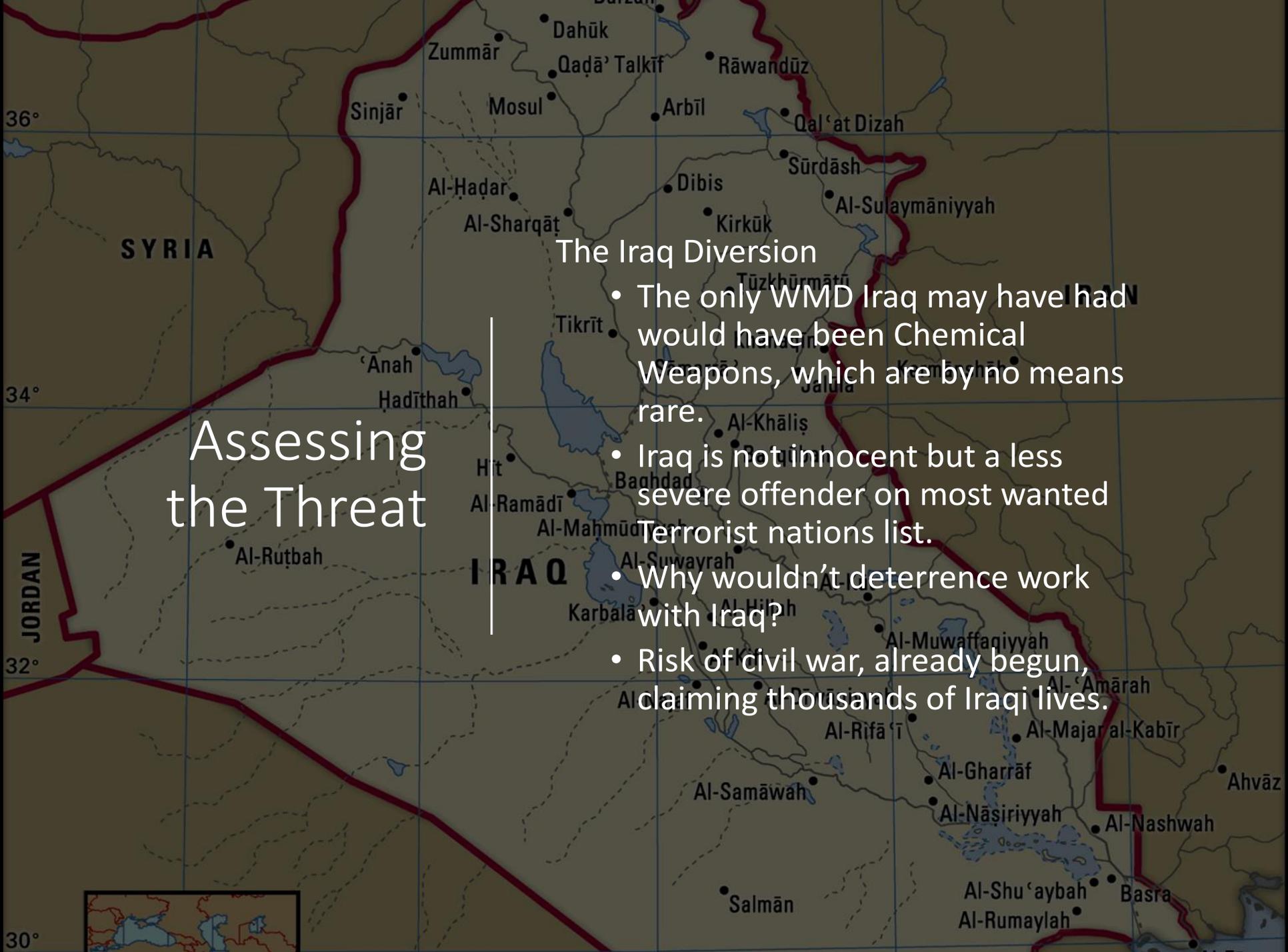
Chem? Deadly if you are a victim but not as dangerous as some. Also, no shortage globally

Bio: Very dangerous unless well-prepared

# Assessing the Threat

## The Iraq Diversion

- The only WMD Iraq may have had would have been Chemical Weapons, which are by no means rare.
- Iraq is not innocent but a less severe offender on most wanted Terrorist nations list.
- Why wouldn't deterrence work with Iraq?
- Risk of civil war, already begun, claiming thousands of Iraqi lives.



# 3 Terrorism: globalization, technology



- ❖ Terrorism has become more **pervasive worldwide** due to processes and technologies of globalization.
- ❖ **Technologies** have improved the capabilities of terrorist groups to plan and conduct operations with far more devastation and coordination than before.
- Five areas:
  - ✓ proselytizing
  - ✓ Coordination
  - ✓ Security
  - ✓ Mobility
  - ✓ lethality



# 3 Terrorism: globalization, technology



## ❖ Proselytizing

- Compared with before, terrorists have changed their ways of sustaining efforts.

