



# Government Actions in Terror Environments: Moving Beyond Deterrence

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# Punishment and Rewards

Punishment

Repressive Actions

Rewards

Conciliatory Actions

Specific

**Discriminate** repression  
directed toward the guilty  
(direct deterrence)

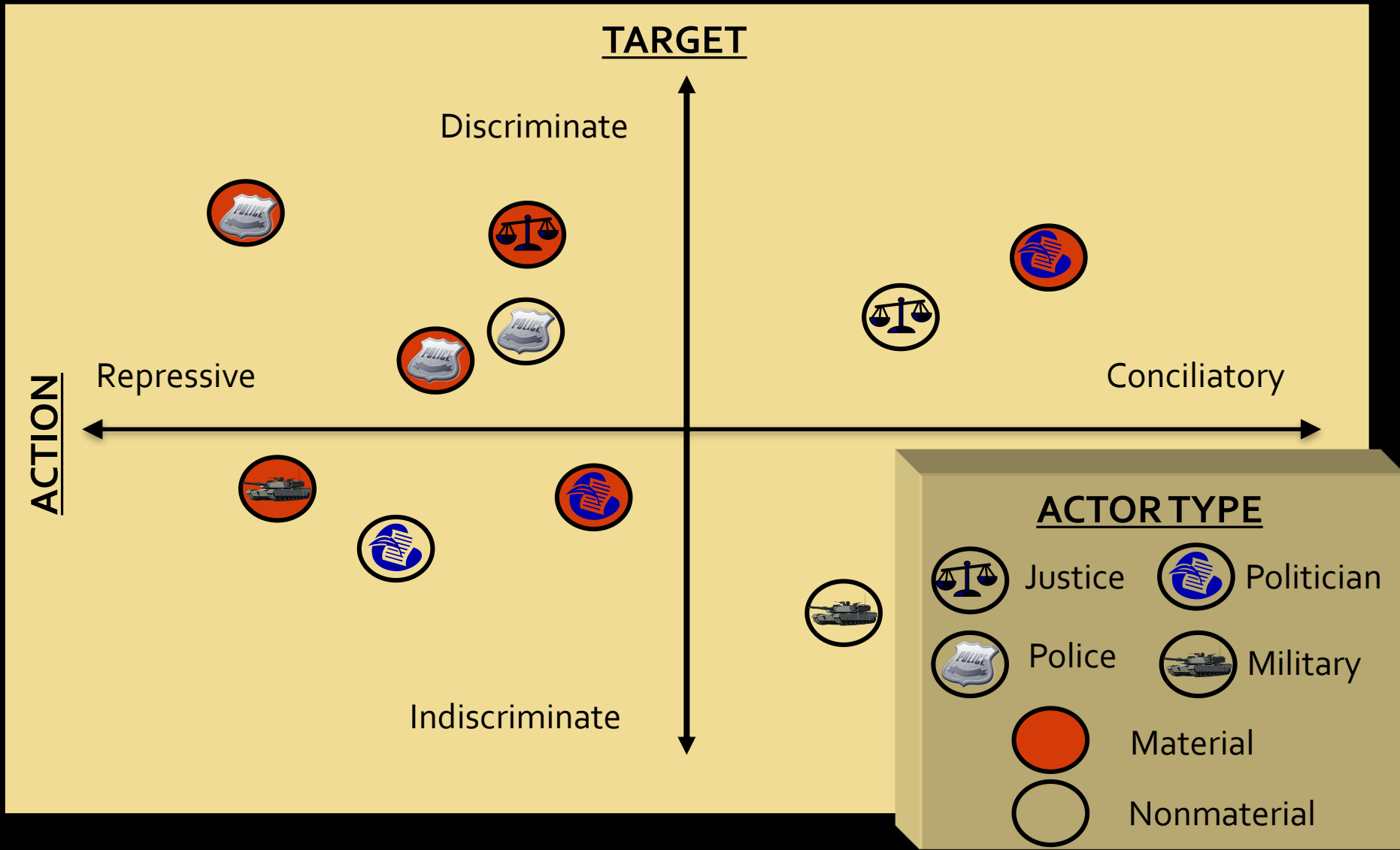
**Discriminate** conciliation  
directed toward the guilty  
(direct benefits of abstention)

General

**Indiscriminate** repression  
directed toward relevant  
civilians in general  
(indirect deterrence)

**Indiscriminate** conciliation  
directed toward relevant  
civilians in general  
(indirect benefits of  
abstention)

# What Governments Do Matters



# Conciliatory-Repressive Scale

1. Accommodation
2. Conciliatory action
3. Conciliatory statement or intention
4. Neutral or ambiguous
5. Verbal conflict
6. Physical conflict
7. Extreme repression (intent to kill)

