THE IMPACT OF GOVERNMENTAL STRATEGIES ON COLLECTIVE ACTION
AFTER BACKLASH: DETERMINING MOBILIZATION INTO TERRORIST
ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, IRELAND, LEBANON AND INDIA

By

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ABSTRACT

Researchers in the field of Security Studies would ultimately like to make prescriptions on how to curb international and domestic violence worldwide. Much of the existing research focuses on the governmental responses to existing terrorist groups, such as counterterrorism strategies, while other research focuses on the immediate impact of terrorist organizations. Therefore, little focus is given to the historical and cultural factors influencing mobilization of actors and the relationship between parties involved.

Research suggests that governmental strategies against collective groups, such as brute police force, can serve as a catalyst for backlash. Further research should be done to understand the impact of governmental strategies that aid in the mobilization of individuals into terrorist organizations, viewing terrorists as the backlash of a policy choice implemented by domestic or state level institutions. A sense of grievance is the key motivational factor for most terrorist organization, a common bond between members. Unwarranted use of violence, death of civilians and a lack of transparency in governmental decision making, make it easier to capture sentiments of an already aggrieved population into that of a terrorist organization.

The current research assesses the impact of governmental strategies on collective action and mobilization into terrorist organizations after backlash. The current study proposes a connection between backlash of governmental strategies, collective action and terrorism. It suggests that political choices, at the domestic or international level, can influence the trajectory of aggrieved groups into terrorist organizations.

Keywords: *terrorism, collective action, government strategies*

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF TOPIC

Terrorism is not a distinctly modern form of violence. Academic literature cites September 11th as a classic case of modern terrorism because it was an internationally coordinated attack that required the movement of people and goods across borders. However, neither globalization, collective action nor terrorism are distinct features of the 21st century. Actors during the French Revolution (1789-1795) coined the term "terrorist" or "terrorism" but the concept has been in existence for hundreds of years (Blain 2005).

Terrorism must be thought of in an historical context, including the political social and economic factors that influence it. Social movement scholars argue that collective action, like protests and social movements, become violent when structural opportunities present themselves. Historical factors surrounding the group, or the individual, largely influence how they respond or participate in terrorism (Crenshaw 1995). Micro level investigations failed to capture factors that occurred around the terrorist organization; their campaigns, Diaspora, state response to terrorism, etc. (Dugan & Yang 2012). From this perspective, three themes formed from the relationship between terrorism and humans; the historical context of terrorism, the causal relationship among social, political and economic environment; and how terrorism affects the environment (political, social and economic environments) (Crenshaw 2005). The current research attempts to investigate the intersection of these themes by addressing the roles of state and non-state actors in the mobilization of individuals into terrorist organizations.

The implication of terrorism, like other forms of collective action, is that aggrieved groups want to change a particular aspect in their environment. Terrorism

suggests that violence, whether actual or threatened, is a tactic of the aggrieved group. Policy choices of the state can either curb or exacerbate the trajectory of a terrorist group.

The current study attempts to show how backlash can occur from governmental responses to collective action in the form of terrorism, specifically backlash that occurs from brute governmental responses to social movements. It is noted that the likelihood of terrorism is influenced by several factors; economic, social and political factors. Several databases, such as the *Global Terrorism Database* (GTD), *International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events* (ITERATE), *Dynamics of Collective Action in the U.S. 1960-1995*, The *European Protest and Coercion Data* (EPCD), *Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes* and the *South Asia Terrorism Portal* (SATP) provide data on terrorism and collective action incidents. The data are analyzed using multiple linear regression models to examine the relationship between governmental interventions and the occurrence of terrorist incidents in four countries.

Detailed case studies of four terrorist organizations provide additional historical and contextual information about governmental strategies. They also provide insight about backlash and collective action events that may have occurred around the same time and ideologies of the movement or terrorist organization. Additionally, background information about the terrorist organization are included. The Black Panther Party (United States), The Irish Republican Army (Ireland), Hezbollah (Lebanon) and Khalistan Movement (India) are the specified cases that are outlined. This research provides empirical evidence, using a mixed methodology, which speaks to the context and motivational factors of terrorism in the specified cases.

Chapter 1 introduces the study, the rationale for addressing collective action and terrorism in the same body of work. Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical framework of the study. It also addresses the nature of terrorism and its definitional challenges, the policy approaches to terrorism, typologies of terrorism, as well as, the "new" vs. "old" debate of terrorism focuses on terrorism, in the context of the current research, in the latter part of the chapter. Chapter 3 addresses the relevance of adding governmental interventions, collective action and backlash to the current study. An important part of this chapter elaborates on the concepts of backlash, collective action and social movements are elaborated upon. Additionally, the chapter examines the relevance of the research in the academic community is addressed, including its agenda. Chapter 4 includes the methodological strategy, information about data sources and operationalization of key terms. An important part of this chapter elaborates on the operationalization of key terms, the rationale for choosing specific cases, hypothesis and research questions propelling the study. Chapter 5 includes the findings of the quantitative portion of the analysis that examines the relationship between a collective action and activities of a terrorist organization. Chapter 6, 7, 8 and 9 provide case studies that address the contextual and historical. It also includes results of regression analyses aimed at determining the relationship between governmental interventions and terrorism incidents. Chapter 10 offers a discussion of the results of the research, limitations/delamination and directions for future research in the area.

Irrespective of the "old" terrorism vs. "new" terrorism debate, it remains apparent that the motivation of terrorist has not varied greatly over the years. From international terrorism to domestic terrorism, secessionist to the "home grown" terrorist, a sense of grievance drives this form of political violence. The current study considers the link between governmental strategies, collective action and terrorism. It also attempts to determine if the presence of backlash aidis in the formation of terrorist organization.

Frequently, researchers use case studies in terrorism studies. However, there is a need to incorporate historical accounts in studying terrorism (Duyvesteyn 2007). A review of terrorism literature found that only 3.9% of articles examined non-contemporary terrorism/terrorist organizations (Silke 2007). Case studies alone provide a warped perspective of terrorism in that case studies that are typically chosen are generally high profile cases (Dugan and Yang 2012). Quantitative studies alone fail to include historical contextual information that case studies are able to provide. The current study utilizes a mixed methodology approach; incorporating case studies and quantitative analysis in an attempt to avoid an atomistic examination of the relationship between the actors involved.

Chapter 2: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

DEFINING TERRORISM

One of the complexities of terrorism research includes the lack of a uniform definition. The definition provided by the FBI provides a concise criterion for the establishment of what constitutes terrorism. Terrorism is defined by the FBI as

> "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (28 C.F.R. Section 0.85)

Schmid and Jongman provide an exhausted definition of terrorism that encompasses the motivational and political factors of terrorism. This definition does not make a distinction between actors committing the acts nor the target of the acts. Schmid and Jongman's (1988) definition of terrorism is used as the standard definition of terrorism for the current study.

Terrorist activity is operationally defined as

> "A method of combat in which random or symbolic victims serve as an instrumental target of violence… Through previous use of violence or the credible threat of violence other members of that group or class are in a state of chronic fear (terror). This group or class, whose members' sense of security is purposefully undermined, is the target of terror…The purpose of this indirect method of combat is either to immobilize the target of terror in order to produce disorientation and/or compliance, or to mobilize secondary targets of demands or targets of attention to changes of attitude or behavior favoring the short or long-term interests of the users of this method of combat" (Schmid & Jongman 1988)

Statistically reporting cases or determining the prevalence of terrorism is made difficult due to the lack of a clear and consistent definition. Whitaker (2001) noted that "no one definition of terrorism has gained universal acceptance". There are currently over 100 definitions that are used to describe terrorism. Coined in 1795, the term "terrorist" or "terrorism" emerged when the French government used the words during the "Reign of Terror" as revolutionaries opposed the actions of the government (Whitaker 2001). States used terrorism as a tactic. This is in opposition with the way terrorism is defined; terrorism is currently defined as an act against the state, not by the state. The lack of a single definition for terrorism is attributed to the multitude of disciples that study terrorism, and the multitude of the political stance that states/organizations respond to terrorism (Sinai 2007).

The problematic nature of defining terrorism is illustrated by Thackrah (1987) when he provided chronological definitions of terrorism. Beginning in 1936, terrorism was defined as 'a method of combat in the struggle between social groups and forces rather than individuals, and it may take place in any social order' (Harman 1936). Chisholm (1948) defined terrorism as 'a method of action by which agents tend to produce terror to impose his domination on the state in order to transform it. Roucek (1962) stated 'sociologically, terror is a person, or thing or practice that causes intense fear or suffering, whose aim is to intimidate, subjugate, especially as a political weapon or policy....' By the 1970s the definition of terrorism contained less social components and focused on the threat, or the propensity of threat, to promote a revolution or alter political processes.

Schmid and Jongman (1988) defined terrorism as a method of combat that included a target of violence…included a state of chronic fear…mobilization for target of demands or attention. Crenshaw (1995) noted the important role that social constructs play in defining terrorism within its historical context. Schmid (1992) asserted that terrorism is the equivalent to peacetime war crimes, urging what are constituted as war crimes are added to the definition of terrorism. However, the most common elements found in the definition of terrorism included the use, or threat of use of violence/force, political motivation, inducing fear and/or terror and threat (Schmid and Jongman, 1988). Two common elements are also found in academic literature when defining terrorism; violence, or threat of violence, against civilians and behavior/acts intended to coerce, compel or intimidate a population into some form of action (Maogoto 2003).

After reviewing more than 100 definitions, Schmid and Jongman (1988) offered an all-encompassing definition of terrorism that also focused on victims of terrorism and the historical context of the violence; they attempted to close many verbal gaps in the quest to define terrorism. The extensive definition contained 16 of the 22 most common elements found in their literature review. They pointed out that terrorism can be used by almost anyone, at any time, for any purpose (Shirley 2006). Terrorism was defined as

> "A method of combat in which random or symbolic victims serve as an instrumental target of violence… Through previous use of violence or the credible threat of violence other members of that group or class are in a state of chronic fear (terror). This group or class, whose members' sense of security is purposefully undermined, is the target of terror…The purpose of this indirect method of combat is either to immobilize the target of terror in order to produce disorientation and/or compliance, or to mobilize secondary targets of demands or targets of attention to changes of attitude or behavior favoring the short or long-term interests of the users of this method of combat" (Schmid & Jongman, 1988)

The 5 part US legal definition of terrorism included "violent and illegal activity that is intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population or government" (Travis 2010). The U.S. Department of State defined terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience" (Hudson 1999).

In the Criminal Code Act of 1995, the Australian government outlined terrorism as

> "an action or threat of action that causes serious physical harm or death to a person….It is an action or threat of action intended to advance a political, ideological or religious cause and to coerce or influence by intimidation an Australian or foreign government or intimidate the public or a section of the public."

LaFree and Ackerman (2009) used the definition of terrorism that defined the phenomenon as the threat or actual use of illegal force directed against civilian targets by non-state actors in order to attain a political goal though fear, coercion, or intimidation (LaFree and Dugan 2007; LaFree et al. 2008).

The common element of violence is evoked when defining terrorism. Terrorism is considered a form of political violence. Terrorism does not happen overnight, typically there is history between the two main groups that are involved in the violence that seems to surround terrorism.

Political Violence

Political violence is a broad terms that encompass different types of political action. Political violence includes intra-state or inter-state actions and is manifested in many forms. Flanigan and Fogelman (1970) described domestic political violence as

coups, rebellions, civil wars, political assassinations, major rioting, etc. Political violence also includes genocide, terrorism, mass killings, sexual violence, protests and other forms of direct action. Violence, from this perspective, is a form of direct political action used by individuals and governments in its attempt to achieve a political goal.

Fortunately, political violence is an area of research that benefits from multi-disciplinary input regarding the root causes of violence. Psychology, economics, political science and sociology literature suggests different methodology, theoretical issues and origins that affect political violence. Although the varying disciplines use different theories to explain political violence, there is a common link in that all disciplines expressed a need to understand the root causes of political violence to aid in prevention.

There are several factors that are thought to aid in the formation of political violence; the political stability of a country (also called democraticness), drug crimes, terrorist attacks, organized crime, regime repressiveness, economic inequality, youth bulges, cultural differences (socially open system), rebellions, fear, gender inequality, lack of human rights and basic human needs. Conflicts between groups or within groups, irrespective of the political goal, are taxing on the international or domestic level. Depending on the perspective, factors that aid in the formation of political violence can be viewed as forms of political violence.

Turk (1981) asserted that having political power meant having control over resources, especially in the relationship between groups. The use of power further demonstrated control. Terrorism is a politically violent crime in the pursuit of power (Schmid 2003). Turk (1981) noted five forms of power exist; war on police power, economic power, political power, ideological power and diversionary power.

Direct political action is always unilateral, engaging, with indeterminate outcomes where the outcome is a function of its performance. Mechanisms of direct action are divided into categories; violence and nonviolence (Bond 1994).The main difference between mechanisms of violence and mechanisms of nonviolent struggle is how power is applied. Political action is directed towards the (human) body, the will, and/or the environment. Mechanisms manifested in violence have the human body as the "target" of the violent direct action, so physical and coercive force is used. Bond (1994) noted that violence disrupted the community and is antithetical to politics. Political violence is especially dangerous because civil engagement is reduced and lessened the will to reform (Shiftung 2008).

Curtis and Karacan (2002) suggested a nexus relationship between the different forms of political violence. There has been several cases where terrorist organizations funded their operations through drug and weapon trafficking. The Northern Ireland terrorist group the Irish Republican Army (IRA) is noted for their involvement in arms and narcotics trafficking. Al-Qaeda affiliates are charged with the attempt to transport narcotics to Columbia. Curtis and Karacan (2002) also proposed that arms manufacturers and smugglers sell weapons to various criminal organizations. The structure of arms and narcotic relationships are easily ameliorated and they are multinational. The innumerable forms of organized crimes work fluidly with one another. The relationship between terrorist organizations and other forms of organized crimes are equally flexible, variable and changeable.

Typologies of Terrorism

As there are as many reasons to become a terrorist, there is are an abundance in the "types" of terrorism. Chalmers (1982) noted four "types" of terrorism; political terrorism, official/state terrorism, nonpolitical terrorism, and pseudo-terrorism. Types of terrorism also include narco-terrorism (terrorism interlinked with drug trafficking and production), dynamite terrorism, nuclear terrorism, maritime terrorism, state terrorism, spasm terrorism, neo-Nazi terrorism, Maoist terrorism, etc. (Thackrah 1987). Political terrorism includes terrorism that is used for political purposes. State terrorism uses fear to maintain dominance over a population (Chalmers 1982). Non-political terrorism includes terrorism linked to organized crime, felonies and other deviant behaviors. Psuedo-terrorism involves groups/individuals that mimic the actions, dress and tactics of terrorists; the motivations for such behavior vary.

Whereas typology organized terrorism into categories based on common characteristics, classifications involved grouping according to observed characteristics. An example of a classification of terrorism would be ideology or political objective. Nationalist, right wing, left wing and religious terrorism are included in the ideological classifications of terrorism. Although there is an exhausted list of "types of terrorists", only a truncated list of typologies is further outlined.

Sanai (2008) identified four classifications of terrorism: international, transnational, state and domestic terrorism. He further classified terrorism as either secular with non-religious goals, or those having millenarian goals that are based on religious ideology. Hoffman (1995) specified the differences between religious and political terrorism as the largest distinction between categories of terrorism.

The Central Intelligence Agency defined international terrorism as terrorism involving the territory or the citizens of more than one country (Gupta 2010). International terrorism occurs when the consequences of a terrorist incident is felt in more than one state. International terrorism was differentiated from transnational terrorism in that international terrorism occurs when a planned event occurs in one country but is enforced in another country. The September 11 attack in the United States serves as an example of international terrorism. The event began with planning by the Al-Qaeda in the Middle East and the attack took place in the United States.

Transnational terrorism, also known as "spillover terrorism", is terrorism that occurs across national borders. Although an event may begin in one country, it ends in another. Transnational terrorism occurs when terrorism crosses national borders and occurs in more than one state. An example of international terrorism is narco-terrorism. Narco-terrorism is considered a menacing and sinister form of terrorism as it is hard to detect. Narco-terrorist become imbedded in drug trafficking. Drug trafficking occurs when terrorist attempt to fund operations or to create addictions in the target country that drugs are being sent to (Thackrah 1987).

The term state terrorism has not "officially" been used in the past international conventions due to some arguments that terrorism can only apply to non-state actors (Gupta 2010). State sponsored terrorism occurs when states sponsor, not limited to financial support, terrorist organizations. The agenda of the state is to coerce and threaten civilian groups via a terrorist organization. State terrorism occurs when a state threatens, or coerces, a particular population or civilian group. State sponsored terrorism occurs mainly in "third world" countries (Thackrah, 1987). In academic literature, the United

States is repeatedly labeled as engaging in state terrorism with several invasions of countries as supporting cases (Chomsky and Herman 1979; Herman 1985; George 1991; Gareau 2004; Stokes 2005).

Terrorism is considered a collective social movement that is based on ideologies that propel the group to mandate certain behaviors justified by a set of beliefs (Gupta 2001). Domestic terrorism is an internal threat of terrorism. As defined by the FBI, domestic terrorism includes Americans attacking Americans based on extremist ideologies. The U.S. Patriot act outlined domestic terrorism as

> (i) intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping. Additionally, the acts have to occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States and if they do not, may be regarded as international terrorism. (Section 802, USA Patriot Act)

Examples of domestic terrorism include violent civil disorders intertwined with terrorism, anarchists, eco-terrorism, animal rights terrorist, homegrown terrorists, "lone wolf" terrorist, etc. The main premise of the definition of domestic terrorism is the threat of terrorism from an individual, or individuals, within the country they are targeting. White (2003) took the concept of domestic terrorism further when he suggested that terrorism, as a form of violent behavior, occurred on a 'spectrum of conflict". From this perspective, terrorism can be thought of as a form of violent civil disobedience.

The typology of political terrorism includes political terrorist vying to overthrow some type of social structure (Cronin 2002). Political terrorists generally operate within the political and cultural structures that surround them in an attempt to overthrow or separate from what they consider an oppressive political system. Political terrorists are

less likely to haphazardly kill innocent parties as violence is intended to be symbolic and is often directed at political elites and symbols of authority (Cronin 2002). This does not mean that political terrorist do not commit indiscriminate killings. Left wing terrorist and separatists/ethno-nationalists are types of political terrorists. Left wing terrorist, also classified as revolutionary, utilize the tactics of kidnapping, murder, bombings, and assassinations. Separatists have clearer goals that revolve around building national identity and support for their ethnic community (Cronin 2002). However, acts of violence are generally brutal and are lengthy. This is largely impacted by the social group, same ethnicity group, which support the terrorists' goal separating from the state. The Irish Republic Army, Black September and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elaam are examples of separatists/ethno-nationalist terrorists (Crenshaw 1991; Cronin 2002).

Religious terrorists are the largest threat to international security, securing a Diaspora that spread beyond territorial boundaries of states (Cronin 2002). Religious terrorists operate with the least amount of boundaries. Anyone not a member of their religious group is considered the "enemy"; meaning any human target not directly associated with the specified religion is a target. Little discrimination is given to targets of attacks and they do not view themselves as being restricted by secular laws (Cronin 2002). Unlike political terrorists, they do not attempt to correct a system, or make it more just. The goal of religious terrorists is to "replace" the system and may use unpredictable method of doing so to obtain it.

"New" versus "Old" Terrorism

While the trends of terrorism are observed, a worldwide decline in terrorism incidents since the beginning of the 1990sit is noted (Cronin 2002). However, there was

an increase in the lethality of attacks that occurred post 1990. This suggested to researchers that there is an overall shift in terrorism (Sherley 2006). Modern literature on terrorism largely focuses on 'religiously inspired' terrorism. The newest wave of terrorism is dubbed as "new terrorism" (Duyvesteyn 2007). The "new" form of terrorism is argued as a distinctly different form of terrorism.

Scholars further debated the changing nature of terrorism since the 9/11 attacks; many suggesting that the terrorism of the 21st century is different from terrorism experienced in previous decades. The multitude of books that addresses the "new" age of terrorism challenged the notion of terrorist motivation occurring in recent years. Scholars argue that there are three essential ways that terrorism has changed in the 21st century: different goals and motivation; the use of lethal and destructive weapons; and organizational differences. Regardless of the subscription to "new" or "old" forms of terrorism, the consensus remained that the motivation for becoming a terrorist is an important factor in determining.

In 2006, the National Security Council stated that terrorist exploit Islam. The Council indicated that the enemy movement was an attempt to create a division between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Contradictory to the report, Crenshaw (2011) noted that there is no real evidence that the lethality of terrorism increased because of religion (Islamic). The quick acceptance to make terrorism a religious threat proves dangerous because no other avenues are fully addressed.

Crenshaw (2006) also argued that there are three essential motivational factors that remained uniform throughout the decades; the need for belonging, identity, and perceived injustice. Additionally, she argued that the motivation and objectives that

explained the choice of methods have not changed. Radical organizations united people of various backgrounds and temperaments. It is the membership in the extremist group and collective belief system that bound members together, not the violence. Whether it is identity as a group member, a national or ethnic group, or the belief system of the group, they are the dynamics that propelled various forms of political violence. Beliefs of the group promoted a sense of cohesion and solidarity in the absence of the small group interactions and dynamics that normally add to group identity and collective behavior. Advancement in technology allowed an individual to connect to a group without having constant relationship with the group; supporting the notion that it is the common belief that bound group members.

Wilshire (2005) hypothesized that, in and through world experiences, if a generation of a group is disrupted, their reality is dissolved and their identity becomes less salient. They become disenchanted with the world they live in and life becomes corrupted. The individual, their mind and body, gives way to corruption. Collective violence, such as genocide or terrorism, are more likely to occur due to the prolonged condition of disenchantment and the wearing away of "self". Subsequently, the individual's group, or self, way of doing things are threatened by the outsiders, or "others", way (Wilshire 2005). The illusion of group immortality is eventually threatened by the constant menace of external forces. The space for terror and retaliation is then created. Wilshire's theory of prolonged exposure to threat doesn't make a distinction between "new" and "old" terrorism debate but notes generational perceptions.

Policy Approaches

The 1998 terrorist bombings of the United States Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania marked the beginning of the militarization of terrorism. Prior to this attack, the United States viewed terrorism as a criminal matter, making the acts subject to police and court jurisdiction. The Clinton administration adopted what is now known as the Gunboat and Gurkhas tactic. The practice allowed Clinton and his closest lieutenants to make decisions regarding foreign policy while bypassing the consent of Congress. The Clinton doctrine attempted to continue to use the military but framed its use as the military existing to fight and win the nation's war while still adhering to rules, providing "openness", this decreased the fear that the US was attempting to dominate the global political scene (Bacevich 2002).

After the 2001 terrorist attacks, terrorism became a more salient threat. Attacks on United States Embassies on foreign soil seemed an abstract threat in most American's mind. The attacks on the World Trade Center made the threat of a terrorist attack all too real. The loss of more American lives became a risk that many Americans were not willing to chance. In the United States, the early 2000s witnessed the transition of terrorism from a criminal matter to a matter of national security. The Clinton administration successfully, and quietly, positioned terrorism as a national security threat. The Bush administration picked up where his predecessor left off but created policy choices that were distinctly his own. Abroad, members of the European Union lived vicariously through the events that happened in America but took a different approach to terrorism.

Armitage, (2007) described the European Union (EU)'s response to terrorism as "This is a fight, but not a war." Having dealt with the Irish Republic Army and other terrorist organizations, terrorist acts were not new to the EU. However, to some scholars, the September 11th attacks changed in that the political end and national approach differed from previous attacks (Armitage 2007). Prior to 9/11 the Europeans viewed counterterrorism as national groups with defined political ends against another national group. The main goal of such terrorist groups did not include creating large casualties but included the installation of fear in a government to get it to move towards a desired political end (Armitage 2007). Post 9/11, the EU regarded terrorism as criminal in nature and not as a military act. The EU quickly devised a common definition for terrorism and a penalty for the crime.

The EU regarded terrorism as an internal dimension that posed a threat to their infrastructure. Unlike the United States, the interior and justice ministries decided counterterrorism strategies. EU members put into place policies aimed at protecting critical infrastructures. Different EU members employed different ways of specifically dealing with Islamic extremist within their borders and abroad. The EU created agencies like the Agency for the Management of External Borders (FRONTEX) for border patrol (Armitage 2007). However, academic literature noted that Muslims in many European countries felt alienated from European society as a whole. Assimilation had a large impact on an individual becoming a political extremist.

While the EU learned vicariously learning from the 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers, the United States busily responded to the threat that was within its borders.

Immediately following the terrorist attacks, the Bush administration responded to the attacks by declaring "War on Terror"(Van Brunschot and Kennedy 2008).

The United States began to view counterterrorism with a heavy external dimension (i.e.- The Global War on Terror). Under this external view the United States attempted to extend democracy to other countries while combating terrorism. The United States asserted itself as a global regulator in the 1990s but recent terrorist attacks created a new platform for spreading democracy abroad. In response to the overwhelming sense of vulnerability, the United States created measures like the Homeland Security Advisory System. The United States created several mechanisms aimed at identifying or eradicating various forms of threat or vulnerability.

With similar threats, the United States and the EU attempted to work together to thwart terrorism and the homegrown terrorist. Yet, with different approaches to terrorism success of cooperation has not been great. NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) serves as the common institutional link between the United States and the European Union for counterterrorism (Van Brunschot and Kennedy 2008). Both the EU and United States pledged to work bilaterally and regionally to combat terrorism. Beyond that scope, the United States and the European Union took different approaches to addressing the threat of terrorism and the homegrown terrorist. The Department of State website noted four basic policy tenets that must be adhered to in order to have United States cooperation with organizations; that no compromises are made with terrorist organizations, terrorist must be held accountable for their crimes, states would be forced to change their behavior if they supported terrorist activities, and aid the counterterrorist capabilities of countries work with the United States. Without which the Department of

State assured that cooperation from the United States would be minimal. The United States has a clear stance on dealing with terrorist organizations. While the E.U. is a collective whole, its approach to terrorist organizations varies by the preference of each independent member country. Some countries may designate a group as a terrorist organization and other countries may not. Therefore, the E.E.'s response to terrorism is greatly influenced by the perceptions of its member states.

Non-Western countries were not immune to making important policy decisions post 9/11. North Africa is dealing with the growing impact of Islam on politics, producing domestic and foreign policy changes. Political violence in Tunisia, Libya, Algeria and Morocco occurred in North Africa prior to the "Arab Spring". Extremists that claimed ties with the al-Qaeda in 2003 and 2006 called to light the growing influence of "political Islam" (Jofee' 2010). North Africa uses the political crisis and its security issues in a way that is altered its working relationship with the United States and Europe. Europe and the US are more involved in the area, protecting their security interest in the region (i.e.- Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Initiative). The North African model allowed the region to address external threats by focusing on foreign policy; however, this did not address its own internal shortcomings such as corruption, economic disparity, etc. (Joffe' 2010).

Also dealing with a large Muslim population, South East Asia attempted to address internal and external factors influencing terrorism. The South East Asian model took both economics and grievances into consideration (i.e.- 16 Point Counter Terrorism Program and Human Security Act). Working with the United States proved to be a

sensitive subject for many Muslims as many felt that the "Global War on terror" was a

war against Muslim and Islam

(Tan 2010). Domestic tension greatly influenced the foreign policy actions of the region.

South East Asia used its previous experience with Muslim rebellions and populations and

created a more comprehensive approach of counter terrorism. Both the Malacca Strait

Patrols and the "Eye in the Sky" initiatives are considered a success, in that reducing

domestic tension and security had priority.

THE STATE OF TERRORISM SCHOLARSHIP

Terrorism experts attempt to understand the motivation to use violence by

employing the Instrumental Reasoning and Rational Choice Models (Crenshaw 2003;

Lafree and Ackerman 2009). Social movement experts addressed the effects of

sentiments on government backlash and the mobilization of people to use violent and

nonviolent action (Schock 2005; Dudouet 2008). Independently, researchers tackled the

underlying mechanisms of collective group action, such as economic deprivation.

However, little attention was given to the relationship between social movements and

other forms of collective violence.

Eric Erikson's Identity theory, a psychology based theory, postulated that humans

search for an identity with a group or as an individual. Society impacts the development

of "self-identity" through norms and customs. An identity is formed only through the

relationships with peers, family and the community at large. A sense of identity, or self,

aids in the formation of ideology, morals, etc. Individuals took on the identity, ideologies

and norms of the group when they joined an organization (Crenshaw 1992). Erikson provided a psychological perspective to the study of "belongingness" and identity. Factors in recent literature, associated with seeking out and maintaining membership with various types of groups, are based on the Identity theory. Erikson's theory linked individual motivation to that of collective group action and collective group beliefs. Identity theory addressed the individual motivation to join groups, the need to belong and how self-identity can be a socially constructed process (and vice versa). It is useful in understanding how the identity and beliefs of an individual are found in an overarching collective belief and identity.

Earlier applications of psychological theory to terrorism proposed that violence due to neuroticism or a lack of impulse control drew terrorist to violence. However, scholars in political psychology began to note the importance of belief systems and identity. Crenshaw (2006) suggested that radical organizations united people of various backgrounds and temperaments. It is the membership in the extremist group and collective belief system that binds members together, not the violence. Whether it is identity as a group member, a national or ethnic group, or the belief system of the group, it is the group dynamics that propelled various forms of political violence.

Crenshaw (2011) postulated that terrorism is the result of specific choices based on instrumental reasoning. Once individuals join terrorist groups they take on the identity and norms of the group. Crossing the violence threshold gives members a feeling of a "point of no return". Engaging in illegal acts isolates the group members; calling for them to create their own values, norms, and standards of behavior. Their belief in the enemy overpowers the fact that people would die and generally placed the group in the role of

victims. Altruism and self-sacrifice are dominant themes found within terrorist groups. The belief in the major transformation of society, or millenarianism, allows for personal redemption through violence.

Some individuals join a movement for solidarity with the group that they identify with. Another common motivational factor that appeared in the literature was identity. For the terrorist, membership into a group is a positive attraction (Horgan 2005). This suggests that individuals who feel isolated from the broader society are drawn to membership with a group that they feel gives them an "identity".

Theoretical approaches that attempt to address the causation or motivation of terrorism are the Multi-Causal approach, the Political approach, the Human Rights Approach, the Frustration-Aggression model, and the Assimilation model.

The Multi-Causal approach assumes that terrorism resulted from multiple factors. This model takes into account economic, political, religious, sociological factors, and various other factors when determining an individual's decision to engage in terrorism (Hudson 1999). Since this approach attributes many factors to the cause of terrorism, it asserts that it is impossible to explain terrorism using one explanation.

The Political approach provides a different perspective in that it is not based on terrorists having a predisposition for certain personality traits. According to this approach, the root causes of terrorism are found in influences originating from environmental factors. Different environments increase the likelihood of someone becoming a terrorist; including international and national environments (Hudson 1999). Universities are environments where an individual becomes introduced to Marxist-Leninist ideology or other revolutionary ideologies. The various environments that

surround individuals greatly influence whether or not they got involved with radical groups. Analysts are currently determining which environments facilitate an outbreak of violence versus environments that encourage stagnation. Permissive environments are identified as urban areas, communication Medias, transportation systems, and the lack of security measures (Hudson 1999).

The human security approach asserted that the causes of terrorism can be viewed in terms of human rights. Specifically, three different categories of human rights are identified:
1) political rights, 2) personal security rights and 3) basic human needs (Hudson 1999). The theory carefully included external factors that served as a stimulant to terrorist activity. When human rights needs were not met, individuals engaged in terrorist activities. A main tenant of the theory was that terrorism appeared to always occur in conjunction with the denial of basic human rights. This approach called for the inclusion of human security into counterterrorism strategies. In the context of the homegrown terrorist, the basic human need of feeling secure or "belong" to the broader society fell under the personal security rights.

The frustration-aggression model also attempts to move away from the psychopathology explanation for the individual terrorist by focusing on aggressive behaviors that result from blocked goals of the individual. The frustration-aggression model notes three analysis needed for assessing terrorism; assessment of the conditions that led towards wanting social change, assessment of why the movements became violent and assessment of why violence escalated. The frustration –aggression model states that aggression is the response to frustration, or the blocking of a personal or

environmental goal. Horgan (2005) explained that the political and social movements of minority groups became violent when they felt that their grievances went unheard or unacknowledged by the majority group. When an individual felt that they were blocked from a goal, or frustrated, they began the "fight or flight" mode. The "fight or flight" mode resulted in defensiveness, aggression or no response at all (Horgan 2005).

Crenshaw (2006) noted that the choice to become a terrorist does not operate in a vacuum. Inspiration and imitation alone were not sufficient. Hatred served as the key motivational factor for most terrorist organization, a common bond between members. Furthermore, occurrences of terrorist attacks are not decrease by governmental actions. Government retaliation only strengthened the bond between members. It is the collective identity and belief of the group that must change; a bond that could only be broken by members of the group (Crenshaw 2006).

Economics plays an influential role in the study of terrorism. The economic linkage to terrorism was largely accepted in academic literature, with little regards to additional factors that may be linked to terrorism. Piazza (2006) contradicted the notion that economic development and poverty are a significant part of terrorism. Instead, he argued that variables such as population, ethno-religious diversity, increased state repression and structures of party politics are significant predictors of terrorism. Findings of the empirical based study found no significant relationship between any measures associated with economic development (poverty, development, etc.) but a relationship between social cleavages and terrorism. Li and Schaub (2004) attempted to statistically link economic globalization to transnational terrorism. Findings indicated that foreign direct investment did not have a direct positive effect on transnational terrorist incidents.

Findings also indicated that economic development and the type of trading partners reduced the numbers of terrorist incidents within the country, not increasing it.

Globalization, Security Studies, and the Study of Terrorism

In turn, globalization affects internal and external sovereignty choices (Hough 2006). Within the state, governments are pressured to maintain a positive relationship between the public and private sector. Externally, the flow of goods, people and information has the capacity to create vulnerability within societies. Technology, in particular information technology, grew exponentially in the past few decades. Trade allowed individuals and corporations to invest and move capital around the world. This allowed people to transport capital and information faster than ever before. Internet banking, social media outlets and forums allowed for the constant flow of information via the internet. However, many of the success of globalization created weakness in other areas.

Globalization and forms of collective violence are fused (Hamel et al. 2001). One cannot think of globalization, as an event, without taking into account collective action. It is used as a tool to advance the way we understand transformation in diverse societies. Globalization is a process that that leads the world toward interdependence globally. It increases the speed of exchange across long distances (Mazrui 1998). It is simultaneously a continuing process and a modern condition; meaning that it is the process and the result at the same time (Langhorne 2001). Globalization continues to affect the institutions we

use to determine our political, economic, and social relationships. Globalization is compared to the early form of liberalism in that it draws from interest, grievances and ideology. Four major forces drive globalization throughout history; religion, technology, economy, and empires (Mazrui 1998). The four forces driving globalization are inter-related and weave interest, grievances and ideology into the fabric of the global civil society. In turn, globalization created grievances, a space for protest, proliferated transnational social movements and allowed for mobilization that was not available in the past.

Globalization is viewed as both a positive and negative influence on the international community. The concept of globalization has been around for centuries and it is argued that advances in technology have helped fast-track the process of globalization (Schaeblar 2004). Faster communication, "boundless" states, economic advancement and countless other advantages are outlets created by globalization. However, globalization is not without its flaws. Neoliberals argue that when developed states expanded abroad to increase their markets they created a rivalry and grievances among the developed nations. With the inability to expand at the same rate, developing countries became dependent upon the larger global system of developed nations.

A consequence of globalization is the emergence of homogenization and hegemonization (Mazui 1999). Homogenization has been increasing similarities between agents (i.e. people, nations, etc.). Hegemonization is the concentration of power in a group, country or civilization. Globalization brings about an increased similarity, and differences, between different societies. This trend is coupled with the misappropriated power among a few countries. For example, by the latter part of the 20th century there

were national languages that were spoken in most countries and in four continents for special purposes (homogeneity). Unfortunately, most of the languages are Western languages like English and French (homogenization). Arabic is beginning to assert itself as an emerging language. This is largely in part to the globalization of Islam and the role of Arabic in Islamic rituals and religion (Mazui 1999).

Globalization is not evenly distributed among countries, or evenly on a regional level. Therefore it is often pegged as having negative effects. Globalization differential is manifested on many level; power disparities, technology gaps, GNP/ human development differentials, security, geopolitics, etc. (Hamas et al. 2001). Kirby (2004) asserted that globalization does not always lead to sustainable growth. Instead, it acts as a catalyst for political violence. This perspective suggests that globalization created vulnerability within societies. Kirby defined violence, and other various forms of political violence, as a cause and as an expression of vulnerability. Undeniably, globalization has both positive and negative effects. In regards to terrorism, globalization is linked to the erosion of borders (Van Brunschot 2008). The transmission of cultural ideas, beliefs, and values across borders is attributed to the process of globalization. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 are viewed as "supranationalism" because Osama Bin Laden was able to link individuals from various nationalities and countries for a common purpose (Van Brunschot 2008).

Armitage (2007), Kirby (2006) and Crenshaw (2006) stressed the importance of factors like globalization, psychosocial factors and political conflicts as catalyst for terrorist acts. Armitage noted the introduction of the Single Market, globalization and geopolitical events as post-Cold War events that strengthened the prevalence of terrorist crimes. The Single Market enabled the breaking down of borders within the EU and

encouraged the free movement of people, goods, services and capital (Armitage 2007).

Globalization, including advancements in communication and transportation, made it

easier for people to cross borders and for small groups to organize. The mobilization of

people, and subsequently recruitment of people, is an essential part of social movements,

terrorism, gangs and transnational organized crime. Geopolitical events, like the collapse

of the Soviet Union and Balkan wars, facilitate organized crime by disrupting societies

and exploiting areas that are not being fully governed (Armitage 2007).

Alternatively, globalization is understood by evaluating the concentration of

power, geography (land) and global wealth (Hirst and Thompson 1979). This perspective,

like many others, used a spatial perspective to understanding globalization. However, this

negated instances when the global "South" moved to the global "North" (Hamel et al.

2001). This occurred when pockets of "Southern" communities imbedded themselves in

"Northern" countries.

It is argued that globalization is frequently defined based on a Western

perspective (Hamel et al. 2001). A Westernized perspective of globalization makes it

incapable of capturing global collective action and social movements out of the scope of

Western societies, ultimately affecting prescriptions made by scholars to better

understand the best courses of action.

Transnational Social Movements

Transnational social movements are the byproduct of globalization. They are

affected by technological advances (social media outlets, the internet, etc.), the downside

of neoliberal capitalism and the expansion of societies (Tarrow 2005). The actors of the movement work towards an action that has a global scope. Religious and ideological movements are especially influenced by globalization in that technology has made it possible for religious beliefs and ideas to travel across borders faster that before (Krieger 2005). The Christian Crusades and Islamic Crusade were notably long efforts to spread Christendom and Islam throughout the world, respectively. However, technology allows the spread of Islam and Christianity via the internet versus the slower tactic of sending an individual by horseback to spread the faith. The September 11th attack is a modern example of a grievance that began domestically with the Al-Qaida and made its way across borders to American soil through the flow of people, ideals and capital.

Transnational social movements are collective group of actors, from different states, that share a common grievance, ideology or belief. Transnational social movements generally begin with a domestic claim that simultaneously becomes internalized through communication and convergance. Frame bridging allows the claim to transcend beyond the local level and take on a universal, or global framing (Tarrow 2005). An example of such a transition included the campaigns of GM crops in South Africa, Brazil and India (Scoones 2008). The campaigns against the crops began domestically and independent of one another in each country by 1995. Apporval for the crops were grantedfor later use in 2002. The campaign transitioned its focus from the small scale farmer to that of property rights, responsibility of corporations and rules about global trade used the global framing process.

Transnational social movements are the mass mobilization of invidiviuals, in multiple nations, that are interacting with domestic and international actors. An

distinction is made between transnational social movements and transnational advocacy networks, although both are sectors of the global civil society. From a Marxist perspective, social movements developed from the tensions created by capitalism and economic globalism. Global justice movements are linked to movements as far back as the 18th century (Tarrow 2005). Earlier version of social movments included solidarity movemtns and left wing organizations that left a moralistic and tactical impact on present day movements, allowing them to evolve into the movements that we witness today.

A recent study about the recruitment of members into jihad missions found that many joined with friends in small groups (Smelser 2007). Family members and other community members coerced individuals into jihadist groups. Recruitment into an organization (terrorist or non-terrorist) was greatly affected by its social affiliation, suggesting a societal link to the recruitment into terrorist organization.

While it is acknowledged that terrorist form in totalitarian states, terrorism groups that form within liberal democracies are thought to pose a unique situation in that they form in societies where, theoretically, their human rights are protected. Such environments allow for protests, demonstrations and legitimate outlets to express disagreement with their government. However, O'Kane (2007) notes that the openness of a democratic society, as well as their individual perception of the society's openness, plays a role in terrorist group formation. If a society claims to be democratic and fair but parts of the populous perceive the system as unjust, a space is created for extremism.

SUMMARY

Defining terrorism has systematically been an impediment in researching the phenomenon. Schmid and Jongman's (1988) definition of terrorism is used to operationalize the concept due to the depth of the definition.

The typologies of terrorism ranged from religious terrorism to left- wing terrorism. Terrorism was further classified into four areas; international, transnational, state and domestic terrorism. The cases selected in the current study represented religious, non-religious, separatist, Marxist, Western and non-Western societies; encompassing several typologies of terrorism.

The academic community posed the question of making a distinction between "new" and "old" form of terrorism. The "new" form of terrorism is proposed to have begun post 9/11 attacks. Religious terrorism came to the forefront of terrorism research as the "new terrorism" (Duyvesteyn 2007). However, scholars argued that while the tactics of terrorists change, the essential motivation for violence does not change, lessening the need to debate old versus new (Crenshaw 2011).

Academic literature showed the varying policy approaches to terrorism from country to country and region to region. The United States policy approach viewes terrorism as an external threat and utilizes the aid of military to addressed concerns. The European Union policy approach suggests that the EU viewed terrorism as an internal threat, using police to quell terrorism and by using "assimilation" models. The South East Asia region utilizes a strategy that took on an internal and external approach by addressing both economic factors and grievances of groups.

A review of the literature on terrorism revealed several psychology theories that addressed the individual's motivation towards violent behavior. Erikson's Identity theory suggested that the individual's quest for an identity propelled them to join a group or find a self-identity. The Multi- Causal approach, the Political Approach, the Human Rights Approach, the Frustration- Aggression model and the Assimilation models also investigated the causes or motivation of terrorism.

The world system has not experienced an even distribution of globalization, amongst the "Global North" or the "Global South", this creates vulnerability within societies. Transnational social movements emerge after the unequal distribution of globalization, as byproducts. The aim of the movements generally begins as domestic claims that propel people to mobile to address a common grievance. Movements are collective groups that share a common ideology or grief irrespective if the individuals are from different states or personal backgrounds.

Chapter 3: POLITICS, GOVERNMENTAL INTERVENTION & COLLECTIVE ACTION: RELEVANT TO THE STUDY OF TERRORISM?

Authorities often attempt to repress the collective action of groups, frequently using violent means. Such responses sometimes propel a movement by causing those with a shared interest to pool their resources to fight back, also known as backlash (Tilly 2005). When such collective groups engaged in political claim making, the uses of "terror" serves as tools for the cause or become the byproduct of the movement (Tilly 2004).

Policy analysis and criminal justice approaches also examine the motivations of terrorists and terrorist groups. Such approaches often deny that the intentions of the terrorist are relevant at all, concentrating instead on terrorist capabilities and on government countermeasures (Crenshaw 2006). By broadening the scope of research in the field, attempts are made to analyze the individual and group "terrorist" in different ways.

The link between recruitment into terrorist organization and social movements is illustrated by Smelser's Theory of Social Strain and Backlash/Blowback Theory. The growing frustration about the political system, a sense of injustice and a growing belief of institutional mistreatment created a structural space for Sikh extremists, the IRA, Hezbollah and Black Panther Party organizations to form. Smelser (2007) investigated the reasons that terrorist organizations fail or decline. He attributed various motivations as plausible causes for decline. Smelser's study found that jihadist members joined

missions with friends and supported by family members, suggesting a societal link to the recruitment into terrorist organization.

Collective Action

Collective action includes two pre-conditions; opportunity and capacity. Power, the actor relations to and opportunity for power, is the basis for his/her action (Crozier, Michel and Friedberg 1980). When investigating human behavior, in groups or as individuals, five points of the strategic method should be observed. First, actors rarely have clear objectives or goals. Secondly, behavior is a result of choice and therefore active. Even a passive actor uses choice, making his/her behavior active. Thirdly, the behavior exhibited by the actor is meaningful in some sort of way. Irrespective of a clear objective or passivity, the behavior that the actor displays is meaningful, even if it only known to the actor. Fourthly, behavior includes an offensive and defensive aspect. Lastly, caution is given to assuming that the behaviors of actors are irrational (Crozier, Michel & Friedberg 1980).

Collective action allows ordinary people, actors, to confront an opponent. The opponent can be an authority, political elite or a state (Tarrow 1994). Collective action can lead to collective behavior, as collective behavior is a form of collective action (Turner and Killian 1957). Collective behavior includes the formation of crowds, mass behaviors, social movements, etc. (Turner and Killian 1957). Collective behavior studies attempt to examine the behavior of a group/groups or "collectivities". Social movements can produce a change in society, or social order, through a form of collective effort. The efforts of the collective behavior may occur over a long duration. Social movements are a

way to bring about long term societal changes, versus the brief changes brought about with mobs or crowds.

Man possesses dual identities; the individual self and the collective self. Both aspects of man should be taken into consideration when understanding the social being (Gupta 2001). While human beings have an urge to "belong" or become members of a group, we still maintain a sense of individual self while in the collective group. Several factors influence the individual aspect of man and his choices to become part of a collective group (i.e.-economics).

Stephen (2000) developed the integrated threat theory. According to integrated threat theory, there are four specific types of threats that can explain prejudice, or any type of collective behavior, towards a common "enemy"; realistic, symbolic, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. Prejudice, and any other adverse reaction, can then lead to group conflict.

Early research on collective behavior has underestimated the importance of the mobilization process (Tarrow 1994). More modern research on collective behavior now addresses the role of mobilization in group behavior and action. Collective behaviors express a desire to change the pre-existing social norms and replace them with that of the collectivity. In theory, collective behavior looks to change the societal norm that the group, or individual, deemed problematic (Turner and Killian 1972). Social control is a mechanism used to bring about the transition from previous norms to the norms that the collectivity would like to impose.

Collective violence, by definition, is not an act that can be carried out by the individual. Collective action involves at least two perpetrators involved in the event

(Tilly 2005). It also results in at least in part from coordination among persons who performed the damaging acts. The act must result in physical damage of a person and/o object immediately after the event. Examples of damage includes forcible seizure of persons/objects, resistance, etc.

Violent interactions include efforts by authorities to inhibit or suppress activity by potential or actual opponents; this is also identified by Tilly (2005) as repression. It should be noted that the author outlines two levels of analysis for interpersonal violence, the individual level and the collective level.

The individual level of analysis for interpersonal violence includes individual aggression (i.e.- single perpetrator assaults, rape, robberies, etc.). The collective level of action includes violent rituals, coordinated destruction, opportunism, brawls, scattered attacks and broken negotiations (Tilly 2005). Specifically, coordinated destruction includes various kinds of terrorism whereas broken negotiations include demonstrations and protests.

As previously noted, the definition of terrorism includes the aspect of using violence to change the "attitudes or behavior favoring the short or long-term interest of the users of this method of combat". Using this line of reasoning, it is plausible to consider terrorism as a form of collective behavior; more importantly, terrorism could be a byproduct of collective action.

Social Movements

The evolution of the dynamics of global civil societies and transnational social movements over time are due to the impact of globalization. Transnational social

movements like the Islamic movement and "global justice" illustrate the impact that the amalgamation of politics, economics, and identity has on global politics.

It is plausible to study terrorist organizations using theories and frameworks employed in the study of social movement organizations. Previous research investigated group structure and mobilization of terrorist organizations in a manner similar to the explanatory theories of social movements (Bergesen and Lizardo 2004; McAdam 1982; McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001). Caution is given to lumping terrorism in with other forms of collective violence (Bergesen and Lizardo 2004); research in sociology has coded terrorism as political violence (White 1993), claims making and coordinated destruction (Tilly 2002), coups and political banditry (Gurr 1990) and forms of "heavy violence" (Koopman 1993; Bergesen and Lizardo 2004). The current study investigates the mobilization into terrorist organizations after a social movement and/or other form of collective action without claiming terrorism as a form of social movement but as a byproduct of governmental responses to collective action. More importantly, the current study implies that terrorism can be its own distinctive form of collective action. Previous research of terrorism condenses the events into political violence or collective action but not as a having its own link to the larger population or social environment (Bergesen and Lizardo 2004).

In order to solidify fairly abstract terms, operational definitions are given to the frequently addressed terms. Social movements are a type of group action that involves an ongoing effort to create social change by people with a common ideology (Tilly 2004). Collective action occurs when two or more people with shared interests or programs worked together in a generally "coordinated" effort (Tilly and Tarrow 2007). Social

movements maybe violent, nonviolent or exhibited both characteristics throughout the course of the movement.

Described as extraordinary phenomenon, social movements include normal people behaving in atypical ways (Johnston 2011; Smelser 2007). The suggestion posed that at the intersection of a social movement and the state are the political and economic elite vying to maintain power (Johnston 2011). Global civil societies, and civil societies, attempt to facilitate social change by pooling the resources of individuals with common ideologies, beliefs or goals.

According to Tilly (2005), repression by "authorities" increases mobilization when the survival of dissidents is threatened. This threat causes a "splitting" among the elites, spurring mobilization. Repression decreases mobilization when dissidents rationally reduce their efforts because the cost of dissenting is raised by authorities.

Figure 2.1 Repression Increases Mobilization

Increased Mobilization

Governmental Repression ⟶ Elite Division ⟶ Dissident Mobilization

Dissident Survival Threat
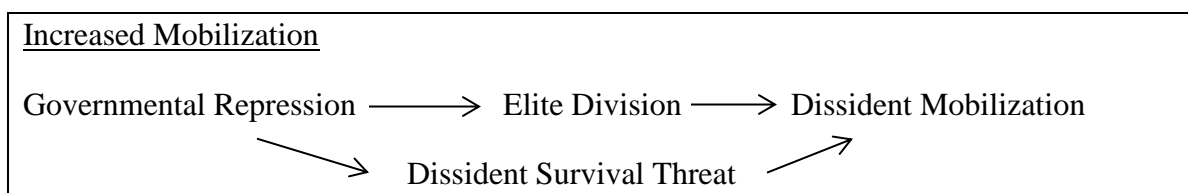
COLLECTIVE ACTION, BACKLASH AND TERRORISM: A RESEARCH AGENDA

Terrorism does not occur in a bubble. As with most forms of political violence, there are steps that lead to the culminating event. Diaspora support, global markets, technology, political structure, transnational civil societies and social movements have the capacity to fuel or halt the path to terrorism. A sense of grievance is the key motivational factor for most terrorist organization, a common bond between members. Government retaliation can strengthen the bond between members.

Terrorism studies suppose that once individuals joined a terrorist organization, individual motivations no longer matter. As narratives of the Black Panther Party, IRA and Khalistan members show, death, risk and pain are personal (Mahmood 1996). Adding the framework of the surrounding social movement and sense of injustice/grief to the study of terrorist organization adds a different perspective to better understand the trajectory of and mobilization into terrorist organizations.

The research by Ross and Gurr (1989) outlined four motivators for violence; preemption, deterrence, burnout and backlash. Backlash is identified as a decline in support from the general population, support group. Member of a groups identify a sense of loss; this lose can be rights, opportunities, jobs, etc. Backlash has been conceptualized as a reaction by the populous, to laws or policy choices, which disrupts society and can result in turmoil (Roe 1998). The reaction can come from varying soci-economic class and risks the stability of a society. Such areas of risk include political, economic, and social stability. A slightly different operationalization of the term suggests that backlash

is a reaction, from civilians and/or terrorists, to governmental strategies (Siqueira and Sandler 2007).

Smelser noted that terrorist activities had a tendency to grow from extremist social movements that had ideologies that are equally extreme. He investigated the impact of social movements on terrorist organizations by addressing the internal factors including; ideology commitment, loyalty, backsliding of members, etc. Backlash effects can be determined as the degree to which a governmental action (i.e. threat of force or physical intervention) increases the likelihood of an event occurring again (Lafree, Dugan and Korte 2009). In the current study, backlash effects were determined by terrorism mobilization. Terrorism mobilization is operationalized as the increase/decrease in the number of terrorist organizations and as an increase in terrorism events, per organization and per country.