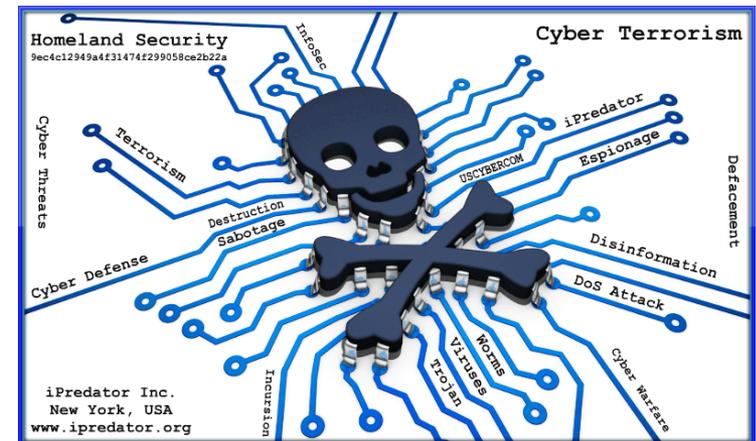
- ✓ Physical battle → media battle
- ✓ Two forms of empowerment for terrorists brought on by globalization.

## ➤ Virtual presence

- immortalized influence

## ➤ Propaganda materials (volume, range and sophistication)

- Build their own websites
- Increasing use of video cameras to record attacks
- Produce music or videos for recruits and donations
- E.g.. *Inspire*



*However, terrorists do not rely exclusively on virtual methods.*

# 3 Terrorism: globalization, technology



## ❖ Coordination

- The technologies associated with globalization have enabled terrorists to mount coordinated attacks in different locations
  - ✓ Handheld phones and radios have allowed terrorists to operate independently at substantial distances from one another and network together.
  - ✓ Convenience of GSM (Global System for Mobile Communications)
  - ✓ E.g.. Al Qaeda: organization→individuals information exchanges



## ❖ Security

- Terrorists use technologies to secure themselves without being detected or ensure their damages are minimized.
  - ✓ Surveillance and counter-surveillance techniques
  - ✓ Phishing, mobile phone monitoring and dead letter



# 3 Terrorism: globalization, technology

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## ❖ Mobility

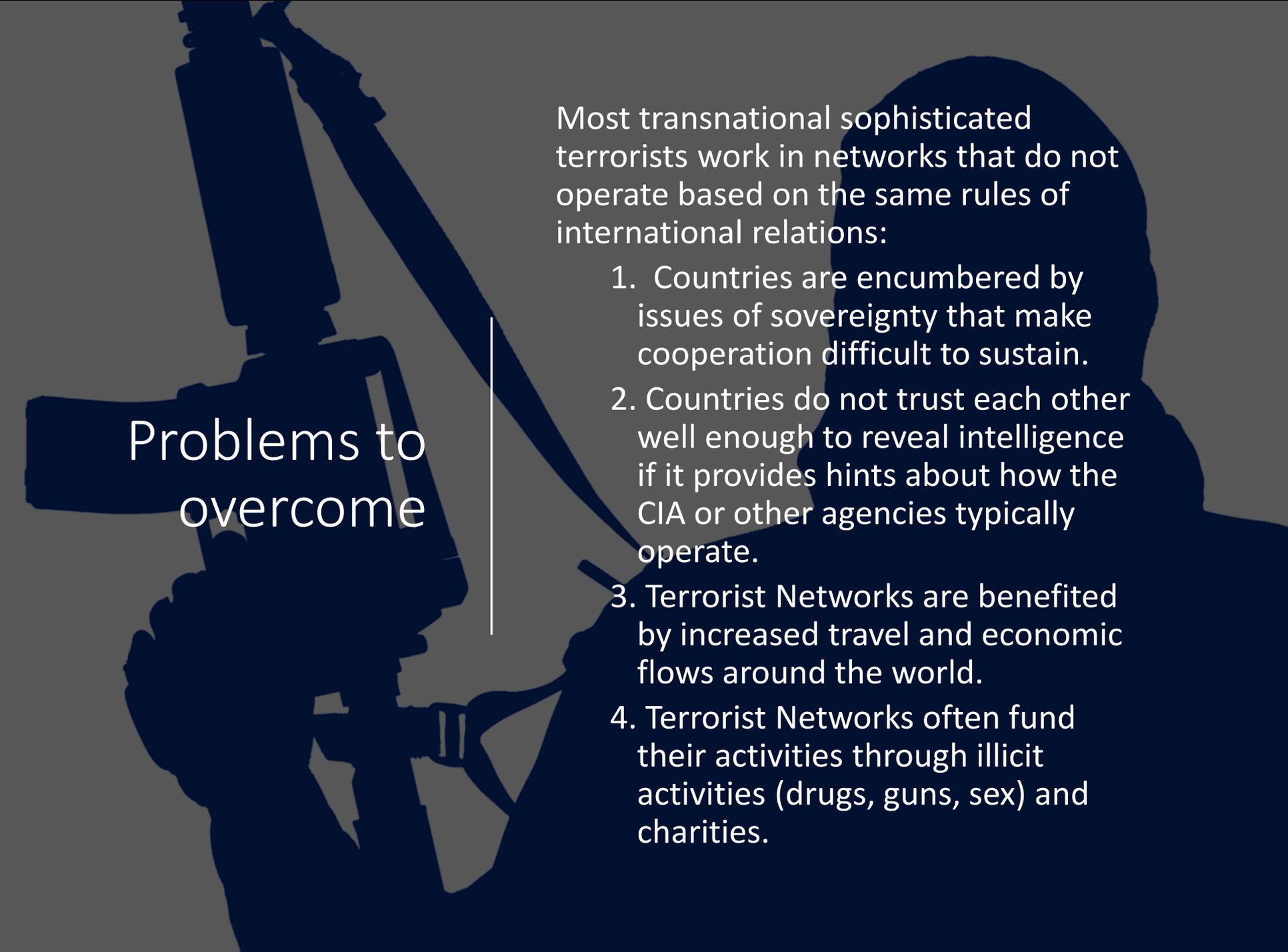
- The reduced size and increased capabilities of personal electronics give terrorists mobility advantages.
  - ✓ Well-developed infrastructure lets terrorists move rapidly
  - ✓ Globalization of commerce has improved terrorist mobility (*Schengen Agreement*)
  - ✓ Air travel by terrorists has been well documented (ship WMD by convenient and cheap globalization shipping)