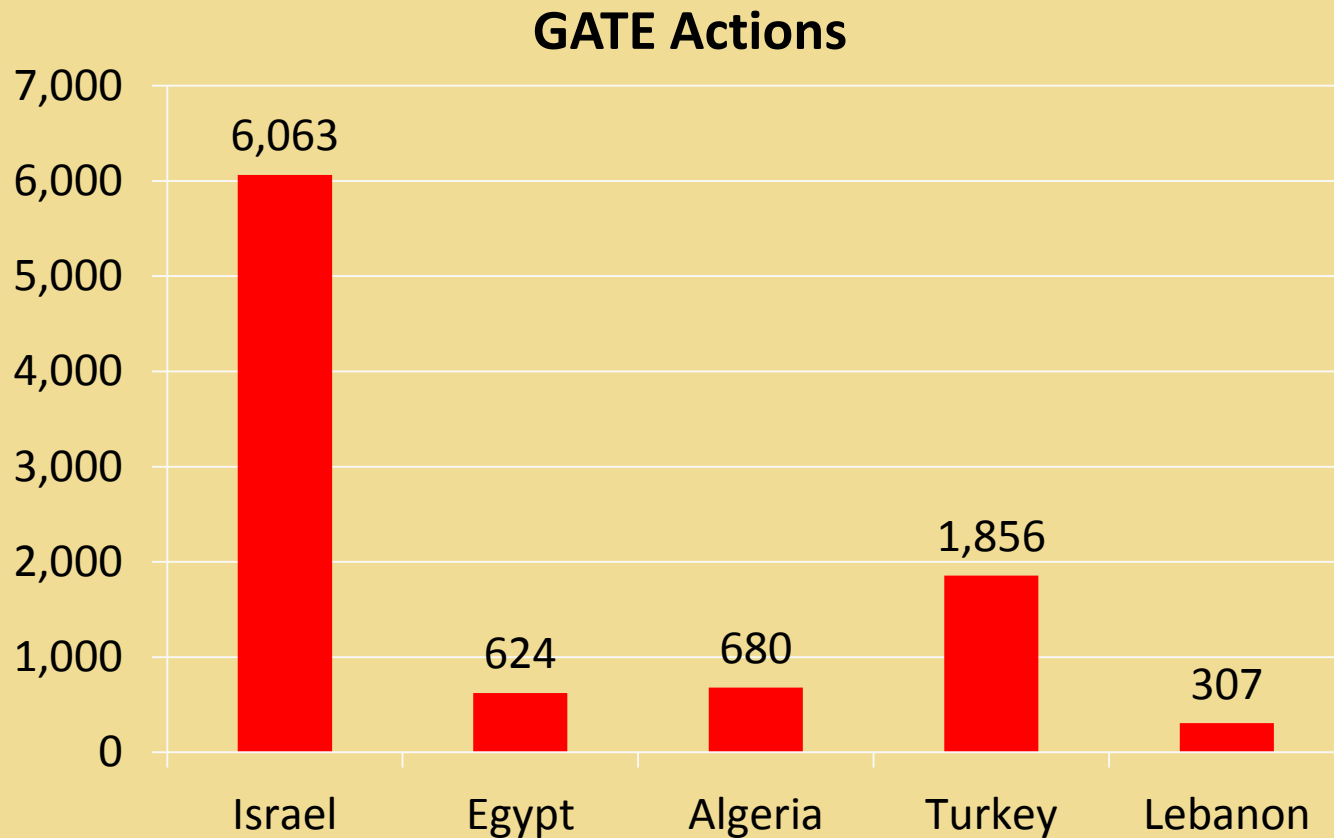
# 3- Tiered Data Collection Strategy

1. Literature Search
2. Textual Analysis by Augmented Replacement Instructions (TABARI)
  - Searches lead sentences of news sources based on complex dictionary that specifies subject, verb, and object (actor-action-target), using CAMEO codes
  - Filters observations into a database
  - Keeps all action by state actors against sub-state actors
  - Auto code in SAS according to assigned action
3. Human review of auto coding