To fully capture terrorism, there is a need to draw upon the 'universe" of terrorist events (Dugan and Yang 2012). Mainstream literature about terrorism addressed three areas; the political, economic and social conditions associated with political violence; group dynamic, and characteristics of the group (Post et al. 2002). However, integration of the three areas is rarely undertaken in academic literature. The current study attempted to link the various academic fields by incorporating two similar theories to bridge the academic gap between the trajectory of terrorist organizations and social movements.

Finding a Common Thread

Two major theoretical concepts shaped the current study. First, Smelser's Social Strain Theory and his conceptualization of terrorism, is coupled with Magnarella's

Theory of Relative Deprivation. The second theory is that of backlash/blowback.

Smelser's (1962) Theory of Social Strain is utilized for the historical analysis of socio-

cultural and political factors that are thought to affect collective group activity. The

Theory of Relative Deprivation allows previously operationally defined concepts to

become quantifiable variables. The theories combined allowed for a sociological,

psychological, economic and political analysis of the historical events of the various

terrorist organizations.

Social strain theory suggests that, under certain conditions of structural strain,

collective action can occur. Smelser's theory of Social Strain placed emphasis on the

societal factors, not psychological, that prompted collective behavior (Locher 2002). Six

factors are included in the social strain process; social conduciveness, structural strain,

generalized belief, precipitating factors, mobilization of participants and social control.

Social conduciveness refers to any factors in the social and/or physical

environment that made collective behavior possible. Smelser identified structural strain

as any factor that causes stress, tension or anxiety that propelled individuals to commit

behaviors that they normally would not do. Generalized beliefs were any beliefs, based

on truth or fiction, are identified a source of strain, attributed characteristics to the source

of strain and specifies responses toward that source of strain (Locher 2002). Precipitating

factors were events that "sparked" mobilization and action. Mobilization of participants

was the behavior of mobilization or organizing towards action. Lastly, collective

behavior occurred. Smelser noted that social control is a process that occurs during and

after the stages of Social Strain. Social control agents include the police, courts,

government, media, community leaders, etc. Social control agents aim to end the collective action episode (Locher 2002).

Smelser identified variables that aid in the transitioning of social movements, especially those rooted in extremist ideology, to activities that would be collective action. He listed conditions such as economic deprivation, dispossession in society, cultural disruption, secularization, democracy, etc. as structural origins of discontent and strain in society. He also asserted that collective actions, like protests and social movements, become violent when structural opportunities present themselves. Politics, economics, resources, ideology, media and audiences all play a role in the transitioning to collective violent action.

Magnarella's relative deprivation compliments Smelser's conceptualization of terrorism in that it deprivation theory is a part of Social Strain theory. Magnarella's Theory of Relative Deprivation identified four causal sequences that transitioned discontent to civil violence and terrorism. First, there should be a sense of and actual infrastructural conditions that led to discontent (Crosby 1982). Infrastructure conditions define marked differences in the distribution of wealth in the population, insufficient economic opportunities for the general population, corrupt government, individuals feeling economically insecure, poor quality of life, existing ideologies about the socioeconomic situation, lack of political representation, etc. The second process includes insufficiencies in the correction of the infrastructures. The third process includes the formation of ideologies revolving around discontent. Lastly, violence action must manifest itself (Crosby 1982).

Magnarella used 6 factors to measure deprivation; economic discrimination (such as exclusion from powerful positions pertaining to economics), political discrimination, potential separation, dependence on private foreign capital, religious cleavages and lack of educational advancements (such as the number of schools in a given area). Magnarella combined major economic, political, demographic, social structural, ideological and the psychological factors to attribute to civil violence in Turkey. He noted that infrastructures need to be in place before final discontent and political violence occurred. Relative deprivation theory provides a link from the theories about identity/belonging (Identity Theory) and factors of social movements to measurable environmental variables. In this study Social Strain theory (coupled with relative deprivation) acts as the basic framework to guide the case studies. However, Social Strain theory lacks clear measureable outcomes to address the impact of governmental intervention on terrorist attacks. To add a more quantitative aspect to the research, a second theory is applied to determine the linkages between collective action, governmental intervention and terrorism.

The second main approach used in the current study is the theory of backlash/blowback. Johnson (2001) suggested that policy choices can have negative consequences, or blowback/backlash. He specifically gives the example of the covert actions and policy choices of the United States that led to the September 11th attacks.

The secret actions kept from the American population made the United States a target of accusations that the U.S. supported various terrorist organizations and authoritarian regimes around the world (Kellner 2001). Grievances and discontent with policy choices and interventions of the United States, according to Chalmers Johnson, latter resurfaces as resistance in the form of terrorist, drug lords, etc. (Johnson 2001;

Kellner 2001; Bergesen and Lizardo 2004). Innocent civilians generally feel the brunt of blowback/backlash. As Johnson (2001) stated, "Blowback is another way of saying that a country reaps what it sows".

Blowback occurs when a national security state makes decisions that ultimately create tensions and problems within a population, either within its home boundaries or abroad (Boggs 2003). The secrecy that shrouds decision making at the national level creates distrust while foreign and military policy often overrides input from the general populous, creating social tensions. In the American context, Boggs (2003) suggests that vying for power and global domination leads to blowback in the form of violence, insurgency and terrorism.

Backlash includes an aspect of political jiu-jitsu. As Sharp (1973) noted, when political leaders respond to collective groups, particularly nonviolent groups, with excessive force it often has unwanted consequences. The targeted group can become more united and increase their support to better challenge the leader. This occurs when there are martyrs and/or when previously neutral individuals join forces with those who experienced the repressive intervention (Sharp 1973). Although blowback and backlash are used somewhat interchangeably in the current study it is noted that there is a difference between the terms. Blowback implies that the actions of a state, in regards to security, can later yield problems. From this perspective blowback *is* a form of backlash. Backlash is the reaction of a group to a particular threat. In the current study, the backlash reaction of a group emerges from a governmental intervention and lends to increased terrorism activities.

The current study investigates the backlash of governmental interventions towards collective action. Using the theory of blowback/backlash, the current study suggests that governmental invention can increase mobilization into terrorist organizations as a collective response towards a policy choice or action. Using interrupted time series, the current study will address the impact of governmental interventions on terrorist activities.

Determining Linkages

The current study utilizes heuristic case studies (George and Bennett 2005), "building-block technique", to build upon the social strain and backlash theories; comparing and contrasting the different type of governmental inventions used in each case study and their impact of terrorism mobilization. It is a hypothesis of the study that backlash from a governmental intervention of collective action, particularly social movements, impacts the formation of terrorist organization. Upon determining the impact, if any, of social movements on terrorism, five key points are addressed. First, the possibility of the translation of grievances and ideology from social movements into terrorist organizations is examined. This suggests that the lack of infrastructural changes, perceived by the group as negative, is not addressed by the government. Second, to determine if unsuccessful institutional attempts are made to address grievances, especially during a social movement. Institutional attempts can be protests, resolutions, etc. As previously noted, social movements can be violent and nonviolent. The third aim of this research is to establishing if governmental intervention, such as the use of brute force, created backlash. It is possible that backlash can trigger mobilization or further support extremist ideology. This notion supports the fourth aim, it will be determining if

terrorist organizations are byproducts of governmental policy choices in response to collective action. Lastly, aims to determine what type of interventions increased or decreased terrorism activities; in other words, what type of interventions increased or decreased mobilization into terrorist organizations.

Data from various databases are used in the current study to temporally capture social cleavages linked to social movements, as outlined by Smelser's social strain theory that is rooted in relative deprivation theory (i.e. - unemployment, religious conflicts, regime changes, etc.) and backlash theory. Case studies are used to capture the surrounding environmental factors such as globalization, Diasporas, ideology of the group, etc. Quantitative analysis provides empirical support of intervention types that increase or decrease terrorism activities.

Violent governmental responses can be motivation to use terrorist activity. Unwarranted use of violence, death of civilians and a lack of transparency in decision making, make it easier to capture sentiments of an already aggrieved population. Support of an existing social movement may turn to violent collective action, terrorism, in the wake of a violent government response.

It is possible that governmental use of brute force during social movements create a space for extremist ideology. More importantly, it examines the role of governmental policy choices in creating societal tension and exacerbating the conditions for violence. Governmental response to collective action, especially social movements, may propel the formation of terrorist organization. The flow of goods, information, and people (globalization) may impact decisions made by collective groups and the government's response to such groups.

SUMMARY

The current study investigates beyond the state's response to terrorism and addresses the aggrieved groups engaging in terrorism. It expands beyond the counterterrorism strategies that result from solely analyze the methods of violence and frequency of attacks from a terrorist organization. The motivating factors of actors, beyond the state level, and the beliefs and ideologies that transcends from a collective action movement into terrorism are also examined.

It is a goal of the study to link the various academic fields, by incorporating two theories, to bridge the academic gap between the trajectory of terrorist organizations and social movements. Smelser's Social Strain Theory and conceptualization of terrorism, and backlash theory are used as the main framework for the study.

The explicit purpose of the study is to determine if backlash to a governmental intervention of collective action, particularly social movements, impacts the formation of terrorist organization. The role of governmental policy choices in creating societal tension and exacerbating the conditions for violence will be examined. This will provide insight about sentiments of a popular social movement that may be mirrored by a terrorist organization.

Two theoretical concepts shape the study; Smelser's Social Strain theory and backlash theory. Social strain theory, largely rooted in relative deprivation theory, pointed out the social conditions that aid in the transition of a collective action into violent collective action. Blowback occurs when a national security state makes decisions

that ultimately create tensions and problems within a population. Political jiu-jitsu occurs after political leaders respond to collective groups with excessive force. The current study investigates the impact of governmental interventions on the terrorism, particularly after the backlash of responding to collective action.

Chapter 4: METHODOLOGICAL STRATEGY

Previous research on terrorism investigated counter-terrorism strategies, focusing on the state level response to terrorists once they are already in their mist. Another area of terrorism research solely focused on the radicalization of terrorists. Social movement literature addressed grievances of groups and what compelled them into action. The current research examines the impact of backlash, governmental strategies, and social movements on terrorism. It attempts to fill the gap between grievances about an issue and the path to violence; addressing possible governmental responses that aids in the recruitment into terrorist organizations.

The most current research by Smelser (2007), creator of Social Strain theory, investigated the sociological and psychological factors impacting terrorism, employing only case studies. Research of terrorism mainly employs qualitative or quantitative methods mutually exclusive from one another. Applying statistical modeling, trendplotting trajectories of terrorist events, trend plotting of collective action, and case studies allows for a mixed method examination of the association between social movements and terrorism to the degree that the proposed research questions will be answered.

Terrorism is frequently viewed as a phenomenon that happens to states, not taking into account the historical context of violence and individuals involved beyond the state level. The usefulness of the mixed methodology of this research is that it highlights narratives of backlash, relative deprivation and social strain factors within the entire analysis.

The current research takes an interdisciplinary approach and examines beyond the actions of the state. Databases are used to measure incidents of terrorism, the number of terrorist organizations and the lethality of attacks. It is noted that the earliest datasets pertaining to terrorism began after 1968, providing insight about terrorism incidents after 1970s but not prior to it.

Statistical modeling, multiple linear regressions, is used to determine the linkage between governmental strategies and fluctuations in terrorism activity; terrorism events serve as a measure for mobilization of resources and people. Trajectories of terrorist organization activities are used to illustrate the increase, or decrease, in terrorist activities. Contextual information in case studies capture independent variables that range from "last straw" events to external factors affecting the group. Case studies are used to narrate independent variables, explain fluctuations found in trend plotting and highlight any similarities of differences found among the cases. Case studies vary in typology, time frame and location to increase the generalizability of the findings of the current study.

Research Questions

The theory is posited by the academic community, without systematically testing, that terrorist organizations often mirror the sentiment of the broader society to which they belong (LaFree 2009; Crenshaw1995). By using a temporal account of action in the Khalistan Movement in India, Hezbollah in Lebanon, Irish Republican Army in Ireland and the Black Panther Party in the United States, the current study attempts to show a relationship between terrorism, collective action and governmental responses to collective action. The following research questions will be addressed;

i. Is recruitment into terrorist organizations positively affected by the backlash of a governmental/state response to collective action that occurred around the same time?

ii. What strategies/policy choices were taken at the international, national and local level that aided in the mobilization of terrorism?

iii. What conditions promote escalating terrorism mobilization in response to governmental strategies?

iv. What strategies were most effective in the overall reduction of terrorism?

The current study proposes a connection between a governmental response to collective action and terrorism. The study will test to determine whether or not there is a positive relationship between backlash to a governmental strategy towards collective action that results in mobilization/recruitment into terrorist organizations.

Hypothesis 1: Social movements can serve as precursors to the formation of terrorist organizations, specifically after backlash. It is purported that the prevalence of terrorist organizations and acts of terrorism will increase after the beginning of a social movement that it purports to support. It is expected that mobilization into terrorist organizations will increase after a repressive governmental response to collective action.

Hypothesis 2 : The number of terrorist organizations will increase after a repressive governmental response to collective action.

Hypothesis 3: The number of terrorist attacks, per country, will increase after a repressive governmental response to collective action.

Hypothesis 4: The number of terrorist attacks, per organization, will increase after a repressive governmental response to collective action.

Hypothesis 5: Backlash will occur in cases of repressive governmental responses to collective action.

Sample

The current study examines social movements and terrorism in varying countries and at various points in time. Data limitations were encountered when attempting to collect information about social movements. This was especially true when finding data for non-Western societies. As there has been a distinction in academic literature between the terms campaigns and movements, in this study cases of international campaigns were used as opposed to international social movements due to the lack of a comprehensive database. The term collective action was used as it encompasses both campaigns and social movements. The current study extracts data from each of the sources discussed below and were compiled into their own respective database. Such databases included terrorism incidents worldwide, cases of social campaigns worldwide, terrorism incidents per country, terrorism incidents per organizations, campaigns per country. After combining data, the sample represented 4 nations and 22 terrorist organizations.

Data Sources

The largest portion of data on terrorism for this research came from the *Global Terrorism Database* (GTD). In addition, the *South Asian Terrorism Portal* database (SATP) was also used to compile data; however, the GTD was the main source of data. *The Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes* (NVCO) database was the primary

source of data on collective action. *The Dynamics of Collective Action in the U.S. 1960-1995* (DCA) was used to supplement U.S. data on collective action and the *European Protest and Coercion Data* (EPCD) was used to supplement information about protests and collective action in Ireland. The following is a detailed description of the various data sources used.

a. *Global Terrorism Database (GTD)*

The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) has documented over 86, 000 terrorist attacks from 1970- 2008 alone.[1] The Global Terrorism Database lists worldwide terrorism incidents from 1970 to 2010. Due to the lack of a universal definition for terrorism, the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) established a criterion to determine qualifications for terrorism incidents. The GTD has three inclusion criterion that must be met for inclusion into the database; the incident should be intentional and not a random act of violence, there must be the presence of violence or the threat of violence and the perpetrators must not be state level actors (perpetrators of the event should be sub-national actors). In addition to the mandatory criteria, there are supplemental criteria that required 2 of the 3 criterion be met; the act should be part of a goal (a political, economic, religious or social goal), there should be the intention to influence/intimidate/coerce/ or convey a message to a larger audience (the act should not be solely against the victims of the at but directed towards a larger population), the act must be outside the realms of legitimate warfare, the jurisdiction of International Humanitarian Law. Database variables included an Event Id, the date of the event (Year, month and day), location (country, region, providence and city where

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[1] START, retrieved 24 March 2011 from <www.start.umd.edu/gtd>

applicable), a description of the location is provided if available. The database also listed

which 2 of the 3 supplemental criterions are met. Attack information included if the

attack was "successful", if it was a suicide attack, a car bombing, hijacking, assassination,

etc. The database also listed the target of the attack and information about the perpetrator,

including names of perpetrators when applicable. Sources of information included

Reuters, New York Times, Foreign Broadcast Information Services (FBIS), etc.

b. South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP)

The South Asia Terrorism Portal included data on incidents of terrorism and low

intensity warfare in South Asia. The database housed background information on various

terrorist organizations and data on terrorism by region. Data sheets included information

such as the prevalence of robberies, kidnapping, bombings, etc. The SATP also included

assessments and timelines for each of the major conflicts in the region. The SATP

included datasheets and statistics on factors related to terrorism. The SATP categories

terrorism and conflict incidents by the region and the type of insurgency it is. Countries

in the database currently include Bhutan, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and

Bangladesh.

c. International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events

The International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE) includes data

on

international terrorism incidents beginning in 1968. The database is an event based,

chronological composite of terrorist events. Sources of the information include The New

York Times, the Washington Times, Foreign Broadcast Information Services (FBIS)

Daily Reports, evening news, etc. The database focuses on international terrorism; events originating in one country and ending in another, devices made in one country but detonated in another, aerial hijackings, etc. The ITERAATE does not include governmental interventions, declared wars, domestic events, etc. as forms of international terrorism.

d. *Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes (Chenoweth)*

The dataset hosts events from both violent and non-violent non-state campaigns. Cases in the database included regime changes, separatism, etc. Events were then categorized as "Success", "Limited" or "Failure". The researcher compiled the data set with the intention of determining if non-violent campaigns were more successful than violent campaigns. Campaigns were operationally defined as "Observable, continuous, purposive mass tactics or events in pursuit of a Political change. The dataset also included event start and end date. The dataset creator noted a possible bias in the type of events that are listed (Chenoweth 2008). Successful campaigns, which are generally larger campaigns, are generally reported more than smaller and unsuccessful campaigns. It is noted that the dataset is biased on the types of events listed. Countries are used as the unit of analysis.

e. *Dynamics of Collective Action in the U.S. 1960-1995 (Stanford)*

The Dynamics of Collective Action in the United States 1960-1995 database included events of social protest in the United States between 1960 and 1995 using events as the unit of analysis. The Dynamics of Collective Action in the United States 1960-1995 database (DCAUS) used four features to define collective action; the event must be collective (not an individual act), there should be intent to create societal change, public

action carried out by non-political elites (this can be conventional or nonconventional mechanisms), there should be some form of action. However, the caveat is made that closed group meeting and other forms of protests were not recorded in the database. It is also noted that any type of racial or ethnic conflict was included in the database, even if the event did not meet all four defining criterion. The assumption was made that clashes between two ethnic groups include an element of collective protest/action. The database also attempted to provide an Event ID, date of the event, the number of news articles published about the event, the number of days the event lasted, a brief description of the event, event location, an estimate of the number of individuals involved, who initiated the event and who was the target of the event. Where applicable, researchers coded the organization's name, as well as, the claim for of the event. Each event is coded as either violent or non-violent and the number of injuries or deaths is recorded. Event included various forms of collective action, including Ku Klux Klan protests and bus boycotts.

f. *European Protest and Coercion Data*

Using Lexus-Nexis and Reuters as its primary source, the database was country and year specific. Additional sources for information included documents, reports and literature. The dataset contained reported protest and repressive events for 28 countries from 1980 to 1995. Such events included strikes, occupations, hunger strikes, and vigils. Researchers further categorized the data at the regional level. The dataset included events for Northern Ireland and Ireland (Southern). For the current study, both datasets were combined to account for collective action in both Northern and Southern Ireland. The European Protest and Coercion Data (EPCD) contain daily and sub-daily interval coded data. The EPCD project coded sub-daily and utilized a variety of sources to avoid bias in

coded events that were high in volume and/or quality. However, the limitations of using

specific sources may have created bias in the forms of collective action coded. Data was

coded according to date, day, action type, location, target or government agent, number

of protesters, strength/number of protestors and description of the event. Events in the

Ireland and Northern Ireland database included hunger strikes, labor strikes, etc.

Operationalization of key concepts

Independent Variables

Concepts used in this research are utilized in such a way to maximize their

validity. As the current study investigates the impact of social movements on terrorism,

the terms social movements and terrorism will be operationalized. Social movements, as

well as terrorism, are considered a form of collective action.

Collective action occurs when two or more people with shared interests or

programs work together in a generally "coordinated" effort (Tilly and Tarrow 2007).

Tilly (1978) viewed mobilization as a component of collective action. While

recruitment, as defined by Smelser is

> A process that propels people, influenced by a public policy of a certain
> nature, to act for the sake of advancing their personal interests. (Azani
> 2009)

Social movements are used in such a way that "campaigns" are included within

the description. Social movements maybe violent, nonviolent or exhibit both

characteristics throughout the course of the movement. Social movements are

operationally defined as

"a type of group action that involves an ongoing effort to create social change by people with a common ideology" (Tilly 2004)

Backlash is the resistance to those in power in an attempt to restore the "status quo" (Mansbridge and Shames 2008) or the state of affairs before the repressive act. Johnson (2001) defined blowback as a country "reaping" what it sowed, or as a sequence of events that lead to a negative consequences for a state actor. Backlash is operationally defined as "the reaction by a group declining in a felt sense of power" (Lipset and Raab 1978). Siqueira and Sandler (2007), as does the current study, operationalizes backlash as a reaction, from civilians and/or terrorists, to governmental strategies.

As noted in Chapter 2, there has been a plethora of ways to define the term terrorism. Terrorist activity is operationally defined as

"A method of combat in which random or symbolic victims serve as an instrumental target of violence… Through previous use of violence or the credible threat of violence other members of that group or class are in a state of chronic fear (terror). This group or class, whose members' sense of security is purposefully undermined, is the target of terror…The purpose of this indirect method of combat is either to immobilize the target of terror in order to produce disorientation and/or compliance, or to mobilize secondary targets of demands or targets of attention to changes of attitude or behavior favoring the short or long-term interests of the users of this method of combat" (Schmidt and Jongman 1988)

This definition does not make a distinction between actors committing the acts nor the target of the acts. Such a definition encompasses acts of terrorism by non-state actors against states or civilians. As the GTD is the primary source of data used to determine terrorism incidents, the GTD criterion is adopted to determine what constitutes as a terrorism incident. It should be noted that there are several components of terrorism;

internal and external factors. Therefore the internal and external factors of terrorism were previously addressed

Using the theory of backlash/blowback, the current study conceptualizes backlash effects (i.e., the extent to which an intervention increases the future incidents of terrorism mobilization). Backlash effects are analyzed by multiple linear regressions that determine the relationship between a governmental intervention (i.e., military action, policy choice, etc.) and terrorism incidents.

Social strain theory suggests that, under certain conditions of structural strain, collective action occurs. Smelser (2007) identified factors that propelled collective protest action into violence. He identified four factors that propelled a collective group into violence, specifically terrorism; conditions that individuals considered disposing or depriving; how the deprivation is regarded by the affected group (ideology, mobilization, etc.); structural conditions and short term conditions that block the goals of the group; and the availability of resources.

Drawing from the evolution of Social Strain Theory and Relative Deprivation Theory, the following variables are identified in the case studies; the number of terrorist organizations per country, the number of terrorism incidents per country, the number of terrorism incidents per organization, external factors affecting the group, ideology and characteristics of the group, and the "last straw" event. According to Smelser, last straw events are situations that spark the beginning of collective action. However, last straw events are episodes, or a series of events, that lead to an abrupt changes, or reaction (Smith and Rowan 1997; Levin and Madfis 2009; Thompson & Phillip 2005). Examples of such a change include changes in behavior, attitude, etc. Violent reactions are typically

associated with "last straw" events. The current study, similar to Smeler's operationalization, considers last straw events as situations that either served as initiates for collective action or were the "tipping point" during collective action. In other words, last straw events were events that mobilized collective action.

As Social Strain theory is rooted in Relative Deprivation Theory, the four processes of Relative Deprivation are used to code Smelser's conditions that lend to the perception of *deprivation*. Narratives in the case analysis presented later identify the four process of Relative Deprivation; infrastructural conditions leading to discontent; insufficiencies of the infrastructure not being corrected; formation of ideologies and violent action manifests itself.

Smelser's theory of terrorism and violence is then aggregated into three categories for the current study; (1) the characteristics of the group, this includes several forms of internal factors, (2) external factors, including contextual, historical or cultural factors and (3) the immediate situations, or triggering events. Using a framework based on Smelser's theories and Relative Deprivation Theory, the current study establishes three dependent variables and three categories of independent variables.

Historical factors, cultural and contextual factors, and the presence of resources are identified as independent variables in the *external factors* category. Variables in this category are reflective of Smelser's processes of structural conduciveness and structural strain. The presence of "last straw" events or an occurrence that sparked the beginning of collective action, are considered *immediate situation factors*. Immediate situation factors coincide with Smelser's process of precipitating factors. The ideology of the group, length and campaign type, the type of movement, etc. are types of group characteristics

that emerge from the group's perception of deprivation; belonging to the independent variable category of *group organization/internal factors*. The group organization category expands upon Smelser's process of having a generalized belief. This category took into account additional internal factors that motivate groups to use violence. The variables of the study are included in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Variables of the Study

Variable	Operationalization
Y (Dependent)	# terrorist incidents per country
	# terrorist organizations
	# of terrorist incidents per organization
X (Independent)	
External	Historical, cultural and contextual factors, presence of resources
Group Organization/ Internal	Ideologies of group, type of movement/campaign, length of movement/ campaign
Immediate Situation	Presence of "last straw" events
Backlash	The presence of a response by a group perceiving "threat"
Governmental Strategy	Actions taken at local, state and international level in regards to the aggrieved group

External factors.

External factors of the study include historical, cultural and contextual factors. This information is captured in case studies for each social movement and corresponding terrorist activity. Historical, cultural and contextual factors include the number of institutional attempts made to address a grievance, history of religious or cultural clashes, the political history of the country, etc.

Group Organization and Internal Factors

The group's ideology or goal statement provides a breadth of information about the organization (Post et al 2002). Therefore, the ideology or goal of the social movement is an organizational variable. The type of movement/campaign being used (a rebellion, protest, etc.), the size of the movement/campaign (small or large scale movement), the length of the movement/ campaign and the length of time from the beginning to the end of the movement are examples of organizational variables.

The Immediate Situation.

As noted in Smelser's Social strain theory, there are generally triggering events that lead groups down a violent path. Post et al. (2002) called this the "last straw" event. "Last straw" events include signifying anniversaries of violence against a group, fraudulent elections, blocking a group from elections/voting, attacking, torturing or assassinating members of a group by the regime.

Dependent variables

Three dependent variables are used in this analysis. First, the number of terrorist organizations is used to measure the mobility and recruitment of individuals in a given time frame. A change, or fluctuation, in the number of terrorist organization signifies the mobilization, or demobilization, of individuals into collective action groups. Second, the number of terrorist events per country is used to measure the overall terrorist activity in a country at a given time. Third, the number of terrorist events per organization is used to measure the intensity of attacks per organization and mobility of terrorist organizations. The group's "response" to one of the independent variables, such as a last straw event" is

illustrated in the increase or decrease of terrorist activity. Individuals mobilizing to pool resources (i.e.- working together to build bombs, secure guns, demonstrate, protest, etc.) is reflected in the increased activity of the group.

Therefore, the current study measures the terrorism activity in a country, assessing the frequency of attacks over time. Measuring the number of terrorist organizations over the given time period illustrates the mobilization of individuals into the organization and support of the organizations. Measuring the number of terrorism activity, per organization and per country, notes the increase, or decrease, inactivity. This variable also reflects mobilization of individuals; whereas mobilization includes both recruitment and pooling of resources.

These variables have been compiled using the GTD database by creating trend plots, accordingly, for given time frames. Case analyses, including the independent variables, are used to provide additional information about events and factors sparking mobilization, or demobilization, which are not reflected quantitatively.

ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES

The analytical strategy for this research consists of 3 main techniques: regression analyses, trend plotting the trajectories of terrorist incidents, terrorist organizations and collective action and detailed case analysis. Trajectories of terrorism incidents and organizations, as well as trend plotting of collective action, are supplemented by the use of graphs and maps, where appropriate. Detailed case analysis are used to complement the quantitative portion of the research by explicating independent variables, explaining

fluctuations found in trend plotting and detailing any similarities or differences found among the cases. An interrupted time-series regression will allow for the observation of events before and after a governmental intervention.

Interrupted Time-Series Regression

The current research examines the number of terrorist events in a particular country before and after a particular government intervention. Therefore an Interrupted Time-Series, a type of ordinary least squares regression, is utilized. Using SPSS®, the data are analyzed using ordinary least squares regressions models to examine governmental interventions and their relationship to the occurrence of terrorism events in multiple countries during different time periods ranging from 1960 to 2011. Predictors include governmental interventions as variables while the outcome variables are the number of terrorist incidents in each county over the given time period (as detailed later).

For the India case study, three governmental interventions are identified; the 1984 Golden Temple Raid (Operation Blue Star), Operation Black Thunder (Golden Temple Raid of 1989) and Operation Rakshak I (1991). Linear regression models to examine governmental interventions and their relationship to the occurrence of terrorism events in India were over a 35- year time period (1970-2005).

A total of four interventions are identified in the case study for Hezbollah; The Israeli Invasion of 1982, including the Sabre and Shatila Massacre (mainly Palestinians deaths) that occurred in the same year; the Israeli Partial Withdrawal of 1985; Operation Grapes of Wrath (1996); and the full Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000. Linear regression models to examine governmental interventions and their relationship to the

occurrence of terrorism events in Hezbollah were over a 35- year time period (1975-2010).

Operation Motorman of 1972 and Bloody Sunday, the increase in the number of Northern Ireland Members of Parliament (1978), the Anglo Irish Agreement of 1985, Operation Loughgall and Gibraltar (1987 and 1988, respectively) and the 1994 ceasefire agreement between the IRA and the British government are identified as the governmental intervention for the Ireland case study. Linear regression models to examine governmental interventions and their relationship to the occurrence of terrorism events in Ireland were over a 43- year time period (1968-2011).

Ordinary Least Squares regressions (OLS) are appropriate models to use for the current study. The dependent variables in the study are a quantitative measure of terrorism events; OLS are better models to use for quantitative variables compared to using a logit analysis for qualitative dependent variables.

There are limitations of using OLS regressions. First, outliers can largely influence the outcome of the analysis. As OLS attempt to minimize the sum of squared error, an abundance of extremely large or small numbers can skew the outcome of the model. However, the current study utilizes a limited number of observations, mainly pre-intervention, that reduces the number of drastic outliers that can influence the predictions of the models. Another limitation of OLS regressions is possible skewing of predictions that arise from dependence among variables. The current study attempts to analyze one intervention per model, avoiding temporal overlaps of intervention time frames. A final limitation of using OLS is heteroskedasticity and the presence of noise in the data. To address heteroskedasticity, a minimum of two models are completed per intervention to

determine which range, or time frame, was more reliable and captured the least amount of noise.

Trend plotting

There are three dependent variables in this research; the number of terrorist incidents per country, the number of terrorist organizations per country and the number of terrorist incidents per organization. Therefore, trajectories are needed to show the fluctuation of the variables over time. Trend plotting provides a snapshot of the number of the total vibration of a variable over time. Using SPSS® and Microsoft Excel®, the data are organized into trajectories that examine 1) macro level variables, international trends of terrorism and social movements and the number of organizations per country over the time period and 2) micro-level variables of terrorism incidents per organization.

Trajectories will include plotting significant events (i.e.- last straw events) that will be elaborated upon in the contextual and historical information for each case. In addition to the *Global Terrorism Database* and the *South Asian Terrorism Portal*, the *Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes Database* and the *Dynamics of Collective Action in the U.S. 1960-1995* Database will be used to measure the activity of the social movement that occurs temporally with terrorism activity.

Detailed Case Studies

Utilizing a mixed methodology, the current study employs personal narratives, historical analysis and quantitative analysis. Work in the field of terrorism relied on the

use of case studies, lacking an empirical element to the research. The application of trend plotting trajectories of terrorist events, trend plotting of collective action, and case studies allows for a mixed methodological approach to examining the relationship between social movements and terrorism.

Case studies are useful in investigating phenomenon within a specific context. Singularly, case studies provide information about the social, political, economic and cultural conditions. In the current study, the processes of Relative Deprivation and elements of Social Strain theory are outlined in each case analysis. When combined with quantitative analysis, an examination is made of the patterns of similarities and differences among the case studies. The overall analysis provides a broader perspective about in the phenomenon of terrorism.

Dugan and Yang (2012) noted that studies of terrorism often provide a warped perspective due to the high prolife cases that are chosen to analyze. The current study examines terrorist organizations with origins in the United States, the Middle East, Europe and South East Asia. Cases for analysis include the Black Panther Party (United States), Hezbollah (Lebanon), Irish Republican Army (Ireland) and the Khalistan Movement (India).

The case studies selected represent religious, non-religious, separatist, Marxist, Western and non- Western societies; capturing various classifications and typologies of terrorism. Comparison of various types of organizations, while addressing individual differences and similarities, provides a generalization that can be inferred about terrorist organizations.

As a United States, Western, based organization, the Black Panthers (Black Panther Party for Self-Defense) provides a diversion from terrorism literature that solely addresses organizations in the Middle East or in one particular region. The Black Panther Party was both secular and left wing. As the debate in terrorism literature examines the lethality of the religious typologies of terrorism (Crenshaw, 2011), the current study includes secular and non-secular organizations.

Hezbollah is a nationalist organization that is rooted in religion. Hezbollah formed in Lebanon, is the case of a non- Western, Middle Eastern organization. The Black Panthers, the Irish Republican Army and Khalistan extremists are known as terrorist organizations. Hezbollah, are considered terrorists by many countries, such as the United States, but not by others. It is a modern case, it is currently active, that holds the contested title of terrorist organization.

 The Irish Republican Army is a nationalist, separatist group that was not comprised of members considered a minority group. Although the Irish Republican Army is a high profile terrorist organization, it holds the distinction of being one of the longest running European terrorist organizations. The length of the organization provides useful insight about the ideologies and factors that influencing organizations. Interestingly, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) signed a cease-fire agreement in 2004 but the group is considered currently active as some members continue to engage in illegal activity.

The Khalistan Movement is considered a separatist movement in India with the expressed intent to create a separate homeland for Indian Sikhs. The movement surrounding the Khalistan terrorists is an active movement that is religiously and culturally based in a non-Western society. The Khalistan extremists are a lesser known

group of terrorists and provide insight about terrorist organizations in the South East Asia region.

Timelines are utilized for each case. By plotting the trends for country, a timeline for terrorism activity, the presence of a social movement, the strength of the movement, and the extent of both terrorism and the social movement over time will be illustrated. The number of terrorist organizations, the number of terrorist events (per country and per organization) is identified using the *Global Terrorism Database* and the *South Asian Terrorism Portal*. This provides a uniform analysis of each case.

Summary

The current research faces several challenges: conducting empirical research on terrorism and terrorism incidents, focusing on mobilization into terrorist organizations after backlash, determining the impact of governmental intervention and determining if collective action impact terrorism.

As previously noted, case studies are frequently used in terrorism studies. However, historical accounts of the organizations were rarely applied. Most notably, case studies selected for research are generally high profile organizations (Dugan and Yang 2012). Quantitative analysis alone fails to include contextual information that aids in understanding the collective path to violence. The current study attempts to bridge the gap between applying historical and contextual information with quantitative research.

It is known that terrorist organizations are aggrieved groups that often mirror the broader population at large. However, minimal research has attempted to determine the

connection between social movements and terrorist organizations, specifically mobilization into terrorist organizations after backlash from a governmental strategy.

By applying ordinary least squares regressions to determining the impact of governmental interventions on terrorism events, trend plotting trajectories of terrorist events, trend plotting of collective action and case analysis the current study utilizes a mixed methodology that examines the association between governmental intervention, terrorism and social movements. Distinctions about the similarities and differences in the cases will be made.

Factors such as last straw events, ideologies of the social movement, the presence of backlash, governmental intervention and other historical and cultural factors, independent variables of the study, are believed to impact terrorism mobilization. The impact of the independent variables should be witnessed in the number of terrorist activities per country, the number of terrorist organizations per country and the number of terrorist incidents per organization.

Quantitative analysis is used to determine the level of the dependent variables, while case analysis (including qualitative analysis) is used to determine the presence of the independent variables. Governmental repressive responses to aggrieved groups, or backlash, the process of relative deprivation and last straw events are also explored in the case analysis.

Chapter 5: TRENDPLOTTING

The findings of the quantitative portion of the analysis that examined the

relationship between governmental interventions, collective action and terrorism

activities at the international level are included in the current chapter. As a starting point

to address the impact of collective action on terrorism, a background of the broader issue

is needed. The first section provided trend plotting of incidents of terrorism that occurred

internationally and are included in the Global Terrorism Database. The second section

provided trend plotting of cases of collective action that occurred internationally. The

Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes database provided data to trend plot

campaigns of nonviolent and violent collective action internationally. Section three

plotted the overlap of terrorism/event/organization after the onset of a social movement.

International Terrorism Incidents, 1970- 2010

A broad examination of international terrorism revealed numerous descriptive

findings. According to the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), there were a total of

104689 incidents of terrorism between 1970 and 2010. It is noted that the GTD lost a

significant number of cases from 1993. Therefore, data from 1993 are not included in the

current graph. Figure 4.1 illustrates the distribution of international terrorism throughout

the world. As seen, the number of terrorist incidents was greater between the 1989 to

1992 period and again between 2008 and 2011. The average number of incidents per year

during the 1989-1992 time periods was 4494. The average number of incidents per year

during the 2008-2011 time periods was 5070. Compared to the time period of 2001-2004

where the average number of incidents per year was 1415, the aforementioned periods

experienced a higher number of terrorism incidents. However, the average number of

terrorism incidents per country ranged from 1 (in many countries; Andorra, Burma, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Mauritius, New Hebrides, North Korea, South Vietnam, St. Lucia, Turkmenistan, Vatican City, U.S. Virgin Islands, and Wallis and Futuna) to 7453 incidents in Columbia.

Figure 5.1 Number of GTD International Terrorism Incidents per Year, 1970-2011

Majority of the terrorism incidents occurred in the South Asia region (19% of incidents) and in the Middle East and North Africa region (19.8% of incidents) for the given time period. The South Asia region included 10 countries, a few of which skewed

the regional percentage due to a large numbers of terrorism incidents during the 1970-2011 period; Afghanistan (3039), Bangladesh (764), Bhutan (5), India (6905), Maldives (3), Mauritius (1), Nepal, Pakistan (721), Seychelles (2) and Sri Lanka (2935). Similarly, the Middle East and the North Africa region experienced a large number of terrorism incidents overall (19.8%). The region is comprised of 24 countries; Algeria (3039), Bahrain (45), Cyprus (112), Egypt (507), Iran (636), Iraq (7807), Israel (1618), Jordan (82), Kuwait(73), Lebanon (2036), Libya (18), Morocco (35), North Yemen (6), Oman(0), Qatar (7), Saudi Arabia (64), South Yemen (2), Syria (200), Tunisia (26), Turkey (2820), United Arab Emirates (18), West Bank and Gaza Strip (1532), Western Sahara (5) and Yemen (432). Least amount of terrorism incidents occurred in the Central Asia (.2%) and Australasia and Ocean regions (.2%)

As seen below, the most frequently used attack type was bombings/explosions, while the least used attack types of attack included high jacking and unarmed assaults.

Table 5.1 Terrorism Attack Types, 1970-2011

Attack Type	Frequency	Percent of total
Armed Assault	26621	25.4
Assassination	14465	13.8
Bombing/Explosion	47123	45
Facility/Infrastructure Attack	6999	6
Hijacking	445	.4
Hostage Taking (Barricade Incident)	724	.7
Hostage Taking (Kidnapping)	5366	5.1
Unarmed Assault	439	.4
Unknown	2507	2.4
Total	104689	100

Cases selected for analysis included cases that represent various regions (South Asia, Middle East and North Africa, North America and Western Europe). Beyond the Elam Tigers (LTTE), empirical terrorism cases for analysis for India is limited. Examination of Sikh extremists and the Khalistan movement, in a region with a large number of terrorism incidents, adds to the academic literature. The Khalistan Movement is selected for analysis as it is an ongoing movement and the region has a high numbers of terrorism incidents.

The number of terrorism incidents experienced by the United States (2362) during the given period is comparable to that of Algeria (2630), Guatemala (2043), Lebanon (2036) and Turkey (2820). The Black Panther Party is a largely studied organization; however the group is generally referenced as a compartmentalized aspect of the larger movement. Research on the group has begun to highlight the community agent aspect of the organization and the organization's trajectory in the context of the Civil Rights movement (Kirby 2011). The current study examines the organization as a terrorism organization and as a community agent. Lebanon is a region that experienced events comparable in number to the United States but the ideology, motivation, of the attacks were different. Lebanon is a country in the Middle East that allows the study of terrorism without major emphasis on al- Qaeda or the Taliban; organizations that largely overshadow modern terrorism research. Largely used in case analysis in terrorism research, the IRA provides a breadth of terrorism events to examine with the largest span of time.

Table 5.2 The Number of Terrorism Incidents Per Case, 1970-2011

Country	Terrorism Incidents	% of Total Incidents	% of Research Incidents
India	6905	6.6	45
United States	2362	2.3	15
Lebanon	2036	1.9	13
Ireland (North)	3974	3.8	26
Ireland	157	.1	1
Ireland Total[*]	4131[*]	3.9[*]	27[*]
Total	15434	14.7	100

[*] The total number of Ireland and Northern Ireland combined

International Nonviolent and Violent Movements, 1902-2006

A broad examination of international violent and non-violent movements revealed several descriptive findings. According to the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes database, between the years of 1902 and 2006 there were 323 collective action campaigns worldwide. The number of years with complete data in the database included 89 years; the number of years within the database is 89. The average number of campaigns per year for the period of 1902-2006 was 3.6. *Figure 5.2* illustrates the distribution of nonviolent and violent campaigns throughout the world from 1902 to 2006. As shown in the figure, there was a slight increase in collective action in 1945 (N= 8). However, the number of annual campaigns increased in 1989 (N= 17), remained relatively high but spiked again in 2006 (N=20).

Figure 5.2 Number of Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns Per Year, 1902-2006
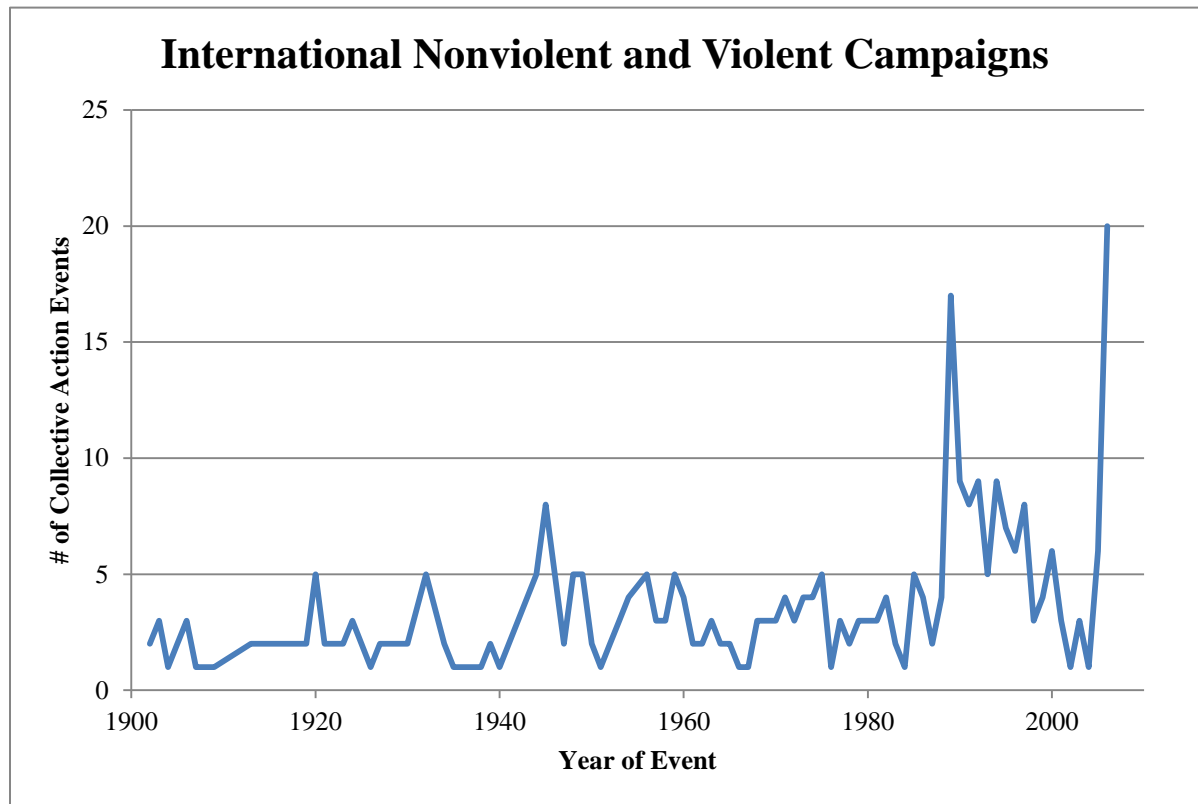
Campaigns in the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes database

ranged in length from 2 days (Estonia, Latvia and the Philippines) to 21170 days, or 58

years (Burma). The database determined the success or failure of a campaign. The

database, using dummy variables (0= otherwise and 1= success),deemed 113 campaigns

successful. Interestingly, the database deemed 157 campaigns as failures (with dummy

variables as 0= Otherwise and 1=failure). Results of the campaigns ranged from failure

(35) to suppression (122).

Figure 5.3 provides a scatterplot of the number of violent and nonviolent

campaigns worldwide. As seen, there were clusters of campaigns, or multiple events,

around 1920 and during the 1970s. However, a large number of campaigns occurred

around 1989 and 2007. During the year 1920, the U.S. Women's suffrage movement

ended with the right for women to vote. However, prohibition began in the U.S. during

the same year. The League of Nations and the Chinese Communist party are created in

1920. As seen, the 1970s served as a time for several campaigns; the "Black", "Brown"

and "Yellow" Movements, Vietnam protests, Gay and Women's rights movements all

occurred during this era. Internationally, the Iranian Revolution and the Soviet invasion

of Afghanistan occurred. In 1989, the Soviet Union collapsed after a series of campaigns

and protests.

Figure 5.3 Scatterplot of Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns Per Year, 1902-2006
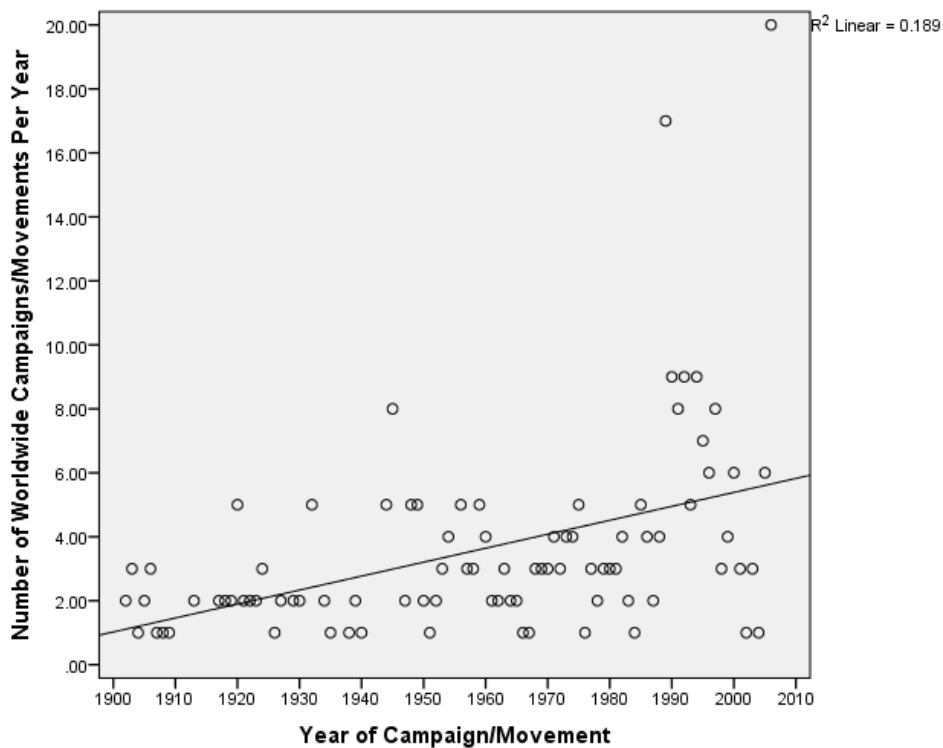
Relationship between Social Movements and Terrorist Activity

Using both the Global Terrorism Database and the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes, the temporal international relationship between collective action and terrorism is illustrated.

Internationally, collective action and terrorism coincides temporally. Although the data for international terrorism were not available before 1970, the trajectories of collective action and terrorism post-1970 showed a similar trend. As collective campaigns events worldwide began to increase, terrorism incidents began to increase. It is noted that plots for collective campaigns indicated the start year of a campaign, not fully indicating the length of each campaign.

Periods of increased collective campaigns in the 1970s is followed by an increase in terrorism incidents. The 1970s experienced a cluster of collective campaigns and terrorism incidents increased at the latter part of the 1970s. During 1988 and 1989 there was a large increase in collective campaigns, many aimed at inciting the decline of the Soviet Union. While terrorism worldwide remained largely active, the spike in collective campaign is met with a spike in an already large number of terrorism incidents. Terrorism incidents and collective campaigns decreased by 2000. Both encountered a surge in activity; collective action increased in 2005/2006 and terrorism increased in 2006. A series of events occurred internationally in 2005, including the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan, Kuwait granted women the right to vote and Syria withdrew its troops from Lebanon. In 2006, Lebanon and Israel engaged in a 34 day war.

Figure 5.4 International Relationships between Social Movements and Terrorism
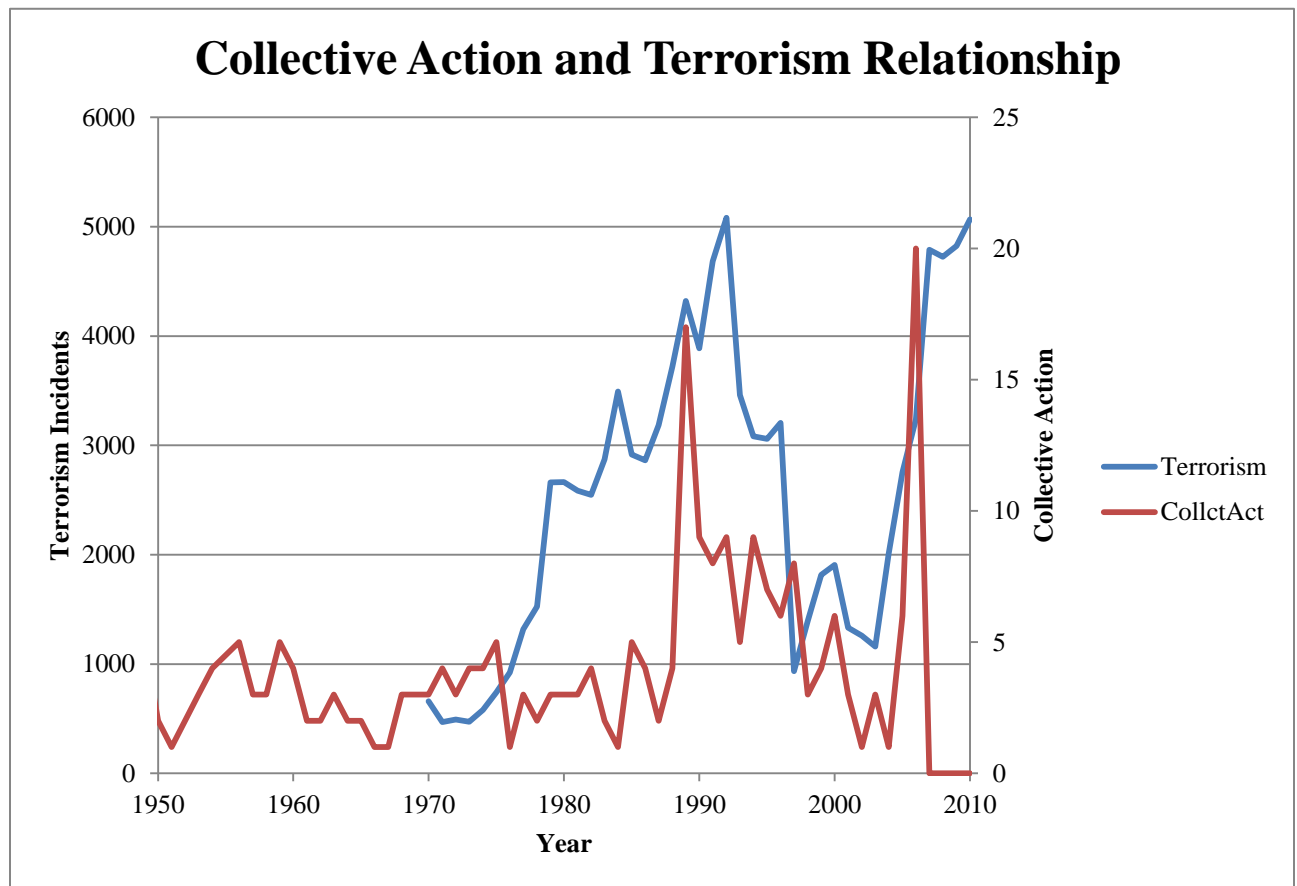
Activity

As seen in the figure above, as international collective action campaigns spiked,

or increased, the same is mirrored in terrorism activity. Periods of temporally coinciding

is noted in the 1970s and again in the 1980s. As collective action decreased in the early

2000s, the same was observed for terrorism activity. Both collective action and terrorism

increased in 2005.