## ❖ Lethality

- Globalization allows terrorists to acquire, manufacture, and use WMDs to conduct catastrophic attacks.
  - ✓ WMDs
  - ✓ share expertise in manufacturing lethal bombs
  - ✓ Distance learning through “virtual jihad academy”



- ❖ States have advantages in the struggle against terrorist groups.
  - Advantages : shared information, collective forces, effective response.
- ❖ There are differences between states over the nature and scope of the current terrorist groups. Nature of the threat and the best approach to tackle it are the main controversies.
  - Party 1: Pool global resources together, and use military attacks (*the Long War*)
  - Party 2: Less comfortable with the concept of “war” against terrorism, and prefer law enforcement (*police problems, NGO, Guantanamo Bay detention camp*)
- ❖ Those differences reflect subjective characterizations base on national biases and experiences.
- ❖ Problems in tackling terrorism: locating and identifying terrorists, defects of states’ bureaucracies, addressing appeals of messages that inspire individuals to implements actions of terrorism.



## Problems to overcome

Most transnational sophisticated terrorists work in networks that do not operate based on the same rules of international relations:

1. Countries are encumbered by issues of sovereignty that make cooperation difficult to sustain.
2. Countries do not trust each other well enough to reveal intelligence if it provides hints about how the CIA or other agencies typically operate.
3. Terrorist Networks are benefited by increased travel and economic flows around the world.
4. Terrorist Networks often fund their activities through illicit activities (drugs, guns, sex) and charities.



## Problems to overcome

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- Terrorists Networks often lack a concrete hierarchy, which makes them difficult to eliminate.
- Fighting terrorism may thus be similar to other 'open-ended' fights like the 'war on drugs' or 'war on poverty.'

A dark silhouette of a person wearing a hooded garment, holding a rifle. The person is positioned on the right side of the frame, facing left. The rifle is held vertically, with the barrel pointing upwards. The background is a solid, dark grey color.

# Problems to overcome

- Networks funnel large sums of money, organization, and procurement of weapons.
- Cultural conflict: Is jihad growing as a threat?
- Weapons of mass destruction – becoming more common, more portable, easier to attain.

# Options to Combat Terrorism

- Need high-quality intelligence to thwart plans and attacks: Requires allies and spies able to penetrate terror cells.
- Domestic security: transportation, food, etc.
- Working against the proliferation of WMD
- Military option: Occupation and defeat of terrorist states, etc.
- Settling or reducing issues or conflicts that incite terrorism.
- Try to win the hearts or at least not radicalize your enemies, making recruitment more difficult.

# 3 Conclusion



- ❖ Terrorism will be with us for years to come, perhaps always.
- ❖ Globalization increased technical capabilities of terrorists and gave them global reach but has not altered the fundamental fact: terrorism represents the extreme views of a minority of the global population.
- ❖ However, globalization not only benefits terrorists but also benefits anti-terrorist states to combat them.
- ❖ The scope of terrorism has changed, but the nature still stays the same.
- ❖ Terrorists and counter-terrorist campaigns are characterized by prolonged struggle to maintain advantages in **legitimacy** domestically and internationally.



# Deeper Questions



Why has terrorism become more violent and indiscriminate?



How much liberty should be given-up to reduce threat of terrorism?



Is terrorism (without WMDs) really a major threat?