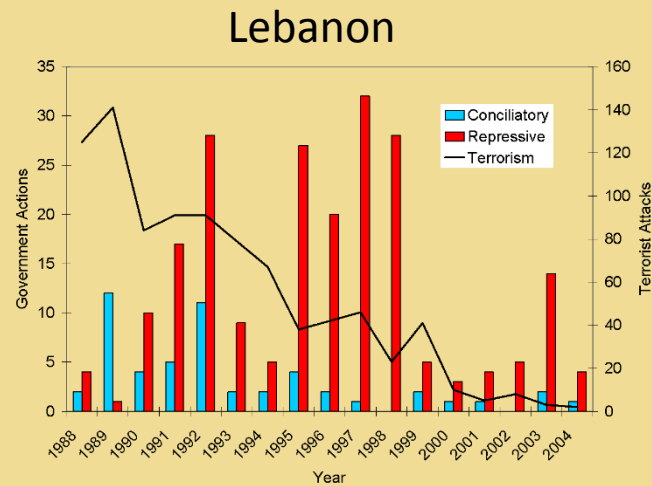
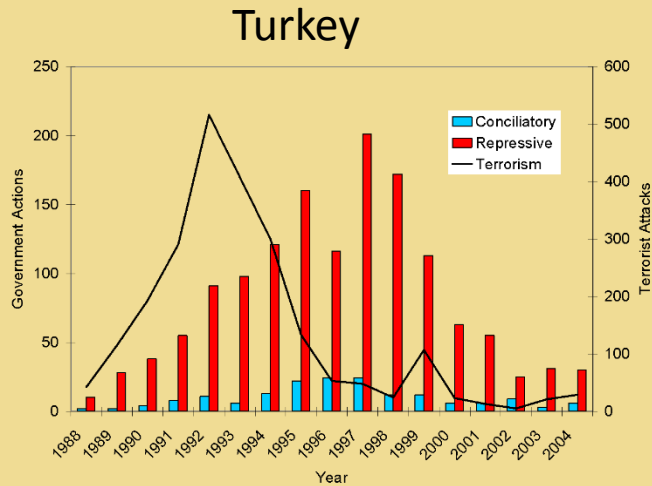
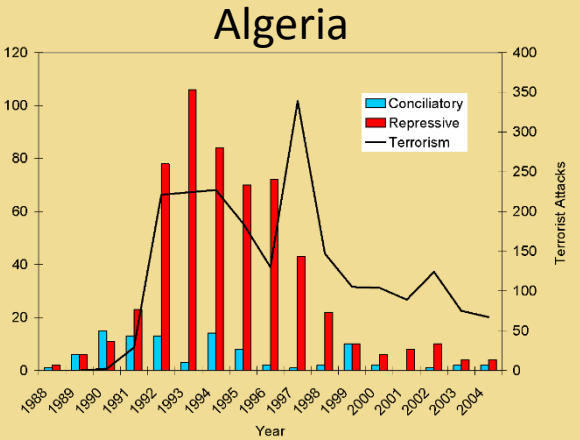
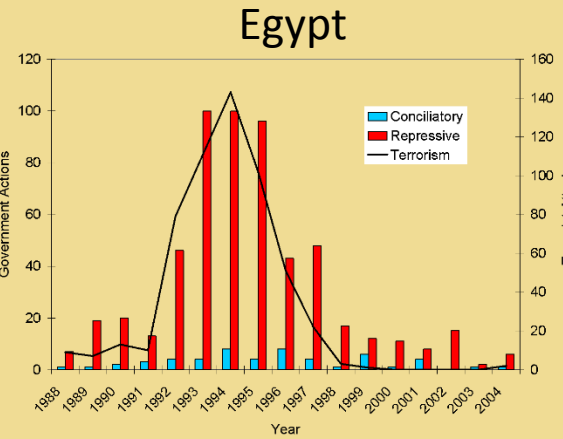
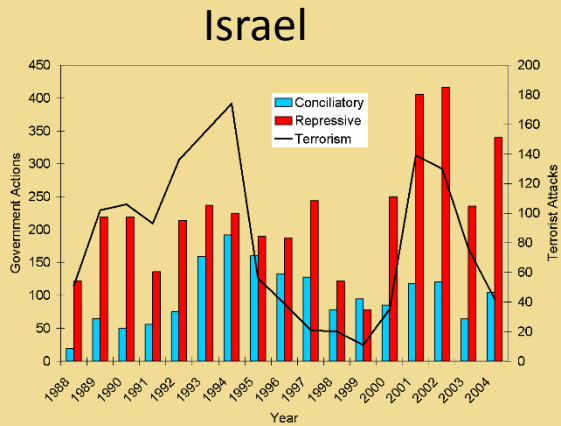
# Actions Captured by TABARI

- **Accommodation/Full Concessions**
  - Withdrew from town
  - Signed peace accord
  - Handed town to Palestinians
- **Conciliatory Action**
  - Met to discuss
  - Released
  - Lifted curfew
  - Pulled out
  - Investigate abuse
- **Conciliatory Statement or Intentions**
  - Expressed optimism
  - Agreed to hold talks
  - Praised Palestinians
- Expressed desire to cooperate
- Admitted mistake
- **Neutral or Ambiguous**
  - Infighting over
  - Failed to reach agreement
  - Host a visit
  - Appealed for third party assistance
  - Investigating
- **Verbal Conflict**
  - Make pessimistic comment
  - Dismissed
  - Blame for attack
  - Deny responsibility
  - Threaten military force
- **Physical Conflict**
  - Demolished
  - Barred
  - Sealed off
  - Imposed Curfew
  - Arrested
- **Extreme Repression (deaths)**
  - Shot dead
  - Fired missiles
  - Clashed with
  - Raided
  - Helicopter attack