Summary.

There were a total of 104689 incidents of international terrorism between 1970 and 2010. Terrorism increased consistently throughout the 1970s and 1980s. It was found that the number of terrorist incidents was greater between the 1989 to 1992 period and again between 2008 and 2011; collective action coincided with spikes in terrorism activity.

A trajectory of international violent and non-violent movements provided descriptive findings. Between the years of 1902 and 2006 there were 323 collective action campaigns worldwide. Similar to international incidents of terrorism, the number of annual campaigns increased in 1989 and increased again in 2006.Analysis found that international campaigns peaked in 2006, before a peak in terrorism activity in 2008. This supported a hypothesis of the current study that the prevalence of terrorism acts increased after the onset of social movements.

Also supporting the research hypothesis, collective action and terrorism coincided temporally at the international level. Collective campaign events and terrorism incidents mirrored one another; as one increased the other increased. The 1970s experienced a cluster of collective campaigns and terrorism incidents increased at the latter part of the 1970s.While terrorism worldwide remained largely active, the spike in collective campaign was met with a spike in an already large number of terrorism incidents. Terrorism incidents and collective campaigns decreased by 2000. Both encounter a surge in activity; collective action increased in 2005/2006 and terrorism increased in 2006. This finding supported the hypothesis that social movements, if meet by brute force, served as

precursors to terrorism. This is not to suggest that social movements are, or are destined for, criminal behavior. However, it is to highlight those terrorist organizations using the sentiments of a movement to mobilize individuals into terrorist organizations.

Chapter 6: THE KHALISTAN MOVEMENT (INDIA)

> Hindu Brahmin has always wanted to destroy Sikhs
> …Policies of Brahmin ruler towards Punjab are to make
> Sikhs starve in hunger so that they live a poor life. The
> Indian government took away capital of Punjab, water,
> electricity, land crops and everything else that would make
> Sikhs' lives enriched. Sikhs have been deprived of
> sovereignty, jobs, military enlistment reduced from 50% to
> almost 2 %...and right to water and electricity which are
> given to other states for free… work is being given to
> Hindus so that young Sikhs stay unemployed. Even after all
> this discrimination, Sikhs are becoming successful. Just
> imagine how successful will Sikhs be in their own
> homeland…" Narang (n.d.)

The emergence of a movement.

The British colonial era and the impact of colonization are linked to the formation

of the Sikh identity into a separate "race" or "nation". The Sikh and government

relationships, the subsequent Khalsa nation movement included, preceded the 1980s and

dated back to the colonial era. The British colonial elites referred to them as *quams* as a

specific "race" or "nationality" of people, a separate identity within the region (Shani

2000).The British believed that the Sikhs were a separate race, isolating the Keshdhari

Sikhs as a distinct community within society (Shani 2000).

Sikhism emerged as a religion free of "Casts" and "meaningless rituals and rites"

(Singh 1980). Sikhism allowed a space for equality, irrespective of cast, and the free

practicing od religion. Prior to the colonial era, the Sikh identity lacked a single definition

and lacked a homogenous community. The Narankari movement, initiated by Baba Dyal

in the 1850s, sought to create a separate Sikh identity. Dyal viewed the Sikh identity as

one that assimilated into the Hindu culture; as the Peshwar community was half- Sikh and

half- Hindu at the time (Singh 1994). The 1870s Sigh Sabha movement started a turning

point in modern Sikh identity (Sjani 2000). Between 1915 and 1925, British colonials

detained thousands of Sikhs for participating in non-violent demonstrations, or *morchas*.

In 1925 the Sikh Gurdwara Act, an institutionalized opposition to British Rule, was

passed. This act solidified a uniform Sikh identity. The Act predated the formation of the

Shirumani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) and the Akali Dal, the political arm

of the faction (Shani 2000).

In 1947, India won its independence from Britain. Britain partitioned the former

colony into two parts; India and Pakistan (Keen 1998). Based on religious differences,

the partition created a majority Muslim population in Pakistan and a majority Hindu

population in India. The partition of India is viewed as the beginning of the 20th century

political, religious and ethnic differences in the region (Wallbank 1966). Violence

against, and perpetrated by, Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus in Pakistan and India are

attributed to the social cleavages caused by the Partition (Keen 1998; Wallbank 1966).

Keen (1998) cites the Partition of religious groups, and the British departure from India,

as the template for Israel after Britain left Israel in 1948.

From independence until 1962, leaders in the Akali fasted, and self-immolation,

for the creation of a Punjabi- speaking state. The Chief Khalsa Diwan (CKD) and the

Akali Dal leadership requested a separate Sikh state in 1942. The Sikh Akali Dal (SAD)

requested the creation of a Sikh state in 1946 (Shani 2000).

The 1966 trifurcation of the Punjab region resulted in the splitting of the region

into 3 states; Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab (See Figure 6.1). The trifurcation

divided the region based upon communal identities. The Indian government created the

Punjab region based on it having a Sikh majority; with Haryana and Himachal Pradesh having a Hindu majority.

Figure 6. 1 Map of India
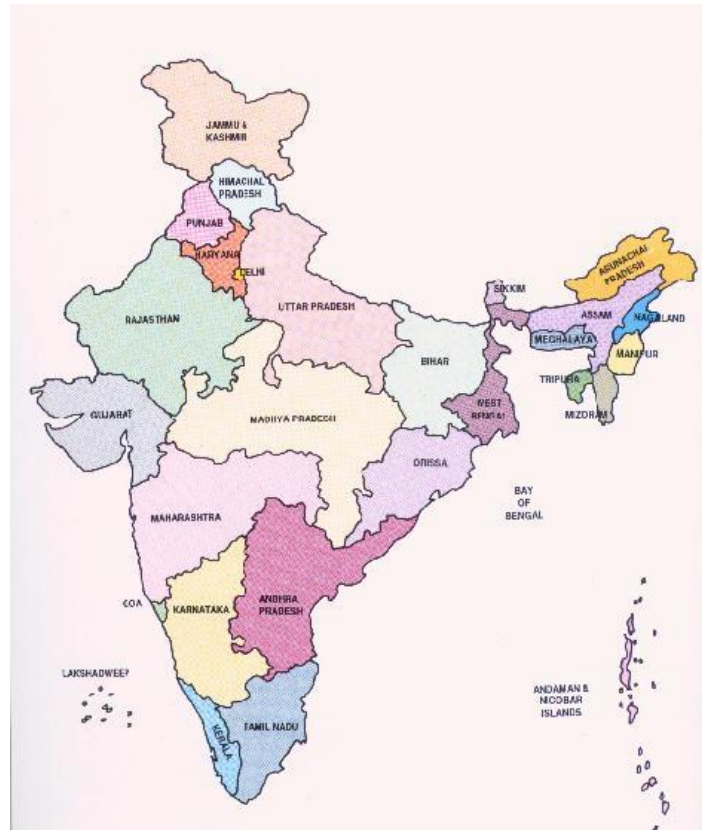
Courtesy of Kashmiri Overseas Association[2]

During the 60s and 70s, the Sikhs were in the majority but they were not able to obtain a political popular vote. The Akali Dal, the main Sikh party, inability to exert political dominance over the Congress Party, the Hindu minority party, caused growing tension in the Sikh majority state. The Akali Dal created the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

[2]http://www.koausa.org/Nature/maps.html

The Anandpur Sahib Resolution asked the Indian government for a state independent of

Punjab. The Indian government rejected the idea of Khalistan, the independent state that

Sikhs requested. Growing frustration about the political system, a sense of injustice and

the growing belief that Sikhs needed an independent state created a structural space for

Sikh extremist organizations to form. The proposed Khalistan state, the Sikh state,

included the 3 states that were part of the 1966 trifurcation; Haryana, Himachal Pradesh,

and Punjab (See Figure 6.2)

Figure 6.2 The Proposed Republic of Khalistan

Courtesy of Martin Frost[3]

It is said that since the middle of the 19th century, the Sikhs have fought three wars; two with the British, 1845 and 1848 respectively, and the third war with Indira Gandhi in 1984 (Butani 1986). In 1973, the Akali Dal released the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which stated the objectives of the Sikh community. The Congress Party, and Indira Gandhi viewed the document a secessionist claim by the Sikh community. The document later resurfaced in importance when Khalistan movement picked up movement under the guidance of Bhindranwale.

The rise and fall of violence.

Eventually, violent mobilization (increased and decreased mobilization) for the Khalistan movement is precipitated by 3 main events; the 1978 Massacre, 1984 Temple Raid and the 1988 Temple Raid. The 1978 Sikh Massacre served as the catalyst for the creation of several Punjab terrorist organizations. In the same year, the Anandpur Sahib Resolution that requested a separate state from the Indian government, resurfaced in importance. The Resolution was not fulfilled by the government. Frustration and a growing sense of injustice created structural conduciveness for a Sikh extremist movement (the Khalistan Movement). The Hindu minority (the Congress Party) controlled politics in the Sikh majority state, this created additional political strain.

The social strain between GurSikhs and Nirankari continuously increased. It became evident that majority of Hindus believed that every Sikh was a terrorist and the

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[3]http://www.martinfrost.ws/htmlfiles/mar2008/khalistan.html

Sikhs believed that every Hindu was a political agent of the government (Butani 1986).

The tension between GurSikhs and Nirankari groups continued to escalate until a

confrontation occurred in Amritsar in 1978 (Singh1994). The Nirankari killed thirteen

GurSikhs, a religious Sikh sect, during the event. A group, belonging to each sect, was in

Amritsar on the Vasisakhi day at the same time. GurSikh reported an ambush by the

Nirankari without the help of police. Nirankari reported an attack by Sikhs. Irrespective

of the event's origins, the Indian police did not de-escalate the clash. Smelser and

Relative Deprivation theory noted that a government's inability to provide adequate

support to already grieved citizens exacerbates perceived discontent. Murder charges

were brought against the Nirankari leader, Singh, but were acquitted by the Indian

government. The GurSikh population, again, felt the political system did not work for

them.

Backlash occurred against the Indian government over the disdain the GurSikhs

felt over the political process. The inability to capture the majority votes during political

elections and the killing of 13 members, who became martyrs, created a space for

extremist ideologies to form. By 1980, the acquitted Nirankari leader was assassinated.

An extremist leader, Bhindranwale , propelled to the front of the Khalistan movement

and urged for a more radical approach to dealing with the Indian government. Smelser

(1968) identified the splitting of individuals in social movements as one the transitioning

factors for moving from nonviolent to violent action.

The 1978 Massacre was the beginning of a recruitment phase for the Sikh

extremists. Bhindranwale heavily recruited civilians from rural areas, and cities as well,

using the rhetoric of the creation of a Sikh country and the creation of their own

independent government (SATP, n.d.). Clashes between Sikhs and Hindus became common with an escalation of violence in the Punjab region. Bhindranwale was different from his modern day successors of Sikh extremists, in that he urged using arms to protect themselves. He urged Sikhs to acquire firearms to defend themselves (Shani 2000). Bhindranwale's focus was on the perceived inequality of Sikhs in the Punjab region.

> "We are neither for nor against Khalistan… We want to live in India as equal citizens, but if this is not possible then we have nothing against the government giving us our own state."
> Bhindranwale remarks about Khalistan (Shani 2000)

Bhindranwale's legacy on the Sikh extremist movement was the urge to disable the state's legitimacy of "morally sanctioned killing". Akali leaders had not called for violent means of obtaining their goal and fasting was the preferred tactic used. Bhindranwale's called for violence and mingled it with the Khalsa's militant tradition; it was justification enough for an armed resistance (Shani 2000). By 1983 Bhindranwale amassed large number of weapons and followers. Bhindranwale used the Golden Temple in Amritsar as an operation base for the organizations terrorist activity. Babbar Khalsa International, a terrorist organization, was formed and operated out of the temple. One of its 2 founders was a widow of the 1978 Massacre (SATP, n.d.). Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India since the 1970s and during the 1978 Massacre, opted for a strong military response to the movement.

Hess and Martin (2006) hypothesized that a repressive event by a government can also lend to backlash, transforming the event into a social movement. Two factors need to be present for a repressive event to create backfire; a group who views an event as unfair and violent repression of an event that is thought of as legitimate in nature. A common

backfire included police using violence, or unnecessary force, on nonviolence protestors. The Khalistan movement, a social movement that became intertwined with terrorism, exhibited periods of violent and nonviolent discontent with the government. A violent backlash against the Indian government occurred after the 1978 Massacre. It was the expectation of the study that backlash would occur after the use of brute force during the Temple Raid of 1984.

The Golden Temple, one of the holiest sites of the Sikh religion, was the primary location that the Indian government decided to raid. This in turn created a separate space within society where it was perceived that the government attacked Sikhs (as a religion and culture); the intervention re-sparked the Sikh quest for a homeland in both the Punjabi region and its Diaspora (Tatla 1999). The Indian government's raid on the Golden Temple, known as Operation Blue Star, was a poorly planned attack on a subsequent social movement linked to terrorism. The operation was heavily military based, excessive force was used and they rejected media coverage of the event. Due to the lack of transparency over the event, the estimated number of deaths during the raid is remains contested. The Indian government stated that 493 civilian/ terrorist were killed, Reuters News reported upwards of 1,000 killed, an Amritsar crematorium worker reported over 3,000 bodies cremated and eye witness accounts marked the deaths around 8,000[4]. Innocent bystanders/civilians that prayed in the temple and lived near the temple were killed. Military soldiers also took children and women captive, starved them for days even though it was apparent that they were not armed terrorists. Another mishap of the raid was that the terrorist were warned of the raid by the government, this allowed for

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[4] "Operation Blue Star", Sikhmuseum.com, accessed 8/02/11, http://www.sikhmuseum.com/bluestar/chronology.html

additional time to bring more reinforcements into the temple (Crenshaw n.d.). Coupled

with the undisclosed deaths from the temple raid were the 8,000 people that were

reported missing the days following.

> "I saw about 35 or 36 Sikhs lined up with their hands raised above
> their heads. And the major was about to order them to be shot…
> All of these young men were villagers"- Bhan Singh (qtd. in Dal
> Khalsa 2007)

Eye witness reports on the ground allowed became undisputed truths of the

perceived biased actions by the government due to the lack of media coverage. The

operation received widespread backlash. The Indian government lost the support of many

Sikhs who had remained neutral since the 1978 Massacre. Brute use of force, a destructed

sacred temple, the loss of innocent civilian lives and lack of transparency delegitimized

the Indian government and Gandhi's claim to restore peace in the Punjab region.

Disenfranchised Sikhs joined the Khalistan movement, and subsequently recruitment into

terrorist organizations increased. Militants killed during the raid became martyrs and

symbols of the Khalistan movement.

Prior to the Temple Raid of 1988, negotiations were made by Sikh extremists but

were not kept. In 1985 the Punjab Accord was signed between Prime Minister Rajiv

Gandhi and Sant Longowal, Akali Dal leader. Many Sikh extremists had not agreed with

the Accord and Longowal was assassinated shortly after the Accord (Butani 1986). The

1988 Temple Raid, Operation Black Thunder, lacked a distinct catalyst like the raid of

1984. In 1984 Indira Gandhi attempted to make the point to extremists that the Indian

government was still in control. The 1988 raid was strategically planned with the media

allowed to cover the event. Unlike Operation Blue Star, Operation Black thunder was a

police based attack, not military based. Also, the government used minimal police, trying to match the number of extremists in the temple to the number of police used. The police opted for a surprise attack, they did not forewarn Sikh militants of an impending attack. Overall, Operation Black Thunder was a transparent attack that minimized the space for discontent and new ideologies to form. Several additional structural deficiencies were addressed in the 1988 Raid. For example, the Indian government also tightened the Pakistan border and reduced the flow of people and arms into the region (Crenshaw n.d.).

The Raid resulted in more transparency and it gained Sikh public opinion. The government allowed the media to show Sikh terrorists as gunned extremists that killed Sikh and Hindi police, this delegitimized the extremists to members of a social movement. The raid is noted as one of the main reason for the collapse of the growing militancy in the region. Support for the government increased in the general population. Although terrorism events increased after the intervention, terrorist activity reverted back to violence against civilians and targeted the government less. Terrorist activity decreased around 1995 in the Punjab region.

Operations Rakshak I, II, & III were attempts by the Indian government to continually decrease the number of terrorist organizations and terrorism events in the region. Operation Rakshaks (1990-2005) included the use of the Indian army. The lesser known Operations included targeting terrorist organization leaders and incarcerating members of the organizations.

Temporal Pattern.

The following section includes trend plotting of the terrorism activity per terrorist organization, the number of terrorist organizations during the movement and the temporal relationship between terrorism activity and social movements at the national level. The Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes database is used for data pertaining to collective campaigns. The Global Terrorism Database is used for data pertaining to terrorism incidents. The South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP) is used to supplement information about terrorist organizations in India.

Collective Action in India.

According to the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes, there were 8 periods of campaigns in India; 1919- 1945, 1921- 1922, 1948- 1948, 1955-1964, 1966-1986, 1967-1971, 1984- 1994, 1988-2006 (see Figure 6.13). Several of the periods of campaigns overlap another period.

Figure 6. 3 Collective Campaigns in India: 1902-2005

Collective Campaings in India: 1902-2005

Terrorism Incidents in India.
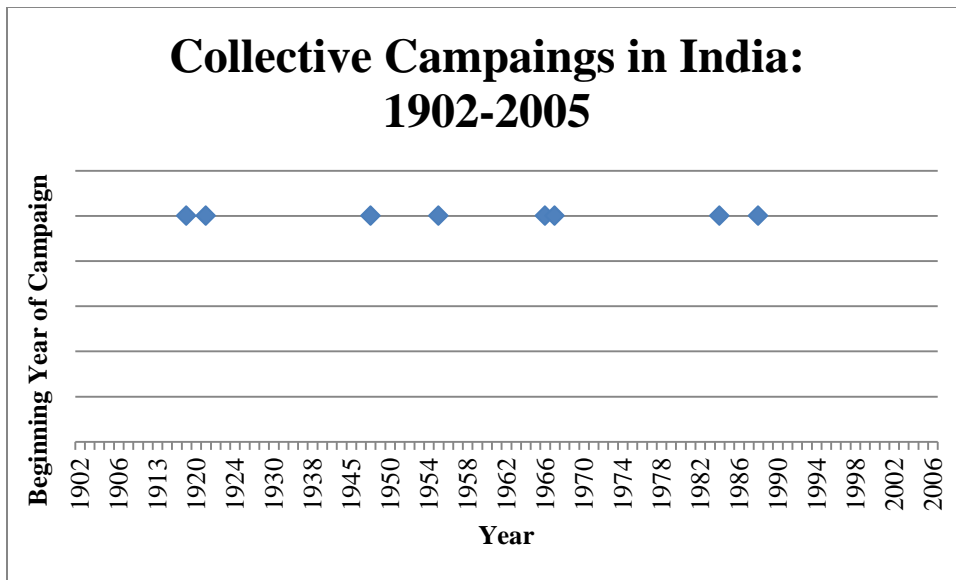
Terrorism Incidents in India.

The trajectory of terrorism incidents in India shows an increase in terrorism activity until the 1990s. Between 1970 and 2010 there were a total of 6905 terrorism incidents in India. Between 1970 and 1978, there was an average of 0.4 incidents per year. Terrorism incidents increased until a spike in activity in 1984 (N= 159), followed by a drop in activity in 1985 (N= 39). The year 1988 experienced a drastic increase in terrorism incidents in (N= 362). By 1998 terrorism incidents were reduced to 62 incidents a year. During the time frame, 2009 had the largest occurrence of terrorism incidents (N= 673).

Figure 6. 4 Terrorism Incidents per Year in India: 1970- 2010

Terrorism Events in India
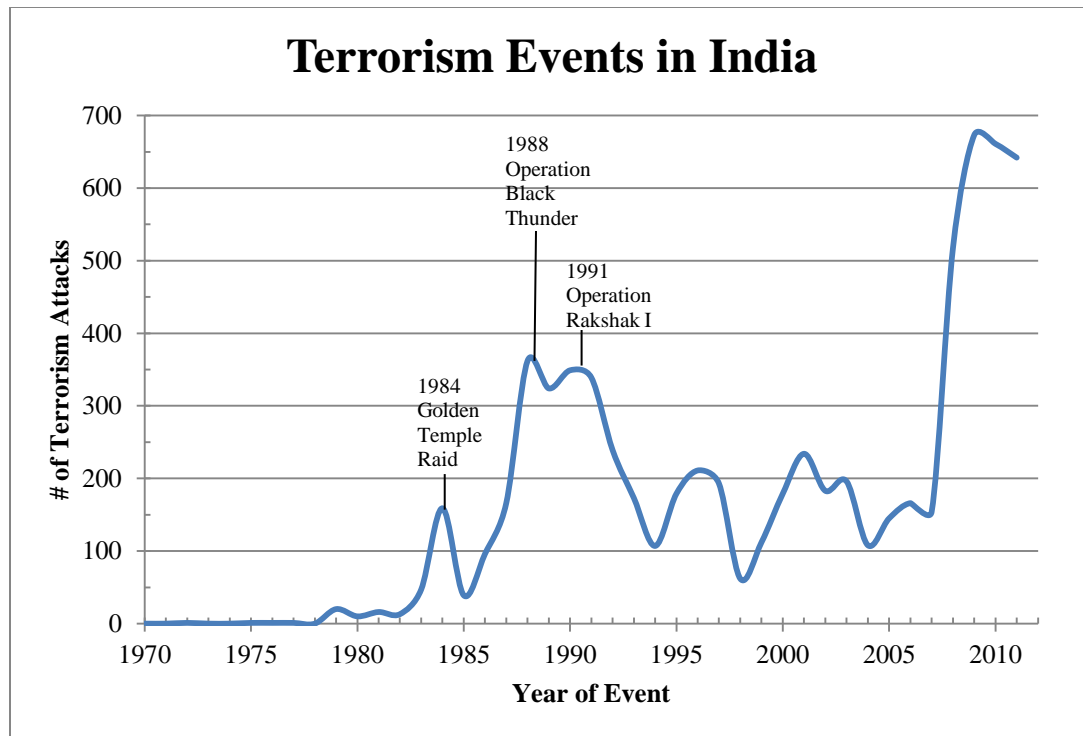
By 1984 Sikh terrorist gained members and became an opponent of the Indian government. The 1984 Golden Temple raid by the government resulted in an estimated 500-8000 Sikh deaths; this included innocent bystanders. Terrorism activity drastically increased after the 1984 temple raid as civilians joined terrorist organizations as part of the government backlash. As seen, incidents of terrorism in India went from an average of 14 in 1983 to a total of 95 in 1984. The Khalistan movement became legitimized as the government lost popular support.

However, the 1989 Temple Raid, Operation Black Thunder, was able to gain popular civilian support (Crenshaw n.d.) towards the government. Terrorism in India went from 143 terrorism incidents in 1988 to 101 in 1989 and further down to 73 in 1990. After Operation Black thunder, terrorism incidents became largely intertwined with various forms of criminal activity ranging from robberies, kidnappings, assassinations, etc.; Sikhs became the most frequent victims of Sikh extremists activity (SATP n.d.;

Swami 2006). However, increased activity began in 1991 and the declined thereafter. It is also noted several events occurred between 1990 and 1991 that aided in the increased terrorism incidents in 1991.

Recruitment into terrorist organizations was almost to a halt in 1989 (Swami 2006). The government estimated no more than 1200 listed and unlisted terrorist (South Asian Terrorism Portal n.d.). The Indian government began a severe crackdown on terrorists that began with a counter-terrorism strategy named Operation Rakshak I & II (1990-1991) in Punjab that reduced the flow of Sikh extremists between India and Pakistan. During which time several terrorist were killed or incarcerated. In 1989, considered a politically stable year, 703 terrorist were killed (SATP n.d.). In 1990, 1320 terrorists were killed and 2177 were killed in 1991. Two important figures of the KLP were also arrested. By the middle of 1990, it was estimated that the number of terrorist had risen to nearly 5000 (SATP n.d.).

In 1991, Manjinder Singh Issi, KLF deputy chief, and Maloy Dhār, former Intelligence Bureau Joint Director, met in secret to discuss peace talks that included rehabilitating terrorist and integrating them into the political system. However, the peace talks were unsuccessful, resulting in the subsequent deaths of several Sikhs and officials. Considered the worst year of Khalistan violence, there were a total of 5, 265 deaths in 1991; 2591 civilians, 2177 terrorists and 497 security personnel (Swami 2006). Subsequently, support for terrorist organization decreased after 1992 and by 1995 terrorism activity in the region was drastically reduced.

Terrorist Organizations in India.

There are active terrorist organizations associated with the separatist movement in India (N=4) and inactive organizations (N=4). There are a total of 10 organizations associated with the separatist/ Khalistan movement in India. The organization labeled as Sikh Extremists are included in the total organization count but a group classification and operation dates are not assigned to the group. The International Sikh Youth Federation is also included in the total count of terrorist organizations associated with the Khalistan movement in India.

Table 6. 1 Terrorist Organizations in India

Organization	Operation Dates	Origin Location	Classification	Status
*All India Sikh Student (AISSF)	1888/1937	Punjab, India	Nationalist/Separatists	Active
Babbar Khalsa International (BKI)	1920/1978-	Canada	Nationalist/Separatists	Active
Bhinderwale Tiger Force of Khalistan (BTHK)	1984-1995	Punjab, India	Nationalist/Separatists	Inactive
**Dishmish Regiment	1984-1986	Punjab, India	Nationalist/Separatists	Inactive
****International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF)	1984-2002	United Kingdom	Nationalist/Separatists	Inactive
Khalistan Liberation Front (KLF)	1986-	Punjab, India	Nationalist/Separatists	Active
Khalistan Commando Force (KCF)	1986-2006	Punjab, India	Nationalist/Separatists	Inactive
Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZ)	Early 1990s-	Jammu & Kashmir, India	Nationalist/Separatists	Active

***Sikh Extremists

*After Operation Blue Start they temporarily used the name Sikh Student Federation
** Also known as Followers of the 10th
***A lump category comprised by the GTD
**** ISYF protested, raised money, etc. They did not physically commit terrorism incidents but are classified as a terrorist organization

According to the GTD, India was the origin for 10 terrorist organizations; All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF), Babbar Khalsa, Babbar Khalsa International

(BKI), Bhinderwale Tigers Force of Khalistan (BTFK), Dishmish Regiment, International Sikh Youth Federation (ISF), Khalistan Liberation Force, Khalistan Commando Force (KCF),Khalistan Zindabad Force (LZF) and Sikh Extremists.

It is noted that the South Asia Terrorism Portal accounted for 12 terrorist organizations in the Punjab region: All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF), Babbar Khalsa International (BKI), Bhinderwale Tigers Force of Khalistan (BTFK), Dishmesh Regiment, International Sikh Youth Federation (ISF), Khalistan Liberation Force, Khalistan Commando Force (KCF), Khalistan Zindabad Force (LZF) , Khalistan Liberation Organization (KLO), Khalistan National Army (KNA), Khalistan Armed Force (KAF), and the Khalistan Liberation Army. (*See Table 6.2*)

Table 6.2 Terrorist Organizations in India for GTD vs. SATP

Terrorist Organizations According to GTD	Terrorists Organizations According to SATP
All India Sikh Student (AISSF)	All India Sikh Student (AISSF)
Babbar Khalsa	Babbar Khalsa International (BKI)
Babbar Khalsa International (BKI)	Bhinderwale Tiger Force of Khalistan (BTHK)
Bhinderwale Tiger Force of Khalistan (BTHK)	Dishmesh Regiment
Dishmish Regiment	International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF)
International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF)	Khalistan Liberation Front (KLF)
Khalistan Liberation Front (KLF)	Khalistan Commando Force (KCF)
Khalistan Commando Force (KCF)	Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZ)
Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZ)	Khalistan Liberation Army (KLA)
*Sikh Extremists- Lump category	Khalistan Armed Force (KAF)
	Khalistan Liberation Organization
	Khalistan National Army

Although the Global Terrorism Database accounted for 10 terrorist organizations in the Punjab Region and the SATP accounts for 12, there appeared to be several similarities between the databases. Although there are 3 more distinct terrorist

organizations in the SATP, the GTD utilized a lump "Sikh extremists" category. Of the 10-12 organizations, only one was formed prior to the 1978 massacre, the AISSF. AISSF's origins in traced to 1881 but mobilization increased in the 1960s due to the lack of political representation. The Babbar Khalistan was formed as a direct response to the 1978 Massacre by Bhinderwale.

Using the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes is used to show trajectories of collective action in India .Using the Global Terrorism Database, data is used to show the trajectory of terrorist activities of seven organizations.

Terrorist organizations during Khalistan Movement (India).

Of the ten organizations associated with the Khalistan Movement, Sikh Extremist, a lump category, was the most active. However, the 1984 Temple Raid served to spike the activity for the AISSF, Sikh Extremists and Dishmish Regiment. However, all other organizations are formed after the 1984 Raid. Terrorism activity also increased in 1988 and 1989 when a second Temple Raid was orchestrated by the Indian government. Overall activity of the organizations decreased by the mid-1990s.

Figure 6.5 Number of Terrorist Organizations per Social Movement: India
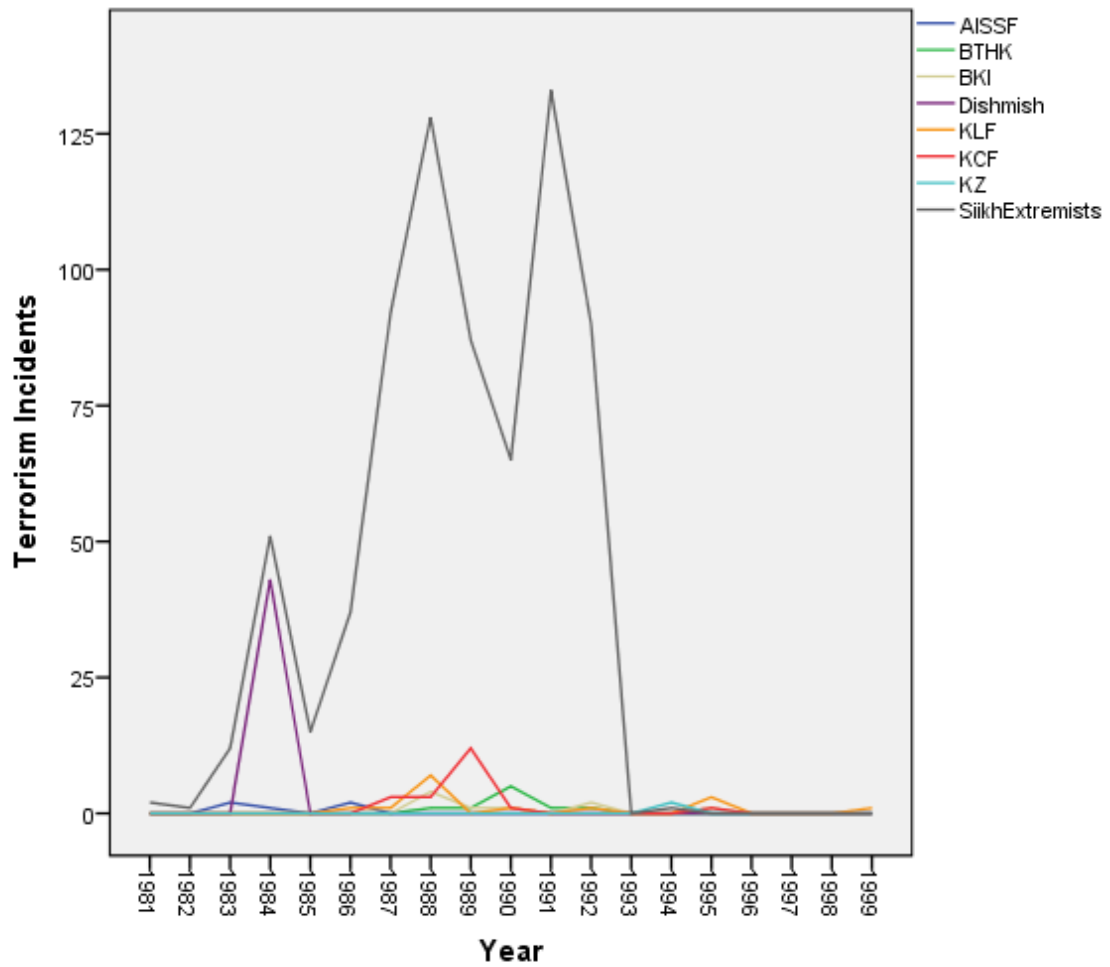
The All India Sikh Student (AISSF) is currently a active group; to date they are responsible for 5 terrorism incidents. *Physical* acts of terrorism began in 1984 (N= 2) and subsided in 1986 (N=2). See Figure 6.6

Figure 6.6 All India Sikh Student (AISSF)
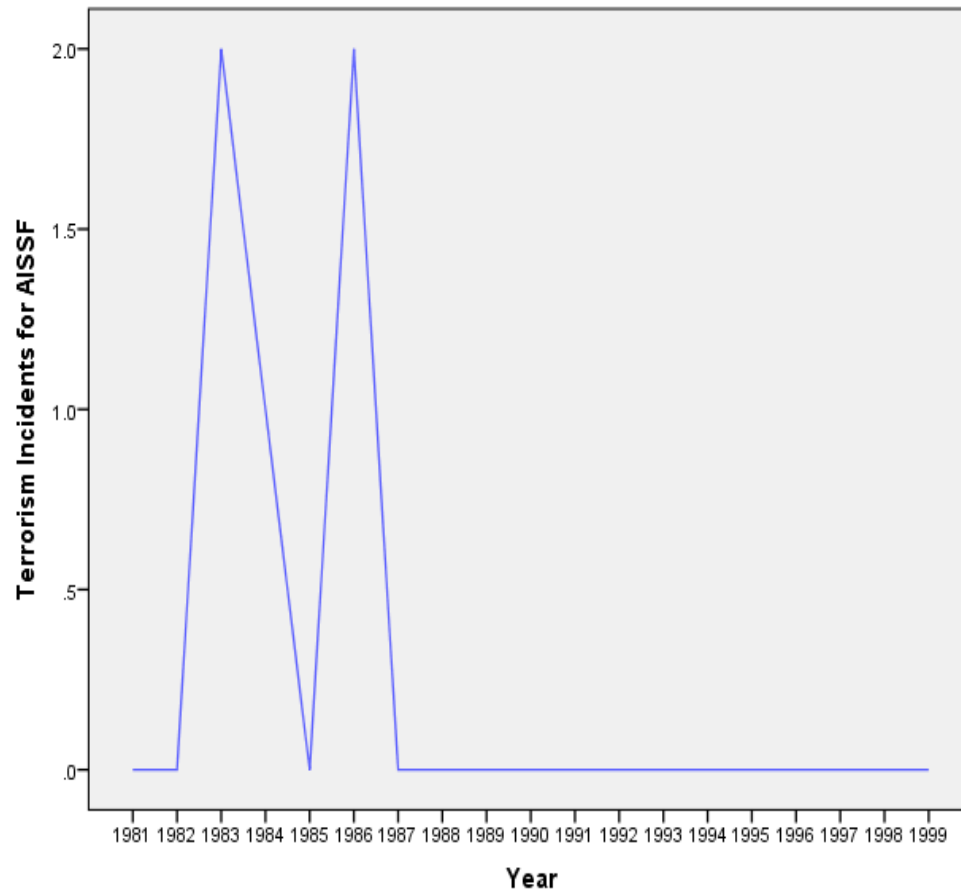
As seen, Bhinderwale Tiger Force of Khalistan (BTHK) was responsible for incidents of terrorism from 1988 to 1992 (N= 9). The peak of activity occurred in 1990 (N=5) followed by a decline in activity. By 1993, the BTHK no longer claimed responsibility for terrorism incidents. See Figure 6.7

Figure 6.7 Bhinderwale Tiger Force of Khalistan (BTHK)
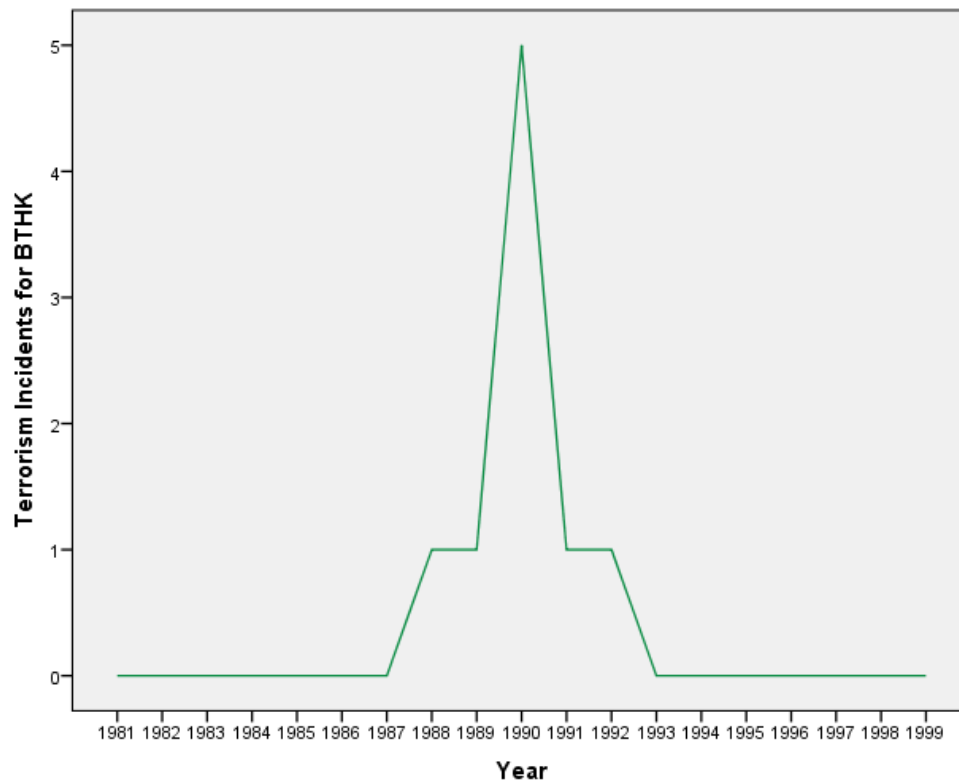
Although Babbar Khalsa International (BKI) reinvented itself in 1978, BKI's first terrorism incident occurred in 1988 (N= 4). Activity for the organization decreased the following year and continued to decrease until BKI was no longer attributed to committing physical acts of terrorism. Babbar Khalsa, an offshoot of Babbar Khalsa International, was responsible for one physical act of terrorism beyond 1998, the event occurred in 2007.

Figure 6.8 Babbar Khalsa International (BKI)
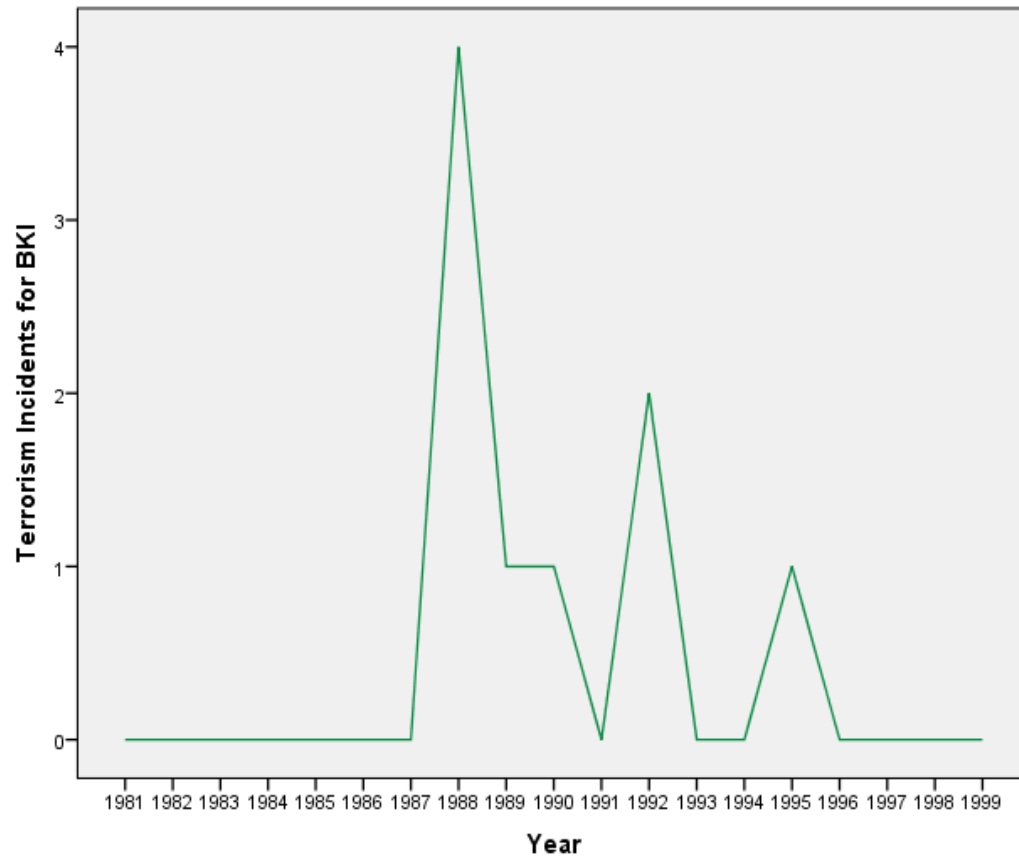
Active for two years, Dishmish Regimentwas responsible for 43 of the terrorism incidents related to the Khalistan Movement. After 1984 (N=43), the group activity decreased to 0.

Figure 6.9 Dishmish Regiment
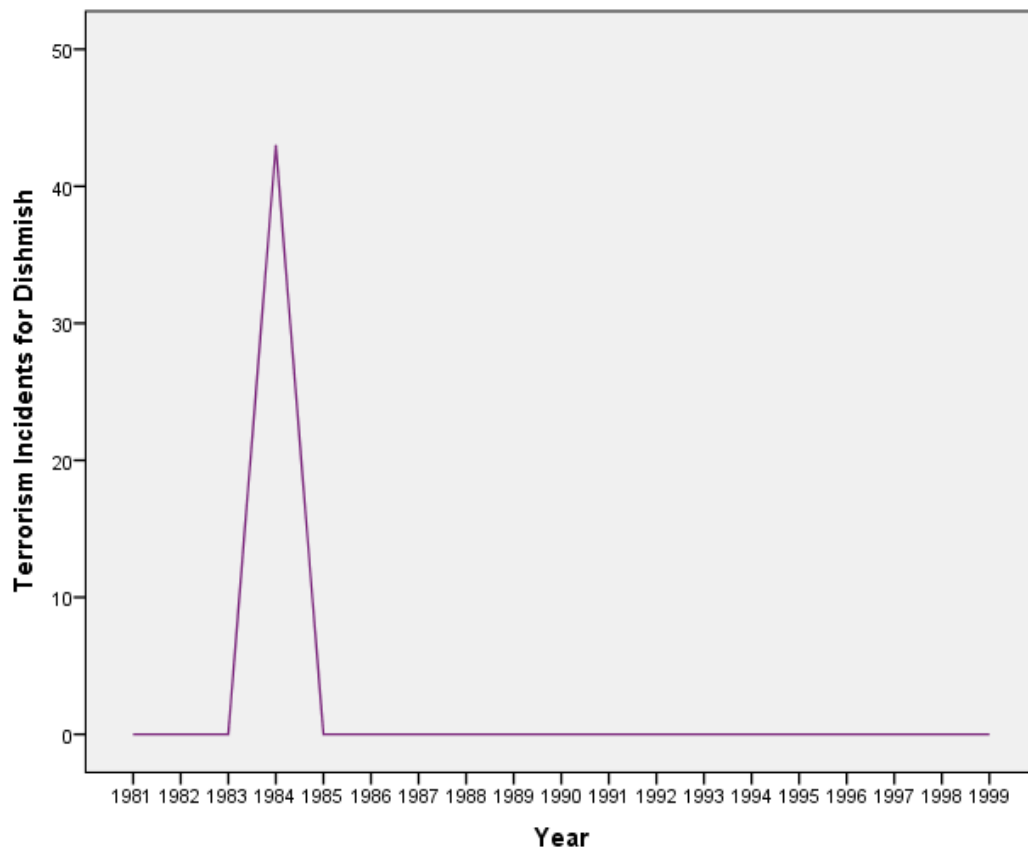
The Khalistan Liberation Front (KLF) formed in 1986 and began committing acts of terrorism during the same year (N=1). The peak of the groups activity was in 1986 (N=7), followed by decreased activity. In 1995, KLF experienced a small peak in activity (N= 1995). The KLF had a sum of 15 terrorism incidents during the given time period (See Figure 6.10)

Figure 6.10 Khalistan Liberation Front (KLF)

The Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) had a sum of 20 terrorism incidents between 1987 and 1995. The peak of its activity was in 1989 (N= 12) followed by a steep decline in activity by the following year, 1990 (N= 1). The organization began attacks in 1986 (N=3) and the last terrorism incident was in 1995 (N=1). See Figure 6.11

Figure 6.11 Khalistan Commando Force (KCF)
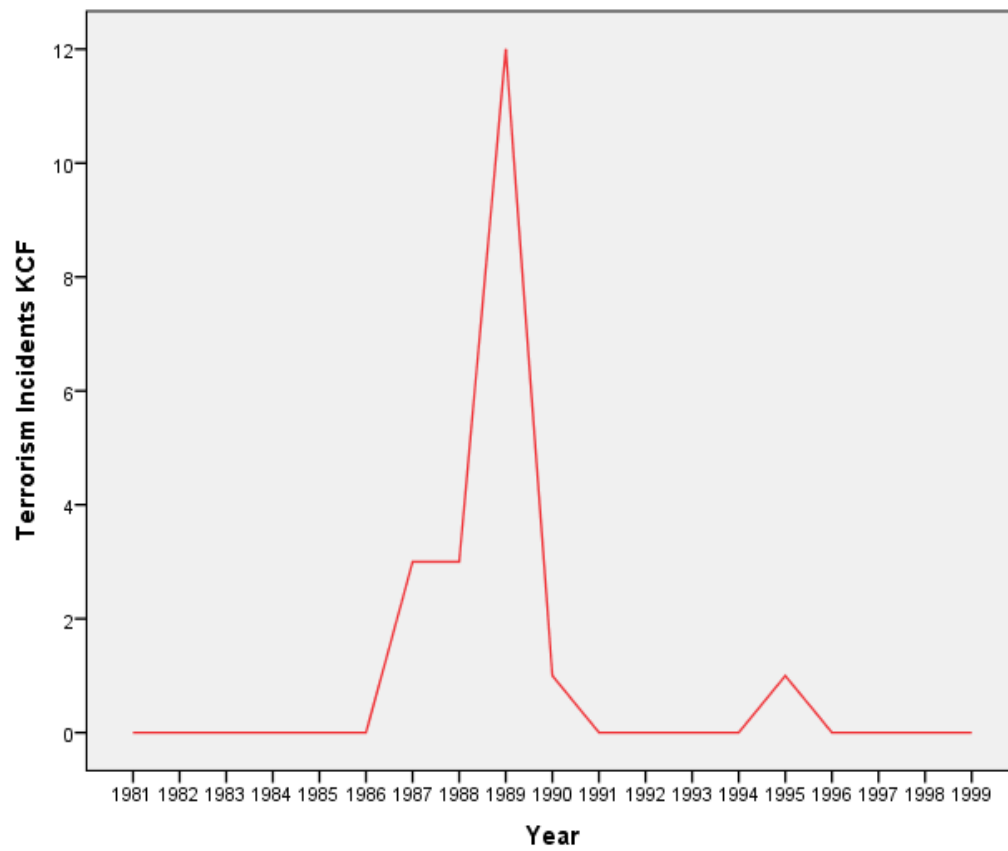
As seen, the Khalistan Zindabad (KZ)was responsible for 2 terrorism incidents in the GTD, both occurred in 1994.

Figure 6.12 Khalistan Zindabad (KZ)
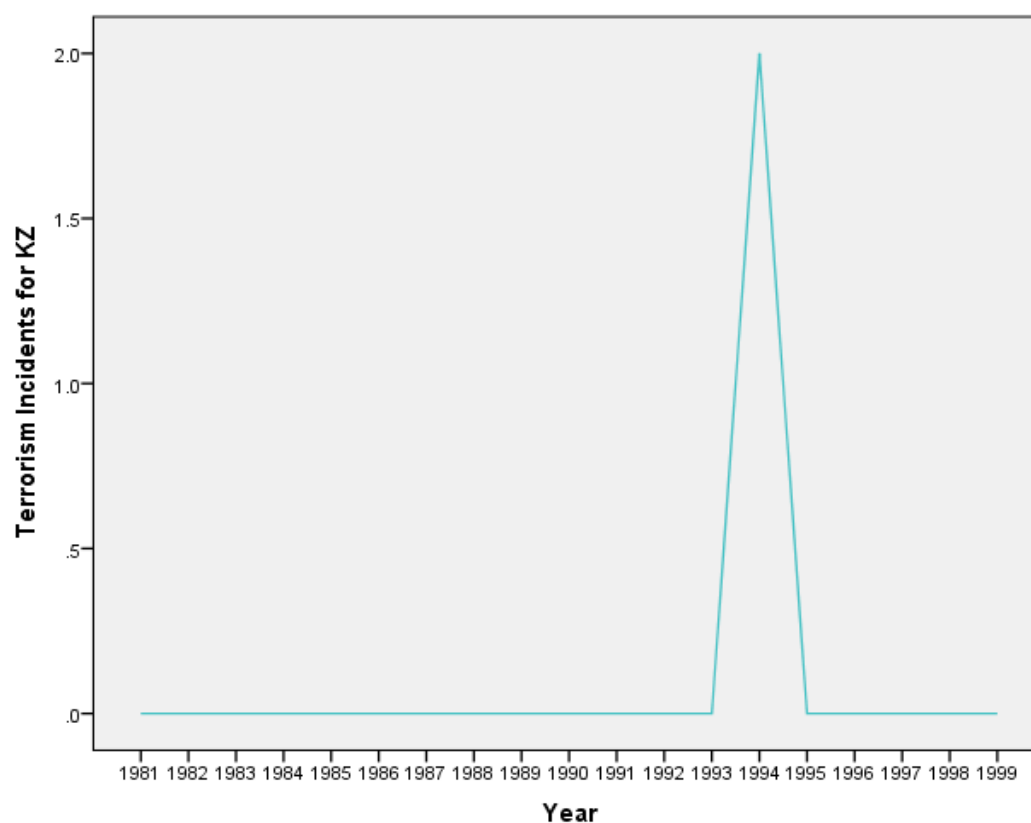
A lump category, Sikh Extremists, accounted for the largest number of terrorism incidents in the GTD related to Sikh extremism, separatist movement, in India (N= 714). Three main peaks in activity were visible; 1984 (N=51), 1988 (N=128) and 1991 (N=133). There was a noticeable decline in activity in 1990 (N= 90) and 1993 (N=0) before the group was no longer attributed to terrorism incidents by 1995.

Figure 6.13 Sikh Extremists
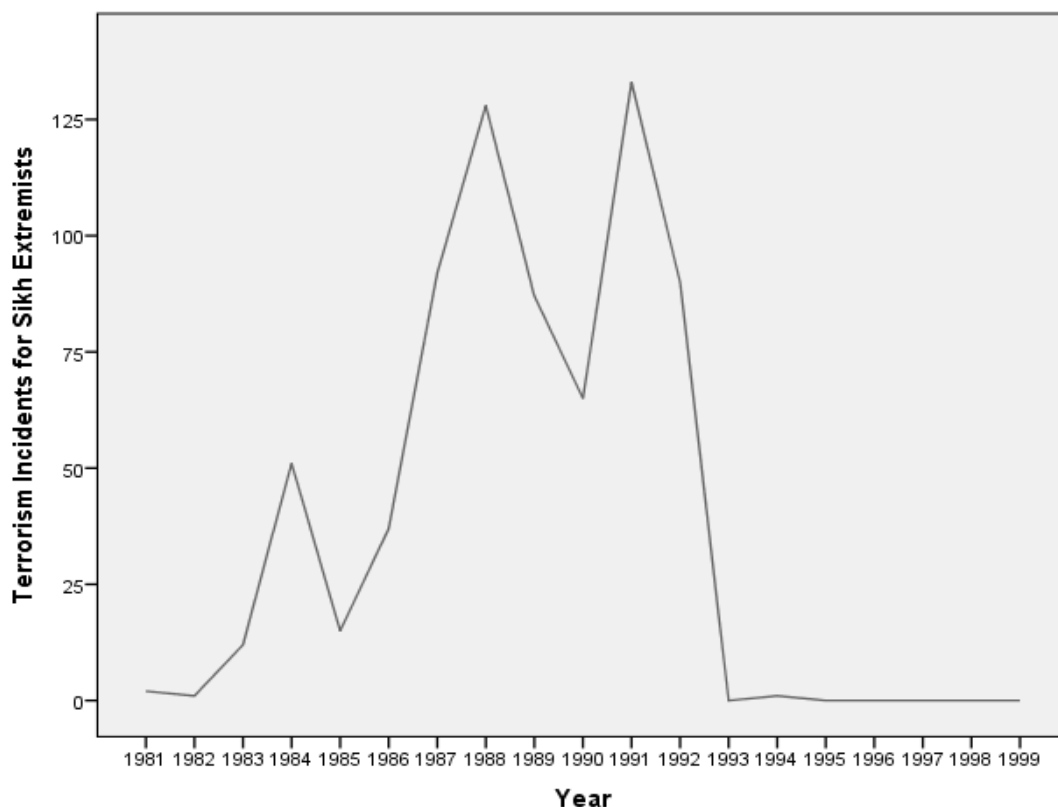
A precise beginning of the Khalistan movement is unknown but the political request for a separate Sikh state began in 1942. The specific request for Khalistan began politically in 1973.