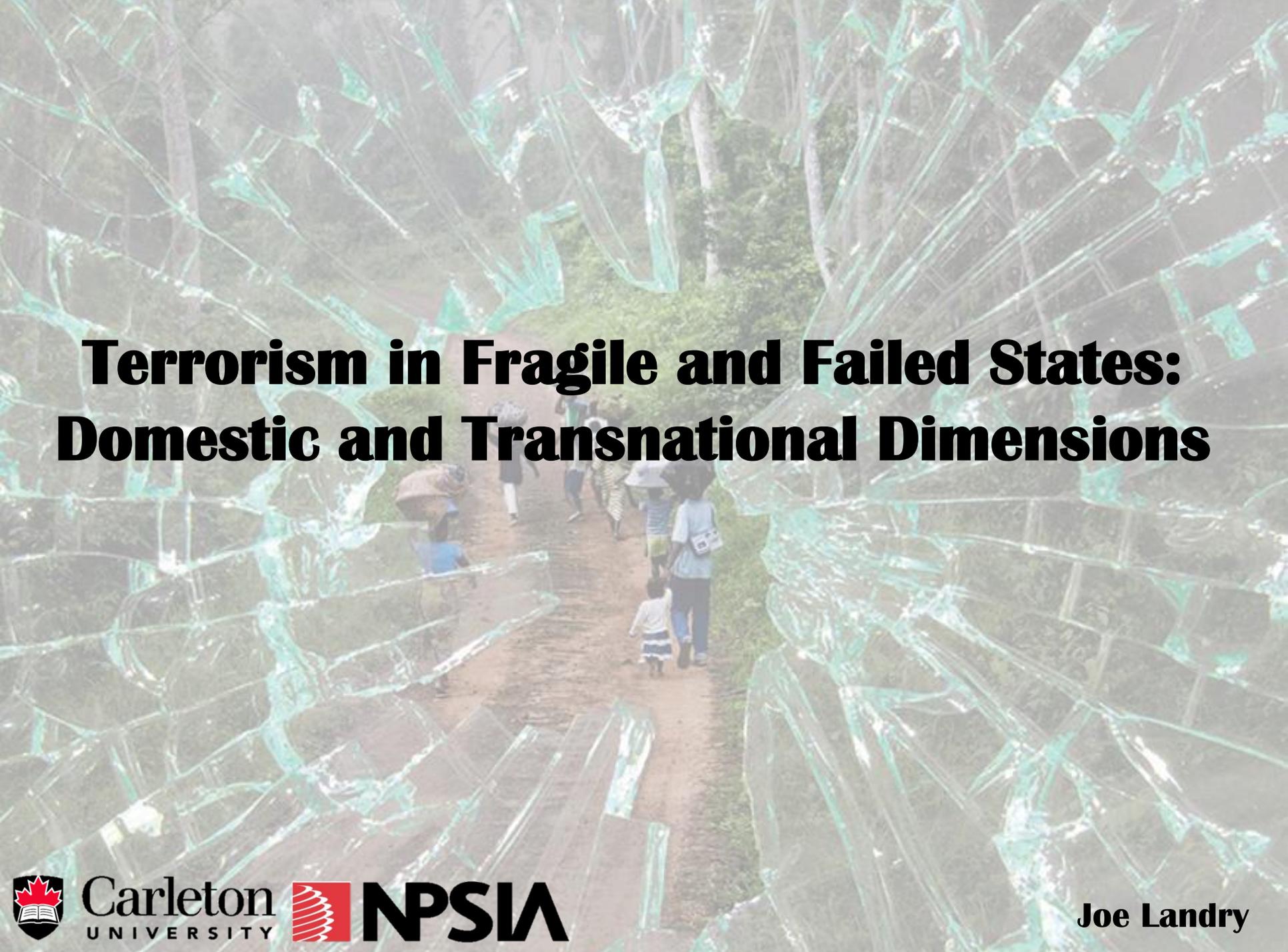
What could be done to dispel the notion that the USA or other western states are threats to ideological groups? Would this be enough?



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# **Terrorism in Fragile and Failed States: Domestic and Transnational Dimensions**



**Carleton**  
UNIVERSITY



**NPSIA**

**Joe Landry**

# Overview

- 1. Background**
- 2. Hypotheses**
- 3. Methodology**
- 4. Findings**
- 5. Discussion**



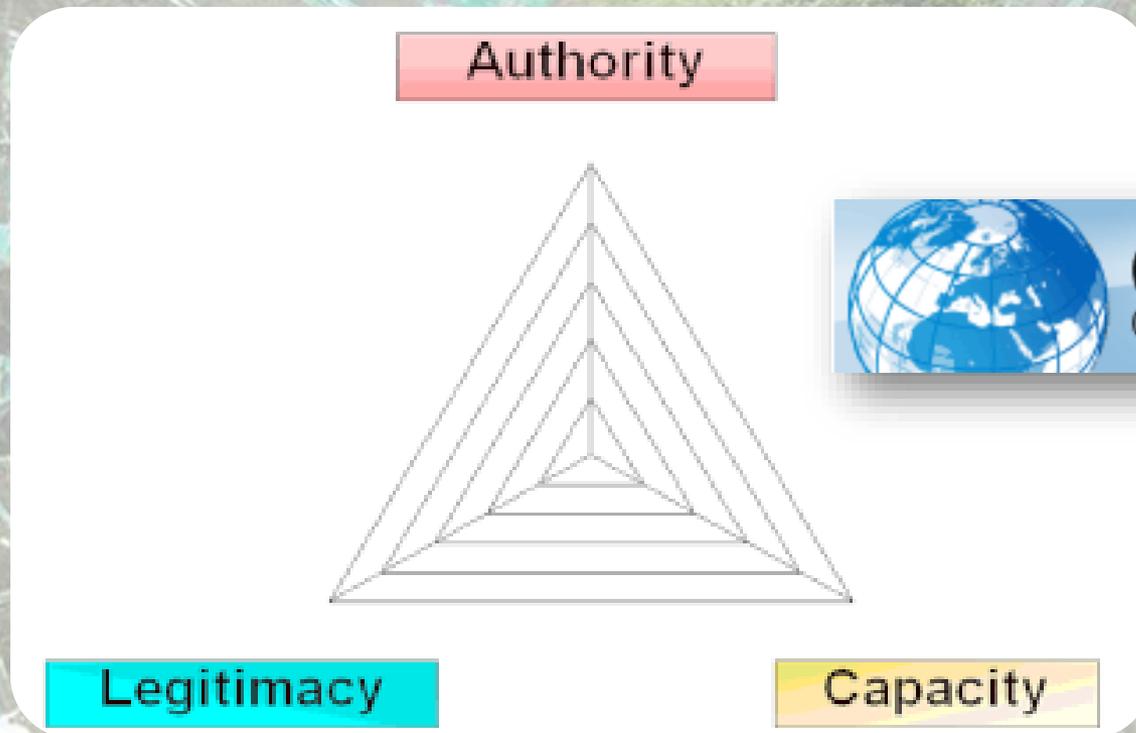
# What is “State Fragility”?