# Total Actions by Governments 1988-2004



# Government Actions and Terrorism Over Time by Type





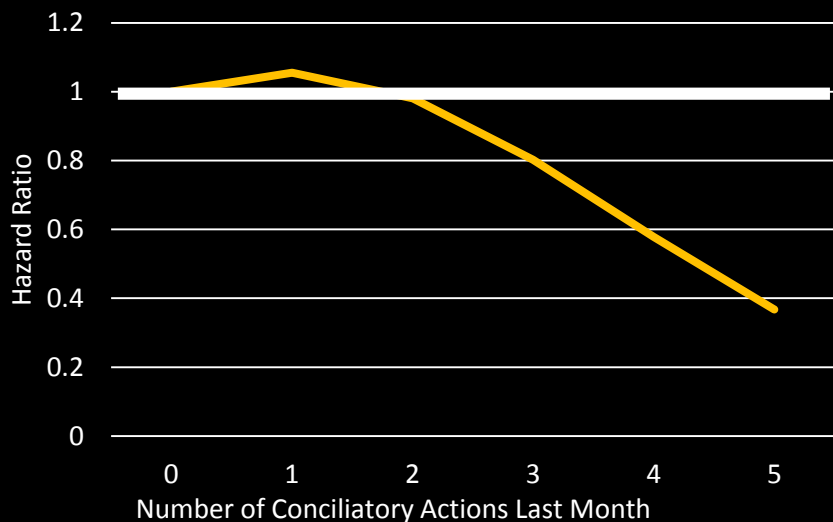
# Conclusions From Analysis of GATE-Israel (Dugan & Chenoweth 2012)

- Repression/punishment more likely to be related to *increases* in terrorism
- Conciliation/rewards more likely to be related to *decreases* in terrorism
- Effects are most pronounced when actions affect constituency
- Tactical regime matters

Do these findings hold in other Middle Eastern Countries?

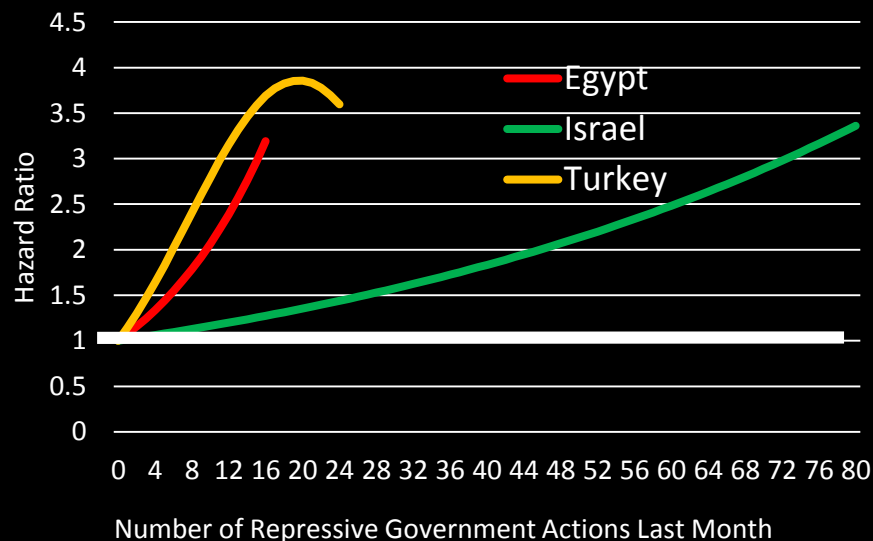
# Conciliatory & Repressive Significant Hazard Ratios

Conciliatory Actions



Turkey

Repressive Actions



# Conclusions

- Dynamics differ across countries
  - Egypt and Algeria differ
- The benefits of conciliatory acts seem to be cumulative.
- Repressive acts are positively associated with terrorism (backlash)
- Indiscriminate actions appear to have a stronger impact
- **CONSTITUENCIES MATTER**

# MAKING GATE-USA

# Primary Characteristic of Most GATE Countries

- One overarching domestic terrorist threat with identifiable constituency
  - Israel: Palestinians
  - Turkey: Kurds
  - Egypt & Algeria: Islamists
  - Lebanon: Hezbollah (Shia Moslems)
  - Sri Lanka: Tamils
- The United States does not have that...

# Complication for GATE-USA

- Multiple Threats
  - Local Jihadi cells
  - Right Wing Extremists
  - Environmental
  - Anti-Abortion
- Attacks Against US Interests Overseas
- Unidentifiable Constituency
- The Saliency of Issues Change with Presidential Administration
  - Bush Sr. was pro-immigration reform...
  - Today, immigration is a right-wing extremists trigger point

Strategy: Focus on policy issues and actions by key federal institutions that are relevant to constituencies of these terrorist threats.

# Key Federal Institutions

- The White House
- Congress
- US Department of State
- Federal Bureau of Investigation
- Department of Justice
- Department of Defense
- Central Intelligence Agency
- Department of Homeland Security
- Transportation Safety Administration
- National Counterterrorism Center
- National Security Agency

# A Very Large Number of Actions, June 1987 - December 2012

- 1,980,197 total Reuters News stories
- 892,332 TABARI selected stories
- 56,961 filtered in SAS to be hand coded
  - Reagan – 1,333
  - Bush Sr. – 6,192
  - Clinton – 23,835
  - Bush Jr. – 21,158
  - Obama – 4,443



# Actions Captured by TABARI in GATE-USA

- Conciliatory Action
  - Donated
  - Ended operation
  - Intercepted vessel
- Conciliatory Statement or Intentions
  - Hosted summit
  - Met with Palestinians
  - Approved ceasefire
- Neutral or Ambiguous
  - Advised
  - Investigated
  - Telephoned
- Verbal Conflict
  - Condemned shootings
  - Rejected appeal
  - Consider national gun licensing system
  - Discourage separatists
- Physical Conflict
  - Found guilty
  - Arrested
  - Filed charges against
- Extreme Repression (deaths)
  - Killed