It is noted that "Sikh Extremists" is a lump category established by the GTD that accounted for those who were not linked to an organization or their affiliation with an organization was unknown. Of the remaining nine organizations, two began prior to the 1973 social movement; AISSF and BKI. The AISSF began in 1888 and remains active today but to-date they have been responsible for 5 *physical* acts of terrorism. BKI was formed in 1920 during Sikh demonstrations against British rule. The group reorganized

after the 1978 "last straw" event. All other organization formed after the Temple Raid of 1984.

Relationship between Collective Action and Terrorism Incidents.

Using both the Global Terrorism Database and the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes, the temporal relationship between collective action and terrorism in India is illustrated. The periods of campaign in India coincided with that of peaks in terrorism incidents (See Figure 6.14). Although data for terrorism incidents in India is not available before 1970, the relationship between collective action and terrorism incidents in the country is illustrated. Two spikes in terrorism activity coincided with the beginning of a collective campaign in the 1980s. Terrorism decreased and then increased while another collective action campaign does not begin. It is noted that the campaign plotted the beginning of the campaign and not the end date.

A collective action campaign began in 1984, and lasted until 1994. The event coincided with a spike in terrorism activity in 1984. This is also the same year that the Indian government, and Indira Gandhi, determined to raid the Golden Temple of Amritsar, or Operation Blue Star. As also seen, a period of collective action began in 1988 and lasted until 2006. In 1988, another peak of terrorism incidents occurred. A spike in terrorism activity began again in 2006, when data for collective campaigns was not available. The relationship between terrorism and collective action cannot be determined for this time frame.

It is cautioned that terrorism incidents increased in the early 2000s without a start of a social movement. However, it is noted that a collective campaign that began in 1988 is listed as ending in 2006, possibly explaining the lack of a "new" movement.

Figure 6.14 Relationships between Social Movements and Terrorism Activity in India

Relationship Between Collective Action and Terrorism
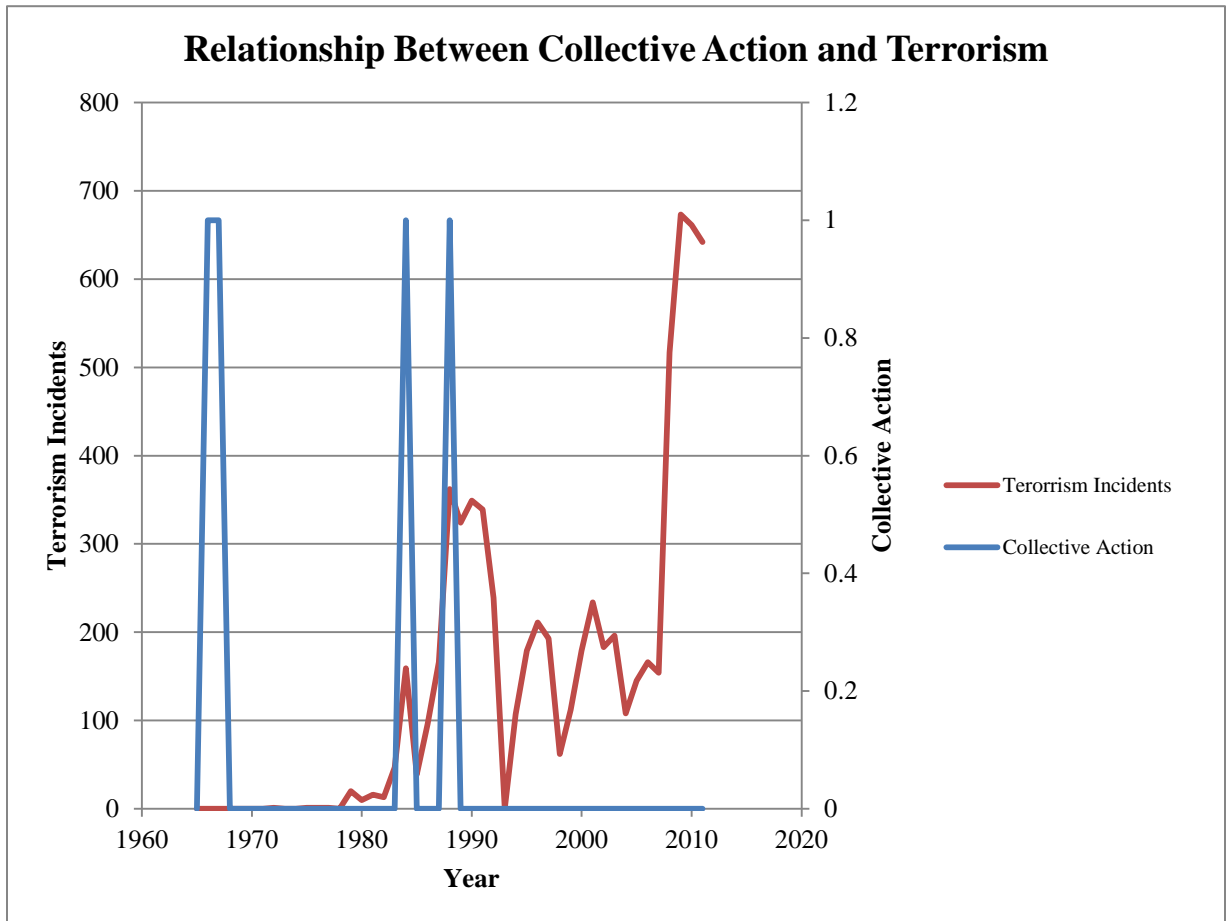
Khalistan: Governmental Interventions

The current study proposed a connection between a governmental response to collective action and terrorism. It suggests that there is a positive relationship between backlash of a governmental strategy towards collective action and mobilization/recruitment into terrorist organization. Using an interrupted time series, ordinary least square regression/ multiple linear regression, the model examines the

number of terrorism incidents before and after a specified intervention. Results of the regression indicate if the intervention had a positive, negative or no effect on the number of terrorism incidents after the onset of the intervention.

Three governmental interventions are identified for India and the Khalistan Movement; the 1984 Golden Temple Raid (Operation Blue Star), Operation Black Thunder (Golden Temple Raid of 1989) and Operation Rakshak I (1991). The 1978 "Massacre" of 13 martyred Narakdharis Sikhs in Amritsar, India is called a catalyst for violence in the Khalistan movement but the 1984 Temple Raid resulted in the death of many innocent civilians and armed Sikhs. The number of those killed by the excessive use of brute force during the Indian government's intervention is still contested, with estimates upwards of 5000. The high number of civilian casualties, secrecy in tactics and excessive use of force during the Golden Temple Raid (1984) is very similar causal factors to those outlined in blowback theory. Operation Black Thunder was also a temple raid but utilized a smaller scale tactic and included targeted attacks that reduced civilian causalities. Operation Rakshak was a series of three governmental operations, temporally close, that included targeting known members of terrorist organizations. The three interventions vary in scale, use of force and civilian deaths.

The following section includes regression analysis for governmental interventions. The Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes database is used for data pertaining to collective campaigns. The Global Terrorism Database is used for data pertaining to terrorism incidents. The South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP) is used to supplement information about terrorist organizations in India.

Regression: Golden Temple Raid (1984)

Multiple linear regression analyses were conducted to test the association of the

Golden Temple Raid with subsequent changes in the level and trend in terrorism. The

regression include a time variable to capture the general trend prior to the Golden Temple

Raid, an intervention variable to measure the change in the level of terrorism, and an

interaction of time x intervention to capture any change in the trend after the raid. The

results for two different time periods are shown in Table 6.3

Table 6.3: Golden Temple Raid (1984)

	1977-1988			1970-1988		
	Model 1	Model 2		Model 3	Model 4	
Time	3.81	9.16	Time	2.32	4.47	
Intervention	-23.56	84.79	Intervention	-18.44	114.10	**
Interact	49.49 ***	---	Interact	50.98 ***	---	
Intercept	-10.07	-39.50	Intercept	-9.55	-25.65	
R-squared	0.77	0.62	R-squared	0.79	0.63	
N	15	15	N	19	19	

* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01

The first two regression models include the 1977- 1988 time frame, corresponding

to seven years before and four years after the Golden Temple Raid. The year 1988 was

selected as a cut off to avoid including the time period affected by another government

intervention in 1988 which will be discussed later. As seen in Table 6.3, Model 1 was

able to account for 77% of the variance in terrorism events, N=15 , R^2= .77. The Golden

Temple Raid (intervention) had no significant negative effect. The coefficient for the

interaction indicates that the terrorism trend became more positive after the intervention,

p <.01. Model 2, which does not include an interaction term, was able to account for 62%

of the variance in terrorism events but a significant correlation was not found between

governmental intervention and terrorism events. *See Table 6.3*

Multiple linear regression analysis was repeated using the 1970-1988 time frames to capture additional years before the onset of the intervention, with fourteen years before and four years after the Golden Temple Raid. An expanded time frame attempts to capture additional years before the intervention to determine if low levels of terrorism incidents occurred prior to the intervention. The multiple regression model, Model 3, with all three predictors produced R^2=.79, N=19. As seen, the Golden Temple Raid (intervention) had no significant negative effect. The coefficient for the interaction indicates that the terrorism trend became more positive after the intervention, $p < .01$.

In Model 4, the Golden Temple Raid intervention had a significant positive effect, $p < .05$. The model predicts that, on average, for the period after the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 114 attacks, holding time constant. *See Table 6.3.*

Model 4 is the best fit for the data, accounting for 63% of the variance in terrorism events. The model suggests that the terrorism trend increased after the onset of the interventions

While Model 3 accounts for more variance in terrorism events it did not find the intervention to be significant.

Regression: Operation Black Thunder (1988)

Multiple linear regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level of terrorism and the change in trend after Operation Black Thunder. The results for two different time periods are shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Black Thunder II (1988)

	1978-1998				1984-1998		
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4
Time	15.97	***	-8.17	Time	7.80		-24.79	***
Intervention	259.93	***	259.93	***	Intervention	261.66	***	301.66	***
Interact	-42.24	***	---	Interact	-34.07		---
Intercept	-31.20		101.54	Intercept	95.50		176.98
R-squared	0.86		0.58	R-squared	0.75		0.72
N	21		21	N	15		15

* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01

For the 1978-1998 time period, Model 1 with the interaction term accounted for 86% of the variance in terrorism events and all of the coefficients are significant (p<.01). The intervention coefficient indicates that terrorism increased by 260 events in the years after the intervention. And the trend became more negative after the intervention, as indicated by the interaction between time and intervention.

Model 2 was able to account for 58% of the variance in terrorism events. The Operation Black Thunder intervention had a significant positive effect, p< .01. The model predicts that, on average, for period after the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 260 attacks, holding time constant.

Multiple linear regression analysis was repeated using the 1984-1998 time frames to reduce additional years before the onset of the intervention, with four years before and ten years after Operation Black Thunder. A reduced time frame attempts to reduce additional years before the intervention to determine if levels of terrorism incidents were time sensitive. The multiple regression model, Model 3, account for 75% of the variance in terrorism events, N=15. As seen, Operation Black Thunder (intervention) had a

significant positive effect, p< .01. The model predicts that, on average, for the years after

the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 262 terrorist attacks.

In Model 4, Operation Black Thunder intervention also had a significant positive

effect, p< .001. The model predicts that, on average, for period after the intervention the

number of terrorism events increased by 302 attacks, holding time constant. The

coefficient of time, indicates that the terrorism trend decreased by a rate of 25 events

prior to the intervention. *See Table 6.4.*

Model 1 fits the data better and suggests that Operation Black Thunder was

associated with a sharp increase in the level of terrorism, followed by a downward trend.

Regression: Operation Rakshak I (1990-1991)

Multiple linear regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level

of terrorism and the change in tend after Operation Rakshak I. The results for two

different time periods are shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Rakshak (1990-1991)

	1988-2005				1984-2005		
	Model 1	Model 2			Model 3		Model 4
Time	-6.50	-6.09		Time	50.21	***	-0.97
Intervention	-112.45	-112.84		Intervention	-138.17	***	-25.57
Interact	0.41	---		Interact	-56.30	***	---
Intercept	358.00	357.18		Intercept	12.71		217.46
R-squared	0.60	0.60		R-squared	0.51		0.04
N	18	18		N	22		22

* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01

For the 1988-2005 time period, Model 1 with the interaction term accounted for 60% of the variance in terrorism events with just a level change and no interaction (slope change). The 1988- 2005 time frame was selected to capture events that occurred immediately before the intervention and after the intervention; the time frame includes four years before and fourteen years after the intervention. The model did not include a significant correlation. Model 2 also included a level change and no interaction (slope change), with 60% of the variance in terrorism events and no significant correlation coefficients.

Multiple linear regression analysis was completed for the 1991 Operation Rakshak I Intervention using the 1984-2005 time frames. Model 3 accounted for 51% of the variance in terrorism events with all of the coefficients significant ($p > .01$); time had a positive correlation with terrorism events and intervention and the interaction variable had a negative correlation. The Operation Rakshak I intervention indicates that terrorism decreased by 138 events in the years after the intervention. The time coefficient indicates that the terrorism trend increased at a rate of 50 events prior to the intervention. The trend became more negative after the intervention, as indicated by the interaction between time and intervention.

Model 4 with the interaction term accounted for 4% of the variance in terrorism events with just a level change and no interaction (slope change). The 1984- 2005 time frame included four years before and fourteen years after the intervention. The model did not include a significant correlation.

Model 3 best fits the data and suggests that Operation Rakshak was associated with a sharp decrease in terrorism, followed by a downward trend.

Summary.

The Golden Temple Raid was a governmental intervention that used excessive brute force and lacked transparency. It is a hypothesis of the current study that the intervention would be associated with increased terrorism events and an upward trend after the intervention. Regression models found the intervention to be associated with increased levels of terrorism only when time was held constant. The best fit model indicated an upward trend of terrorism after the onset of the intervention.

Operation Black Thunder was a military intervention that resulted in less civilian causality, included efforts such as boarder security and media transparency. Results of the best fitting regression model indicated an increase in terrorism events after the onset of the intervention but a downward trend in events over time.

Operation Rakshak was a multi-phased intervention that targeted various terrorist organizations and their leaders. Results of the best fitting regression model indicated a decrease in terrorism events after the onset of the intervention and a downward trend in events over time.

Relative Deprivation and Social Strain

Social Strain theory, largely rooted in Relative Deprivation theory, identified the social conditions that aid in the transition from collective actions to violent collective action. Social Strain factors included external factors, group's ideology/goal, type of movement, size of the movement/campaign, length of the movement and the "last straw"

event. External Factors include the historical, cultural and contextual factors previously outlined in the case analysis.

Table 6.6 Social Strain Factors in the Khalistan Movement

Social Strain Factors	
Movement Ideology/Goal	Creation of a Khalistan Homeland
Group's Ideology/Goal	Creation of a Khalistan Homeland, free state, for Sikhs
Type of Movement	Revolutionary
Type of Organizations	Separatist, Nationalist
External Support	Diaspora involvement from United States and Canada
Length of the movement	1950s-current[*]
Length of Organizations	1960- 1990s
Last Straw Event	1978 Massacre and 1984 Temple Raid

* The movement began losing momentum in the 1990s and terrorism associated with the movement decreasedgreatly during that time. However, there is still a campaign for a Khalistan Homeland in the Punjab region of India

Magnarella's Relative Deprivation Theory, stressed how one determines one's well-being/deprivation based on a comparison to others, is also addressed using the case study of the Khalistan Movement in India. Magnarella's Theory of Relative Deprivation identified four causal sequences that transition discontent to civil violence and, in the current research, terrorism; Sense of and actual infrastructural conditions that lead to discontent, Insufficiencies of the infrastructure to not be corrected, formation of ideologies revolving around discontent, and violent action manifests itself.

It is noted that the Sikh religion is open to any persons that accept its doctrines. Sikhs are considered a "quam", having a socio-political stance. However, most Sikhs are

Punjabis and this is also tied to a strong sense of regional identity. It should be noted that the term "Sikh" encompasses both the religious practices and ethnic elements of the culture, especially of those residing in the Punjab region (Ballard 1999).

Infrastructural conditions leading to discontent. The political and social conditions of Punjab were evaluated from 1960-1990s. Growing frustration about the political system in the Punjab region, perceived lack of economic opportunities to those of Hindi and a sense of injustice led to a growing ideology that Sikhs needed an independent. Failed institutional attempts at creating an independent state and a sense of deprivation created a structural space for Sikh extremist organizations.

> "We are not looking just for a piece of land. We are looking for a territory where Sikhs can protect their women and children. Where a Sikh can become the master of his own destiny- where our religious shrines are not allowed to be run over by army tanks. You can call it an independent Punjab, a sovereign state or Khalistan. What we are asking for is a homeland for the Sikh nation." Dhillon (1985)

> In famines our children die of starvation, And the British live off our income.- Ghadar di Goonj[5]

> On 15th March1959, peaceful protestors of the Shiromani Akali Dal, on their way to the Indian parliament to protest the violation of their rights were detained, harassed, maltreated and arrested. –Dal Khalsa (2007)

Insufficiencies of the infrastructure not being corrected. Problems in the Punjab region began with the 1966 communal trifurcation of Punjab. The new Punjab state became a Sikh majority with Hindus in the minority. Although Sikhs were in the majority, they

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[5] Cited in Giorgio Shani (2000), The Construction of Sikh National Identity

were unable to obtain a political popular vote throughout the 60s and 70s. A failed

attempt to legitimately secure a new, Khalistan, state was met by growing frustration.

When addressing the Anandpur resolution, Maluk Chuhan stated

> "It describes Sikhs as a religious minority and protection of religious
> rights is demanded for the sake of national unity. The fact is that Sikhs are
> not a religious minority of the Indian nation. Sikhs in India are one of the
> nations of India, India is a multinational country… The question that Sikhs
> constitute one of its nations is not negotiable... it is an internationally
> known principle that all nations have a right to self-determination, be they
> Palestinians, Basques, Jews, Kurds, Welsh or other." Tatla (n.d.)

> Whenever we asked for our rights, we had to face bullets, detention and
> hardships… It was the Sikhs who had to prove that they are not traitors of the
> country." - Kanwarpal Singh[6]

Formation of ideologies revolving around discontent. In several interviews with

incarcerated Sikh extremists, Mahmood identified the connection between the Khalistan

movement, community connections and religion. Several Sikhs noted different instances

that they participated in nonviolent protests but were met by brute police force.

> "..when the police reached the village of Chando Kalan they could not find
> Santji. They beat up one of my friends pretty badly. And they literally
> looted the whole village. They tortured the women. When they were ready
> to leave, they burnt our two buses. Those buses were a library for us
> students. Everything we had we kept in those buses, including prayer
> books and all…" –Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale[7]

> "You have to understand that arms did not come because of Khalistan.
> Arms came because of self-defense… What we have to do is defend
> ourselves as best we can, and in that defense we ask for Khalistan.
> Khalistan is our birthright, the right of the Sikh nation to live as Sikhs." –
> Iqbal Singh[8]

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[6] Cited in Dal Khalsa (2007) the Full Report of the Seminar on 60 years of Sikh
[7] Cited in Mahmood (1996) interview with incarcerated Sikh extremists
[8] Mahmood (1996) interview with incarcerated Sikh extremists

Violent action manifests itself. The 1978 Sikh Massacre is accredited as the catalyst, for the creation of several terrorist organizations. The political tension, or friction, grew as perpetrators in the massacre were not legally held accountable for the events. The 1984 Temple Raid, or last straw event, fueled recruitment into terrorist organizations. Extremist gained sympathy for the Khalistan sympathy due to the excessive use of force that the Indian government employed. A soldier, who did not identify himself as religious noted his own personal response to the Temple Raid

> " In 1984 I was employed by the Indian army… When I heard that the army had invaded the Golden Temple I felt very shocked and hurt, even though I was not a religious-minded person."[9]

> "A brother, I don't know if he came here to spy upon me, or whatever, only SatGuru (God) knows, as I'm not all-knowing. He said that the police has made a plan to kill my brother. It is a good thing, a thing to be happy for. Any day I receive the news that my brother has been killed from the bullets of the police, I will surely raise 5 jaikara's."–Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale[10]

Summary

Rapidly changing social conditions lent to the creation of social movements. Using the conditions of Social Strain Theory, the historical events of the social movement for a Khalistan state were linked to the recruitment into and formation of terrorist organizations in the Punjab region.

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[9] Individual interviewed by Mahmood (1996)

[10] Several extremist groups were named after Bhindranwale; he was neither for nor against Khalistan

As Mahmood (1996) differentiated, the current case study is not about "Sikhs" but the militants and those who violently pursued the goal of a "Khalistan" homeland, land of the pure. The Khalistan movement is both a resistance and a fundamentalist movement, largely influenced by religion, Sikhism (Mahmood 1996). From the Christian Crusades to the Islamic extremists on a jihad mission, religion is a cultural influence on violence.

The Khalistan movement experienced several periods of peace, ranging from fasts to peaceful forms of protests. Several encounters with brute police and failed institutional attempts to acquire a Sikh homeland created a space for extremism. Bhindranwale, a prominent leader in the extremist Khalistan movement, began to call for Sikhs to arm themselves in defense.

The Sikh community attempted to institutionally reconcile their differences with their opposition; in 1925 with the Sikh Gudwara Act with the British, the 1946 Resolution, the 1973 Anandpur Sahib Resolution, Punjab Accord with the Indian government in 1986 and the 1991 Peace Talks.

Findings of the analysis suggested that recruitment into terrorist organizations in the Punjab region during the designated time frame was positively affected by the social movement that occurred around the same time. Government policy and backlash aided in recruitment to terrorist organizations. The sentiments and grievances of the social movement were echoed by the terrorist organizations that claimed to represent the wants of the larger population. The failed attempts at legitimately addressing grievances through institutional mechanisms sparked extremist ideologies based on violence; leading to recruitment into terrorist organizations, armed resistance and increased terrorism

incidents. Transparency in the 1988 Temple Raid largely impacted the legitimacy of Sikh extremism. Scaling down in police force to match the size and machinery of extremists was also utilized after 1988.

Chapter 7: CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT (United States)

"In order for nonviolence to work, your opponent must have a conscience, the United States has none... What Martin Luther King's contribution to us was not nonviolence which most people talk about, because that couldn't be…He told us how to face the enemy without fear and this is crucial in every struggle, because the job of the enemy is to just make the people afraid of their shadows, the shadows of the enemy. And the terrorist groups in America , the racist groups really had our people terrified, there is no question about that. If one is incapable of solving that political struggle through constitutional means the logical extension is the gun, that is a law of history." Stokely Carmicheal (1968) excerpt from *God is Angry*

The Emergence of a Movement.

The history of Africans in the Americas began in Central and South America and the Caribbean. By the 1600s more than 275,000 free and enslaved Africans arrived with Spanish and Portuguese explorers (Drewry, 1971). The recorded history of *blacks* in North America began with benign letters written by colonial settlers, Captain John Smith and John Rolfe. In 1619, in two separate letters, the settlers noted the arrival of "20 odd Negars" via a hungry and fatigued Dutch tradesman on a ship that traded the slaves for food (Sluiter 1997). This marked the general beginning of Africans, and the broad term *blacks*, in the United States. This is a history that began with trade of persons, as property, for services and goods.

Laws that regulated slaves of African descent did not appear until 1661; the law marked slaves of African descent as having special treatment (Fields, 1991). Slaves of African descent were no longer allowed the rights of indentured servants, as indentured servants became obsolete and working off their debts. A rebellion in 1676, comprised of slaves, indentured servants and poor whites, unequivocally failed at challenging the

system. Wealthy land owners decided to raise the status of poor whites, landless whites and indentured servants, in fear of more threats of rebellions, begin a system of *racial* slavery (Fields 1991; Morgan 1975). The newly instituted form of racial slavery by wealthy elites accomplished 3 goals; placed blacks in a lower echelon in society, as property; provided the opportunity to own individuals for life; and quell the threats of poor whites. During its prime, slavery served the economic purpose of having a lifetime worker without having to compensate them for their labor (Fields 1991). Slavery continued, and was perpetuated, by both Northern and Southern States until the eve of the American Civil War.

Although abolitionist surfaced in Northern states, both sides enjoyed the thriving business produced by the enslavement of people of African descent. James Madison, a founding father, proclaimed "Government is instituted no less for protection of the property, than of the persons of individuals (Broadwater 2012)". On the eve of the American Civil War in 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that Dred Scott, a 'runaway' slave that was living in the "free" North was property of his owner. Based on the U.S. Constitution, the courts and Chief Justice Taney was able justify that black people were "beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations, and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Chief Justice Taney logic was that blacks did have rights in 1798 when the Constitution was written, none in 1857 and were very unlikely to have any rights in the near future (Shepard 2007).

It has been long noted by scholars, and lawyers alike, that the history of African Americans/Negros/Blacks in America has been imprinted in the Constitution of the

United States of America. Ranging on topics from slavery to voting rights, the Constitution serves as reminder of race relations in America and the trajectory towards the Black Liberation Movement. Thurgood Marshall (1987) noted that the first three words of the Preamble, 'We the People', spoke to race relations at the time. "We the People", he noted, indicated the "whole of free persons". Slaves were not considered "free people" and were eliminated from the rights the "Founding Fathers" outlined in the document.

The Klu Klux Klan became an example of the early forms of terrorism in the United States; the primary focus of the organization was sparking fear into a targeted population and forcing a halt to the Reconstruction era in the South (Trelease 1979).

The Constitution was amended at the end of the Civil War in 1863 to abolish physical slavery (Fields, 1991). In 1866, the 14th Amendment allowed 'all citizens' the right to vote; although, unfair polling practices flared upon the creation of the amendment. In 1873, white supremacist killed over a hundred African Americans in Louisiana. When taken to the Supreme Court in the United States v. Crukshank case, the court stated that it could not prosecute the offenders as it would usurp 'States' Rights' (Revolution 2006). In 1896, the Supreme Court ruled that "separate but equal" was permissible under the laws of the Constitution (Brown & Harlan, 1896).

> "Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences… If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane…" -Brown and Harlan (1896)

Sharecropping and lynching continued to be supported by the courts and backed by the Constitution for the next several decades.

Phelps and Lehman (2005) pointed out that it wasn't until after World War II that the international community began to create international treaties that would establish human rights standards. The international community recognized a need for universal standards for human rights. In 1942 African Americans created the Double V campaign. They noted the importance of tackling racial equality in the US before victory could be obtained in the global war against fascism. Ralph Burche, and African American scholar, was integral in the creation of the UN Charter (Spero 2008).

In 1947 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) submitted "An Appeal to the World" to the UN protesting the treatment of blacks in the United States. The UN Commission rejected the petition although it had begun its quest for the creation of Universal Human Rights Laws (Spero 2008). The Universal Declarations of Human Rights was created in 1948 and the General assembly adopted the law in New York.

The global debate over Universal Human Rights began to impact other countries post World War II, many countries started to redirect the United States philanthropic interests back to its own civil rights issues at home. The U.S. avoided the criticism abroad and it joined the forefront in asking for prosecution of those committing genocide during the Holocaust, specifically against Germany. By December 9th 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Genocide included the "disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups…" (Lemkin 1945).

In 1951 William Patterson delivered a petition, "We Charge Genocide", to the UN Committee on Human Rights in Geneva. The petition documented 153 racial killings and human rights abuses that were committed by the United States against African Americans between 1945 and 1951 (Spero 2008). The international community noted the increased organization of African Americans while African American intellectual scholars began to organize and hoped to gather public and political audiences within the United States and throughout the international community.

In 1954, the Brown v, Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, the Supreme Court conceded that "separate was not equal". Briefs were given to the Supreme Court, prior to the decision, that the US image abroad was increasingly negative due to its own race relations issues (Spero 2008). The following year, Rosa Park refused to give up her seat on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, only months after she studies the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights at Highlander Folk School. The bus boycotts ensued shortly after her arrest and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. emerged as a lead figure in the Civil Rights Movement (1954-1964).

The Rise and Fall of Violence.

The struggle over the morality of treating one 'race' inferior to another began during slavery and continued into the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. Fields (1991) argued that the ideology of superiority that propelled slavery in the United States continued, and continues, to plague modern U.S. thinking.

During the latter part of the 1950s the Civil Rights Movement employed several strategic, organized nonviolent tactics. Tactics included boycotts, strikes, sit-ins, attempts to integrate public places, etc. During 1960, the "Year of Africa", several African nations

gained independence from colonial powers. James Baldwin quoted an African American that stated, "At the rate things are going here… all of Africa will be free before we can get a lousy cup of coffee" (Spero 2008). The Year of Africa also marked the transition from the nonviolent Civil Rights era to the Black Liberation /Black Power movement.

It became painfully clear to activists that the Civil Rights Movement was a long term objective. It was also painfully clear that non-violent techniques utilized during the movement was not equally used by the United States government. Many student organizations and churches were at the helm of the movement. Those that participated in the movement were told to expect to be jailed, beaten, spit upon, etc. In April 1963, a group of Christian nonviolent students protested with posters, the Alabama police responded with brute force; physically abused students, released dogs on the crowd, and used high powered water hose to dismantle the rally. Journalists present captured the images that later became iconic images of the Civil Rights Movement worldwide and the brute tactics employed by local authorities.

In September 1963, four girls were killed in an Alabaman church by a bomb as retaliation for the student nonviolent protest that had occurred there (Spero 2008). The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), increased its militant ideology and picketed the UN in response the deaths. Stokely Carmichael, a future leader in the Black Panther Party, organized rallies in the South as a member of the SNCC.

Scholars cautioned against making the Civil Rights Movement's ideology binary; that Martin Luther King, Jr. was the integrationist racial liberal and that Malcolm X was the Black Nationalist (Burrell, 2012). Such a binary view gave the impression that the Civil Rights Movement suddenly "shifted northward and became more urban, angry and

less deserving of public support after 1965". The Civil Rights Movement was more than the moralistic Southern leaders pushing for rights. It was the leaders in the South, coupled with protests and supplemented with intellectual proposals from scholars in the North. The swiftness in which Black Power became an acceptable ideology in more urban settings, and overall at the latter part of the Civil Rights movement, was attributed to the continued poverty, the incongruences felt from the liberalist approach, and the discrimination that blacks in America continued to feel (Burrell 2012).

Four ideologies about the future of the movement were present during the Civil Rights Movement; socialist, liberal, nationalist and conservative (Burrell, 2012). Kenneth Clark, the liberal, emphasized the effects of segregation on the psyches of black and white children; implying that integration hurt the overall American society. Malcolm X, the nationalist, advocated territorial cession from the United States and self-defense. X was initially of the perspective that whites were inherently evil and would continue to oppress African Americans; before his assassination, he believed that different races could live harmoniously. Bayard Rustin, the socialist, stressed the importance of workers organization, both black and white, in preparation for the changed American economic landscape. He advocated a partnership between workers and the movement. George Schuyler, the conservative, urged for dealing with America in its present state, as it was. He rejected the notion of thinking of America as how it *should be* (Burrell 2012). *See*

Table 7.1

Table 7.1 Prominent Ideologies of the latter part of the Civil Rights Movement

Intellectual Leader	Ideology	Basic Premise
Clark	Liberal	Integration was best for American society
Malcolm	Nationalist/Separatist	Black empowerment, possible separation from U.S.
Rustin	Socialist	Economic empowerment for workers
Schuyler	Conservative	Black reform, deal with reality of U.S. conditions

By 1964, Clark noted that non-violence would not remain sustainable. By 1965, most leaders of the movement were of the realization that the nonviolent tactics depleted in utility. The Civil Rights Act of 1965 did not end the poor living conditions and discrimination that were present in society continued to fuel a weary population and created additional tension amongst minorities (Burrell 2012). Discrimination continued to occur in employment, housing and educational opportunities.

The Civil Rights Laws included the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 195 Voting Rights Act, the 1972 Equal Opportunity Act, and the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act; none of which addressed the economic inequalities in American society (Walker, Sphon and Delone 2000). Backlash against the Civil rights Movement did not suddenly appear in the 1970s. Instead, economics and the lack of a push for economic quality during the Civil Rights Movement is purported to be at the root of the late 1069s/early 1970s rebellions (Hall 2005). The Black Panther Party was among the first of organized groups during that era to ask that economic and political power be distributed equally among the masses. Forming as a result of brute tactics used by local police in minority communities,

the Black Panther Party urged African Americans to "defend" themselves with guns and economic liberation from mainstream society.

Before his assassination in 1965, Malcolm X went from a silent observer of the early 1960s Civil Rights Movement to a boisterous voice in the movement. Malcolm, a follower of the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, suggested that white people were inherently evil and would continue to try to sabotage blacks in America and abroad (Burrell 2012). The Nation of Islam (NOI), which Malcolm was a member before making a break with them in 1964, suggested the overall separation of blacks from *white* America (economically, politically and territorially). This separatist ideology ensured that African Americans did not suffer the same doom that was thought to be inevitable for *white* America.

On May 24th 1958, the New York Police Department (NYPD) raided Malcolm's apartment in Queens. The raid was based on a warrant for postal fraud of a suspect that did not live at the residence. Malcolm was not home but his wife, Betty Shabazz, and kids. The police searched Malcolm's office, fired shots in the air to intimate the occupants and arrested Betty Shabazz.

In March of 1959 the trial between Betty Shabazz and the NYD went to trial; due to Malcolm's persistence to expose the actions of local authorities. The defendants involved in the incident filed a $24 million law suit that was quickly settled out of court (DiEugeno and Pease 2003).

The NYPD began to work with the FBI to exchange intelligence about Malcolm and he grew in rank in the Nation of Islam (NOI). In 1962 COINTELPRO sent erroneous letters to members of NOI, the FBI falsely pretended to be Elijah Muhammad with the

hope of creating further rifts within the organization (DiEugeno and Pease 2003). In 1964 FBI agents visited Malcolm's home with the aim to bribe him and/or persuade him to denounce allegiance with Elijah Muhammad.

More than one attempt was made to end Malcolm X's life. Malcolm's assistant confessed to him that a member of the Nation of Islam told him to wire Malcolm's car to explode on ignition (DiEugeno and Pease 2003).

Malcolm announced his separation from NOI in March of 1964. Post his separation from the NOI and detachment from Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm became more vocal. He unveiled the "Ballot or the Bullet" campaign, aware that he would experience further scrutiny from the U.S. government and NOI. Malcolm also decided to propel the Civil Rights Movement to the international scene by calling for a Human Rights Movement; Malcolm supported involvement in the Black Liberation Movement and suggested that the quest for racial equality include political and economic rights. He wanted to garner support of African countries and force the United Nations to become active in the long standing Civil Rights effort (DiEugeno and Pease 2003).

The Organization of Afro- American Unity (OAAU), founded by Malcolm, pushed for African American economic independence and political involvement, launched voter registrations and pushed for black entrepreneurships in the inner city (Ballard 2012). He noted that the ballot was the "most significant" weapon that could be used.

Malcolm's decision to assist the movement put him in the path of Dr. Martin Luther King. The two meet in March of 1964 while listening to the Senate discuss the new possible legislature concerning civil rights. The FBI worked with its NOI informants

in an effort to "neutralize" Malcolm (DiEugeno and Pease 2003). The FBI submitted harsh letters to Elijah Muhammad, with the aid of its informants, feigning an origin from Malcolm. After his hajj to Mecca, Malcolm began to rethink his separatist stance but was assassinated in February of 1965. The NYPD, the FBI and the Nation of Islam were major components of the assassination of Malcolm X Little (DiEugeno and Pease 2003). The NYPD and the FBI's COINTELPRO remained on the periphery of the assassination, while the NOI was at the center of Malcolm's death.

Martin Luther King attended a rally in New York City in April of 1965, weeks after Malcolm X's assassination, against the Vietnam War. He led a demonstration against the United Nations two weeks later. On April 4th 1968 Dr. Martin Luther King was shot and killed while standing on the balcony of a Memphis Tennessee by a "well dressed white man" (Martin Luther King Shot 1968). James Earl Ray pleaded guilty to shooting Dr. King. Two weeks later Ray asked to recant his statement and to have a trial. However, Ray did have a trial; a settlement was made between the state and the defense. The court upheld its decision to deny Ray to a trial eight times. Coretta Scott King advocated for Ray to have a trial, in an attempt to have a trial to establish those involved in the murder of Dr. King (Death of Judge 1969; DiEugeno and Pease 2003).

Donald Wilson, a principle witness in the Dr. King's assassination trial, removed and preserved artifacts from the scene that were later used as evidence in 1999 of foul play in King's murder. Judge W. Preston Battle, the initial judge on the case, stated on record during the trial that James Earl Ray could not have acted alone based on the evidence presented in the case (DiEugeno and Pease 2003). The bullets removed from

Dr. King were sent to the FBI intact. Evidence submitted for sentencing of Ray included bullets from the rifle in question but the bullets did not match those found in Dr. King.

After the sentencing of James Earl Ray, Judge Battle noted that he, like many citizens at the time, was perplexed by the assassination, additional involvement beyond James Earl Ray and the gun used (Judge Battle Dies 1969). Suspicion of an outside intervention by the FBI in the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., as a conspiracy, arose quickly in many parts of the African American community. Evidence, and the lack of evidence, suggested that it was likely that James Earl Ray did not act alone in the case.

However, Battle allowed the agreement between the state and the defense for a 99 year sentence for Ray. James Earl Ray contested the trial, asking for a new and "fair" trial for his role in the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. until his death in 1998. Battle acknowledged the accusations of a conspiracy surrounding King's assassination but noted that Ray confessed to the act with a "sound mind" (Judge Battle Dies 1969; Death of Judge Entitles Trial 1997).

Wilson was the first FBI agent to Ray's car. He found three pieces of paper tucked into an envelope. Two pieces of paper had the name Raul" on them while the third contained the number of the FBI's Atlanta field office (DiEugeno and Pease 2003). Concerned about Ray's possible link to the FBI, Wilson decided to withhold the papers and the information from his report. During his time in prison, Ray repeatedly mentioned being set up by an informant named Raul and that he was coerced into pleading guilty by his lawyer (DiEugeno and Pease 2003). The FBI denied any involvement in Dr. King's death but was forced to acknowledge that the COINTELPRO program had targeted Dr. King during its investigations of black extremists. With orders directly from J. Edgar

Hoover, FBI agents wrote officially documented letters to King advising him to kill himself. Dr. King's 1968 assassination marked the "last straw" event for the liberal movement for equality; the voice of the non-violent, Gandhi inspired resistance was murdered without another charismatic nonviolent leader to take his place.

During the wake of the transition from the Civil Rights Movement (1954-1964) to the Black Power Movement (1964-1972), the Black Panther Party for Self Defense formed in Oakland, comprised mainly of college students/graduates. In 1967 the SNCC and the Black Panther Party (BPP) formed an alliance, due to their kindred ideology, and began the international struggle for oppressed Africans and African Americans (Spero 2008). In that same year, the BPP removed "for self-defense" from their name and began the socialist aspect of their ideology (implementation of social programs geared at free education, health care, criminal services, etc.). The extremist ideology that pushed for "revolutionary violence" was rooted in community activism (Kirby 2011).

> The Black Panther Party took a practical approach and set up breakfast centers all over the country and politicized the children, … educated them, let them know why, we are forced to live under this condition, what was causing it? We didn't create it. - Akua Njeri[11]

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), founded in 1960 by college students, became involved in the black power ideology and formed an alliance with the BPP in 1967. The SNCC officially changed its name in 1969 to Student National Coordinating Committee and its past leader, Stokely Carmichael, became an important figure in the BPP.

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[11] God is Angry

While the BPP urged blacks to buy good from people in their own community, police brutality within the community continued; validated the organization's claim for physical self-defense (Newton 1973). Recruitment into, and support of, the BPP increased as it positioned itself as a community organization. The death of Malcolm X, a proponent of self-defense, and Dr. King propelled many African Americans into the Black Liberation Movement; this offered the BPP an additional venue to express their frustrations. While one faction of the BPP provided afterschool programs, free health clinics, fed the poor in the urban community and providing legal services to those entrapped in the legal system, the other faction of the BPP supported the use of violence against police and acts of terrorism. Police, under false pretenses by members of the BPP, were called to a location and bombarded by firepower (Courtney1969).

The Weather Underground/ Weathermen, also rooted in a socialist ideology, formed in Chicago in 1969 by college students. The organization supported the Black Liberation ideology after it sympathized with the Black Panther Party, although the group formed in response as an sentiment against the Vietnam War (Wakin 2003). The Weather Underground embraced the slogan "White Power" to end social injustices. Eldridge Cleaver, in his 1965 memoirs from prison, noted the role of white youth in the Civil Rights and Black Power movements. The harsh tactics of police were largely ignored until newspapers "started carrying pictures and stories of white protestors being beaten", causing sympathy for the movement (Cleaver, 1968).

The Black Panther Party experienced increasing problems by the early 1970s; members involved in organized crime, the loss of key members, over expansion of the

organization's territory, clashed beliefs within the group and lost community support. Released from prison in 1970, Newton attempted to regain popular community support but was unsuccessful (Carson and Carson 1990).With the assistance of the FBI and the United States government (including the police), by the mid-1970s many of the leaders of the BPP were in exile, dead or in prison. Disintegration within the BPP created space for the formation of the Black Liberation Army (BLA) in 1971 as a splinter organization. The BLA held many of the same ideologies of the Black Panther Party. The both the BPP and BLA remained active until the early to mid-1980s, although acts of terrorism committed by the organizations decreased by the mid-1970s. Huey Newton was shot and killed in 1989 in a drug related incident by a member of the Black Guerilla Family, a gang in Oakland that he was once affiliated with and had ties to the BPP (Carson and Carson 1990).

Temporal Pattern.

The following section includes trend plotting of social movements at the national level, terrorism activity at the national level terrorism, activity per terrorist organization, the number of terrorist organizations during the movement and the temporal relationship between terrorism activity and social movements at the national level. The Dynamics of Collective action in the U.S. 1960-1995 database is used for data pertaining to collective campaigns in the United States. The Global Terrorism Database is used for data pertaining to terrorism incidents.

Collective Action in the United States.

While the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcome (NVCO) data examined various campaigns throughout the world, the Dynamics of Collective Action in

the United States (1960-1995) specifically observed any form of collective action in the

United States. According to the Dynamics of Collective Action in the United States

(DCA) there were 22952 forms of collective action in the United States between 1960

and 1995. Figure 7.1 shows the distribution of collective action events in the United

States. It is observed that the number of collective action events in the United States

increased in the 1960s to a peak point in 1965 (N= 1051) and 1969 (N= 1006) and

decreased until the mid-1970s. It is noted that in the COINTELPRO Operation against

"black extremist" began in 1967, Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965 and Dr. Martin

Luther King Jr. was assassinated in 1968. There was a rise in events again in 1979 (N=

897). Nationally, an oil spill polluted the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico, this prompted

environmental protest. Internationally, Saddam Hussein was elected President of Iraq and

the Iranian Revolution began.

Figure 7.1 Beginning Year of Collective Action in the United States: 1960-1995
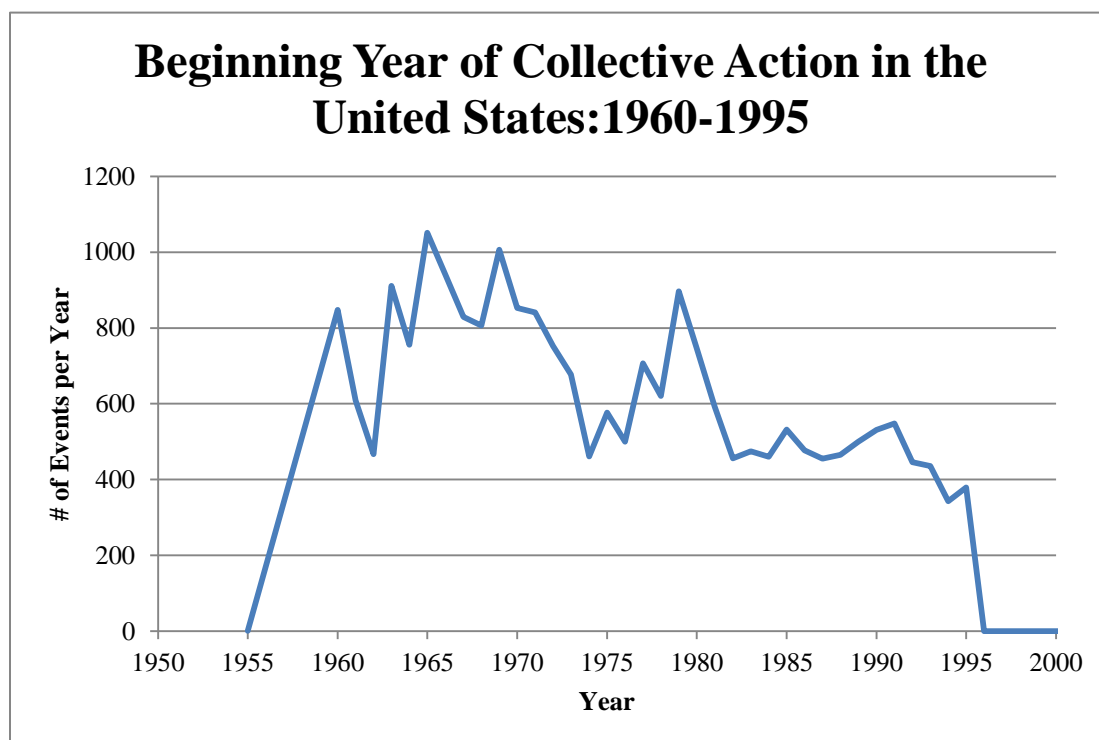
As seen, collective action in the United States decreased at the close of the 1970s. Events in the Dynamics of Collective Action in the United States database included protests and various other forms of collective action. Events ranged from protests orchestrated by the Black Panther Party to Columbia University students who protested in solidarity with members of the BPP on trial.

Terrorism Incidents in the United States.

The Global Terrorism Database provided insight into the terrorism activity that occurred within the United States, during the given time period; incidents of terrorism are unknown before 1970. During a period that ranged from 1970 to 2010, there were a total

of 2362 terrorism incidents in the United States with a greater frequency of terrorism occurring during the 1970s (see Figure 7.2). Terrorism in the U.S. declined from the 1970s to the 1990 until a spike in activity began after 1995. The GTD indicated a large decrease in terrorism activity after 1972, the end of the Black Liberation Movement. Terrorism activity decreased overall until the end of the 1970-2010 time frames. The largest number of incidents occurred in 1971 (N= 458). Although there was a trend toward decline in the 1970s, terrorism incidents jolted in the decline around 1975 and again in 1982. See *Figure 7.2*

Figure 7.2 Terrorism Incidents in the United States
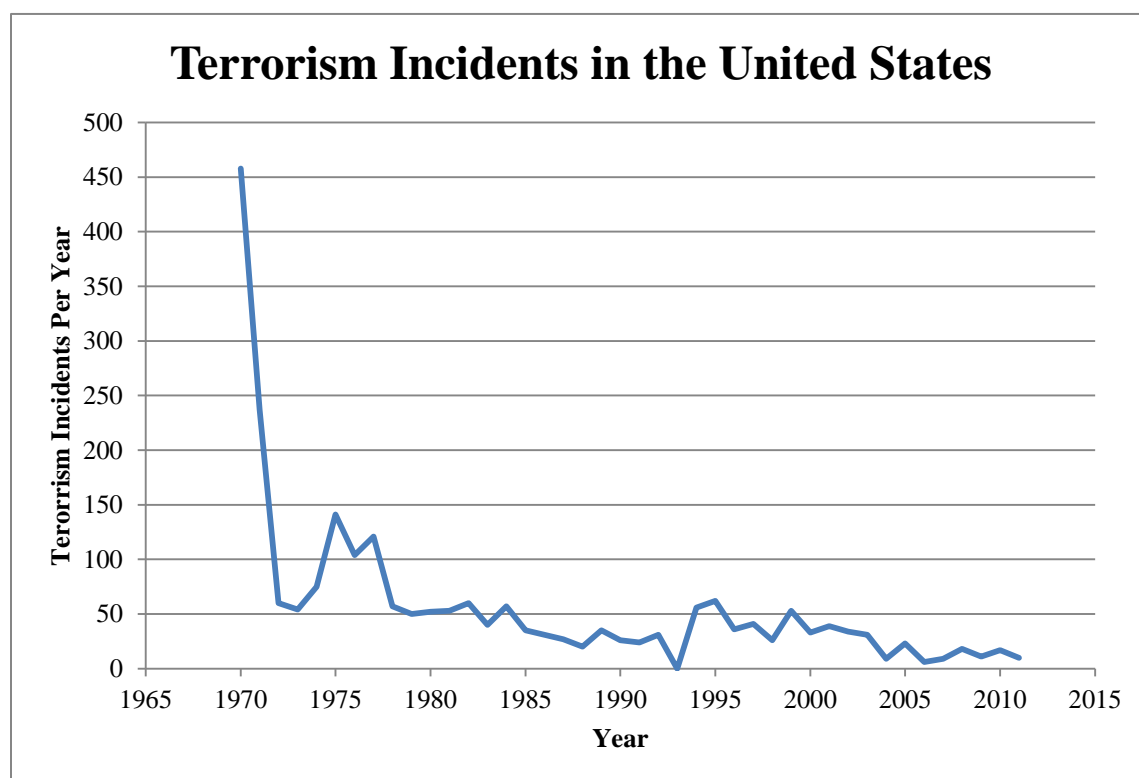
The CIA and local police authorities used brute tactics to arrest and/or expel members of the Black Panther Party in 1969. BPP members Fred Hampton and Mark

Clark are killed during a police raid in Chicago. Several BPP members were injured

and/or killed during the raids, the government response prompted harsher response tactics

by the BPP. The Weather Underground formed in 1969 as well, in response to the U.S.

involvement in Vietnam and its domestic policies towards African Americans.

Terrorist Organizations in the United States.

Currently, the recognized organizations associated with the civil rights movement

in the United States are considered inactive groups (N= 4), this included the lump

category of Black Nationalist found in the GTD. Although there were groups that claim

to be associated with the Black Panther Party (i.e.- The New Black Panther Party), they

are not included in this analysis nor are they recognized by the academic community as a

true "splinter" group.

Table 7.2 Terrorist organizations in the United States

Organization	Operation Dates	Origin Location	Classification	Status
Black Panther Party (BPP)	1966- 1982	Oakland, CA USA	Other	Inactive
Weather Underground	1969- 1973?	Chicago, IL USA	Communist/Socialist	Inactive
Black Liberation Army (BLA)	1971- mid 1980s	Oakland, CA USA	Nationalist/Separatist	Inactive
*Black Nationalist				

*A lump category comprised by the GTD

Terrorist organizations during the Civil Rights Movement (United States).

There were a total of 4 organizations examined for the United States. Although

the organizations listed below were active prior to the data collected in the Global

Terrorism Database, it is illustrated that activity of the groups decreased in the earlier part

of the 1970s. The trajectories of the organizations appeared to have been more active in

the 1960s and decreased over time. The Black Nationalist experienced a solitary peak of

activity in 1979 (N=6).