- **Different definitions but all have some things in common**
- **Failed States Index (Fund for Peace)**
- **Political Instability Task Force (George Mason University – CIA funded)**
- **Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (World Bank)**



# Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP)

- **Three dimensions of statehood**



# CIFP Fragile States Index

Table 1		1	Somalia	011	CIFP 					
		2	Afghanistan							
<b>Table 3: Typology of Countries</b>					<b>CIFP  2012</b>					
Fragility Trap		Exit/Stabilized		In/Out of Fragility						
Afghanistan		Algeria		Cameroon						
Pakistan		Bangladesh		Central African Republic						
Angola		Benin		Guinea						
Ethiopia		Cambodia		Guinea Bissau						
Sudan		Guatemala		Iran						
Yemen		Malawi		Laos						
Dem. Rep. of the Congo		Mozambique		Mali						
Somalia				Mauritania						
Burundi				Rwanda						
				Senegal						
32	Madagascar	65	Fiji	98	19	Niger	164	Cyprus	197	Denmark
33	Laos	66	Philippines	99	20	Iraq	165	Barbados		





# Hypotheses

- **Hypothesis 1: Terrorist attacks are more frequent in fragile states.**
- **Hypothesis 2: Transnational terrorist attacks are more frequently conducted by groups originating from fragile states.**
- **Hypothesis 3: Failed states are more likely to be both victims of domestic terrorism and producers of transnational terrorism.**



# Methodology

- CIFP Dataset Merged with Global Terrorism Database
- 6107 Observations in Total
- Rare events logistic regression was then used to test the binary variable against 1) fragility and 2) authority, legitimacy and capacity.



# Methodology (II)

- Manual filter search of 248 different terrorist groups, coding every known terrorist incident by that group by the country of origin.
- Kilberg (2012) was kind enough to supply me with his dataset on the origins of these 248 groups.
- High number of observations coded by group nationality—39,306 events.



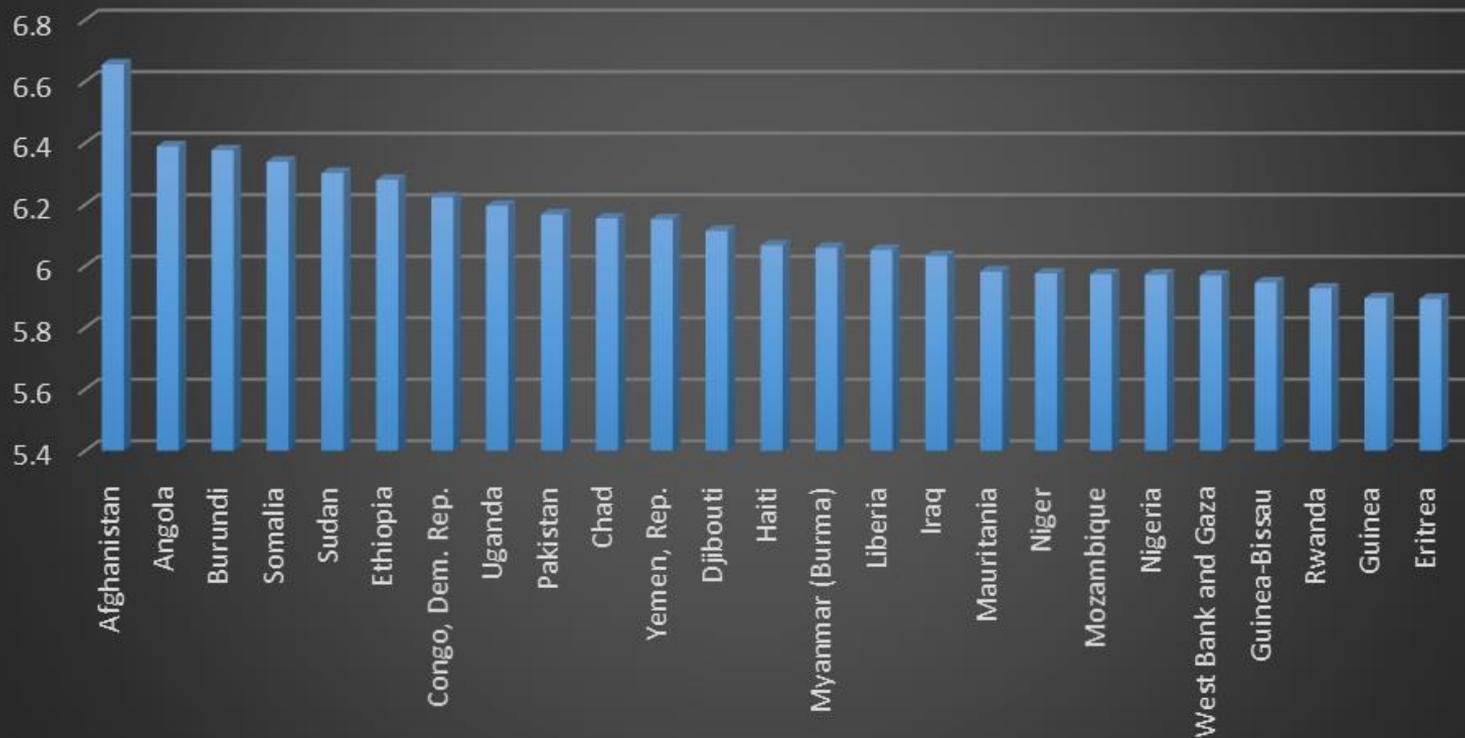
# Methodology (III)