# Example Clinton Actions

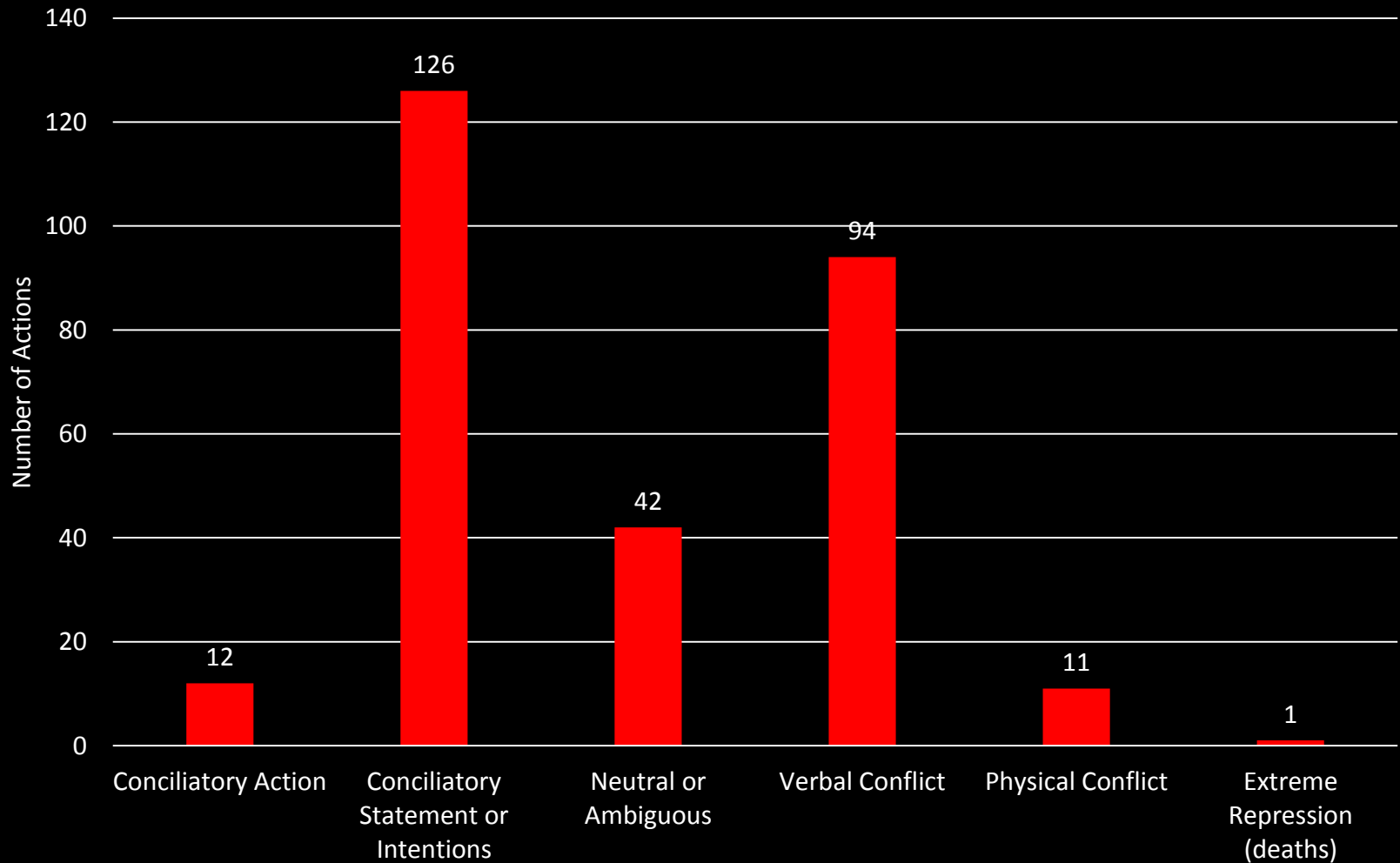
- The United States Wednesday protested PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's call for a "jihad" to liberate Jerusalem but later said it was satisfied with his explanation of his controversial remarks.