Figure 7. 3 Number of Terrorist Organizations per Social Movement: United States
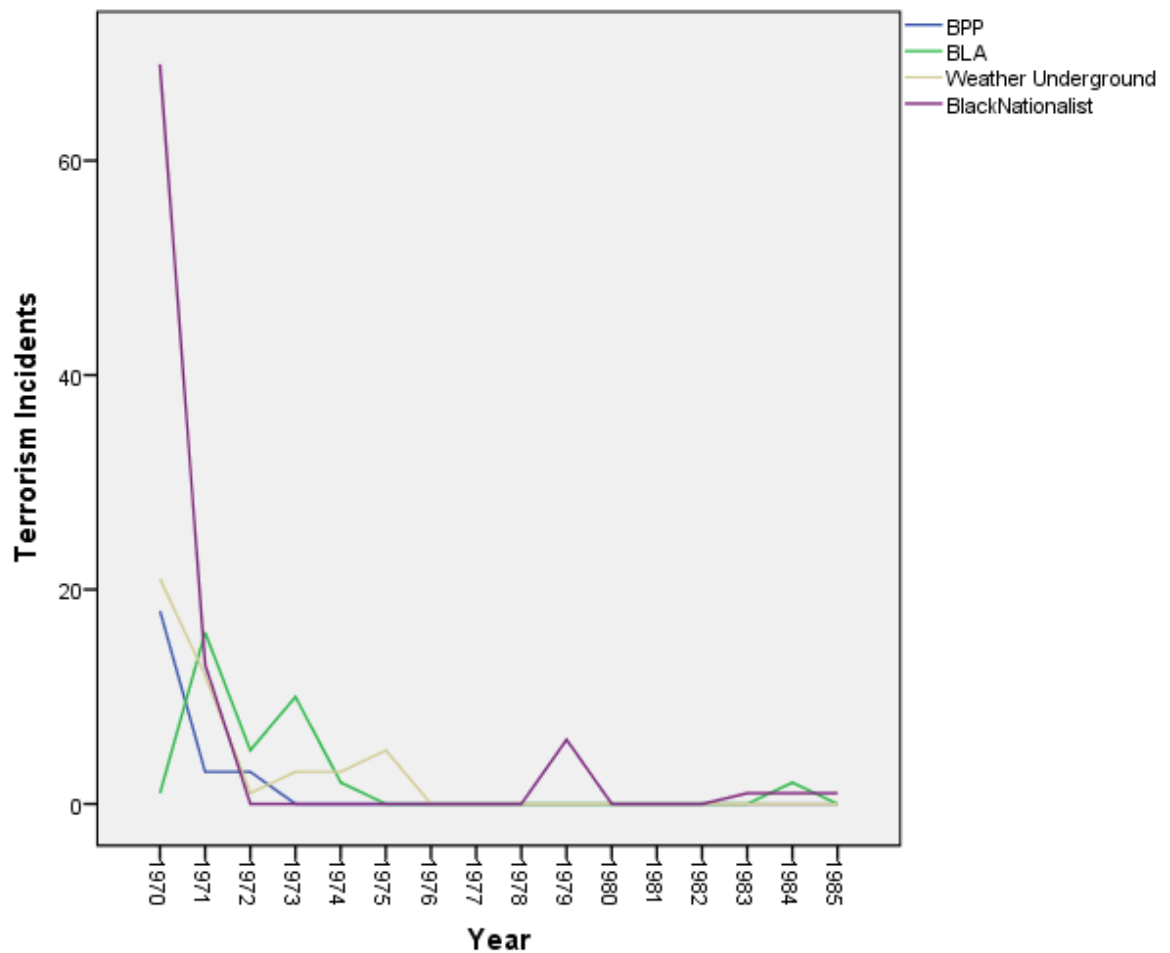
Classified as "other" category, the Black Panther Party activity began in the late

1960s. An active organization before 1970, the Black Panther Party was responsible for

terrorist incidents in 1970 (N=18). By 1973 to current date, there are no incidents claimed

by the Black Panther Party (See Figure 7.4). The Black Panther Party was responsible for

24 terrorism incidents throughout its existence. This does not include the New Black Panther Party that is not recognized by the Black Panther Party.

Figure 7.4 Black Panther Party (BPP) Incidents of Terrorism
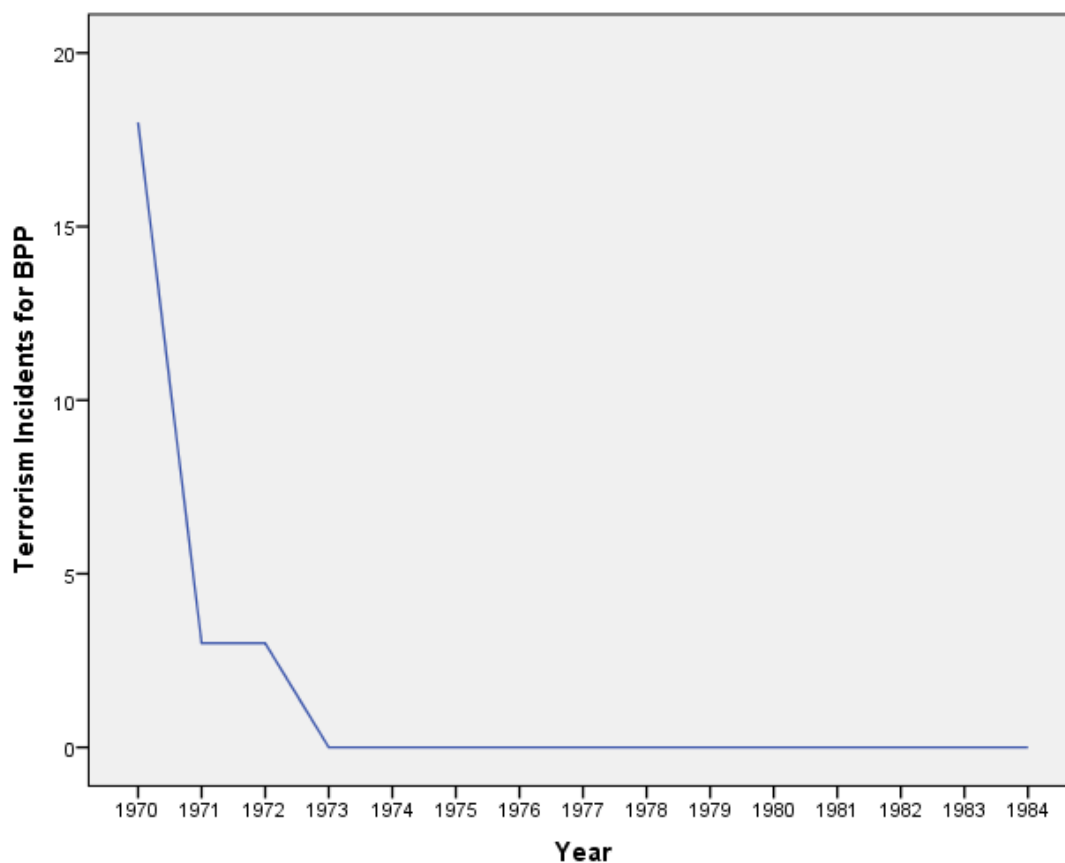
The Black Liberation Army (BLA) became active in the 1970s. In 1970 the group was inactive (N= 0) but were responsible for incidents of terrorism in 1971 (N=16), 1972 (N= 5) and 1973 (N= 10). The group was inactive by 1975 and was responsible for 36 terrorism incidents. The group was brief activity in the 1980s. The BLA was a splinter organization that formed as the federal government and local law enforcement began a crackdown on members of the BPP. As the activity of the BPP decreased in 1971 the BLA increased in activity during the same year.

Figure 7.5 Black Liberation Army (BLA) Incidents of Terrorism
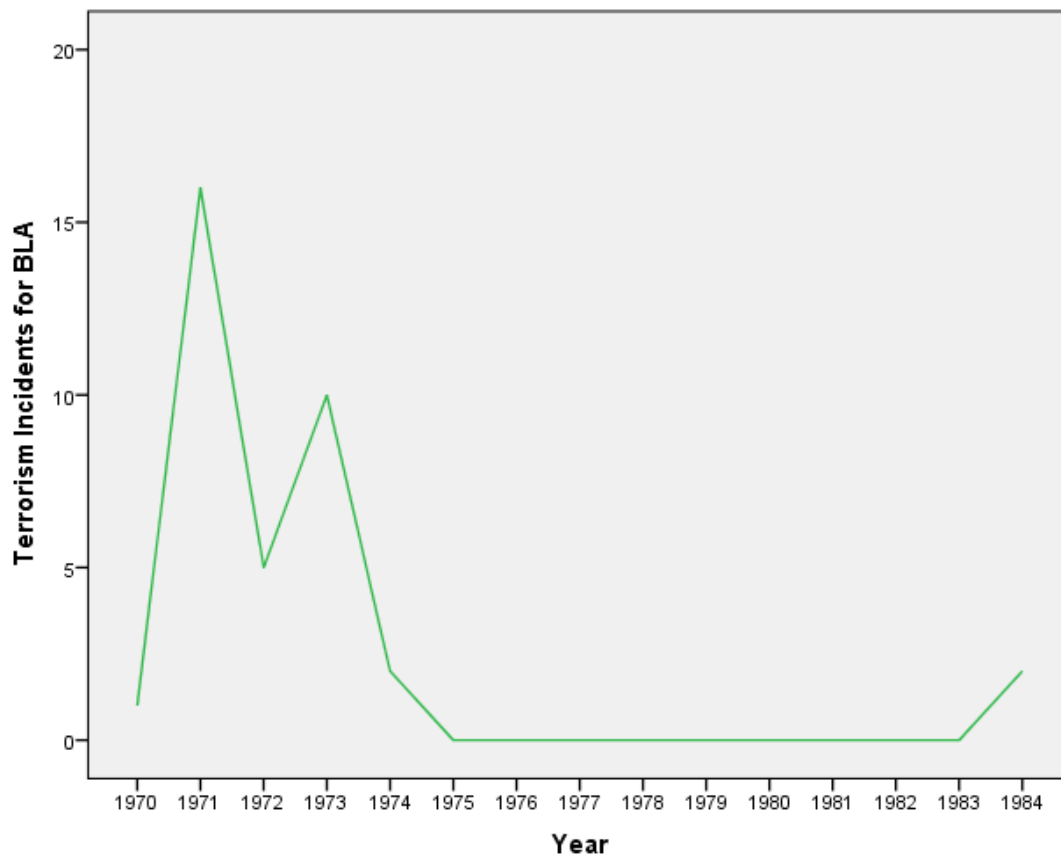
The Weather Underground started as a nonviolent protest group, founded prior to the beginning of the GTD database. By the late 1960s the group decided that nonviolent tactics were ultimately unsuccessful. The death of BPP Fred Hampton and Mark Clark sparked the group into violent action after the Weather Underground believed that the government was engaging in sanctioned killing (Green and Siegel 2003). Comprised of "outlaws"; the group included women, gays, disabled individuals, youths, men fleeing the Vietnam draft and many others disenchanted with the government at the time.

In 1970, the Weather Underground committed several acts of terrorism (N=21). Activity for the group decreased by 1972 (N=1) and by 1972 the group no longer actively claimed incidents of terrorism. The Weather Underground were responsible for terrorism

incidents from the 1960 to 1984 (N= 45). The group aided the BPP due to the common

stance of ending "American imperialism" abroad. The Weather Underground was a large

opponent of the Vietnam War. Activity for the group ended in 1976, after the end of the

Vietnam was in 1975.

Figure 7.6 Weather Underground Incidents of Terrorism
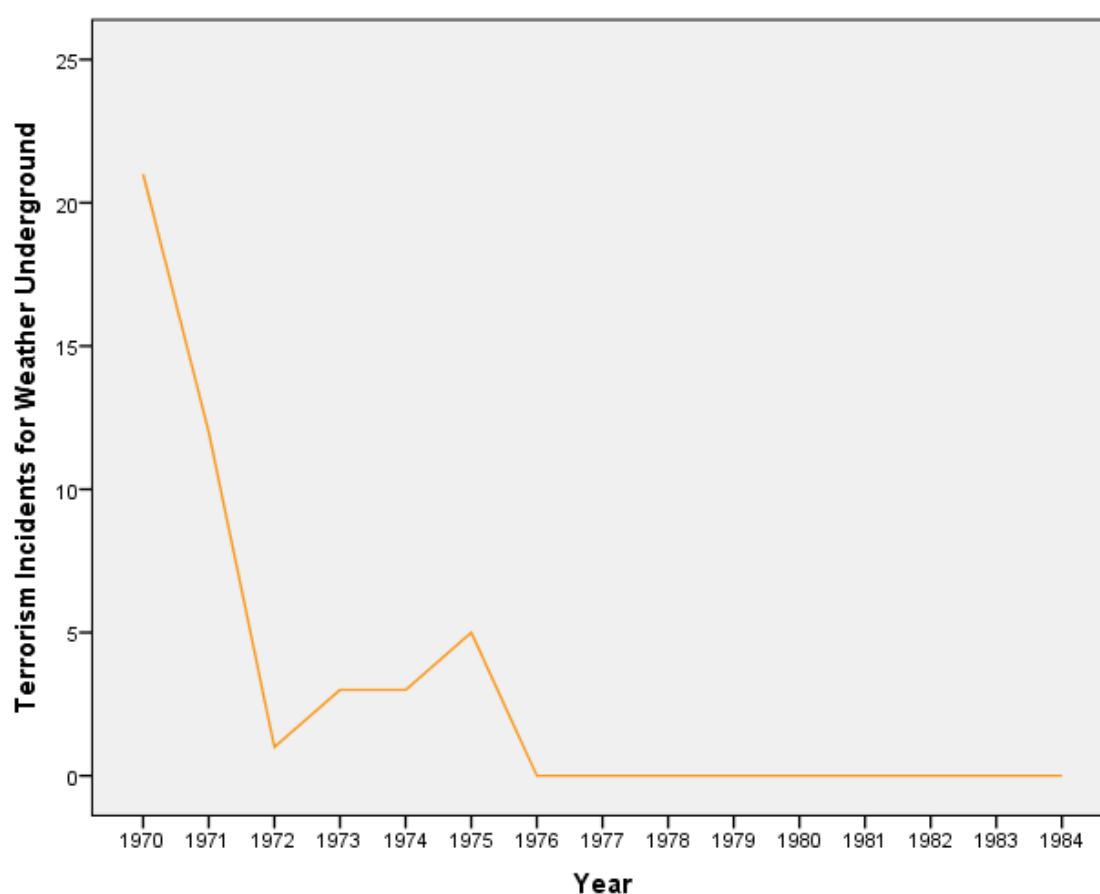
A lump category created by the GTD, Black Nationalist referred to individuals

committing acts of terrorism that were not considered a member of another specific

organization or the membership was unknown. Black Nationalist were responsible for the

largest number of terrorism incidents for U.S. organizations examined (N=91) with

attacks ranging from the 1960s to 1985. The largest amount of activity for the organization was in the early 1970s, most notably 1970 (N= 69) and decreased by the mid-1970s. There was a peak of activity for the organization in 1979 (N=6).

Figure 7.7 Black Nationalist
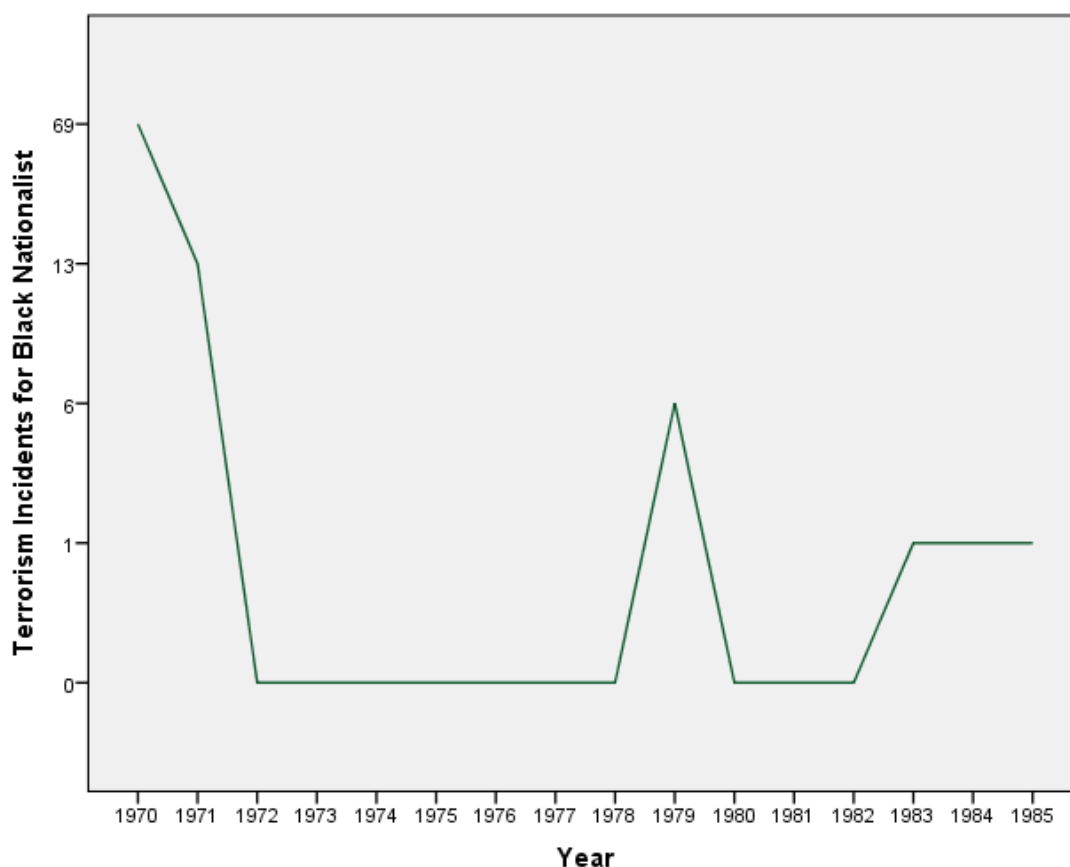
Analysis found that in the United States, there were a total of four organization associated with the Civil Rights and subsequent Black Liberation movements. A group identified as "Black Nationalist" by the GTD, accounted for those who were not linked to an organization or their affiliation with an organization was unknown. The Civil Rights movement began in 1954 and the Black Liberation movement began in 1964, at the

closing of the Civil Rights movement. The BPP, Weather Underground and the Black

Liberation Army all began after the *start* of both the Civil Rights and Black Liberation

movements.

Relationship between Collective Action and Terrorism Incidents.

Using both the Global Terrorism Database and the Dynamics of Collective action

in the U.S. 1960-1995, the temporal relationship between collective action and terrorism

in the United States is illustrated. As seen, collective action increased and terrorism

incidents increased during the early 1970s. In the late 1970s collective action decreased at

a slower rate than terrorism incidents; it is noted that government began an extensive

crackdown against many known terrorist organizations. Many of the Weather

Underground, BPP and BLA members were incarcerated or in exile. Although data for

collective action in the U.S. ended in 1995, there appeared to be a decline in collective

action in the 1990s but overall terrorism remained steady. It is possible that the

emergence of the pro-life and environmental extremist influenced this activity.

Figure 7.8 Relationships between Social Movements and Terrorism Acts in the United

States

Relationship between Collective Campaigns and Terrorism (U.S.)
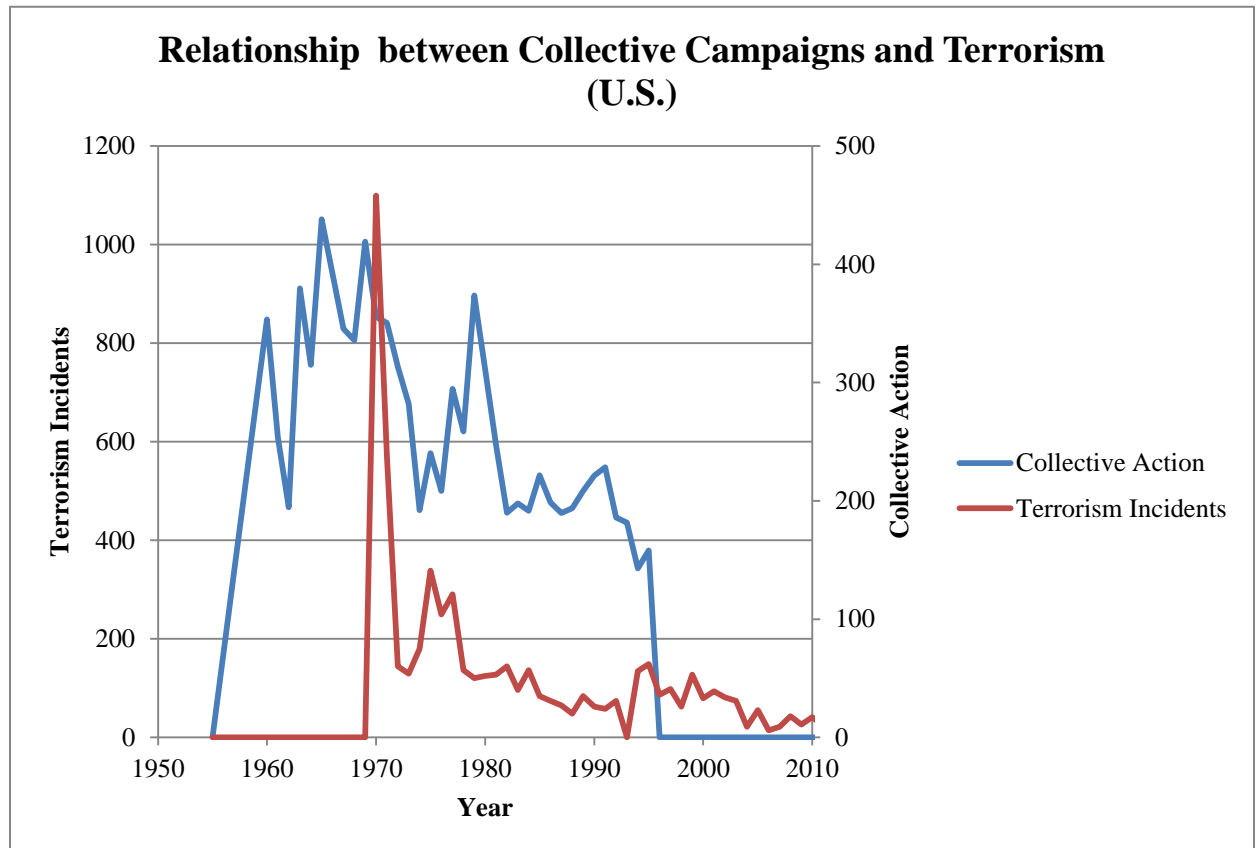
Collective action and terrorism incidents at the national level provided insight

about the relationship between terrorism and collective action. For the United States, the

relationship between social movements and terrorism was similar to the international

level. As number of social movements increased, the number of terrorism incidents

increased. Collective action increased and terrorism incidents increased in the United

States during the early 1970s. In the late 1970s collective action decreased at a slower

rate than terrorism incidents but the trajectory remained similar with spikes in social movements occurring before spikes in terrorism incidents.

The United States: Governmental Interventions

The current study proposed a connection between a governmental response to collective action and terrorism. It suggests that there is a positive relationship between backlash of a governmental strategy towards collective action and mobilization/recruitment into terrorist organization. Using an interrupted time series, ordinary least square regression/ multiple linear regression, the model examines the number of terrorism incidents before and after a specified intervention. Results of the regression indicate if the intervention had a positive, negative or no effect on the number of terrorism incidents after the onset of the intervention.

Three incidents are identified for the case study of the Black Panther Party in the United States; the onset of the COINTELPRO Operation against "black extremist" in 1967, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968 and the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965. As brute tactics of local police during the era were frequently used, utilizing data that tracked frequent local intervention would not benefit the current analysis. Instead, COINTELPRO is identified as a representation of brute intervention.

COINTELPRO was a series of activities carried out by the Federal Bureau of Investigates against domestic extremist organizations. Working with local authorities, the FBI sought to dismember and eradicate extremist groups in the United States. Actions by the government included covert and overt actions. In the mid-1960s COINTELPRO

began to focus on Black extremists and left wing groups. Apart from the overt raids and arrests of prominent black extremist and non-violent groups, covert actions were also used against prominent leaders in the African American community.

Declassified documents of the COINTELPRO Operation details the infiltration of the Black Panther Party by strategically placing informants and dissents within the organization to create dissention within the group (CITE). COINTELPRO records included notes that indicated that Dr. King's movement were monitored, his phones were tapped, his rooms were bugged and he was blackmailed by the FBI for his extramarital affairs (DiEugeno and Pease 2003). In Sept 2013, newly declassified information by the National Security Agency (NSA) admitted that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Muhammad Ali, and several other members of the African American community were spied upon (Gayathri 2013).

While COINTELPRO is a direct governmental intervention, the assassinations of both Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. are largely considered contestable interventions linked to the United States' government. The 1998 decision to re-open Dr. King's assassination case led to a 1999 Memphis jury concluding that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, by conspiracy, involving multiple actors, and "others, including government agencies" (DiEugeno and Pease 2003). After the 1999 legal preceding that found "other governmental agencies" to be involved in King's assassination a special report was released by the House of Senate that denounced any governmental agency involvement. The report stated,

> "The Department of Justice failed to supervise adequately the Domestic
> Intelligence Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; in addition,
> the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in the Domestic Intelligence

Division's COINTELPRO campaign against Dr. King, Grossly abused and exceeded its legal authority and failed to consider the possibility that actions threatening bodily harm to Dr. King might be encouraged by the program." (Select Committee on Assassinations, National Archive)

While COINTELPRO focused on disbanding the radical Nation of Islam, special attention was given to Malcolm X by the overall Bureau. Records of the FBI indicate that Malcolm X was monitored as far back as 1950 (DiEugeno and Pease 2003). It was a mission of the COINTELPRO to create dissention amongst member of the Nation of Islam (NOI), as was its tactic with the Black Panther Party. Declassified COINTELPRO documents include a 1969 memo from Chicago based FBI agent that the agency employed several strategies to discredit and create factionalism" amongst the NOI; with the "most notable being Malcolm X Little" (DiEugeno and Pease 2003).

For such reasons, the 1965 assassination of Malcolm X and 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King are included in the current analysis as they are important historical events in both the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements.

The Black Panther Party serves as a unique case in the study in that acts of terrorism and the outlined incidents occurred before 1970. As data for terrorism prior to 1970 was unavailable for domestic and international terrorism in the United States, data on collective action was used to gauge increases and decreases in social strain and backlash. Although the collective action data is used, regression analyses were also used to determine the relationship between collective action and interventions.

The following section includes regression analysis for governmental interventions. The Dynamics of Collective action in the U.S. 1960-1995 database is used

for data pertaining to collective campaigns in the United States. The Global Terrorism

Database is used for data pertaining to terrorism incidents.

Regression: Operation COINTELPRO (1967)

Multiple linear regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level

of collective action and the change in trend after the onset of Operation COINTELPRO in

1967. The results for two different time periods are shown in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Operation COINTELPRO
(1967)

	1960-1986			1960-1976		
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4
Time	51.75	*	-17.47	Time	51.75	*	-22.66
Intervention	-75.32		101.74	Intervention	41.06		125.39
Interact	-72.14	***	---	Interact	-99.67	***	---
Intercept	590.43		967.32	Intercept	590.43		888.07
R-squared	0.50		0.34	R-squared	0.53		0.82
N	27		27	N	17		17

$* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01$

The first two regression models include the 1960-1986 time frames,

corresponding to seven years before and nineteen years after the intervention. The time

frame attempts to cover a larger period of time and determine if levels of collective action

were time sensitive. As seen in Table 1.13, Model 1 accounted for 50% of the variance in

collective action events. Operation COINTELPRO had no significant effect with just a

level change and no intervention (slope change). Model 2, which does not include an

interaction term, was able to account for 34% of the variance in collective action events.

A significant correlation was not found between the governmental intervention and collective action events. See Table 7.3. These findings were not consistent with the hypothesis of the current study.

For the 1960-1976 time period, Model 3 with the interaction term accounted for 53% of the variance in terrorism events. Similar to the 1960-1986 time frames, Model 3 produced a level change and no interaction (slope change). Model 4, which does not include an interaction term, was able to account or 82% of the variance but a significant correlations was not found between governmental intervention and collective action events. Model 3 fits the data best for the COINTELPRO intervention, indicating an increased trend in terrorism events.

Regression: Malcolm X's Assassination (1965)

Multiple linear regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level of collective action and the change in trend after the onset of Malcolm X's assassination in 1965. The results for two different time periods are shown in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Malcolm X Assassination
(1965)

| | 1960-1975 | | | | 1960-1985 | | |
	Model 1		Model 2			Model 3	Model 4	
Time	11.80		-40.81	***	Time	11.80	-22.77	***
Intervention	331.11	**	407.63	***	Intervention	217.38	281.56	***
Interact	-57.39		---		Interact	-35.01	---	
Intercept	682.80		840.63		Intercept	682.80	786.50	
R-squared	0.54		0.48		R-squared	0.49	0.48	
N	16		16		N	26	26	

* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01

For the 1960-1975 time periods, Model 1 with the interaction accounted for 54% of the variance in collective action. Model 1 includes eight years before and ten years after Malcolm X's death. As seen, Malcolm X's assassination had a significant positive effect, p, .05. The model predicts, on average, for the years after the intervention the number of collective action events increased by 311 incidents.

In Model 2, Malcolm X's assassination had a significant positive effect, p, .01. The model predicts, on average, for the period after the intervention the number of collective action events increases by 407 events, holding time constant. The time coefficient indicates that the collective action trend decreased by a rate of 40 events prior to Malcolm X's death.

Multiple regression analysis was also repeated using the 1960-1985 time frames. An increased time frame attempts to increase additional years after Malcolm X's death to determine if collective action events were time sensitive. Model 3 and 4 includes eight years before and twenty years after the event. The multiple regression model, Model 3, accounted for 49% of the variance in the collective action events with no significant interaction (slope change). In Model 4, Malcolm X's assassination had a significant positive effect, p, .01. The model predicts, on average, for the periods after the intervention the number of collective action events increased by 281 events, holding time constant. The coefficient of time indicates that collective action events decreased by a rate of 23 events prior to Malcolm X's death.

Model 1 fits the data better and suggests that the assassination of Malcolm X was associated with a sharp increase in the level of terrorism, followed by a downward trend.

Regression: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Assassination (1968)

Multiple linear regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level

of collective action and the change in trend after the onset of Dr. Martin Luther King,

Jr.'s assassination in 1968. The results for two different time periods are shown in Table

7.5.

Table 7.5: Martin Luther King Jr. Assassination
(1968)

	1960-1978			1960-1985	
	Model 1	Model 2		Model 3	Model 4
Time	37.13	-16.05	Time	63.01	875.34 **
Intervention	-4.03	60.28	Intervention	23.96	76.74
Interact	-73.49 ***	---	Interact	-83.41 **	---
Intercept	634.29	873.60	Intercept	580.37	875.34
R-squared	0.44	0.14	R-squared	0.43	0.29
N	19	19	N	26	26

* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01

The first two regression models include the 1960-1978 time frame, corresponding

to eight years before and ten years after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

As seen in Table 1.15, Model 1 accounted for 44% of the variance in collective action

events. The death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK) had no significant negative

effect. The coefficient of time indicates that the collective action trend became more

negative after the intervention, p <.01. Model 2, which does not include an interaction

term, was able to account for 14% of the variance in collective action but a significant

correlation was not found between MLK's assassination and collective action. See *Table

7.5.*

For the 1960-1985 time period, Model 3 with the interaction accounted for 43% of the variance in collective action events with no interaction (slope change). The coefficients for the interaction indicate that the collective action trend became more negative after the assassination of MLK, $p < .05$. Model 4 was able to account for 29% of the variance in collective action, with the assassination of MLK having no significant effect. The coefficient of time indicates that the collective action trend increased by a rate of 875 events prior the MLK's death. See *Table 7.5.*

Summary.

The regression models for the United States' case study are unique to the current study in that they utilize collective action data, not terrorism data. As data for terrorism prior to 1970 was unavailable for domestic and international terrorism in the United States, data on collective action was used to gauge increases and decreases in social strain and backlash.

Operation COINTELPRO was a covert governmental intervention that was aimed at eradicating "black extremists". During the five year span of the operation, tactics included frequent police raids, smear campaigns, etc. It was the hypothesis of the study that COINTELPRO would be associated with increased collective action events. The best fit regression model indicated that the intervention was not associated with significant increased, or decreased, level of collective action but that the trend of collective action sharply increased over time.

The assassinations of both Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. were largely considered contestable interventions linked to the United States' government. It was the hypothesis of the current study that both assassinations would be associated with an increase in collective action events. The best fit intervention found Malcolm X's assassination to be associated with increased levels of collective action. The model also indicated that a negative trend of collective action prior to the death of Malcolm X. The best fit regression model indicated that the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was not associated with significant increased, or decreased, level of collective action but that the trend of collective action decreased over time.

Relative Deprivation and Social Strain.

Social Strain theory and Relative Deprivation theory were utilized to identify the social conditions that aid in the transition from collective actions to violent collective action in the United States. Social Strain factors include external factors, group's ideology/goal, type of movement, size of the movement/campaign, length of the movement and the "last straw" event. External Factors included the historical, cultural and contextual factors previously outlined in the case analysis.

Table 7.6 Social Strain Factors in the Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movement

Social Strain Factors	
Movement Ideology/Goal	Civil Rights- Economic and Political Equality (included Nationalist, Socialist, Separatists and Conservative perspectives)
Group's Ideology/Goal	Economic and Political Equality
Type of Movement	Reform (Civil Rights), Revolutionary (Black Liberation)
Type of Organizations	Nationalist/Separatist, Communist/Socialist
External Support	Diaspora to African Movements and vice versa, Weather Underground, British Diaspora
Length of the movement	1950s- early 1980s[*]
Length of Organizations	1960- 1980s
Last Straw Event	1968 Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

[*] Black Liberation/Black Power ends in 1980 but the movement re-emerged in the mid-1990s

Magnarella's Relative Deprivation Theory is addressed using the case study of the Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movements in the United States. Magnarella's Theory of Relative Deprivation identified four causal sequences that transition discontent to civil violence and, in the current research, terrorism; Sense of and actual infrastructural conditions that lead to discontent, Insufficiencies of the infrastructure to not be corrected, formation of ideologies revolving around discontent, and violent action manifests itself.

Infrastructural conditions leading to discontent.

Post emancipation proclamation, economic and political opportunities for African Americans continued to be scarce. From the "grandfather" clause that prevented fair voting to share cropping practices that made many African Americans modern day indentured servants, living conditions for many African Americans created discontent with the American political system.

The Black Panther Party's 10 Point Plan outlined the group's grievances and the economic and social disparities that they identified in American society; listing structural changes that led to discontent (See Table 7.7). The organization noted the lack of adequate housing and employment opportunities for people of color. Most notably, the BPP demanded the freedom and power to determine their destiny.

Table 7.7 Black Panther Ten Point Plan

1	We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black oppressed communities
2	We want full employment for our people
3	We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black and oppressed communities
4	We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings
5	We want decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6	We want completely free health care for all black people and oppressed people
7	We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people, other people of color, all oppressed people inside the United States
8	We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression
9	We want freedom or all black and oppressed people now held in the U.S. Federal, State, County, City and Military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country
10	We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology.

The Weather Underground supported the point of ending American aggression (wars), joined in alliance with the BPP. The organization aided the BPP in several bombings and attacks.

Insufficiencies of the infrastructure not being corrected. In 1942, African Americans created the Double V campaign. In 1947 "An Appeal to the World" was submitted to the UN protesting the treatment of blacks in the United States. In 1951 the "We Charge Genocide" petition was also submitted to the UN Committee on Human Rights in Geneva.

The end of World War II sparked a new form of activism that addressed grievances beyond the Supreme Court and took petitions to the international community, mainly the United Nation. As the petitions and requests went unheard, African American leaders began the Civil Rights Movement to foster public and political audiences in the United States and abroad.

Although the Civil Rights Movement utilized nonviolent techniques, the United States government responded to protests with brute police force. The United States response to the request for equal rights was slow and calculated.

> "At the rate things are going here… all of Africa will be free before we
> can get a lousy cup of coffee". (Shah 2012)

After a decade of protests, coupled with beatings, bombings, slow governmental response and the excessive use of police brutality, the Black Liberation voice emerged.

> Be nice, have patience, wait, have faith, you say;
> To whom, and why, what for, in whom? I ask;
> …While the Law delays, this cannot be gainsaid:
> That I am BLACK, and Mack Charles Parker DEAD.- 1962 poem by Keith
> Baird[12]

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[12] Excerpt from Coleman (2012)

> When rumors surfaced that the Klan was going to shoot in the house of big niggers, I went to the sporting store… I said, 'I want a rifle..because I understand that the Ku Klux Klan is gonna be coming through my neighborhood this weekend, and I'm not going to get on the floor anymore'…When I saw (the Panthers) stand up against the landlords, the police and the Klan with those guns… I attribute that courage to Larry Little and the Panthers."- Charles Drew (Fergus 2009)

In 1969, Bobby Seale required that health care clinics and free breakfast programs are created by local chapters of the BPP. The health care clinics were a response to the "pig-style" care that was insufficient and typically received by lower income African Americans due to the poor conditions in the poor neighborhoods. The healthcare clinics operated under the notion "to deny health care is to deny the right to life"; the BPP noted that the program allowed access to a better quality of life, as many African Americans had never seen a doctor or visited a clinic (Kirby 2011)

Formation of ideologies revolving around discontent. Continued frustration with the lack of support from the United States government and the United Nations suggested to the leaders of the time that the nonviolent tactics were becoming obsolete.

> "… Martin Luther King's nonviolence was met with violence and the militant students realized that white America would never give up its power without a struggle. A black movement developed that did not want white involvement, it wanted black power." –Unknown[13]

The music of popular culture reflected the notion of police brutality, a common tactic used against nonviolent protestors. Marvin Gaye noted in his song

> "…Picket lines and picket signs.. Don't punish me with brutality.. Talk to me, so you can see.. Oh, what's going on."[14]

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[13]God is Angry: The Black Power Movement, by Svensson, Birgitta&Sveriges Television, Stockholm, Swede1997

[14] What's Going on " Lyrics by Marvin Gaye on *The Big Chill* courtesy of Motown Records

"Revolution cannot be carried out by words alone. Never in the history of man has there been a successful peaceful revolution. The overthrow of one class by another must be carried out by revolutionary violence." – Gwen Hodges, in

The Black Panther newsletter (Kirby 2011)

The frustration created a space for more extreme ideologies that began to call for territorial separation from the United States and/or self-defense while in the United States. Malcolm X's Nationalist ideology that urged for human rights became popular in the early to mid-1960s. Malcolm's organization, the Organization of Afro- American Unity (OAAU), and the SNCC were more militant campaigns by the mid-1960s. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was murdered in 1968 after he had the distinction of being the youngest Nobel Peace Prize Winner; this created additional strain in American society. A political figure accepted in both white and black arenas, Dr. King, Jr. was a symbol of the nonviolent ideology. President Lyndon asked Americans, black and white, to avoid retaliation after his death, "I ask that every citizen to reject the blind violence that has taken Dr. King who lived by non-violence"[15]. The assassination of Dr. King, shortly after the assassination of Malcolm X, served as a "last straw" event in the series of events.

As observed in a Black Power rally, the crowd noted the closing of the liberal ideology of the civil rights and the ushering of the nationalist ideology of Black Power Movement.

Carmichael:	Unfortunately I'm from the younger generation, I am not as patient as Dr. King , nor am I as merciful as Dr. King. What do you want?
Crowd:	Black power.

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[15] "Martin Luther King Shot Dead", BBC News, 2/13/12,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/april/4/newsid_2453000/2453987.stm

Carmichael: What do you want?

Crowd: Black power.[16]

Violent action manifests itself. The political and social conditions in the United States between the 1950s and 1970s created a space from extremist ideologies. A space was created for extremist ideologies after several failed attempts to institutionally address grievances. In 1965, the United States passed several forms of legislature that ushered the end of the Civil Rights Movement. However, the lack of change in society, continued poverty and police brutally allowed the transition into the Black Liberation, Black Power Movement. By the end of the 1960s many African Americans were urged to arm themselves and "fight back".

> "Every time you execute a white-racist, Gestapo cop, you are defending yourself." Huey Newton (Courtney1969)

> "Arm yourself. The only culture worth keeping is the revolutionary culture… Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pig everywhere". George Murray, 1968 in The Black Panther (Courtney1969)

> "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, and the Negro must get that gun". Stokely Carmichael (Courtney1969)

> "We must serve notice on our oppressors that we as a people are not going to be frightened by the attempted assassination of our leaders. For my assassination.. I want 30 police stations blown up, one southern governor, two mayors, and 500 cops, dead. If they assassinate Brother Carmichael, Brother Brown…Brother Seale, this price is tripled."[17]

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[16] Stokely Carmichael at a rally in 1968, excerpt from God is Angry
[17] Excerpt from Pearson, Hugh (1994)

Summary

The Black Panther Party is often thought to have sprung from the Civil Rights movement as a violent organization with little community involvement. From race based slavery to the Black Power Movement in 1964, people of African descent in America campaigned, petitioned and institutionally attempted to reduce the inequalities in America. As early as 1857, the Dred Scott ruling, people of color attempted to legally address social injustices. Black Power emerged in the early 1920s, largely attributed to Marcus Garvey, and was based on economic independence. In 1934, the Forty- Ninth State Movement, asked for a separate state/territory in the United States for African Americans to no avail (Tyner 2006).

Brute police force used during the 1950 to1960s peaceful Civil Rights Movement created backlash, infuriating many African Americans and sparked the Black Liberation Movement. The ideology held during the Civil Rights Movement (i.e.- Malcolm X, SNCC, CORE, etc.) continued into the Black Liberation Movement. The ideology of the Civil Rights movement was civil liberties and equal opportunities for African Americans and other groups of people of color. During the Black Liberation movement, the ideology continued to focus on civil liberties and equal opportunities but nonviolence was no longer the tactic of choice. The Black Liberation/ Black Power movement called for black power, swiftly, and by any means necessary. Continuing the theme of equal opportunities, especially politically, and by any means necessary, the BPP emerged during the Black Liberation Movement.

The BPP, an organization originally formed to create *political* self-defense, became an organization that condoned the use of violence to make its voice heard in the

political arena. The BPP stated it was the Constitutional right of any American to bear arms and protect one's life.

After a U.S. government crackdown, with help from the FBI, many leaders of the BPP left the country, were incarcerated, or died. The BLA, a splinter group, and the Weather Underground briefly continued to commit acts of terrorism after the BPP's dissidence in 1972.

The current analysis found that the Civil Rights movement and the Black Liberation movement are linked to terrorist activity in the United States between the 1960s and 1970s. The ideology that surfaced in the Civil Rights Movement with Malcolm X was expounded upon in the Black Liberation Movement. Growing frustration with the non-violent movement created a space for radical organizations like the BPP.

Chapter 8: THE HEZBOLLAH MOVEMENT (Lebanon)

> We faced the necessity of confronting Israeli propaganda- that was full of hatred and lies against all Arabs, and especially against us [Hezbollah and the resistance]. We were aiming to try to persuade media organizations worldwide to change the term 'terrorist' to 'fighters seeking to liberate their own land', to replace the word 'gangs' by 'resistance groups', to change the phrase 'terrorist attacks' to 'resistance operations'.- Moufak Al Jammal[18]

Emergence of a movement.

Social movements in Muslim society are considered phenomenon that principles vary greatly from other forms of social movements. Three unique characteristics of an "Islamic movement" are identified; the "Umma", Dawa and Jihad (Azani 2009). The Umma aspect of an Islamic movement is aimed at uniting all Muslims worldwide and the restoration of Islam as a leading factor in the world. Jihad and Dawa are the means by which the Umma are obtained. Dawa is rooted in nonviolence; it suggests that the means to fix Muslim society is through community education, indoctrination and community unity. Jihad attempts to accomplish the aforementioned goals but violence is a plausible tactic (Azani 2009). It is noted that while jihad allows the use of violent measures, this does not signify that violent *physical* means are the only option. Islam extremists embrace writings that encourage physical violence. The Iranian Revolution is cited as one of the first instances of the Islamic Revolution, with an impact felt throughout the rest of the Arab world (Azani 2009).

The rise of Hezbollah did not begin with the 1975 Civil War in Lebanon. As the history of Lebanon denotes, the political space created for Hezbollah and its 'community centered' approach began much earlier. While the origins of Hezbollah are debated, as

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[18] Excerpt from Harb (2011)

part of an Islamic Resistance or as a response to a perceived discriminatory government, it is apparent that Hezbollah has integrated itself into Lebanese society.

In the early 1900s France's involvement in the "soon to be" Syria and Lebanon was largely surrounded by economic expansion. The Sykes- Picot agreement of 1916 partitioned the Ottoman Empire between Britain and France[19]. This agreement clashed with the McMahon Agreement of 1915; Arabs expected to have governance over themselves after helping the Allies during World War I. This caused many Arabs in the region to mistrust Western countries. In 1920, the League of Nations created the Greater State of Lebanon when it granted France the mandate for Lebanon and Syria. The state formed from three provinces; Mount Lebanon, North Lebanon, and Bekaa[20].

The French mandate approved a constitution for Lebanon six years after Lebanon's inception. The Muslim Brotherhood movement began in 1929. It promoted the importance of civil society in Egypt and campaigned for an Islamic party that would expand beyond Egypt's border (Harik 2004). The people of Bint Jubayl in Jabal 'Amil, areas of Southern Lebanon and Syria, rose up against France in 1936 due to its expansion into the tobacco industry of the region and the economic hardship it was causing local farmers (Abisaab 2009). France's involvement in the economy of Lebanese farmers created social tension and discontent with the economic structure of the nation.

An unwritten National Covenant/Pact, using 1932 Census data, established parliament seats in 1943. The distribution included a six- to –five ratio, in favor of Christians. The Pact decided that the President would be a Maronite Christian, with a

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[19] Lebanon Profile, BBC News: Middle East, 01/14/13, www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14649284/
[20] Ibid

Sunii Muslim Prime Minister and a Shiite/Shiite Muslim Chamber of Deputies[21].

Although many were wary about the representation in Parliament, it appeared the most

suitable outcome for representation at the time (Harik 2004). France transferred power to

the Lebanese government and a Christian President in 1944. By 1958, increased

opposition to political practices placed the country in Civil War. The United States

intervened to quell the uprising.

Academic literature suggested several possible origins of the 1958 Civil War. One

notion stated that President Chamoun, a Maronite Christian, incited the opposition from

Muslims when he announced his intention to amend the Constitution in order to run for a

second term (U.N. n.d.). Another notion cited the creation of the United Arabic Republic,

the unification of Egypt and Syria, as the catalyst for Muslims and Druze to join the

Republic; Lebanon was once a part of Syria until the French Mandate after World War

(Rhett 1987; Harik 2004). The Lebanese government adamantly suggested that the

United Arabic Republic incited the rebellion and interfered in Lebanese affairs (U.N.

n.d.). The United Nations responded by creating the United Nations Observation Group

in Lebanon (UNOGIL) with Resolution 128. The Civil War ended the same year.

During the continued Arab-Israeli war in 1967, Lebanon did not officially play a

role in the conflict but Palestinians used the country as a base for attacks (*see Figure 8.1*).

The aftermath of the conflict damaged several infrastructural aspects of the country;

creating greater economic disparities and social strain.

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[21] Ibid

Figure 8.1 Map of Lebanon

Courtesy of CIA World Factbook

The era of the "Islamic Resurgence" began in the beginning of the 1970s. It revived the Islamic movements and several religious leaders were at the helm of the movement (Harik 2004). A growing sense of secular invasion, government corruption and misrule and poverty grew. Lebanese government, with Maronite Christians in the political majority, attempted to provide human security in the country. Christian lost their majority in the population by the early 1970s and many Lebanese viewed the change as a political inequality. This was especially true for the Shiite population, who viewed themselves to be in the populous majority but in the political minority (Harik 2004). The

Shiite community experienced a surge in population, due to high birth rates, in the 1970s;

the influx of births caused an aim to revise the power pendulum (Haddad 2006).

In 1957 a Shiite cleric, Imam Musa Al-Sadr, moved to Lebanon. Al-Sadr founded

Harakat- al Mahrum, Movement of the Disposed, in 1974; the organization that

Hezbollah was inspired by. A year later, the movement became known as Amal (Afwaj

al-Muqawamah al-Lunaniyyah); which meant Battalions of the Lebanese Resistance.

Imam Al-Sadr noted the status of the Shiite community in Lebanon; many Shiites lived in

the increased number of Shiite slums in Beirut with Shiite's having the weakest political

party (Haddar 2006). He stressed the importance of community activism and pushed for

political reform. Amal served as the structure, ideological, political and structural, for the

movements that followed. Many Shiites joined Palestinians in the struggle against the

political elites; they joined anti-establishment and secular parties (Haddar 2006).

Lebanese Christian paramilitary gunman, also known as Phalangist, ambushed a

bus in Beirut in 1975[22]. Several of the 27 people killed in the ambush were Palestinian

passengers; the act sparked discontent with some of in the Palestinians population in the

region. Phalangists stated that their churches in the area had previously been victims of

attacks. Straining already fragile cultural lines, the clash sparked the 1975 Civil War

(1975-1990). The Lebanese National Front, comprised of many Shiites, fought during

the Civil War.

In 1978, the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) launched an attack in

Israel. Israel response included invading Southern Lebanon. The U.N. Security Council

established the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFL) for the removal of

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[22] Lebanon Profile, BBC News: Middle East, 01/14/13, www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14649284/

Israeli troops from Lebanon (UN, n.d.). While Amal continued to stress community activism and political secularization, the ideology shifted within the organization (Haddad 2006).

The continued Palestinian- Israeli conflict in Southern Lebanon forced many Shiites to move to the southern part of Beirut. Acquiring the name, the Misery Belt, militancy grew among the displaced population that witnessed large casualties during the war (Haddad 2006).Imam Al- Sadr disappeared in 1978, while en route to Libya. Sadr disapperance left a political void that needed to be filled and left the Amal movement as a sectarian movement (Karagiannis, 2009; Haddad 2006).

Two events marked the immediate beginning of the Hezbollah movement, the Iranian Revolution and Israel's invasion of Lebanon; the Israeli invasion served as the "last straw event". The 1979 Iranian Revolution re-sparked the Islamic revolution in the area. The Revolution created a space for resurgence in the Shiite momentum in 1982 (Karagiannis 2009). An integral part of Hezbollah's ideology is the concept of guardianship of the Islamic jurist. This was first introduced in 1970 by Ayatollah Khomeini, leader of the Iranian Revolution (Karagiannis 2009).

Israel and the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) began its invasion of Lebanon in 1982 with Operation Peace for Galilee (Matthews, 2008). In September of 1982, Phalangist, commanded by Israel, killed as estimated 3000 Palestinian and Lebanese people in a Palestinian refugee; most of the victims were children, the elderly and Shiite Muslim. A Lebanese resistance operation responded the same day against Israeli's in the city of Beirut (Harb 2011).

The primary goal of the Islamic social movement included reformation the state (government) and establishment of a state built upon Islamic beliefs. The conduct and the tension that exists between the perception of the modern state and the idea of a Pan-Islamic state are factors that make Islamic movements unique (Azani 2009). As with various other instances of social movements, Islamic movements appeared following a crisis. Hezbollah became a mechanism of change after the Israel's invasion of Lebanon; the 6th in the Arab-Israeli wars (*See Table 8.1*).

Table 8.1 Israeli Invasions during the Arab-Israeli Wars: Timeline

Invasion	Date	Description
	1920-1947	British Mandate Established- Division of Ottoman Lands, creating Arab and Jewish communities
	1947	UN Partition Plan- Arab states and Jewish states proposed, Jerusalem becomes international
First	1948	First War- As a result, Israel occupies 20% more land than UN Partition
Second	1956	Second Arab-Israeli War/ Suez Crisis- Israel invades Egypt and allies with France and Britain
Third	1967-1970	The War of Attrition- Israel ascertained land from Egypt, Jordan and Syria
Fourth	1973	The October War- Egypt and Syria attack Israel, taking back some territory
Fifth	1978	Israel occupies Southern Lebanon
	1979	Egypt and Israel sign a peace agreement
Sixth	1982	The First Lebanon War: Israel invades Lebanon

The Iranian Revolution impacted young clerics in Lebanon the most; they embraced the principles of Iran's Islamic ideology that called for a struggle against secularism, the mistreatment of Muslims and the opposition of Israel and its supporters

(Harik 2004). The Iranian Revolutionary guard sent troops to Eastern Lebanon with the aimed intent to recruit and radicalize young militant Lebanese clerics that were already affiliated with Islamic Amal, a splinter group of Amal, and Al- Dawa (Haddad 2006). The Lebanese government's weak presence in Shiite communities left a void to be filled by discontent and collective behavior. Hezbollah provided basic human needs that the government did not provide, such as schools and hospitals.

In 1985, the partial withdrawal of Israeli troops occurred. However, the Israel Defense Forces and the "Southern Lebanon Army" (the Lebanese de facto forces) remained in control of Southern Lebanon (U.N. n.d.). The death of Khomenini in 1989 began a new phase in Hezbollah as a political party. The organization reached out to other Lebanese communities and presented itself as a non-government party (Haddad 2006). With Syrian support, Hezbollah was able to rise in political and military power.

State weakness and the inability to provide human security imbedded within Lebanon a history of accepting social welfare that is religiously based (Cammett 2006). Hezbollah has used the framework of a faith based social welfare group to gain community support.

The rise and fall of violence.

Hezbollah, also called Hizbollah, formed in the early 1980s by Shiite Muslims. Aggrieved citizens created Hezbollah[23],the 'Party of God', as a direct response to the Israeli invasion and occupation of Southern Lebanon (Karagiannis 2009).