- Generated the variable “*transnat*” by coding a 1 if the country of attack did not match the terrorist group origin, and a 0 if it did match.
- Moreover, if the nationality of the target did not match the group origin, *transnat* was also coded as 1.
- This was done in order to separate domestic incidents of terrorism from transnational incidents.

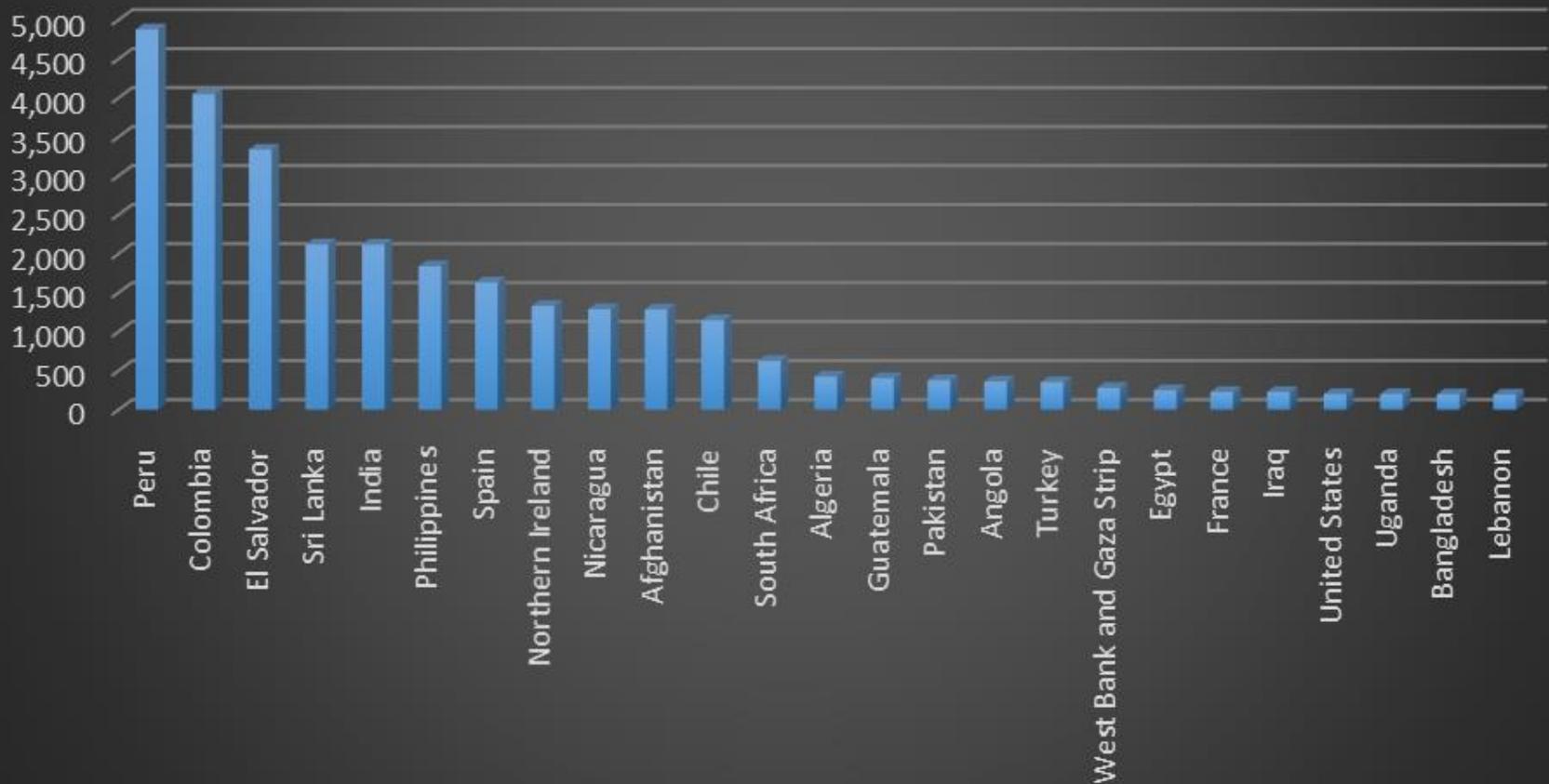


# Results

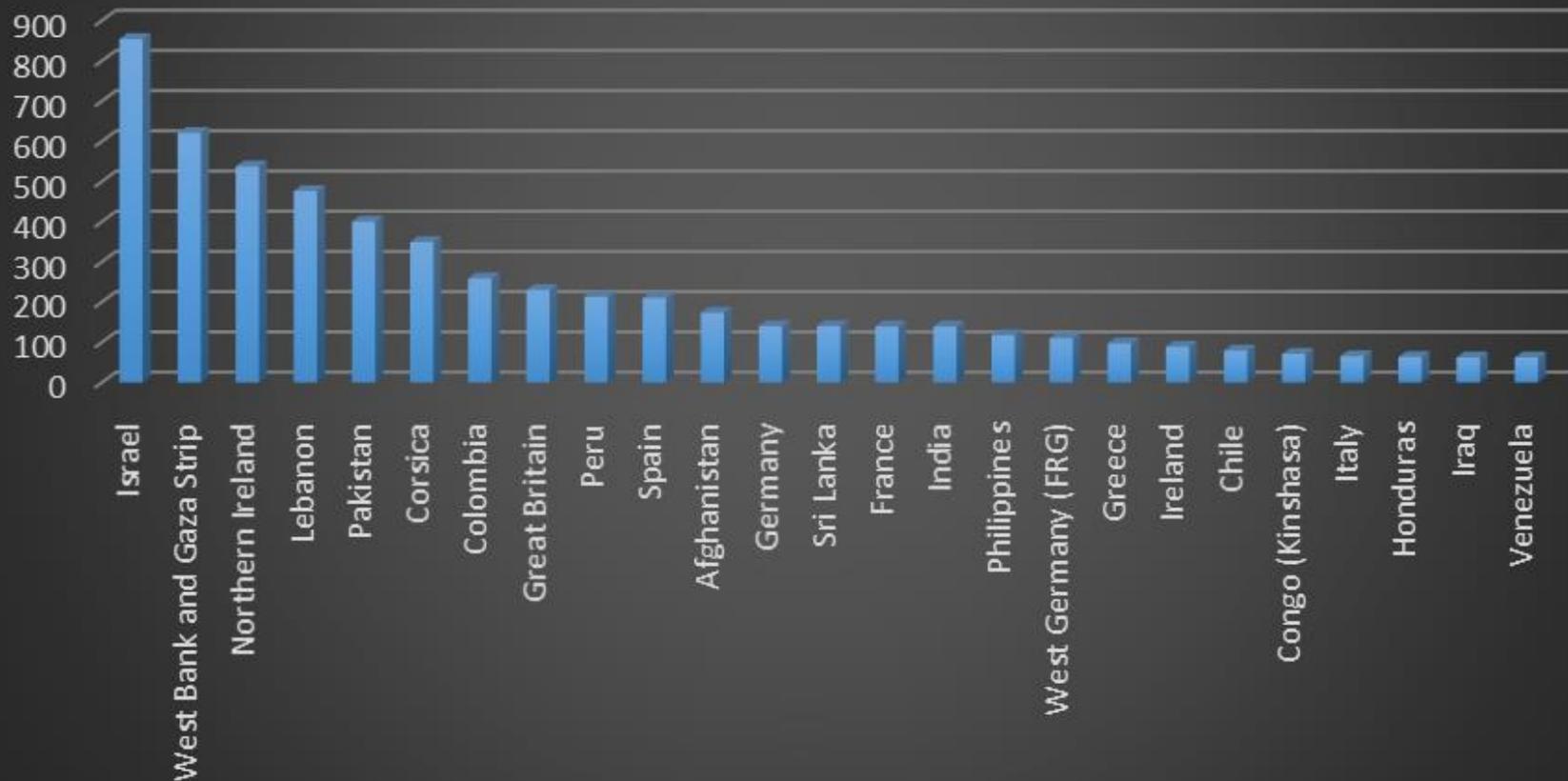
Mean Fragility, 1980 - 2011  
(Top 25 Most Fragile States)