Repressive toward Jihadi  
threat

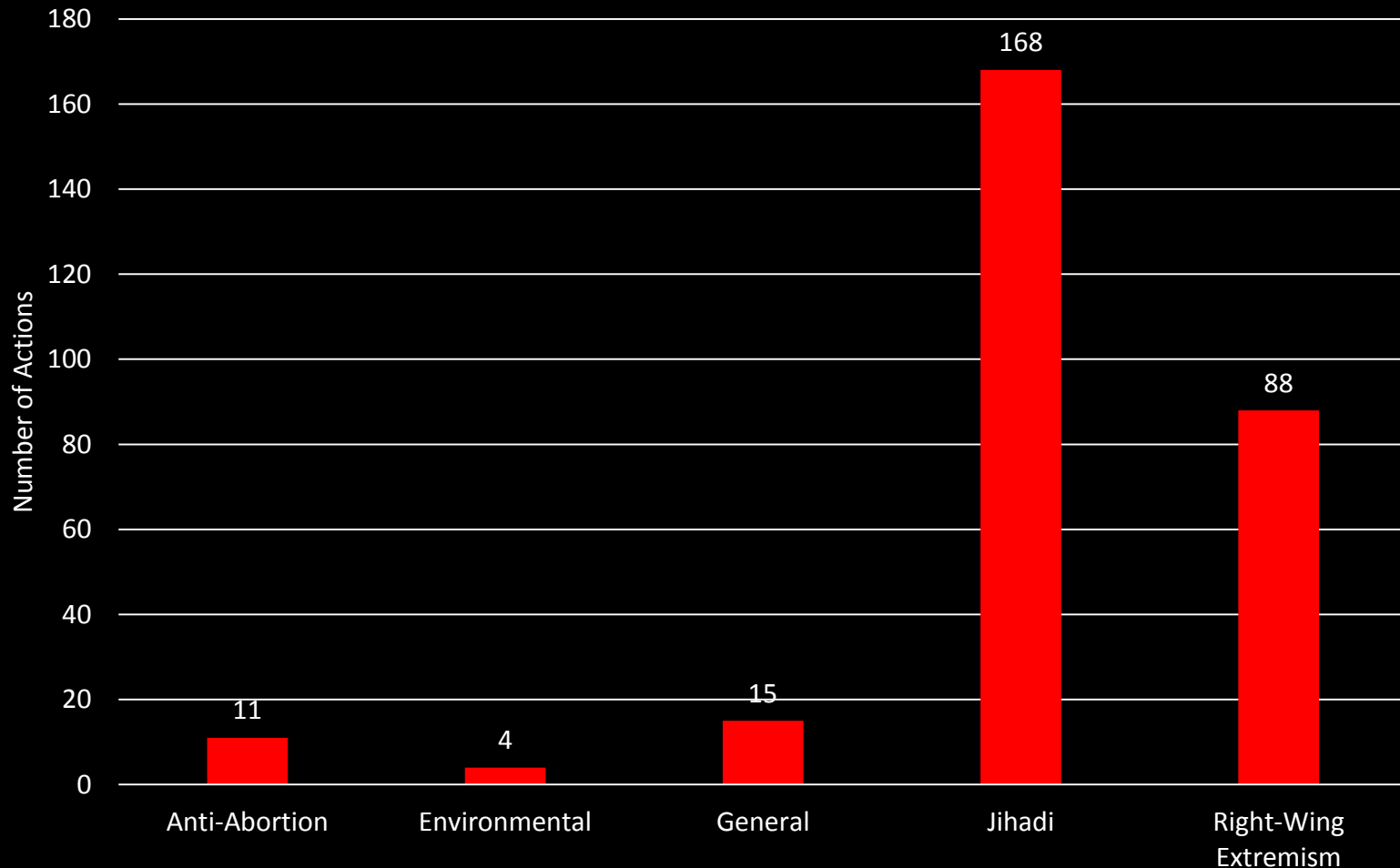
- In an effort to "shut the door on illegal immigration," U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno announced a six-point initiative Saturday she hopes will stem the tide.