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[23] Hizbollah / Hezbollah and Shiite/Shiite will be used interchangeably for the remainder of this case analysis

Hezbollah, dubbed the "Habitat for Hezbollah", delivers a variety of community services that range from running hospitals to a television station. It is a social movement because it possesses two characteristics; devoted membership and a push for political and social change (Karagiannis 2009). The duality of the organization allows it to supply military and political support but community activism as well.

Hezbollah success is attributed to 5 factors (Hairk 2004). First is Hezbollah's ability to advance the foreign policy agenda of Syria, Iran, and Lebanon; garnering their support. Secondly, it remains flexible enough to incorporate different groups and identities into its ideologies (sympathizers of Lebanon, Islam, Arabs, the deeply religious, etc.). A third factor of Hezbollah's success, in certain parts of Lebanese society, is its adoption to the political needs of Lebanese society; it uses modern technology and political techniques to gain sympathizers. Fourthly, it has adopted television outlets that allows it to spread its message of resistance against Israel in Lebanon, Muslim and Arab countries where its acts would not be considered terrorists, as similar ideologies against Israel is common. Lastly, Hezbollah's relationship with Syria has warded off several outside interventions (Harik 2004). Hezbollah's current involvement in the Syrian Civil War, its impact on Lebanese society, and possibility of outside intervention remains to be unseen.

Hezbollah served as a "presence" in Lebanese society for many years but was officially created under the Hezbollah creed until 1982. Its origins are rooted in a splinter faction of the Amal movement, the Islamic Amal. The Islamic Amal, the Lebanese branch of Hizb al-Dawa al-Islamiya, was an radical Shiite group (Karagiannis 2009). Hezbollah received support from Tehran, as Tehran hoped to spread the Islamic

Revolution to Lebanon, and Damascus. Tehran helped the organization to gain weaponry, trained individuals and provided inspiration (Bynam 2003).

Hezbollah emerged in 1982 during Israel's invasion of Lebanon. It gained legitimacy through winning military tactics, providing community development and reconstruction support (Cammett 2006). In 1983 the group claimed responsibility for the death of nearly 300 U.S. and French troops in Beirut and for targeting Western military. The group denied responsibility for the accusations. A once ignored Lebanese population, the Shiite community, appeared at the forefront of political and economic matters in the country. The US withdrew its troops in 1984, Israel followed by withdrew most of its troops in 1985[24].

The Lebanese civil war symbolically ended in 1989 with the signing of the Tariff Agreement. The agreement did not stop Hezbollah from keeping a militia in Southern Lebanon and the group continued into the 1990s. Civil War formally ended in 1990 and the National Assembly ordered all militia, except Hezbollah, to disband in 1991[25]. The South Lebanon Army (SLA) refused to comply.

The activities of Hezbollah during the 1990s were more characteristics of guerilla warfare than terrorism (Byman 2003). The organization continued attempting to expel Israeli military from Lebanon. A 1999 ambush of an Israeli convoy was filmed and aired throughout Lebanon, and Israel, via Hezbollah's station. Hezbollah used media to lower Israeli public support for war by constantly producing human casualties and showcasing

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[24] Lebanon Profile, BBC News: Middle East, 01/14/13, www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14649284/
[25] Ibid

attacks on it media outlet. Al-Manar, a television station largely associated with Hezbollah, became a tactic to wane Israeli moral for war (Matthews 2006).

In the mid- 1990s, the IDF used Hezbollah's strategy of attacking Lebanese civilians, as Hezbollah had successfully done, to force the Lebanese government to disband Hezbollah. The tactic created backlash; it attracted scorn from the international community and validated Hezbollah's mission in the viewpoint of some in the Lebanese public (Matthews 2008).

The IDF and Israeli troops withdrew from Southern Lebanon in 2000 after the collapse of the SLA (Matthews, 2008). Hezbollah viewed this as a victory and continued to support the destruction of Israel (Karagiannis 2009). Hezbollah also cooperated with Hamas in order to achieve their mutual goal. In 2001, a funding cell was discovered by the FBI in North Carolina (Bynam 2003). The dynamics of the Syrian-Hezbollah relationship shifted during this time.

In the 2002 State of the Union Address, former President George Bush labeled the organization as a part of a 'Terrorist Underworld' that threatened U.S. National Security (Karagiannis 2009). The United States declared Hezbollah as a terrorist organization but other countries were not as quick to follow its lead. The Russian government did not recognize the organization as a terrorist organization; despite a newly relisted Russian manifesto of terrorist organizations (Karagiannis 2009). Syria, Iran and other Middle Eastern countries viewed Hezbollah as a legitimate resistance movement. Lebanon attempted to use legal precedents to justify Hezbollah's use of force in Southern Lebanon (Harik 2004).

The 2004 UN Security Council resolution required withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon, Syria ignored the request (Lebanon Profile)[26]. In the same year, Rafik Hariri left his post as Prime Minister and was assassinated in Beirut in 2005. Some suspected Syrian involvement in the assassination, others attributed it to Israel trying to destabilize the country (Fitzgerald 2005). However, anti- Syrian sentiments sparked several demonstrations, violent and nonviolent that became dubbed the "Cedar Revolution".

Hezbollah strategically placed sites in several parts of the Lebanon for access to inner Israel in case of an invasion (Matthews 2006). Between 2000 and 2006, Hezbollah placed missile launcher sites in several villages. *See Figure 8.2*

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[26] Lebanon Profile, BBC News: Middle East, 01/14/13, www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14649284/

Figure 8.2 Map of Hezbollah Sites in Lebanon
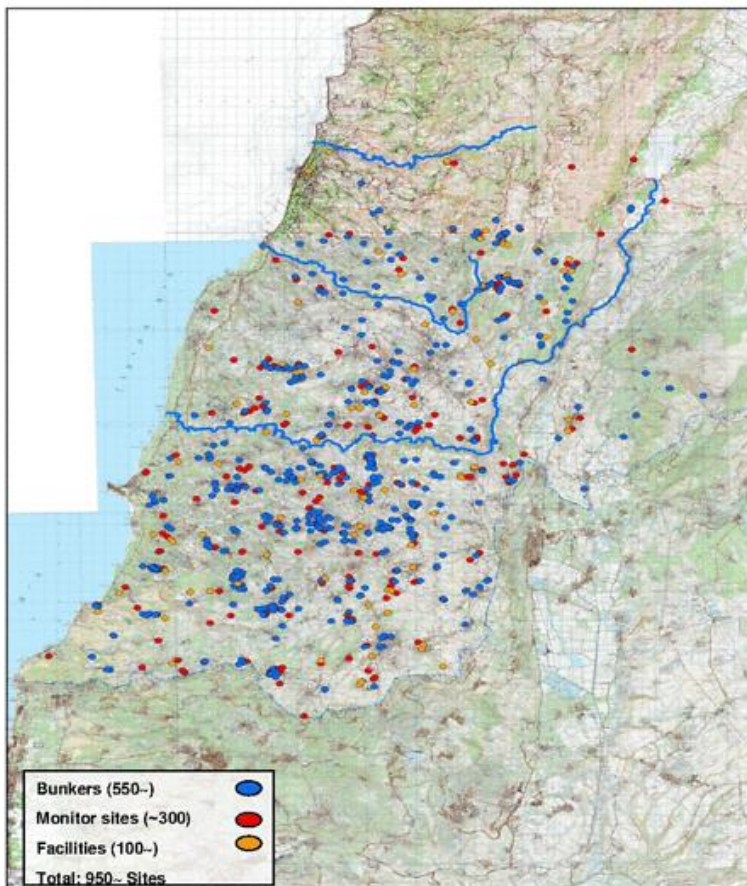
Courtesy of the Washington Post

A 34 day war emerged between Israel and Hezbollah in 2006; a war Hezbollah strategically planned for almost half a decade (Matthews 2008). Israel launched attacks on Lebanon. Hezbollah, not the Lebanese government, responded by launching streams of rockets into Northern Israel.

The UN established a cease-fire in August. By the summation of the 34 day war, Hezbollah launched more than 3,700 rockets into Israeli; 42 civilians are killed and 4262 others wounded. In addition to those killed or wounded, 2,773 Israeli citizens were treated from "shock and anxiety" (Matthews 2006). Post Israeli and Lebanon War, Hezbollah emerged as the reconstruction agent to rebuild Lebanon (Cammett 2006).

Hezbollah provided medical support, hospitals, displacement services for Lebanese citizens harmed by the war; services that the Lebanese government were not able to provide with such a large scope

In 2009 the Hague released the four generals suspected of assassinating former Prime Minister Hariri. Hezbollah's leader, Hassan Nasrallah, boycotted the tribunal. The Hague cited insufficient evidence to charge the pro-Syrian Lebanese guards. Nasrallah claimed that the tribunal was "in league with Israel"[27]. Hezbollah continued its activities in Lebanese society and politics, with both a military faction and political arm of the organization.

Temporal Pattern

The following section includes trend plotting of social movements at the national level, terrorism activity at the national level, terrorism activity per terrorist organization, the number of terrorist organizations during the movement and the temporal relationship between terrorism activity and social movements at the national level. The Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes database is used for data pertaining to collective campaigns. The Global Terrorism Database is used for data pertaining to terrorism incidents.

Collective Action in Lebanon.

Using the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes is used to illustrate trajectories of collective action in Lebanon .Using the Global Terrorism Database, data are used to illustrate the trajectory of terrorist activities of two organizations. It is noted

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[27] Lebanon Profile, BBC News: Middle East, 01/14/13, www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14649284/

that Collective Campaign does not extend beyond 2006. Therefore, data are not available for campaigns that may have occurred after 2006.

According to the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes, there were 5 periods of campaigns in Lebanon; 1925- 1927, 1958- 1958, 1975- 1975, 1982-2000, 2005- 2005 (see Figure 8.7) While none of the periods of campaigns overlap another period; they coincided with significant events in Lebanon history. In 1925, the contested Lebanon Constitution is created. Civil Wars occur in both 1958 and 1975, respectively. The 1982-2000 period included the beginning time from the Israeli invasion of Lebanon until its withdrawal from the country in 2000. In 2005, the Cedar Revolution occurred after the assassination of former Prime Minter Hariri.

Figure 8.3 Collective Action Campaigns in Lebanon
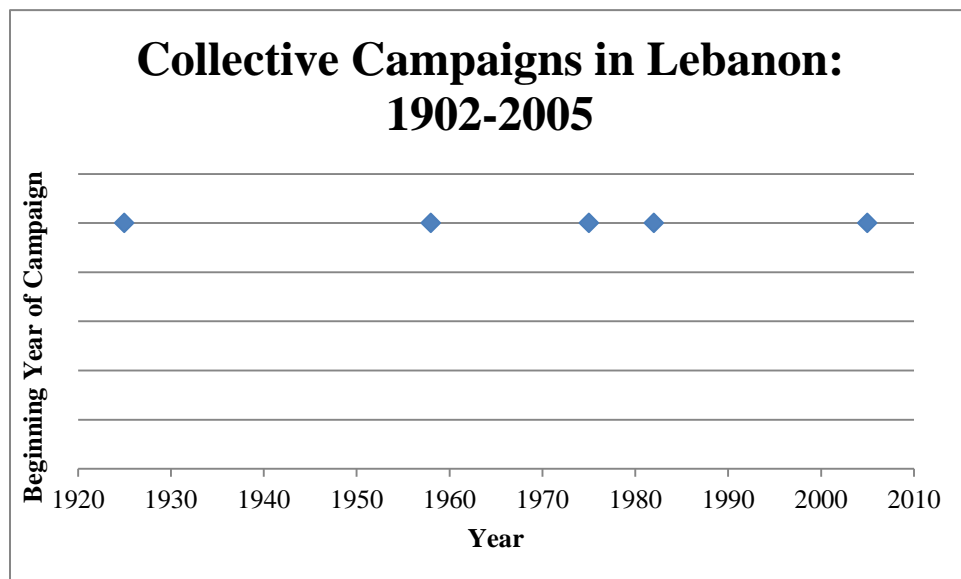
Terrorism Incidents in Lebanon.

Incidents of terrorism in Lebanon are unknown before 1970. According to the Global Terrorism Database, Lebanon experienced 2036 incidents of terrorism from 1970 to 2011, inclusive. Terrorism in Lebanon increased until 1975 (N= 15), with decreased activity in 1976 (N=4). In 1977 terrorism activity increased. The period of consistent and sustained terrorism activity was between 1978 and 2000. The peak of activity was in 1983 (N= 234); a year after the official formation of Hezbollah and Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

Terrorism incidents decreased in the 1980s with a drastic decrease in incidents by 2001(N=5). In 1985 the Israeli government ordered a partial withdrawal from Lebanon and a complete withdrawal in 2000. An increase in terrorism activity occurred again in 2005 (N= 17), before a brief Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2006. However, terrorism activity spiked in Lebanon in 2008 (N= 59) after a conflict between Hezbollah and the Lebanon government occurred.

Figure 8.4 Terrorism Incidents in Lebanon: 1970- 2010
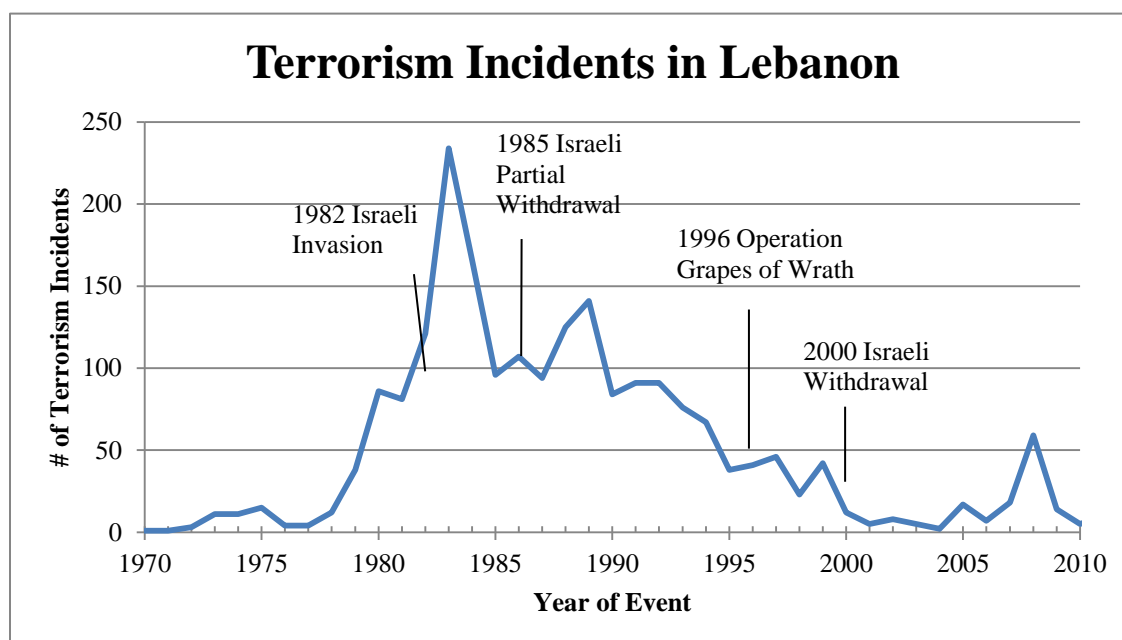
Terrorist Organizations in Lebanon.

Currently, there are terrorist organizations associated with the religious and separatist movement in Lebanon (N=2); one organization is active and one organization is not active.

Table 8.2 Terrorist Organizations in Lebanon

Organization	Operation Dates	Origin Location	Classification	Status
Hezbollah	1982-	Lebanon	Nationalist/ Separatist, Religious	Active
Ansar Allah	1994-1999	Lebanon	Religious	Active

Terrorist organizations during the Hezbollah Movement (Lebanon).

Hezbollah has the distinction of serving in dual roles; as a terrorist organization and as a social movement. Although the organization served in dual roles, another organization, Ansar Allah, was briefly active. Responsible for two incidents in the GTD, the dates of the attacks were 1994 and 1999, respectively; years that received a peak in activity for Hezbollah. In the early 1990s, the IDF attempted to use the strategy of attacking Lebanese civilians, a strategy that was meet with backlash and angry Lebanese civilians. In 1999, the ambush of an Israeli convoy was filmed and aired throughout Lebanon, and Israel, via Hezbollah's station Al- Manar.

It was found that in Lebanon, a social movement was, and is, a terrorist organization. Although a terrorist organization was created simultaneously with a social movement, another organization emerges during the movement. Ansar Allah was formed in 1994, after the start of the Hezbollah movement.

Figure 8.5 Number of Terrorist Organizations per Social Movement: Lebanon
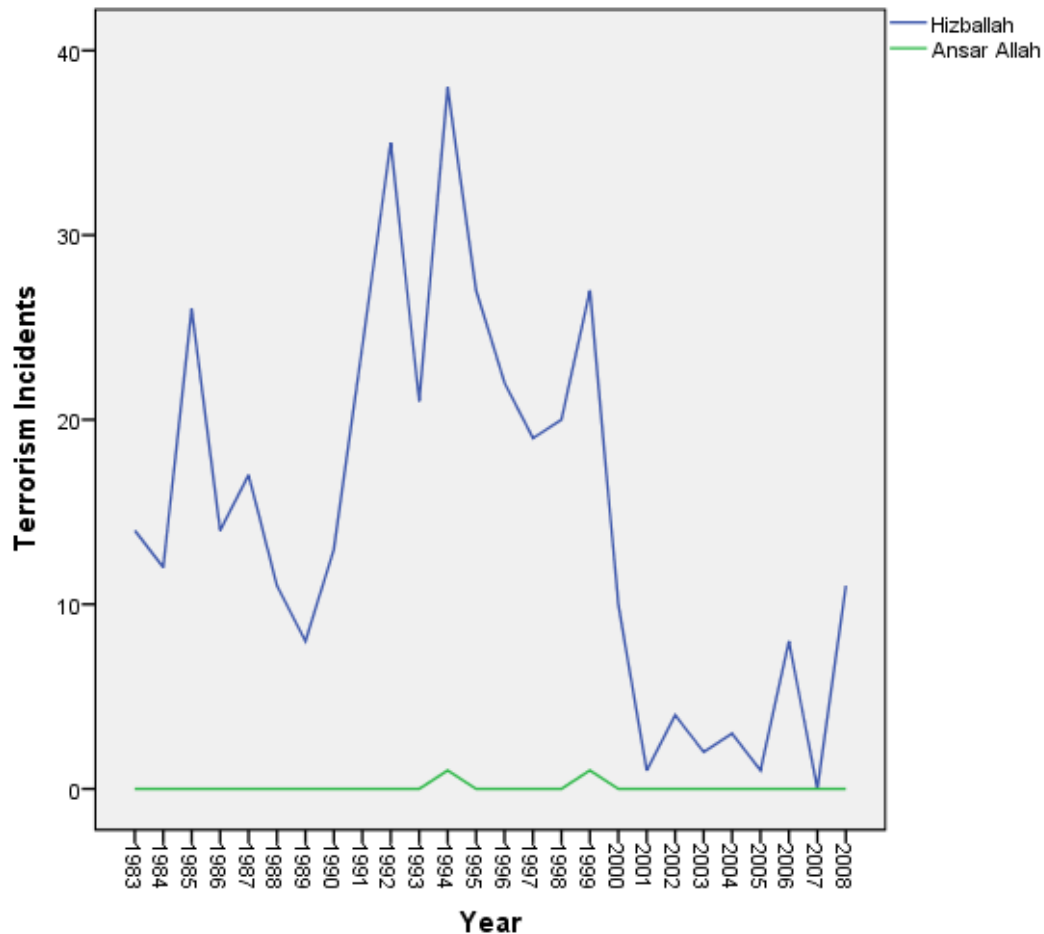
Hezbollah, also known as Hizbollah, formed in 1982 and is currently an active organization. During the given time frame Hezbollah has been responsible for 388 terrorism incidents. During the 1980s, the organization steadily increased committing acts of terrorism (AVG= 14.4 incidents per year) with a peak (N=26) during the year of 1985 and declined in 1989 (N=8). The 1990s indicated a relatively active amount of acts committed but at a higher rate (AVG= 24.3 incidents per year) with peaks in 1992 (N= 35) and 1994 (N= 38). Incidents Hezbollah steadily deceased in the early 2000s but peaked again in 2006 (N=8) and 2008 (N=11).

Figure 8.6 Terrorism Incidents for Hezbollah
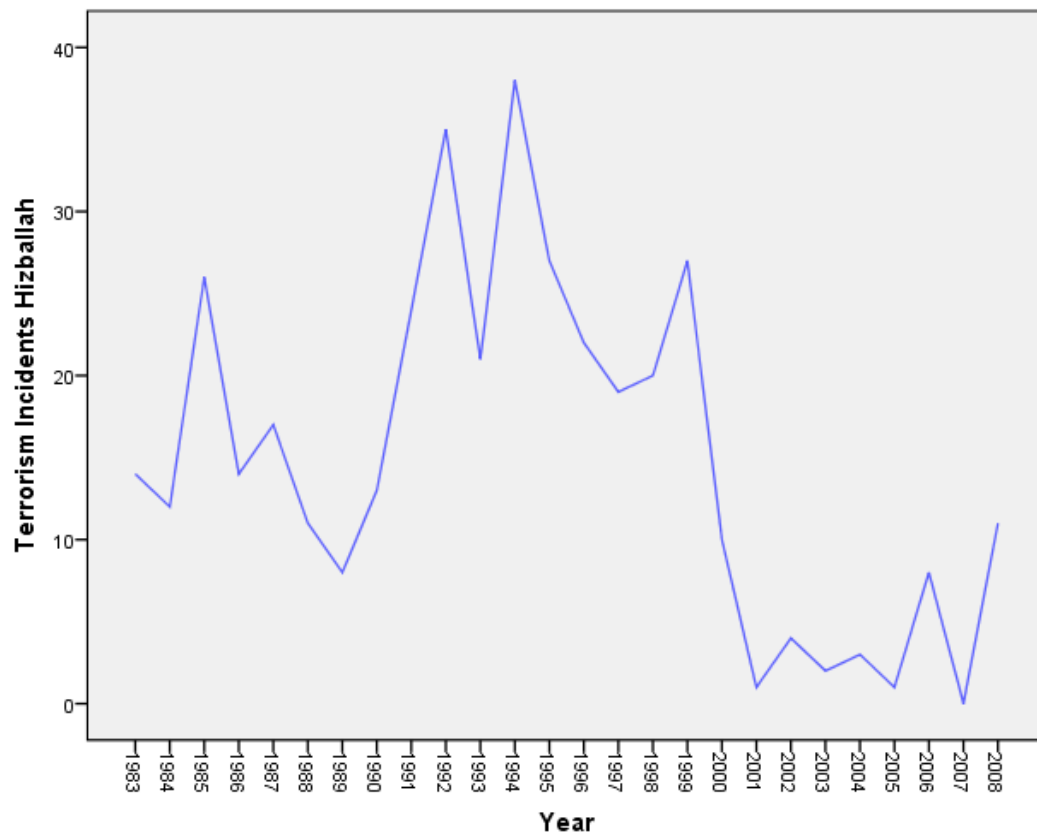
Ansar Allah was responsible for 2 incidents of terrorism, 1994 and 1999 respectively.

Figure 8.7 Terrorism Incidents for Ansar Allah
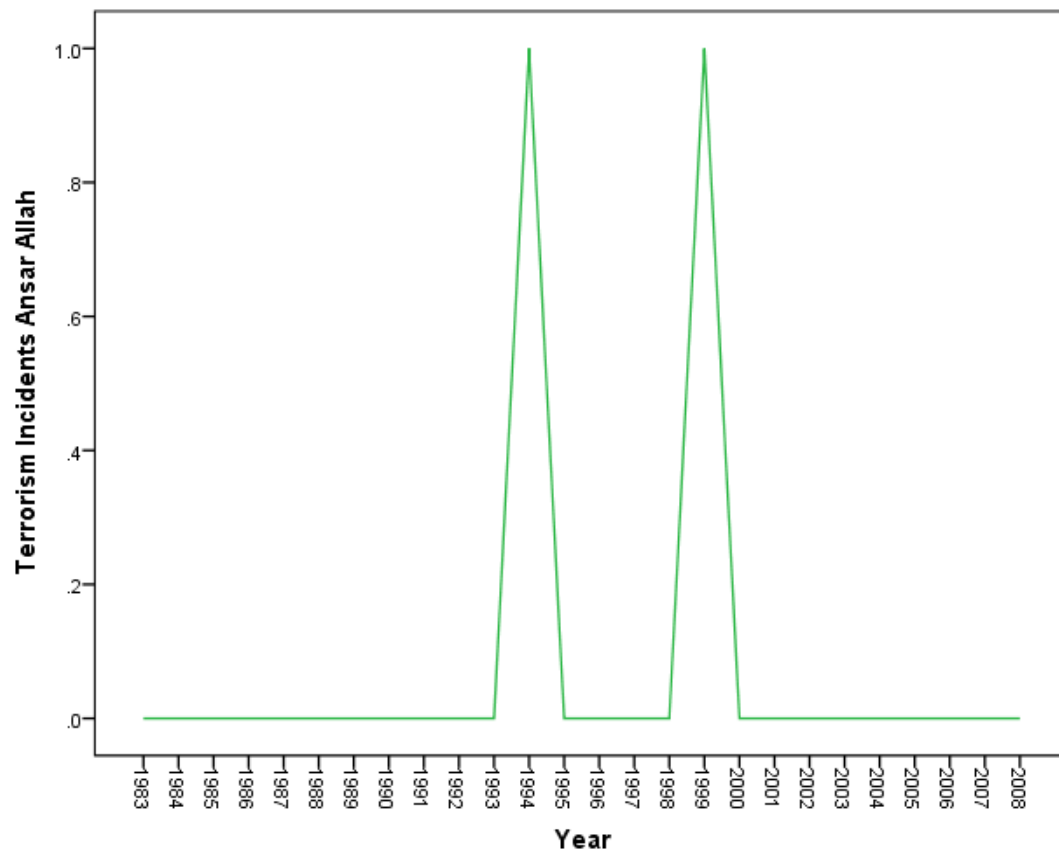
Relationship between Collective Action and Terrorism Incidents.

The periods of campaign in Lebanon coincided with that of peaks in terrorism incidents (See Figure 8.6). A collective action campaign that began in 1975, ending in the same year, was followed by a rise in terrorism incidents. A collective action campaign began in 1982, lasting until 2000, coincided with a spike in terrorism activity in 1983.

The Israeli government, and the IDF, invaded Lebanon in the same year. As seen, a period of collective action began in 2005 and ended in the same year. Although the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes does not reflect Hezbollah as a

campaign, Hezbollah is considered a social movement within itself (Karagiannis 2009; Qaseem 2005; Azani 2009).

Using both the Global Terrorism Database and the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes, the temporal relationship between collective action and terrorism in Lebanon is illustrated. A collective action campaign that began in 1975, coincided with the Lebanese Civil War that lasted until 1990. Terrorism incidents in Lebanon decreased in 1976 but increased in 1977. Another campaign sparked during 1982 when Israel invaded Lebanon. A large spike in terrorism activity occurred in 1983. Terrorism incidents and collective campaigns decreased until 2005, when Israel invaded Lebanon and a war ensued.

Figure 8.8 Relationships between Social Movements and Terrorism Activity in Lebanon
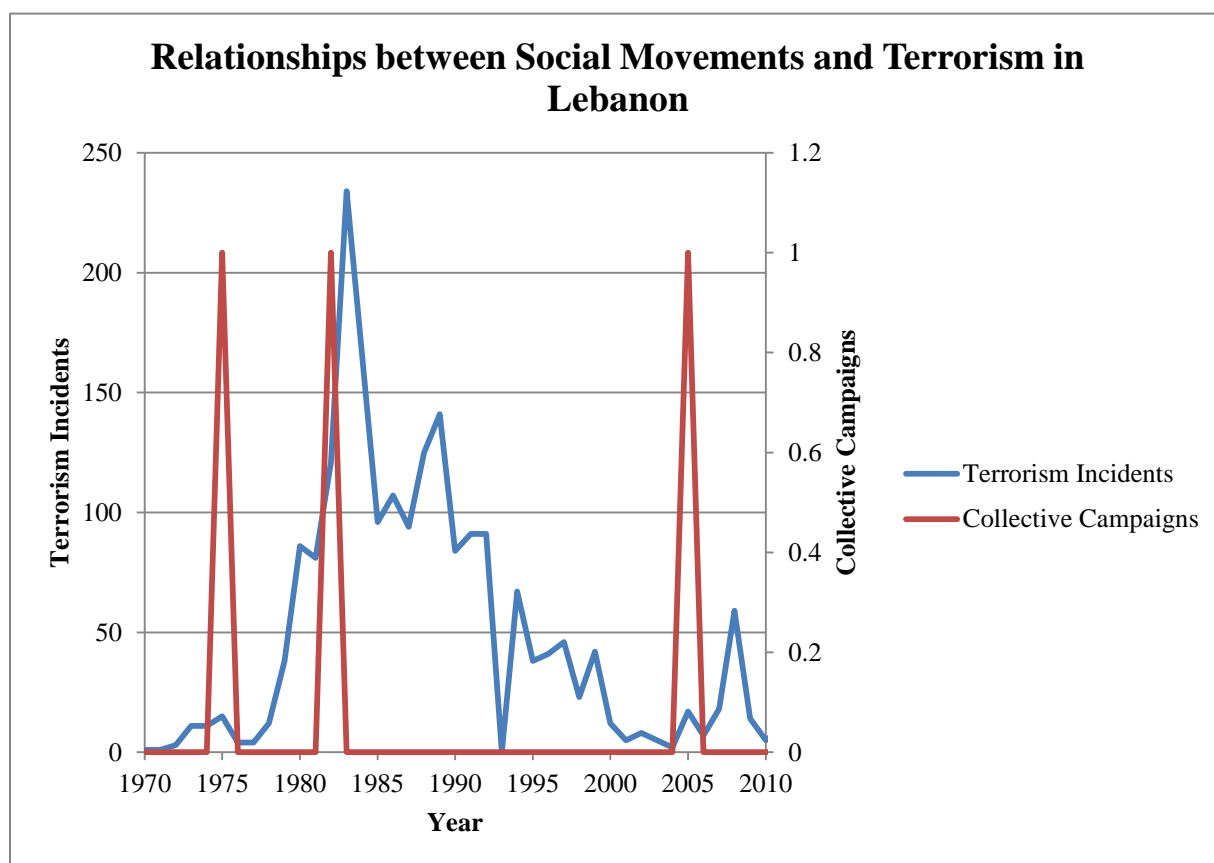
In Lebanon, the relationships between terrorism incident and collective campaigns were similar. A collective action campaign began in 1975 and terrorism incidents increased. Incidents decreased in 1976 but spike in 1983; after a spike in campaigns and the creation of Hezbollah, a social movement, in 1982.

Hezbollah: Governmental Interventions

The current study proposed a connection between a governmental response to collective action and terrorism. It suggests that there is a positive relationship between

backlash of a governmental strategy towards collective action and mobilization/recruitment into terrorist organization. Using an interrupted time series, ordinary least square regression/ multiple linear regression, the model examines the number of terrorism incidents before and after a specified intervention. Results of the regression indicate if the intervention had a positive, negative or no effect on the number of terrorism incidents after the onset of the intervention.

A total of four interventions are identified in the case study for Hezbollah; The Israeli Invasion of 1982, including the Sabre and Shatila Massacre that occurred in the same year; the Israeli Partial Withdrawal of 1985; Operation Grapes of Wrath (1996); and the full Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000. It is noted that current study does not negate the history between Israel and other Arab countries before the governmental interventions in Lebanon. However, it addresses the onset of Hezbollah, as a social movement and as a terrorist organization, in respect to its relationship with Israeli. In other words, the two scenarios are not thought of as mutually exclusive nor are they viewed as the same contention. The case analysis highlights specific instances that aid in the evolution of Hezbollah as a social movement, a terrorist organization and a political entity.

The 1982 Israeli invasion is selected as it is the first Lebanese war and its onset is due to Israel attacking Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) bases in Lebanon. Many Lebanese civilians were killed, causing discontent to grow. Israel agreed to partially withdraw from the country in 1985 but continued to occupy Southern Lebanon to monitor PLO and Hezbollah activities. Operation Grapes of Wrath was selected as an intervention based on the excessive use of force by the Israeli government, more than

1000 air raids in a sixteen day time span. The operation was a response to Hezbollah shelling Northern Israel. The full withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon in 2000 is the final intervention for Lebanon; the withdrawal was part of a peace talks to reduce regional tension.

The following section includes regression analysis for governmental interventions. The Global Terrorism Database is used for data pertaining to terrorism incidents.

Regression: Israeli Invasion/ Operation Peace for Galilee (1982)

Multiple linear regression analyses were conducted to test the association of the 1982 Israeli Invasion of Lebanon and Sabre and Shatila Massacre with subsequent changes in the level and trend in terrorism. The regression include a time variable to capture the general trend prior to the strategies, an intervention variable to measure the change in the level of terrorism, and an interaction of time x intervention to capture any change in the trend after the raid. The results for two different time periods are shown in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3: Israeli Invasion, Sabre and Shatila Massacre (1982)

	1970-1994				1970-1985			
	Model 1		Model 2			Model 3		Model 4	
Time	6.51	***	-1.48		Time	6.51	**	5.81	*
Intervention	111.35	***	111.34	***	Intervention	131.92	***	85.51	**
Interact	-14.28	***	---		Interact	-20.81		---	
Intercept	-20.09		31.88		Intercept	-20.09		-15.52	
R-squared	0.80		0.61		R-squared	0.81		0.78	
N	25		25		N	16		16	

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

For the 1970-1994 time period, Model 1 with the interaction term accounted for 80% of the variance in terrorism events and all of the coefficients are significant (p<.01). The intervention coefficient indicates that terrorism increased by 111 events in the years after the intervention. The trend became more negative after the intervention, as indicated by the interaction between time and intervention.

Model 2 was able to account for 61% of the variance in terrorism events. The Israeli Invasion intervention had a significant positive effect, p< .01. The model predicts that, on average, for period after the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 111 attacks, holding time constant.

Multiple linear regression analysis was repeated using the 1970-1985 time frames. A reduced time frame attempted to reduce additional years after the intervention to determine if levels of terrorism incidents were time sensitive. The 1970-1985 time frames exclude the partial withdrawal of Israeli forces in 1985 that were included in Models 1 & 2. Model 3 includes twelve years before and three years after the Israeli Invasion, and the subsequent Lebanese Civil War.

The multiple linear regression model, Model 3, accounted for 81% of the variance in terrorism events. As seen, the Israeli Invasion (intervention) had a significant positive effect, p< .01. The model predicts that, on average, for the years after the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 132 terrorist attacks.

In Model 4, Israeli Invasion intervention also had a significant positive effect, p< .05. The model predicts that, on average, for period after the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 86 attacks, holding time constant. The coefficient of time,

indicates that the terrorism trend decreased by a rate of 6 events prior to the intervention. *See Table 8.3.*

Model 3 fits the data better and suggests that the Israeli Invasion was associated with a sharp increase in the level of terrorism. The model accounts for 81% of the variance of terrorism events and excludes the partial Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon in 1985.

Regression: Israeli Partial Withdrawal (1985)

Multiple linear regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level of terrorism and the change in trend after the partial Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. The results for two different time periods are shown in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4: Israeli Partial Withdrawal (1985)

	1975-2000				1975-1995		
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4
Time	23.09	***	-0.95	Time	23.09	***	6.71
Intervention	-48.78	**	9.80	Intervention	-54.46	**	-54.46
Interact	-29.87	***	---	Interact	-28.66	***	---
Intercept	-50.87		81.32	Intercept	-50.87		39.20
R-squared	0.79		0.01	R-squared	0.77		0.16
N	26		26	N	21		21

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Model 1 accounted for 79 % of the variance in terrorism events with all of the coefficients significant; time has a positive correlation with terrorism events and intervention and interaction variable have a negative correlation. The Partial Withdrawal intervention indicates that terrorism decreased by 49 events in the years after the intervention. The time coefficient indicates that the terrorism trend increased at a rate of

23 events prior to the intervention. The trend became more negative after the intervention, as indicated by the interaction between time and intervention. *See Table 8.4.*

In Model 2, Partial Withdrawal intervention, with the interaction term accounted for 1% of the variance in terrorism events with just a level change and no interaction (slope change). The 1975- 2000 time frame includes ten years before and fifteen years after the intervention. The model did not include a significant correlation.

Multiple linear regression analysis was repeated using the 1975-2000 time frames to capture fewer years after the onset of the intervention to determine if levels of terrorism incidents were time sensitive, with ten years before and ten years after the Partial Withdrawal.

The multiple linear regression model, Model 3, accounted for 77% of the variance in terrorism events, N=21. As seen, the Partial Withdrawal (intervention) had a significant positive effect, p< .05. The model predicts that, on average, for the years after the intervention the number of terrorism events decreased by 54 terrorist attacks. The trend became more negative after the intervention, as indicated by the interaction between time and intervention. The coefficient of time, indicates that the terrorism trend increased by a rate of 23 events prior to the intervention. Model 4, which does not include an interaction term, was able to account for 16% of the variance in terrorism events but a significant correlation was not found between governmental intervention and terrorism events. *See Table 8.4.*

Model 3 is the best fit for the data and suggests that the Israeli partial withdrawal intervention was associated with a sharp decrease in level of terrorism, followed by a

downward trend. Model 3, unlike Model 1, avoided overlapping with another intervention.

Regression: Operation Grapes of Wrath (1996)

Multiple linear regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level of terrorism and the change in trend after Operation Grapes of Wrath. The results for two different time periods are shown in *Table 8.5*.

Table 8.5: Operation Grapes of Wrath (1996)

	1986-2006				1980-2000			
	Model 1		Model 2			Model 3		Model 4	
Time	-7.17		-5.29		Time	11.94		-6.44	***
Intervention	-17.24	***	-17.24	***	Intervention	187.18	**	9.06	
Interact	3.29		---		Interact	-19.54	**	---	
Intercept	131.13		120.80		Intercept	29.15		185.44	
R-squared	0.89		0.87		R-squared	0.64		0.52	
N	21		21		N	21		21	

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

For the 1986-2006 time period, Model 1 accounted for 89% of the variance in terrorism events. Operation Grapes of Wrath intervention had a significant positive effect, $p < .01$ with the intervention coefficient indicating that terrorism decreased by 17 events in the years after the intervention.

The 1986- 2006 time frame was selected to capture events that occurred ten years before and 10 years after the intervention. Model 2 accounted for 87% of the variance in terrorism events. As seen, Operation Grapes of Wrath (intervention) had a significant positive effect, $p < .01$. The model predicts that, on average, for the years after the

intervention the number of terrorism events decreased by 17 terrorist attacks, holding time constant.

Multiple linear regression analysis was repeated using the 1980-2000 time frames to increase additional years before the onset of the intervention, with sixteen years before and four years after Operation Grapes of Wrath. A reduced time frame after the intervention attempted to determine if levels of terrorism incidents were time sensitive. The multiple regression model, Model 3, accounted for 64% of the variance in terrorism events. As seen, Operation Grapes of Wrath (intervention) had a significant positive effect, $p < .05$. The model predicts that, on average, for the years after the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 187 terrorist attacks. The trend became more negative after the intervention, as indicated by the interaction between time and intervention. Model 4 was able to account for 52% of the variance in terrorism events, with the intervention having no significant effect. The coefficient of time indicates that the terrorism trend decreased by a rate of 6 events prior to the intervention. *See Table 8.5.*

Model 3 fits the data better and suggests that Operations Grapes of Wrath was associated with a sharp increase in the level of terrorism, followed by a downward trend. Although model 1 accounted for 89% of the variance the time frame includes events after Israel's full withdrawal from Lebanon.

Regression: Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon (2000)

Multiple linear regression analyses were conducted to test the association of the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon with subsequent changes in the level and trend in terrorism. The regression include a time variable to capture the general trend prior to the withdrawal, an intervention variable to measure the change in the level of terrorism, and

an interaction of time x intervention to capture any change in the trend after the withdrawal. The results for two different time periods are shown in *Table 8.6.*

Table 8.6: Israeli Withdrawal

	1982-2010				1996-2010	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	Model 4
Time	-8.11 ***		-6.30 ***	Time	-2.00	1.52
Intervention	-21.03		11.44	Intervention	-27.59	-35.60
Interact	9.79 ***		---	Interact	3.68	---
Intercept	170.69		153.48	Intercept	43.00	34.20
R-squared	0.82		0.73	R-squared	0.45	0.44
N	29		29	N	15	15

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

For the 1982-2010 time period, Model 1 with the interaction term accounted for 82% of the variance in terrorism events with just a level change and no interaction (slope change). The 1982- 2010 time frame was selected to capture events that occurred from the onset of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon until after the intervention; the time frame includes eighteen years before and 10 years after the intervention. Model 2, which does not include an interaction term, was able to account for 73% of the variance events but a significant relationship was not found between governmental intervention and terrorism events. *See Table 8.6*

Multiple linear regression analysis was also completed for the 2000 Israeli Withdrawal Intervention using the 1996-2010 time frames. The time frame is reduced to capture fewer years before the onset of the intervention. Model 3 with the interaction term produced accounted for 45% of the variance in terrorism events. The model did not include a significant correlation. Holding time constant, Model 2 also included a level

change and no interaction (slope change), with 44% of the variance in terrorism events and no significant correlation coefficients, N=15, R^2=.44.

Model 1 fits the data best for the Israeli withdrawal intervention, indicating an increased trend in terrorism events.

Summary.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was a governmental intervention that aimed at reducing Palestinian bases in Lebanon. The number of Lebanese casualties from the invasion, and other social problems, created discontent and social strain within the Lebanese community. Hezbollah formed to retaliate against Israeli forces. It was the hypothesis of the current study that repressive governmental interventions would be associated with increased terrorism events and an upward trend after the intervention. Regression models found the intervention to be associated with increased levels of terrorism. The best fit model indicates increased levels of terrorism after the onset of the intervention.

The partial Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon was done to reduce tension within the region. It was the hypothesis of the current study that the intervention would be associated with decreased terrorism events and a downward trend after the intervention. Regression models found the intervention to be associated with decreased levels of terrorism. The best fit model indicates a downward trend of terrorism and decreased incidents of terrorism events after the onset of the intervention.

Operation Grapes of Wrath was a military intervention by the Israeli government that included shelling and firing into Lebanon for 16 days. It was expected that the

excessive use of military weapons would result increased terrorism events. The best fit regression model found the intervention to be associated with increased levels of terrorism, followed by a downward trend of terrorism. Over time, the intervention decreased the terrorism trend.

It is the hypothesis of the current study that the withdrawal of Israeli troops would decrease levels of terrorism post intervention. The intervention was not found to be associated with increased, or decreased, level of terrorism but the model indicates that the trend of terrorism slightly increased over time.

Relative Deprivation and Social Strain Theory

Social Strain theory and Relative Deprivation theory were utilized in identifying the social conditions that aid in the transition from collective actions to violent collective action in Lebanon. Social Strain factors included external factors, group's ideology/goal, type of movement, size of the movement/campaign, length of the movement and the "last straw" event. External Factors included the historical, cultural and contextual factors previously outlined in the case analysis. Hezbollah provided a unique analysis as it served as both a social movement and a terrorist organization. Its status as a terrorist organization is based upon the operationalization of terrorist incidents, the Foreign Terrorist Organization List (United States) and the various academic literatures that supported the classification.

Table 8.7 Social Strain Factors in the Hezbollah Movement

	Social Strain Factors
Movement Ideology/Goal	Political and Economic Equality for Shia Community; Expulsion of Israel and allies from Lebanon, restoration of Islamic Law
Group's Ideology/Goal	Same (encompassing Nationalist and Religious elements)
Type of Movement	Religious, Revolutionary
Type of Organizations	Same
External Support	Diaspora (U.S., West Africa, South America, etc.), Iranian government, Syrian government (prior to 2000)
Length of the movement	1980s- current
Length of Organizations	Hezbollah (early 1980s- current), Ansar Allah (1993-2000)
Last Straw Event	Israeli Invasion of Lebanon (1982 invasion)

Magnarella's Relative Deprivation Theory is used in the case study of the

Hezbollah Movement in the Lebanon. Magnarella's Theory of Relative Deprivation

identified four causal sequences that transition discontent to civil violence and, in the

current research, terrorism; Sense of and actual infrastructural conditions that lead to

discontent, Insufficiencies of the infrastructure to not be corrected, formation of

ideologies revolving around discontent, and violent action manifests itself.

Infrastructural conditions leading to discontent. The Shiite community in Lebanon

described as destitute in comparison to other communities in Lebanon (Haddad 2006).

The community lacked a political role that represented its population size. The Shiite

community expressed political and economic grievances in Lebanon.

Mistrust of Western practices began with the Sykes- Picot agreement that negated the agreement made with Arabs in the McMahon Agreement of 1915. This mistrust further strained when France was granted the mandate for Syria and Lebanon.

Majority of the political representation went to Maronite Christians in 1943, the Shiite community began to perceive a marginalization of its community. The Shiite community attempted to institutionally receive political representation by allowing the Christians to have the majority in the political system. However, the creation of the United Arabic Republic in 1958 kindled the notion of an Islamic majority state.

By the late 1970s, discontent created the space for a more extremist ideology. In the 1985 "Open Letter to the Downtrodden in Lebanon and in the World" Hezbollah outlined its grievances, enemies and goals for Lebanon. The article discussed the plight of Lebanon, Hezbollah noted specifically noted grievances with the role that America played in the country.

> "They have attacked our country, destroyed our villages, massacred our children, violated our sanctities and installed over our head a criminal henchman who have perpetrated terrible massacres against our nation. They are still supporting these butchers who are Israel's allies and preventing us from our destiny with our free will. Their bombs fell on our kinsmen like rain during the Zionist invasion of and the Beirut blockade. Their planes raided our civilians, and wounded day and night whereas the areas of the agent Phalangists safe from the enemy's bombardment …" -Hezbollah[28]

Insufficiencies of the infrastructure not being corrected. The 1960s witnessed a surge in support from its Diaspora and the rest of the world as awareness was raised about the limitations of Shiite in Lebanon's political system and economic opportunities (Haddad 2006). The 1960s included the urbanization of the Shiite community.

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[28] Hezbollah (1985) Open Letter to the Downtrodden in Lebanon and in the World

"The Shii's have always demanded a fairer distribution of wealth and opportunities in the country, as well as equitable political representation" Haddad (2006)

After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, many Muslims felt abandoned by the international community.

"We appealed to the world's conscious but hear nothing from and found no trace of it" -Hezbollah (Norton 2007)

"We could not endure more than we have endured. Our tragedy is sure than years old and all we have seen so far are the covetous, hypocritical and Zionist-Phalange Coordination. As the number of the victims of the crimes perpetrated against us by America, Israel and the Phalange. Nearly one half billion Muslims have been displaced and their quarters …. have been almost totally destroyed…The Zionist occupation continues to usurp the lands of the Muslims, extending over more than one third of Lebanon's area in prior coordination and full agreement with the Phalangist, who have denounced the attempts to confront the invading forces and have taken part in implementing some of Israel's schemes so as to complete Israel's plan and to give it what it wishes in return for its leading them to power." -Hezbollah (1985)

Formation of ideologies revolving around discontent. Political tension increased in the 1970s as elected officials worked with a regime that marginalized the areas of the country that were largely occupied by the Shiite community (Hadrik 2004). The Iranian Revolution of 1979 presented the Muslim community in the area with the ideology of an Islamic state that did not marginalize its citizens and politically representative its citizens.

The Israeli- Arab Wars greatly strained the Lebanese community, as Lebanon was frequently used as a base for Palestinian forces that launched attacks on Israel. Israel responded with attacks on Lebanon. The Lebanese government provided little support for many citizens, creating a space for political extremism; especially ideology aimed at a movement against Israel.

"We condemn strongly all the plans for mediation between us and Israel and we consider the mediators a hostile party because their mediation will only serve to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Zionist occupation of Palestine" -Hezbollah (Norton 2007)

"Israel's final departure from Lebanon is a prelude to its final obliteration from existence and the liberation of venerable Jerusalem from the talons of occupation." -Hezbollah (Norton 2007)

"Thus, we have seen that aggression can be repelled only with the sacrifice of blood, and that freedom is not given but regained with the sacrifice of both heart and soul." -Hezbollah (Norton 2007)

Violent action manifests itself. During the 1980s, Hezbollah's mission became conducting jihad against those 'usurping' Muslim lands (Harik 2004).Hassan Ezzeddin noted Hezbollah's capability of fighting Israeli planes in 2001. He stated,

We are a guerrilla resistance group and no such group possess the assets to defeat a modern air force- it's impossible. But does that mean we should sit with our arms folded as the Israelis fly back and forth across our country creating sonic booms that terrorize our citizens? What other state would accept such constant violations without reacting? Ezzeddin[29]

"Each of us is a combat soldier when the call of *jihad* demands it and each of us undertakes his task in accordance with his lawful assignment within the framework of action under the guardianship of the leader of jurisprudent".

Summary

Until recently, non-Western social movements were under studied, especially those involving Islam (Karagiannis 2009).The Islamic social movement employed the notion of removal of a secular government and the use of jihad. There are three pillars of

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[29] Excerpt from Hadrik (2004)

Hezbollah; the Belief in Islam, Jihad and Jurisdiction of the Jurist-theologian (Qassem 2005).

A recent study by Haddad (2006) sampled the Lebanese population. Of the 256 Lebanese Shiite Muslim respondents, 85% rated themselves as moderate or strongly religious. Respondents were in favor of Hezbollah keeping its arms indefinitely (80%) but there was slight approval of Hezbollah utilizing violence (54%). Respondents disproved the use of violence to achieve its objective (64%) but majority of the respondents wanted the party to continue to grow (70%) and endorse the group's overall activities (62%). In summation, overall there was support for Hezbollah as an organization, and for having its military faction. However, there was little support for the use of violence to achieve Hezbollah's objectives. More importantly, respondents supported the idea of Hezbollah continuing to grow as a party and organization. Although there were limitations of the study, the study echoed the current academic literature about Hezbollah's success in becoming a part of Lebanese society. The organization has been providing community support and infrastructure that the government has not been able to provide to the Lebanese society.

Hezbollah found various ways to infiltrate society and politics by rooting itself in the support of the Lebanese populous. One faction of Hezbollah continues armed attacks against Israel's army while the other continues to be politically active in Lebanese government. Azani (2009) classified the development of Hezbollah into five stages. *See*

Table 8.8

Table 8.8 Developmental Stages of Hezbollah

Stage	Characteristics
Foundation Stage (1982-1983)	Extreme acts of random terrorism by clandestine groups; strong sense of movement's framework
Formation Stage (1983-1985)	Ideology becomes more salient, extreme violence, pro-Iranian revolutionary basis continues
Expansion Stage (1986-1991)	Supporters, activists and activities increase. Violence peaks in late 80s, struggle against Amal continues
Institutionalization Stage (1992-)	Integration into the political system
Seizing rule/decline	Has not reached this stage yet

Hezbollah serves as a unique case in that it is considered a social movement. Therefore, Hezbollah is a social movement and a terrorist organization combined. It has remained politically active and continues to provide civic support to all Lebanese citizens. Hezbollah was able to transform itself from an extremist group involved in civic activity to a political organization that has branches in the civic community and provides military support. During the Israeli-Lebanon War of 2006, it was able to position itself as a military force by strategically placing missiles/rockets throughout the country.

Hezbollah is part military, part political party and part organized social movement (Cammett 2006).It reflects the sentiment of individuals in a broader population; this includes individuals in the Shiite community but individuals in the broader Lebanese population. From the opposition of invasions, to feeding the poor and inciting acts of terrorism for 'defense', Hezbollah frames itself as a political, military and religious social welfare group.

Chapter 9: THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT (Ireland)

"..the Volunteers henceforth claimed that they were the legally –consitutted army of a lawful state (and some units began to style themselves 'Irish Republican Army'). The sporadic opening of the campaign of violence was a function of wide local variations in organizational strength and attitude." – Townsend (1979)

Emergence of a movement.

The Global Terrorism Database lists the Irish Repblican Army (IRA) as one of the longest running terorrist organizations in Western Europe, with an operation that spans over 80 years. The formation date for the IRA ranges from 1919 to 1922 (Townsend 1979; Smith 1997; START n.d.). As with many events in history, the formation of the Irish Republican Army and its trajectory of activities began with a crisis.

The Great Famine (1845-1849), where nearly one million Irish starved after potato blight reduced available food, served as the starting point of the Irish Nationalist. Another one million migrated after the Great Famine, maninly to the United States (Smith 1997). Within 5 years, the famine reduced the Irish population by half. The famine called into the question the responsibility of Britian to Ireland and vice versa. Citizens launched rebellions against British rule in Ireland in 1803, 1848 (during the famine), 1867, and 1916 (McConnel 2011).