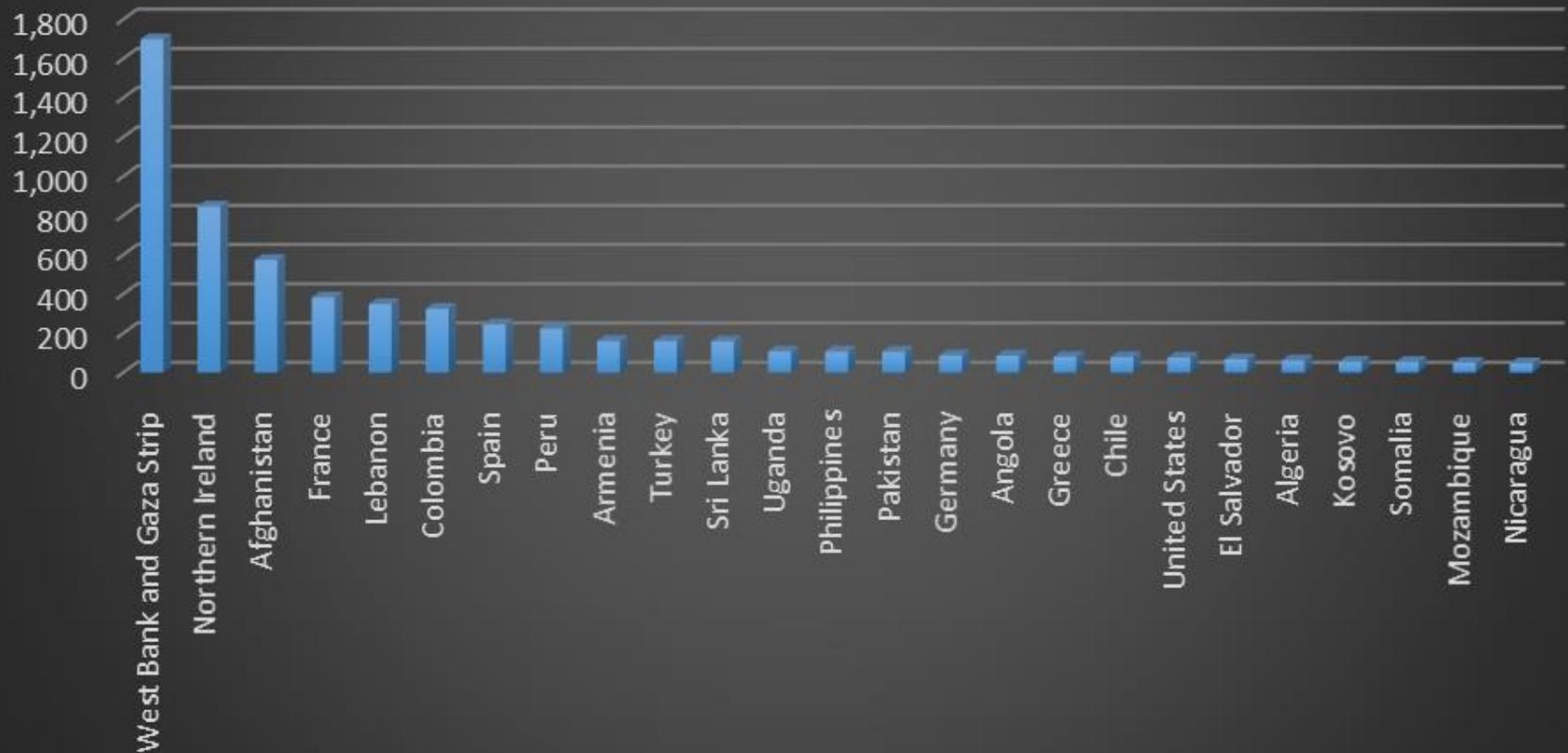
# Frequency of Domestic Terrorist Attacks by Country/Region (Top 25)



# Frequency of Transnational Terrorist Attacks by Target Country (Top 25)



## Frequency of Transnational Terrorist Attacks by Group Nationality/Region (Top 25)



Group Nationality	Frequency	Percent	Average Fragility
West Bank and Gaza Strip	1,698	25%	5.97
Afghanistan	573	8%	6.66
France	382	6%	3.56
Lebanon	348	5%	5.40
Colombia	324	5%	5.02
Spain	244	4%	3.80
Peru	223	3%	4.97
Armenia	160	2%	4.63
Turkey	160	2%	5.15
Sri Lanka	158	2%	5.23
Uganda	107	2%	6.20
Philippines	106	2%	5.27
Pakistan	105	2%	6.17
Germany	87	1%	3.29
Angola	85	1%	6.39
Greece	79	1%	3.91
Chile	78	1%	4.13
United States	75	1%	3.55
El Salvador	67	1%	5.07

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Chile	78	1%	4.13
United States	75	1%	3.55
El Salvador	67	1%	5.07
Algeria	61	1%	5.47
Somalia	53	1%	6.34
Mozambique	49	1%	5.97
Nicaragua	46	1%	5.95
Nigeria	40	1%	5.97
Iran	38	1%	6.03
Guatemala	36	1%	5.49
Cambodia	34	1%	5.67
Rwanda	32	0%	5.93
India	31	0%	5.59
Indonesia	25	0%	5.25
Honduras	28	0%	5.17
Sierra Leone	27	0%	5.80
Puerto Rico	25	0%	3.64
Syria	22	0%	5.61
Israel	21	0%	4.26
Liberia	21	0%	6.05
South Africa	20	0%	5.10
Iran	19	0%	5.81
Sudan	19	0%	6.30
Thailand	18	0%	4.72
Portugal	17	0%	3.64
Myanmar	16	0%	6.06
Belgium	15	0%	3.48
Egypt	11	0%	5.47
Argentina	10	0%	4.14
Bangladesh	9	0%	5.69
Jordan	8	0%	5.18
Libya	9	0%	5.11
Namibia	8	0%	6.06
Ecuador	6	0%	4.94



# Discussion

- **State fragility indices are a useful policy tool.**
- **By better understanding not only where a given country stands on the current years' index, but also the general trend of that country over time, Canada and our allies can make knowledge-based policy decisions on how to better engage in such hostile and difficult environments.**



# Discussion

- **Fragile states pose a risk not only to the security of those within them:**
  - **including Canadian armed forces, diplomats, humanitarian workers, intelligence agents, journalists, and the local population**
- **These ungoverned places represent a risk to broader international security and stability as whole.**



# Discussion

- **The fact that fragility across the globe is increasing indicates that Canada and our allies are not doing enough to combat the spread of violence and misery.**
- **Approaches such as the Busan New Deal should be taken seriously.**
- **Foreign aid as a tool to combat extremism.**





**Thank you!**

**Questions?**



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