Conciliatory toward right-  
wing threat

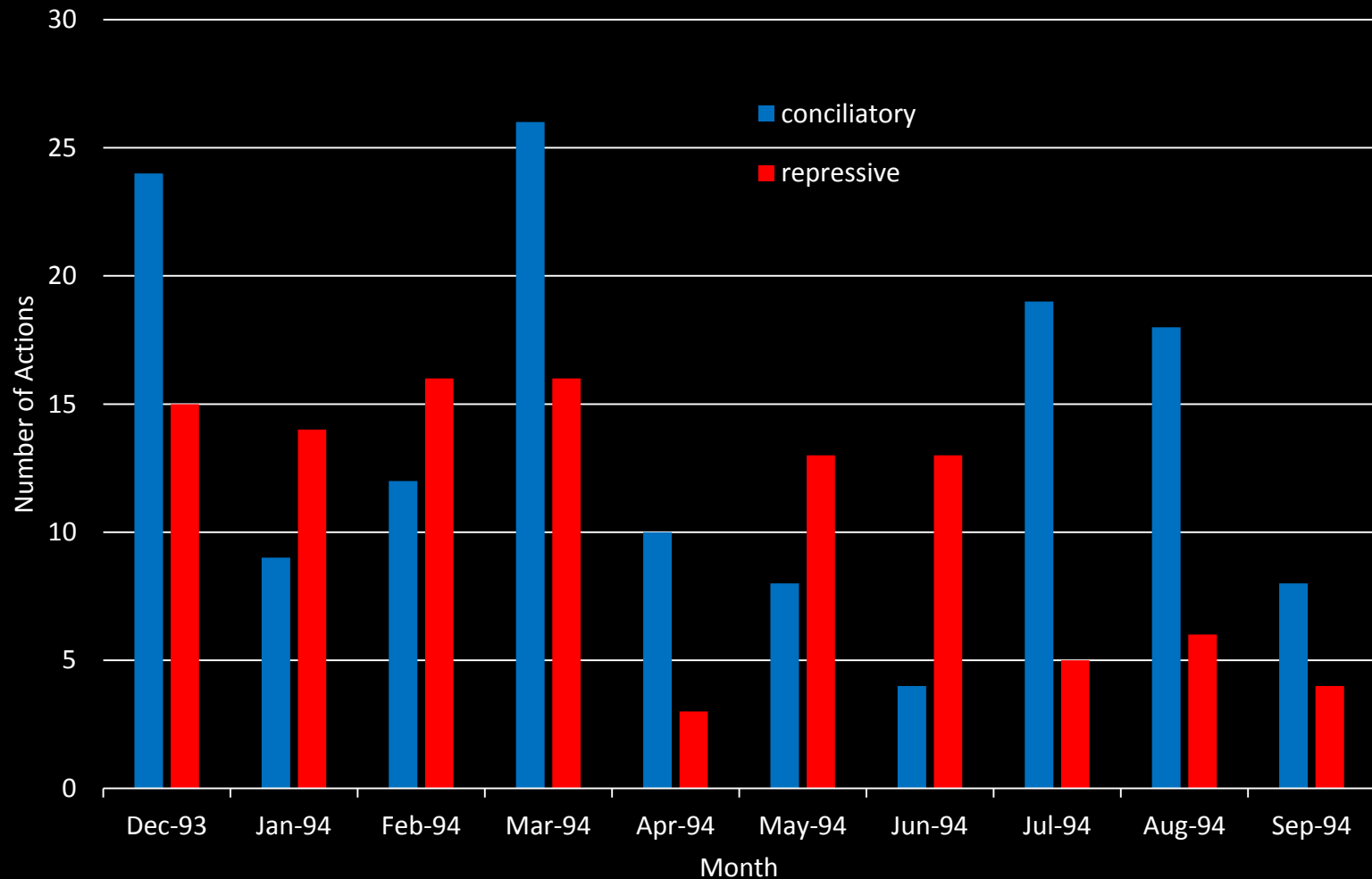
# Types of US Government Actions, December 1993 – September 1994



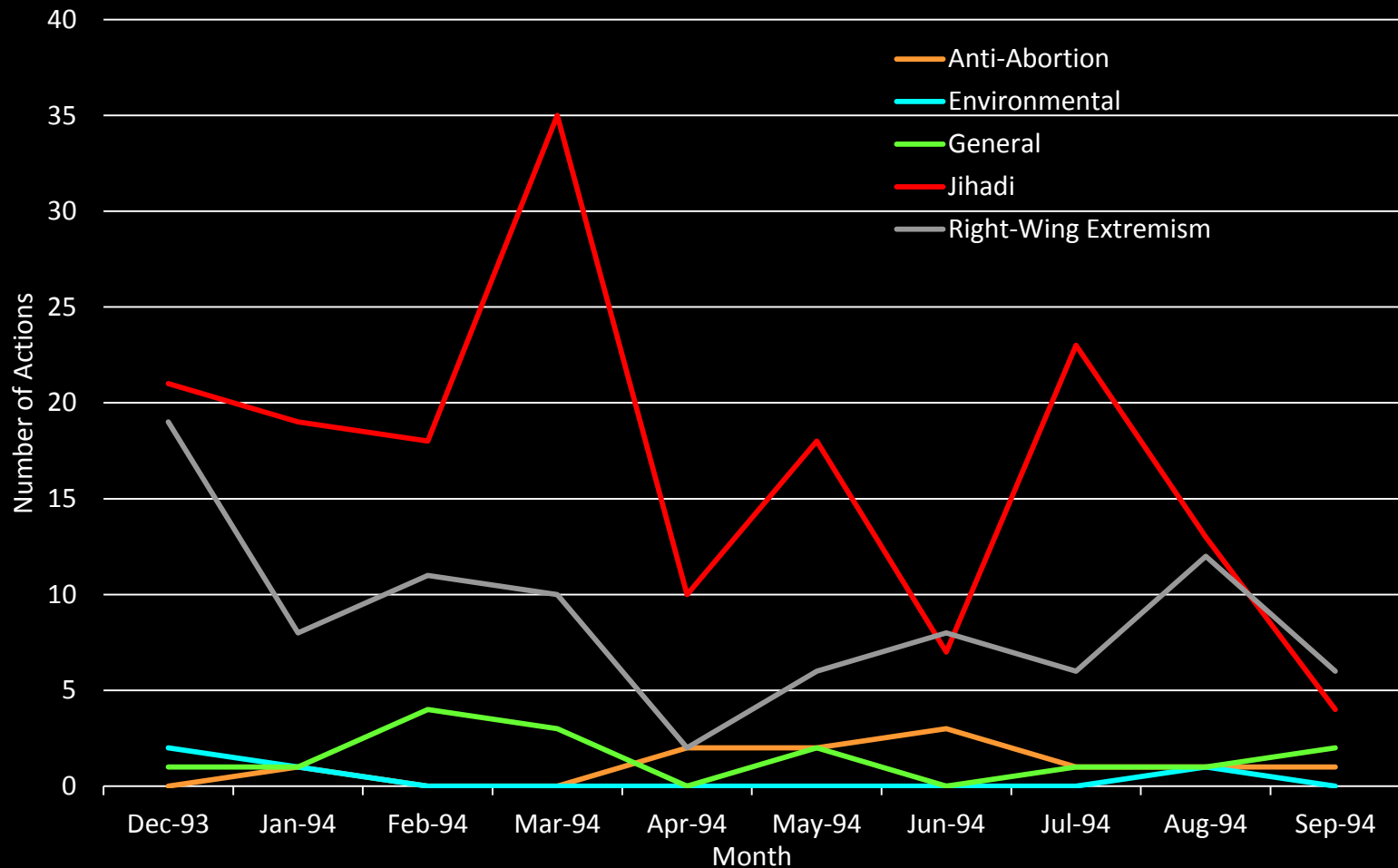
# Actions Relevant to Terrorist Threats, December 1993 – September 1994