The Irish Republican Brotherhood formed in 1858, with the expressed intent of bringing about the Irish Republic through violent mechanisms and not through political negotiations (Grob-Fitzgibbon 2007). The Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) created the ideology of Irish Nationalism at the hands of violence. The IRB, also known as the Fenians, included leaders in both Ireland (James Stephens) and the United States (John

O'Mahoney) (Smith 1997). The group's activity decreased after an 1867 uprising that lead to a governmental crackdown. The group's ideology remained prominent although the organization didn't resurface again until the 20th century.

An institutional attempt to create a self-governing state started with the creation of the 1886 Home Rule (McConnel 2011). It proposed the creation of a two branch assembly, subordinate to the imperial parliament. Although the Bill made it to the House of Commons it was quickly defeated. In 1893, the Second Home rule passed in the House of Commons but stalled in the House of Lords (McConnel 2011; Smith 1997). Irish nationalist considered the Home Rule as the way to the "Promise Land" where Ireland would be a self-governing state. The IRB reformed in 1907, shortly after the emergence of Sinn Fein Party (Grob- Fitzgibbon 2007). The IRB rebirth came from within the Sinn Fein's Party.

The period of 1912 -1914 was an era of overt militancy in Ireland (Grob-Fitzgibbon 2007). The House of Lords passed the Parliament Bill in 1911, which took away the House of Lords ability to veto the House of Commons. The new political landscape allowed the Lords to reject a House of Common's bill twice. The possibility of the House of Rule passing became more plausible after the bill passing. The Home Rule Party, led by John Redmond, was confident in the passing of the Home Rule. The party was so confident that it referred to Redmond as Ireland's prime minister in waiting after 1912. Arthur Griffin, leader of Sinn Fein, asked the separatists to be prepared to be the main party of opposition in the Irish Parliament (McConnel 2011).

The Ulster Union, called the "Union" because of their support for the British Union, opposed the Home Bill. The Ulster's were of the impression that the Home Rule

bill would weaken Ireland, politically and economically. At a Unionist rally, the leader of the Union, James Craig, noted the Ulster providence preparedness to protect the Protestant providence in case the Home Rule bill passed (Grob- Fitzgibbon 2007). Tension among the Union and Republicans grew as the Home Bill awaited a third presentation in Parliament. During 1912, Ulster recruited and trained militia in the spirit of an anti-Home Rule campaign. During the same year, the third attempt at the Home Rule Bill was presented and passed.

Interest in the Home Rule Bill extended beyond the political line; it drew concerns about party affiliations, religious affiliations, and the civil liberties of individuals (Smith 1997). The Protestant Ulster unionist feared the ramifications of a Home Rule with a Catholic majority as its leadership. The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) formed in opposition of Home Rule bill. They formed an army to deter the implementation of the Home Rule Bill. The UVF imported arms to support its "army" and planed a provisional government to rule in the Ulster counties.

Eoin MacNeil, noted the unification of the Ulster counties and stated that "There is nothing to prevent the other twenty-eight countries [outside Ulster] from calling into existence citizen forces to hold Ireland 'for the Empire'" (Grob- Fitzgibbon 2007). The Irish Volunteers formed in response to the UVF and the threats made by the organization to preserve the "Union". The Volunteers began a recruitment campaign that included both men and women; the Volunteer Movement. Ultimately, MacNeil recruited more than 170,000 members into the organization (NLI n.d.). A women's auxiliary branch, Cumann na mBan, formed for the women recruited into the movement. The Irish Citizen Army formed in 1913, by James Connolly.

The Irish Volunteers, led by Redmond and MacNeil, had many executive members that were also member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The objective included Ireland obtaining full independence from the Union. By 1914, Redmond and MacNeil began to splinter in their perspectives of how the group would continue. Redmond placed many of the provisional committee members with members of the Irish Parliamentary Party as tactic to maintain control of the organization. As World War I unfolded, Redmond suggested that the Volunteers enlist in the British army. MacNeil opposed the view of the Volunteers as a part of the war (Smith, 1997). In September of 1914, a larger number of the Volunteers followed Redmond, leaving a smaller group under the command of Eoin MacNeil (NLI n.d.). Many of the remaining Irish Volunteers that followed MacNeil were committed "Republicans" and were not in favor of the Home Rule Bill.

Connolly, founder of the Irish Citizen Army, and the future leader of the 1916 Uprising, became disgruntle with institutional attempts of addressing grievances; from the women suffrage movement to the independent Ireland movement. The opinion increased in popularity that the women's struggle to vote, Women's suffrage, was more likely to occur than the creation of an Irish parliament; this notion increased the frustration within the militant population (McConnel 2011).

Sir Casement traveled throughout the United States in 1915, with the aid of the U.S. based Clan na Gael, to gain monetary support for an Irish Revolution (Grob-Fitzgibbon 2007). In early 1916 Germany aided Casement and the "revolution" and provided 20,000 rifles, 10 machine guns, ammunition and explosives (Grob-Fitzgibbon 2007). On April 21, Casement arrived in Ireland and was haphazardly discovered by an

Irish peasant that reported him to the local police. In police custody, Casement was not able to secure the beach as planned; this began the series of events associated with the Easter Rising of 1916.

With the area under survey, Casement's accomplices were ambushed. The police captured and interrogated the accomplice for 2 days before he supplied information about the armed revolution that was set to occur in Dublin. Having gained knowledge of the information breach, MacNeil informed Irish Volunteers to postpone the Easter revolution(Grob- Fitzgibbon 2007). The IRB criticized MacNeil's suggestion of a postponement; McNeil resigned due to a disagreement about continuing the Uprising. Without MacNeil in charge, the organization pushed for the armed resistance with the Irish Volunteers in the frontline. Most of the participants in the 1916 Uprising were members of the Irish Volunteers. The British government had detailed information about the planned revolution and was able to use the information from both an informant and the captured accomplice.

The Easter Uprising began on Easter Tuesday, April 25th and the Irish Volunteers did not disband until Sunday, April 30th (Grob- Fitzgibbon 2007). A total of 318 Irish volunteers (insurgents and civilians), 116 British Army soldiers, 13 member of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), and 3 members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) were killed. A large number of civilians and soldiers sustained injuries; 2217 Irish volunteers and civilians, 368 British soldiers, 22 RIC and 7 DMP (Grob- Fitzgibbon 2007).

The weeklong stance severely damaged Dublin. Following the rising, the British government responded with strict measures to deplete the number of remaining

nationalists/Irish Volunteers. House-to- house searches resulted in the forced disarmament and the arrest of several "nationalists".

A total of 3420 men and 79 women were arrested as suspected "Sinn Feiners" in the weeks that followed the Easter Rising (Grob- Fitzgibbon 2007). Of those arrested, 1424 men and 73 women were later released after the courts deemed them innocent. Those that remained in custody, 169 men and 1 woman were convicted, 11 were acquitted and 1836 men and 5 men were sent to England for incarceration without a trial. The government sentenced more than half, 90, of the 170 convicted (the 169 men and 1 woman) to death by firing squad. Many in Ireland held the general opinion that the government responded in an overly repressive manner to the Rising (Grob- Fitzgibbon 2007).

The 1916 Easter Uprising served as a "last straw" event during the Volunteer movement. It played a significant role in the republican ideology. Irish Republicans, membership included the Irish Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers, rose up against the British. The armed resistance was met with brute police force and suppression by the British. The government executed leaders of the movement followed by thousands of arrests post Rising(Alonso 2001). This event, however, created a symbolic ideology that remained intact from the Volunteers to the modern IRA. The uprising increased the number of sympathizers who considered those killed as "fallen" comrades, or martyrs. This propelled the formation of the IRA but it also solidified the philosophy of shedding blood for Ireland (Alonso 2001).

The rise and fall of violence.

The Easter Uprising of 1916, to most Irish Republicans, confirmed the idea that only physical force could sway the British (Townshend 1979). The Easter Uprising politically revived the Sinn Fein party. In December of 1918, the party won 73 seats in the general election (Smith 1997). January of 1919 sparked the beginning of the Ango-Irish war, with widespread violence. "Political" Feiners opposed the use of violence. The Volunteers identified themselves as the legitimate "army" of the Irish state, according to the constitution; they began to call themselves the Irish Republican Army.

Tactics employed by the Volunteers, addressed as the IRA from henceforth, during this era guerilla style tactics were self-taught. Within the organization, the organization included elements of socialism and the struggle for freedom. Between 1919 and 1921, the organization used guerilla tactics to expel British forces within Ireland. The organization focused on arming and training itself. IRA engaged in "arms raids' by targeting wealthy homes and taking weapons and/or money from the wealthy owners (Townshend 1979).

In 1922, Britain and Irish separatists signed the Anglo- Irish Treaty, led by the Sinn Fein party. Twenty-six southern counties became independent while the United Kingdom maintained rule over the Northern States (the Ulster counties) under the treaty (TOP n.d.). A signing of the treaty created a riff in the organization; pro- and anti- Irish treaty. The anti- Treaty IRA members became the "Irregulars" and the pro-Treaty party, Cumann na nGaedheal, won a majority of seats in the new Irish Free State parliament (Smith 1997).

The Free State Forces attacked the "Irregulars" and sparked the Irish Civil War. The IRA called a cease fire in 1923. By the early 1930s the IRA are outlawed and

considered illegal. The 1940s -1950s included the IRA's attempted border campaigns against Northern Ireland. After losing half of the popular votes it once secured in British General Elections (for Sinn Fein), the IRA abandoned the Border campaign (Smith 1997).

The IRA split again in 1969 into the Official IRA and the Provisional IRA. The Official IRA opposed an armed campaign against Britain. The Official IRA signed a cease fire in 1972 and the Official IRA does not become a *militarily* active organization again (TOPS n.d.). The Provisional IRA became the de facto IRA after the 1972 ceasefire and continued its violent campaigns.

PIRA launched a bombing assault in Belfast that became known as Bloody Friday (Smith 1997). In effect, the British government took tougher measures to disband the group; including Operations Loughgall, Motorman and Gibraltar.

In December of 1974 the organization offered another ceasefire but the cease-fire failed six months after the agreement (Coogan 1994). Another failed cease fire followed in December of 1976. Tactics by both the IRA and its opposition became increasingly sectarian in the later part of the 1970s. Individuals were targeted victims of attacks for being either Protestant or Catholic.

A noted tactic of the PIRA[30] during this time was the Hunger Strikes. Many of the strikes proved to be unsuccessful in obtaining their demands but the strikes garnered sympathizers. One of the most notable hunger strikes was by Bobby Sands and comrades in the H-Block Unit on Long Kesh. is Scholars compared the effect of Bobby Sands' death from the 66 day hunger strike to that of the 1916 Easter Rising (Coogan 1994).

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[30] PIRA and IRA are used interchangeably after the 1972 cease fire of OIRA

During 1980-1981, the PIRA focused on the H Block Units in the prison of Long Kesh. Those members that were inside the prison symbolically made demands for rights.

Individuals decided to participate in a hunger strike that emerged from the harsh conditions within the prison, also known as the blanket protests. The death of Bobby Sands resulted in widespread rioting in both Belfast and Derry. The strike ended after 10 prisoners die. Loyalist opposed to British government's security policies is led a month later (Smith 1997).

Both parties signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985 but a large demonstration against the agreement followed soon thereafter (Smith 1997). Sectarian clashes continued until the final ceasefire was called by PIRA. In 1994, PIRA/the IRA called for a cease-fire that eventually led to the Good Friday Accords of 1998. The groups agreed to work towards a peaceful Ireland. However, the organization considered responsible for various incidents and criminal activity.

Temporal Pattern

The following section includes trend plotting of social movements at the national level, terrorism activity at the national level, terrorism activity per terrorist organization, the number of terrorist organizations during the movement and the temporal relationship between terrorism activity and social movements at the national level. The European Protest and Coercion Data are used for data pertaining to collective campaigns. The Global Terrorism Database is used for data pertaining to terrorism incidents.

Collective Action in Ireland.

According to the European Protest and Coercion Data (EPCD) collective action decreased in 1993 (N=741) and there were 410 recorded collective action events by 1995. Peak activity of events were in 1980 (N=1018) and in 1983 (N= 1118). Collective events coded included all reported protest and repressive events. Researcher coded ongoing events, such as strikes and occupations, daily and not as separate incidents. Protests that grew out of a previous event were coded separately (Francisco 2000).

Figure 9.1 Collective Protest in Northern and Southern Ireland: 1980-1995

Collective Protest in Northern and Southern Ireland: 1980-1995
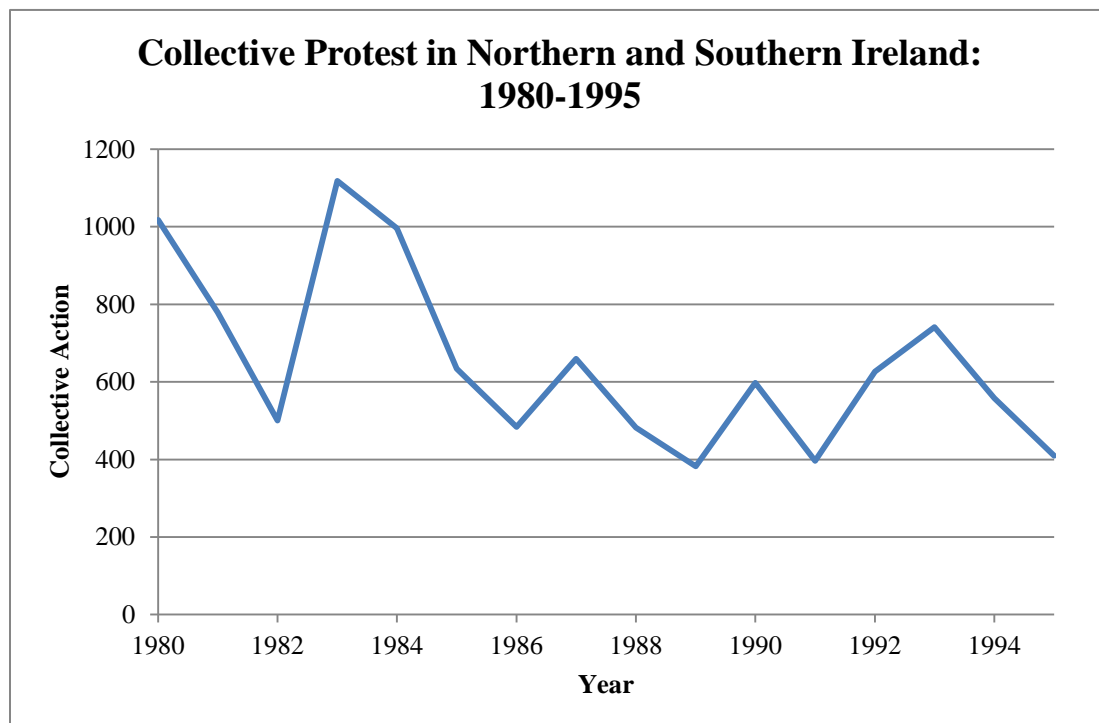
When data for Northern Ireland are shown independently from the rest of Ireland, it is seen that the peak in activity was in 1980 and 1981, during the Hunger Strikes at Long Kesh by leader Bobby Sands. Activity slowly rose in the early 1990s but decreased by 1995, after the IRA ceasefire signing.

Figure 9.2 Collective Protest in Northern Ireland: 1980-1995
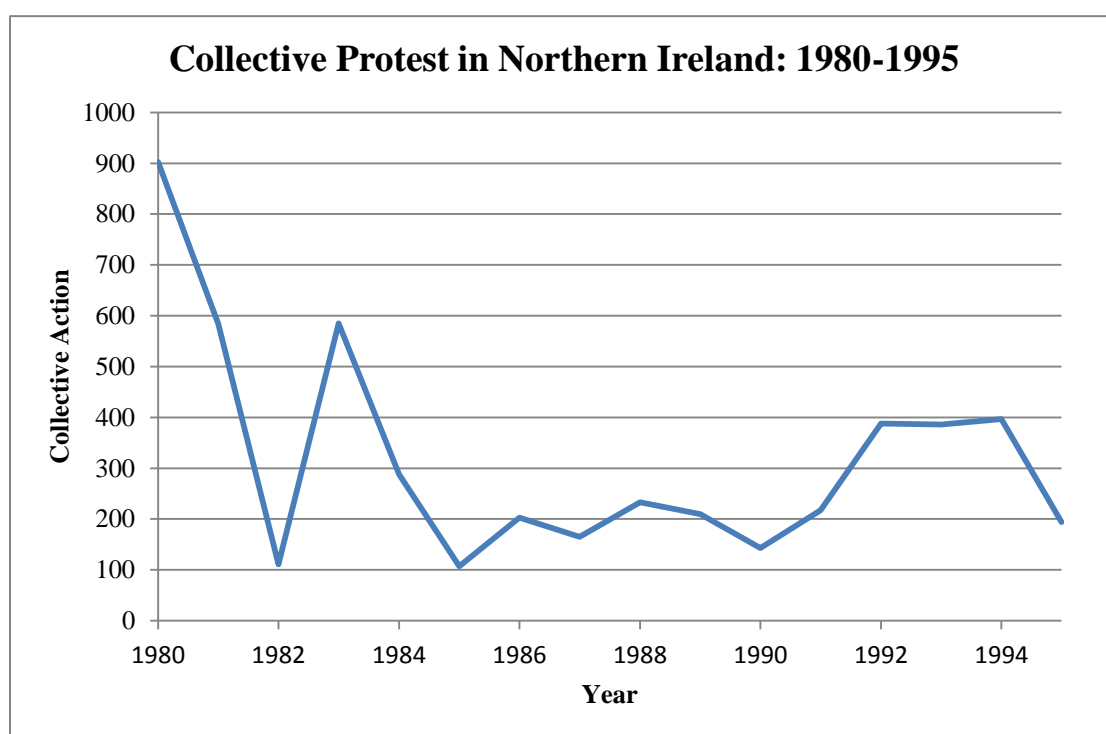
Terrorism Incidents in Ireland.

Incidents of terrorism, per the GTD, in Ireland are unknown before 1970. According to the Global Terrorism Database, Ireland experienced 3686 incidents of terrorism from 1970 to 2011, inclusive (See Figure 9.14). The period of consistent and

sustained terrorism activity was between 1970 and 1994, once the Good Friday accords

were signed. The peak of activity is in 1991 (N= 220) but terrorism activity declined by

1995 (N=20). Although terrorism activity decreased greatly in Ireland post Good Friday

Accords, activity continued until now. It is believed that while members rarely engage in

military operations (i.e.- bombings), they are active in organized crime (TOPS n.d.).

Figure 9.3 Terrorism Incidents in Ireland

Terrorism Events in Ireland
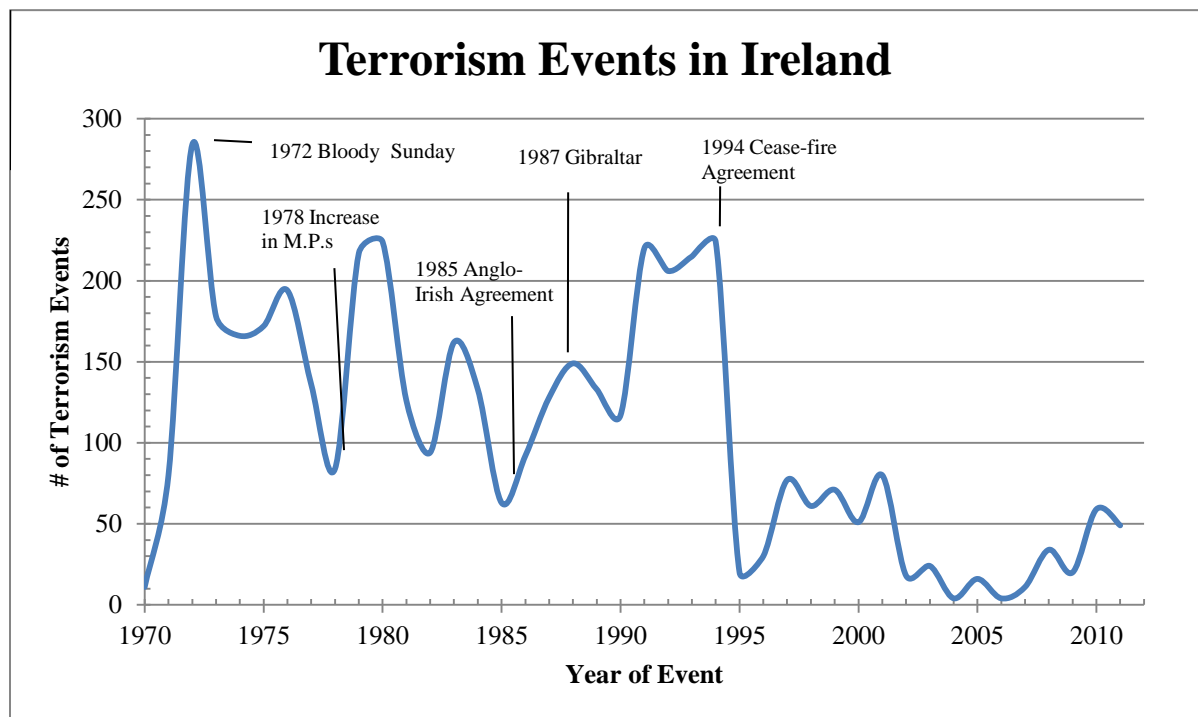
Terrorist Organizations in Ireland.

Currently, there are active terrorist organizations associated with the separatist movement in Ireland (N=4) and inactive organizations (N=4). There were a total of eight organizations associated with the separatist movement in Ireland.

Table 9.1 Terrorist Organizations in Ireland

Organization	Operation Dates	Origin Location	Classification	Status
Irish Republican Army (IRA) / Provisional IRA (PIRA)	1922/1969-*2005	Northern Ireland	Nationalist/Separatist	*Inactive
Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA)	1969-**1972	Northern Ireland	Nationalist/Separatist	**Inactive
Irish National Liberation Army (INLA)	1974-1998	Northern Ireland	Nationalist/Separatist	Inactive
Catholic Reaction Force (CRF)	1983-	Northern Ireland	Nationalist/Separatist	Active
Irish People's Liberation Organization (IPLO)	1986-1992	Northern Ireland	Nationalist/Separatist	Inactive
Continuity Irish Republic Army (CIRA)	1986-	Northern Ireland	Nationalist/Separatist	Active
Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA)	1998-	Northern Ireland	Nationalist/Separatist	Active
Irish Republican Extremist (IRE)	Unknown-	Northern Ireland	Nationalist/Separatist	Active

* A cease-fire was agreed upon in 2005 but the group claimed responsibility for incidents up until 2010
** A cease-fire was agreed upon in 1972 but the group is attributed to committing acts of terrorism

Terrorist organizations during the Volunteer Movement (Ireland)

As seen, the IRA was a very active organization, especially in comparison to other organizations with similar ideologies. The intensity of attacks for the IRA was greatest during the 1990s but reduced dramatically after signing a 1994 cease-fire

agreement. There are a total of 9 organizations associated with the grassroots movement in Ireland.

Figure 9.4 Number of Terrorist Organizations per Social Movement: Ireland
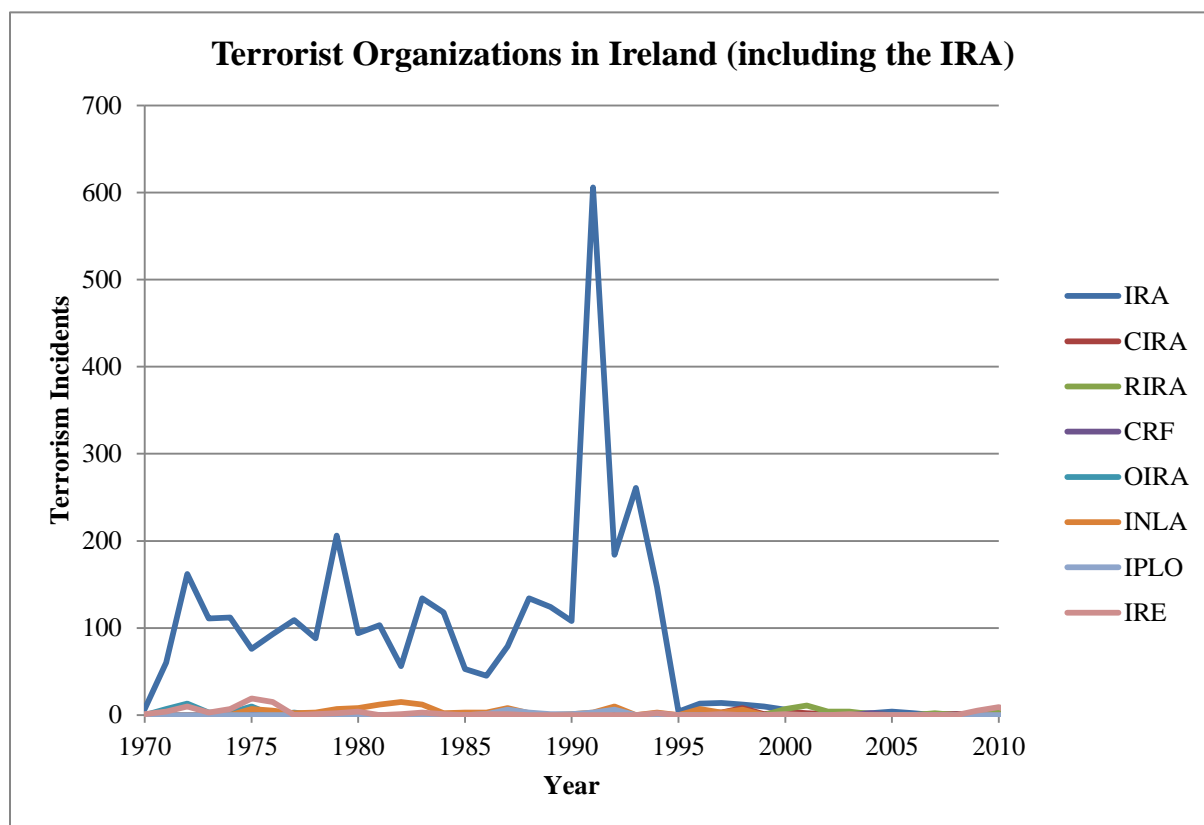
Data on the IRA compressed the activity of the other active organizations. As seen, similar spikes in activities are found in groups that were active during the same time frame.

Figure 9.5 Number of Terrorist Organizations per Social Movement: Excluding the IRA
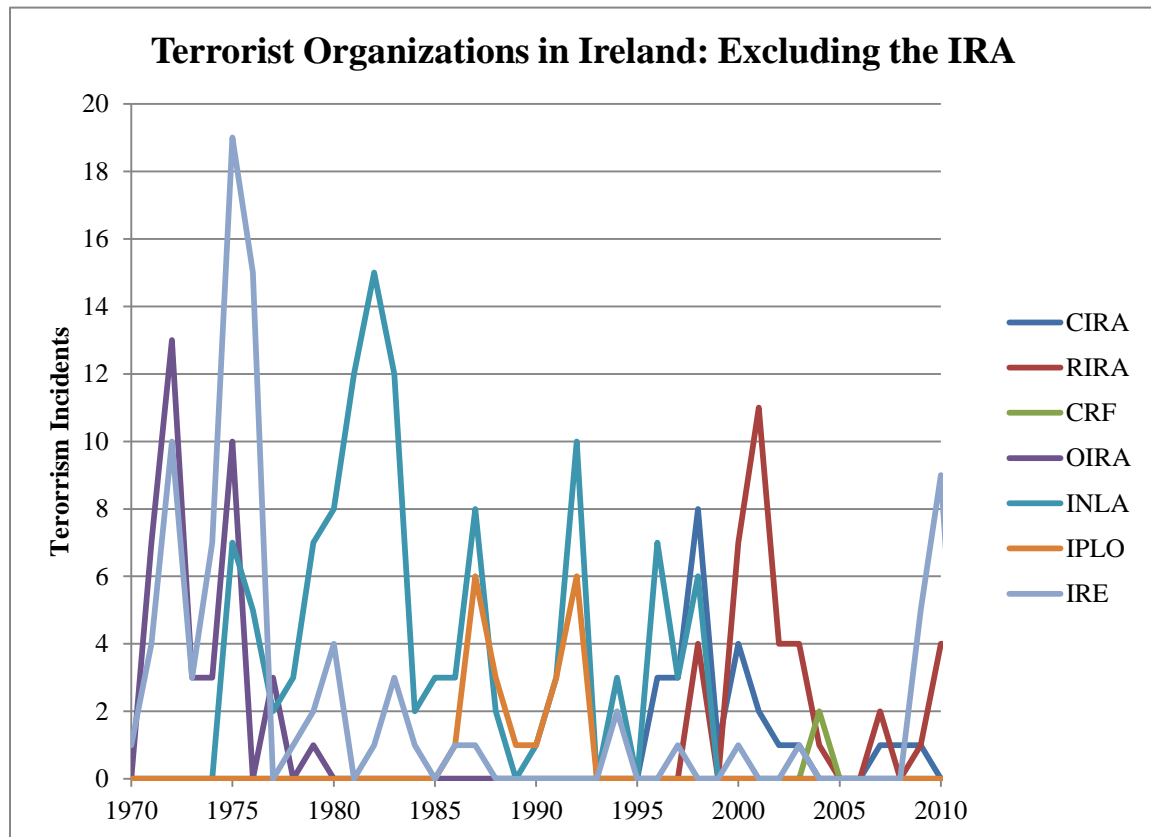
In Ireland, the grassroots movement towards the creation of an independent

Ireland began as early as 1803. However, the Volunteer Movement began in 1913. Of the

nine terrorist organizations associated with creating an independent Ireland, all began

after the Volunteer Movement. The IRA, the original IRA not associated with PIRA, was

the first to begin in 1922.

Using the Global Terrorism Database, the data was used to show the trajectory of

terrorist activities of eight organizations. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) trajectory of

terrorism incidents, continued under the alias Provisional Irish Republican Army in 1969,

included periods of sustained terrorism incidents, as well as peaks and declines. As seen,

in the 1970-2010 time frame, terrorism incidents in 1970 included 7 incidents. Peaks

occurred in 1972 (N= 162), 1977 (N= 109) and 1979 (N- 206) before a slight decrease in

activity in the 1980s. A large spike in terrorism incidents occurred in 1991 (N= 202),

followed by another peak in incidents in 1993 (N= 261). Incidents of terrorism continued

to decrease after 2001. The IRA signed a cease-fire in 2005, however, there were

attributed with incidents of terrorism post 2005. As seen, there were incidents in 2005

(N= 4), 2006 (N= 2), 2008 (N= 1) and 2011 (N= 1). The IRA was responsible for the

largest number of terrorism incidents for organizations in the analysis of the separatists

movement in Ireland (N=3341).

Figure 9.6 IRA/PIRA Incidents of Terrorism

The Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA) was formed in 1986, however

terrorist incidents did not begin until 1996 (N= 3). Terrorism incidents increased until a

peak in 1998 (N= 8), followed by a decrease in 1999 (N=1) and slightly increased in

2000 (N=4). Terrorism incidents decreased for the CIRA until 2010 (See Figure 8.7). The

CIRCA was responsible for 26 of the terrorism incidents in Ireland in the current

analysis.

Figure 9.7 Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA)
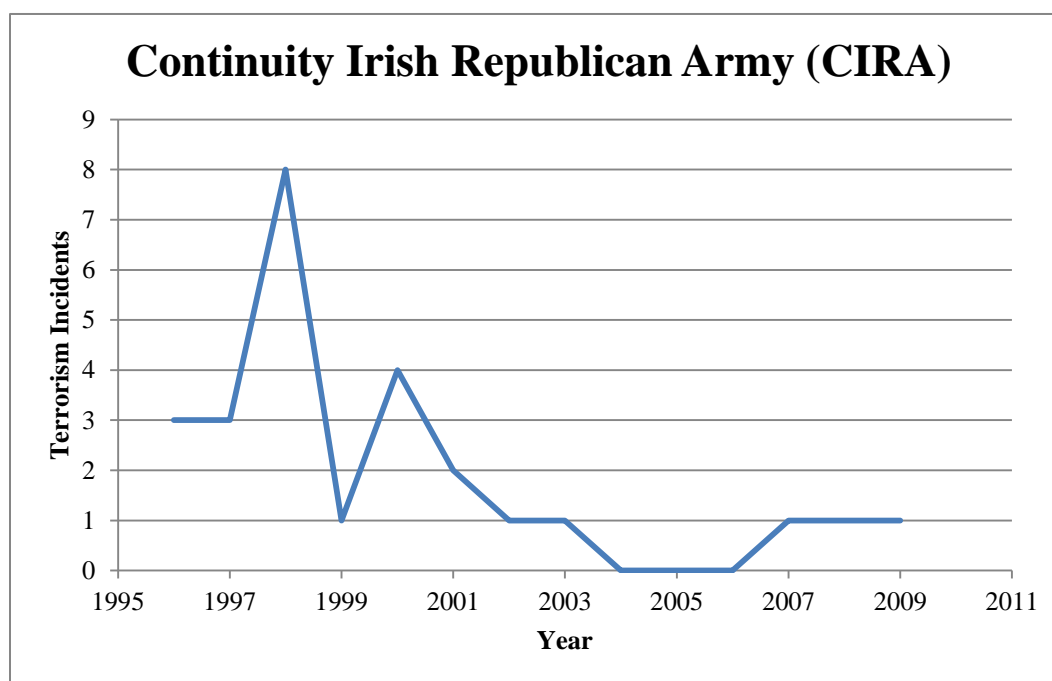
The Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA) formed in 1969 and became active in

terrorist activities in 1971 (N=7). The organization activity peaked in 1972 (N= 13) and

decreased in activity thereafter. Following 1972, there was a small peak in activity in

1975 (N=10). In total, the ORIA was responsible for 40 terrorism incidents in the GTD

database.

Figure 9.8 Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA)

Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA)
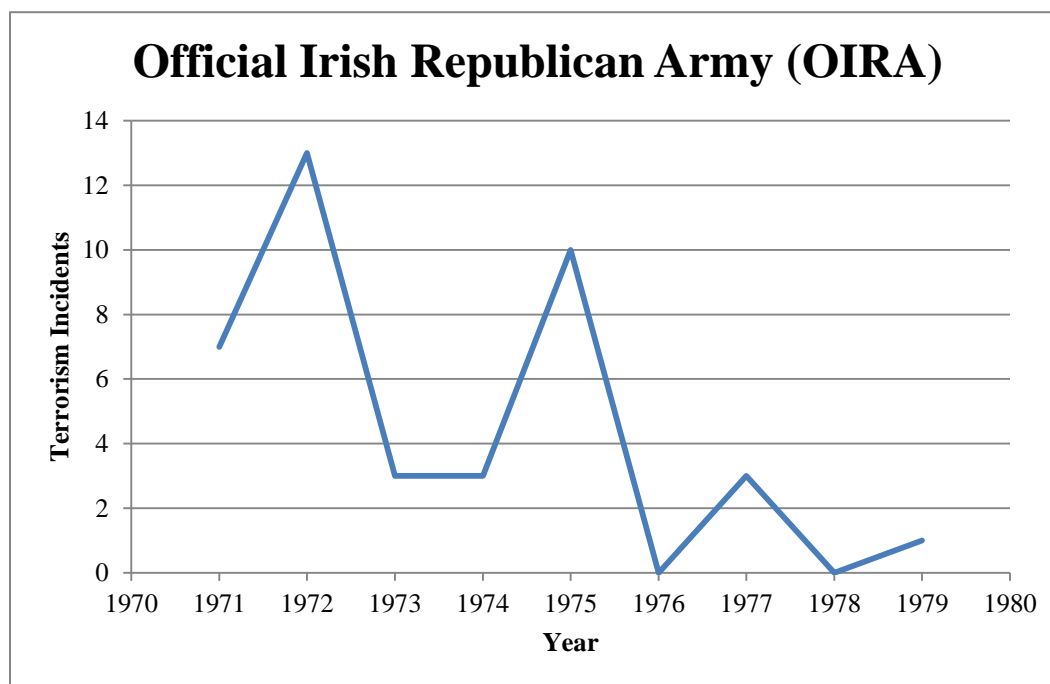
The Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA) was formed in 1998 and committed terrorists acts in the same year (N= 4). The group was not responsible for terrorist incidents in 1999 but terrorist activity increased in the following year with a peak of activity in 2001 (N= 11). As seen in Figure 9.8, the organization was not responsible for terrorism incidents in 2006 and 2008 but activity recently increased to an average of 4 terrorism incidents per year (2010, 2011). With terrorism incidents spanning from 1998 to current, the RIRA is responsible for 42 incidents of terrorism.

Figure 9.9 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA)
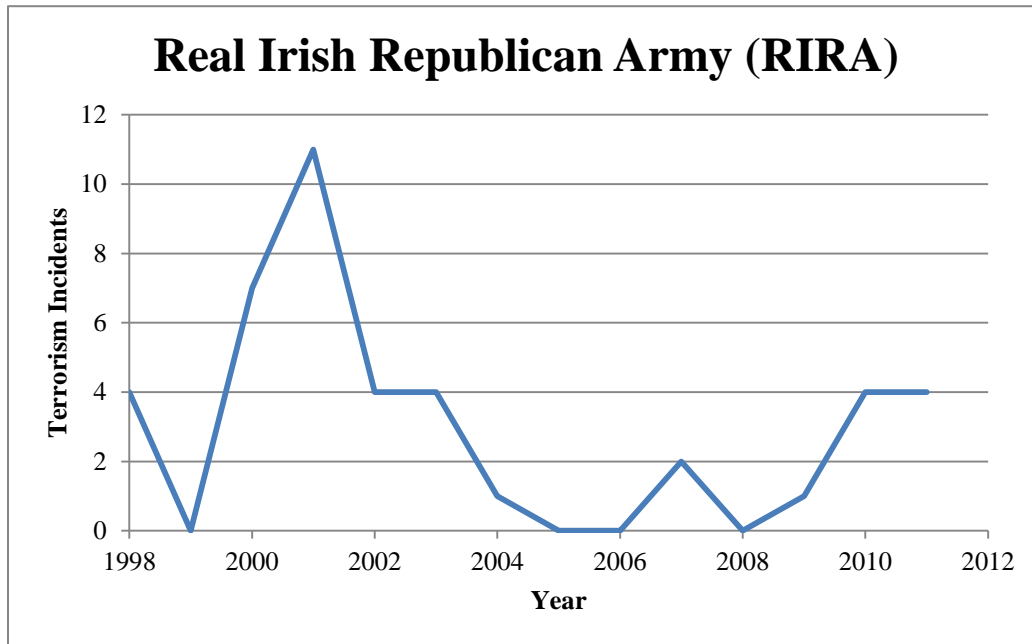
The Catholic Reaction Force (CRF)became active in1983 but committed 2 acts of

terrorism, both occurring in 1992 (*See Figure 9.9*)

Figure 9.10 Catholic Reaction Force (CRF)
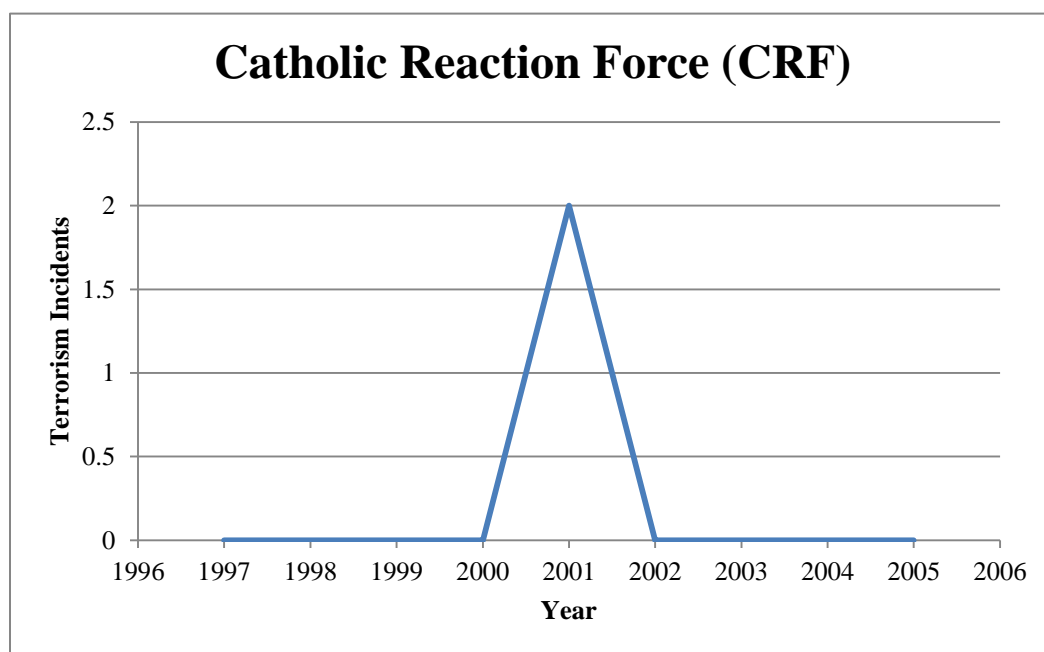
The Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) began committing acts of terrorism in 1975 (N=7) with incidents increasing into the mid-1980s. The INLA experienced a period of steady activity from 1979 to 1983. Decreased terrorism incidents for the INLA began in 1984 (N= 2) and remained relatively low until a peak in activity occurred again in 1992 (N= 10). The organization became dispersed in 1998 (N= 6), subsequently terrorism incidents for the INLA ceased after 1998 with a total of 122 incidents of terrorism during its existence.

Figure 9.11 Irish National Liberation Army (INLA)
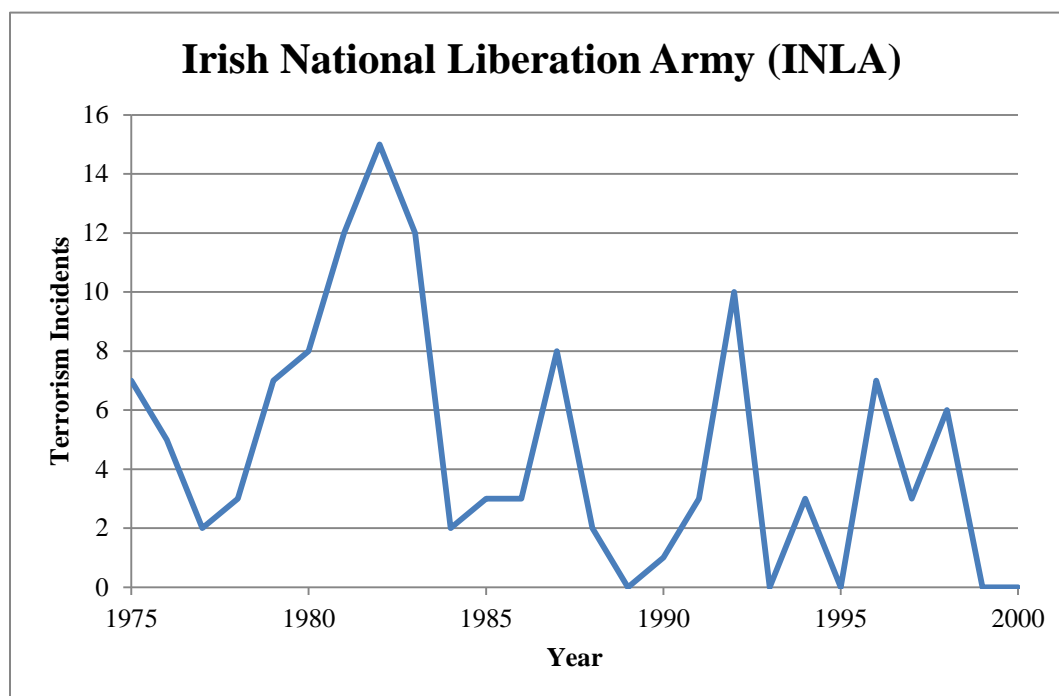
The largest period of activity for the Irish Republic Extremists (IRE) is between

the 1970s and the early 1980s. There were three peak points of activity for the IRE,

1972 (N= 10), 1975 (N= 19), and 2010 (N= 9). Followed a period of low activity, IRE

experienced another peak in activity in 2209 (N=5) and 210 (N= 9). The total number

of terrorism incidents associated with the IRE is 21 incidents.

Figure 9.12 Irish Republic Extremists
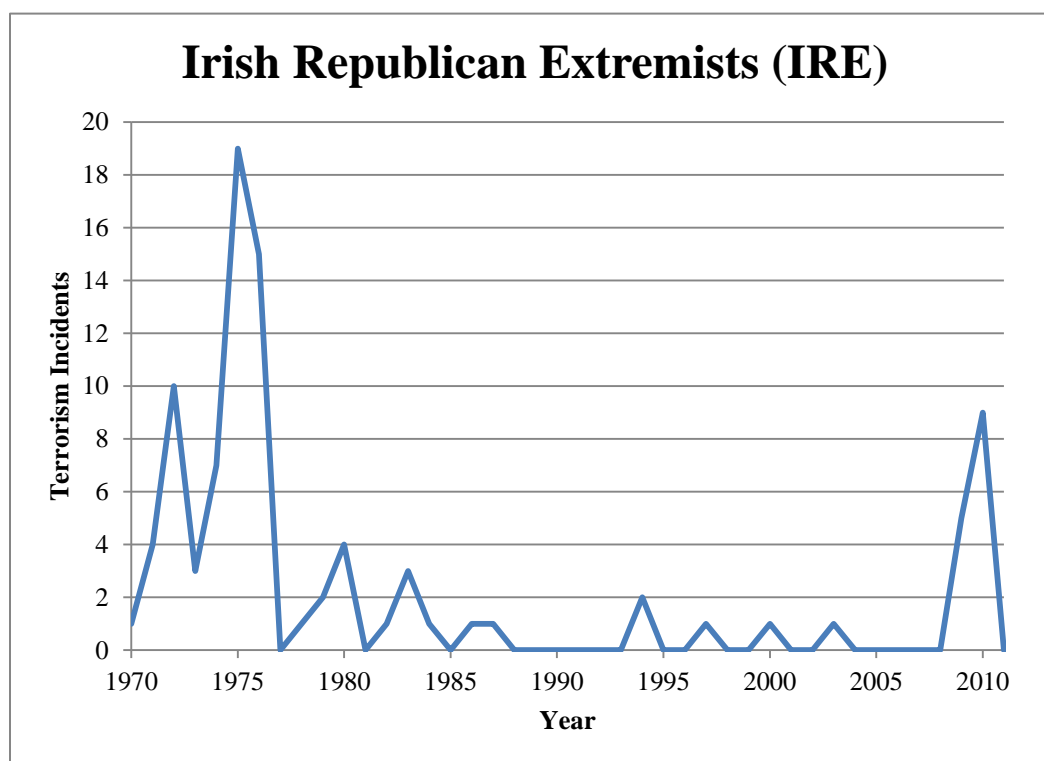
The Irish People's Liberation Organization (IPLO) was active from 1986- 1992. There were two peak years of activity, 1987 and 1992, which averaged 6 incidents per year. Beginning in 1986 (N=1), IPLO activity increased until it declined in 1989 (N=1) with increased activity until the group disseminated in 1992. During its period of activity, the IPLO was responsible for 92 incidents of terrorism.

Figure 9.13 Irish People's Liberation Organization (IPLO)

Relationship between Collective Action and Terrorism Incidents.

Using both the Global Terrorism Database and the European Protest and Coercion

Data (EPCD), the temporal relationship between collective action and terrorism in Ireland

is illustrated. Although the EPCD included data for the 1980-1995 time frames, there

appeared to be an overlap in protests and terrorism incidents (See Figure 9.11). The

spike in protests in the early 1980s, and again in the mid-1980s, is mirrored by spikes in

terrorism activities during the same time. It should be noted that activity for terrorism in

1993 is not 0, this is due to incomplete GTD data for the year 1993.

Figure 9.14 Relationships between Collective Protest and Terrorism Activity in Ireland

Relationship between Collective Protest and Terrorism
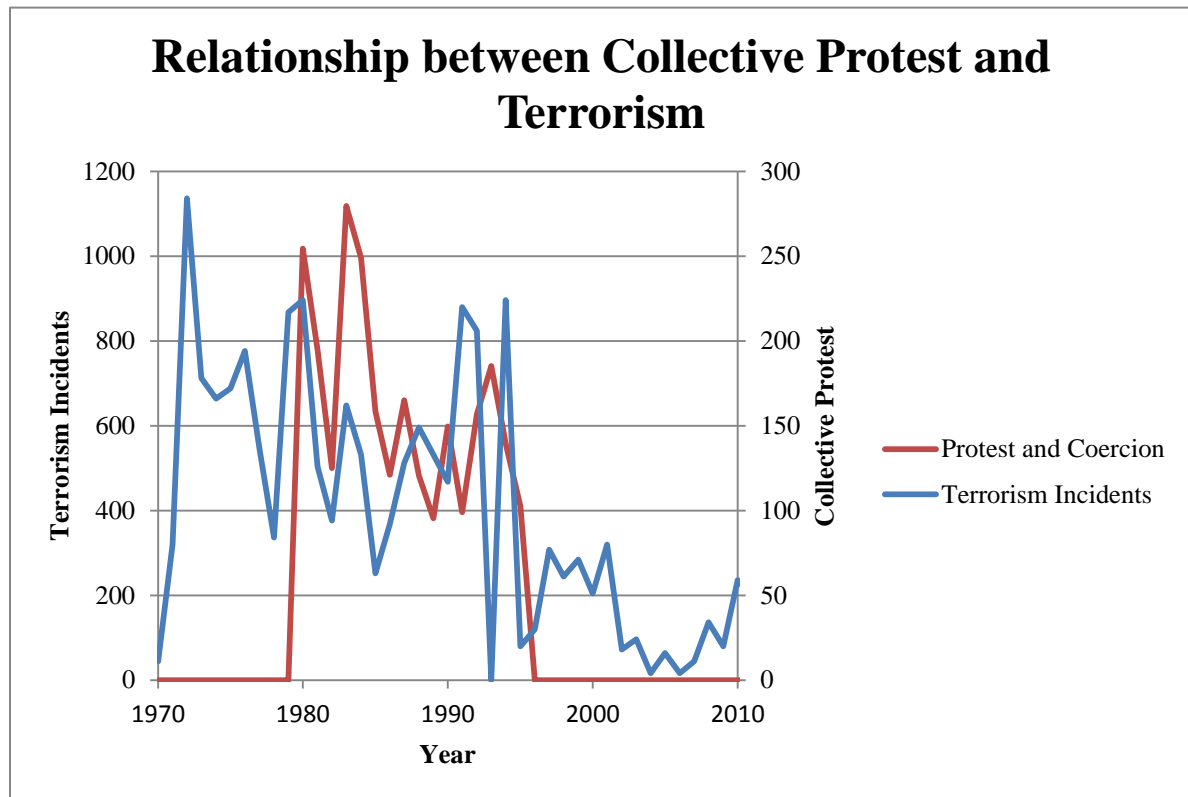
The relationship between terrorism incident and collective campaigns in Ireland also exemplified the same trajectories. There appeared to be an overlap in protests and terrorism incidents nationally. A spike in protests in the early 1980s and in the mid-1980s is mirrored by spikes in terrorism activities during the same time. Again, protests spikes temporally occurred before spikes in terrorism incidents.

The Volunteer Movement: Governmental Interventions

The current study proposed a connection between a governmental response to collective action and terrorism. It suggests that there is a positive relationship between

backlash of a governmental strategy towards collective action and mobilization/recruitment into terrorist organization. Using an interrupted time series, ordinary least square regression/ multiple linear regression, the model examines the number of terrorism incidents before and after a specified intervention. Results of the regression indicate if the intervention had a positive, negative or no effect on the number of terrorism incidents after the onset of the intervention.

Operation Motorman of 1972 and Bloody Sunday, the increase in the number of Northern Ireland Members of Parliament (1978), the Anglo Irish Agreement of 1985, Operation Loughgall and Gibraltar (1987 and 1988, respectively) and the 1994 ceasefire agreement between the IRA and the British government are identified as the governmental intervention for the Ireland case study. In January of 1972 British soldiers killed unarmed activists, known as Bloody Sunday, creating greater tension in an already strained British-Irish relationship. A few months later Operation Motorman began to take back areas under the control of the IRA. Both interventions involved the British Army and the use of brute force. The MP increase in Parliament attempted to allow Irish Republicans to have more involvement in the ruling of Northern Ireland but the policy choice was not largely favored by citizens in the Northern Ireland area.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement was also an intervention/policy choice that provides contrast from the other interventions in that it did not involve military action but was an institutional intervention. Loughgall and Gibraltar interventions returned to the strong use of military personnel after several failed cease-fire agreements between the British government and Irish Republicans. The last governmental intervention in the Ireland case study includes the 1994 cease-fire agreement between the British government and the

long standing Irish Republican Army; the cease-fire agreement is expected to reduce the number of terrorism incidents.

The following section includes regression analysis for governmental interventions. The Global Terrorism Database is used for data pertaining to terrorism incidents.