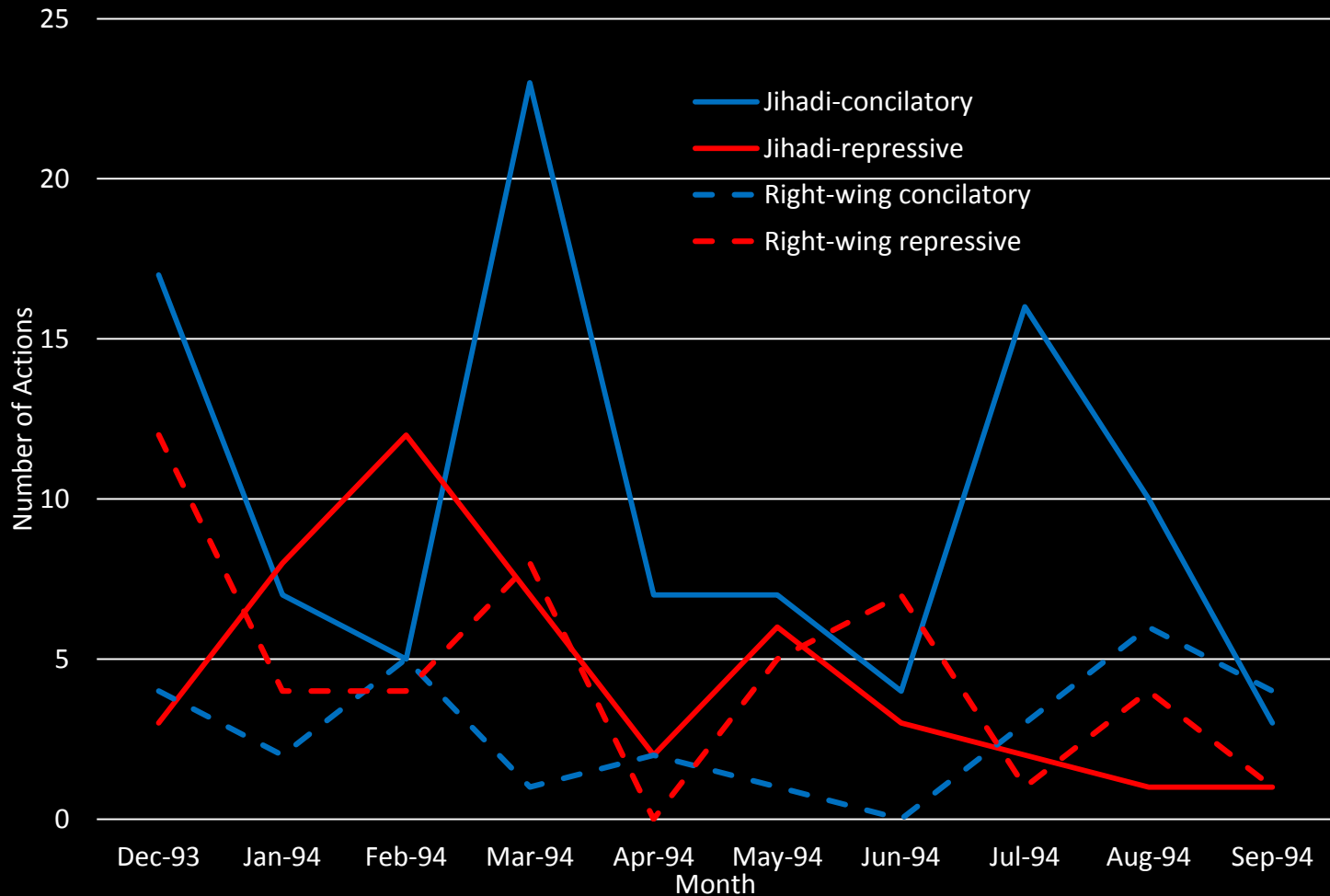
# Number of Actions Over Time, December 1993 – September 1994



# Actions Relevant to Threats, December 1993 – September 1994



# Actions Relevant to Right-Wing and Jihadi Threats, December 1993 – September 1994



# Contact

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