Regression: Operation Motorman, Bloody Sunday (1972)

Linear multiple regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level of terrorism and the change in trend after Operation Motorman and "Bloody Sunday" during 1972. The results for two different time periods are shown in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: Operation Motorman, Bloody Sunday (1972)

	1970-1981				1968-1977			
	Model 1		Model 2			Model 3		Model 4	
Time	69.00		-17.14		Time	25.10		-9.67	
Intervention	176.93	**	211.39	***	Intervention	196.53	***	213.92	***
Interact	-88.60		---		Interact	-44.70	**	---	
Intercept	-58.00		71.21		Intercept	-40.00		46.92	
R-squared	0.87		0.78		R-squared	0.91		0.82	
N	8		8		N	10		10	

* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01

For the 1970-1981 time period, Model 1 accounted for 87% of the variance in terrorism events. Operation Motorman and the Bloody Sunday interventions had a significant positive effect, $p < .05$.with the intervention coefficient indicating that terrorism increased by 177 events in the years after the intervention.

The 1970- 1981 time frame was selected to capture events that occurred two years before and six years after the interventions; the time frame also attempts to eliminate another governmental intervention that is discussed later. Model 2 accounted for 78% of the variance in terrorism events. As seen, Operation Motorman and Bloody Sunday (interventions) had a significant positive effect, p< .01. The model predicts that, on average, for the years after the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 211 terrorist attacks, holding time constant.

Multiple regression analysis was repeated using the 1968- 1977 time frame to capture additional years before and fewer years after the intervention; there were four years before and five years after the Operation Motorman and Bloody Sunday interventions. A change in the time frame before and after the intervention attempts to determine if levels of terrorism incidents were time sensitive. The multiple regression model, Model 3, account for 91% of the variance in terrorism events. As seen, Operation Motorman and Bloody Sunday (intervention) had a significant positive effect, p< .01. The model predicts that, on average, for the years after the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 197 terrorist attacks. The trend became more negative after the intervention, as indicated by the interaction between time and intervention.

Model 4 was accounted for 82% of the variance in terrorism events, with the intervention having a significant effect, p<.01. The model predicts that, on average, for the years after the intervention the number of terrorism events increased by 213 terrorist attacks, holding time constant. *See Table 9.2.* Model 3 fits the data better and suggests that Operation Motorman and Bloody Sunday was associated with a sharp increase in the level of terrorism, followed by a downward trend.

Regression: House of Commons Increases the number of Northern Ireland Members of Parliament at Westminster (1978)

Multiple regression analyses were completed examine the change in the level of terrorism and the change in tend after increase of MPs in the House of Commons. The results for two different time periods are shown in *Table 9.3.*

Table 9.3: House of Commons Increase MPs for Northern Ireland (1978)

	1972-1985			1972-1990	
	Model 1	Model 2		Model 3	Model 4
Time	-19.60	-12.36	Time	0.39	-1.39
Intervention	40.60	36.07	Intervention	-33.18	-44.59
Interact	10.26	---	Interact	-3.69	---
Intercept	256.93	231.60	Intercept	186.98	193.20
R-squared	0.41	0.38	R-squared	0.28	0.25
N	14	14	N	19	19

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

The first two regression models correspond to six years before and eight years after the intervention. For the 1972-1981 time period, Model 1 with the interaction term accounted for 41% of the variance in terrorism events with just a level change and no interaction (slope change). The model did not include a significant correlation. Model 2 also included a level change and no interaction (slope change), with 38% of the variance in terrorism events and no significant correlation coefficients. *See Table 9.3*

Multiple regression analysis was repeated using the 1972- 1990 time frame. The multiple regression model, Model 3, accounted for 23% of the variance in terrorism

events. The model did not include a significant correlation. Model 4, which does not include an interaction term, was able to account for 25% of the variance in terrorism events but a significant correlation was not found between governmental intervention and terrorism events.

The models did not yield a significant correlation between the increase in the number of Northern Ireland Members of Parliament in the House of Commons and terrorism events, indicating that the intervention was not significant.

Regression: Anglo- Irish Agreement (1985)

Linear multiple regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level of terrorism and the change in trend after the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, an agreement that increased the role of Republic of Ireland in the governance of Northern Ireland. The results for two different time periods are shown in *Table 9.4*

Table 9.4: Anglo- Irish Agreement (1985)

	1979-1995			1980-1990	
	Model 1	Model 2		Model 3	Model 4
Time	-18.23	3.58	Time	-14.60	2.22
Intervention	-13.58	-47.28	Intervention	-46.33	-46.33
Interact	25.27	---	Interact	26.43	---
Intercept	223.13	146.82	Intercept	191.60	141.15
R-squared	0.20	0.45	R-squared	0.44	0.19
N	17	17	N	11	11

* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01

For the 1979-1995 time period, Model 1 with the interaction term produced accounted for 20% of the variance in terrorism events with just a level change and no

interaction (slope change). The 1979- 1995 time frame captures events that occurred six years before and ten years after the intervention. The model did not include a significant correlation.

In Model 2, of the Anglo-Irish Agreement intervention, the interaction term accounted for 45% of the variance in terrorism events, holding time constant. The model did not include a significant correlation.

The next two regression models correspond to five years before and five years after the intervention. For the 1980-1990 time period, Model 1 with the interaction term accounted for 44% of the variance in terrorism events with just a level change and no interaction (slope change). The model did not include a significant correlation.

Model 4, which does not include an interaction term, accounted for 19% of the variance in terrorism events but a significant correlation was not found between governmental intervention and terrorism events. *See Table 9.4.*

A significant correlation between the Anglo-Irish Agreement and terrorism events was not found, indicating that the intervention was not significant.

Regression: Special Airs Service: Operations Loughgall and Gibraltar (1987)

Multiple linear regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level of terrorism and the change in trend after Operations Loughgall and Gibraltar. The results for two different time periods are shown in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5: Special Air Services Operations Loughgall and Gibraltar (1987)

	1978-1994				1983-1994			
	Model 1		Model 2			Model 3		Model 4	
Time	-9.60		0.84		Time	-28.00	**	11.11	
Intervention	8.70		34.06		Intervention	32.57		-5.14	*
Interact	25.36	***	---		Interact	43.76	***	---	
Intercept	180.78		128.56		Intercept	182.50		84.73	
R-squared	0.47		0.15		R-squared	0.79		0.52	
N	17		17		N	12		12	

* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01

The first two regression models include the 1978- 1994 time frame, corresponding to nine years before and eight years after the interventions. The year 1994 was selected as a cut off to avoid including the time period affected by another government intervention in 1994 which will be discussed later. As seen in Table 9.5, Model 1 accounted for 47% of the variance in terrorism events. Operations Loughgall and Gibraltar (interventions) did not have a significant effect. The coefficient for the interaction indicates that the terrorism trend became more positive after the intervention, p <.01. Model 2, which does not include an interaction term, was able to account for 15% of the variance in terrorism events but a significant correlation was not found between governmental intervention and terrorism events. *See Table 9.5.*

For the 1983-1994 time period, Model 3 with the interaction term accounted for 79% of the variance in terrorism events with just a level change and no interaction (slope change). Model 4 accounted for 52% of the variance events with a significant relationship found between the governmental interventions and terrorism events, p<0.1. *See Table 9.5.*

Model 3 fits the data better and suggests an upward trend followed the Loughgall and Gibraltar Operations.

Regression: British Government/Irish Republican Army Ceasefire (1994)

Multiple linear regression analyses were done to examine the change in the level of terrorism and the change in trend after the ceasefire agreement between the British government and the Irish Republican Army in 1994. The results for two different time periods are shown in Table 9.6.

Table 9.6: Ceasefire Agreement (1994)

	1987-2005				1987-2011			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Time	16.50	*	-5.29	Time	16.50	**	-3.30	
Intervention	-97.94	**	-60.30	Intervention	-126.72	***	-78.19	**
Interact	-26.05	***	---	Interact	-20.95	**	---	
Intercept	100.86		188.00	Intercept	100.86		180.07	
R-squared	0.72		0.56	R-squared	0.70		0.61	
N	19		19	N	25		25	

$* \ p < .10, ** \ p < .05, *** \ p < .01$

Model 1 accounted for 72 % of the variance in terrorism events with all of the coefficients significant; time has a positive correlation with terrorism events and intervention and interaction variable have a negative correlation. The model indicates that terrorism decreased by 98 events in the years after the ceasefire intervention. The time coefficient indicates that the terrorism trend increased at a rate of 17 events prior to the intervention. The trend became more negative after the intervention, as indicated by the interaction between time and intervention. *See Table 9.6.* In Model 2 the interaction term

accounted for 65% of the variance in terrorism events; the model did not include a significant correlation, holding time constant.

Multiple linear regression analysis was repeated using the 1987-2011 time frames to include additional years after the onset of the ceasefire. An increased time frame attempts to determine if levels of terrorism incidents were time sensitive. Model 3 with the interaction term accounted for 70% of the variance in terrorism events and all of the coefficients are significant. The intervention coefficient indicates that terrorism decreased by 127 events in the years after the intervention, p, .01. And the trend became more negative after the intervention, as indicated by the interaction between time and intervention.

Model 4 accounted for 61% of the variance in terrorism events. The ceasefire intervention had a significant positive effect, p< .05. The model predicts that, on average, for period after the intervention the number of terrorism events decreased by 78 attacks, holding time constant.

Model 3 fits the data better and suggests that the Cease-fire Agreement of 1994 was associated with a sharp decrease in the level of terrorism, followed by a downward trend.

Summary.

Operation Motorman was a governmental intervention that followed the killing of several protestors at a civil rights march, also known as Bloody Sunday. Operation Motorman was a large scale military response by the British government in response to several attacks by the IRA. It was the hypothesis of the study that Operation Motorman

would be associated with a positive trend in terrorism events after the intervention. Regression models found the intervention to be associated with a positive terrorism trend. The best fit model indicates an increase in terrorism events immediately after the intervention but produced a negative trend of terrorism; indicating a decrease in terrorism events over time.

The House of Commons increase of Members of Parliament for Northern Ireland was a non-military governmental intervention that did not utilize brute force. It is the hypothesis of the study that terrorism would increase after repressive governmental interventions. The intervention was not found to be associated with increased, or decreased, level of terrorism.

The Anglo- Irish Agreement was governmental intervention aimed at establishing a treaty between the Irish government and the British government. The treaty was also a non-military institutional attempt to quell differences. It is the hypothesis of the study that terrorism would increase after repressive governmental interventions. Regression models found the intervention to have no significant effect on the level of terrorism in Ireland. The Ango- Irish Agreement, a non-repressive intervention, did not have a significant impact on terrorism attacks; terrorism events did not significantly increase or decrease after the intervention.

Operations Loughgall and Operation Gibraltar/Flavius were governmental interventions carried out by the Special Air Services. It was the hypothesis of the study that Operation Loughgall and Gibraltar would be associated with a positive trend in terrorism events after the intervention. The best fit regression model indicated that the

intervention was not associated with increased, or decreased, level of terrorism but that the trend of terrorism slightly increased over time.

The 1994 Ceasefire agreement was one of several ceasefire agreements between the British government and the Irish Republican Army. The 1994 intervention aimed to establish a truce with the IRA. It is the hypothesis of the current study that repressive governmental interventions increase terrorism events; therefore, the 1994 Ceasefire Agreement was expected to decrease terrorism events. Regression models found the intervention to be associated with decreased levels of terrorism. The best fit model also indicated decrease levels of terrorism after the onset of the intervention.

Relative Deprivation Theory and Social Strain

Social Strain theory and Relative Deprivation theory were also utilized to identifying the social conditions that aid in the transition from collective actions to violent collective action in Ireland. Social Strain factors include external factors, group's ideology/goal, type of movement, size of the movement/campaign, length of the movement and the "last straw" event. External Factors include the historical, cultural and contextual factors previously outlined in the case analysis. As one of the longest running terrorist organization in Western Europe, the Irish Republican Army and the grassroots movement surrounding it, has an extensive and intertwining history.

Table 9.7 Social Strain Factors in the Irish Republican/Volunteer Movement

Social Strain Factors	
Movement Ideology/Goal	An independent Irish state ("Free State"), violence as a plausible means
Group's Ideology/Goal	An independent Irish state, violence as a plausible means
Type of Movement	Nationalist/Separatist
Type of Organizations	Nationalist/Separatist
External Support	United States Diaspora
Length of the movement	1850s- mid 2000s[*]
Length of Organizations	1919-2005[**]
Last Straw Event	1916 Ester Uprising, Death of Bobby Sands (1981 Hunger Strike)

[*] The first rebellion against British rule was 1803 but organized group efforts began in the 1850's.
[**] The IRA is suspected to still be active in criminal activity and responsible for recent terrorist attacks

Magnarella's Relative Deprivation Theory is addressed using the case study of the Volunteer/Grassroots Movements in Ireland. Magnarella's Theory of Relative Deprivation identified four causal sequences that transition discontent to civil violence and, in the current research, terrorism; Sense of and actual infrastructural conditions that lead to discontent, Insufficiencies of the infrastructure to not be corrected, formation of ideologies revolving around discontent, and violent action manifests itself.

Infrastructural conditions leading to discontent.

The Great Famine of the 1840s devastated Ireland, a large portion of the population perished from starvation. Those remaining after the famine began to question the role of Britain in Ireland and the support that it provided to the people. The role of Britain in, and its support of, Ireland became a topic of concern.

The 1916 Easter Rising further exacerbated the tension between British rule and Irish republicans. Shortly after the Easter Rising the army of the Irish Republic released its 1916 Easter Proclamation. The Proclamation noted the infrastructural conditions that the Republic would change.

> ..The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past." Irish Republican Army (1916)

Insufficiencies of the infrastructure not being corrected.

As the Ulster Unionists organized to protect the Union, the "Volunteers" began mobilization. In response to the Ulster Volunteer Force threatening to use violence to save the Union, MacNeil (Grob-Fitzgibbon 2007) noted

> "It appears that the British Army cannot now be used to prevent the enrollment, drilling, and reviewing of the Volunteers in Ireland... there is nothing to prevent the other twenty-eight counties [outside Ulster] from calling into existence citizen forces to hold Ireland 'for the Empire"

Aggrieved groups made several institutional attempts to secure a self-governing Ireland, with various Home Rule Bills presented. However, the movement started starting as a predominantly violent movement and it continued the same way.

> "We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of land, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right… In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world…" –IRA 1916 Easter Proclamation

Formation of ideologies revolving around discontent.

While some scholars linked the ideology of the IRA to the Great Famine, others look further back into the past. The French Revolution, and the use of force, is cited as one of the examples used by the IRA (White, 1989). An attempt was made by Irishmen in the 1790s to remove Ireland from Britain's control and a rebellion was attempted in 1803. However, it wasn't until after the Great Famine that Irish nationalism began to form.

In 1972 the PIRA, hence called the IRA, released its goals and objectives. It cited; the end to English army occupation in Ulster, have political prisoners released, abolish the Stormont government, have a regional parliament elected with minority participation and compensation for anyone who suffered under English violence as parts of its goals. (Clark 1977).

When questioned if the IRA was acting against the democratic will of Irish people, an IRA member responded

> "No, I don't think that's the case whatsoever.. IRA doesn't stand in elections.. If your country was invaded tomorrow and a region of it was set to one side and occupied by another government, some people in that region… would acquiesce to the new situation. I am sure that the vast majority of people would be against it. And some may even use armed resistance against it. That's a matter for them." -Gerry Adams (Alonso 2001)

Violent action manifests itself.

The grassroots movement wanted to obtain sovereignty for the Irish state. The movement began as a violent movement, with rebellions dating back to 1803. Its

beginning as a violent movement has aided the IRA in remaining one of the longest running terrorist organization, as the use of violence was considered an acceptable tactic from the inception of the movement.

> "The tactic of armed struggle is of primary importance because it provides a vital cutting edge. Without it, the issue of Ireland would not even be an issue. So, in effect, the armed struggle becomes armed propaganda."
> -Gerry Adams (Alonso 2001)

Summary

The IRA continued the ideology of creating an independent Irish state the same ideology that emerged with the formation of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The "Republicans"/Nationalists made several institutional attempts to address their grievances. The Home Rule Bill was denied twice before becoming legislature in 1912. Although the Bill eventually passed, the space for resentment against British rule continued. Majority of the Ulster counties wanted to remain a part of the Union, creating the UVF in opposition to the new Bill. The Irish Volunteers formed in the shadows of the Ulster's threats, seeking self-defense and a free Irish State. In 1914, a riff in the Volunteers occurred when many of the members decided to enlist in World War I to fight on the side of Britain. The remaining Irish Volunteers opposed involvement in war.

The Irish Volunteers, predecessors of the IRA, formation gained momentum after the Easter 1916 Rising. The Easter Rising served as a "last straw" event in the Volunteer movement. Although the event stated as an armed resistance planned by Republicans, the harsh governmental supported created resentment for its policy choices. The government

arrested hundreds of "suspected" Volunteers, including civilians. Many were sent to British prisons without trials, with others executed by firing squad.

The Volunteers utilized guerilla tactics and called themselves the Irish Republican Army. The 1922 Anglo-Irish Treaty created Northern and Southern Ireland (26 southern counties). The Northern counties remained under British Rule while the Southern counties would obtain sovereignty. Many of the IRA members supported the treaty, while others did not; objection against the treaty was that all of Ireland was not a Republic state.

The IRA splintered several times, most notably in 1972 when one branch of the organization decided to sign a cease-fire. The Provisional IRA became the IRA after determining that only violence would help the organization meet its objectives. After several more decades of violence, and increased involvement in organized crime, the IRA called for several cease-fires, only to break them. In 1994, the IRA called for a final cease-fire. Although the organization has signed such, they have been responsible for several terrorism incidents and crimes since 1994.

Chapter 10: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Terrorism is considered a collective social group based on ideologies that propel the group to mandate certain justifiable behaviors based on a set of beliefs. Academic literature on terrorism has begun to link globalization to social movements and linking globalization and terrorism. However, the impacts of collective action, specifically social movements, on terrorism are a largely unexplored field. Case studies are frequently used to examine terrorism but many rely on contemporary or high profile organizations (Silke 2007; Dugan and Yang 2012). As Duyvesteyn (2007) noted, detailed historical accounts are often omitted from analysis of terrorism.

Terrorism is often addressed as a phenomenon that occurs *to states* without taking into account the historical context of the event and the relationship between the actors involved (Crenshaw 1995). Terrorism implies that aggrieved groups want to change an aspect in their environment; the change may be temporary or permanent or brought about using coercion or actual force. It was the assertion of this study that policy choices at either the local, state and international level can curb or exacerbate the trajectory of a terrorist organization. The current study attempted to show how governmental responses to collective action, specifically backlash of governmental responses to social movements, can influence terrorism. The study noted several factors that influenced the likelihood of terrorism, such as economic, social and political factors. By applying a level of analysis that includes both state and non-state actors, the current study looked beyond the scope of government actors and addresses the relationship between state and aggrieved groups.

The research presented a mixed methodology approach, incorporating trend plotting, multiple linear regression (interrupted time series) and case studies. Trend plotting addressed the temporal relationship between international terrorism and international collective action. Trend plots provided visual representation of the relationship between collective action and terrorism events over time. Regression models provided statistical controls to determine the relationship between governmental interventions and collective action. While regression models are not without their flaws, regression models provide insight about the types of governmental interventions that increased or decreased terrorism events. Case studies presented contextual and historical factors that were not outlined in the quantitative portion of the study. The case studies further explored the independent variables of the study and explained the fluctuations found in the trend plotting of individual terrorist activity.

As previously noted, terrorism research should include the historical, political social and economic factors that influence it. Case studies often negate the historical accounts and other possible social factors (Duyvesteyn 2007). Research at the micro level failed to capture factors occurring around the terrorist organization; their campaigns, Diaspora, state response to terrorism, etc. (Dugan and Yang 2012). Quantitative studies, alone, fail to include historical, contextual information that case studies are able to provide. They add a dimension beyond the regression analysis to specifically examine the role of the various actors involved, the surrounding environmental factors and details about the type of backlash that occurred.

From this perspective, the case studies of the current study addressed historical, contextual and cultural factors. The case studies also provided information about the

organizations, the ideology of the social movement and terrorist organizations were identified. Case studies helped to expound on the type of campaign used, the length of the campaign, typologies of the interventions, and the "last straw" or the "backlash" points of each movement.

The current chapter discusses the major findings of the current research on the impact of collective action on terrorism. It also examines the impact of backlash of governmental interventions on terrorism mobilization. A comparative analysis of four cases studies is included: the Khalistan Movement in India, the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, Hezbollah in Lebanon and the Irish Republic/ Volunteer Movement in Ireland. Using Social Strain Theory (with Relative Deprivation Theory) and backlash theory quantitative and case analysis is used to determine the linkage between various forms of collective action, specifically social movements and terrorism. Policy and Research Implications are additionally outlined in the chapter. Limitations of the research are discussed at the end of this chapter.

COMMENTARY ON THE FINDINGS

Five points of interests were outlined at the outset of this study. First, the possibility of the translation of grievances and ideology from social movements into terrorist organizations was examined. The second aim was to determine if unsuccessful institutional attempts were made to address grievances, especially during a social movement. The third aim of the research was to establish if governmental interventional, such as brute force, created backlash. The fourth aim included determining if terrorist organizations were byproducts of governmental policy choices in response to collective

action. A fifth aim of the study sought to determine if governmental interventions created

backlash. Examining the role of governmental interventions sought to determine which

types of interventions increased or decreased mobilization into terrorist organizations.

From these points of interests the following research questions are addressed;

    i.   Is recruitment into terrorist organizations positively affected by the

        backlash of a governmental/state response to collective action that

        occurred around the same time?

    ii.   What strategies are taken at the international, national and local level that

        aided in the mobilization of terrorism?

    iii.   What conditions promote escalating terrorism mobilization in response to

        governmental strategies?

    iv.   What strategies were most effective in the overall reduction of terrorism?

An initial aim of the research included examining the possibility of the ideology

of a collective action group, specifically a social movement, translated into the grievances

and/or ideology of a terrorist organization. Case analyses provided insight on the

ideologies of social movements and the ideology used by terrorist organizations.

Analyses found that the ideologies of the terrorist organizations mirrored that of the

social movement that came before it; in the case of Hezbollah, the movement and

organization were the same. This indicated that the ideologies of the terrorist

organizations were based on the ideology of social movement. Interestingly, in the cases

that began as nonviolent campaigns, the ideology of the terrorist organizations altered to

include self-defense. Hezbollah and the Movement for an Independent/Republic Ireland

began as violent campaigns and remained as such. When individuals no longer sought violence in the organization, the groups splintered; this was the case in the IRA and the BPP. Hezbollah created the nonviolent faction of the group that is involved in politics and community activism.

For the cases that began as nonviolent campaigns, the Civil Rights Movement and the Khalistan Movement, the ideology of the terrorist organizations added a component of violence and self-defense. The BPP also pushed for economic and political equality but added the component of equality by "any means" and through self-defense due to police brutality and Ku Klux Klan relationships. Similarly, the 1978 Massacre prompted the need to add defense to the Khalistan Movement. The 1984 Temple Raid solidified the notion of an armed movement.

These findings support the academic literature that suggested that social movements are a form of collective groups that shared a common grievance, ideology or belief. Frame bridging allowed the claim to extend beyond the local level and take on a universal, or global framing (Tarrow 2005). Findings of the study indicate that the ideologies of the social movements mirrored the grievances and/or ideologies of the specified terrorist organization associated with the movement.

A second aim of the study included determining if unsuccessful institutional attempts were made by the collective group to address grievances. Analysis revealed several similarities in the cases in regards to institutionally addressing grievances. In the four cases, aggrieved social movement made institutional attempts to address their grievances. In each case, several unsuccessful institutional attempts were made during the social movement preceding increased terrorism incidents.

In India, the Khalistan movement began circa 1942. There were several attempts made during the social movement before a spike in terrorism activity in the early 1980s. Unsuccessful institutional attempts to create a Khalistan homeland/Sikh land were additionally made in 1946, 1973 and in the 1980s. Many of the attempts were nonviolent; this included resolutions and negotiations attempts.

In the United States, several institutional attempts were made to secure civil rights before and during the Civil Rights movement. As early as the Dred Scott court decision in 1857 that decided African Americans were "properties" to the 1951 petition delivered to the United Nations; African Americans institutionally attempted to address grievances. Protests and boycotts ensued during the Civil Rights Movement but by the time the Black Liberation Movement began after the 1965 Civil Rights laws were in effect. Very few institutional attempts to address grievances were used after the onset of the Black Liberation movement. Tactics during the Black Liberation movement included confrontations with police and riots.

As a contingency of Lebanon gaining independence in 1943, the Shiite community agreed to the Christian population being in the political majority with a Christian President; there was the understanding that the needs of the Muslim communities would be heard. Institutional cooperation would not re-emerge until Hezbollah gained traction in the Lebanese government.

In Ireland, the Home Rule law was sent to parliament four times before it became a law in 1912. While the call for an Irish free state began in the late 1800s, the Irish Volunteer Movement began in 1913. From its transformation from the Volunteers to the 1994 cease-fire signing of the IRA, there were several ceasefires, protests and

negotiations made by the group. The Anglo-Irish agreement and several ceasefire agreements between the British government and the Republican extremists were a few of the institutional attempts made by both parties.

Disparities also emerged in that the onset of institutional attempts varied by the organization. In India, Sikhs institutionally attempted to have their grievances heard during the movement and during terrorist activities. In the United States, African Americans attempted to institutionally have grievances heard before the social movement and during the movement. However, no attempts were made after the start of terrorist activity. In Lebanon, Shiite institutionally attempted to address grievances before the formation of Hezbollah, a movement and a terrorist organization. Institutional attempts began again later, once the organization integrated into the political system but there was a period where Hezbollah decided that violence was the only solution to grievances. In Ireland, institutional attempts were made before and during the Volunteer movement.

Table 10.1 Institutional Attempts To address Grievances

	United States	India	Lebanon	Ireland
Institutional attempts were made during period of analysis	X	X	X	X
Attempts were made before spikes in terrorism activity	X	X	X	X
Institutional attempts were made during social movement	X	X	X	X
Institutional attempts were made during terrorism activity		X	X	X

In India and Ireland the organizations splintered when components of the organizations agreed with negotiations. In both cases, some groups involved with the

movement became nonviolent while others continued violence. In the case of Lebanon, institutional attempts after the 1940s did not re-emerge in the social movement until Hezbollah gained political influence.

These findings are consistent with Social Strain Theory (Smelser 1978; 2007) that asserted that discontent emerged from an infrastructural condition. In each case a grievance emerged and the attempt was made to address the grievance institutionally. This finding also is consistent with research by Crenshaw (2011) that stated that terrorism encompassed more than a strategic set of choices that influences the path to violence; indicating psychological and external factors influenced the decision making process for terrorism. This finding is unique to terrorism literature in that the attempt to institutionally address a grievance of a social movement was associated with a terrorist organization.

Another similarity found within the analysis was the influence unsuccessful institutional attempts had on the groups, as external factors affecting the group. In the United States, after several institution attempts to address grieves, the slowed governmental response and the government's use of brute force aided in the formation of discontent with the nonviolent, institutional attempts of the Civil Rights movement. As African Americans watched the "African Revolutions" occur throughout Africa. African nations obtained independence from colonial rule but the nonviolent tactics of the Civil Rights movement lost traction due to the longevity of the movement with slow recompense. The same was noted with the Volunteer movement in Ireland and the Women's Suffrage Movement, and the Iranian Revolution and Lebanon. This indicated

that when institutional attempts are deemed unfruitful, other tactics to achieve the grievances become a plausible tactic.

A third aim of the study included examining if social movements served as precursors to terrorist activities. The results of the analysis indicated that social movements were precursors to terrorist organizations in three of the four cases; excluding the case study that found that a terrorist organization was, and is, simultaneously a social movement. The terrorist organizations were associated with various types of social movements, without a distinctive type of movement found consistently in the study.

Similarities in the analysis were that terrorist organizations in the United States and Ireland were active with social movements and became inactive after the social movement was inactive. Disparities emerged in that the Khalistan movement in India is currently active while the terrorist organizations are considered inactive; despite the solitary 2007 incident by Babbar Khalsa. This finding is unique in that very little academic literature has examined the linkage between social movements and terrorism, considering both as a form of collective action.

Table 10.2 Organization Association with Collective Action

	United States	India	Lebanon	Ireland
Terrorist organization was associated with a social movement	X	X	X	X
Terrorist organization transitioned from a movement	X	X		X
Terrorist organization was a social movement			X	
Social Movement is currently active		X	X	
Terrorist organizations currently active			X	
Social Movement is currently inactive	X			X
Terrorist organizations is currently inactive	X	X		X

The study included trend analysis and multiple linear regression models. The trend analysis included plotting international collective action events and international terrorism events. A compilation graph of international collective action and international terrorism suggested a similar trend in events. The graph suggested that, internationally, as collective action events increased terrorism events increased around the same time.

Case analyses revealed the importance of 'timing', collective action and the role played by governmental intervention. Upon closer examination it is apparent that elements such as backlash, extremist ideologies of the collective groups and governmental interventions are noteworthy in determining terrorism mobilization (increase in terrorism events). The time interrupted series, liner regression models, further elaborated upon the variables of backlash to governmental interventions and terrorism events.

Analysis also found that recruitment into terrorist organizations was positively affected by backlash of governmental interventions to collective action that occurred around the same time. This finding is closely associated with the finding that

international, national and local authorities aided in increasing terrorist activities. As previous literature noted, an event that is met with a repressive government response can spark a social movement or propel an already existing movement into violence (Hess and Martin 2006; Tilly 2005). A repressive act by the government promoted citizens to respond and mobilize, violently or nonviolently, to protest the violent events incited by the government; this is known as backlash.

Interrupted time series (multiple regression analysis) were used to determine the impact of a given intervention on terrorism; excluding the case of the United States that used collective action data. In India, one of the three interventions was found to have an impact on terrorism. Operation Black Thunder, a transparent operation that attempted minimize an excessive police presence, was associated with an immediate increase in terrorism but a decrease in the trend after the intervention. Case study analysis determined Operation Golden Temple to have a "backlash" effect, inciting the creation of six to eight terrorist organizations after the intervention. Regression models for Operation Golden Temple Raid and Rakshak did not support the current hypotheses, although Operation Golden Temple Raid was associated with an increase trend of terrorism post intervention.

In the case of Lebanon, three of the four interventions were associated with increase terrorism. The interventions included brute military force in an Invasion of Lebanon (in response to Palestinian collective action groups based in Lebanon), a partial withdrawal that involved a heavy military presence in Southern Lebanon and brute police military force that included extensive shelling of North Lebanon. The fourth intervention, the full Israeli withdrawal, was not associated with a significant change in terrorism

activity and involved the removal of Israeli military forces from Lebanon. These findings supported the hypothesis of the current study.

In the case of Ireland, as expected, two non-military interventions were not associated with increased levels of terrorism. A cease fire agreement, supporting the current study, was associated with decreased levels of terrorism and a repressive intervention (Operation Motorman) was associated with increased terrorism. Contrary to the research's hypothesis, Operations Louhghall and Gibraltar, military interventions were not associated with increased levels of terrorism. It is possible that the scale of the intervention, both Louhghall and Gilbralter involved less than 20 individuals, had an impact of the interventions concerning the larger population.

In the case of the United States, the two of three interventions were not associated with increased trends in collective action. Operation COINTELPRO, an operation that included physical and psychological interventions, was not associated with increased levels of collective action. The assassination of Malcolm X, a proponent of self-defense, was associated with a sharp increase in collective action, unlike the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. It is noted that a limitation of the case study included using collective action data. The collective action data included protests and sit-ins by African Americans but also incidents of lynchings, mobs, etc. During the 1960's the number of collective action events were disproportionally high and may have made it harder to detect fluctuations in events. It was evident that the assassination of Malcolm X, a proponent of using violent self-defense, had an impact on collective action events.

Overall, backlash of governmental interventions were found to have an impact on terrorism. Excessive use of brute force, with military or police, increased terrorism event

trends. Irrespective of the level of analysis, backlash occurred from brute governmental interventions; India included local and national interventions, Ireland included international/state interventions, Lebanon included international/state interventions and the United States included state and local interventions. However, interventions that included combining aspects of transparency (India) or small scale interventions (Ireland) with brute force were found to decrease terrorism trends over time.

Using the "last straw" event variable, findings indicated that governmental responses to events aided in the recruitment into terrorist organizations. During the Civil Rights movement, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a proponent of using nonviolent tactics. The murder of Emmitt Till and brute police in response to nonviolent protests added in growing discontent with the government. However, it was the assassination of Malcolm X that is considered the beginning of the last straw sequence during the movement. Controversy surrounded the assassination of Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. due to speculation of government involvement and the lack of sufficient evidence to prove otherwise; this further created disenchantment with the government and the legal processes. News media outlets reported riots and armed violence by African Americans immediately after King's death in more than 12 cities and citizen mobilization into violence increased[31]. It is noted that data of terrorism activity are limited before 1970, therefore terrorism activity before and during Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King's death is unavailable but collective action data were used in the regression analysis.

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[31] "Martin Luther King Shot Dead", BBC News, 2/13/12,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/april/4/newsid_2453000/2453987.stm

In 1984, there were several Sikhs who had not supported nor admonished the push for a Khalistan homeland. However, the excessive use of police force and the number Sikhs deaths in the Temple Raid of 1984 quickly mobilized many civilian Sikhs into action. Terrorism activity, and the number of terrorist organizations, greatly increased after the Golden Temple Raid from 2 to 10 organizations (depending on the database used) in the span of two years.

Similarly, the Israeli military sparked the last straw event for the Shiite community in Lebanon after it used brute force when it invaded Lebanon during 1982. In a second Civil War, the Israeli Invasion brought about the creation of Hezbollah as the Lebanese government was deemed incapable, the many in the Muslim population, to defend Lebanese Muslims.

Armed "Republicans" initiated the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland; this included Volunteers, the Irish Brotherhood, etc. The British government had prior knowledge of the planned uprising and quelled the uprising. Those killed during the rising included civilians and several armed Republicans. The British government detained, many later found innocent, thousands of Irish men and women within days after the uprising. Of those found guilty, the British government sentenced many to death without a trial and others deported. The excessive crackdown propelled the recruitment into the IRA and activity of organization. More contemporary interventions, such as Operation Motorman, increased terrorism events.

Table 10.3 Details about the Movements

Country	Length of Movement	Last Straw Event	Governmental Response
United States	Civil Rights and Black Liberation, 1950s-1990s	1965 Malcolm X Assassination 1968 MLK, Jr. Assassination	N/A, Conspiracy of government involvement
India	Khalistan, 1950s- current	1984 Temple Raid	Brute police force by Indian Government to Temple occupation
Lebanon	Hezbollah, 1982- current	1982 Israeli Invasion	Brute military force by Israeli Government
Ireland	Irish Republic and Volunteer 1850s- mid 2000s	1916 Easter Uprising	Brute police force by British Government to uprising and aftermath

These finding coincided with social movement experts that addressed the effects of sentiments on government backlash and the mobilization of people to use both violent and nonviolent action (Schock 2005, Dudouet 2008). Backlash is identified as a decline in support from the general population.

The current study hypothesized that mobilization into terrorist organizations would increase after the backlash of a repressive governmental intervention. This hypothesis was supported by the findings of both the quantitative and case analysis for the cases examined. This finding was closely related to the hypotheses that number of terrorism organizations, the number of terrorist attacks (per country), and the number of terrorists attacks (per organization) would increase after a repressive governmental intervention. These hypotheses was also supported by case studies and regression analyses. Backlash occurred after restrictive governmental policy choices, reposes by collective groups ranged from brute force to nonviolent protests to excessive use of force during raids.

Table 10.4 Summary Chart

	Ideology like Mov't	Mov't occurred before terrorism	Backlash	Last Straw	Social Mov't	Gov't response / policy	Premise for Violence	Diaspora	Instit'l Attempt Made
Khalistan Extremists	Yes	Yes	Yes, 1984, 1988	1984	Non V	Brute Police Force	Self defense	Canada, U.S.	Yes
BPP	Yes	Yes	Yes, 1960s	1968	Non V	Brute Police Force	Self defense	Africa, Britain	Yes
Hezbollah	Yes	No	Yes, 1982, 1985, 1996	1982	Viol	Brute Military Force	Self defense	U.S., West Africa, South America, etc.	Yes
IRA	Yes	Yes	Yes, 1916, 1972	1916	Viol	Brute Police Force	Self defense	U.S.	Yes

Abbreviation explanations" Mv't= Movement, Gv't= Government, Instit'l= Institutional, NonV= Nonviolent, Viol= Violent

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

The analysis in Chapter 5-9 of this study indicated that collective action and governmental intervention have an impact on the formation of terrorist organizations. Two research areas were applied to the conceptual framework for the study; terrorism as a byproduct of a collective action and backlash of the policy choices by government agencies that aid in the mobilization of individuals into terrorist organizations. The conceptual framework of the two areas of focus provided useful insight on the approach to understanding terrorism and the policy choices pursued by government organizations.

The impact of collective action, specifically social movements, on terrorism was evident in India, the United States, Ireland and Lebanon. The main findings indicated that factors such as external factors affecting the group, ideology and characteristics of the group, and "last straw" events impacted the number of terrorism incidents per country, the number of terrorist organizations per country and the number of terrorism incidents per organization. Ideology of a social movement, governmental policy choices/backlash, historical and contextual factors impacted the trajectory of terrorism groups and activity. This implied that there is a linkage between the social movements, backlash and governmental interventions in the current analysis of terrorism.

In addition to the practical implications for policy makers and governments, the research findings of this study also have implications for the academic community. Cleavages in the cases were based on culture and/or religious differences; confirming that identity politics influence the motivation to use violence. More can be learned about existing organizations such as Hamas or the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) by adding the additional framework utilized in the current study. This

framework could also be used to understand situations that are currently social movements that have transitioned to violence (i.e.- Syria and the growing role of Hezbollah).

A strength of the current study is the use of a mixed methodology approach that expands beyond a specific region and beyond a specific time frame. This makes for a case of generalizability for the research findings. In general, the current study successfully addressed the research question purported at the onset of the research.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Social conditions, psychological processes and cultural elements are thought to contribute to acts of extreme violence, such as terrorism (Staub and Bar-Tal 2003). The academic community has begun to understand that the way the group, or the individual, responds or participate in terrorism is largely influenced by the historical factors surrounding them (Crenshaw 1995).

Terrorists are generally viewed as rational actors, using a certain train of logic to determine the use of violence. Although Rational Choice theory eliminated the notion of a psychological disturbance it did not include an emotional or historical account of the motivation to use violence. The current framework encompassed sentiments of a social movement, and a terrorist organization, in the context of historical and external factors affecting the group.

Although terrorism may be international or transnational, grievances and targets of the group are often local in nature (Crenshaw 2009). Understanding the relationship

between policy makers and government agencies with aggrieved groups is essential in understanding the possible outcomes of such relationships.

As literature on terrorism lacked one clear definition of the term, there is a lack of a single policy choice/response to terrorism. Policy choices generally focused on terrorist capabilities and on government countermeasures. Current counterterrorism strategies range from using deterrence by punishing acts to information gathering via intelligence sources. However, addressing grievances, whether perceived or real, is generally not a part of the counterterrorism strategy.

What does the impact of backlash from governmental interventions on terrorism mean and what are the recommendations for policy makers? First, it is suggested that quelling social movements before the space for extremist ideology is created is plausible. Secondly, it is suggested that certain tactics can be avoided by the government before and during the presence of terrorist organizations to reduce the number of people mobilized to use violence. Acknowledging discontent with various infrastructures, acknowledging institution attempts to address grievances, etc. can reduce mobilization. Thirdly, it is suggested that governments play an active role in exacerbating the presence of terrorist organizations or individuals mobilized to become terrorists. The use of brute force during social movements can create backlash and mobilize already aggrieved individuals.

It is suggested that religious ideology, or religious typology, does not makes an organization more lethal (Crenshaw 2011). This research implied that the focus on the "type" of organization is not as influential of the organization's motivation to use violence. Instead of focusing on the "type" of terrorism (i.e.- religious, left wing, right winged, separatist, etc.) emphasis should be placed on the grievance that is claimed by

the organization. Such a viewpoint is important for two reasons; First, terrorist have target audiences that they are trying to sway. Support from the general populous occurred when they are sympathetic to the "mission", or ideology of the group. De-legitimization of the organization and support for the organization can be reduced if the grievance that is mirrored in the general populous and social movement is met. Secondly, if terrorist organizations are linked to a popular movement, government and policy makers should address the social movement. The United States noted that it will not enter into dialogue with terrorist organizations. However, addressing the needs of the surrounding movement, especially before the formation of terrorist organizations, reduces the number of aggrieved individuals that seek membership into terrorist organizations that harbor similar beliefs. Additionally, it creates a group to include in negotiations and dialogue that are not recognized as terrorist organizations, but mirror similar sentiments. Addressing such a group would delegitimize terrorist organizations. If the terrorist organization chooses to continue violence it devalues their claims and confirms a government's decision to employ the more conventional methods of addressing terrorist organizations (i.e.- counterterrorism strategies) .

It has been queried if terrorist organization could operate without a support base (Crenshaw 2009). The IRA, BPP and Khalistan extremists began to lose support of the population that it purported to seek justice for. The BPP became increasingly radical and lost support of the African American population, decreasing its membership and support for violence. The IRA began to lose popular support after the organization bombed locations with innocent civilians. The activities of the organization, as with the case of the Khalistan extremists after the 1988 Temple Raid, became more involved in organized

crime. The lack of sympathy from the social movement, or people in the general population, decreased the legitimacy of the organizations. This in turn reduced funding from Diasporas, membership for the organization and the legitimacy of violence.

Ongoing difficult social conditions limits the fulfillment of basic human needs. Staub (2011) suggested that continuing violence is supported by the perception that a particular group is standing in the way of fulfilling these needs. Prolonged responses to this perception lends to creating a strong identification with a group, creating ideologies and social beliefs, and devaluating others. The lack of basic human needs is purported to be at the root of terrorism (Staub and BarTal 2003). Hence, counterterrorism strategies should also include addressing the "needs" of the population that are obtainable. By addressing some of the factors that lead to discontent, according the Social Strain theory, the space for using violence is reduced. Environmental conditions that can be addressed include access to basic education, infrastructure, etc.

The policy choice of using brute force was found to increase discontent in the social movements and mobilized individuals to support terrorist organizations. Brute military or police force was found in each case analysis. The martyr "effect" occurred in the 1984 Temple Raid and the 1916 Easter Uprising. The notion of self-sacrifice, dying for cause, was used by the BPP and Hezbollah. In each case, civilian abuses were found as a result of excessive use of force by the government; this included psychological/emotional trauma and casualties. The United States experienced two assassinations of prominent African American leaders; both assassinations were contested by African Americans as tactics of the United States government. Malcolm X's assassination was associated with a significant impact on collective action in the United

States. Brute force included excessive use of weaponry, disproportionate amount of police/military to individuals, incarcerations and trials without following the laws of that country, etc.

Interestingly, it was found that in the 1988 Temple Raid, the Indian government increased transparency about its operation and allowed media involvement, which decreased speculations about the government's use of force. Individuals were able to understand the tactics used against terrorist, reducing tension about a government that was previously considered as unfair. Extremists were no longer allowed to be viewed as martyrs but were showcased to their support base as terrorists; violent and willing to kill other civilians. Terrorism events increased immediately after the intervention but the trend of terrorism events was found to decrease over time.

Such findings to does not indicate that a military or police operations should not occur; however, they shed light on the tactics that created more tension between the government and civilians. Transparency in operations, or responses to terrorists and/or social movements, reduced the speculation by the general population. Distrust in the government can be exacerbated in an already aggrieved group by the use of brute force. A relatively disproportionate number or military/police personnel increases the appearance of "bullying".

Case analyses suggest that unsuccessful institutional attempts to address grievances also increased social strain. The lack of governmental response to legal attempts of grievances was associated with increased sense of grievance and frustration with institutional methods.

LIMITATIONS

Berkhofer (1969) warned that the examination of human behavior must include an investigation of the motivations and internal aspects of the subject; irrespective of the complexity of the task. Specifically, when human behavior is examined from a historical perspective it is noted that information collected about the past are assumed to be valid evidence of the phenomenon examined. More importantly, it is assumed that symbolic behavior is one of the valid representations of internal components. However, symbolic behavior, particularly from an historical analysis, cannot fully explain internal components of human actions.

There are a number of implications drawn from the research pertaining to the linkage between two forms of collective action. Examination of the relationship between social movements and terrorism implied comparison between several factors; ideology, last straw events, length of movement, number of terrorist organizations, etc. Second, it implied that each factor was salient and consistent throughout the time frame. Thirdly, it assumed that the data used was complete and adequately covered the time ranges observed.

The current research design of case analysis (including qualitative aspects) and quantitative analysis (trend plotting and regression models) employed a mixed methodology. The research variables were based on Social Strain (including Relative Deprivation Theory) and backlash theory. A major criticism of Social Strain theory is the vagueness of the variables associated with the theory. The current research used Relative Deprivation theory with Social Strain Theory in an attempt to find more quantifiable and observable variables. Although the current design included additional variables beyond

those of Social Strain, the results of the current research are influenced by the variables

chosen to identify the sentiments, characteristics and ideology of the groups observed.

More importantly, the current research assumed that the factors such as ideology

remained constant throughout the lifespan of the organization and that majority of the

actors were influenced by the prescribed variables. The current study included backlash

theory of governmental interventions to provide quantitative analysis/statistical controls

to further determine the role of governmental interventions on terrorism.

As with any study of collective action, data sources affect the outcome of the

study. The GTD is a comprehensive database that included worldwide terrorism incidents

from 1970 to 2011. The GTD established its own criterion to determine what will be

included in the database. It also contains more than 86,000 incidents of terrorism, more

than other terrorism databases (GTD, n.d.). However, the database is not without its

flaws. Data for 1993 is missing for several countries due to a transition in carriers. The

flaw in the data was evident in some of the terrorism incident trajectories, skewing the

appearance and meaning of the trajectory.

Another limitation of the current study included the data from the GTD, which

began in 1970. Although many databases pertaining to terrorism begin in the 1970, with

the exception of the ITERATE that included data beginning in 1968, the Civil Rights

Movement analysis began in the 1950s. The Civil Rights Movement heavily relied upon

case analysis and collective action data to make assertions about the variables in the

current study. Terrorism data prior to the mid 1960 would have increased quantitative

evidence linking collective action, backlash of governmental intervention to terrorism,

especially in the United States and Ireland case studies.

Another limitation of the study is that the GTD relied upon open source data (LaFree and Dugan 2007). As with many terrorism databases, the GTD utilized opens source data (i.e.- media, documents, etc.) to compile its database. This practice allowed for potential biases in that certain types, locations and other factors influence which incidents are covered by the media (LaFree 2010). Additionally, the GTD is a secondary source database with majority of its cases collected by third party sources. As the GTD used its own definition to determine what is a terrorist incidents, incidents found in the GTD may not be found in another terrorism database, and vice versa.

Future Research

Generalizability of the current study was increased by including four varying cases. Future research would benefit from increasing specificity within the case studies; economic factors and community involvement were not fully explored. Future research should expand the research to include understanding the role of community based programs in terrorist organizations involvement in the community and the corresponding social movement (i.e.- support, recruitment, etc.). It was most evident in the case of Hezbollah that community activism garnered community support. The BPP also utilized community support programs; this led to the recruitment of members into the organization and sympathy for the groups cause from the broader population. The BPP also encouraged African Americans and other people of color to patronize local minority owned business. Additionally, the BPP garnered support from the "Yellow", "Brown" and Women movement, transcending beyond the African American population to include various aggrieved groups.

The United Nations was present in the cases of the BPP, IRA and Hezbollah. Future analysis should determine the impact of the United Nations, in regards to cease-fire agreements and resolutions, and its contribution to the linkage between collective action, intervention types and terrorism. Resolutions were presented to the United Nations by African American prior to the onset of the Civil Rights Movement. The United Nations established a presence in Lebanon after the 1975 Civil War and currently while Hezbollah is still active. The IRA announced ceasefires and entered into other talks with the United Nations until its final ceasefire in the mid-2000s.

The presence of media created varying results and should be examined by future research. Photos of Civil Rights protestors being beaten created outrage and mobilization in the United States, Al-Manor attempts to increase sentiments for Hezbollah by showcasing information beyond the border of Lebanon, media coverage of the 1988 Temple Raid de-legitimized terrorists in India and the IRA used media to garner support of the populous in Ireland and Diaspora abroad.

The women liberation/rights movements had a distinct influence on the Irish Republican Movement in the early 1900s and the Black Panther Party in the 1970s. Women volunteers were given a separate Republican branch in Ireland. Women were allowed to have high ranking positions in the BPP; in solidarity with the Women's movement surrounding the same time. It should be noted that occurrences were both observed in Western societies. The role of women and the women's movement would include a gendered politics perspective to the framework.

CONCLUSION

Research in the field of International Relations focuses on the actions of the state in security studies, negating other actors in the security realm (Barkawi 2011). Security studies needs to address both international and domestic influences, conceptualizing the area using a global context. This study addressed the role of state and non-state actors in the mobilization into terrorists organization; examining the ideology of collective action groups and governmental responses to collective groups.

Terrorism is not a remote phenomenon that occurs in a vacuum. It must be thought of in a historical context, including the political social and economic factors that influence it. The way that an individual, or a group, responds to terrorism is greatly impacted by the historical factors surrounding the situation (Crenshaw 1995). Academic literature has increased its understanding of the motivation for, responses to and consequences of terrorism. However, uncertainties still remain about the process of terrorism, ranging from the individual decision to join an organization to the act of terrorism.

Review of academic literature showed that terrorism is not a distinctly modern form of political violence. Although the debate of "new" vs. "old" terrorism attempted to breakdown the differences in the tactics and strategies used by terrorists, it appears that the motivation to use violence has change very little over time (Crenshaw 2011). The current study purported that less focus is needed in regards to examining the "types" of terrorism used and include mote historical and contextual factors surrounding the organizations.

Like other forms of collective action, terrorism indicates that a change to an environment is sought. It suggests that various forms of violence, coercion or physical, are a tactic of the aggrieved group. Terrorists are collective social groups that are based on ideologies that propelled the group to mandate certain behaviors that are justified by a set of beliefs. Various fields have already attempted to examine to the phenomenon of terrorism. Scholars addressed terrorism and the motives of terrorism from the perspective of several fields; sociology, psychology, political science and economics. Generally, such tactics are employed mutually exclusive of one another. This study combines literature from the fields of sociology and political science with criminal justice, employing various techniques to assess the aims of the study.

Currently, policy analysis and criminal justice approaches are more common attempts to explain the motivations of terrorists and terrorist groups. Such approaches frequently deny that the intentions of the terrorist are relevant at all, concentrating instead on terrorist capabilities and on government countermeasures (Crenshaw 2006). However, research in the field has begun to broaden in an attempt to analyze the individual and group "terrorist" in different ways.

Policy choices of the state curbed or exacerbated the trajectory of a terrorist group through repressive tactics by the state or as the backlash that results from policy. Academic literature points out that collective action, like protests and social movements, become violent when structural opportunities present themselves. Such opportunities include grievances with insufficiencies in infrastructure or hierarchies in society. Grievances can be real or perceived, the important factor is that the group determines that

there is an injustice. The sense of injustice creates a "space" for discontent and collective action (Smelser 1962; 2007)

As with most forms of political violence, there are steps that led to the culminating events. Diaspora support, global markets, technology, political structure, transnational civil societies and social movements can greatly fuel or halt the path to terrorism. A sense of grievance was the key motivational factor for the terrorist organizations in the study, creating a common bond between members.

Previous studies of terrorism supposed that once individuals join a terrorist organization, individual motivations no longer mattered. As narratives of the Black Panther Party, Hezbollah, IRA and Khalistan members have shown, death, risk and pain are personal.

Previous studies have provided descriptions of the ways that terrorism begins, the motivation of and recruitment into the organizations. Yet the literature neglected to incorporate various forms of collective group action that occurred around terrorist organizations. The current study utilized a theoretical approach that took into account the role of non-state actors. The link between recruitment into terrorist organization and social movements was illustrated using Smelser's Theory of Social Strain and Relative Deprivation Theory.

Extending beyond the literature that examined the state's response to terrorism, the current study adds to the literature about terrorism in that it employed personal narratives, historical analysis and quantitative analysis. It also suggested that other forms of collective action, specifically social movements, have an impact on terrorist organizations. Frequently the literature on terrorism makes policy prescriptions and

assumptions about the organization without taking into account surrounding historical and cultural information.

Such a study is useful in that it provides insight about sentiments of a popular social movement that maybe used by a terrorist organization to mobilize individuals. It also helps to determine if unsuccessful attempts to addressed grievances during social movements created a space for extremist ideology. More importantly, it examined the role of governmental policy choices in creating societal tension and exacerbating the conditions for violence. Government responses to aggrieved groups, especially social movements, propelled the formation of terrorist organization.

In summary, the current study included implications for both the academic and policy community. This research provided an additional perspective of terrorist group's motivation and formation by observing the link to social movements. It observed four cases in four separate countries in varying time frames and under different social and political conditions, suggesting generalizability of the findings.

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